THE SATIRICAL EULOGY IN THE LITERATURE
OF THE FRENCH RENAISSANCE

by

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This thesis traces the history and development of the literary genre known as the satirical eulogy or paradoxical encomium, which flourished in France during the Renaissance. The first chapter investigates the origins of the genre and its widespread use in Greek and Latin literature. Particular attention is paid to Lucian, whose influence was important when the genre was revived. Between the end of antiquity and the fifteenth century there is virtually no trace of it, and so the next chapter passes straight to Erasmus' *Moriae Encomium*. A section on other, less famous Neo-Latin eulogies is followed by one on the various Italian manifestations of the genre. The second part of the thesis attempts to show how these diverse ingredients were combined in different ways at different stages to make the French satirical and ironical encomia. There had always been three main types of eulogy, each typified by one of Lucian's works. These categories were, broadly speaking, the praise of a vice, the praise of a disease or physical defect, and that of an unpleasant or insignificant animal or insect. French Renaissance eulogies also tended to fall into one of these categories and are therefore discussed in three groups. Of especial importance throughout are the numerous other literary forms, such as the 'blason', the 'hymne-blason', the epitaph and the paradox which modified and were modified by the classical genre. The conclusion suggests, tentatively, some of the reasons for what the thesis has shown to be a European, rather than a purely French phenomenon, the rise of a genre so popular as to appeal to writers of genius as dissimilar in temperament as Erasmus, Rabelais and Ronsard.
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QUOTATIONS FROM RENAISSANCE TEXTS

In the Renaissance texts, Latin abbreviations have been expanded. Italian and English texts have not been altered in any way. In the French texts, the only modifications have been to distinguish i from j, and u from v. Otherwise the quotations are given as they appear in the edition used.
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INTRODUCTION

Lucian of Samosata was one of the most popular among the many Greek writers rediscovered and imitated during the Renaissance. From the fifteenth century onwards, editions of his complete works, or of individual satires, translations, imitations and adaptations appeared all over Europe. That certain of these writings belong to a particular class of satire, recognised in antiquity as a separate literary genre, with its own distinctive nature and aims, has long been realised by classical scholars. This genre was usually known as the paradoxical encomium or satirical eulogy. But the diversity of its development during the Renaissance has led to considerable misunderstanding of some important sixteenth century works which are in fact deliberate revivals and conscious imitations of the classical genre. In prefaces, and through direct and indirect references, the later writers usually acknowledge and acclaim their predecessors. Yet time after time their eulogies are taken seriously and their satirical purpose overlooked.

An important reason for this misinterpretation is probably the fact that the distinguishing mark of the satirical eulogy is never its form. Most classical examples are in prose, but Lucian, who wrote three satires of this type, and used similar methods

1 However, the encomium itself, of which the satirical encomium is an offshoot, is thought to have first appeared in poetry, perhaps in a work composed by Simonides (c. 556-469 BC) in honour of those who died at Thermopylae.

2 These are the De Parasito, the Muscae Encomium and the Tragodopodagra.
elsewhere in his numerous works,¹ used a very different form for each of them. This was because parody of some well known literary genre was one of his purposes in writing his praise. Thus one cannot write of the satirical eulogy as being a fixed literary form;² it is in fact a genre only in a rather loose sense. Its principal and unvarying characteristic is the ironical praise bestowed on the subject satirised.³ With a greater or lesser degree of subtlety, the writer praises his subject in such a way as to make his ironical meaning perfectly clear. Frequently he does this in a very elementary manner, merely by naming well-known predecessors in the genre. Sometimes he shows us that he does not intend his words of praise to be taken seriously by dropping his mask of irony from time to time and launching a direct attack. On yet other occasions the author's true purpose can only be appreciated by a very close and detailed reading of the work in question. In such borderline cases, where the irony is either very slight or very subtle, the possibility of such encomia being taken at their face value is naturally far greater. Thus, Du Bellay's Poète Courtisan has been

1 Notably in the Rhetor, which will be dealt with later on, v. p. 40 ff. A M Harmon, in his introduction to Lucian's On Astrology (Loeb Edition, Vol V, p 347), and also in his introductions to the Goddess of Surrye (Loeb Edition, Vol IV, p 337) and Phalaris I (ibid Vol I, p 1), has noted a very similar type of mock-serious description, and even, in places, of praise.

2 At intervals during the long history of this type of literature various rules were laid down, eg those by Fronto and Quintilian, (v infra p 47, note; p 5), but a study of actual examples of the genre shows that in practice these rules were only occasionally observed. V. infra Appendix I for complete list of encomia.

taken as "en somme un éloge de la vie des cours", when in fact it is typical of the Lucianic satirical advice, given in the form of ironical praise of the way of life under discussion.

Irony and praise are then the only two features of the genre which remain constant in every age. One might add in the definition that the subject must as a general rule be something normally considered as uninteresting or unpleasant, but by saying that the praise bestowed on the subject is ironical, one has already made it clear that the thing praised is not deserving of the praise it receives, and so the first definition given remains the best.

As far as the form is concerned, one finds long satirical eulogies, such as the De Parasito in antiquity, and the Philosophe de Court by Philibert de Vienne in the Renaissance; and short ones, such as the Muscae Encomium and Ronsard's Le Freslon. They may be in verse or prose. Du Bellay's Hymne de la Surdité is a fairly short poem, and La Borderie's Amye de Court is a long one. In order to make fun of Greek tragedy, Lucian even wrote the Tragodopodagre in the form of a tragedy, complete with chorus. The Philosophe de Court, on the other hand, takes the form of a philosophical treatise.

Another variable factor is the irony itself; though always present in some degree, it is by no means constant. It can range from light-hearted 'badinage', in most of the Pléiade animal eulogies, to

1 G Baguenault de Puchesse, Jean et Jacques de la Taille, Deux Frères-Poètes du XVIe siècle, (In Lectures et Mémoires de l'Académie de Sainte-Croix d'Orléans, tom.VI, 1891, p 332). Here the poem by Du Bellay is compared to the Courtisan Retiré by Jean de la Taille, and that of Du Bellay, which in fact satirised court poets, is taken as being a praise of court life, in contrast to the open criticism of de la Taille.
sustained and biting satire; sometimes, indeed, it becomes completely paradoxical, as in Erasmus' *Moriae Encomium*. Everything depends on the purpose and inventiveness of the author. "As with any form or genre, the significance of a given paradoxical encomium is likely to be in direct proportion to the stature and the purpose of its author." The satirical eulogy was often no more than a piece of ironic jesting, but it occasionally rose above itself in the hands of an Erasmus, and became a satirical weapon of the first order. Its considerable potentialities endeared it to the great masters of irony - Lucian, Aristophanes, Erasmus, Rabelais, and, in England, Fielding and Swift. Though necessarily a minor genre it is dignified by the stature of those who employed it.

1 Henry Knight Miller, 'The Paradoxical Encomium, with special reference to its vogue in England, 1600-1800', in *Modern Philology*, Vol LIII, No. 3, p 172. Miller also comments on the range of the genre (ibid p 172): "The range of tones and effects that could be achieved in the form is considerable. It could include the obvious buffoonery of a comic poem "In Praise of a Deformed Woman" that declared

'I love thee for thy squinting eyes,
It breeds no jealousie,
For when thou do'st on others look,
Methinks thou look'st on me.'
(Choyce Drollery, 1656, ed, Ebsworth 1876, p 50). But it could also comprehend the highly sophisticated argumentation of the Renaissance humanist scholars or of a John Donne, proving "That by Discord things increase".

2 V. Fielding's *A Journey from this World to the Next*, and Swift's *A modest proposal for preventing the children of poor people from becoming a burthen to their parents or the country and for making them beneficial to the publick.*

3 V. Arthur Stanley Pease, 'Things Without Honor', *Classical Philology*, Vol 21 1926. Pease feels that the genre deserves further attention, that "this ancient type of the whimsical or paradoxical declamation, passing more and more into strictly written rather than purely oral form, and, in the sixteenth century and later, more and more stressing the satiric rather than the rhetorical element, has had a long, if not a highly exhilarating history." (p 42).
CHAPTER I

The Satirical Eulogy in Antiquity

While the works of Lucian were undoubtedly the most influential in the later development of the satirical eulogy, there were a great many other classical writers who wrote similar works, which were also known and mentioned by Renaissance imitators. The genre has in fact a long and fascinating history. The birth of the satirical eulogy, or paradoxical encomium,¹ is almost contemporaneous with the birth of formal rhetoric itself: the various types of epideictic literature - epitaph, panegyric and encomium - began with Gorgias, the founder of artistic prose. Among the orations Greek and Roman students of rhetoric learned to compose were laudatory speeches, ἐγκώμια or ὡς ὄνομα in Greek, and 'laudes' or 'laudationes' in Latin. The ancient rhetorical theorists show us that panegyric laudations and their less frequent opposites (ψόγος, vituperationes) might concern themselves with gods, heroes, rulers or other persons,² with such dignified themes as countries, rivers, cities or mountains, and also with humbler topics, lower animals, plants, even inanimate objects.

The encomium followed a strict and highly artificial plan, traces of which persist in the satirical encomium as well, even during the

1 For Miller, art cit, p 145 note 1, the terms 'satirical eulogy' and 'paradoxical encomium' appear to be synonymous. But for the purpose of the present study the term satirical eulogy seems preferable, since in this way one avoids any confusion with the Renaissance paradox proper.

2 Of, Dio Chrysostom on Homer: "Homer praised practically everything - animals, plants, water, earth, armour and horses; in fact it may be said that there is nothing which he failed to mention with praise and honour. At any rate, there is only one out of the characters in his poems about whom he said harsh things, namely, Thersites, and even Thersites is called a "clear-voiced speaker"." (Dio Chrysostom, Discourses, Loeb Edition, Vol III, pp 283-284).
sixteenth century. Burgess\(^1\) describes a typical plan for the praise of a person. This praise begins with the proemion, or introduction, which usually takes the form of a profession of inadequacy before a subject so vast. Next, the ancestry of the person praised is discussed, with flattering reference to his native city, town or country. His birth with the omens and dreams preceding it, and the circumstances of his youth, the deeds he performed, the profession he chose to follow, all have their prescribed place in the work. The virtuous deeds of war and peace form an important division, as do various comparisons. The "epilogos" then balances the proemion, summing up what has been said and ending with a prayer.

The paradoxical encomium seems to have been a natural playful outgrowth of the regular encomium,\(^2\) "a result of that tendency to sheer display which was likely to mark epideictic speeches of all kinds".\(^3\)

From an orthodox praise of an abstract thing or an object, it is but a short step to the paradoxical praise of, for example, mice or fleas. The whole development is particularly interesting because it did not take place, as might have been expected, only later on, when the more

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2 cf Pease, \textit{art.cit}, p.29. In adoxography, (a term whose origins he discusses \textit{art.cit}, p.28, n 1) "the legitimate methods of the encomium are applied to persons or objects in themselves obviously unworthy of praise, as being trivial, ugly, useless, ridiculous, dangerous or vicious." The corresponding form of the \(\psi\lambda\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\sigma\varsigma\) is the blame of that which is admittedly beautiful, great, valuable or otherwise excellent.

3 Miller, \textit{art.cit}, p 146.
serious topics had been exhausted, or in an age of literary degeneracy. 
Alcidamas, Polycrates, and Gorgias himself, some of the greatest 
exponents of this style, belong to the fifth century B.C. They are 
thus among the earliest Greek orators and lived in a period of great 
national and individual activity.¹

The reasons for this vogue are extremely varied, and some of them 
applied during the Renaissance as well. One of the most obvious is the 
relative harmlessness of the genre. While, as time went on, it became 
used increasingly for satirical purposes, it is nevertheless true that 
on the whole it provided a reasonably safe outlet for rhetorical 
energies, which, during the independent greatness of Greece, had been 
devoted to oratory in political spheres.² During the Roman Empire 
whimsical or obviously paradoxical writing, as well as praise or blame 
of inanimate objects or things which lay beneath envy, appeared 
eminently safe.

Furthermore, the satirical eulogy provided a pleasant means of 
varying the usual 'topoi' of panegyrics. The familiar commonplaces of 
characters and qualities universally recognised as good or bad were 
bound, after much use, to become threadbare. It must have seemed a good 
way to fame to praise the unpopular or the despised, as well as being 
even more to one's credit if one was successful. The unexpected 
element in such works would enhance the humour of the speech and

¹ The fame of their predecessors in the genre was one of the favourite 
means of self-justification of the Renaissance writers. v. infra 
(Erasmus chapter, p 68 and Neo Latin chapter, passim).

² of infra p 14 , quotation from Pease.
provide a more entertaining time for the audience. This consideration was probably what appealed to the earliest orators. Aristotle, for example, says that men desire to prove paradoxes in order that they may, if successful, be considered clever.\(^1\) There is a danger here that the speech may develop into a mere exhibition of smartness, a danger some sophists did not succeed in avoiding.\(^2\)

It has also been claimed that there was a connection between the paradoxical encomium and the Athenian fondness for the ridiculous. Burgess points out the strong paradoxical element in many Greek comedies.\(^3\) Playful or burlesque praises were common in Aristophanes.\(^4\)

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2 cf Lucian, Charidemus, 14 (quoted by Burgess \textit{op cit}, p 159, n 1): "Many pass over subjects of real importance and profit, and take up those from which they think they will gain reputation, though of no value to the hearers." If Lucian is sincere here one can infer that he felt that his own paradoxical encomia were of value to his hearers. This passage might therefore serve to remind his audience of the more serious side of works such as the \textit{De Parasito}.

3 v. Burgess, \textit{op cit}, p 162. The Athenians were known for being an intelligent and sophisticated audience in all matters of rhetoric and public speaking.

"C'était un auditoire redoutable que l'auditoire athénien, smyrniole ou éphésien: et nul n'aurait osé l'affronter sans être armé de toutes pièces." (L.Légé, \textit{Favorin d'Arles}, Marseilles 1900, p 43).

"Les Athéniens du second siècle avaient, comme leurs ancêtres, la réputation d'être de bons juges dans toutes les choses de l'esprit. Les plus grandes renommées du temps sollicitaient leurs suffrages et rendaient hommage à cette sorte d'autorité qui leur appartenait. Et ce n'était pas seulement, comme on pourrait le croire, l'effet d'une tradition indéfiniment perpétuée. En réalité, ils avaient toujours une vivacité naturelle qui les rendait propres à admirer tout ce qui était brillant et ingénieux, comme aussi à saisir du premier coup tout ce qui était ridicule." (M Croiset, \textit{Essai sur la vie et les œuvres de Lucien}, Paris 1882, p 22)

4 Burgess, \textit{ibid}, quotes a burlesque praise of the dicast and the dicast's life in \textit{The Wasps}.
The satirical eulogy, then, provided an ideal means of displaying the Sophists' ability to make the worse appear the better reason.¹

Undoubtedly these orators were eminently fitted by their training to compose such works, and they were widely employed in schools as a definite exercise.² Students would also learn to defend either side of a question, or even both sides successively, an ability which was to be appreciated by the Renaissance reader too, when enjoying Lando's *Paradosi* and similar works.

Two other factors which probably contributed to the popularity of the genre concern the glorification of the trivial and the minute, typified by the *Muscae Encomium*. The first is connected with the general trend in art and sculpture during the period in which the style was developing, a trend which was tending to greater realism in all things. Phidias is said to have made in bronze a cicada, a bee, and also a fly centuries before Lucian wrote his encomium on a fly. The second factor, according to Pease,³ is the interest in natural science infra, p 17, note! for criticisms of this tendency.

² Polybius, speaking for Timaeus, said that he praised Sicily as extravagantly as do the lads in their conversations and arguments, when they set themselves to eulogize Thersites or vituperate Penelope, or to treat some similar theme. He further remarks that these sophistic quibbles have given young men such depraved ideas that they pay no more attention to ethics and politics, which benefit those who study them, but spend their time in the pursuit of an empty reputation for useless and paradoxical verbiage. (*The Histories*, XII, 26. b-d, Loeb Edit. IV, pp 395-7).

³ v. Pease, art cit, p 32. "Through this interest in the phenomena of natural science men's eyes had been focused upon the tiny, and the encomium of the minute took its place beside those other forms of the little so dear to the taste of the Alexandrians and their imitators, the epyllion, epigram, idyl, character and mime."
characteristic of the Greeks from the days of their first philosophising. More specifically, they were fascinated by the scientific study of the minute, and of the more lowly forms of animal and vegetable life. The popularity of the satirical encomium arose, then, because of

"the search for a form combining brilliancy and safety, the striving for novelty by the path of paradox, the sophistic desire to present effectively the inferior side of a cause, the tendency of the age toward greater realism and the consequent exploration of the undiscovered possibilities of the commonplace, and, finally, a real scientific interest in the microscopic."

So many varied causes had been responsible for its appearance that the paradoxical encomium naturally had affinities with several other literary genres. It is in the first place not always easy to set boundaries between the ordinary encomium and its satirical counterpart, since the ambiguity inherent in irony meant that what for one reader was the serious praise of a worthy subject could conceivably for another be an obvious piece of hollow bombast.

One striking resemblance to another genre which can be detected in the satirical eulogy is its likeness to descriptions written as an

1 Homer could be quoted as an authority in this as well as in other respects: v. Pliny, Nat.Hist.,xxix. 28. "non Homero (sc. fastidio fuit) improbitatem muscae describere (cf Iliad xvii. 570-72)" cf also Augustine, Civitas Dei, xxii. 24. 644 (ed Hoffmann): "Those are most wonderful which are least in size, for we are more struck by the achievements of ants and bees than by the vast bulk of whales." (The quotes from Pliny and Augustine are both taken from Pease, art cit, p 32)

2 v. Pease, art cit, p 33.
end in themselves, such as the Imagines of Philostratus, and to various accounts of villas, mountains, springs and so on, such as those appearing in Pliny's letters and Statius' Sylvae.¹

Paradoxical encomia resembled even more the scientific monographs on particular plants and animals, so much so that if we only know the title of certain works it is difficult to determine their exact status. Our main source of information on authors of such treatises is Pliny. He states that Themisio wrote a book on the 'plantago' (xxv. 80), that Pythagoras wrote on 'bulbi' (xix. 94), Moschion on the radish (xix. 87), Phanias in praise of the nettle (xxii. 35), Diocles on the turnip (xx. 19). Typical of all these references is his section on the cabbage:

"It would be a long task to make a list of all the praises of the cabbage, since not only did Chrysippus the physician devote to it a special volume, divided according to its effects on the various parts of the body, but Diuaches also, and Pythagoras above all,²and Cato no less lavishly, have celebrated its virtues."

Doubtless most, if not all, of these works were not pure laudations, but rather medico-botanical treatises. Yet surely it may have been just such works that Quintilian had in mind when, in discussing praises, he says: "somni et mortis laudes, et quorundam a medicis ciborum."³

1 Such was the confusion on this point that some of these descriptions even appear in the large collections of encomia published during the early seventeenth century, eg Dornarius' Amphitheatrum sapientiae socratiae inco-seriae, MDCXIX. and v. infra p 80 in Chapter on Neo-Latin. The importance of Dornarius' collection as far as the present study is concerned, is considerable. His six hundred fragments and complete works show how immediately broad and nebulous the idea of the satirical praise had become by this time.

2 Pliny, Nat Hist xx. 78 (Loeb Edition Vol VI, p 47). Other authors' names may also be found in the same edition.

3 Quintilian, Inst Orat. iii. 7. 28 (Loeb Edition Vol I, p 479).
Many later authors definitely classified such works together with regular encomia. Themist and Pythagoras, for example, were often quoted as authorities on the satirical eulogy.\footnote{1}

However, this genre was not without its opponents, some of whom were extremely outspoken. Isocrates, early in its history, claimed that there was no virtue in defending something which no one else cared to defend:

"While on famous subjects one rarely finds thoughts which no one has previously uttered, yet on trifling and insignificant topics, whatever the speaker may chance to say is original."

The Sophists were frequently criticised for seeking to make the accepted opinion of a thing appear wrong, and for being concerned with clever argumentation rather than with truth. In no field was this reproach more justified than in the present one. Polybius' attack on the genre has already been mentioned;\footnote{3} Philodemus of Gadara was no less

\footnote{1 v. infra Chapter III pp. 133. Pease (art cit p 34) distinguishes also between the paradoxical encomium and the mock epic (eg Homer's Batrachomyomachia, discussed infra p.333 note 3); he says that this and the epyllion (eg Vergil's Culex) differs from the paradoxical praise in that they have a plot. The animal praise can be distinguished from the beast fable by its lack of a moral, from the mime by its lack of dramatic action, from the epigram by the brevity and the verse form of the epigram, and from the suassoria and the controversy because these two genres aim exclusively at conviction rather than at entertainment or amusement. One should qualify what Pease says by adding that the Tragodopodagra was in fact written in dramatic form, and that many satirical eulogies were written in verse, particularly during the Renaissance.}

\footnote{2 Isocrates, Helen. Loeb Edition Vol III, p 67. This argument was taken up again during the Renaissance; cf Harvey, in the third section of Pierces Supererogation Or A New Praye of the Old Asse, 1593, in The Works of Gabriel Harvey, ed A B Grosart, 3 vols, 1884, II, pp 244-5: "They were silly country fellows that commended the Bald pate, the Fever Quartane; the fly, the flea, the gnat, the sparrow, the wren, the goose, the asse; flattery, hypocrisy, coosinage, bawdry, leachery, buggery, madnessse itselfe. What Dunse, or Sorbonist cannot maintain a Paradoxe?" (Passage quoted by Miller, art cit p 156, n 65).}

\footnote{3 v. p 13, note 2.}
emphatic in his denunciation of the whole tendency:

"They say that men are turned to virtue by their encomia, and dissuaded from vice by their denunciations. But the sophists by their praise of Busiris and similar characters, persuade men to become villains.

Not only do they fail at times to praise anything useful, but they frequently praise bad things, and by lavishing praise on matters of small account they incline us to treat all subjects lightly."

Despite all attacks, the genre continued to flourish. The freedom possible in its arrangement, the variety of unexpected and often entertaining arguments which could be brought forward in such defences meant that it really was possible to shine in writing a satirical eulogy.

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"Aside from the triviality of many of its subjects, the principal charge that can be brought against the form is, as Philodemus of Gadara saw, a moral one. The paradoxical encomium carries to its logical conclusion the implication of sophistic rhetoric that truth qua truth is not the end of rhetoric, that, morally neutral, its end is persuasion, and its materials are the 'proofs' that human ingenuity can invent - and apply to man's natural and unchanging passions. The charge of amorality has been brought against the study of rhetoric many times in its history; and such perverse productions as the mock encomia have undoubtedly supplied the anti-rhetoricians with effective ammunition in their campaign against the entire art.

On the other hand, the paradoxical encomium appealed to, and perhaps in its own small way helped to create, flexible minds. By placing in a new context persons or objects traditionally seen in a contrary light, it established ironic tensions that evoked not only laughter, but thoughtful laughter. Irony is an effective specific for the disease of intellectual rigidity; and a modern scholar has said - with, I think, some justice - that "it is in the mock encomium that irony of inversion reaches its greatest concentration and brilliance." Not every thing in the long tradition of the paradoxical encomium is pure gold, by any means, but the form at its best provides a happy wedding of rhetorical ingenuity and ironic vision."
The earliest satirical praises tended to concentrate on legendary or historical figures, but the range of topics soon increased. After Gorgias' fifth century eulogies of Helen and Palamedes came Polycrates' reported writings on mice and on pebbles. Isocrates and Alcidamas, both pupils of Gorgias, wrote on Helen and on death respectively. Alcidamas also wrote on Busiris, trying to improve on Polycrates' treatment of the same theme. The adoxographic work laid chief stress on the number, variety and unexpected character of the arguments adduced for praise. Polycrates' Praise of Mice dwelt upon their service to the Egyptians in gnawing the bowstrings and shield handles of the enemies invading Egypt. Philostratus, praising hair,\(^1\) gives examples of long-haired heroes at Troy. Appion's praise of adultery enumerates the amours of Zeus and the other gods: Libanius stresses the good parentage of Thersites. These encomia make use of all the various methods of praise noted by Aristotle;\(^3\) the exaggeration of meritorious features, the suppression of undesirable ones, favourable contrasts with something else, and the clever turning of an unwelcome fact into a pleasant one.

But diverse as their arguments and their subjects appear at first sight, one does in fact find that right from the start the satirical eulogies tend to fall into certain broad categories depending on the

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1 On this term v. supra p.10, note 2.
2 Philostratus, Epistolae. 16. Quoted by Pease, \(\text{p.36.}\)
thing eulogised. With a few individual variations, later critics seem agreed on these headings. Firstly, there is the praise of vice or of a bad habit of some sort. This category can include the praise of a specific mythical or historical character, noted for his or her wickedness. There are four praises of Thersites, the ugliest of all the Greeks who came against Troy, praises of Busiris, the mythical and inhuman Egyptian king, by Polycrates and Isocrates, vindications of Helen by Gorgias and Isocrates, and vituperations of Penelope mentioned by Polybius and of Achilles and Hector by Libanius. As far as the more general praise of a fault or sin is concerned, we have the praise of negligence by Fronto, and of adultery in the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies.

The second of these curious categories contains the eulogies on diseases, on the quartan fever, for example, by Favorinus. Plutarch mentions eulogies on vomiting and fever, and Philostratus describes a youthful poetaster who had composed encomia upon gout, blindness and deafness. He makes Apollonius sarcastically advise him to eulogise dropsy, catarrh and various mental diseases:

"And why not of dropsy too", said Apollonius, "for surely you won't rule out influenza from the sphere of your cleverness, since you are minded to praise such things!"

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3 v. Pease, art cit p 36.
The eulogies referred to here may have been typical rather than actual, but they could well have existed, in Renaissance as well as in classical literature.

Fronto writes in praise of insomnia, and there are various works on old age, death and poverty which are probably philosophic and consolatory rather than sophistic and paradoxical. Among the disease praises one can place encomia on certain external physical peculiarities. Here, the presence or absence of hair seems to have been the undisputed favourite, probably because during the Empire beards often appear as the distinguishing mark of certain types of philosopher. The greatest of these, that by Synesius, was also very popular with Renaissance writers.

The third type of eulogy is that of unpleasant or insignificant small animals and insects. There are praises of larger animals such as the horse and the cow. Dio is said to have written on the parrot, Isocrates speaks of eulogies on the bumble bee, and fleas, gnats and lice all provided material sufficient to test the ingenuity of even the most skilful orator.

The praises of plants have already been discussed, but in these and in the frequent praises of inanimate objects the satirical element was almost non-existent. These works do not therefore merit classification in a separate category. Praises of pots and pebbles by Polycrates, of

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1 v. Pease, art cit. p 39.
salt, referred to by Plato,\(^1\) of figs by Julian,\(^2\) of dust and smoke by Fronto, all serve to demonstrate the writers' skill with words and arguments, but have no real literary value. Some of them will nonetheless have their sixteenth century counterparts.

The vice, disease and animal praises are each represented by one of Lucian's praises. As their knowledge of the genre was based largely on Lucian, these categories tended to be widely adopted by Renaissance writers. Not only had all his praises survived intact, whereas many of the other praises named here were no more than references in works by other authors, but the immense popularity of Lucian at that time meant that the sixteenth century loved to imitate him. He exercised both a direct influence and an indirect one, through Erasmus' Moriae Encomium, which was influenced so greatly by his satirical praises.

As far as the Renaissance is concerned, then, Lucian is without a doubt the principal originator of the genre. Other authorities might be quoted, but even when their works survived they contained far less irony and satire than Lucian's and so were less valuable to the Renaissance, which tended in most cases to increase the satirical content of these eulogies.

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1 Plato, Symposium. Loeb Classics Edition p 97, translation by W R M Lamb: "And again, pray consider our worthy professors, and the eulogies they frame of Hercules and others in prose, - for example, the excellent Prodicus. This indeed is not so surprising; but I recollect coming across a book by somebody, in which I found Salt superbly lauded for its usefulness, and many more such matters I could show you celebrated there." Salt was to be similarly treated during the Renaissance, v. infra p 372, n.1.

2 Julian, Epistolae. 80. (Wright) Quoted by Pease, art cit, p 41.
The most important of Lucian's praises is the *De Parasito*. It has been thought by many critics that this is in fact not a Lucianic work.\(^1\) But for the purposes of the present study, these doubts are of no real importance, nor are similar doubts with regard to the *Tragodopodagra* and the *Muscae Encomium*. What matters is that during the Renaissance all three of these works were generally accepted as being Lucianic. So enthusiastic and uncritical were most of the humanists, when presented with old manuscripts of any description, that even works which have since been proved beyond all doubt to be spurious, such as the *Philopatria*, were then accepted by most writers without question. In imitating and admiring these praises, Renaissance authors thought they were imitating genuine works of Lucian. In considering their influence during the sixteenth century, one has therefore to treat them as authentic works, as did the writers of the time.\(^2\)

In the *De Parasito* an obviously vicious way of life is praised and 'defended' as being the best of all possible ways of life, by Simon, who is himself a parasite. In writing this dialogue Lucian had a twofold purpose. Firstly, he wished to parody the Platonic dialogue by using its methods on an obviously absurd subject; and secondly, he wanted to attack parasites in general by letting one of their own brotherhood confess his faults, while imagining he is defending himself.

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2. The attribution of the *Culex* to Vergil and of the *Batrachomyomachia* to Homer has been contested by modern scholars. But, yet again, the Renaissance accepted the traditional attributions.
Simon becomes a sort of 'inside witness' on the subject of parasitism, showing up their faults quite unconsciously, but most effectively from the author's point of view, since the fact that he is supposed to be a member of the parasites' band gives what he says of them an added ring of truth, often to his own disadvantage! In Lucian's day, parasites had long been the butt of satirists and comedy-writers alike, and Lucian resembled his predecessors in this respect. He was an ardent lover of independence; indeed, his violent and eloquent attack on 'tame philosophers' in rich households created such a stir that when, in his old age, he finally did accept a post with the Roman government, he felt obliged to write an apology for the earlier work. Many times he mocks parasites, flatterers and other hangers-on, with their hypocrisy, greed and trickery. Timon's insults to his grasping insincere 'friends' probably express much of what Lucian himself felt on this subject. In the De Parasito he goes further and devotes a whole work to this subject, developing it beyond the point of mere rhetorical ingenuity and display, until it becomes a work of real meaning and value.


In his introduction to Phalaris I, A M Harmon says:

"To put yourself in another man's shoes and say what he would have said was a regular exercise of the schools, but to laugh in your sleeve as you said it was not the way of the ordinary rhetorician."

In the same way in the De Parasito, Lucian is quite obviously 'laughing in his sleeve' as he makes Simon propound his art with an eloquence and a conviction that are at times almost lyrical. Since Simon is the speaker, he praises his profession, but since Lucian is the writer, he makes quite clear his ironical intention. Thus the two elements of the 'genre', irony and praise, are immediately plain to see.

Lucian's first aim, then, in writing this work, was to parody the Platonic dialogue. The battle of words between Philosophy and Rhetoric had been raging long before Lucian's birth. Ever since the time of Isocrates and Plato the two systems of education had been fighting for pupils; all the philosophical schools therefore investigated the nature and value of rhetoric, but as usual did not agree in their findings. Most of the leading schools would have nothing to do with rhetoric, although the Stoics admitted its possible usefulness if cultivated properly. Sources of ideas for the Parasite may be found in such controversial tracts as the Rhetoric of Philodemus (c. 110-c. 40/35 BC), and more particularly in the work of Critolaus (in the early second century BC), who, in a debate against Diogenes the Stoic on the subject of rhetoric and philosophy, tested rhetoric by using the Stoic

1 Phalaris I is in Vol I, p 1 of Harmon's edition of Lucian Clases c126 ha.
definition of an 'art', later quoted by Simon. He proved by this, to his own satisfaction at any rate, that rhetoric was in fact not an art.

Probably remembering this work and using it as a basis for his own, Lucian mocks in it both philosophers and rhetoricians alike by proving that 'Parasitic' is an art according to the terms of this Stoic definition, and further, that it is a better one than either philosophy or rhetoric. In this way Lucian makes this conception of an art seem ridiculous, for although Simon's claim is clearly absurd, he nevertheless manages to 'prove' it using the Socratic method.

In this dialogue, Lucian's mouth-piece is Tychiades. When asked by Tychiades why he alone of all men leads an apparently useless life, ignorant of any trade, Simon sets out to show that on the contrary Parasitic fulfils at every point the current definition of an art, that is to say, that it is 'a complex of knowledges exercised in combination to some end useful to the world.' First he considers the question of the 'knowledges' required in order to be a parasite. 'First of all there is testing and deciding who would be suitable to support him, and whom he could begin to cultivate without being sorry for it later',

1 v. infra paragraph 3.
2 In connection with this paragraph, cf A M Harmon's introduction to the Parasite, ed cit, Vol III, p 235.
3 It is not certain who first used this definition of the word 'art' but it is certainly the orthodox Stoic one, and is often quoted by Sextus Empiricus. Quintilian defines it in a similar fashion (Inst. Orat. II, 17. 41. Loeb Edition Vol I, pp 344-45). The section of the work is sometimes entitled "Quid sit rhetorice et quis eius finis" and he is considering whether rhetoric is an art (An ars?): "ille ab omnibus fere probatus finis observatur, artem constare ex perceptionibus consentientibus et coezericitatis ad finem utilem vitae, iam ostendemus nihil non horum in rhetorice inesse."
and this is a very difficult science, for as Euripides said,

"In men no mark whereby to tell the knave
Did ever yet upon his body grow."

The parasite must also know 'how to talk appropriately and to act in such a way as to become intimate and show himself extremely devoted to his patron.' At banquets he must 'go away with more than anybody else, enjoying greater favour than those who do not possess the same art.'

He needs knowledge of cookery, the better to enjoy the banquets; what is more, the parasite's "knowledges" are constantly exercised, and not allowed to moulder away in some remote corner of his mind! When he comes to the second part of the definition, about the 'knowledges' needing to be directed to some useful end, Simon evades the real issue neatly: 'I, for my part, cannot discover that anything in the world is more useful than eating and drinking, and in fact without them it is impossible to live at all.' Poor Tychiades can answer no more than 'Quite so' to this confident twisting of the facts. Simon follows up the point gained by showing that 'Parasitic is not the same sort of thing as beauty and strength, so as to be considered a gift, like them, rather than an art....But on the other hand, it is not want of art; for want of art never achieves anything for its possessor', whereas the parasite clearly achieves a great deal through his art! He finally convinces Tychiades that Parasitic is indeed an art by comparing it first with

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1 *Paras.* p 249.
2 *Paras.* p 249.
3 *Paras.* p 249.
4 *Paras.* p 251.
5 *Paras.* p 253.
helmsmanship, and then with horse-management. Art is as necessary for
either of these two occupations as it is for that of the parasite.
Tychiades is still somewhat reluctant to yield the victory, and so
Simon defines Parasitic for him as being "That art which is concerned
with food and drink and what must be said and done to obtain them; and
its end is pleasure."¹ For it is this, and not the Virtue of the
Stoics, that should be our end in life, he declares, and quotes Homer
as proof. Epicurus merely filched this end in quite shameless fashion
from Parasitic, and failed to achieve it even then, being too busy
worrying about metaphysical questions to find peace of mind. But the
parasite, declares Simon, in one of the most amusing passages of the
dialogue, 'thinking that everything is all right, and thoroughly
convinced that it would not be any better if it were other than it is,
eats and sleeps in great peace and comfort, with nothing of that sort
annoying him, flat on his back with his arms and legs flung out, like
Odysseus sailing home from Soeria.'² Tychiades' protestations are
becoming steadily more feeble, and finally Simon convinces him not only
that Parasitic is an art, but also that it is the highest of all the
arts; what the parasite considers as his profession - eating and
drinking - other men regard as the reward of their labours. The
parasite needs no tools for his profession, nor does he have to serve a
long, hard apprenticeship, for his art, like that of the poet in Plato's

¹ Paras. p 255.
² ibid. p 261.
Ion, is received through divine dispensation! Simon waxes lyrical on the subject of the high moral qualities needed to make friends with rich men, and to gain free access to their table, quotes famous heroes of antiquity who were parasites, and concludes, in the words of 'wise Homer', that the life of a parasite is indeed happy since 'he alone .... ...neither planteth a plant with his hand nor plougheth, but all, without sowing or ploughing, supply him with pasture.'

Lucian continues making fun of the argument between philosophy and rhetoric by letting Simon 'prove' that Parasitic excels all the arts, even those commonly acknowledged to be the greatest, like Philosophy. Many philosophers, says Simon, have become parasites, but parasites have never yet become philosophers! This fact, for Simon at any rate, proves the superiority of his profession, not the weakness of human nature. In war parasites make better warriors than philosophers, who are worn out with too much study, and in peace time the parasite is a truly social being - athletic, entertaining and amusing. Having no wife to make him jealous, nothing to be angry at, no possessions whose loss can trouble him, he is free from all the baser passions of the rest of mankind. Tychiades' final protest is to ask whether a parasite will be distressed by lack of food. Simon's reply to this is one which will be remembered by Erasmus when he comes to write the colloquy Pseudochei et Phyletimi: 'You fail to understand, Tychiades, that a priori one who lacks food is not a parasite. A brave man is not brave if he lacks bravery, nor is a sensible man sensible if he lacks sense: ........the

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1 Paras. p 271.
parasite is a parasite because he has food at his command.\(^1\) By the end of the dialogue Simon has so far succeeded in convincing Tychiades of the truth of what he has been saying that the poor man begs to become a pupil of Simon's in order to learn this noble art of parasitism.

In the De Parasito Lucian writes in a far more distinctly satirical vein than any of his contemporaries, who, when they wrote works of this kind, wrote them merely as an exercise of their own rhetorical skill and ingenuity. They would enjoy praising something commonly thought of as bad or unpleasant, and defending a seemingly indefensible ("inopinabilis") cause. Despite its wit and gaiety, it is from this dialogue, far more than from his other satirical eulogies, that later imitators of Lucian developed the more serious aspect of the 'genre'. Much of the satire it contains is on familiar Lucianic themes - the inability of the various philosophical and rhetorical sects and schools to agree among themselves, jokes on the disheveled appearance and uncouth behaviour of philosophers, on their inability to live up to their lofty claims of virtue,\(^2\) and so on. The mere fact that he uses the Platonic dialogue method to support such a ridiculous proposition is in itself a form of satirical comment. There is a brief reference to Aristotle, who 'only made a beginning in Parasitic, as in every other art',\(^3\) and a more good-natured picture of Epicurus 'shamelessly

\[\text{1 Paras. p 307. of infra in Erasmus chapter p 76}\]
\[\text{2 ibid p 287-289.}\]
\[\text{3 ibid p 281.}\]
filching the end of Parasitic....I for my part consider that pleasure
is first of all the freedom of the flesh from discomfort, and
secondly, not having the spirit full of turbulence and commotion. Now
then, each of these things is attained by the parasite, but neither by
Epicurus. For with his inquiries about the shape of the earth, the
infinitude of the universe, the magnitude of the sun, distances in
space, primal elements, and whether the gods exist or not, and with his
continual strife and bickering with certain persons about the end in
itself, he is involved not only in the troubles of man, but in those of
the universe.¹

The praise of disease constitutes the second type of satirical
eulogy. Since the Tragodopodagra has generally been thought by later
critics to be spurious it has not always been included in editions of
Lucian's works.² Nevertheless, several critics have praised it. Most
of them seem to think that Lucian wrote this mock-tragedy in praise of
gout, together with its companion-piece, Oczypus, or Swift-foot, while he
was himself suffering from the disease he 'praises'. Croiset, in a
brief paragraph on the two plays, mentions this possibility:

¹ Paras. pp 259-261.
² Even in so-called Complete Works the Tragodopodagra is not always
included. H.W.Fowler and P.G.Fowler, for example, do not include
it in their edition of Lucian's works, Oxford, 1905.
"Si (ces deux courtes compositions en vers) sont de Lucien, elles semblent convenir assez bien à ces derniers temps de sa vie, où il cherchait à tromper par sa bonne humeur des souffrances auxquelles il a fait allusion aussi dans l'Apoloëgie (pour les Salariés). Ce ne sont pas bien évidemment ces deux dialogues versifiés, qui, s'ils eussent été seuls, auraient donné à son nom l'immortalité; mais il y a de l'esprit, du trait, et ce genre d'ennuiement ironique et moqueur qui lui était propre. Nous n'avons donc pas de raison suffisante pour les déclarer apocryphes."

A Pierron, in the description of the play he includes in his Histoire de la Littérature Grecque, — enters into more detail on the play, and is more enthusiastic about it than Croiset:

"(Cette pièce, où... ) le poète met en scène un goutteux avec la Goutte elle-même et ses suppôts, et où la déesse donne d'incontestables preuves de sa souveraine et terrible puissance, est l'œuvre d'un talent fort distingué, et peut compter entre les plus spirituelles productions de Lucien. Il est impossible d'imager une application plus heureuse du style majestueux de la tragédie et des splendeurs lyriques du chœur à l'expression d'infortunes visibles, d'idées et de sentiments grotesques."

1 Croiset, op.cit., p 84. cf also the translation into English of the Tragodopodagra by the Rev Symeon T. Bartlett (in B.M. collection, English Poetry 1866-1889), Ryde 1871. Introduction: "The Tragodopodagra turns on the subject of the Gout; its malignity and pertinacity are set forth, and the Physicians, who pretend to cure it, exposed. This little drama displays considerable vigour of fancy, and is a good imitation of the Greek Tragic style. It has been thought that Lucian wrote it to beguile a fit of the malady, which forms its subject. However this may be: the Translator can painfully assure the reader that his office was undertaken under the pressure of actual twinges."

Clearly, the idea of publishing this work when one was oneself suffering from gout appealed to this editor, and v infra, p 32 note 1, for an editor who dedicated the work to a friend who suffered from the same affliction. This appears also to have been a popular way of cheering oneself or one's friends during the Renaissance. v. chapter on disease eulogies and chapter on Neo-latin, passim.

2 Paris 1846, p 428.
This parody on classical tragedy is indeed amusing. The chorus, the characters and the goddess Gout all use the noble language of the loftiest of tragedies. In the fragmentary Ocypus, companion-piece to the gout tragedy, the name of the hero is in imitation of that of Oedipus, and the goddess Gout is shown seeking to revenge herself on the defiant Ocypus, in much the same way as Juno seeking vengeance in the Aemid. In the Tragodopodagra there is as well the paradoxical element, which passes unnoticed by most critics, whereby an unpleasant, extremely painful disease is 'praised' in an ironical fashion. It is this element which qualifies the work as a satirical eulogy.¹

Lucian's desire to parody Greek tragedy is apparent right from the start of the play. The gouty man is the first to speak:

'O nom triste & piteux, aux Dieux mesme odieuse,  
La race de Cocyt, Podagrie enflieuse,  
Que Megere aux enfers en son ventre conceut  
Aux plus profonds manoirs, qui d'Alecton receut  
(Enfant par trop fascheux), les appas!"  

he declares, and proceeds to mock the usual ideas on hell and its

¹ Separate editions of the Tragodopodagra are rare, but the main elements of the work - parody, the desire to amuse a suffering friend, and satire on doctors and popular 'cures' - are all pointed out by the editor of an entertaining English edition of the play, T Francklin. Dedicating the work to his friend, the vicar of Charing, Kent, 'one of the chief priests of the goddess gout', he writes: "This is a kind of Dramatic Interlude, or Mock-Heroic Poem containing a fine burlesque Imitation of the Greek Tragedians, together with a most spritely and severe Satire on the Empirics of his Time, who, like the boasting Pretenders of our own, were perpetually finding out Cures for a Distemper which the Experience of Ages had already proved to be incurable. The DRAMATIS PERSONAE are, a Gouty Man, a Chorus of Priests, all labouring under the same Disorder, and attendant on GOUT, who is introduced as a Goddess, with her Agents, or Tormentors, bringing in two unfortunate Quack Doctors, whom they seized, and whom she punishes according to their Deserts. The whole is so well written, and with such infinite Humour, that, with all the Disadvantages of a Translation, I defy any Gouty Man, if the Fit is coming on, to read it without trembling, or, if it is going off, without laughing." The Works of Lucian, trans T Francklin, London 1780, Vol II p 577."
tortures, by saying that the disease of gout is a far worse torture than any of the more widely known ones, such as those thought up for Ixion, Sisyphus or Tantalus! The sufferer from gout goes through far greater agonies than those condemned people. A vivid description of the malady follows, in which Lucian seems to enjoy painting as black a picture as possible of the pain he himself was enduring:

'Comme mon pauvre corps qui tout foible chancelle,
Et demeure recreu depuis le bout des doigts
Jusqu'aux plantes des pieds: ayant de tous endroits
Les porres resserrez à une pourriture,
Un espirit violent & une bile pure:
Et ainsi refemé m'excite grands douleurs.
Tel mal accompagné de cuisantes ardeurs
En courant par dedans mes entrailles, sacage;
Brule & met tout en feu ma chair par grand outrage,
Ainsi qu'une fournaise ardante au mont Etna.'

Remembering Ovid's line 'Tolle nodosam nescit medicina podagram', he calls the illness a cureless ill, and indeed from this first part of the work one feels more sympathy for the afflicted 'hero' of the tragedy, than amusement at his plight. However, at this point the chorus begin to speak, in true tragic style, and there the burlesque element, the praise of an unpleasant and undignified disease, shows more clearly. Addressing Gout as a real chorus might have addressed one of the gods on Olympus, they chant:

'Nous, Podagrie celeste,
Faisons les fleurs de ta feste.'

Note 2 from page 32: All quotations from the Tragodopodagra are taken from the French translation of 1583 in Les Oeuvres, tr Filbert Bretin, Paris, Abel l'Angelier. Here, from p 685. The translator introduces the work with a summary of the play and ends 'Par ce jeu l'auteur taxe & reprend la sotte arrogance des Medecins, Juifs, & Syriens entre autres.'

2 ibid  p 686.
After this invocation, they describe their ceremony, which takes place in springtime, since this is the time when gout attacks hardest those mortals who are her priests! Such a poetic description is delightfully out of place in this context: indeed, one might almost compare Francklin's version of these lines to the opening verses of the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales:

'When first, by genial zephyrs fann'd,
The trees their early buds expand,
When tender blades of grass appear,
And jocund spring leads on the year;
Whilst Philomela, all-night long,
Repeats her melancholy song;
And Progne mourns, in tender strain,
Her nuptials sad, her l'ys slain.'

The gouty man, who has been in bed for fifteen days, now seeks the aid of his crutch in order to walk again. He asks the chorus who they are, and they, seeing that he is obviously one of their number, greet him as priest 'de ceste grande Deesse à qui rien ne peut nuire.' They explain to this new member of their fraternity the full dignity and noble birth of their goddess. Lucian carries her birth back to Ophion, supposed to exist before Saturn, in an amusing genealogical fantasy reminiscent of the accounts of the ancestors of the heroes in serious praises. When the chorus describes how their goddess tortures their limbs,

'Et alors, sans cesser, par tourmens inhumains
Vous les mange, engloutit, brule, enflame & embrasse,'

1 Francklin, ed cit p 579.
2 ibid p 579.
the gouty man realises at once that he is indeed one of the priests of
the ‘bed-admiring queen’, who enters at this point with great dignity -
on her crutches! With great relish she tells her worshippers that she
is to be appeased by no victim, driven off by no ‘cure’. Savouring
every word, Lucian has his goddess enumerate all the useless cures
tried against her:

"L'un pille du plantain
Avecques du persil, un autre tout soudain
La feuille de laictue & de pourpier sauvage,
Autres du marrubin, ceux cy du potamoge,
Autres verras encore des Chides habiller,
Autres la consire, autres viendraont bailler
Des lentiles croissans en un fumier infame."}

and so on for several lines more. Other sufferers try various animal
remedies and incantations. Some of the concoctions are worthy of the
witches in Macbeth! Gout tells her listeners that she is far kinder
to those who do not seek to oppose her in any way; she calls herself
the great 'Ate', goddess of Vengeance sung by Homer. At her bidding
the Chorus sing her praises - undoubtedly, after what has gone before,
these are satirical eulogies 'par excellence':

"Vierge dont l'entendement
Est pour vray de diamant,
Grande & puissante Deesse,
Tres-magnanime Princesse,
Vueille escouter l'humble voix
De tes prestres ceste fois."

1 Francklin, ed cit p 582.
2 Tragodopodagra, p 690
3 ibid p 691.
The string of epithets with which they greet her are truly worthy of the inventive mind of Lucian:

'Podagrie rebandee, Empesche course, Enlitee, Brule-souliers, talons-tors, March'-a peine, trembles-tos, Gambe-route, surveillant'

being some of them.

The satire on doctors now begins when a Messenger, - limping of course, - brings on two quack physicians who, refusing to admit the omnipotence of Gout, claim to have an infallible cure for the disease. In an entertaining passage, Gout asks the two men how they dare to oppose her, the vanquisher of so many heroes of antiquity. Lucian here pretends that various classical heroes were laid low, not in mortal combat, but through his goddess' attacks! It was gout that killed Achilles through his heel, he says, not Paris. Bellerophon, Oedipus and Philoctetes are all brought in to help Gout make her point.

Undeterred, the Physicians say that they have a cure for gout, given them, in true quack-doctor style, by their father, on his death bed, and which they are never to reveal. This infallible remedy soon proves its real worth as Gout bids her tormentors do their worst with the rebellious men. Their ointment proving useless against the real pangs of the malady they claimed it would cure, the two beg for mercy. From their fate, Gout bids all mortals learn a salutary lesson:

'Or'qu'un chacun connaisse & sache, que je suis Invincible & qui seule aux drogues n'obéis.'

1 Tragodopo\(\text{\textsuperscript{g}}\) p 691.

2 ibid p 695.
In a splendidly ironical comparison, the two men are set among the classical examples of men and women who rashly defied the power of the gods - Salamoneus, Marsyas, Niobe and Arachne,

'C'est l'humaine outréciudance
N'est égale à la vengeance
Que prennent les immortels....
Par ainsiy nous te prions,
Deesse de grand renom;
Que nostre mal s'adoucisse.'

The chorus then chants in the English edition:

'Hard is the lot of mortals here below;
But we some intervals of comfort know,
For use and patience lessen ev'ry woe....
Meantime, be cheerful, blith, and gay;
And let us laugh our pains away.'

The French translation is much freer and more long-winded at this point.

The Tragodopodagre was clearly intended by Lucian to furnish just the opportunity needed for laughing one's pains away, and was also meant to show that this was indeed the only remedy against the disease he describes with such verve. The ironical misuse of classical figures, the brief, but pointed satire on doctors, the humorous parody on serious Greek tragedy can all be seen in the passages quoted, and together explain firstly, why it has been possible for certain critics to feel that, despite its defects, it could still be a Lucianic work, and secondly, why it deserves to be included in a study of all the forms of the satirical eulogy.

1 Tragodopodagra p 695.

2 Francklin, ed cit p 588. In a footnote Francklin claims that the first three lines of this quotation are "a parody on some lines in the Andromache of Euripides." (v. ibid p 588).
In the third of Lucian's paradoxical encomia, the Muscae Encomium, we have a short work which fully lives up to its title in that it is a parody on the straightforward panegyric. It also contains a burlesque element, the eulogising of a small, insignificant animal.

"It need hardly be said that this belongs to the domain of belles lettres, not of science. Like the Italian poets of the Renaissance, the rhetoricians of the decadence delighted to show their cunning by "praising" all manner of things good, bad and indifferent."

While this introduction partly explains the eulogistic nature of the work, it does not mention its underlying satirical nature, or the fact that it is a parody.

Croiset's description is somewhat fuller:

"L'Eloge de la mouche est la plus finement ciselée de ces trois courtes compositions; l'esprit moqueur y étincelle autant que l'imagination dans les mille facettes du style."

This little discourse contains much that is interesting. The description of the fly, thanks to Lucian's great powers of observation, is far more accurate than one might expect from one who was far from being a biologist, although Lucian was careful to pick out only those aspects of his subject which could be described to his hearers in the most attractive fashion. He talks of the gauzy wings of the fly, of the melodious sound of its flight, of the harmlessness of its bite,

1 Harmon, translation of Lucian's Works, Loeb Edition, Vol I p 81. In fact, Harmon is, as we have shown, (supra p 10-11) wrong in claiming that it was merely at the decadence that poets enjoyed showing their ingenuity in this way.

2 The other two being Philopatris and Hippias.

3 Croiset, op cit p 44.
when compared to that of other insects. He tells of its intelligence and bravery, just as if the fly were the hero of a real panegyric, and fills the work with quotations from Homer, and other classical references. He compares his subject with the heroes of antiquity, and even gives it an immortal soul, the only point, he assures us gravely, 'that Plato overlooks in his discussion of the soul and its immortality.'\(^1\) One of Lucian's most remarkable qualities was his inventiveness and the dazzling fantasy of his imagination. Even in such a short work these qualities are present. By praising such an insignificant animal as the fly in exactly the same terms as a serious writer might use to describe a real hero, Lucian shows how facile was the art of the panegyricist, with its prescribed pattern and stock phrases and method of writing. The grandiose terminology, because of its contrast with the reality of the matter, serves also to show the true insignificance of the fly, and perhaps of most real subjects of panegyrics as well. One is reminded of La Fontaine's fable of the fly and the lion, when the fly's attack on the lord of the animals is related in terms suitable for a real military attack in a human battle. There is therefore more in this work than a mere desire to show rhetorical inventiveness, as Harmon claims.\(^2\)

The final work of Lucian which we have suggested deserves to be included in any discussion of the 'genre' because of certain elements in it which are typical of the more usual type of satirical eulogy, is

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1 Loeb Edition Vol I p 89.

2 It is easy to see from the above description how the praise of an animal or of a vicious person may both be linked with yet another genre, the satirical epitaph. *infra* p 52-3 of Neo-Latin chapter.
The Rhetor or A Professor of Public Speaking. This work is described by Harmon as follows:

"A satire upon the new fashion in oratory, and one of its foremost representatives.

The traditional course of training in rhetoric, fully described by the Latin Quintilian, was too arduous; it seems, to attract the general run of would-be public speakers under the Antonines. They sought a royal road to success, and found it; for as success in those days, especially in the case of the Greeks, was far less a matter of persuading juries and swaying deliberative assemblies than of entertaining audiences with oratorical display, it could be attained readily by meretricious methods which, in so far as they were capable of being taught at all (natura enim non docetur, says Quintilian), could be taught quickly."

Cleverly, Lucian begins this work in words a true professor of public speaking might have used. There is some slight exaggeration in what he says, however, which prepares the reader for the biting sarcasm which is to follow:

'You ask, my boy, how you can get to be a public speaker, and be held to personify the sublime and glorious name of sophist; life, you say, is not worth living; unless when you speak you can clothe yourself in such a mantle of eloquence that you will be irresistible and invincible, that you will be admired and stared at by everyone, counting among the Greeks as a highly desirable treat for their ears.'

Straightaway one can see that the motives of Lucian's would-be speaker are not of the highest. Soon afterwards we learn from his unwitting teacher that financial considerations are uppermost in the mind of most pupils:

'Just see how many who previously were nobodies have come to be accounted men of standing, millionaires, yes, even gentlemen, because of their eloquence.'

1 v. Harmon, op cit Vol IV, p 133.
2 Harmon, ed cit Vol IV, p 135.
3 ibid p 137.
The sarcasm here is evident. The reasons for the inclusion of this work in the 'genre' of the satirical eulogy become apparent as Lucian's professor, ably steered by his inventor, discloses, quite unconsciously, the various tricks of his trade to his willing pupil. The usual description of the path to virtue is neatly adapted to fit the path of the rhetorician's art:

'Do not be daunted, however, and do not be dismayed at the greatness of your expectations, thinking to undergo untold labours before you achieve them. I shall not conduct you by a rough road, or a steep and sweaty one, so that you will turn back halfway out of weariness. In that case I should be no better than those other guides who use the customary route - long, steep, toilsome, and, as a rule, hopeless. No, my advice has this to commend it, that ascending in the manner of a leisurely stroll through flowery fields and perfect shade in great comfort and luxury by a sloping bridle-path that is very short as well as very pleasant, you will gain the summit without sweating for it, you will bag your game without any effort...."  

and so on. Dividing the road to rhetoric into two, the professor describes how the young speaker might at first be taken in by the foolish advice of 'the guide of the rough road', who is 'a vigorous man, with hard muscles and a manly stride, who shows heavy tan on his body, and is bold-eyed and alert.' This is almost too favourable a description of one whose methods the 'professor' is about to decry, but it shows that Lucian really approved those who worked hard for many years in order to attain what they desired. This man, says the teacher, is to be avoided at all costs, for he might persuade the learner that

1 Harmon, ed cit p 137.  
2 ibid p 145.
work and learning are desirable things! What is worse he demands a
great deal of money for his services. In short, he is the 'impostor,
the absolute old fogey, the antediluvian, who displays dead men of a
bygone age to serve as patterns, and expects you to dig up long-buried
speeches as if they were something tremendously helpful."

Having dismissed this out of date approach to teaching, the
professor goes on to describe the new type of rhetorician. Here the
satirical eulogy technique comes into its own. Straightforward
criticism of the new method of learning public speaking would not have
been nearly as effective as this biting satire in the form of praise:

'If you turn to the other road, you will find many people,
and among them a wholly clever and wholly handsome
gentleman with a mincing gait, a thin neck, a languishing
eye, and a honeyed voice, who distils perfume, scratches
his head with the tip of his finger, and carefully dresses
his hair, which is scanty now, but curly and raven-black...''

This is a most vivid picture, and Lucian has as usual made full use of
his remarkable powers of observation. Revealing his own character as
he speaks, the second 'guide' further explains to the pupil:

'He would address you, then, somewhat in this fashion,
tossing back what hair is still left him, faintly smiling
in that sweet and tender way which is his wont, and
rivalling Thais herself of comic fame, or Malthace, or
Glycera, in the seductiveness of his tone, since
masculinity is boorish, and not in keeping with a delicate
and charming platform-hero - he will address you, I say,
using very moderate language about himself: "Prithée,
dear fellow, did Pythian Apollo send you to me, entitling
me the best of speakers, just as, when Chaerephon questioned
him, he told who was the wisest in that generation? If that
is not the case, but you have come of your own accord in the
wake of rumour, because you hear everybody speak of my
achievements with astonishment, praise, admiration and self-
abasement, you shall very soon learn what a superhuman person
you have come to.'"
The original speaker then lets this guide talk on the subject of the new type of oratory, as he himself, very foolishly as he now realises, has learned rhetoric the hard old-fashioned way, and is, therefore, less qualified to speak than one who has learned the new way! The requirements listed by the second speaker, as reported by the first, for this is not a dialogue, are few but significant. Ignorance is the first and most necessary, 'Modesty, respectability, self-restraint and blushes may be left at home, for they are useless and somewhat of a hindrance to the matter in hand', a very loud voice, singing delivery and 'a gait like mine' are also vital 'and sometimes sufficient in themselves'. Gaily coloured, or else white clothing, a book always in one's hand, many attendants are all that is necessary for the outward appearance of this splendid being. As to his rhetorical training as such, having 'paid especial attention to the graceful set of your cloak,' the pupil must 'cull from some source or other fifteen, or anyhow not more than twenty, Attic words, drill yourself carefully in them, and have them ready at the tip of your tongue - "sundry", "eftsoons", "prithee", "in some wise", "fair sir", and the like. Whenever you speak, sprinkle in some of them as a relish. Nevermind if the rest is inconsistent with them, unrelated and discordant.' As for reading the classics don't you do it - either that twaddling Isocrates or that uncouth Demosthenes or that tiresome Plato.' So run the requirements for the public speaker

1 Harmon, ed cit Vol IV p 155.
2 Ibid p 155.
3 Ibid p 155-57.
under the Antonines, and Lucian's picture of such an orator still retains the freshness and vigour of the indignation which must have impelled him to write it. The new-fangled speaker must be shameless if he commits a solecism; he must invent new and ugly words to prove his talent, quote passages only from recent 'declarations', not from the classics, attract as many pupils as possible in order to have supporters always at hand in case of trouble, and, if listening to the speech of some other unfortunate orator 'smile faintly, and make it evident that you are not satisfied with what is being said. His private life must be as depraved as he can make it; stealing, gaming, nothing is beneath him, since even if he is not famous as a good man, to be pointed out in the street as a bad man is better than a life of complete obscurity!

From the passages quoted, one can see that the Rhætor, with its satirical praise of a way of life strongly disapproved of by Lucian, does indeed bear a distinct resemblance to the more direct form of ironical eulogy. It will inspire certain Renaissance works, such as Du Bellay's Poëte Courtisan, and is in itself an interesting and amusing satire.

The fact that so few of their writings survived meant that, although the other writers of panegyrics already listed might be mentioned by name in Renaissance satirical eulogies, their influence was of necessity very limited. A sixteenth century author might be

1 Harmon, ed cit Vol IV, p 165.
given an idea for a work by reading that a classical writer had praised some particular thing, but the real influence in this genre was bound to be exerted by the few encomia which survived at any length. It is because of this, almost as much as because of his talent, that the importance of Lucian is so great.

There are, however, two other classical writers of paradoxical encomia who deserve a place in any discussion of the genre in antiquity. They are Favorinus of Arles and Bishop Synesius of Cyrene.

Favorinus' work is in fact known to us through Aulus Celius' *Noctes Atticae*, very popular during the Renaissance. He seems to have been a witty, inventive and hard-working orator, although he was much mocked at in his day, especially by Lucian in the *Eunuchus*. He founded schools of philosophy and eloquence in Ephesus, Athens and Rome. Several of his works on eloquence can be compared to Lucian's encomia. Believing that rhetorical defences and paradoxical eulogies rendered his mind more supple and adaptable, and also that they sharpened his oratorical wit, he wrote, according to some sentences quoted by Stobaeus in his *Florilegium*, both for and against old age. Aulus Gelius tells us that when Favorinus wrote his eulogy on Tersites he found charming and original things to say about him.

'But in his eulogy of fever he even produced Plato as a witness, declaring that the philosopher wrote that one who after suffering from quartan ague got well and recovered his full strength, would afterwards enjoy surer and more constant health. And in that same eulogy he made this quip, which, of a truth, is not ungraceful:

1 v. L Legré, *op cit* p 331.
"The following lines", he says, "have met with the approval of many generations of men:

Sometimes a day is like a stepmother,
And sometimes like a mother.
The meaning of the verses is that a man cannot fare well every day, but fares well on one day and ill on another. Since it is true", he says "that in human affairs things are, in turn, now good, now bad, how much more fortunate is this fever which has an interval of two days, since it has only one stepmother, but two mothers!"

Philostratus mentions as being 'authentic and well written' works of Favorinus three other sophistical exercises - on Gossip, on Gladiators and on the Public Baths.

The other classical writer of a famous satirical eulogy is Synesius. Living in the fourth century of our era, he was Bishop of Cyrene, and wrote the immensely popular Encomium Calvitiæ. This was inspired by his reading of Dio Chrysostom's Praise of Hair, which would in fact be unknown to us had Synesius not quoted a large section of it in his own work. Just as Lucian was probably suffering from gout when he wrote the Tragodopodagra, so Synesius himself was bald when he praised baldness. Dio had said that hair is a sign of strength and virility, and had quoted various poets who praised the beauty of hair. Synesius amuses himself with finding proofs to the contrary. Many and varied are his reasons for thinking that hair is less to be desired than baldness: hair is in fact only dead matter, baldness is a sign of wisdom and learning. He tries 'biological' proof, saying that nature only produces fruit gradually, and that a bald head is a fruit ripened by the years. Next comes a proof taken from the realms

of astrology: what the Greeks called 'hairy' stars - comets and the like - are stars destined to perish and burn up! Considerations of health are mentioned: a bald head becomes hardened by exposure to the elements, and the skull is therefore less easily broken. Far from being a sign of virility, hair is more becoming to women than to men. With quotations taken from prose writers and poets, together with a sprinkling of popular sayings, Synesius assembles the arguments in support of his motion, and ends with the familiar hope that what he has written may benefit and cheer other sufferers from the same affliction.

Of course, the amount of real satire in such a work is slight. The tone of the work is ironic, and the praise is best classified alongside the *Muscae Encomium*, as a true parody on the conventional panegyric. Synesius' arguments are most ingenious, and at times his wit and indeed his whole approach to his subject are reminiscent of his brilliant predecessor.¹

¹ Were it not for the fact that all his works were lost for many centuries and only rediscovered in the early nineteenth century, the writings of Marcus Cornelius Fronto, Latin rhetorician and tutor to the emperor Marcus Aurelius, would deserve a place in this study. He wrote many satirical eulogies, on sleep, dust, smoke and carelessness. He laid down rules for the writing of such works which may, however, be quoted as providing excellent proof of the persistence of the genre. For him these 'nugalia' were to be written as a pleasant form of relaxation. At the same time he felt that they were excellent practice for the higher branches of rhetoric: "Qui se in eiusmodi rebus scribendis exercet, corbras sententias conquirit, easque dense conlocabit et subtiliter coniunget, neque verba multa geminata supervacuane inferciet; tum ommem sententiam breviter et soite concludet.....In primis autem sectanda est suavitas. Namque hoc genus orationis non capitis defendendi; nec suadendae legis; nec exercitus pschorandi, nec inflammabilae contionis scribitur, sed facietiarum et voluptatis*. (Fronto, ed. cit. Vol I, p. 40)

From this we might conclude that Fronto thought only of the amusement to be found in composing works of this kind, but then he continues: "Ubique vero ut de re ampla et magnifica loquendum, parvaeque res magnis adsimulandae comparandaeque. Summa denique in hoc genere
With the completion of this sketch of the satirical eulogy in antiquity the importance of Lucian becomes apparent. Not only was he the best and the most prolific of the classical writers of satirical and paradoxical eulogies whose works survived to the Renaissance, but he was also the only writer to introduce real satire into his encomia. This he did most notably in the De Parasito and the Rhetor. It was this aspect of the genre which was to be developed by the sixteenth century imitators. The greatest of them, Erasmus, was to be both the intermediary between Lucian and the Renaissance, and the author of the most satirical of all satirical eulogies - the Moriae Encomium.

1 continued from p 47:

orationis virtus est adseveratio (ibid pp 40-42)

To pretend to be speaking seriously on a matter freely admitted to be unworthy of serious consideration reminds us of the Muscae Encomium. Even more reminiscent of Lucian is the following rule of Fronto's:

"Fabulae Deum vel Heroum tempestive inserenda; item versus congruentes, et proverbia accomodata, et non inficete conficta mendacia, dum id mendacium argumento aliquo lepido iuvetur." (ibid pp 40-42)

Simon's Homeric quotations, all of which he has adapted to fit his own case, or taken out of context, his misrepresentation of historical facts, and the wit and humour which make us accept and even enjoy these 'mendacia' might almost have been written to illustrate Fronto's instructions. The main difference is that Lucian, particularly in the De Parasito, increases the satirical content of such works.

On Fronto, v. also M D Brock, Studies in Fronto and his Age, Girton College Studies No 5, 1911, esp, pp 118-122; and M L Clarke, Rhetoric at Rome, a Historical Survey, 1953, p 132.
Lucian in the Renaissance

Although he cannot claim first place amongst the classical writers popular during the Renaissance, there can be no doubt that Lucian was very well known indeed at this time. He was in fact one of the first of the Greek sceptics to be rediscovered by the humanists. In this age, with its extremes of thought in all spheres, and its reawakened spirit of free investigation, criticism, and even of doubt with regard to all that the Middle Ages had held most sacred and inviolable, Lucian, who had attacked the religious and social institutions of his own day, became in a very special way a patron of humanists and reformers of widely diverging opinions. His was a different type of criticism from that of the Middle Ages. Then too, writers had attacked the Church, monks, astrologists and superstitions, in sermons, in fabliaux, and in works such as the Roman de Renart and the second part of the Roman de la Rose. In general, however, they had not questioned the fundamental truths behind these institutions, religious or political, contenting themselves with pointing out the abuses. What is more, their method of criticism differed completely from that of Lucian. The Renaissance found in the Greek writer, not the didactic, moralising, solemn or sarcastic satire of mediaeval writers, but the tranquil, amused irony of a refined, witty and remarkably unprejudiced critical mind.

1 The 'editio princeps' of his works appeared in Italy in 1496. More's and Erasmus' translations from the Greek into Latin began to appear in 1505. Various of his dialogues and other works had been known in manuscript to a more limited public long before 1496.
"Questo per ciò che tocca specialmente l'umanesimo, il quale idealizzò, per così dire, Luciano, o almeno si attenne a quella parte della sua satira dove il buon senso scettico del greco colto e arguto della decadenza ride e trionfa della sottigliezza sofistica e della teurgia superstiziosa in cui si esauriva e svaporava il pensiero greco, di quella torbida confusione di culti e di miti vecchi e nuovi che fu caratteristica della rinascenza religiosa popolare nel secondo secolo." 1

This enemy of obscurantism and fraud, with his sharp wits and elegantly apt turn of phrase, by satire and irony succeeded in amusing and instructing his readers at one and the same time. Humanists, scholars and partisans in the struggle between the Lutherans and Catholics, all found something in Lucian to suit their various purposes; this something they imitated and made use of time and time again. Methods and even characters of his were employed by authors who wished, like him, to call attention to all the many varied abuses in religion and in society. 2

Acquaintance with his work seems to have been considered necessary to all humanist scholars and authors. The great variety of topics dealt with by Lucian meant that men of the most opposite and

1 v. N Caccia, Note su la Fortuna di Luciano nel Rinascimento, p 12. Caccia points out a further reason for Lucian's popularity at this time (ibid, p.12): "Ma la satira di Luciano trovò favorevole nel Rinascimento anche quello scetticismo elegante, quell'arguto "relativismo" che appare sempre nelle età di molta e raffinata coltura e matura civiltà e insieme di poco salda energia morale, che fu di Luciano retore della decadenza greca, come di parecchi letterati del nostro cinquecento, come di Erasmo nell'El ogio della Pazzia."

2 cf. J Plattard, L'Oeuvre de Rabelais, 1910, p 205: "Dans la lutte qu'ils soutenaient pour la cause de l'Humanisme et de la raison, ils se heurtaient aux mêmes obstacles qui jadis avaient irrité l'humeur de Lucien: l'ignorance et la crédulité. Cette sottise du populaire qu'exploitaient les 'pastophores taulpetiers' et les 'porteurs de rogatons', cette superstition qui inspirait les vœux ridiculisés par Erasme dans son Colloquium du Naufrage, cette ignorance, qui tenait pour suspectes les plus nobles curiosités des Lettres de la Renaissance, Lucien les avait rencontrées parmi ses contemporains, chez les disciples des Cyniques et les dupes des Sophistes, chez ceux qui s'empressaient à
dissimilar characters could find in his writings something which they could enjoy and imitate. However, while they might use certain of his criticisms of religion to support their own cause, men like Dolet and Scaliger were deeply shocked by the fundamental atheism of the Greek author. To brand a man as a 'Lucianist' became a familiar insult. Luther, for example, never hesitated to denounce all Lucian's works and his admirers, amongst whom he most often singled out Erasmus.

But although he had his critics, many of whom were extremely virulent in their condemnation, none of them succeeded in checking the steady increase in Lucian's popularity, or in preventing the large number of editions of his writings, either selected ones, or the complete works, which appeared throughout the century. About 270 printings of writings by, or thought to be by, Lucian appeared before 1550, first in Italy, then all over Europe. The Greek text alone was printed more than

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2 continued from previous page:

l'apothéose de Pèlerin ou se laissaient berner par le faux devin Alexandre. Dans la guerre de brocarts, que les humanistes entre- prenaient contre l'ignorance et la superstition, Lucien était regardé comme un guide et comme un champion." of Caccia, op. cit p 11.

1 Thus More, a pious yet humorous Catholic, enjoyed Lucian's wit and satire of vice and hypocrisy. Sir Thomas Elyot, in his book on education, felt that while certain of Lucian's dialogues were useful exercises in reading Greek, nevertheless, "it were better that a childe shuld never rede any parte of Luciane than all Luciane." (The Boke named the Governour, ed. Croft, London, 1683, Vol I, p. 58.) For Luther's condemnation of Lucian, v. also infra p 53, n 2.

sixty times between 1496, date of the 'editio princeps' and 1550, and there were numerous Latin and vernacular translations. Among his most important translators and popularisers were Erasmus and Thomas More. Their translations were those most eagerly read and most often reprinted; indeed, the majority of the translations and imitations of Lucian in Germany were after those of More and Erasmus. But to say that Reuchlin, Agricola, Pirckheym, whose Lucianic Apologia sive Leaus Podagrae is shown by Hauffen¹ to have been second only to the Moriae Encomium in the extent of its influence as a model of the ironical encomium, Hans Sachs, Melanchthon and Hutten were included amongst the makers of them, and that among his admirers in France were such famous writers as Rabelais, Ronsard and Du Bellay, is in itself evidence enough of the Greek author's constant and widespread reputation.

¹ A Hauffen, art cit, p179ff.
Chapter II

Erasmus. The 'Moriae Encomium'

Of all Lucian's admirers, obviously someone with an ironic temper similar to his would derive the greatest pleasure from his works. Erasmus, called by Lenient the first really humorous writer of modern times, was such a man, and this is one of the most important reasons for his liking Lucian. He was fitted, as was no other writer of his day, to be the paramount Lucianist of the Renaissance. There were others, as we have seen, but none greater, nor more generally praised or condemned for being such than he.

It has been said that he and More first found out how much can be effected in literature by the use of irony through their reading of Lucian. Writing in his beloved Latin, the 'lingua universalis'

2 Luther, for example, wrote of Erasmus, that "Homo est levissimus, qui religiones omnes plane ridet, more sui Luciani, nec serio aliquid scribit nisi cum vindictas et noxias scribit." (What, however, Erasmus produced his Julius exclusus Luther was, after some early doubts, full of admiration). Etienne Dolet wrote that Erasmus wore a mask of thoughts taken from Lucian, the most vicious of men. The Imperial Chancellor, Ulrich Zasius of Freiburg, however, declared in 1515: "Lucianus ille rhetor et sophista celeberrimus, si vivat, ex parti tecum congregi nolit, ita tuis cum disertissimis urges declamationibus." N Bourbon in his Nugae, in 1533, attacks an anonymous writer who "has Christ on his lips and Lucian both on his lips and in his heart", a statement clearly referring to Erasmus. Neufville once wrote to More that Erasmus had taken his ideas from Lucian, "L'auteur le plus mordant, le plus impudent, sans religion, sans Dieu, et portant ridiculiser toutes choses, religieuses comme profanes." (v. C.R. Thompson, op cit p 45) On this whole matter of also H. Busson, Le Rationalisme dans la Littérature française de la Renaissance, 1957, passim. Also P Smith, Erasmus. A Study of his Life, Ideals and Place in History, 1923, passim. These quotations show just how varied and subjective in meaning was the word 'Lucianist' at this time.

of the Renaissance, Erasmus exercised a profound influence on humanists
of every nationality. Already regarded as a genius in his own lifetime, fêted and revered by scholars, sought after by kings, emperors and popes alike, there can be no doubt that by his translations he played an immeasurable part in arousing interest in the Greek language and in Lucian's works. Furthermore, by writing the *Moriae Encomium* in the form of a Lucianic satirical eulogy, he gave to the humanists a contemporary example of this genre which they were often to imitate but never to surpass. Through Erasmus Lucian began to exercise a twofold influence: direct, thanks to the translations of his works, and indirect, by way of the works inspired by him, such as the *Moriae Encomium*.

Erasmus first became acquainted with Lucian's works when he was struggling to teach himself Greek. He had become convinced that knowledge of this language was indispensable for the true man of letters. Owing to the shortage of teachers at this time, and to the poor standard of such as there were, he was obliged to study on his own.

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1 None of his contemporaries enjoyed such fame as Erasmus. He was thought of as the perfect image of the wise man. 'Optimum et maximum', says Melanchthon, in his Latin *Panegyric*. 'Doctor universalis', 'father of study', 'prince of scientific learning', 'protector of an honourable theology', 'light of the world', 'vir incomparabilis et doctorum phoenix' - all these epithets and many more were showered upon him. Camerarius, another humanist, said that 'He who is allowed converse with Erasmus may count himself among the blessed that walk this earth', and that those who received a letter from him regarded it as a great honour and treasured jealously such a prize.

2 of Linton C. Stevens, 'The Motivation for Hellenic Studies in the French Renaissance', *Studies in Philology*, Vol 47, 1950, p 113ff. Stevens examines the reasons for the interest in Greek studies and decides that they were, firstly, religious, in order that scholars might study the Bible. Then there was the interest in natural ethics believed to have been shown by Greek writers. There was also a patriotic element, the desire to rival Italy's success in this field. The general growth of interest in philology and textual criticism, and, for the most idealistic students, the cult of beauty and style; some at any rate of these elements must have been responsible for Erasmus' efforts to learn Greek.
"Ad Graecas literas utcumque puero degustatas iam grandior redi, hoc est annos natus plus minus triginta, sed tum quum apud nos nulla Graecorum codicum esset copia, neque minor penuria doctorum; Lutetiae tantum unus Georgius Hermonynus Graece balbutiavat, sed talis ut neque potuisset docere, si voluisset, neque voluisset, si potuisset. Itaque coactus ipse mihi praecipit esse, verti multos Luciani libellos."

By 1505-6 he was fairly proficient in Greek, and it is interesting to see that he had already begun to translate Lucian.

What is most significant, as far as the present study is concerned, is the fact that his very first attempt was apparently made on the

**Tragodopodagre:**

"Vertere coeperam Podagram Luciani priorem, opus mire festivum, sed destiti, potissimum deterritus epithetis quibus abundant chori; in quibus non erat spes in Latinis sequi compositionis felicitatem, quam videmus in Graecis dictionibus. Quod si dictiones singulas pluribus explicuissem, peribat gratia totius carminis."

After quoting examples taken from Homer and Lucian in order to illustrate this difficulty, he concludes:

"Hae atque id genus quum apud Graecos plurimum habeant gratiis ob facetissimam imitationem, Latinus sermo nec umbram horum possit reddere."

Right from his earliest acquaintance with Lucian, Erasmus must therefore have been aware of the existence of the genre of the satirical eulogy.

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1 v. H Omont, 'Georges Hermonyme de Sparte, maître de grec à Paris et copiste de manuscrits' (1476), Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris, XII, 1865, pp65-98.
3 *ibid* pp 6-7 (written 1523).
4 *ibid* p 7.
Between this attempt at translating the *Tragedypodagra* and June 1514, Erasmus translated thirty-six of Lucian's works, eighteen of them dialogues, and the others a miscellaneous collection. His translations were printed more than forty times during the period 1506-1550 and were extremely popular. "Rapiebantur haec nugae primum magno studiosorum applausu,"¹ says their author with modest pride. The fact that the number of printings fell off gradually was due mainly to the translations themselves; they had so helped in creating an interest in learning Greek that people could now read the texts in their original language. Erasmus himself was fully aware of this:

"Sed ubi Graecae linguae peritia coepit esse vulgo communis, id quod miro successu factum est apud nos, coepere neglegi, quod ego sane ut futurum sciebam, ita factum gaudeo."

But even in the first translations he made of Lucian, Erasmus saw not only their wit and irony, not only their usefulness as a means of improving his own Greek, but their moral significance. In his Christianity there was none of the narrowmindedness of many of his contemporaries; to perfect his 'philosophia Christi' he was prepared to acknowledge truth in any writer, even in a non-Christian like Lucian. Indeed, in some ways Erasmus and Lucian were very much alike. Both men were of an essentially rational turn of mind; they were incapable of feeling sympathy for metaphysics or for the loftier discoveries of scientists. The theoretical and the airy-fairy left them unmoved.


Although Lucian lacked the breadth of vision of Erasmus, and his enormous learning, he was nevertheless widely read and cultured in the Athenian manner, and the possessor of very acute powers of observation - powers more artistic in their nature than those of Erasmus. The two men were alike, too, in their sense of the ridiculous and the ironic in any situation, and in the lightness of their literary handling of such situations. These likenesses meant that Lucian, more than any other single author, either classical or contemporary, influenced the form and subject-matter of the *Moriae Encomium*. However, Erasmus was fundamentally a far more deep-thinking and serious writer than was Lucian, and it was precisely this combination of high moral intensity together with an unsurpassed ability to appreciate the wit and good sense of his predecessor that made of him such an important exponent of the satirical eulogy, and one who could write the first, and perhaps the only, work of genius to take this literary form.

The prefaces to his translations of Lucian show more clearly than anything else the moral preoccupation of Erasmus. We see that he realised fully what a great gift it was to be able to make vice appear ugly, and yet at the same time amuse one's readers. In the Preface to his edition of the *Gallus*, for example, he says:

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1 On the importance of this gift, cf White Kennett's *Letter to the Reader*, quoted *infra*, p 70, n 1.
"Tantum obtinet in dicendo gratiae; tantum in inveniendo felicitatis, tantum in iocando leporis, in mordendo aceti, sic titillat, allusionibus, sic seria nugis, nugas seriis miscet; sic \textit{ridens vera dicet vera dicendo ridet; sic\textit{ hominum mores affectus, studia, quasi penicillo depingit, neque legenda, sed plane spectanda oculis exponet, ut nulla \textit{Comedia, nulla \textit{Satyra cum huius dialogis conferri, debeat, seu voluptatem spectes, seu spectes utilitatem.}"

'Utilitas' was for Erasmus of capital importance. The point of especial interest here is that he found Lucian so satisfactory an author in this respect. In his letter to John Botzheim, which has

1 The Horatian maxim 'ridentem dicere verum quid vetat?' recurs several times during the history of the satirical eulogy - as also in connection with other forms of satire at this time - and is one of the eulogists' favourite means of self-justification. More often used it. In his \textit{Apology, 1553}, he writes: "They reprove that I bring in among the most earnest matters, fancies and sports, and merie tales. For as Horace sayeth, a man may sometimes saye full soth in game", (Sir Thomas More, \textit{Works}, 1555-57, p 927. Quoted from W G Crane, \textit{Wit and Rhetoric in the Renaissance}, Columbia University Press 1937, p 19). The same conception of satire and irony in More's works is again pointed out by A R Heiserman, 'Utopia and Satire', \textit{PMLA} Vol LXXVIII, 1963, p 163. More defended further his conception of satire in the \textit{Preface} to three dialogues of Lucian, Paris 1506. He claimed that Lucian was to be admired for combining precept with delight, as Horace suggested; for censuring mortals so honestly and wittily that though no one is hurt, all recognize the stings of his sarcasm. Good satire, then, is didactic without pomposity, poetic without frivolity, providing an ideal means of warning mortals against their shortcomings.

already been referred to, he gives a possible method of dividing his works into separate volumes for publication. He states that the translations of Lucian are to go in Volume I, which is to contain those writings 'quae spectant ad institutionem literarum.' Volume IV is to contain those works 'quae faciunt ad morum institutionem,' such as the Moriae Encomium and the Institutio Principis Christiani.

He then says of this group:

"Ad hoc genus pertinent et Luciani plaeraque, quanquam ea in primum tomum assignavimus."

This statement shows that in Erasmus' opinion Lucian should be read for moral and ethical fruit, as well as for amusement, and placed in the same category as his own Moriae Encomium.

The idea of the praise of folly is supposed to have occurred to Erasmus while travelling from Italy to England, and the work was finally written during his stay in England. In view of his interest in and admiration for Lucian at this time of his life, it is not surprising that he chose to use that typically Lucanian genre, the satirical eulogy. For in this way light irony and biting satire could be combined with the utmost subtlety, and yet the author would be to a considerable extent safe from his enemies.

But perhaps one can best see just how much the Moriae Encomium owes to Lucian by considering how much it owes to other sources. By a sort of process of elimination one then finds that the treatment of the subject, indeed, the author's whole approach, are those of an admirer of Lucian and of Greek literature.

2 ibid p 38.  
3 ibid p 39.  
4 ibid
Of great interest in connection not only with Erasmus but with the whole subject of the satirical eulogy, is the difficult question as to the importance and extent of the influence of mediaeval literature. As Renaudet says:

"Erasme ne conçut pas le premier l'idée de donner la parole à la Folie: dans les Soties françaises, Mère Sotte discourdait abondamment. Mais il aimait trop Lucien pour ne pas préférer à la satire lourdement didactique du moyen âge l'éloge ironique de l'absurde."

Lenient stresses the same point:

"Les farceurs du temps passé, les "Cornards" de Rouen, les "Coqueluchiers" d'Evreux, la "Mère Folle" de Dijon, la "Mère Sotte" de Paris, durent se trouver bien vieux et bien gothiques à côté de l'aimable nymphe qu'évoquait le génie d'Erasme."

But apart from these very general likenesses, one cannot really trace any more specific similarity between mediaeval or pre-sixteenth century works and the Praise of Folly. All one can venture to say is that there were certain ideas and opinions which were, so to speak, the common heritage of all writers, and which Erasmus is in any case far more likely to have borrowed from the more traditionally-minded Sebastian Brant's Narrenschiff than from any other source.

However, for the sake of completeness one can compare the Praise of Folly with a typical French 'sermon joyeux', and see these traditional ideas put into practice. If one takes the 'sermon' entitled

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1 A Renaudet, Humanisme et Préréforme, 1953, p. 606 ff.
3 Editio princeps, Basle 1494. v also infra p. 63 ff.
one finds an elaboration of the traditional idea that 'numerus stultorum est infinitus'. Before starting, the 'Sermonneur' summons Bacchus to support him. He declares that he intends to list the characteristics of fools.

Although they are stupid, he continues, fools pretend to be like Socrates or Virgil. One is reminded of the De Parasito as the 'sermonneur' says that such people are fun to have at banquets.

Next he considers women. In true popular style, he feels that it is pure folly to try to keep them virtuous; Samson, Aristotle and Virgil were all deceived by women. It is therefore useless to be jealous, and a type of man whom he thinks particularly foolish is he who roams the streets at night trying to peep in at his loved one's windows and sing to her. In any case, she is probably in bed with someone else.
All nations are mad, he decides and, not for the first time, breaks into Latin, repeating that 'numerus stultorum est infinitus'.

The mediaeval love of lists and categories becomes apparent as the 'sermon' continues with a list of the particular types of 'folie' affecting the inhabitants of various regions and countries. The Lombards are mad 'par force d'estre saiges', the Germans 'par force de boyre', and so on. Then follows a more directly satirical passage. It contains, in primitive form, many of the ideas developed with such devastating effect by Erasmus. A comparison between the following lines, barely more than a list, and the religious satire in the Moriae Encomium amply illustrates the truth of what has already been claimed, namely that the resemblance between earlier works and the Renaissance satirical eulogy is of the most superficial kind:

"L'on a bien veu par plusieurs foys
De setz papes et de setz roys
Setz empereurs cardinaux archevesques
L'on a veu et de setz evesques
Abbez curez aussi chanoynes
ya partout et de setz moynes
Setz gendarmes et chevaliers
ya par cens et par miliers
Cordeliers et augustins,
Croisez, Carmes et Jacopins.
Apres nous avons ung grant tas
De foulx juges et advocat,
Poulx capitaux, echevins et coissons
ya de plusieurs nations."

All the types of people listed by Brant in his Narrenschiff and later

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1 For a similar list of various types of people v. Speculum Stultorum of Nigel Wierker.


3 v. infra p 63.
by Erasmus are there - doctors, musicians, astrologers, writers, geometricians and many more. The only remedy the 'sermonneur' can suggest for the common folly is that everyone should try to amass money for himself. If he does this he will automatically be considered a 'saige homme', and the 'sermonneur' sums up with the familiar type of apology for his work:

"Si jay rien dit
Cest tout par jeu."

The listing of men according to nationality appears also in another piece in the same B.M. Collection of farces, *Farce nouvelle tresbonne de folle Bobance.* In this farce we see folle Bobance and her followers; the parallel between this and the characters in the *Tragodopodagra* is obvious, particularly when she summons them

"Ou estes vous tous mes folz affollez
Sortez tréstous & me venez voir."

and they come forward and declare themselves her servants, giving her presents and dedicating their whole life to her.

But the work which, exercised more influence on the *Moriae Encomium* than any others near to it in time was undoubtedly Sébastien Brant's *Narrenschiff,* incorporating as it did so many of the mediaeval traditions and attitudes. The two works are so alike in subject matter, yet so immeasurably different in treatment that they provide the ideal illustration of what Erasmus owes to Lucian and to his humanist studies.

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The Narrenschiff was an immensely popular work, and was translated into both French and English quite soon after its publication at Basle in 1494. Indeed, it has been called 'the most famous book of its time'. Erasmus certainly knew it before 1509, for Badius, one of its earliest translators was a friend of his, and,

"Brant was in touch with Reuchlin and the leading Humanists of his era. Recent studies leave no doubt that Erasmus found many direct suggestions for his Encomium Moriae in the Narrenschiff. Even some of Holbein's illustrations for the Erasmus volume strongly call to mind several of the woodcuts of the Narrenschiff. Satire was certainly the weapon of Erasmus the Humanist. It may be a scourge, a dagger or a mirror. If Brant struck at folly as wickedness and at wickedness as folly, as did Erasmus - even though Erasmus may have found the idea infinitely more diverting - then surely it is possible to narrow the gap between Brant and Erasmus, between Brant and the spirit of Humanism."

One should, perhaps, qualify the latter part of this suggestion by saying that it is precisely this difference in the way in which the two writers treat their subject which makes the Moriae Encomium as a book so much greater than the Narrenschiff.

Brant's book is written in the form of an allegory; a ship laden with fools - the world - and steered by fools - men - is on its way to Narragonia, the fools' paradise. The book is divided into short sections, or chapters, each dealing with a different type of fool. There are over a hundred chapters, dealing with men in nearly all walks of life, many of whom closely resemble those claimed as her followers by


Erasmus' Folly. In the introductory passages both complain that writers commit the very sins they would impugn. Venus in the Narrenschiff speaks much like Folly in the early part of the Moriae Encomium. Amongst the various types of folly attacked by both men are the parade of learning; drunkenness and sensuality; old men who act like young men but are cursed with infirmities; women as fashion's slaves; feasting; husbands who turn a blind eye to their wives' foolishness; ill-founded jealousy and suspicion of wives; folly governing cities and appointing magistrates; quack doctors and ignorant lawyers; dicing and gaming; long pilgrimages to no good purpose, and a host of other parallel topics.

It is interesting to see verbal resemblances even in less popular themes. Brant, for example, criticises men who have an unreasonable passion for building. They are complete fools, who spend their last penny in building unnecessary houses, and then have not enough left to live on themselves:

"The man that is well instructe edfyeth no gretter werk, that his goo des may extente, nor than he maye easely perfoume,"

Brant declares solemnly, and adds classical quotations to prove that the houses of the rich will all be cast down and destroyed. Here is Erasmus' rendering of the same theme:

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"War a kin to these (the cuckolds) are such as take a great fancy for building: they raise up, pull down, begin anew, alter the model, and never rest till they run themselves out of their whole estate, taking up such a compass for buildings, till they leave themselves not one foot of land to live upon, nor one poor cottage to shelter themselves from cold and hunger; and yet all the while are mighty proud of their contrivances, and sing a sweet requiem to their own happiness."

When writing of astrologers and of scientists the two authors are again textually close. Brant writes:

"He is holden a foole truely
The whiche putteth his besey cure
To calke the sterres in the skye
And all theyr nature to procure
In pronostynge as he were sure.
Of the tyme the whiche is to come,
That he knoweth not all or some."

This prosaic criticism is re-expressed and completely transformed by Erasmus; of philosophers, he says:

"They will give you to hair's breadth the dimensions of the sun, moon and stars, as easily as they would do that of a flaggon or a pipkin; they will give a punctual account of the rise of thunder, of the origin of winds, of the nature of eclipses, and of all the other abstrusest difficulties in physics, without the least demur or hesitation, as if they had been admitted into the cabinet council of nature, or had been eye-witnesses to all the accurate methods of creation, though alas nature does but laugh at all their puny conjectures."

Brant is far fonder of biblical quotations than his successor, but when Erasmus does quote from the Bible, he, like Brant, is fond of the Book of Ecclesiastes. While Erasmus attacks the clergy in all its ranks,

1 v. The Praise of Folly, p 79. (ed. Kennett 1876)
2 Shyppe of Foles ed cit chapter LXIII.
3 Praise of Folly, p 119.
Brant says more about the humble priests and monks, only mildly censuring bishops. Of Holbein's woodcuts, which illustrate the Moriae Encomium, numbers 107, 131 on pages 106 and 130 of the 1876 edition are perhaps the most strikingly reminiscent of Narrenschiff cuts. But while Brant in general was a scholastic on the brink of humanism, Erasmus was a humanist; Brant was parochial but patriotic, while Erasmus was a cosmopolite. Brant was eternally serious and didactic; Erasmus could be lighthearted and even flippant on the most serious of topics. Brant's work may in fact be superior in its unflinching steadfastness of purpose, but there can never be the remotest doubt as to which is the greater and the more readable piece of literature.

This difference is due in part, of course, to the difference in character between the two men, and to the disparity of talent. But it is also a recognised fact that a vital reason for the dissimilarity was Erasmus' study of Lucian. Thanks to the Greek writer Erasmus could see what an immense difference the treatment of a given subject could make, what an improvement could be brought about by a more lighthearted and ironical approach. In this the Moriae Encomium was to become the greatest of all Erasmus' writings. He was never again to recapture the genial humour of this witty firework, for it was only when humour mingled with his erudition and breadth of vision that he attained such heights.

Of all his works, this one alone, and perhaps the Colloquies, which

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1 By White Kennett. (One of many reprints of this most popular English edition, though the translator is not named.)
are also very Lucianic in tone, are still widely read and enjoyed. In the Moriae Encomium Erasmus gave to the world something which he alone could have given, for no one but he could have achieved such a harmonious synthesis of irony, learning and personal observation.

The most important Lucianic aspect of the Moriae Encomium is, of course, its form. The ironical praise of a seemingly unpraiseworthy subject - here, that of folly, by Folly herself - inevitably recalls the De Parasito, where a parasite praises his own profession. Erasmus was fully aware of the history of the form he used; in the preface to his eulogy he gives a long list of his predecessors in order to justify what he feels might be considered by some people a strange choice of subject. The preface is in fact a letter, written to his friend More, whose name, he claims, inspired the title of the work. He says that even the greatest classical writers have not scorned to write on seemingly trivial or unworthy subjects:

"For thus several ages since, Homer wrote of no more weighty a subject than of a war between the frogs and mice; Virgil of a gnat and a pudding-cake, and Ovid of a nut. Polycrates commended the cruelty of Busiris; and Isocrates, that corrects him for this, did as much for the injustice of Glaucus. Favorinus extolled Thersites, and wrote in praise of a quartane aque. Synesius pleaded in behalf of baldness; and Lucian defended a sipping fly. Seneca drollingly related the deifying of Claudius; Plutarch the dialogue betwixt Gryllus and Ulysses; Lucian and Apuleius the story of an ass; and somebody else records the last will of a hog, of which St Hierom makes mention." ¹

¹ ed cit Epistle to Sir Thomas More, p XVIII-XIX. What a marvellous list of satirical eulogies and other similar works this preface provides for all imitators of Erasmus! Many other such lists will be given by writers anxious to justify themselves (v. infra in Neo-Latin chapter, passim).
However, Erasmus, essentially the moralist, straightaway makes it clear that even if for his classical predecessors this genre was no more than a pleasant means of diversion from more serious occupations - and he cannot, incidentally, see any reason why men should not need some diversion from study, as from other things - nevertheless, his own satirical eulogy contains far more than this. Rather like Rabelais urging his readers to seek out the 'substantificque moelle' in his works, Erasmus writes:

"So that if they please, let themselves think the worst of me, and fancy to themselves that I was all this while aplaying at push-pin, or riding astride on a hobby-horse... But as nothing is more childish than to handle a serious subject in a loose, wanton style so is there nothing more pleasant than so to treat of trifles, as to make them seem nothing less than what their name imports. As to what relates to myself, I must be forced to submit to the judgement of others; yet, except I am too partial to be judge in my own case, I am apt to believe I have praised Folly in such a manner, as not to have deserved the name of fool for my pains."

Clearly, Erasmus is fully aware that he is writing both a satirical work, and a eulogy, in the popular classical form. This assertion is borne out by the verses in the introduction to the English translation by White Kennett, amongst which the following lines appear:

"Satire and panegyric distant be,
Yet jointly here they both in one agree....
Folly by irony's commended here,
Sooth'd, that her weakness may the more appear.
Thus fools, who, trick'd in red and yellow shine,
Are made believe that they are wond'rous fine,
When all's a plot t'expose them by design ....
Though Folly speaker be, and argument,
Wit guides the tongue, wisdom's the lecture meant."  

1 Praise of Folly, Epistle, ed cit pp XIX-XXI. Rabelais, and perhaps Erasmus, were probably inspired here by Lucian's Prometheus, Loeb Ed. Vol II, p 245 and pp 251-55.

2 ibid pp XXV-XXVI.
This makes perfectly plain that the work was interpreted as a satirical eulogy. To these lines may be compared the words of Folly herself in her speech. Man, she says, is so ungrateful to her for all her goodness to him that he has never praised her properly, even though

"there have not been wanting such as at great expense of sweat, and loss of sleep, have in elaborate speeches, given high encomiums to tyrants, agues, flies, baldness and such like trumperies."

Here there is an amusing double irony. Flies and tyrants certainly were not fit subjects for praise, but then neither, strictly speaking, is Folly herself. Erasmus pretends to criticise the very genre he is using, but invalidates the criticism to a large extent by putting it into the mouth of Folly.

While he uses the form of the satirical eulogy, Erasmus does not hesitate however to complicate the basic structure of the work with passages in which the ironical approach is abandoned for straightforward

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1 For a further expression of Kennett's view on the work he was editing, v. his Letter to the Reader (1726 edition, A.2): "It is apparent that... our author, Archerlike, shoots just contrary from where he pretends to aim, and makes a compleat Satyr against Fools, of what he entitles a Panegyrick upon Folly. Under this Covert he levels more securely, wounds more inoffensively, and leaves room for a safer Retreat, than if he had fell too bluntly on, and made an open Assault, instead of an ambuscading Surprize. And indeed the Palate of each man's Judgement, being the same with that of his Taste, is clogg'd, and nauseated with what's sweet, and luscious, and repaired only by the whetting Particles of sharp, and corroding, yet again a too biting Reproof, without some intermixture of Wheedle, seldom making converts of those it is applied to: Subjects of this nature are certainly then best handled, when the Persons to be reflected on are in the same Periods laugh'd out of their Mistakes, and yet flatter'd into Amendment." With this one may compare what Sir Thomas Chaloner says in his early edition of the Moriae Encomium (London 1549) A.iii: "...by the judgement of many learned men, he never shewed more arte, not witte, in any the gravest boke he wrote, than in this his praise of Follie. Whiche the reader having any considerance, shall soon espie, hew in every matter, yea almost every clause, is hidden besides the myrth, some deeper sense and purpose."

2 Praise of Folly, 1676 Kennett edition, p 5.
criticism. This direct approach is especially evident in the passages of religious criticism. Evidently Erasmus was particularly anxious that no one should mistake his true meaning on matters about which he felt so strongly. The complex nature of Folly herself, sometimes mocking, sometimes playful, bitter or sardonic as the case demands, is a further addition to the form which is all Erasmus' own. A third difference between the Moriae and classical works is the enormous range of subjects treated in it. This range of topics was linked with earlier mediaeval works and with Brant, but it nevertheless introduces greater length and far greater variety into a genre which hitherto had only dealt with a single subject at a time.

By using this genre Erasmus was able to a considerable extent to forestall criticism. If an opponent of Lucian's had criticised the way in which he let Simon mock Aristotle and other philosophers, he conceivably have retorted that the opinions expressed in the De Parasito were not his own, but those of a parasite, an obviously unreliable character. This defence Erasmus took and enlarged to cover a far wider and more dangerous range of criticism. The advantages of this indirect form of attack, in which the words spoken were, theoretically at least, not those of Erasmus, but those of Folly, are obviously immense:

"Pour un homme prudent comme Erasme, jaloux de son repos autant que de sa liberté, la Folie avait un grand privilège, celui d'être irresponsable; sa marotte lui servait de laissez-passer. S'emporter, murmurer, gromder, était chose monotone et compromettante; les prédicateurs y suffisaient. Au lieu d'attaquer en face les abus et les sottises, il trouva plus piquant de les glorifier, en les plageant sous le patronage de la Folie."

1 v. Lenient, op cit, p 15.
Or, as another critic has put it:

"The popularity of the satire, throughout Europe, was boundless. The mask of jest which it wore was its safeguard; how undignified, how absurd it would have been for a Pope or a King to care what was said by Folly! And, just for that reason, the Encomium Moriae must be reckoned among the forces which prepared the Reformation."

In fact, many of Erasmus' later attempts at defending the Moriae Encomium were based on this same idea, that the opinions expressed in the work were not his own, but those of Folly, and therefore not to be taken seriously by anyone who did not himself wish to be called a fool. This argument might have been more convincing if Folly had not so often dropped her mask and spoken as a wise man — as Erasmus himself — might have spoken; and none of Erasmus' contemporaries were taken in by it. The work was immediately attacked, in particular by the monks and the religious orders whom Folly had angered by her approach, alternately lighthearted and critical, to themselves and to everything they held most sacred. Erasmus had to resort to other means of defence, such as the fact that the Pope, to whom he had sent a copy of the work, had expressed his gracious approval of it. He claimed that More had persuaded him to write it, like a camel being forced to dance. Even these pleas were disregarded by his readers, who continued to see the work as a brilliant and profound satire, or as a wicked, atheistic and Lucianic attack, according to their own personal views on religion.

2 e.g. v. Epistle to Martin Dorp, ed Allen, Vol II, pp 91 ff
Erasmus realised from the start that it was not only the form of the *Moriae Encomium* that would be considered Lucianic in origin. In the Preface he says:

"And it is a chance if there be wanting some quarrelsome persons that will show their teeth...and so will exclaim against me...as if I...acted anew the Lucian again with a peevish snarling at all things."

Of course he was not mistaken in judging thus the origins of his work, although he has in fact learned far more from his predecessor than how to snarl peevishly at things. For it was not only the disenchanted, sceptical tone of the whole work, but also the overall impression of lightness and gay irony that struck the reader, then as now, as being eminently Lucianic.

Textual references to Lucian are quite numerous. Erasmus talks of Momus and his mockery of the gods; of the cock, of Menippus, of the lovers of lies, and of several of the dialogues. As far as the satirical eulogies are concerned, they are none of them mentioned by name, with the exception of the *Muscae Encomium*, but it is possible to find several passages which recall the *De Parasito*. There is, for example, a distinct resemblance between Lucian's description of a fine parasite, and Folly's description of her followers. Lucian writes:

"First, then, let us strip them to the skin; now inspect your men, sir, one by one, and give them a physical examination. Some of them you can see to be thin and pale through privation, shuddering, and as limp as if they had already been wounded. Pass on, and now see how the parasite looks! In the first place, is he not generous in his proportions and pleasing in his complexion, neither dark nor fair of skin; and besides, has he not a spirited look, with a fiery glance like mine, high and bloodshot?"

1 *Praise of Folly*, Preface p XVIII.
Folly describes her followers thus:

"For look how your hard plodding students, by a close sedentary confinement to their books, grow mopish, pale and meagre, as if, by a continual wrack of brains, and torture of invention, their veins were pumped dry, and their whole body squeezed sapless; whereas my followers are smooth, plump and bucksome, and altogether as lusty as so many bacon-hogs, or sucking calves."

The fact that a reference to the cowardice of Demosthenes occurs in a similar context in both works may also be significant:

"And as for the topmost of them (those who attacked Philip in the assembly), the man who was continually talking in the assembly about "Philip the scoundrel from Macedon, where one could never even buy a decent slave!", he did venture to join the advance into Boetia, but before the armies joined battle and began to fight at close quarters he threw away his shield and fled," remarks Simon, contemptuous of philosophers. Folly takes up the theme:

"No, the only use is of blunt and sturdy fellows that have little of wit and so the more of resolution; except you would make a soldier of such another Demosthenes as threw down his arms as he came within sight of the enemy, and lost that credit in the camp which he gained in the pulpit."

The Moriae Encomium was the most important and the most influential satirical eulogy written by Erasmus, but in one of his colloquies he did venture to use the same form again, and followed the

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1 *Praise of Folly*, pp 20-21. Erasmus may also have had in mind the passage in the *Mortuorum Dialogi*, Loeb edition Vol VII p 103ff (cf. *Colloquies*, transl. Bailey, 1878, II p 139ff, *Charon*) where the souls who want to cross the Styx on Charon's boat are made to strip, and the other passage in the *De Parasito* where Simon asks who would be the better soldiers, well fed parasites or emaciated philosophers.

2 *De Parasito* p 287.

3 *Praise of Folly* p 38.
plan of the De Parasito remarkably closely. This colloquy is called Pseudochei et Philetymí. It contains a satirical praise of a professional crook, by the crook himself, Pseudocheus, who claims that his profession can be described as both artistic and respectable, while Philetymus calls him a liar and a thief. Pseudocheus follows the rules for such praises by proudly quoting Ulysses and Mercury as his predecessors, reminding us of Simon, who also named classical figures as his patrons. Again like Simon, Pseudocheus then asserts that his profession is an art, but whereas Simon shows that 'parasitic' fulfils all the conditions of the Stoic definition of an art, Erasmus' character proves his claim by purely practical means. He says, for example, that he can tell lies without Philetymus being aware of it; he calls him 'vir optime' without Philetymus realising that this is in fact what he considers a lie, and a lie so skilful as to prove that deceitfulness is an art! This passage is not contained in the De Parasito, but is borrowed from the spurious Pseudosophista sive Solecista, where one character contrives to slip solecisms into a sentence without the other character realising what he is doing.

Philetymus asks next for an authority of some sort to support Pseudocheus' claim. "Bonam artis partem monstraver e tui rhetores", retorts the crook, sounding somewhat like Simon, when he tells Tychiades that Rhetoricians and philosophers are always very ready to become

1 V. C.A. Mayer, 'Rabelais' Satirical Eulogy: The Praise of Borrowing', F. Rabelais, ouvrage publié pour le Quatrième Centenaire de sa mort, 1553-1953, Droz, 1953, pp 151-152, where this colloquy is discussed.
parasites, but the reverse never happens. Philetymus seeks to crush this argument by reminding his adversary that if what he says is true then 'artists' are hung every day, but Pseudocheus is prepared for this seemingly conclusive argument: "Isti non sunt artifices absoluti", he replies in a lordly fashion. This is the exact parallel of Simon's answer when Tychiades asks him what he thinks of parasites who lack food: that a priori one who lacks food is not a parasite. The chief difference between the two dialogues lies in the tone of moral indignation that prevails in the Erasmian work, but is absent from the Greek work. When Pseudocheus describes his rascally methods for extorting money from his unfortunate victims, Philetymus is horrified, and he remains so to the end. For him there is to be no 'conversion' as there is for Tychiades. Erasmus is not going to leave any trace of ambiguity in what was, after all, written as a school book. Philetymus' last words to his shameless interlocutor are:

"Male sit tibi cum tuis technis ac mendacii. Non enim libet dicere, Vale!"

Pseudocheus, unruffled, replies:

"Tu ringere cum tua pennosa veritate; ego interim suaviter agam cum meis furtis ac mendaciis, dextro Ulyssae ac Mercurio."

While this dialogue was obviously not comparable in importance to the Moriae Encomium, it is interesting because it is such a clear imitation of Lucian's work, and shows once again that it was indeed from him that Erasmus took this form.

1 v. supra chapter I p 28-29

2 v. C. A. Mayer, act. at., p 152.
There is one other noteworthy passage in which Erasmus was clearly under the influence of Lucian's satirical eulogies. This is not a complete work, but a section of one, published by Dornavius as being 'in praefatione Dialog Chrysothomii. Called Podagrae et Calculi ex comparatione utriusque Encomium, it has nothing of the carefully thought out nature of the other satirical eulogies of Erasmus. But brief though it is, what it does say is pithy and to the point. Gout, Erasmus begins, seems to him to be less unkind as a disease than the stone, if one can compare such things as diseases at all. For gout is relieved by the jokes, talk and laughter of one's friends, and hardly anyone has been known to die of it. On the other hand, "calculus non morbus est, sed ipsa mors"; he would even go so far as to say that it is worse than dying. Not only is there the pain of the stone, but there is the hunger one endures because one cannot eat properly without vomiting when suffering from this illness. According to Erasmus, the result of this is that one risks dying of hunger as much as of the disease itself. Both diseases are alike in that they are not contagious. If, as Plato says, philosophy is 'mortis meditatio', then Calculus should rate as something just as lofty as philosophy, since it too is that very thing! Philosophy also teaches a man not to fear death, or at any rate that is one of her aims; Calculus not only teaches this, it instills in the sufferer a


2 For further instances of the use of these very popular arguments in favour of gout, v. Disease chapter, passim, and ch III, p 93-122.
longing for death far greater than anything ever attempted by philosophy. Calculus is undoubtedly a hard master, concludes Erasmus, but it is teaching a man the hardest thing of all. This passage is clearly not a very orthodox disease eulogy, but the general approach to the theme, certain of the arguments, and the whole idea of praising a disease at all, link it to the present study.

Through his translations of Lucian, and the works in which he imitates him, Erasmus was chiefly responsible for introducing the Greek author and, more particularly, the satirical eulogy, to sixteenth century readers. Because of the similarity in certain aspects of their characters, he was able to appreciate the Greek writer as could no one else at that time, even his friend More. His own genius enabled him to absorb this influence and benefit fully from it to write works which spread the fame not only of Lucian, their principal source, but also, more significantly, of their author.

CHAPTER THREE

Other writers of Neo-Latin Satirical Eulogies

While the influence of Erasmus on writers of French satirical eulogies is undoubtedly more profound than that of any other Neo-Latin writer, the importance of Latin praises by other Renaissance authors is nevertheless very real. The satirical eulogy appears to have enjoyed considerable popularity among Neo-Latin authors of many nationalities. None of their products reach the heights of Erasmus' great work, mainly for the obvious reason that they lacked his genius, but also because few of them seem to have wished to introduce as much satire into their praises as he did. They tended to view this genre in the more traditional classical light; like Fronto, they felt that such 'trifles' were composed to while away the time, to amuse and entertain their friends and to test their own rhetorical skill and ingenuity. Influenced as they were by their classical predecessors, it is interesting but not surprising to find these sixteen century writers adopting categories of praises broadly similar to those distinguished by Greek and Latin authors. In preface after preface they cheerfully acknowledge their debt to Lucian, Synesius and Favorinus, feeling that these weighty authorities justify them in treating such seemingly frivolous topics.

1 v. A. Hauffen, art. cit., passim.

2 One might perhaps make an exception here for some of the praises of drunkenness and prostitutes, where there is a moralising intention, v. infra, pp. 86 ff. On prostitutes v. Dornavius, op.cit., Vol. II, pp. 9 ff.
One of the simplest ways of studying these praises is to read some of the seventeenth century collections of eulogies. The very existence of these often large volumes provides further proof of the persistent popularity of the genre.

Many of the smaller collections contain only later praises. These are less interesting, as they tended to lose sight of the original purpose of the genre, either degenerating into mere pornography, or losing all satirical content. The enormous and extensive collection made by Dornavius, the Amphitheatrum, is therefore of particular importance. It contains all the important surviving classical praises and many Renaissance ones. Through this varied collection one can see how a man at the end of the sixteenth century, with a by now vast number of eulogies at his disposal, reacted to the genre, and how in many ways his division of the works follows yet again the classical categories.

Dornavius' real name was Caspar Dornau and his work was published in 1619, and reprinted in 1670. His collection contains about 622 praises, although not all of them can be called real satirical eulogies. However, most of the important eulogies from Germany are there, and several from Italy, Holland and France. Conspicuous by their absence are Berni, Ronsard, Rabelais, La Borderie and Philibert de Vienne. The majority of the works are printed in Latin, but some, such as those of Lucian, appear in both Greek and Latin, and others Dornavius gives in German. The full title of his work is Amphitheatrum sapientiae socraticae iocco-seriae, which is further amplified as follows:

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1 Hanoviae, Typis Wechelianis, Impensis Danielis ac Davidis Aubriorum, & Clementis Schleichii, 1619.
"Hoc est, encomia et commentaria autorum, qua veterum, qua recentiorum prope omnium; quibus res, aut pro vilibus vulgo aut damnosis habiteae, styli patrocinio vindicantur, exornantur; opus ad mysteria naturae discenda, ad omnes amoenitatem, sapientiam, virtutem, publice privatimque utilissimum; in duos tomos partem ex libris editis, partim manuscriptis congestum tributumque, à Caspare Dornavio philos. et medico."

This division of the book into two parts, one containing eulogies on those things generally considered 'pro vilibus', and the other those on subjects thought of as 'pro damnosis' is interesting. In the first volume Dornavius places works which fall into the group of praises of animals and insects. He also includes eulogies on trees and flowers and on such miscellaneous topics as beer, night, the lodestone and country life. This volume, which is by far the larger of the two, ends with More's *Utopia.*

The second section of the *Amphitheatrum* contains the eulogies of both the other categories, that of the praise of vice or of a vicious way of life, and also that of the praise of disease. Thus, Lucian's *Muscae Encomium*, and, for reasons best known to Dornavius, the same author's *Suit of Sigma against Tau*, are to be found in the first volume, while the *Tragedopedagra* and the *De Parasito* are in the second. In this second volume Dornavius also includes those praises of infamous or unpopular historical figures, such as Isocrates' *Helen* and *Busiris*, and Cardano's praise of *Nero*, which have already been shown to be closely linked to the vice eulogy.

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1 Dornavius' collection is the only one to contain this famous work. In view of the Lucianic atmosphere which pervades much of the *Utopia*, it was a not unreasonable choice. (v. also, *supra*, p58m) Probably the other collections were prevented from including it, even had they wished to do so, owing to shortage of space, for no later compiler ever attempted to achieve the degree of completeness of the *Amphitheatrum*. (v. Appendix B, p380g);

2 *supra* p19
Apart from the classical praises already mentioned as being included by Dornavius, there are also in this collection many works which are not satirical eulogies at all. Typical of these are praises of country life by Vergil and Horace, and Catullus' poem on Lesbia's sparrow. The inclusion of Catullus' poem is of particular significance, as it proves that the link between the satirical eulogy and the epitaph was recognised by Dornavius. Obviously there is, or can be, a more than superficial resemblance between a mock-heroic praise of an animal or insect, such as the Muscae Encomium, and an epitaph such as that by Catullus. The animal epitaph may be sincerely meant, but often the line between the sincere and the ironical is very fine. Indeed, when, as sometimes happens, the whole epitaph is written as a joke or a piece of gentle 'badinage', the only difference between the two forms is that one animal is dead, and is a particular, individual animal, and the other is alive, or is being treated in general terms as a species, not as an individual.

Exactly the same principles can be applied to the ironical epitaph on various human beings. In the epitaphs on drunkards and prostitutes quoted by Dornavius, where the disreputable life led by these often imaginary people is ironically praised, there is a distinct likeness to the praise of vice, and of particular individuals, and to the satirical advice. In the case of the praise of an historical character, who is in fact usually dead, the difference is still further reduced. All that distinguishes the two forms here is that in the epitaph the details on

1 Dornavius, op cit Vol I p 460. v. also infra p 138 ff.
the life of the person are of secondary importance, the main purpose of the work being to mourn their death. In the straightforward satirical eulogy on a given person there may be contained a parody on the serious panegyric, but the death of the person concerned does not interest the writer to any great extent. The satirical epitaph on both animals and humans was enormously popular during the Renaissance, but the fact remains that it is a separate genre which can only be properly studied against the background of the serious epitaph. Therefore, while it will often be linked with the satirical eulogy, whether in French or in Latin, it cannot be fully discussed in the present study.

At first glance it seems strange that Dornavius' title should refer to Socrates - Amphitheatrum sapientiae socraticae ioco-seriae. Hauffen, writing of the early composers of satirical eulogies,\(^1\) notes that not only does Dornavius mention Socrates, but that Fischart, in his Consolation for Gout, also quotes the Greek philosopher as his predecessor. In similar fashion Cicero\(^2\) and certain stoic writers were often quoted in Renaissance eulogies, because they had tried to show that such seemingly unpleasant things as Pain, Old Age and Death were not really evil or

1 v. Hauffen, art cit p 163.
2 Cicero was quoted because of his Paradoxa Stoicorum, six short essays upholding, in popular language, certain of the classic tenets of the Stoics. These essays were in reality no more than rhetorical trifles, since elsewhere in his works Cicero attacks these same doctrines with considerable vehemence. (cf Q. Breen, 'The Antiparadoxon of Marcantonius Maioragius', in Studies in the Renaissance, V, 1956, p 39 note 15: "Cicero's Paradoxa are a kind of playful exercise."). As an exercise in strict reasoning they are of no value. The paradoxes maintained by Cicero were the following:
1. That only what is morally noble is good.
2. That the possession of virtue is sufficient for happiness.
3. That transgressions are equal and right actions equal.
4. That every foolish man is mad.
5. That only the wise man is free, and that every foolish man is a slave.
6. That the wise man alone is rich.
The fact that some of these writers were sincere in maintaining such things seems in no way to have prevented their being quoted as authorities by later writers whose intentions were purely satirical. Dornavius gives a fuller explanation for his use of Socrates' name, in the dedicatory epistle. This he addresses to the Prince of Silesia, whose doctor he was:

"Illustrissime Domine. Socratem acceptimus, cum inter auditores consideret suos; non tetrica semper severitate philosophatum, & supercilio contracto: sed, fronte hanc rare diducta, ingenuo cavillo, laudasse res, sua natura, parum laudabiles; commendasse alias, quae pretio sane quam exili vulgo habebantur. Industriam eius prudentiamque seuti sunt plurimi; quos vel ab ingenio nobilitavit fama gloriosa; vel annorum procursum tempus ipsum inter proceres rei literariae collocavit."

Evidently, for Dornavius, as for his classical predecessors, this genre provided a form of relaxation from more difficult labours, but was also not without its usefulness as an exercise in rhetoric. The satirical element is not mentioned very plainly, but since he included such works as the Moriae Encomium, whose underlying serious and satirical purpose was well known to everybody, and since the other adjective which Dornavius uses to describe his book is 'ioco-seriae', one can safely assume that he realised the possible purpose of this genre. This assertion is further borne out by the quotation from Horace which precedes this and several

1 Dornavius (1577-1632) studied medicine at Basle, and was successively rector of the college of Görlitz (1608) and of Bethuen in Silesia, and doctor to the princes of Brieg and Lignitz. Apart from the Amphiltheatrum, he published a smaller volume of praises, the Encomium Scarabaei, Hanov,1617, Homo Diabolicus, Francofurti,1618, Ulysses Scholasticus, Hanov,1620, Invidiae Encomium, Gorlicii,1614, also 1626.
other eulogies, taken from the Satires (I.i.24):

"Ridentem dicere verum // Quid vetat?"

Although this saying can be applied to more forms of satire than the satirical eulogy, it is particularly applicable to this genre, which demands a light and humorous touch if its ironical side is to be successful. One has only to think of the gay praise of herself by Folly, in Erasmus’ masterpiece, to realise the importance to this genre of a smiling and ironical attitude to his subject in the author.

Dornavius does not rely solely on Socrates in his search for classical exponents of the satirical eulogy; he has obviously considered the question of the origin of this genre in some detail before publishing his collection. Instead of quoting the classical writers of such works usually referred to by their Renaissance descendants, works which he is going to include in the body of his collection —, he reminds the reader of all the many extraordinary praises which are known to have existed, but of which the majority are now lost:

"Quis enim Busiridem Polycratis dabit, aut Themisonis encomium plantaginis, aut Marcionis Graeci de raphani laudibus, aut Erasistrati Lysimachiam; aut Democriti volumen de numero quaternario, deque Chamaeleonte animali? Neque mihi aut ulli alii, opinor, vidisse contigit Pythagorae librum de Bulbis; Diolis, encomium rapae: Chrysippi & Catonis, brassicae laudes; Musei, et Hesiodi, Polii: Phani, urticae: Asclepiadis, Antemidis."

Although it will be the collection most often referred to, Dornavius' Amphitheatrum, as had already been stated, was by no means

1 v. supra p 58, hoc, nec quotations from loc. cit. p. 6.
2 Dornavius, op. cit Preface.
3 v. supra p 80.
the only seventeenth century collection of eulogies. The other, shorter works contain little that Dornavius had not already found. They are interesting because they indicate a fairly steady demand for such collected encomia, and because a study of their contents reveals just how repetitive and sterile the genre had become. They are described and discussed in Appendix B.1

Since the numerous Neo-Latin eulogies tend to fall into the same broad groups as those distinguished in antiquity, it is simpler to discuss these works in the order followed when describing and discussing their classical predecessors.

Looking first of all at the Neo-Latin vice eulogies, one is struck by the fact that, as Hauffen says,2 no sin has so rich a literature in the sixteenth century as drunkenness. Praises of wine and of Bacchus had been known ever since classical times, but these were often sincere. Those on drunkenness, on the other hand, tended to be written by moralists, who appear to have thought that since they achieved nothing through mere warnings and exhortations, they might be more successful if they wrote in a lighter vein. An obviously exaggerated praise of the evil, accompanied by a detailed description of its effects, might obtain the desired result of putting people on their guard against what these writers considered a grave sin.

1 v. infra pp. 380-6.
2 v. Hauffen, art cit p. 174
The earliest of these praises was the *Encomium Ebrietatis* by Christoph Hegendorff, (1500-1540). This appeared in 1519 and also contained a *Carmen in vituperium ebrietatis*, perhaps because Hegendorff wished to be sure that none of his readers would be in any doubt as to his true feelings on the subject.

From the start of his praise Hegendorff *identifies* himself with the tradition of the satirical eulogy. Many people, he says, will object to his writing a eulogy on such a seemingly unworthy topic, but

"Febris quartana res est contempta & indigna de qua verba facimus. At nec illa preconce suo Favorino pho caruit. Quid queso vel spuroius vel obscenius vomitu excogitari possit? At nec illus Encomiastes Plutarcho non male fidei authore deficit."

Homer's *Batrachomyomachia*, and Isocrates' *Helen* are next to be mentioned, and then follows what is surely a very perceptive assessment of the value of the *Moriae Encomium* of Erasmus - "totius Germaniae incomparabile deus". In the praise of folly, Hegendorff exclaims,

"tanto lepore, tanto eloquentiae apparatu cumulavit ut si nihil librorum vir tantus ad posteros perpagasset hic unus vere divinum arguere posset."

Passing now to the eulogy proper, Hegendorff celebrates wine as a bringer of joy, a remover of cares. It transforms people; the dumb become talkative, the shy bold. He takes the basis of his defence of drinking from the Bible and Greek myths, and attempts to exculpate the

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1 *Encomium Ebrietatis* Christophori Hegendorffino Authore, Lipsiae ex edibus Valentini Schumann, 1519.

2 *ibid.*, Aii².

3 *ibid.*
love of wine by means of a comparison with worse sins. He even goes so far as to claim that it is beneficial to vomit, writing, in mock-heroic style:

"O ingens ebrietatis emolumentum. O ingens remedium quo res & letalis & ipso auditæ abominanda, expellitur. Quis nunc non ebrietatis commoda amplectetur?"

In order to make doubly clear his true feelings on the subject of drunkenness, Hegendorff later published a separate work, the Encomium Sobrietatis. Here he took pains to refute all the things he had said previously, in much the same way as Landbo in his Paradossi. Christ, he says, taught sobriety. Although in his earlier work he had claimed that drunkenness was sent to make man more able to bear his troubles, Hegendorff now avers that man was not born for pleasure and thus has no right to seek to ease his hard lot by means of drink. To gain eternal life man must face up to his difficulties, not shrink from them, and must be prepared to suffer as Christ suffered. Next, he lists the misfortunes - murders, fighting and lying - which invariably

1 Hegendorff, op cit Aliº.

2 The Carmen in vituperium ebrietatis had already done this of course, as had the letter with which Hegendorff ended the 1519 edition, in which he said: "Id quod olim & a veteribus factum est qui in utramque partem res ipsas vertere consueverant & a Fabio Quintiliano diligentem preceptum est quo Themata ipsa in utramque partem torquere addiscamus quod ego in ebrietate vituperanda declamatiumcula quadam aliquando exhibeo." Erasmus had called the Moriae Encomium a 'declamatiumcula', v infra p130 n3.

3 Encomium Sobrietatis authore Christophoro Hegendorffino Lipsico, a.l.n.d.

4 On Landbo and the immense influence of the paradox, v infra, Vice chapter and Italian chapter.
accompany drinking. The moral, even religious tone of this work, is in marked contrast to the earlier eulogy, but Hegendorff does link the two works in the dedicatory epistle:

"Luseram nuper luusus gratia Doctor prestantissime ebrietatis Encomium in quo ut in illo declamationis genere fieri solet ebrietatem commendatam reddere omnes nervos contendebam. Iam vero ne quis putaret ut ad omniPosissima quaque suspicax est mortalitas putaret inque me non tam luusus gratia quam ex anime illud Encomium luuisse in mentem subit non ΑΤΟΤΟΥ fore si rursus quasi Palinodiam canens ebrietatem satyrice dente perstringerem." 

To Hegendorff's somewhat laborious arguments Gerard Bucold in his long Pro Ebrietate Oratio² adds many more. Following the classical rules

1 Hegendorff also wrote an Encomium Somni (Lipsiae, ex aedibus Valentinii Schumannii 1519), yet again on the classical pattern. The British Museum bound this in a volume entitled Tractatus Medicus but it is really nothing of the kind. This is made clear in the dedicatory epistle: "Id quod in Ebrietatis & sobrietatis Encomii utcumque potui prestiti," says Hegendorff, making it clear in what light he at any rate views his eulogy. In his dedicatory epistle he mentions Huttens (v infra p (25)) as 'vir incomparabilis' - whether because of his praises of fever or because of his learning generally is not stated.

Sleep, like Folly, is personified and the praise is put into her mouth. She is not above putting in a good word for her author: "Quis queso non cum maximo cachinno ebrietatis Encomium legere possit? quo veluti Pelusa in machera sibi placet. Ita se omnibus praestare clamitât ut reliqua omnia, non nisi Atomi Epicurei esse videantur. Nihil stulticia erit si Ebrietatis Encomium quis audierit. Nihil erit Calvitii laus si quis bullatas ebrietatis nugas legaret." (A marginal note somewhat unnecessarily tells us here "Synesium intelligit"). I alone, Sleep claims, lay aside all cares and angers. Her parents, she says, were night, her father and Lethe, her mother. This tracing of ancestors has already been shown to be a typical characteristic of the panegyrical and the mock panegyrical. Sleep goes on to assert that she quells wrath and helps men make plans. The work is fairly brief and tails off after this. A mention of Lucian's Micyllus is worth noting.

2 Gerardi Bucoldiani pro Ebrietate Oratio, Coloniae dicta. Coloniae. Ioannes Soter excudebat. MDXXIX.
for the encomium he seeks to provide honourable ancestry for

for the encomium he seeks to provide honourable ancestry for drunkenness. Bacchus, the creator of wine, was of old identified with the sun. Among all peoples wine is considered a strengthener of body and spirit, sharpening the understanding and gladdening the mind. All the most famous men, the bravest as well as the wisest, have liked drink. By a curious twist of reasoning Bucold decides that since sober men perform wicked deeds as well as drunkards, drunkenness should no more be blamed for crimes than is sobriety. His eulogy is written on strict formal lines. In the margin expressions such as 'Confirmatio', 'transitio', 'Exordium', 'Ab absurdo', 'Ab authoritate argumentum', and others punctuate every stage of his work.

Another eulogy on drunkenness was composed somewhat later in the 2nd century by Robert Turner, the theologian and philologist.2 This was published together with his other orations, in 1599, the year of Turner's death.3 In his eulogy Turner stresses the pleasure to be gained from drink. Through this wine-given pleasure, he declares, the Greeks, Romans and Venetians have all achieved power and repute, fame in the realm of the arts. A drunkard is in a very important sense a free man,

1 The crimes committed by drunken men were often mentioned by critics of drink. cf Scévole de Sainte Marthe, Contre la Gourmandise (quoted from Fleuret et Perceau, Les Satires Françaises du XVIe siècle, Paris 1922, Vol II p 205):
"O sale Ebriété, seule peste de l'âme,
Et des mechancetez nourrice plus infame."

2 Turner was born at Barnstaple and studied at Oxford. In 1586 he became doctor in theology at the University of Ingolstadt, and later Canon of Breslau. He held the chair of Latin language at Gratz until his death.

3 Roberti Turneri Devonii Oratoris et philosophi Ingolstadiensis panegyrici duo. Ingolstadii. Ex Typographia Adami Sartorii. Anno MDXCV. This volume also contains Turner's Orationes XVI, and his Epistolae. The Oratio de laude ebrietatis is in the section Orationes XVI, p 74ff.
a god; whereas a sober man will be held responsible for his every sin, drunkenness serves a man as an excuse and a protection against punishment. This same freedom from the consequences of one's actions had been mentioned by Erasmus as one of the benefits of Madame. Like fools, and indeed parasites, drunkards can clearly be seen to be happy, sober men unhappy. In fact the drunkard sees the whole world in a rosy light. Even his outward appearance is cheerful; sparkling eyes and a shiny red nose. His snoring is more musical than the song of the nightingale, says Turner in a burst of ironical lyricism:

"Quanta cum dulcedine ebrius grunmitum vigilans, ut cantillantem lusciniam; quanta cum harmonia ronchos aedit dormiens, ut musicae cognitione egregium, vocemque iam suam modulate fingentem audire videamini." 

He addresses a personified subject:

"O pulcherrima voluptatum domina ebrietas, non vultus hominem loquitur, o Dea certe. O suavissima Regina."

No one throws strong men to the ground as quickly as drunkenness, whom he describes as a great conqueror.

In view of the reputation of the Germans at this time it is not surprising to find that the German Neo-Latin writers were almost solely responsible for the eulogies on this vice. Even Turner was living in

1 Moriae Encomium ed cit p 68
2 cf infra certain epitaphs on drunkards, eg that by Habert quoted p 256
3 Turner, op cit p 82.
4 cf Lucian addressing a personified Gout, and Hegendorff, supra p 89. 
5 Turner, op cit p 82.
Germany. Our list grows with the encomium on beer, only one of several such works, by Abraham Werner.¹ This was in fact a more serious work, giving instructions on the preparation of beer, a description of its properties and effects, and finally offering thanks to God for his heavenly gift. This type of writing is only distantly related to the satirical eulogy proper, as is another group of works, this time modelled on Ovid's Ars Amandi. In these, drinking is depicted as a noble art, for which hints, instructions and suggestions are given. The authors of the Artes could have had in mind the De Parasito, in which Lucian is, after all, concerned with showing that parasitism is an art. Typical of these is the De Arte Bibendi of Vincent Obsopoeus, which appeared in 1536, and again in 1546.²

The important group of encomia closely linked to the vice ones are those on a specific historical or mythological figure, renowned for his or her infamous or wicked life. One has only to recall the works on Busiris, Phalaris and Helen to realise just how popular such praises were in antiquity. Amongst the Neo-Latin writers the most striking examples are by the Italian Cardano and the Frenchman André Arnaud. As sources these

¹ Oratio de confectione eius potus, qui Germaniae usitat, veteri vocabulo secundum Plinium Cerevisia vocatur. Witeb. Io. Schwertel 1567.

² De Arte Bibendi Libri Tres authore Vincentio Obsopoco. Norimbergae. Apud J. Petreium. The later edition had the same publisher and place of publication. It is interesting to see that Obsopoeus translated several of Lucian's works, as early as 1527. He wrote various other Artes, published under the title: Vinc Obsopoeus de Arte Bibendi lib Quatior, et arte locandi Lib Quatior. Lugd. Batav. Ex typographia rediviva. 1648 (?), a volume which contains in addition to those named in the title the Artis Amandi, Dansandi Præctica.
two writers had, of course, Lucian's *Phalaris* I and II, published in all the complete editions of his works. They probably also knew Isocrates' *Busiris* and *Helen*, both of which had more than one Renaissance edition.

In his eulogy, Cardano seeks to justify and excuse the conduct of Nero. So enthusiastic is he in defence of his hero that one might be forgiven for taking him seriously, did we not have proof of his true feelings in another of his works. This is an extraordinary little book, containing horoscopes on various classical and contemporary figures - Alciati, Petrarch, Luther, Erasmus, Dürer, Savonarola and Cardano's son, to mention but a few. Also included is a horoscope of Nero, in which Cardano's real opinion of the emperor is more than plain:

"Saevitia in fratrem, uxorem, matrem, in omnes denique, uradem incendo, corpus stupris; animum flagitii, omnia cruenta nece foedavit. Anima trepidus etiam ad ipsa facinora, valetudine firmus, anno 16 Imperium orbis matris fraude adeptus, 32 aetatis scelere proprio cum vita simul amisit, manum timore publicae poenae inferre sibi compulsus. Vestigia crudelitatis Mercurius in sagittario cum Sole et Mars in 7 loco ostendit; flagittiosae libidinis, cum nihil corrigat aut coheseat orbis dominum Venus in Scorpion, mortis Mars in septimo infortunatus in cancro & in Saturni sextili longo."

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1 As, for example in 1557, when André Wechel published *Busiris* in Paris. *Helen* appeared as early as 1510, under the title *Isocratis Cratic De Leudibus Helenae a græco In Latinum Traducta Ioanne Petro Lucense Interprete*. Paris. Pro Ioanne Parvo Apud Divi Iacobi Vicum. Sub Leone Argenteo. Anno 1510. This forms part of Herodoti Halicarnassi Thurii Historiae.

There seems therefore little doubt that the *Neronis Encomium* is a typical satirical eulogy. As H Morley says, in his book on the Italian writer:

"...we might be misled by his writing into the belief that he really did take Nero for a great and good man, if we did not know that not a doubt had then been cast on the good faith of those by whom he was originally painted as a monster. In the sixteenth century it would have been almost heretical to separate from Nero seriously the ideas of cruelty and wickedness....Cardan chose Nero for his whitewashing because he was the blackest man of whom he knew."

Arnaud's satirical encomia appeared at a later date than those of Cardano and are dedicated to Guillaume du Vair. In the introductory epistle, Arnaud urges du Vair to imitate Agesilaus and Augustus, and accept even such 'puerilia' and a means of providing relaxation from more serious pursuits. This remark is of course in the best tradition of the genre. Arnaud's next words are even more important, since they show clearly the link between the satirical eulogy and the Renaissance paradox of the type popularised by Landò's *Paradossi*. Arnaud writes:

"De Baccho, Epicuro, Phalari, Apuleio dicam. idque contra quod omnibus fere & avis, & aevi nostri, malis avibus, visum est."

The *Paradossi* were almost always introduced as works written 'against the common opinion.'

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1 H Morley, *Jerome Cardan*, London 1854. The *Neronis Encomium* and the *Podagrrae Encomium* were both written around 1546. v. Vol I, p 302-303.

The *Neronis Encomium* appears to have become widely known and published only in the 17th century collections. The *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, Firmin-Didot, Paris 1855, Vol 8 p 695, describes an edition of the *Neronis Encomium* (spelt Nesonis) and the *Podagrrae Encomium* under the following title: *Opuscula medica ed philosophica*. Basle 1566. In 4°. I have been unable to find this edition.


3 v infra p 882, notes 2 and 4.
The methods employed by Arnaud in his encomia differ very little, if at all, from those used by classical writers. He even mentions Lucian by name in the apology De Baccho, a work which has obvious links with the praises of wine and drunkenness. Oratorical devices, alliterations and puns abound. In the De Phalaris Arnaud seems determined to present all the criticisms of his 'hero' first. Not only does he present them, but he piles fact upon fact until we feel, as Arnaud doubtless intends us to feel, that anyone who can find a way of defending such a man is indeed ingenious. As in Greek eulogies, the more unlikely the subject, the greater the credit accruing to the successful orator:

"Eius nomen cuncti horrent. Quid enim horrendum magis, quam hominem homini insidiari? quod atrocius, quam in carcerem detrudere, quaestione affligere, aqua, & igni intercidere, exilio damnare, lapidibus obruere, de saxo praecipitare, aquis suffocare, capite plecere, affigere cruci, vivum cremare, & excoriare, in Taurum conicere geneum, quem circum flammae volcenunt? Haec omnia Phalaris in cives, non quidem fures, non repub. perturbatores, non Deorum contemtores; sed qui in caput, aut nomen eius moliti erant aliquid."

The group of praises typified by Lucian's Rhetor finds it way into the Renaissance with the famous Turnèbe original of Du Bellay's Poète Courtisan. Owing to the close parallels between these two works they will be discussed together later.2

1 A Arnaud, op cit pp 191-192.
2 V. infra pp 240 ff.
Before passing to the disease eulogies there is one more short work which deserves an honourable place in the group of vice encomia, because it was obviously inspired by Rabelais' *Eloge des Dettes*. It is a little paradox by Turner, who has already been mentioned in connection with the praise of drunkenness. Dornavius gives it in the *Amphitheatrum*¹, and it was published in 1602 in a posthumous edition of Turner's works.² It is entitled *Encomium Debiti, seu Paradoxon*, *Melius est debere quam non debere*. In a curious mixture of religious and philosophical arguments, Turner sets out to prove his point. Despite the title, the tone is serious, reminding one of the lofty tone of Odet de la Noue's paradox on the profit to a man's soul of imprisonment.³ Turner urges his readers not to laugh as they read the title of his work, but to read on. Man, he begins, is not born for himself, but for others - "Homo non sibi sed aliis natus". This lays the foundation for his claim that debt is both a necessary and a desirable fact of life. He backs this up at a lower level with a passage reminiscent of the classical story about the various members of the body:

"Oculus videt pedi, pes stat manui, manus tangit ori, os edit stomacho, stomachus digerit corpori, redditque a singulis quod det, tanto ordine, tam arcta lege, tam certo tempore, ut videamus, Deum aut nolle hominum esse aut velle esse debitorem in omnibus partibus, non in singulis tantum."⁴

1 *Amphitheatrum* Vol II p 175.
3 v. infra p. 277.
4 Quotations are taken from Dornavius, *op. cit.* Here Vol II p 175.
For a moment the lofty, almost lyrical tone is maintained, as Turner mentions the joy of the debtor, and reminds his readers that they are all indebted to Christ. Then, abruptly, he uses an almost Bernesque argument. In the *Capitolo della Peste* Berni claimed that when the plague was about one need only complain of a headache and all one's creditors would take to their heels! Turner says that the debtor is always the master: creditors come to him, begging for money. It is he who controls the situation. What is more, and here the argument is on the a priori lines of the *De Parasito* and *Pseudochel et Philetymi*, debtors by definition can be neither vicious or covetous men. Probably imitating Rabelais yet again, Turner lifts his praise onto an almost cosmic level, showing that the earth and sky are mutually interdependent:

"Ex quo facile colligere est, ut vitam nostram cibo, potu & aëre, ita naturam humanam mutuo debito sustineri...Nam si cogitemus mente ideam mundi extra debitum, nihil praeter odium, invidia, turbam, cogitabimus."

Without debt, then, all would be chaos. Everything, great and small, receives something from elsewhere. Repeating a previous argument, Turner says that if man denied the notion of debt, the head might deny the use of the feet to the eyes, the eyes sight to the feet, and he ends his praise with a lyrical exclamation:

"O felicem me, omnia debitorem!"

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1 of infra p285 for the lyricism of the *Eloge des Dettes*.

2 of infra p284.


4 *ibid.*
This little *eulogy*, while hardly of great literary value, is nevertheless interesting because it shows that for Renaissance writers at any rate there was no doubt as to how the *Eloge des Dettes* should be interpreted. Turner does not actually mention Rabelais by name, but the two works are so similar in matter and manner that one cannot but feel that he must have read the *Tiers Livre*.

When one studies the disease praises written by the Neo-Latin writers one is struck above all by their sheer numbers. One of the most puzzling features of the study of the satirical eulogy is the fact that while there are a very considerable number of Neo-Latin disease eulogies, there are hardly any French ones, other than the *Hymne de la Surdité*. The chief disease praised by the Neo-Latin is gout, obviously because these writers had Lucian very much in mind as they wrote. The *Tragodopodagra* was published several times during the sixteenth century, in the complete works, and also together with gout praises by later authors. Erasmus' early attempts at rendering it in Latin have already been mentioned.¹

Pircheymer's *Podagrae Laus* was published with Lucian's work in 1529,² and the two eulogies appeared together yet again in 1570, published this time with one by Christophe Arbaleste, a Parisian. Michael Toxites, the compiler,

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1 v. supra chapter on Erasmus, p 55
2 *Tragodia Luciani qui titulus est podagra*, a quodam graece latineque erudito, versibus reddita. *Podagrae laus*, Bilibaldo Pircheymero Authore. Anno 1529. Argentorati. per Henricum Sybold. This volume also contains Cor. Celsi Liber Quartus de Articulorum doloribus in manibus, pedibusque. Cap 24. and Georgius Valla, *De evitanda podagra*. (On this mingling of serious medical discussion and satirical praise, cf infra p122 n1, also p106 n2)
gave the two works the name of 'lusus', indicating fairly clearly that
he shared the classical opinion of the genre.¹ In Rome, too,
collections of similar praises were published, as, for example, one in
1552 by Andrea Lacuna.² There can be no doubt as to the wellnigh
universal appeal of these encomia.

The earliest and probably the best of these Renaissance gout praises
is that of Pirckheym er. First published as Apologia seu podagrace laus in
1522,³ it later appeared with Lucian's Calumnia in 1529,⁴ then in
German translation as Lob des Podagrama, with Fischart's Podagrammissch
Troostbüchlein in 1577,⁵ and continued to be published in the various

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1 De podagrace laudibus doctorum hominum lusus, apud haeredes Christiani
Milii, Argentorati. (1570) i. Bilibaldi Birkheymeri Norici.
ii. Luciani Tragedia.
iii. Christophori Balistae.

2 Il Rimedio delle podagrace dell' eccellente medico M. Andrea Lacuna, con
la Tragodio podagra di Luciano dal medesimo in latino fedelmente tradotta,
e novellamente fatti volgari. Rome. 1552. C. M. Scotto. Evidently
Lacuna did not suffer from the same qualms as Erasmus when translating
from Greek verse into Latin! (The B.M. edition in fact contains only
Lacuna's work, not the Tragodopodagra.)

Rittershusius wrote an introductory commentary to the Laus Podagrace,
Describing Pirckheym er's character as one in which seriousness and wit
mingled: "Erat enim vir ille non solum, ubi opus erat, gravis &
severus, verum etiam in loco & oportune iucundus, comis, hilaris &
io cosus." Pirckheym er, in his own dedication, quotes various
predecessors: "sed & exemplum habeo, cum quidam tyrannidem, alius
Febrem, ille Calvitiem, hic vero stultitiam laudaverit."

4 v supra p 98.

5 Lob des Podagramms, s.l.
collections of encomia right up to the middle of the following century. Pirckheymer's praise borrows something from Erasmus and something from the typical scholastic mock-defence; his Gout, like Erasmus' Folly, speaks in the first person in her own defence, in front of an imaginary jury, whom she seeks to convince of her innocence. Her defence is carefully planned. Firstly, she sets out to prove that the pain of the disease, of which so many complain, and indeed the fact that this pain is present at all, is only the result of the over-indulgence and unhealthy way of life of the sufferers. Her next point is that the pain is in any case not as terrible as it is made out to be by those who are enduring it. Finally, she makes for herself various positive claims, namely that she brings many benefits to mankind.

Clearly, the first point is easily demonstrated. Gout, so prevalent in the Renaissance, was at that time thought to be linked with overindulgence and thus became an easy subject for the moralist. Brant, in the Narrenschiff, calls it 'der richen Sichhtum', and this must have been yet another reason for gout's popularity in the ironical praise.

1 Dornavius of course included it in the Amphitheatrum, and it also found a place in several of the later collections. v. Appendix B. In 1617, thus two years before its inclusion in the Amphitheatrum, it was translated into English, under the title The Praise of the Gout; or, The Gouts Apologue, A Paradox, both pleasant and profitable. Written first in the Latine tongue, by that famous and noble Gentleman Bibliolus Pirckheimerus Counsellor unto two Emperours, Maximilian the first, and Charles the fift: And now Englished by William Est, Master of Arts.

Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci;
Lectorem delectando, pariterque monendo. (Hor. de art. Post.)
London. 1617. The Latin quotation given here is a familiar Renaissance requirement of satire in general and, like the other Horace quotation of 'ridentem dicere verum' is particularly applicable to the satirical eulogy, cf supra p 85 and Erasmus chapter, p 53.

Pirkheymers Gout describes the men afflicted with this disease and shows how "I am present, they wish me away; I am absent, with their vices they call me again."\(^1\) In order to prove that she is not as cruel as people pretend she reminds her hearers that she is not so unremitting in her attacks as a disease such as leprosy or the pox; and that if gout were really as much to be dreaded as people say, a man's friends would avoid the sufferer from gout like the proverbial plague.

But the very opposite occurs, for upon hearing that his friend has gout, a man will laugh, and go round to his house to cheer him up and talk to him. As for the profits she brings, she forces a man to mend his ways, in order to lessen the force of the attacks. People make way for a gouty man in the streets; he may sit when others stand, sometimes even in the presence of princes - a benefit which was also to appeal to other later writers of gout praises. A critic might object that these concessions are only made to the sick person out of pity, not as a mark of respect.

A poor man, says Pirkheymer, does not ask why a certain gift has been bestowed upon him, but is grateful for it unreservedly.\(^2\) Being confined to his room often saves a man from riot, shipwreck, accidents and murder. It encourages the study of the arts and sciences in many men who before they were ill had little time or inclination for such pursuits. Gout may ruin a man or woman's physical beauty, but it purifies their soul, which is of infinitely greater importance. Having listed all the vices of which men are cured by her intervention, Gout ends, in Lucianic fashion,

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1. This passage is taken from the English translation, p 8.
2. *of infra* p 107 for the same argument used by Cardano.
by listing all the classical sufferers from gout. Many of these names are borrowed from the Tragodopodagra - Priam, Peleus, Bellerophon, Cepius, Plistenes, Prothessa, Ulysses and Achilles. She sums up with a plea to the judges to find in her favour:

"so shall Truth be honoured, yourselves for Justice commended, and my Accusers reformed, and myselfe bound incessantly to pray unto the Almighty, that your Honours bee never touched with my disease."

This way of ending a satirical eulogy, with the hope that readers may not suffer from the disease in question was a neat method of ensuring that everyone knew Pirckheymer's true opinion of the thing he was 'praising'. The same method recurs in several of the Pléiade's 'hymne-blasons', as for example when Ronsard hopes that his friend may never suffer from the bites of the 'freslon'.

The next praise of gout has already been mentioned in connection with that by Pirckheymer. It is by Christopher Arbaleste, or Ballista. A monk and a doctor, Ballista was born in Paris, but went to live in Strasbourg. He embraced the Reform in its early stages, and knew Bucer. Little is known of his life, but several letters written by him around the year 1528 do survive, and so do two editions of his work on gout, dated, probably 1525 or 1528, and 1570. The work was translated into English in 1577, by one B.C., perhaps Barnaby Googe. In the preface,

1 ed. at. p. 37.
2 v. infra p 354.
3 Christophori Ballistae Parchisiensis in Podogram Concertatio, ad Reverendissimum in Christo patrem, illustrissimumque principem, Dominum Philippum de Platea, Sedunensem Episcopum. Adiectus est dialogus inter Podagram & Christophorum Ballistam. Ad trinendo. No date, nor place of publication, but probably Zurich, 1525, or 1528. The other edition is that described supra p 99, n 1.
dedicated to the Bishop of , Ballista gives his reasons for the choice of dedicatee. The prelate apparently suffered from gout and Ballista had heard that he bore it with great courage. The work on gout is to be a means of cheering the bishop in his suffering. In fact Ballista's praise is not really a satirical praise, but rather a list of cures for the gout, which are given as 'weapons' with which one can overthrow the disease. It is more closely related to the medical treatise than to the works of Lucian and Pirckheimer with which it appeared in 1570. But its inclusion in such collections serves to show how broad was the conception of the satirical praise in the Renaissance.

Ballista lists the causes of gout — heredity, over-exercise, the frequenting of such dangerous deities as Venus and Bacchus, idleness, cold, anger or too much blood. Even illness or old age can bring it on.

The weapons with which to fight it are either herbs, such as lemon-mint, colewort and others; or stones, such as jet; or sea bathing. Various remedies are suggested — owl's meat, pig's fat, or the ashes of goat's dung. Other recipes are still less savoury, but are in keeping with remedies we know to have been seriously suggested at this time. There is

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1 The English version of Ballista's work was published in London by Abraham Veale, under the title, The Ovethrow of the Gout, Written in Latin verse, by Doctor Christopher Ballista. The English translator does not appear to have known very much more about Ballista than we do now. In his preface he describes how he came to translate the work: "Syr, I send you heer a short treatise of the Gout, written by one Ballista a Frenchman, and dedicated to a great Phisician in Fraunce." (A strikingly inaccurate beginning!)

"It came by Fortune (beeing as I think not any where els to be had) into my hands, which for the benefit of diverse my freinds troubled with that disease, and partely for mine owne recreation, that was somthing delighted with the writer (in as good manner as I could) I Englished. The verse in Latin is not very eloquent, and therfore no mervail though the translation be rude and unpleasent. But sure his Method and order is not in mine oppinion to be dissalowed, but rather much to be commended. I have noted him in such places as
therefore no valid reason to suppose that they are intended ironically. Ballista suggests bathing the legs in weasels' blood, applying the dripping from a roasted cat. As for the foods to be eaten by the sufferer from gout, those that are forbidden seem to outnumber those that are permitted. Sober eating of bread and honey is allowed, but nuts, beans, pepper, onions, garlic, salt and slimy meats are all harmful. A moderate amount of sleep, clear wine, music, and some wise sweet-natured companions are all desirable, and are suggested as further "weapons" against the tyrant disease. The martial metaphor is continued right up to the end of the poem and the last lines run as follows, in the English version:

"Inough now have we tryed the feelde,
The Trumpet bids retire;
Heer stands the bounds, of mine exployt
And end of my desire."  

The chief interest of this work, and of the Dialogue which follows, lies in their dissimilarity to the majority of Neo-Latin praises with which they are associated. The Dialogue features Ballista and Gout. In it, Gout, instead of being described as a powerful tyrant, appears as a sufferer from the disease she personifies, and bemoans her fate. Upon Ballista's telling her that she will die and that she deserves a thousand tortures for tormenting the good bishop of Sion, she offers to rectify this state of affairs by any means at her disposal. She will cease to

continued from previous page: .. I thought convenient, and would have farther augmented him, but that I thought it not good to be to curious in an other mans woork.
Such as it is: I send it you and commit it to your good allowance and protection."

1 English translation, fol C-v.\textsuperscript{r}. 
trouble the bishop, she declares, if Ballista spares her; never before have we seen Gout in such a humble position. He will only spare her, Ballista declares, if she spares not only the bishop, but all good and virtuous men. Whom, then, may she attack, Gout asks meekly? In a sudden unexpectedly satirical passage Ballista tells her she may attack as much as she pleases those men who fight, rebel and commit murder, all warmongering kings, and all 'fat men'. By 'fat men', he hastens to explain, he means all those unworthy priests who grow wealthy at the expense of their flock. Gout is also free to attack thieves, blasphemers and pimps. In short, she is to

"Forbear the virtuous and the good, plague those that wicked be."

In 1537 appeared a translation of a German gout eulogy, by J Hessus, which is in verse form, and is written as a defence before a court:

"Podagrae velut apud iudicem accusatae defensio". It is followed by "Iudicis superacta podagrae cæsæe Provunicatio", and ends with a "Cantilenam in Podagram Chorus Podagricorum canit Archilochio, sicut Gaude visceribus" which runs as follows:

"O Regina Podagra, O dea praepotens
Quis non te metuat; non tua Jupiter,
Vincat numina summus:
Non coelum, mare, non humus,
Audi Diva preces te venerantiam,
Et pacem pedibus redde Podagricis
Blandam redde salutem
Vires corporis adsérens."

1 English translation, last page, last two lines.

The link between this German eulogy and the Neo-Latin ones under discussion is obvious, but the work has little originality, or interest apart from this resemblance.

Girolamo Cardano's other satirical eulogy was on the subject of gout. It was written around the same time as the *Neronis Encomium*. Because of its author's well deserved fame as a doctor, this work has sometimes been taken as a serious treatise on gout, instead of what it clearly is, a satirical eulogy in the best tradition of the genre.

Morley is in no doubt as to the true nature of the work:

"He amused his anxious mind by writing his Encomium on Gout, to whom he was just pledged a subject; thereto incited, perhaps, by the authority of Lucian, among whose works there is a dramatic tribute to the might of the same despot, and throughout Cardan's work it is evident that he read Lucian and liked him. At the same time Jerome wrote also an encomium of Nero; these works being exercises less of satire than of ingenuity. It was an old scholastic manner of amusement to heap up in an uncompromising way all possible arguments in favour of some obvious paradox." \(^3\)

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1 Possibly Cardano was thinking, as he wrote, of Alciati, a good friend of his, who suffered greatly from this disease. The *Podagrae Encomium* was translated into German in 1557 and 1567 (V. Hauffen, *Fischart's Werke*, Stuttgart, 1895, Vol III, p.v, note **).

2 v James Eckman, 'Jerome Cardan,' published in *Supplements to the Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, No.7, 1946. In the footnote to p.70 Eckman writes: "But Cardan's fame was not always thus happily preserved, (as when one of his works was included in a book on the treatment of syphilis, published as late as 1728). One of his pieces on gout was reprinted in 1644 in a little book of ridiculous or silly writings by various men!" (in the *Podagrae Encomium in Dissertationum ludicrarum et Amoenitatum scriptores varii*. Edito nova et aucta, Leyden, Francis Heger, 1644, pp 43-66). Eckman might also have mentioned Dornavius' *Amphitheatrum* in this respect and the 1638 Leyden edition of the *Dissertationum ludicrarum* etc. Cardano's work was also published in Joh. Lüselei porusssi Phil. & Med. D. De Podagra Tractatus, morbi huius indolem & curam diligenter exponens. Editio secunda locupleta, Lugduni Batavorum. Ex officina Ioannis Maire, 1639. (Not in 1638 edition, Rostochi. Typis haeredum Richelianorum).

Cardano begins his work by saying that man should never be ungrateful for the benefits he receives:

"Nec quaeerendum puto, in gratia compensanda, quis auctor fuerit beneficii, nec quo animo id contulerit in te, sed quantum per id profeceris."

This argument is clearly borrowed from Pirckheynmer, and is followed by a passage in which Cardano lists various groups of encomia to which he claims his own does not belong:

"Non eo laudare velim podagram, quo caetera solent laudari mala mortalium, tanquam his ipsis iustae ab illis exigatur poeniae. Sic enim & mori, & morbi, & tyranni solent laudari, sed non est haec illorum laus, verum potius accusatio mortalis generis... Non est hoc argumentum paradoxum, non ostentatio facundiae, aut ingenii; quorum unum in me minus est, quam mediocre, alteri conscius sum nunquam operam navasse. Male laudantur ea, quae iuste laudari non queunt; Velut Stultitia, Calvium, Quartana, in quibus quanto plus elucet Rhetoric eloquentia: eo in argumento levitas maior deprehenditur; Oratio inanis, & undique fides ac veritas historiae desideratur."

While admitting that he does not like gout, Cardano still maintains that the disease deserves praise, as an ill, however, not as a pretended good, which was the usual way of eulogising it. But Du Bellay was not to be prevented from writing a satirical eulogy merely by stating that he was not doing so, and Cardano resembled the French writer in this respect. Another clue to the real nature of this praise lies perhaps in the admiration he expresses for Lucian:

1 All quotations are taken from Dornavius, Amphitheatrum, Vol 2 p 215ff. Here, p 215.
2 cf supra p 10f.
3 Dornavius, op cit p 216.
"Lucianus ille Samosathensis, vir acer, magnaeque eruditionis, cu cui exemplo moveor, non aemulatione duco."

Beginning the eulogy, Cardano declares that Podagra is the mightiest of her clan - the diseases nephritis, arthritis and others. Although she is incurable, she is not a killer disease. No charm, ointment or incantation can reach her, for only God controls her. Her generous nature is shown by the fact that, at least according to Cardano, she does not attack women, children or the very old. Like Pirckheymer, Cardano feelsthat the disease prefers the society of the wealthy and the nobly born:

"Dormit & in pluma purpureoque thoro."

She enjoys living in luxury, feeding on the best wines and the choicest delicacies. Gout benefits a man intellectually and many philosophers have suffered from it; indeed

"Vir magnae eruditionis Erasmus e cubili Podagrae quicquid legi meretur, expromsit; in morbo sanior quam in bona valetudine."

Judging from what he wrote in his letters about his recurrent ill-health Erasmus would not have agreed with Cardano either as to the nature of the disease from which he suffered or as to its desirability as an aid to composition.

1 Bornavius, op. cit p 216.
2 cf Lucian's caustic comments on the inability of medicine to cure 'nodosam podagram'.
3 Bornavius, op. cit p 217.
4 ibid.
Gout, Cardano continues, encourages learning, good health only the despicable worldly instincts of man. It alone of all diseases affects the whole of the body in its advanced stages; this is taken as an indication of its power. It attacks great warriors, such as Hercules and Antoninus Leva, doctors such as G Budaeus, and many other eminent figures. The mention of Budaeus refers to his work De Curandis articularibus morbis Commentarius, in which the liminary verses rather rashly proclaim:

"Solve re nodosam quondam medicina podagram
Nesciiit, & multis non placet inde viris.
At Budaeus adest iam divum munere; morbum
Hunc facili & firma qui ratione levat."

Cardano writes of this:

"Irata sane merito fuit Gugliel. Budeo, qui cum tam
publ. conatus sit docere eliminare, ipsum auctorum;
ita concussit, ut nil integrum ei reliquerit."

The sad example of Budaeus' fate seems an obvious real-life parallel with the painful punishment inflicted on the doctors in the Tragodopodagra!

The pain that gout inflicts is, Cardano agrees, worse than the tortures of hell, but she is nevertheless a noble goddess, firstly because of the nobility of the victims she chooses, and secondly because she does not afflict the poor or those who lead temperate lives.

1 Leva 1480-1536, the Spanish soldier, v. La Grande Encyclopédie, art. Antonio de Leyva: "Leyva, qui souffrait de la goutte, se faisait porter en litière sur les champs de bataille."
2 Paris 1539, Pierre Regnaulet.
3 Dormavius, op cit p 217. Alphonsus Avalus is another warrior mentioned by Cardano.
The next section of the work resembles extremely closely the earlier gout praises already discussed. Gout is not contagious, and so all a man's friends will come to visit him when he is ill; he sits when others are obliged to stand, rides when they walk; he becomes 'pium, castum, continentem, prudentem, vigilem', a wise counsellor and a cultivated man. For some reason, again according to Cardano, his wine taste better to him, perhaps because his palate is less dulled than before. Understandably, death loses its horror for the poor invalid, and becomes 'lenissimam et somno simillimam'. In any case our whole life, with its evils and its vices, may be called a 'disease'. Whether or not we have gout, we are certain to suffer in some way, and the advantages of gout make it preferable to most other forms of suffering. Gout is the only disease not to affect the mental powers of the patient in any way; on the contrary, with the temperance it enforces, it will clear the mind, purify and firm the body, aid sleep and encourage longevity. A gruesome list of various other diseases follows, and from this Cardano draws the somewhat negative conclusion that since it is useless to hope for no disease at all after the age of forty, gout is the best of a most undesirable collection of ills:

"Itaque cum ea conditione nati simus, ut aliquid pati necesse sit nec morborum nullus munidior, mitior, securior, facilitior, animae vires adeo angest, mores exornet, nullis commodis afficiat vitam, aut dignitatem, aut opes, propter ea merito Encomium illi diximus, debitasque ei laudes tribuimus."

1 Dornavius, op. cit p 218.
2 ibid p 219.
One cannot but feel that Cardano's real opinion of gout is probably expressed in the objection to his own arguments which he puts into the mouth of a 'malevolus calumniator'. Perhaps, he writes, people may object to his praise of gout on the grounds that he is eulogising

"rem fasdam abominandam, morbumque diuturnum atque insanabilem idque non nisi offatandam facundiae vel ingenii factum putet; quandoquidem non rei boni sit Podagra, non des, non naturale quidquam, sed e genere laesionum, dolorum, molestiarum, defectum; is sane decipietur."

But, he persists, since it only affects those who misuse the good things of life, gout cannot be thought of as a beneficial disease. Think of all the advantages it brings with it, as for example when it saved Andrea Doria's life by preventing him from attending a certain banquet at which his enemies had planned to kill him. What is more, and it is impossible to believe that Cardano meant to be taken seriously here, gout does not entirely prevent us from doing things when really necessary:

"multi in incendiis distenti acerbissimis doloribus Podagrace, fuge tanquam sani essent, se proripuerunt."

The same phenomenon has, it appears, been observed amongst men fleeing in battle.

Cardano's praise resembles the traditional satirical eulogy in so many respects that one is surprised at his claim to originality and novelty of approach. The chief innovation in his eulogy is the mention of so many contemporary figures - Erasmus, Andrea Doria and Leva.

1 The work does take the form of an argument with Cardano putting forward pros and cons, but it is not really a 'libro dialogato, nel quale egli figura come soggetto' (A Bellini, Gerolamo Cardano, Vol VIII della collana di Studi di storia della Medicina, Milano, 1947, p 149).

2 Dornavius op cit p 219. 3 ibid.
The next Neo-Latin gout praise was one by Johannes Carnarius entitled De podagrae Laudibus Oratio, written in 1552. Carnarius was a Belgian doctor whose real name was Vleeschouwer. Born in Ghent about 1520, he died in 1562, having practised in Padua, where the work on gout was published. As in the case of Cardano, the fact that he was a doctor seems in no way to have prevented him from enjoying writing a mock praise on a painful disease of whose real nature he cannot but have been aware. The work was written as a public speech, and was actually delivered by its author, according to the title page of the published work. Its success, Carnarius tells us in an introductory letter, led him to publish it. Curiously, although Pircheymer’s gout praise was well known, and had preceded that of Carnarius by many years, and several editions, he claims that his work was a novelty in its time and that the Tragopodagra was his only predecessor.

"Suspice igitur Magnifice Sigismunde, hunc nostrum partum, & si nulla alta re, ipsa tamen novitate (ut mihi quidem videtur) commendandum. Nam nemo adhuc scio in hoc argumenti genere versatum esse, praeter unum Lucianum in Tragopodagra (sic); ubi tamen Podagram mihi magis vituperare quam laudare videtur, dum ipsam Furini infernalibus natam, educatamque intractabilem Deam, inexpugnabilem dolorum Dominam, denique Diis ipsis, ne dicam hominibus, terribilem facit. Quod quam diversum sit a meo instituto cuilibet nostra legenti facile fuerit videre."


2 ibid Preface, p 4r - 4v.
Although he does not at any stage mention any other predecessor in the gout encomium, Carnarius is by no means backward in discussing the satirical eulogy in general. This he does in spite of the fact that he began his work, like Cardano, with the pious hope that he might use a novel approach in his work, something entirely different from that adopted by those who attempted to extol the merits of Philosophy or Medicine. He wants to imitate the classical panegyricists, he says, not the scholastic praises of his own day.


This long list of his predecessors is really the most interesting part of Carnarius' eulogy. The rest of the work utilises the same arguments.

1 Carnarius, op. cit., p. 6r - 6v.
as most of the other praises of gout, except that the plan is more clearly defined than in some cases. Carnarius says that he intends to begin by describing the origins and family of his heroine, as classical panegyricists used to do. Gout, he decides, was not born of the furies or some other terrible goddess, despite what one 'Cynicus temerariusque Sophista' — perhaps Lucian — dared to assert.¹ Her mother was Venus and her father Bacchus, she was born in a luxurious palace, and nursed by two beautiful nymphs. Her kingdom is wherever Venus and Bacchus are, or have been in the past. She loves wine, princes and prelates, and Lucian is here referred to yet again as the writer who mentioned several classical sufferers from gout. Eunuchs and women were said by Hippocrates to be exempt from gout, but Carnarius declares that this is no longer so, if the people in question are rich and leisureed.

Gout, he writes, reminds us of our humanity, and humbles our pride as we realise that there are certain things over which we have no control. It gives every man the temperance of a philosopher. Doctors and patients alike should be grateful to her; the former because even a miser will become generous in his efforts to procure a means of relieving his suffering. Like the quartan fever in Favorinus' eulogy,² gout makes men stronger after their illness than they were before. Some men might try to deny the divinity of Podagra, on the grounds that they have never seen

¹ cf Pontanus' dialogue, infra p 149. Quoted from Carnarius, op cit p 7².

² v supra, Chapter I p 45. cf G Menapius, infra p 124.
an altar erected to her, but, says Camarius, with what is surely meant as a touch of satire, the palaces and mansions of rich princes and cardinals are all dedicated in their entirety to Podagra! Gout must, he concludes, be considered as one of the beneficial ills, not as a pernicious one. It is through tribulation that we gain eternal reward, and gout seems to be one of the mildest forms of this necessary tribulation. By enduring gout we can attain heavenly glory, and yet we are so ungrateful that we try to deny that the source of our beatitude is itself blessed. On this lofty note Camarius ends his discourse, and adds a few words of thanks to his listeners for their kind attention. As can be seen, this eulogy, like most of the works belonging to this group, contains very little satire outside the basic paradox inherent in the genre. Its literary merit is negligible, but its interest lies in the way in which, despite his claims to the contrary, Camarius remains faithfully within the well established genre of the satirical eulogy, using the same methods and arguments as his predecessors.

The popularity of the gout eulogy amongst Neo-Latin writers appears to have been virtually inexhaustible. As late as 1605 we find a eulogy by C B Pontanus1 which unhesitatingly uses the now familiar arguments, this time in verse form. However, there are certain differences and Pontanus does show a certain amount of originality in his treatment of what was by this time a very tired subject indeed.

Instead of being dedicated to some friend or patron of the author, the Triumphus, like Gargantua and Pantagruel, is addressed humorously to a group or people:

"Admodum Reverendis, illustribus, et eximis viris, atque magnatibus, doctis & indoctis, singulis & omnibus, cuinsecunque dignitatis, conditionis, status & eminentiae fuerint, cum Podagra militantibus, salutem & sanitatem precatur."

Unlike those so far described, this work takes the form of a narrative. Much of the mock-heroic, half-joking description is clear parody on some of the great classical works, while the transporting of the author-hero to the scene of the triumph, in a cloud, has something of the flavour of a mediaeval romance. The poem begins with a lengthy description of the beautiful valley in which the triumphal procession in honour of Podagra is to take place. Over the triumphal arch is an inscription extolling the omnipotence of gout. This is a different point of view from that of Brant and Pirkheymer, who thought of the disease as the scourge only of the rich.

The attacks on doctors, which all sufferers from gout, from Lucian onwards, seem to have enjoyed making, are repeated by Pontanus with yet more virulence. A list of the people in the procession follows — men, women, even children, from every walk of life appear. Not all seem in fact to have been suffering from gout, as the following lines, a clear parody on Book Six of the Aeneid, show:

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1 Triumphus, p 3.
"Et pueri flentes vix matri ab ubere rapti 
Ibant turmatim, fatum hoc crudele querentes 
Quos Colica afflxit vel Calculus acrior ursit, 
Arida vel Febris vel vermis viscera rodens 
Aut patris antiquo deductus sanguine morbus, 
Aut dolor extimus alio vel nomine torquens: 
Spectaculum superos adeo miserabile movit."

Now all the familiar gouty heroes reappear - Ulysses, Priam, Bellerophon and Achilles. The gods themselves have sent gifts to placate the goddess, who is borne in on her chariot, as a paean of praise is sung in her honour. Some of the usual arguments in favour of the disease feature in it. One sees in this song the evident enjoyment, reminiscent of Lucian, with which Pontanus plays with well known classical passages, adapting for his own purposes words and phrases easily recognisable to most of his readers:

"Progenies Divum gaude, tuus istic Triumphus 
Tu populi victrix sine ferro, sanguine, bello 
Tu disciplinae domina es, foelixque Magistra. 
Tu vera es, vere veri patientis imago, 
Tu tu refrenas motus, moderatio vitae. 
Tu praedictorum magna informatio salve. 
Quem poterat nemo, tu Democratem extraxisti 
Circolo & hinc primo tuleras o Diva Coronam, 
Tu facis indoctos, doctos, castrosque sequentes 
Luxuriam, madidos vino sibi parcere putu; 
Tu facis indomitos, domitos, stultos sapientes. 
Ex pravis rectos; Nova tu facis omnia sola.... 
Bella premis, pacem firmas, contraria tollis... 
Tu casta es, nullum occidis, tu diva ministra 
Nullius, at morbi soli tibi quique ministrant." 2

Evidently inspired by this song, the author asks to be allowed to write a poem in honour of the goddess. Like Lucian's Podagra, Gout send out her servants all over the earth, and then gives orders for the waiting author
to be taken home to bed. Safely there, he exclaims with feeling:

"non est sub caelo maior virtute Podagra!"\(^1\)

So great was the fondness of the Neo-Latin writers for the disease eulogy that they did not rest content with imitations and 'improvements' of the Tragodopodagra. Other diseases often appear in their works, though none to the same extent as gout.\(^2\) Erasmus' dialogue incorporating both gout and the stone has already been discussed. Another author who chose to write of these two diseases was I. Pontanus. This work was once again in dialogue form, and was published by Dornavius in the Amphitheatrum under the title Iacobi Pontani de societate Iesu Morbidi Duo, & Laus Podagre.\(^3\) In this dialogue the two sick men argue as to which of their

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1 Triumphus, p. 33.

2 Apart from the Neo-Latin gout eulogies there is also the German Podagram-misch Trostbuchlein, by Fischart, published in 1577. This very long work shows great inventiveness in parts, and Fischart shows almost Lucianic imagination in the string of epithets for gout which he reels off at one point. His list of sources, which is of considerable length, is also interesting. It includes Pirckheimer, Carnarius, Cardano, most of the classical sources and Claudian and Petrarch. These last two have not been mentioned before in this study, but Claudian was popular during the Renaissance, and several of his short poems on animals were given by Dornavius in the Amphitheatrum, e.g. pp.602,603,613,623. The poem in question here is his epigram In Podagricum qui carmina non stare dicebat, which ran

"Quae tibi cum pedibus ratio? quid carmina culpas?
Scandere qui nescis, versiculos lacerans?
Claudicat his versus, haec inquis, syllaba mutat
Atque nihil prorsus stare putas podager."

(Quoted from A. Hauffen, Johann Fischarts Werke, Eine Auswah1, Stuttgart 1895 etc. Vol.III Introduction p.IV, on the TrostbUchlein). Petrarch is mentioned because in a letter he quoted the tale of Podagra and the spider which is also sometimes given as the tale of Podagra and the Flea. Ballista, Iacobus Pontanus and Hans Sachs are also mentioned by Fischart, as are the Stoics. The tale of Aranea et Podagra was also related by one Panteleon Candidus (translation of his family name of Weiss, born in Austria in 1540, died in 1608). Dornavius placed this alongside the straightforward gout encomia already discussed;\(^\) Fischart was not alone in seeing a resemblance between this tale and the true eulogy. Candidus' version also appeared in the section De Reptilibus in his Centum et Quinquauginta fabulae de Diis, which formed part of the Delitiae Poetarum Germanorum, collectore A.F.G.G. Francofurti 1612, Vol. 2, pt. I.

respective illnesses is the worse. The general tone of the conversation resembles that of the De Ferasito and the Tragodopodagra, in its lightheartedness, and ideas common to other Neo-Latin encomia are contained in certain lines. The gouty man bemoans his fate, and decides that gout was born of Megaera and nursed by Alecto. He quotes the old saying on the incurability of 'modosa podagra' but at his stage he is interrupted by the man with gall-stones, who tells him to stop moaning, as his own disease is far graver than gout, and far more painful. He attempts to silence the gouty man's protests, by saying that men who have endured both illnesses have declared gout to be the milder; "comparatione calculi podagram vocant auream". One is reminded here of Erasmus' findings on the same subject. Unconvinced, Podagricus declares 'magis in mortuis profecto, quam in vivis numerandus sum'. Gall-stones, he assures his companion, can sometimes be operated on successfully, but short of cutting off both legs, there can be no relief from gout! Here Calculous interrupts him, to advise strongly against undergoing the operation for gall-stones, as he says he once saw a man die in agony after such an attempt at curing him. Podagricus now exclaims:

"Et tamen (o stultitiam hominum otio & litteris abutentium) incidi nuper in librum, quo podagra laudabatur."

One can tell that this line was meant ironically when one sees how closely the dialogue resembles the 'foolish' praises. Calculousus assures
Podagricus that gout was rightly praised, since it brings with it many benefits. These he proceeds to list, and they are very familiar. People make way for a gouty person in the street; he is carried on a litter when others go on foot; he is given the best food and drink at feasts. The gouty man objects that "haec calamitatis sunt argumenta, nec verus honor iste honor", but is told by Calculosus that many a poor man would like the gouty man's wealth and luxuries, and his gout, rather than poverty and good health. This was a somewhat more unusual and extreme argument than that used by most of the praisers of gout. The sufferer from gout, Calculosus continues, using a favourite argument of other writers in connection with folly, is freed from the cares of state and of high office, and from dangers he might meet with if he ventured abroad. He can foretell changes in the weather, from the pain in his extremities. This fails to convince Podagricus, who gives a graphic picture of his own suffering:

"Lues & pernicies humani generis est, quum exsorbet nostrum sanguinem, immutat praecelaram corporis speciem, colorem infuscat, vires attenuat, corpus incurvat, oculos hebetat somnum adimit hilaritates omnes fuget, manus, digitos, articulos, humeros, membra omnia debilitat atque frangit."

Undaunted by this flow of heartfelt rhetoric, Calculosus assures him that it is a thoroughly desirable thing that this should happen, since the burning up of redundant "humores" which it brings about is beneficial to a man's body. Gout lengthens life, and improves people's whole character. It does not prevent one from eating and drinking, either. In short, like G.B. Pontanus' Gout,

1 Dornavius, op cit p 215.
2 v supra p 117
"Illa ex inhumanis humanos, ex iracundis mites, ex intemperantibus temperantes, ex libidinosis castos, ex implis religiosos, ex avaris liberales efficit,"

whereas other diseases either kill a man straightaway or else give him no respite from his pain, during which these improvements in his character can take place. Philosophers, princes and kings all suffer from gout, and it is surely better to suffer in such illustrious company than "cum plebeis & sordidis mortalibus!" Finally, it must be remembered that the mental powers of the gouty person are not affected in any way. Almost convinced, Podagricus asks if any classical writers have supported Calculosus in what he has said. One has, comes the reply:

"scito Lucianum disertissimum scriptorem eam celebrazse." Gout, he continues, waxing eloquent, does not need to bother with long and difficult names, like Cardialgia or Ophthalmia, but boasts one of the simplest names of all. She took part in the Trojan war, and was well known to all the Greeks. He repeats that she is not a killer disease, and does not attack women, children or old men, preferring healthy people and those of noble birth. Podagricus is at last convinced, like Tychiades in the De Parasito, and says:

"Posset eodem modo laudari pestilentia, posset bellum, sicut ebrietates, sicut moria, sicut mors, sicut musca, sicut calvitium a quibusdam laudata sunt, qui sua ingenia suamque eloquentiam in rebus vel absurdis & incredibilibus, vel abiectis & humilibus ostendarere venditareque voluerunt. Non mihi foret difficile commendare lupanaria mendicitatem, & similia."
Because of this passage alone, if for no other reason, Pontanus' dialogue would deserve a mention in the present study. As for the remedy to be prescribed for both the diseases under discussion, Podagricus decides that "aequus animus" is the best form of relief. Calculosus agrees whole-heartedly, and closes the dialogue by quoting a saying of Seneca:

"Nihil tam acerbum est, in quo non aequus animus solatium inveniat."

The most famous Renaissance praise of the quartan fever, the disease dealt with in classical times by Favorinus, was one by Guilielmus Menapius Insulanus, the German scholar, who died at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1561. His long praise is not very good, as it contrives to expand three or four basic ideas into a lengthy and laborious whole. In order to expand these preliminary ideas, an immense amount of discussion on the exact nature of the disease, supported by lengthy quotations from Galen and Hippocrates, is introduced.

1 It is interesting to find that mention of the Tragodopodagra could crop up in the most unlikely works. In a medical work by Daniel Sennertus, professor of Physic at the University of Wittenberg, called the Institutionum Medicinae Libri V, Wittenbergae 1628, there are several references to Lucian's work. Sennertus' work appears to have been quite popular as it was published a number of times, and was translated into English in London as late as 1676 under the title Practical Physick by one H Care. In it Sennertus deals with various diseases in turn. In the chapter in gout, he first describes the nature of the disease, as being the 'taking' of various limbs; Chiragra, of the hand, Gonagra, of the knee, and Podagra, of the foot. As the English translation has it: "In regard that these members are in this Disease as it were taken, and by it ensnared and held fast; even as by Lucian (in his Tragodopodagra) the Gout is brought in thus speaking:

By the most of Men I am called Podagra
being the taking and detaining of the feet."

(English transl. Section, A Treatise of the Gout, p 2-3). Two other similar references to Lucian occur later in the same chapter; the first in the section on the Signs Diagnostick of the gout: "In a word; in the Gout that which most especially troubleth the sick person is the pain he feeleth, and an impotency in his motion; and upon this there follow
After an introduction in which he seeks to persuade his readers to forget all their prejudices against the quartan fever, and listen to what he has to say with an open mind, Menapius attempts to explain why this fever is so persistent and long-lived. It is due to the obstinate nature of her mother - 'Bile Noire', as the French translation calls her.

The argument used by the gout-praisers - that their disease is not a killer disease - is next on Menapius' list. He has to qualify this statement rather carefully, by saying that it is only not a killer disease if proper care is taken in between the attacks. Instead of the usual criticism of doctors, Menapius assures all sufferers that if they follow their doctor's advice, they will be certain to make a good recovery.

continued from previous page:
"...watching and restlessness, a dejection of the Bodies strength, and other Symptoms; all which Lucian in his Tragoëdagra hath very elegantly described." (ibid p 55).
In the section on Mitigators of Pain, Sennertus writes again: "The Pain in this Disease for the most part is a most grievous Sympton, and which is most troublesome to the sick parties, and which they most of all Curse and Bann (as Lucian hath it in the beginning almost of his Tragoëdagra) and therefore also it is that they most of all desire the removal thereof." (ibid p 82).
Sennertus obviously referred to Lucian because of what he considered to be the medical accuracy of his description of gout. We have here yet more evidence of the fame of the Greek author's powers of observation.
A further point in her favour is that the quartan fever allows a man several days' freedom in between her attacks, during which he can eat and drink as usual, as long as he is careful to avoid excess. Undoubtedly she is the best and mildest of all the fevers and may truly be called blessed, as gout was by Camarius. In this life pleasure is always mingled with pain, and, adapting Favorinus' argument, Menapius quotes the Greek proverb about days being sometimes mothers and stepmothers all at once. The great advantage of the quartan fever is that when you have it you can be sure of certain days of respite and relief from suffering. Long lists of suitable foods, of pharmaceutical cures, follow. Menapius was clearly interested in such matters from a more serious point of view as well, for in 1541 he published a book on curing quartan fever.¹

In detail, he goes on to describe the manner in which quartan fever attacks various parts of the body, and repeats Favorinus' contention that men are healthier after the fever than they were before.² After several paragraphs tracing the origin of the word 'febris', with numerous classical quotations, Menapius ends his eulogy by criticising wars and fighting, praying that they may cease. He hopes that all wise men will read and approve his work, and do their utmost to make it widely known, as a just reward for all the time and energy he has expended on it.³

1 Ratio curandi Febrim quartanam. Basle 1541.
2 of supra p144 for the same argument used by Camarius in favour of gout.
3 The Encomium Febris Quartanae was first published, with the work on the cure of the same fever, in 1542, ex officina J Operini, Basileae. It later appeared in most of the seventeenth century collections. At least its subject was a novelty for the Renaissance, for the Neo-Latins preferred gout as a disease to praise. It was even translated into French as late as 1728 by Etienne Coulet, who published it together with a praise of gout by a seventeenth century writer. Coulet introduced the praise of gout as follows:
The famous Ulrich von Hutten had in fact preceded Menapius in writing on the fever. In two short works he had used many of the familiar arguments in favour of the disease. They take the form of a dialogue, in which Hutten and Pebris are the interlocutors. Hutten pretends to be trying to persuade Pebris to attack the Cardinal on whose expedition he, Hutten, is at present. Pebris, reluctant to go, tells Hutten that in fact the Cardinal deserves gout far more than he does fever, to punish him for his luxurious mode of life. The dialogue becomes a framework for Hutten's attacks on the Cardinal and religion, but amongst the arguments he does produce in favour of the disease he is treating are that it makes its subjects industrious, pious, patient and moderate, sharpens their wits, checks their passions; it is better than every other illness, for it does not kill anyone and preserves the body from other illnesses.

1 Opera Poetica, s.l.n.d. contains the first (dated 1516). Both are in Dornavius, op cit. Hutten also wrote a serious work on the 'Morbus Gallicus', De Gualaci medicina et morbo gallico liber unus, Moguntiae in aedibus Ioannis Scheffer MDXIX. There are many such works on syphilis and venereal disease in the writings of Neo-Latin authors, but most of them appear to be intended as genuine medical treatises. Typical of them is the large collection De Morbo Gallico omnia quae extant apud omnes medicos cuiuscunque nationis Venetiis. Apud Iordanum Zilettum, 1566. This volume, many hundreds of pages long, contains, besides many lesser known works, Pracastor's poem on the disease, Syphilis sive morbus Gallicus (first published Venice 1530). Only in certain works written in French (v infra p 43) is 'Dame Verolle' treated humorously.

continued from previous page:
3 "L'Eloge de la Goute, Ouvrage Héroïque, Historique, Politique, Comique, Critique, Satirique, Ironique, Véridique, & autres Epithètes enique". The second work he described thus: "L'Eloge de la Fièvre Quarte où il est doctoralement prouvé l. Que ceux qui ont le Bonheur d'avoir cetè Fièvre, ne peuvent trop s'en féliciter. II. Que ceux qu'elle n'a pas encore honoré de sa visite, ne peuvent la souhaiter avec trop d'ardeur. Traduit du latin de Guillaume Menape. En son vivant, Docteur en Mèdecine (apparemment). Cherche qui veut Trouve qui peut. Par Monsr. Gueudeville.
A. Leide. Chès Théodore Haak. MDCXXVIII.
Passerat, whose French eulogies are also of importance in the present study, also wrote an Oratio de Caecitate. In this he merely elaborates on Cicero who, in his Tusculanae Disputationes, Bk V, had claimed that blindness was no hardship. He had named a host of statesmen and philosophers who, in spite of blindness, had accomplished great things and led happy lives.

Another Frenchman, Antoine Hotman, revived many of Synesius' arguments on the advantages and disadvantages of hair in his De Barba, Dialogus, which appeared in 1586. This work, written in the form of a dialogue between Pogonias and Misopogon, features many quotations from Lucian, Erasmus and Synesius, and clearly belongs to the genre of the satirical eulogy. One has only to read the chapter-headings to be convinced of the similarity:

1. Barbam viros a feminis discernere.
2. Eandem maturi consilii indicium esse.
3. Ex antiquis plurimos tonsos plurimosque intonso fuisse.
4. Quod & inter Philosophos observatum est.
5. Barbam crinesque antiquitus sacrificatos fuisse.
7. In adoptionibus idem observatum fuisse.
8. & in quibusunque initiationibus, ut in nuptiis.
9. in extremo vitae spiritus.
10. in servorum manumissionibus.
11. in Clericorum initiatione.
12. Capillorum rasuram indicem tristitiae fuisse.
13. demissionem etiam.
14. tum & omnem rasuram.

1 v infra p. 273.
2 In Dornavius, op cit Vol 2, p 262. Also Ioannis Passerati Eloquentiae Professoris et Interpretis Regii, de Caecitate Oratio. Lucetia. Apud Hammerum Patissonium. Ex officina Rob Stephani. MDXCVII.
3 Antonii Hotomanni I.C. sive De Barba, Dialogus Lugduni Batavorum, Ex officina Plantiniana. Apud Franciscum Raphelengium. 1586. Also known to the Renaissance (v Appendix E No 3) was a short work in verse, by a monk, Hucbald von St Amand, the Ecloga de Calvis, which is a poem in defence of baldness, every word beginning with C! (v Max Manitius, Geschichte der lateinischen Litteratur des Mittelalters, Munich, 1911, p 591.) v. also infra p. 320 sq.
Although he takes the opposite point of view to that of Synesius, Hotman's approach is remarkably similar.

With few exceptions, none of the Neo-Latin animal praises are of anything like the same length as most of their disease praises. Possibly the link between the medical treatise proper and a joking praise of a disease, often incorporating a good deal of medical knowledge and advice, tended to create in writers the wish to give their praise a more weighty appearance. Another reason may lie in the vital influence of Catullus on the playful animal poem in the Renaissance, an influence which produced a preference for brevity and verse form in authors of animal praises.

However, there are a number of Neo-Latin animal eulogies which follow Lucian's *Muscae Encomium* very closely. They appear not to have undergone the influence of Catullus and his imitators in any way.

There were two important editions of the *Muscae Encomium* in sixteenth century France and the work also appeared, of course, in the Complete Works. The way in which these editors introduce the praise gives some idea of their attitude towards the work, and also, perhaps, towards the genre of which it is an example. The Lyons edition\(^1\) of Lucian's works, for example, introduces the *Muscae Encomium* as follows:

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"Declamatio est ex eorum genere quae exercendi ingenii causa tractari solent, adoxa pleraque, & ipso argumento, dicentem parum iuventa. Qualia statim ab initio inde sophistas tractasse, etiam ex Socrate appareat, qui in exordio de laudibus Helenae, inutilem ac intempestitam in rebus frivolis, & a communi usu alienus, diligentiam illorum ob id reprehendit. Quanquam videtur Lucianus discipulorum magis, quam sui ostendandi causa, huiusmodi argumenta tractasse: nemi ut horum exemplo, etiam ad seria copiosiosis, & ad inveniendum promptiores illos redaret. Et ex superioribus praefationibus satia appareat, illis tum temporibus cum haec scriberet, rhetoricam publice professum esse, sive hoc in Gallia, ut quidem ex Hercule aliqua modo coniecturam facere licet, sive etiam aliqua loco. Porro autem tanta diligentia omnis persecutus est, quacunque de musca dici, aut inveniri possunt, ut vix aliud copiosius quicquam in hoc genere tractatum reperias, adeo, ut si explicare oratione, atque amplificationibus illustrare singula voluisset, plane illud, quod ipse in fine vereri se sit, ex musca elephantem fecisset."

The reaction in France to Lucian's encomium can be seen in the Paris edition of 1583, edited by Bretin. This editor clearly has a high opinion of Lucian, for in his Preface he defends the Greek writer against all those who claim that he is a frivolous and atheistic writer:

"Et si nous voulons y prendre garde, nous verrons que plusieurs doctes personnages ont tiré de Lucian, la moelle et méthode de leurs écrits qui sont pour le lourd'huy bien estimez."

1 It would be very interesting to know who wrote this introduction. Both the Lyons edition mentioned above, and the liminary verse quoted below (note 2) from the Bretin edition, are taken originally from Micillus' Frankfurt edition of the Complete Works. (v. p 125 note 1) Erasmus, More Pirckheim and Melanchthon all contributed to this edition. In most cases the name of the translator of each piece is given. Here it is not; probably, therefore, Micillus himself wrote this introduction, which Bretin did not use.

2 The short liminary verse which Bretin translates from the Latin of Micillus' edition might almost have been written with the satirical eulogies in mind, so applicable is it to them in particular of all Lucian's works: "Lucian, qui savoit la sagesse et la sottie A escrit tout cecy, d'un sage entendement: Ores que les mortels, qui jugent sottement, Cuideront que ce soit une badinerie. Car il est tout certain, que l'homme estant en vie
Was Bretin perhaps thinking of the Moriae Encomium in writing thus of the influence of Lucian? Of the Muscae Encomium itself he has only this terse comment to make:

"C'est une declamation ou harangue, faite pour cause d'exercice d'esprit; encore que le sujet ne soit pas beaucoup utile."

Evidently Bretin did not agree with Micyllus as to the work's possible value and significance. The satirical or burlesque element in the eulogy appears to have escaped him entirely.

The very aspect of the Muscae Encomium which Bretin criticised had earlier been given much fairer treatment by the famous Geofroy Tory, in a separate edition of this work, published around 1533. This little volume contains only sixteen pages in all. Its Preface shows plainly Tory's reasons for enjoying the praise:

Aux Lecteurs. S.

"Vous avez icy ung petit Oeuvre ou est contenu la Description & Nature de la Mousche, Par lequel vous pouvez non seulement cognoistre mainte bonne chose en la dicte Nature dicelle Mousche, Mais y verrez l'excellent Esprit & Sçavoir de l'Authour Lucian, qui comme ingénieux & parfait Orateur monstre à tous, Que les Petites choses ne sont à despriser. Et que l'efficace de l'art D'oratoire est de pouvoir faire ample description non seulement d'une grande chose, Mais aussi bien d'une petite. Ce dict Petit Oeuvre n'est à

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1 La Mouche de Lucian et La Maniéré de Parler & de se Taire, La Mousche est translatée de grec et Latin en Langaige François. La maniéré de parler et de se taire, est translatée seulement de Latin en François. Le tout par Maistre Geofroȳ de Bourges, Imprimeur du Roy, Et libraire juré en l'Université de Paris. On le vend à Paris devant l'Eglise de la Magdeleine, à L'enseigne du Pot cassé. 8vo. (1533).
Tory was an admirer of Lucian, as this preface shows. He feels that although the work does have its value as an exercise in rhetoric, Lucian also wished to show in it that "les petites choses ne sont à desprier". With this interpretation he at once gives the eulogy a more serious, even a moral purpose. He praises the inventiveness and good style of the author, and in his opening sentence would seem to be asserting that the work has some scientific value, as a means of learning about the nature of the fly.

Another separate edition of the Muscae Encomium to appear in the early years of the sixteenth century was by Nicole Bérauld, the Greek scholar and friend of Erasmus. Published in 1517 it was dedicated to Louis de Berquin. In this preface Bérauld calls the work "haec Luciani declamatiuncula", and mentions Seneca's piece on the death of a friend.

1 The rest of Tory's Preface is concerned with the Manière de Parler & de se Taire.
3 For Erasmus' use of this same word to describe the Moriae Encomium, v. R van Tieghem, La Littérature Latine de la Renaissance, B H R Travaux et Documents, Tome IV, p. 564: "Erasme range lui-même son Éloge de la Folie parmi les "déclamations", mais il n'a pas en vue les morceaux d'éloquence sérieuse plus ou moins brillante, que nous rencontrerons plus loin sous ce nom. Il veut parler de ces exercices d'éloquence sur des thèmes fictifs, souvent bizarres et paradoxaux, sur des maux ou des infirmités dont on s'amusaît à prononcer un pompeux et plaisant éloge, bâti sur les arguments les plus subtils, et paré de toutes les élégances de l'élocution; éloge de la surdité, du pou, des rats, de la boue, de la goutte, de l'ivrognerie, de Néron, de l'Enfer... et d'autres plus malodorants ou plus scabreux; pour ces éloges, et en général ces déclamations on ne se servit, longtemps encore après Erasme, que du latin. Il dit lui-même avoir composé cette 'déclamationnette' comme il l'appelle (declamatiunculam) d'abord, dans sa tête, à cheval..." The truth of Van
of Claudius, Synesius' *Calviti Encomium*, and repeats St. Augustine's idea that we should admire the small animals as much as the great, the ant as well as the elephant.

One of the earliest revivals of the genre of the satirical eulogy to be written anywhere in Europe was in fact a close imitation of the *Muscae Encomium* by the famous L.B. Alberti (1404-72). It was written between 1441 and 1443, and in a letter to C. Landino Alberti says that the idea of composing it occurred to him after reading a translation of the *Muscae Encomium* sent to him by Guarino of Verona. In his preface he adds that he so enjoyed writing his *Musca* that he recovered from an attack of fever.

Alberti's imitation is not, however, at all slavish; indeed, the spirit of his work differs considerably from that of Lucian. The *Musca* is amusing, written as it was for Alberti's entertainment and recreation. In it he uses classical myths and legends even more extensively than Lucian, but the only ones he shares with the Greek author are the Homeric references and the story of Maia. He gives the work a larger satirical

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1 Tialem's remark about the continuing use of Latin in such praises has, of course, been amply proved in the present chapter.

content and some moral depth, in a way typical of the humanist approach in the first half of the fifteenth century. He presents in comic fashion the social organisation of the fly; he shows its military thoroughness, its industriousness, its courage, faithfulness and patience; the fly is presented as a real paragon of moral life:

"Mitem pacatam equabilemque vitam ipsi homines ut ducerent persimilem muscis,\(^1\)

sighs Alberti, expressing a sincere wish in an obviously humorous way. He ends with the following words, emphasising his purpose in writing the Musca:

"scripsimus haec ridendo et vos ridete."\(^2\)

Alberti composed another animal eulogy at about the same time as he wrote the Musca. This was entitled the Canis. In it he discusses funeral panegyrics and defends himself for writing one. He praises in exaggerated terms the dog's birth and ancestry, and describes its life and death from poison. This little work therefore forms a link between the parody on a panegyric, such as the Muscae Encomium, and the animal epitaph, praising a dead animal. Alberti addresses hyperbolical praise to his dog; this type of exaggerated praise was to be repeated by Bernesque and Pléiade poets alike:

"O noster Canis, nostrae delitiae decus iuventutis splendor & ornamentum familiae tuae qui & forma & morbus & virtute nobilissimam vetustissimam ornatissimamque familiam tuam multo nobilitasti; ac longe celeberrimam effecisti."\(^3\)

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1 Musca, ed cit, p 52
2 ibid p 62
One has now to pass to the following century, in order to find
imitations of the *Muscae Encomium*. Celio Calcagnini (1479-1541),
from Ferrara, was to give one of the most extensive early lists of
satirical eulogies, longer even than that of Erasmus. His own work
was entitled the *Encomium Puclicis*, and though it was not published
till 1544 the Preface is dated 1519. Dornavius quotes it in full, but
he must have had access to some other edition of the work, as this is
not the Preface given in the 1544 edition.

"Non est, quod me adeo huius argumenti poeniteat, tot ac
tantos duces sequentem. Habuerunt enim serii ac magni
scriptores fere omnes post graviora studia, ubi
lascivirent. Id egit Cicero in *Senectute*; Phavorinus in
Thersite & Quartana; Lucianus in *Musca*; idem in
*Parasitica*. In *Capillitio* Apuleius; uterque in *Asino*;
*Calvitic* Synesius; Seneca in *Obitum Claudii*; Plato in
*Furore* et *Gymnastica*; Polycrates in *Aresiod*; in *Helena*
Stesichorus; in utroque Isocrates; Democritus in
*Chameleonte* et *Talpa*; Varro in *Sesquyse*; Plinius in
*Exercitacione Equestri*; Xenophon in *Cyro*; Plutarchus in
*Gryillo*; Vergilius in *Culice*; Homerus in *Ranis*; Homerus
alter in *Margite*; Aristophanes in *Avibus*; in *Nuce
Ovius*; in *Inustitia* Polemo; in *Amore* Phoedrus; in
*Brassica* & *amurca* Cato; in *Aniso* Pythagoras; M Antonius
in *Ebriareta*; Claudius in *Simulations insaniae*; Catullus
in *passere*; Stella in *Columba*; Statius in *Psittaco*;
Quintillianus in *Coecitate*; Baptista Guarinus in *Cane*;
Leo Baptista in *Cloaco et Mone*; Erasmus in *Stultitia*;
Pandulphus Collenutius in *Bombarda* & *Misopon*; Iacobus
Sadoletus meus in *Lacocante*; quidam in *Ostreis*;
*Fubebibus & Psuedula*; & 
"serentes id genus si numerare

1 Two other fifteenth century Italians must be mentioned at this stage as
extracts from their works are given by Dornavius. They are Angelo
Poliziano (1454-94) and Giovanni Gioviano Pontano (1426-1503). Of
Poliziano we find in the *Amphitheatrum* writings on the gnat, the
dog and on dreams. Of Pontano, poems on the dog, on begging, on the
nightingale, and on various other subjects.

2 The 1544 edition was that of Calcagnini's *Opera*, by Froben at Basle.
"libeat...Et me non pigeat post tot praeclara nomina Pulicem in argumentum arripuiisse; qui tanto religiosius praeclaris illis scriptoribus assurgo; quanto iis quae ab illis laudata sunt, minor pulex agnoscitur.

In quo genere exercitationis illud fere experimur; quod emeritus pancratiaestes solebat; qui vires conmecentes tueri cupiens, tenui-nervia summis digitis arrepta puteales urmas magno quidem labore, sed minima proposita laude hauriebat. In tenui enim re non tenuis labor. Et profecto nemo negaverit; plenum summæ difficultatis, ut ille ait, novis auctoritatem, obsoletis nitorem, obscuris lucem, fastiditis gratiam conciliare."

Although the naming of and quoting from authorities was standard practice in most forms of Renaissance literature, one cannot help wondering whether the repeated and lengthy lists of their predecessors given by even the best of writers of satirical eulogies was not an attempt at establishing and justifying a recently revived genre. Certainly these lists must have been influential in suggesting to would-be imitators ideas and topics for encomia.

Calcagnini's work follows the usual pattern for such works and all the familiar methods reappear. His praise was expanded by a Frenchman, Pierre Galissard, who also wrote in Latin. Also entitled the Pulicis Encomium, it was published in Lyons in 1550, by Jean de Tournes. 2

1 Dornavius, op cit Vol I, p 21. Most of the names in this extremely useful list are already familiar, but worthy of note is the way in which Calcagnini does not hesitate to introduce a large number of Renaissance names. Cardinal Jacopo Sadolet's laecoon, a short work, was generally published together with his Curtius, as, for example in the B,M.edition Curtius, eiusdem Laecoon. Ioannes Baptista Phaelius. Bononiensis Bononiae 1532. Pandolfo Collenuccio, who translated Plautus and several other authors, was compared to Lucian by Beatus Khenenus, who wrote the Preface to the 1511 edition of his Apologi Quatuor, M Schurerii, Argentorati, which contained the two works referred to here by Calcagnini. Guarino also translated the Muscae Encomium, v supra p 151.

2 Galissard is a writer about whom almost nothing is known. 'Pierre Galissard, Docteur en Théologie, de l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs d'Arlès, en Provence' is all that La Croix du Maine has to say of him (11.282). De la Monnoye writes that Araqueus, as Galissard styles himself, cannot mean "native of Aries" although he is often described as "Arelate natus". "Je croira plutôt que (Galissard) y avait fait sa principale résidence,
It follows the usual pattern for such works. Galissard says that small things are even more worthy of our attention than large. In sculpture and in painting we admire detail and care, and he mentions the Greek Myrmecides. Passing now to the insect under discussion, this is not, he writes, born in filth and squalor, as are many other insects, but of the dust - hence its name, Pulex, on the analogy of Latin 'pulvis'. So famous is it that all languages have a name for it, and Galissard proceeds to show off his knowledge of Greek and Hebrew by giving the word for Pulex in these two languages and quoting from authors who mentioned it. Next he describes its physical appearance, as Lucian had that of the fly:

"Tria habet membra praecipua, caput, ventrem, & medium quiddam, quod est illi vice pectoris." Like the elephant and fly, it has a long proboscis. It also has four 'tibia', of which the back two are longer than the front, so that it may jump more easily. He praises its ceaseless energy -

"Pulex nullum caput quietem, nullumque habet delectum diei & noctis."

In terms suitable for a description of a battle he describes its bravery, and reminds his readers that its bite is not nearly as harmful as that of the 'pediculus'. He ends with a résumé of all that he has said:

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continued from previous page:

1 Galissard, op cit p 20.
"Habes igitur (optime lector) Pulicis natales, institutum rationemque vitae, & mortis interitusque varia genera, quoque modo posteritati suae prudenter consulat, quae variis & gravissimis authoribus tam erat in promptu confirmare, quam sum veritus, ne te sermonis longitudine aut a legendo deterrem, aut cerce obtunderem, neve de re tam in speciem minuta, elephantum, quod aiunt, de musca fecisse viderer."

The idea of turning a fly into an elephant is of course a direct borrowing from the end of the Muscae Encomium.

In 1534 appeared the Ciconiae Encomium of Caspar Heldelinus. This work was intended as an exercise in rhetoric, and its full title runs:

"Ciconiae Encomium; utilis adcommodataque ratio exercendi iuventutem declamando."

The plan of the work is strict and formal, with the usual mass of quotations and classical references.

In 1540 appeared an encomium which departs still further from the Lucianic tradition and brings serious moralising, even religion, into what had originally been a type of playful, witty jest. This was the Aranei Encomium by C.S. Curione. Its full title shows immediately how different Curione's attitude was from that of Lucian:

"Aranei Encomium in quo Aranei erudita natura Rhetorico Schemate explicatur. Et in eo loci communes de Ente supremo & unico, de divina Providentia, de spiritus humani perpetuitate, alisque nonnullis scitu dignis."

1 Unlike most writers of satirical eulogies, Galissard does not appear to have thought it necessary to justify his choice of subject. But his publisher introduced a short liminary poem to remind the reader, briefly, of some classical sources:

"Perspice, ne subito tenuem contemne libellum;
Res quam parva pulex, sermoque parvus erit.
Rebus humi pressis, alias, mugisque videmus
Ingenium doctos sive agitasse suum
Sic mures, ranasque simul descriptit Homerus;
Perstrinxit culicem carmine rite Maro.
Huc igitur properes, pulicisque evolve libellum
Rebus in exiguis commoda magna latent."

2 Basileae, 1534.

3 Coelio Secundo Curione Autore. Venetiis. MDXXX.
Dornavius includes in the Amphitheatrum a later work which also differs fundamentally from the Muscae Encomium. This is the De Formica of Jeremia Wilde.\textsuperscript{1} It is in fact a praise of the ant, divided into fifteen chapters, each one discussing a different aspect of the insect. Wilde describes the varieties of ants, their minds, their seven admirable traits, their ethical and economical virtues, their "natural and moral utility".\textsuperscript{2} Although, despite all these qualities, he does put them in the class of irrational animals, he claims that they are not thereby prevented from being almost divine, having memory and imagination, if not of ideas, at least of 'sensible species'. The borderline between Wilde's apparently sincere concern with the near-divinity of the ant, and Lucian's obviously joking interest in the soul of the fly, is very fine indeed; it is small wonder that Dornavius felt entitled to include Wilde's work in his collection.

Schönfeld, publisher of the De Formica, had in 1614 published a work which was to be a great favourite with all the compilers of collections of satirical eulogies.\textsuperscript{3} This was the Muscae Principatus\textsuperscript{4} by Franciscus Scribanius. As its title shows, it is a comparison between the prince and the fly, on a laborious point-by-point basis. It is of little interest except in so far as it resembles in certain respects Lucian's Muscae Encomium, even down to the use of the same formula about making an elephant out of a fly, with which it ends.

\textsuperscript{1} De Formica, Liber Unus, auctore Jeremia Wilde, Augustano. Ambergae apud Schönfeld, 1615.
\textsuperscript{2} ibid p 99.
\textsuperscript{3} v. Appendix B, part I, no's 5, 6, 10, 11.
\textsuperscript{4} Francisci Scribani Veronensis, Muscae Principatus, Hoc est, Muscae, ex continua cum principe comparatione, encomium. Ambergae, Apud Johannem Schönfeldium, MDCXIV.
As the above examples show, few of the direct imitations of the Muscae Encomium attempted by Neo-Latin writers, had much literary importance or merit. But not all Renaissance animal encomia were descended solely from Lucian's work. There was also a widespread vogue for the animal epitaph, on the model of Catullus' poems on Lesbia's sparrow. The link between the joking or light-hearted epitaph and the satirical eulogy has already been mentioned, and it is surely significant that Alberti's Canis, which shows no influence of Catullus, and is in prose, not verse form, was written about a dead animal.

The Neo-Latin writers had other classical epitaphs on animals to which they could turn for inspiration if Catullus failed. There was Martial's poem to the dog Issa, whose master Publius had her portrait painted. There was Statius, with his Silvae, Ovid in his

1 v. supra p 82

2 Martial, Epigrams, Loeb Classics edition Vol I, p 98. In fact this poem is not an epitaph, for the dog in question is not dead. But her master, loving her dearly, has her portrait painted so that when she does die he will be able to remember her. The poem is delightful, with the gentle mocking tone which was later to be used by the Pléiade:

"Issa est passere nequior Catulli,
Issa est purior osculo columbae,
Issa est blandior omnibus puellis,
Issa est carior Indicis lapillis,
Issa est deliciae catella Publi."

3 Statius, Silvae, Loeb edition Vol I, p 113. This poem is an elegy, half serious, half mocking, with the exaggerated expression of grief which was to be typical of the Italian epitaphs (v infra p 173)

"Parrot, prince of birds, glib-tongued favourite of thy master, parrot that cleverly doest mimic human speech, who has cut short thy chatter by so sudden a stroke? Yesterday, hapless one, thou didst join our feast, though doomed to die, and we saw thee plucking the dainties of the table and moving from couch to couch till after midnight....(p 115)

But how spacious was thy house, how bright its gleaming dome! and the row of silver bars, joined with ivory, and the gate that echoed shrill at the touch of thy beak, and the doors that today speak their own complaint! Empty is that happy cage, and silent the chattering of that lordly abode."
Amores, and the Greek Anthology. These provided between them poems of varying mood and quality. Some appear to be sincere expressions of regret at the death of a beloved pet. Other, such as that of Catullus, are in fact little more than excuses for paying compliments to the poet's lady-love, or for begging her to be more merciful.

1 Ovid, Amorum libri tres, ed Paul Brandt. Hildesheim, 1963, p 102 (Book II, 6). This poem is another one on a dead parrot; in his notes Brant mentions those of Statius and Catullus. It resembles the other poems very closely, as the closing lines show:

"Ossa tegit tumulus, tumulus pro corpore magnus,
Quo lapis exiguus par sibi carmen habet:
"Colligor ex ipso dominae placuisse sepulcro;
Ora fuere mihi plus ave docta",

2 The Greek Anthology contains several sepulchral epigrams on animals (v Bk VII). Typical of them are Nos 195 and 196, which in fact are not true epitaphs, but amatory poems: (No 196, Loeb Classics edition, Vol II, p 111) On a Cicada, by Meleager: "Noisy Cicada, drunk with dew drops, thou singest thy rustic ditty that fills the wilderness with voice, and seated on the edge of the leaves, striking with saw-like legs thy sunburnt skin thou shrillest music like the lyres! But sing, dear, some new tune to gladden the woodland nymphs, strike up some strain responsive to Pan's pipe, that I may escape from Love and snatch a little midday sleep, reclining here beneath the shady plane-tree."

A true epitaph on a cicada is No 200, by Nicias: (p 113) "No longer curled under the leafy branch shall I delight in sending forth a voice from my tender wings. For I fell to the ....hand of a boy, who caught me stealthily as I was seated on the green leaves."

No 204 is on a partridge, and is by Agathias Scholasticus: (p 115) "No longer, my poor partridge, exiled from the rocks, does thy plaited house hold thee in its light withes; no longer in the shine of the bright-eyed Dawn dost thou shake the tips of they sun-warmed wings. Thy head the cat bit off, but all the rest of thee I seized from her, nor did she satisfy her wicked jaws. Now may the dust lie not light on thee, but heavy, lest she drag thy corpse from the tomb."

The two parts of this epitaph are in marked contrast to one another. The first part very poetic, the second extremely realistic. The usual wish that the earth should lie lightly on the body it contains has been transformed, and thus an element of near burlesque appears to creep in.
Typical of these Neo-Latin epitaphs are two poems by Nicolas Bourbon, each of which combines a lament on the bird with a plea to his mistress to be less harsh, or some compliment to her. Saulnier translates the first of these as follows:

"On a trouvé mort dans sa cage le moineau, ce moineau, l'amour et le délice de la belle Rose. Comme cette mort est loin de celle de l'ami que pleure ta Lesbie, Lesbie, la moitié de ton âme, savant Catulle. Ce n'est pas de la faim, ni de la sécheresse de la soif qu'il fut victime, ni d'un piège, ni d'une âcre odeur. Le regret et l'excès d'amour dont il brûlait pour sa maîtresse absente le consumèrent jusqu'à la mort."

Also in the *Nugae* is a parody on the theme, called *Catulli Imitatio*, a long poem in the Catullan style:

"Gaudete o Veneres, Cupidinesque
Et quantum est hominum politiorum:
Nisus Victor ades meae Rubellae,
Nisus delitiae meae Rubellae,
Quem plus diligit haec suis ocellis."  

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1 Les Bagatelles de Nicolas Bourbon, présentées et traduites par V.L. Saulnier, Paris 1945, p 34. The other poem by Bourbon is entitled *De Passere mortuo Lampadis pullae ex vulg. Maroti*, and is a translation of Marot's *Passerat de Maupas*. In it, Love killed the sparrow in annoyance at making no impression on the hard heart of the bird's mistress.

These Neo-Latin epitaphs were gathered together, as were the satirical eulogies, in the seventeenth century. The collection of epitaphs was entitled *Epitaphia Ioco-seria*, Latina Gallica Italica, Hispanica Lusitanica Belgica. Franciscus Swertius Antwerp, postertitati & urbanitati collegit. Two biblical quotations follow. "Ecclesiat. Cap. 1.2.3. In multa sapientia, multa est indignatio. Vidi cuncta quae fiunt sub sole, & ecce universa vanitas, & afflictatio spiritus, & infinitus stultorum est numerus.

Moritus doctus similiter ut indoctus.
Et cognovi quod non esset melius nisi laetari, & facere bene in vita sua." Coloniae, Apud Iodocum Katoven, Anno MDCXXXV. The use of the adjective 'ioco-serius' in the context of an epitaph, not a satirical eulogy, is interesting, as is the biblical quotation on the number of fools being infinite. The book contains a great many epitaphs from all the countries named in the title, not translated into Latin, as Dornavius always tended to do, but given in the language in which they were written. On p 210 there begins a whole section of *Epitaphia Animalium*, which contains mostly Latin versions of Landri's *Sermoni funebri* (v infra p 183).

Visagier combined several of Catullus' poems to make another sparrow parody, but there is really no element of praise present in it.

It is a far cry from the ponderous Pulcius Encomium to the charm and delicacy of J C Scaliger's poem on a tame thrush. A glance at this work suffices to show the full significance of the influence on the animal eulogy of the animal epitaph, and, more particularly, of Catullus:

"Dulci Turdule docte gutturillo
Asperas animi levare curas,
Cantillans modulos minutiores:
Condite mihi pectoris medullas
Cantiumcula ut inquietore
Oblitus veterum miser malorum
Mentus improbus acquiescat aestus.
Da mihi blandula murmurella mille....."

2 continued from previous page:


1 He combined parody of Catullus I and III and Catullus XLII (a threatening letter to a courtesan who refused to return the poet's correspondence). Visagier demands the return of a sparrow which Perinna has stolen, and alternates between a sort of 'blason' of the sparrow and abuse of Perinna. Called Ad Perinnam Italum, (Hendecasyllabi p 80ff) it runs:

"Redde putida passerem poetae;
Redde delicias reflagitanti;
Passer bellulus ille, bellulus ille,
Num passerculus est tibi dicatus?
Feles hunc potius, canesque scindant.
Scortum silicet in sinu tenebit
Impuro, illephido, atque ineleganti
Ave dulciculamque blandulamque
Ave virgineo choro sacratam?
Oro illam potius trahant tenebrae,
Cumque passere Lesbias Catulli
Incedat per iter tenebris oscum....."

(Quoted from M. Morrison, art. cit. p. 380).

The Renaissance attitude to animals was very complex, as Hélène Naïs shows in her book *Les Animaux dans la poésie française de la Renaissance*. 1 Apart from the two classical influences on the animal eulogy, typefied by Catullus' poems on Lesbia's sparrow and the *Muscae Encomium*, one must also consider various other Renaissance genres which featured animals.

In the Middle Ages, in the bestiary or Physiologus, animals are used in literature primarily for preaching and teaching, as symbols of human vices and virtues. Early zoologists, emblem-writers, writers of epitaphs, paradoxes and satirical eulogies all shared a common heritage of traditional stories about and opinions on animals, taken for the most part from Pliny and Aelian. ² It can be very misleading to find a joking praise of an animal, in the best Lucianic style, included by the great Gesner in the *Catalogus*, to his monumental *Historiae Animalium*. H. Naïs gives a full description of the works listed by Gesner.³ These include Galissard's *Pulicis Encomium*, Calcagnini's *Ciconiae Encomium* and Jerome Vida's *De Bombycibus*, a poem describing in lofty language the life of the silk-worm. The names of Catullus, Lucian, Ovid, Vergil and Homer also appear on the list, as does that of Alciati, famous for his emblems.


2 The importance of Pliny is stressed by H. Naïs (op cit p 58): "Quel que soit le jugement que l'on puisse porter sur la valeur scientifique d'un Pline, il ne faut pas oublier qu'au XVIe siècle toute connaissance zoologique commence par lui. C'est bien souvent à travers lui seulement que les lecteurs moyens ont pu avoir une idée de l'oeuvre d'Aristote."

3 v. H. Naïs, op cit pp 118-139.
Gesner's work was continued by Ulisse Aldrovandi, whose many volumes of natural history were to provide yet another readily available source of anecdotes, myths and fables about animals and insects. Aldrovandi retained the moralising tendency of the Middle Ages, devoting seven folio pages to proving the rationality of ants, "and his description of their cities and piety to their fellows, a mixture of citation and observation, reads more like a phantasy than like a book in science."¹ This state of confusion was further increased by Dornavius, who, with complete disregard for Aldrovandi's scientific purpose, extracted from his work several anecdotes on various animals, and placed them in the Amphitheatrum, side by side with true eulogies such as the Muscae Encomium. 'Encomia' by Aldrovandi on the worm, the ant, the glow-worm, the bee, the spider, and even of the fly, all find their way into his collection. As the examples of Gesner and Aldrovandi prove, it was not unusual throughout the sixteenth century, for a satirical eulogy on an animal to be viewed

¹ v. George Boas, The Happy Beast in French Thought of the Seventeenth Century, 1935 pp 47-8. Another early zoologist discussed by Boas is Pierre Gilles, (whom Pantagruel saw under the sea, inspecting the urine of a fish - a joke on the empirical method Gilles favoured! v. Bk V. Ch 30 of the Faicts du Bon Pantagruel, ed Lemerie, 1873. III. p 125. From Boas, op cit p 40, N 82). Although a founder of modern zoology, Gilles was sometimes singularly uncritical of his examples. His adaptation of Aelian makes all the old claims for animals' intelligence and powers of reason. He praises particular types of animal, such as the elephant, and urges mankind to follow its example as far as piety and religion are concerned. Thus the mediaeval attitude to animals, whereby their lives are only interesting insofar as they are edifying for mankind, persisted, and was not to die out until well into the seventeenth century, long after zoology had become an established science. "It apparently did not occur to these earlier zoologists that their subject was justified if it increased human knowledge." (Boas, op cit p 47).
either as a piece of literature or as a scientific treatise. Something of this variety of interpretation has already been shown to have been possible in the case of the disease eulogy, as, for example, when the Tragodopodsacra was used by Sennertus to illustrate his medical work.\footnote{1}

This freedom is greatly increased in the category of the animal eulogy.

The question of the emblem and its importance for the satirical eulogy is an extremely complex one.\footnote{2} This genre was of course immensely popular, and, like the scientific work, it had in common with the paradoxical encomium the sources of ideas, Pliny and Aelian, and the moralising attitude towards animals. It must also be stated that Dornavius includes in the Amphitheatrum several emblems by Joachimus Camerarius, the Younger, taken from his various books of symbols and emblems. However, any detailed study of Dornavius soon forces one to the conclusion that he chose his eulogies largely because of their subject matter, and far less because of the treatment given to this subject matter. He was thus able to include not only emblems, but perfectly sincere pieces on horses and other fine animals, on roses, violets, lilies and various attractive flowers. For him these works evidently came under the heading of "vulgo pro vilibus habitae" and thus earned a place in the Amphitheatrum; they show that it would be dangerous to jump to any sweeping conclusions about the resemblance between the emblem and the animal eulogy merely because he places them side by side in his collection.

\footnote{1} V. supra p. 122. n. 1.

\footnote{2} On the emblem in general, V. G. H. Dexter, La Perrière and his poetic works, MA. Thesis (unpublished), London 1952 passim. Also E. N. S. Thompson, Literary Bypaths of the Renaissance, 1924, p. 29ff.
The other popular Renaissance genre to resemble in certain respects the satirical eulogy was the paradox. This genre will be discussed in detail in connection with the vice eulogy. As far as the animal eulogy is concerned, the role of the paradox is less clear-cut. The paradox never deals with specific animals, as does the emblem. But it does sometimes state that learning is an evil and that animals have a far happier life than that of man. Montaigne, Charron and their opponents discussed such ideas seriously, and although what they wrote might in some ways be paradoxical, it was not a paradox, in the Renaissance sense of a specific genre with a technique closely resembling that of the satirical eulogy. When such matters were touched on by Landi and his translator Estienne, in the Paradosso, they became more lighthearted and more ironic. Landi would often defend first one, then the other side of a given question, after the manner of a mediaeval debate. The paradox contained no serious description of animals, only general notions on their happy existence. It was written as a rhetorical exercise, not as a scientific treatise.

This study of the Neo-Latin satirical eulogies would not be complete without some mention of the numerous ridiculous encomia on objects and abstract conceptions, such as the praises of mud, stones, of nothing and

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1 *infra* pp 261 ff.

2 Boas, *op cit passim*, discusses this question at some length, particularly with reference to the serious praise of animals' way of life, and admiration for them, which he christens 'theriophily'. He shows that for many writers it was a favourite theme to satirise and criticise man by claiming that animals are superior to him: such praise was simply a literary flourish, a smart paradox, a means of social satire.
of something, which appear in the *Amphitheatrum*. There are many eulogies on foodstuffs, some of which may have been sincere, or may have been semi-scientific in purpose, others of which resemble the satirical eulogy. They had predecessors in antiquity, but are of little importance as their satirical content is negligible. E. de l'Aigue (Aquaeus) wrote an *Encomium brassicarum* in the form of a dialogue, with the 'collocutores' being Orator, Physicus and Coquus. He calls his work a 'lusus' and mentions in his dedicatory epistle various predecessors:

"Ego sane nec pueri inutile, nec seni cuiquam indecorum puto, se interdum mucibus (ut aiunt) addicere, vir doctissime, talique avocamento, ingenii lassitudinem seriis studiis contractam reficere. Propterea alios, nucos, muscas, calvitas, & id genus minutula lusisse animadvert."  

The praise of *Nihil* by Passerat is a well known example of this group of miscellaneous eulogies. It is in fact more of a linguistic exercise than anything else, as in it Passerat includes every phrase he can think of in which the word nihil occurs, and also develops ideas on the importance of 'nihil' itself. It is ingenious, but makes monotonous reading owing to the constant repetition of the word 'nihil'.

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1 *supra* pp. 15 and 21.

2 *Encomium Brassicarum sive caulum*, per Stephanum Aquaeum Parisiis, 1531.

The importance of the Neo-Latin satirical eulogies cannot be over-emphasised. The popularity of the genre with writers of many nationalities probably encouraged others to use it in the vernacular. Revived by great humanists such as Alberti and Erasmus, it soon appealed to men far less gifted but no less enthusiastic in their efforts. The 'capitoli' in Italy and the 'hymnes-blasons' in France both owe much to the Neo-Latin eulogies which had preceded them.

Because of its resemblance to certain other Renaissance genres, the satirical eulogy broadened its scope. It absorbed elements of the medical and of the zoological work, of the epitaph, the paradox and even, perhaps, of the emblem. But in so doing it often tended to lose sight of what was in reality its most important feature, namely the element of satire. Without this element, so admirably developed by Erasmus, the satirical eulogy was doomed to superficiality, to use as an exercise in rhetoric rather than as a vehicle for expressing valuable truths, and for subtly attacking abuses. The Neo-Latin eulogy tended more and more, as the century progressed, to repeat what had been said before, to praise completely absurd and useless subjects, or to descend to mere pornography.

This resemblance to other genres containing little satire, while it made the revival of the satirical eulogy easier, was nevertheless to prove harmful to the genre in the long run. The factors largely responsible for its early popularity were equally responsible for its eventual collapse and degeneration.
CHAPTER IV

THE SATIRICAL EULOGY IN ITALY

As the previous chapter has shown, the Latin satirical eulogies written during the Renaissance by Italians differed little, if at all, from those written by their contemporaries and successors in other countries: Alberti's Canis and Musca, and Cardano's praises of gout and of Nero followed closely their classical models. But Italy produced during the sixteenth century various groups of works, written in Italian, which, though they resembled the classical and Neo-Latin satirical eulogies in many respects, arose in fact from quite different genres and traditions. These works were to be responsible for certain elements in the French satirical eulogies which would probably never have been present had the French authors had to rely entirely on classical and Neo-Latin inspiration.¹

¹ To discuss here the immense Italian influence on France at this time would be quite superfluous, but for lists of Italians in France, French in Italy, description of relevant works and translations, the following studies are useful:


F. Flaminì. 'Le Lettere italiane in Francia alla corte di Francesco I', in Studi di storia letteraria italiana e straniera, Livorno, 1895.

E. Picot. 'Les Italiens en France au XVIe siècle', (from Bulletin Italien, 1901), Bordeaux, 1902.


F. Flaminì. 'Le lettere italiane in Francia nei secoli del Rinascimento', in Varia, Livorno, 1905.


The first of these groups of works, in time and in importance, is that composed by the Bernesque poets, Berni, Mauro, Molza, Grazzini, Firenuola, Bronzino and others. Amongst their various writings appear the satirical or mocking 'capitoli' which are of importance as far as the present study is concerned. These, like the satirical eulogy, are on such improbable topics as, for example, gout, coughing, lies, eels, sausages or pet animals. They were written largely as a reaction against the excessive Petrarchism of the time, with its restraints on verse forms and language.\(^1\) A hyperbolical eulogy on a ridiculous subject was a means of parodying the exaggerated praises written by Petrarchan poets in honour of their ladies. In their use of language, which was as varied as it was uninhibited, the Bernesque poets were rebelling against the restrictions imposed by the ennobling and purification of language current among Petrarchan poets.

The satirical 'capitoli' therefore had contemporary reasons for their existence, unlike most of the Neo-Latin eulogies, which were often little more than the attempts of enthusiastic humanists to

\(^1\) cf. O. Trtnik-Rossettini, Les Influences anciennes et italiennes sur la satire en France au XVI\(\text{e}\) siècle, Florence, 1958, pp. 34-5. 'Berni n'avait pas seulement l'intention de faire rire le public. Il avait un but satirique; raiiller la poésie pétrarquiste. Les imitateurs de Pétrarque, avec leurs éloges outrés des beautés de leurs dames et de tous les objets qui les entouraient, leurs comparaisons ridicules, faisaient rire même les contemporains. À ces éloges et à d'autres célébrant avec autant d'exagération les grands seigneurs Berni opposa ses éloges bizarres où l'on peut voir les premiers germes d'une critique du pétrarquisme....'
revive a classical genre, regardless of whether this genre had any contemporary relevance. Berni and his followers could find further Italian inspiration, for their play upon language in particular, in Burchiello's sonnets, with their lack of realism and often obscure references. However, Burchiello differed fundamentally from the Bernesque poets in that although he used some Latin in certain of his sonnets, he was no humanist. Indeed, he wrote against Alberti, the humanist 'par excellence'. His was essentially a popular tradition, enriched by his own fantasy and wit. Most of the themes he favoured and developed were the usual ones of Italian burlesque poetry. They fell into two main groups: the poems, containing grotesque portraits and personal attacks on various types of people, on decrepit horses, and thin mules, and those relating the story of some ridiculous or unlikely adventure, such as a visit to a country inn, a tiresome journey, or a sleepless night. Berni, although making use of the popular themes, and writing many poems in the tradition of Burchiello, had a very different background from that of the Florentine barber. He was a good Latinist with a humanist education. He and his friends, whose education resembled his, were thus able to find inspiration in both classical and popular literature.

One of the chief elements which Berni brought into his writings,

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2 V. Burchiello, ed. cit., p. 6.

3 Rossettini op. cit., p. 34. Berni also made plain his admiration for Burchiello in the sonnet beginning 'S' i avessi l'ingegno del Burchiello.' V. Berni, Poesie e Prose, ed. E. Chiòrboli, Florence, 1934, p. 152.
indeed, one which is widely accepted as being the characteristic feature of a 'Bernesque' capitolo, is precisely the element of paradox, the absurd praise of the unpraiseworthy, which is typical of the satirical eulogy.1 Introduced largely for purposes of parody, the paradoxical encomium becomes an end in itself.

The range of the 'capitolo' in the hands of Berni and his followers is very wide. Not only did they write poems which recalled those of Burchiello, and others which were in fact satirical eulogies, but they also wrote 'capitoli' which contained either one or other of the essential features of the satirical eulogy, namely praise and satire, but not both. Thus, Grazzini's Capitolo in lode di Montughì2 is, as far as one can tell, a sincere praise of a place, and Berni's Capitolo contra Papa Adriano, is a direct attack. Here, the word 'contra' shows that it is no eulogy, and the text soon reveals that it is not one of the classical 'vituperationes', the blame of a good person, either. Evidently, on such matters as this, the indirect method of attack provided by the use of the satirical eulogy, did not appeal to Berni.

A fair idea of just what proportion of 'capitoli' do in fact resemble closely the satirical eulogy can be gained by looking at the lists of contents of the various collections. The first of these

1 v. supra, p. 7.
collections appeared in 1538, two years after Berni's death. As will be seen, the titles are usually very explicit. This list is given in full:

Tavola di capitoli del Berna.

1. Capitolo de l'Ago.
3. Capitolo primo de la peste.
4. Capitolo secondo de la peste.
5. Capitolo de le Pesche.
7. Capitoli (sic) di Giozzi.
8. Capitoli del Bacci.
10. Capitolo de Fra bastian dal piombo.
11. Capitolo à suo Compare.
12. Capitolo del Diluvio.
15. Riposta de fra Bastiano.
16. Capitolo à messer Marco.
17. Capitolo dì Gradasso.
18. Capitolo à messer Francesco Milanese.
22. Capitolo de l'Anquile (sic).
23. Capitolo de l'Orinale.
24. Capitolo di Cardi.
25. Capitolo d'Aristotile.
27. Capitolo de la Primera.
28. Capitolo del Cornacchino.
29. Capitolo del caldo del letto.
30. Capitolo primo à la sua inamorata.
31. Capitolo à la detta.
32. Capitolo in lamentation d'Amor.

Part Two of the same edition contains the following works of Mauro:

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1 *Tutte le Opere del Bernia in Terza Rima*, nuovamente con somma diligenzia stampate. Per Curtio Navo et Fratelli. MDXXXVIII.

On Berni himself see also, A. Sorrentino, *Francesco Berni poeta della scapigliatura del Rinascimento*, Florence s.d.
1. De la Fava primo.
2. De la Fava Secondo.
3. Del Priapo.
4. Del Dishonor primo.
5. Del Dishonor Secondo.
6. De le donne di montagna.
7. A messer Giovanni de la casa.
10. Di Messer Uberto Strozi Secondo.
13. De la Carestia.
15. De la Caccia.
17. Del letto.
18. A Ottaviano Salvi.
20. De le Bugie.
22. Contra una Signora.

The third part contains works by De la Casa and Bino:

De la Casa
1. Capitolo del forno.
2. Capitolo del baccio.
3. Capitolo del nome di Gioanni (sic).
5. Capitolo de la stizza.

Bino
1. Capitolo del mal francese.
2. Capitolo primo de l'horto.
3. Capitolo quinto de l'horto.
4. Capitolo contra le calze.
5. Capitolo del pilo.
7. Capitolo del Ravanel.

1 The collection of 'capitoli'(made in 1548) by Grazzini and reprinted more than once was one of the most complete of all the various editions of Bernesque works. Its contents are therefore given in full infra pp.386-91. Most of the works quoted in this chapter will be quoted either from the 1538 edition, or from that of Grazzini, if they did not appear in the earlier edition. A list of Grazzini's own 'capitoli' is also given in the same Appendix, infra pp.391-2.
As this list shows, and as a study of the poems themselves proves, at least half of these works are in fact satirical or ironical eulogies, burlesque praises of ridiculous or unlikely topics. As far as their subject matter is concerned, these 'capitoli' show one obvious tendency which had not been present in Neo-Latin or classical eulogies, namely their liking for praising food-stuffs of all sorts. Eels, peaches, beans, salad, all found their admirers. In several cases these foodstuffs were not, as might be expected, only the most humble, and least pleasant dishes, but, as with the eel, highly desirable delicacies. When this is so the satirical element becomes slender in the extreme. The humour lies in the exaggeration of the praise, and in the fact that for a poet at that time to praise anything so down-to-earth and realistic as an eel, or a peach, even when these things might rightly be considered delicious, was unusual, and thus became a form of satirical comment on the noble themes and language of the Petrarchan poets.

The most amusing of these encomia on foodstuffs were written by Berni. In his 'capitolo' on the gudgeon he apostrophises the fish, blessing it and begging it to give him grace to praise it as it deserves:

O sacri, eccelsi, e gloriosi Ghiozzi,  
O sovra gli altri peschi egregi tanto,  
Quanto de' gli altri piu goffi, e piu sozzi:  
Datemi gratia, ch'io vi lodi alquanto  
Alzando a'l ciel la vostra leggiadria,  
Dè cui per tutto il mondo havete il vanto.  

1 1538 edition p.16*. ff.  
2 Ibid.
He humbles himself before the splendour of such a subject:

Io vorei pur comenizar à lodarvi:
Ma non so s'io havero tanto cervello;
Ch'io possa degnamente satisfarvi.

He uses exactly the same technique in his 'capitolo' on the eel, 2 stressing his own inadequacy and the extreme difficulty of doing justice to the delicacy of flavour of this fish:

S'io havessi le lingue à mille, à mille,
E fossi tutto bocca, labbra, e denti,
Io non direi le laudi de l'anguille.
Non le direbbon tutti i mie parenti,
Che son, che sono stati, e che saranno,
Dico i futuri, i passati, e presenti.
Guei, che son oggi vivi, non le sanno:
Quei, che non haveranno, non le sapranno.
L'anguille non son troppo conosciute:
E sarebbon chiamate un nuovo pesce
Da un, che piu non l'havesse vedute. 3

This profession of inadequacy before a subject so vast was in Berni's case meant as a joke, but nevertheless reminds one of the classial panegyric, in which such a profession formed an integral part of the work. 4

Mauro's poem on the bean, Capitolo de la Fava, is in similar vein. It is high time, he says, that he sang the praises of this noble plant:

Ma donde vien, ch'ogni poeta canta
Piu tosto i lauri, i pampani e le spiche,
Che questa gloriosa e nobil pianta? 5

He does not intend to write pedantically, as scholars do, of this vegetable, giving its etymology and so on, but is merely going to

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1 edid. p.17^.
2 Berni, ed.cit. Capitolo de L'Anguille (in index, but usually spelt 'anguille')
3 ibid. p.40^.
4 v. supra, p.10.
describe it:

La Fava è un legume e bianco e nero
Il qual si mangia tutto: & è senza osse:
E più dilettta chi lo mangia intero.

For all its seeming innocence, this 'capitolo' is in fact one of the more pornographic amongst these poems, resembling in this respect della Casa's Capitolo del Forno.

These eulogies on peaches, eels, eggs and salads, while amusing and light-hearted, are of less interest to the present study than the comparatively large group of 'capitoli' which belong to one or other of the groups of encomia which have been described in the preceding chapters. As far as the first of these categories, the vice eulogy, is concerned, one finds 'capitoli' on debt, on lies, and so on. The most interesting of them were written by Mauro, not Berni. As will be seen in the discussion of these eulogies in France, the vice encomium, and the related type of work containing satirical advice, on the pattern of Lucian's Rhetor, were particularly useful as vehicles for satire. However, the writers of 'capitoli' never developed to the full this side of the genre. Berni even apologised for his attack on the Pope, calling attention to all his most innocent works: it is, he says, very rare for him to write with such virulence:

San Pier, s'i dico pur qualche pazzia,
Qualche parola, c'habbia del bestiale,
Fa con Domenedio la scusa mia.
L'usanza mia non fu mai di dir male:

1 ediat, p. 3
2 v. infra, pp. 123-292a
Yet again Mauro tells us that still better things are to come.
The idea of monks flirting with the women who come to them for confession, or whom they are visiting, is of course a commonplace of satire, and nothing of what Mauro says in the whole of this 'capitolo' even approaches the harshness of Erasmus' attacks on monks. However, he describes the scene vividly and with a certain amount of good-humoured irony:

Vianey points out the resemblance between this passage and various

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1 ibid., p. 62^v.
4 Mauro, ed. cit., p. 63^r-63^v.
Only Mauro introduces any appreciable element of satire into his ironical 'capitoli', and this he does mainly in poems in praise of a vice or weakness. The best of these is his Capitolo d'i Frati. He begins with a discussion of what is the 'sumnum bonum' of man. Some say that it lies in riches, some in power, others in one's friends. It certainly does not lie in love, for lovers always experience many troubles for any one pleasure.

He is not making this claim simply in view of their sure future bliss, in the hereafter, says Mauro, with what is surely meant as a touch of irony, but solely in view of their life on this earth. He then proceeds to a point-by-point analysis of the life of a monk.

In the first place, his habit is far more natural, less constricting mode of dress than that of the lay person. What is more, monks never have to go to war, they are not pestered by creditors, law-suits or police. To keep the reader's interest, Mauro solemnly assures us that what we have just read is as nothing; far greater benefits are about to be related. Monks are always sure of their food, and a delightful picture of contented, well-fed brothers follows:

1 Berni, ed. cit., p. 27v.
2 Mauro, ed. cit., p. 61v.
aspects of Macette, and Tartuffe.\textsuperscript{1} Mauro continues in the same vein:

\begin{verbatim}
Un convento de frati è proprio un mare;
Il qual tutte le femmine raccoglie,
Che vanno le loro somme a scaricare.
\end{verbatim}

One might well ask, he continues, whether such men are not in fact gods rather than mortals. He would, he swears, willingly become a monk. Monks have everything:

\begin{verbatim}
I frati infine son felici in tutto,
De'l cielo, & de la terra son padroni:
Essi cogliono il fiore, & essi il frutto.\textsuperscript{3}
\end{verbatim}

The 'capitolo' ends as Mauro remarks that monks are doubly blessed; they have Paradise both now and later!

Mauro's 'capitolo' on monks was a straightforward piece of irony, with none of the digressions and flights of fancy dear to the Bernesque poets. His \textit{Capitolo delle Bugie} is less clear, particularly towards the end. Certain of the ideas it contains resemble Erasmus' description of the self-delusion and flattery of one another which are necessary to life in society as we know it. Mauro begins by saying that he is going to sing of something as essential as the elements, but which has never been sung before, something universal, tireless and eternal:

\begin{verbatim}
...una certa piana & dritta via;
Che ci conduce alla vita beata,
In nostra lingua detta la bugia,
Per la qual vive ogni persona nata;
Et senza lei morremmo tutti quanti;
Come moion le mosche la verna.
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{1} Vianey, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 54-55.
\textsuperscript{2} Mauro, \textit{ed. cit.}, p. 64\textsuperscript{r}.
\textsuperscript{3} \textit{ibid.}.
\textsuperscript{4} \textit{ibid.}, p. 65\textsuperscript{r}.

He goes on to deal with lies at various levels, and of various types. Firstly, the lies told by poets, when they make fountains and trees speak. The idea of 'the gods' is in fact false, and yet we do them honour. Jumping, somewhat abruptly, to modern times, he mentions Aretino, who spoke the truth about people, even if the truth was unpleasant, and got into considerable trouble as a result of this. He would have done better, says Mauro ironically, to hide the truth.

Next, he deals with love. Erasmus had already shown how many lies are necessary if one is to be happy in love. Mauro repeats this idea, saying that only the lies told us by our loved ones permit us to continue to love with honour.

Philibert de Vienne was to write that all despise men who have not learned the 'philosophie de court'; Mauro writes that those who do not lie are considered worthless:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{In fin cosi si vive in ogni terra;} \\
\text{Che la menzogna tenga il primo loco;} \\
\text{Et l'avversaria sua giaccia sotterra.} \\
\text{Quel che non è buggiardo è un huom da poco,} \\
\text{Un ignorante, una persona vile,} \\
\text{Da men d'un mulatier, da men d'un cuoco.} \\
\text{Ma un spirito magnanimo è (sic) gentile,} \\
\text{Tanto più merta honor, quanto ritrova} \\
\text{Invention più arguta, & più sottile.}
\end{align*}
\]

The word 'invention' introduces a new development in the poem, whereby Mauro considers as part of his subject both imagination and inventiveness. He praises the Neapolitans for their fantasy and quick wits, and then goes on to talk of the monsters, of Medusa and Scylla, invented by the Greeks. Such is the beneficial effect of

1 Praise of Folly, ed. cit., p. 34.
2 v. infra, p. 129.
3 Mauro, ed. cit., p. 67r.
Rome that even foreigners, such as French and Germans, become quick-witted when they have spent some time there.

This 'capitolo' is typical of many of the Bernesque poet's writings, flitting as it does from subject to subject, with little, if any, apparent plan. A jumble of ideas, some well developed, others scarcely introduced before they are abandoned; some classical references, some contemporary ones, and an ever-present tone of irony or 'badinage', all these are constant features of the Italian 'capitoli'.

While it is neither a vice nor a human failing, merely a human misfortune, Mauro's 'capitolo' on 'Carestia' is best described here because it contains a long description of the golden age similar to that given in his Capitolo in dishonor dell'honor, a 'vituperatio' which clearly belongs in the present category. In it he comments on the apparent strangeness of his subject, mentioning those who have preceded him in this type of writing:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Evi parrà (sic) bizzarra fantasia,} \\
&\text{Et istrano capriccio di cervello, Gandolfo, il mio cantar la carestia.} \\
&\text{... Novo vi parrà certo il mio sugetto,} \\
&\text{Ma non, se mirarete saldamente} \\
&\text{Quel, che scrivendo altri poeti han detto.} \\
&\text{La guerra fu cantata anticamente;} \\
&\text{E un novo degno Fiorentin poeta ha cantato le peste novamente.}
\end{align*}
\]

Such self-justification and explanation has already been shown to be almost a 'sine qua non' of the Neo-Latin satirical eulogy.

1 Mauro, ed. cit., p. 41v.
2 ibid., p. 42r.
As arguments in favour of poverty Mauro relies chiefly on a description of its beneficial effects on the health of the poor man, who can no longer gorge himself on rich and unsuitable foods. Much the same arguments had been used in favour of gout, and the restrictions it imposed on the way of life of the sufferer:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Io dico adunque, che santa, & beata} \\
\text{La carestia mi par sovr'ogni cosa;} \\
\text{Non mi rompa la testa la brigata;} \\
\text{Perche (sic) ogni alma crudel rende pietosa,} \\
\text{Ogni villano povero, & superbo} \\
\text{Humilia tanto, che par una sposa.} \\
\text{Ogni humor purga alla salute acerbo,} \\
\text{Et fa lieve ogni stomaco gravato} \\
\text{Piu che i bagni di Lucca, o di Viterbo.}
\end{align*}
\]

Mauro's next long passage is concerned with the idea he was to use also in his 'capitolo' against honour. This was that poverty, and the ensuing simplicity of life help renew the golden age of Saturn, ruined by 'il mondo avaro'. In this age people lived secure and happy lives, feeding simply and never worrying about the morrow:

\[
\text{Era in quel tempo antico ogn'huomo bono.}
\]

The virtues flourished, and man was very devout. With this idealised picture Mauro ends his eulogy, adding a word of encouragement to those who seek 'la Carestia', 'dolce, galante, & giovaresca, & bella.'

In criticising his contemporaries' exaggerated respect for honour Mauro may well have been perfectly sincere, and so in discussing his In dishonor dell'honor this possible interpretation

1 v. supra., pp. 104, 110, 114.
2 Mauro, ed. cit., p. 42\textsuperscript{v}.
3 ibid., p. 43\textsuperscript{r}.
4 ibid., p. 44\textsuperscript{v}.
must be considered. However, there is a level at which Rabelais' *Eloge des Dettes* can be understood literally; this does not mean that as a whole, and particularly from the point of view of the form, the passage is not a satirical eulogy in the best traditions of the genre. The same is true for Mauro. Much of what he says may be the true expression of his feelings, but the poem remains a condemnation of what was usually considered at that time as highly desirable and necessary.

Mauro declares at the outset that he would like to banish honour from the world, because it imposes artificial restrictions on all the most enjoyable pleasures in our lives:

\begin{quote}
E prima caccierei del mondo fore
Quella cosa da noi tanto preggiata,
Quel nome vano, che si chiama onore.
Cacciarei de la testa a la brigata
Questo si lungo errore, questa pazzia,
Ne i cervelli degli huomeni invecchiata
La qual ci toglie ciò che si disia;
Tutti i piaceri e tutti li diletti,\(^1\)
Che per nostro uso la natura cria.
\end{quote}

With evident satirical intent Mauro writes that the only reason for men going to war is that they have been persuaded that this is something fine:

\begin{quote}
E dicon che 'l morir di lancia è bello,
O di colpo di stocco o d'archibugio,
Come Fabritio, Cesare, e Marcello.
Et c'haver ne la schena un gran pertugio,
O ne la pancia d'una colbrina,
Ti fa gir a le stelle senza indugio.\(^2\)
\end{quote}

It is far better, he says, to stay quietly in bed, away from all

---

\(^1\) *ibid.*, p. 20\(^{\text{r}}\).

\(^2\) *ibid.*, p. 21\(^{\text{r}}\). cf. *infra*, p.\(\text{[21]}\) for Marot's use of this passage.
possible dangers. Honour ruins not only our peace of mind, making us go to war, but also inhibits all our natural instincts. It is only mankind who imposes restrictions upon himself as far as his love-making is concerned. Animals know no such inhibitions, and even man, in Mauro's beloved golden age, behaved more sensibly, making love when and where the fancy took him,

L'estate hor sotto un faggio hor sotto un pino,
Il verno in qualche grotta o in qualche riva.

Nowadays, he moans, there is no escaping this wretched Honour, which pesters us night and day:

Ovunque per lo mondo il pie ti mena,
Questo importuno honor ti è sempre al fianco,
Teco sen viene al letto, al pranzo, e a cena,
Et mai di seguitarti non è stanco,
Anzi par ch'el tuo passo ogn'hor avanzi;
Sfrezza (sic) l'arbitrio di natura franco. 2

And yet it is a purely abstract concept, as intangible as gout or the fever, one which must be acquired at the expense of much toil and sweat, yet which can be lost in a moment.

This criticism of honour must have appealed to Mauro, or to his friends, for he wrote a second 'capitolo' on almost the same lines, again complaining of the inhibiting effect of honour on our lives, and harking back to the highly idealized simplicity of the age of Saturn. After this age came all the disagreeable things in modern life:

li dottori, & li notai, ...
La carestia, la fame, & gli usurai,
Et la peste, & la guerra, & li soldati, 3
Che di quel d'altri non si satian mai.

1 Mauro, ed. cit., p. 21v. 2 ibid., p. 22r. 3 ibid., p. 26r.
Angry though he is with the whole concept of honour, Mauro admits in the closing lines of his poem that his fear and respect for the tyrant are greater than his feeling of rebellion:

Vi giuro à Dio, ch'io non ho pelo adosso
Che non s'arizzi, quand'esso mi tocca,
Et mi trema ogni membro, & nervo, & osso.¹

Berni wrote a Capitolo del Debito which has been discussed by R.B. Ogle in an article on Bernœque satire.² In this 'capitolo' we find a discussion of the 'summum bonum', in pseudo-serious style, similar to that undertaken by Mauro in his poem on the monks.³ Philosophers have always sought to discover what exactly constitutes the highest good for man, whether it is money, virtue, marriage or success. Like Mauro, Berni feels that the priest's life is one of the happiest. In the second part of the poem Berni introduces the real subject of his 'capitolo'. He declares that in his opinion the happiest life in the world is that of the debtor;

Piu bella vita al mondo un debitore
Fallito, rovinato e disperato
Ha, che' l gran Turco e che l'Imperadore.
Questo è colui, che si può dir beato.⁴
In tutto l'Universo ove noi stiamo
Non è più lieto & più tranquillo stato.

He declares that to be in debt is an 'opra virtuosa', and continues, using the terms of formal arguments, like Rabelais in his Eloge des Dettes:

1 ebd., p. 267.
3 v. supra, p. 157.
Hor fatto il presupposto & concess
Che'l debito sia opra virtuosa
Le conseguenze sue vengon appresso. ¹

Even his own children hate a mean man, but everyone loves a debtor.
In fact, he is kept at others' expense. At this point Berni makes
a few satirical remarks about monks, before passing to the third
section of his poem, a description of what happens when the police
come to fetch a debtor, and an ironical eulogy of the 'glorioso
Stinche di Firence'.

Before passing the various 'capitoli' on diseases written by
the Bernesque poets, Grazzini's In lode della Pazzia, which condenses
some of the arguments used by Erasmus, should be mentioned. Grazzini,
who compiled collections of Burchiello's sonnets, and of the
Bernesque 'capitoli', was a prolific writer of 'capitoli'. Strangely
enough, as C. Verzone shows in his edition of Grazzini's works,²
no edition of these was produced in the lifetime of their author.
Consequently, several 'capitoli' mentioned by Grazzini as having
been written by him, are now lost. However, the Capitolo della
Pazzia³ survives.

¹ ibid. and v. infra, p. 283, n. 1 for Rabelais.
² C. Verzone, Le rime burlesche edite e inedite di Antonfrancesco
Grazzini, detto Il Lasca, Florence, 1882. Introduction. It is
difficult to know whether to list the praise of folly as that of a
disease, or of a human failing. Since, however, so many human vices
and failings are usually listed in any encomium of madness, it seems
more logical to place such works amongst the group of vice encomia.
³ As T.F. Crane shows, in his Italian Social Customs of the Sixteenth
Century, Yale U.P., 1920, p. 150, such a poem upholding a paradox
would have been very popular at the time. Indeed, many of the
current society 'games' and debates recall topics discussed in
satirical eulogies (v. infra, p. 283, n. 2 for game of Epitaphs) cf. Cento
Giuochi Liberali, et d'ingegno, Novellamente da M.innocentio
(ßontd. on next page)
He begins his eulogy by saying that if the gods offered to grant him whatever he desired, he would choose, not wealth, honours or position, but 'di grazia l'impazzare'. He begs his Muse to 'unhinge' his mind, so that he can compose something worthy of folly. He distinguishes next between various types of folly, deciding that we are all a little mad, but that only a few people in every country are blessed with true folly. To be happy at court, he remarks, one must be completely foolish. This passing jibe at courtiers is not developed much further. What man really looks for is to live in happiness throughout his life, but only a fool can do this, for he alone is untroubled by the many anxieties that beset our life here on earth. For instance, he will be unperturbed by news of the death of his friends or of his family, since he is incapable of comprehending what dying means. It is now apparent that Grazzini has in mind, not the folly described by Erasmus, which is that common to all men, but actual madness, only dealt with by Erasmus in one small section of his work. War, the weather, plague, work and his surroundings make no difference to the madman, Grazzini continues. The laws do not

(contrd. from previous page)

Ringhieri Gentilhuomo Bolognese ritrovati, & in dieci Libri descritti. Bologna. Anselmo Giaccarelli. MDLI. This collection contains a 'Giuoco della Pazzia', a 'Giuoco dell'Invidia', a 'Giuoco della Gelosia' and a 'Giuoco de Nasi', amongst many others. In the 'Giuoco della Pazzia', the question posed to the assembled 'players' is 'S'egli è meglio nelle cose del mondo l'esser savio, o stolto.' (p.114). Something of this same attitude towards the paradox, this view of skill in argument as a society accomplishment, seems to be hinted at in the passage quoted from Il Cortegiano, infra p.178.

1 Verzone, op.cit., p.560.
2 v Praise of Folly, ed.cit., p. 67 ff.
apply to him: he thinks everything and everyone good and lovely.

In short, he enjoys this life to the full, and does not worry about
the hereafter:

Ma d'ogni tempo ride e va cantando;
ognun ha per amico e per parente;
e crede esser ognuno al suo comando.¹

With all these advantages, Grazzini is, not surprisingly, led to
exclaim:

O pazzia dunque dolce, buona e bella,
contr'a'colpi di morte e di fortuna
refugio, scampo, armatura e rotella..
Tu sol fai gli uomini lieti al mondo starsi;
tu sol senza le mosche doni il mele;
e pigliar pesci fai senza immollarsi.²

He hastens to assure us that he is not suggesting that we should
worship Folly as a goddess, for he is no infidel. Grazzini may have
personified 'la Pazzia' in order to write about her, but he does not
pretend to deify her as Lucian and the Neo-Latin writers had deified
Gout. There is none of the tracing of the ancestry of Pazzia which
had been so laboriously undertaken for Podagra. All Grazzini suggests
is that men should ask God, not for health of mind or body, but for
madness. He ends his 'capitolo' by assuring the reader that while
this may not have been a very good praise of Folly, he hopes to do
better in the future, with the aid of Folly herself!

As can be seen from the above examples, the Bernesque poets'
vice eulogies are but rarely vehicles for satire, and such satire
as they do contain is of a superficial nature as compared to that

¹ Grazzini ed cit., p. 562.
² ibid., p. 563.
of Erasmus. Berni and Mauro both wrote 'capitoli' about their beds, which are in fact apologies for laziness. There are few other interesting 'capitoli' in this category, and none on the model of Lucian's Rhetor.

Amongst the praises of disease written by the Bernesque poets are to be found many on traditional lines. The most famous of these disease eulogies, indeed, among the most famous of all Berni's 'capitoli' were, of course, his two Capitoli della Peste. In these we see his inventiveness and humour at their gayest. The irony is continuous and the reasons he finds for recommending the plague must have struck his contemporaries, accustomed as they were to a fearful, or religious attitude towards the disease, as being particularly ingenious. Berni writes to his friend that the pestilence time is good because it destroys so many of the common people, thinning them out in a highly desirable way. Because of this one can go to church in peace, without being crushed by the crowd. People forget to keep records of their buying and selling, or, more usefully still, of the loans they make you. If, by a stroke of bad luck, a creditor should come troubling you, you have only to say that your head aches, or your arm pricks, and he will run away as fast as his legs will carry him, thinking that you are sickening for the plague. If, after this, you venture out in the streets, no one will cross your path. Place


is yielded to you, as it was to the gouty man. You are lord of
yourself and of others. Laws no longer have the same force, and
every pleasure is allowed. Above all, says Berni, the lover of
idleness, no work is done, and, all in all, life passes very gaily
indeed.¹

Mattio Francesi wrote two disease eulogies, one on the cough,
and the other on the familiar subject of gout. In the first of these
he gives a list of other disease eulogies:

Sl'altri loda la Peste e'l mal Francese
Quartana, & Gotte, io credo pur ch'io possa
Se'l mio cervello è buono à quest'imprese,
Scriva qualcosa in lode de la Tossa;
Anzi lo debbo far, perch' obbligato
Le sono, & sarò sempre in carne, e'n ossa. ²

This list is unusual, because in general writers tended to give a
cross-section of previous works, with no regard for their subject-
matter. Francesi has singled out only those eulogies which were on
diseases. In order to gain such a delightful companion as 'la Tossa',
Francesi writes, a man must first go through some discomfort, by not
wrapping up properly. However, some people say that the disease
comes from heaven rather than from anything we ourselves may or may
not do to catch it. Francesi leans to this latter view. Whatever
her origin, the benefits the cough brings with her are considerable.

¹Berni seems to have been the only writer in the whole history of
the satirical eulogy to have chosen to write of the plague (cf. R.
Crawford, Plague and Pestilence in Literature and Art, Oxford, 1914,
p.155; Berni "must surely stand alone among writers as one who would
hug the pestilence to him as a friend".). This book fails to comment
on the genre in which Berni was writing when praising the pestilence.)

² Secondo libro ed. Grazzini, p. 53v.
She generally comes only in winter; this is to prevent us from spending too much time in bed at this chilly time of year! At night she is particularly useful, keeping us awake, and thus ridding us of our indigestion. Francesi tells us that he himself has lately become acquainted with this disease, and finds that by preventing him from sleeping for a whole night at least once a week, it affords him time for meditation and thought, and uplifts his mind. So much so that he has been able to give birth to the flood of eloquence contained in his poem on the cough!

Francesi's other disease eulogy is on the gout.¹ He may even have been thinking of his own 'capitolo' when he wrote of those who praised this disease, in the list of previous encomia he gave in the Capitolo della Tossa. In it he sets out to prove what he says he has always maintained, namely, that gout is an unrecognised good, not an evil. Doctors affirm that gout comes about as a result of the inability of the body to digest more than a certain amount of wine and meat. Francesi thinks — and modern medicine agrees with him here — that gout is hereditary. From this fact he concludes that since gout is sent from God, and has nothing to do with our actions, we are very wicked if we attack it. Gout is born of leisure, wine and lasciviousness, particularly in the homes of certain abbots and priors. Yet another attack on unworthy monks follows. Gout does not attack the poor brothers, those who, as Francesi neatly puts it, fast on more days than those laid down in the calendar.

¹ v. Grazzini, Il secondo libro, p. 47ff.
Leaving his attack on monks, Francesi passes to the usual semi-philosophical arguments. Philosophers all say that there are three parts in men which can be good, the spirit, the body and the fortune. The first should be wise, the second healthy, and the third rich. Gout fulfills all these conditions. She is wise, because she attacks wise men, rich, because she attacks the rich, and healthy because she forces men to take care of themselves, to safeguard their health. She only feeds on the most delicate wines and viands; in fact, there is something divine about her, for she attacks so many priests. In conclusion, gout must be a good thing, for one never finds people in hospital with it, and the chemist stocks no cure for it.

Each one of Francesi's arguments had been used by a Neo-Latin writer or by Lucian, and many of them more than once. This 'capitolo' shows, therefore, particularly clearly, the link between the Bernesque poets and their predecessors.

There are two other 'capitoli' which belong to this category of diseases and physical deformities or imperfections. They are Lodovico Dolce's Capitolo del Naso, and Grazzini's In lode delle Barbe. These two poems will be discussed later, together with the French works they so closely resemble.

The Italian animal eulogies written by the Bernesque poets mostly took the form of exaggerated laments for their dead pets, written as parodies on the laments written by Petrarchan poets in

1 v. infra, pp. 323-4, and 321 n.3.
honour of their ladies. There is undoubtedly some influence of Catullus, as well, just as there had been in the case of the Neo-Latin epitaphs. These laments were to have an influence on the 'hymnes-blasons' written by the Pléiade.\(^1\) Their influence on Du Bellay has often been pointed out, and is discussed in some detail by Y. Niord.\(^2\) There may in some instances be a certain amount of sincere feeling in these laments, but most of them are written in mock-heroic, hyperbolical style. Taking as an example Berni's \textit{Capitolo del Cornacchino} one finds what purports to be the lament of one Nardino on his bird, 'bel, gratioso, & humano'.\(^3\) Berni praises the bird and relates the circumstances of its death. He remarks with mock solemnity that the transitory nature of an animal’s life proves the truth of the divine precept that we should never bestow our love on 'cosa mortale'. The lament for the bird tells of how its owner was driven half mad with grief, to such an extent that even one of his dogs pitied him;

\begin{quote}
O Cornacchin mio buon, chi mi t'ha tolto
Tu m'hai privato d'ogni mio solazzo:
Tu sarai la cagion ch’io verro (sic) stolto.\(^4\)
\end{quote}

These, then are the Italian descendants of the satirical eulogy. The links between the two are unmistakable, and the Bernesque poets could have learned about this genre either from Lucian, who was by

\begin{itemize}
\item[1] v. \textit{infra}, Ch. VII, passim.
\item[3] Berni, 1538 edition, p. 48\(^{\text{v}}\).
\item[4] \textit{Ibid.}, p. 49\(^{\text{r}}\).
\end{itemize}
this time well known, or from Erasmus' Moriae Encomium. Of course, they might have arrived at a very similar type of poetry merely from the desire to parody Petrarchan themes, but it seems more likely that, seeking to satirise such writing, they soon realised the possible contemporary uses of the classical genre. Grazzini certainly places Berni, Homer and Vergil side by side, in his Preface to the Secondo Libro:

Altri Poeti poi, come ho detto, ci sono, che altro non disegnano se non recar piacere & diletto alle genti; & di questi tali ce ne sono stati molti fra gli antichi, & pur de grandi, si come fu Homero nel suo piacevole Mergitte, & nella guerra delle Rane & de Topi, & Virgilio, che scrisse della Zanzara, & altri suoi dilettevoli, e ingegnosi poemi, che sono per le mani d'ogniuno. Di questa maniera di faceti & solazzevoli scrittori & Poeti molti & molto eccellenti n'ha havuto, & hâ tuttavia il secol nostro: il qual (dirè libera-mente) non cede in cosa alcuna all'antico. E' fra primi, & forse il primo, che in tal maniera di scrivere in burla lodevolmente poetasse, fu il nostro Messer Francesco Berni; il quale & per piacere altrui, & per esercitar se stesso, cotante belle & argute poesie ci lasciâ di suo, quante hoggi si veggono publicate al mondo per le nostre & per l'altrui stampe; & dopo lui infiniti altri eccellentissimi ingegni hanno corso questo piacevolissimo arringo con molta lode loro, & con infinita vaghezza de gli amatori della Poesia.

Grazzini stresses the pleasure to be obtained from writing and reading these 'capitoli', their function as a means of recreation, rather than as vehicles for satire. However, such an approach had been common amongst the Neo-Latin writers, and had also been that of Favorinus.

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1 Grazzini, Preface to Il Secondo Libro, etc.
2 v. supra, p. 84.
3 v. supra, p. 45.
Berni and his imitators brought to the satirical eulogy several innovations. Firstly, there was their habitual use of verse, rather than prose. The *Tragodopodagra* was the only classical eulogy to be in verse, and only a few of the Neo-Latin encomia, usually the animal poems copying Catullus, departed from the prose tradition. The Bernesque poets, on the other hand, wrote all their satirical eulogies in the form of 'capitoli', and exploited to the full the greater freedom this form afforded them.

The range of their subject-matter, wider even than that of classical panegyricists, can be assessed from a study of the titles of their works. Their attitude towards their subject was usually one of good-humoured banter, or mock seriousness. But although they appear to treat their subject casually, even superficially, their technique is in reality far more subtle and consistent than it seems.

Most of the 'capitoli' are fairly short, between two and six pages, but within this short space the authors digress at will, introducing topics which may have little or nothing to do with the one under discussion, but which help hold the interest and attention of the reader. Mauro 'apologises' for one such digression in his *Capitolo del letto*;

Ma egli è ben tempo ch'io ritorni a scola,
Poi che digression si lunga ho fatto,

---

1 This chapter cannot study all Berni's later imitators, such as Tansillo, but v. A. Sorrentino *op.cit.* Ch. X for a discussion of these poets.
Ove forse bastava una parola.
Ma li poeti han questa legge, & patti,
Che pon dar una volta co'l cervello.

By writing thus Mauro disarms all criticism, and leaves himself
free to go off at a tangent as and where he likes. Such digressions
and abrupt shifts in the direction of thought are a recurrent
feature of the Bernesque 'capitoli', and help create the desired
impression, that of verse which has been written 'alla carlona'.

Apart from their subject matter, these poets also varied both
their style and their vocabulary. Sometimes the style was noble,
sometimes familiar; one finds the mock-heroic, the formal, the
vulgar, the conversational, the parodistic. The mock-heroic invocations
to the Muses, or to the gods, which accompany eulogies on the most
ridiculous topics, are very entertaining. The vulgar, and the
conversational styles were often used in opposition to the mock-heroic,
the one heightening the effect and the humour of the other. The
parodistic style was also a feature of the Neo-Latin eulogy, and
consisted in the mental association of the reader with some well-
known line. Such a procedure would be particularly appreciated by
Berni's contemporaries, with their humanist education. It is, of
course, one of the universal sources of humour in any given group
or society having the same educational background. Linked to the
parody of classical literature is the use and misuse, the free

1 Mauro, 1538 edition, p. 53r.
2 eg. Berni's use of the terms of formal arguments, supra, p. 164.
3 v. supra, p. 116-7.
adaptation of myths and legends, which had been characteristic of
the satirical eulogy from its early days. The other recurrent type
of parody in the 'capitoli', the parody of Petrarchan verse, has
already been discussed. The Bernesque poets' choice of vocabulary,
ranging from the highest to the lowest, arises also from the desire
to react against Petrarchism. Many of the words they use have more
than one meaning - the literal meaning, and another one, either
satirical, or pornographic. Even some whole 'capitoli', such as
della Casa's Capitolo del Forno, and Mauro's Capitolo de la Fava,
can be interpreted at two levels, and in this case their humour
lies in the 'double entendre' and play on language.

The question of how much the Bernesque poets influenced French
writers, and especially the Pléiade, has been much discussed, but
never finally settled. Apart from the usually accepted points of
contact, through authors such as Marot and Du Bellay, there are

1 v. supra, p. 149
2 C. Preverita, in his 'La Poesia giocosa e l'umorismo', Milan,
1939, p. 335, sternly dismisses this whole tendency;
'La materia di tutta questa poesia bernesca veniva tratta,
per natural conseguenza del modello, da tutto ciò che nella
vita possa esserci di più triviale e banale, dai soggetti più
strani ed impensati, dalle cose più strampalate e anormali,
ed è tanta e tale molte volte la grossolanità delle trovate,
la tenuità o la volgarità del soggetto che ci domandiamo con
meraviglia come mai tutta quella sequela di scenpiaggini
abbia potuto recare diletto e suscitare un così forte interesse.'
and cf. supra p. 156
3 v. infra, p. 305
various other less known channels through which knowledge of the 'capitoli' may well have passed into France.

The most important of these is Castiglione's _Cortegiano_, translated into French by Jacques Colin in 1537, and published without his knowledge; then re-edited, in a more correct translation, by Dolet and Saint-Gelais in 1538, in Lyons.¹ This book, whose widespread and long-lasting popularity needs no mention, contains a passage which clearly shows that knowledge of the satirical eulogy, and probably of the Bernesque 'capitoli', if not quite taken for granted among the circle of people about whom Castiglione was writing, was at least nothing very extraordinary:

Rise quivi la Signora Emilia e disse: - Voi fuggite troppo la fatica, messer Federico: ma non vi verrà fatto, ch'è pur avete da dire fin che l'ora sia d'andare a letto. -E s'io, Signora, non avessi che dire? - rispose messer Federico. Disse la signora Emilia: - Qui si vederà il vostro ingegno; e se e vero quello ch'io già ho inteso, essersi trovato omo tanto ingegnoso ed eloquente, che non gli sia mancato subietto per comporre un libro in laude d'una mosca, altri in laude della febre quartana, un altro in laude del calvizio, non da il core a voi ancor di saper trovar che dire per una sera sopra la Cortegiana?²

In view of the choice of eulogies made by Lady Emilia, it would appear that she had in mind only classical eulogies, probably those by Lucian, Favorinus and Synesius. However, the quartan fever referred to might have been that sung by Aretino. In any case,

² _Il libro del Cortegiano_, ed. G. Preti, Turin, 1960, Book II, XVII.
the passage shows that the satirical eulogy as a genre was known not only to 'savants' and scholars, but to the cultured courtier, by whom it appears to have been thought of exclusively as an intellectual exercise, a display of ingenuity. The satirical side of the genre is not mentioned, and the eulogies named are those which contain little but praise.

An Italian author who spent much time in France, and whose works contain many references to contemporary French writers and political figures, is Gabriello Symeoni. His *Satire alla berniesca* are, as their title indicates, modelled very largely on Berni. What is more important, they show a blending of classical and Italian influence in this field. Published in Turin in 1549, thus only ten years after the appearance of the first, partial edition of the works of Bernesque poets, they prove that these works had rapidly become widely known and acceptable. That Symeoni felt able to use the term 'alla berniesca' in the title of a collection directed primarily to French readers is in itself significant. The book was dedicated to Henri II, and contains a poem on the death of Francois Ier, various others dedicated to French dukes and princesses, one to Saint-Gelais, and another on Clément Marot. The title bears the familiar Horatian device, 'Quis vetat dicere verum?' The preface discusses satire, speaking of Persius, Horace and Juvenal,

2 cf. *supra*, pp. 58, 85
the three classical satirists most admired by the Renaissance. 1

Later in the same Preface Symeoni manages to squeeze in a neat piece of self-justification, by reference to some classical writers often mentioned in the present study:

Hor prenda l' alteza di V. M. benignamente l'amorevole & humile offerta, che le fa il mio cuore, & aspettandone con migliore mia fortuna & con più tempo in altro Stile dell'altra maggiore (quantunque Homero, sensatissimo scrittore greco di più opere gravi, non si sdegnasse, per essercitare variamente l' ingegno, comporre la battaglia de i Topi, & de Ranocchi, d' una Zanzara Virgilio & d' una Passera Catullo) si debbi tenermi nel numero d' uno di quei minimi, ma più sinceri e desiderosi servi che ella hà intorno per lasciar viva (oltre al suo naturale) la memoria della virtù e valore suo eternamente. 2

The first poem in the collection discusses Berni's style, and contains a eulogy of the poet:

Chi dice ch'el gentil compor berniesco
Non e il piu bel che si leggesse mai
Sta dell' ingegno & del giudizio fresco. 3

He reminds his readers of the versatility of these poets,

Per che lasciando à parte imperii & Regni
Hanno fatto immortalì finno all' anguilla,
L' ago, il forno, le pesche, i vetri, e i legni. 4

Although the rest of the poems in Symeoni's collection have in fact little connection with the type of Bernesque work he discusses in this part of his introductory poem, the interest and importance of the passage remains. It provides a link between the Bernesque

1 See, for example, O. Rossetti, op. cit., p. 3, and passim.
2 The dedicatory epistle was dedicated to Henri II.
3 Symeoni, op. cit. The pages are not numbered, but the poem Dello stile berniesco is the first in the book.
4 Ibid. The poems named are those by Berni (L' Anguille, l' ago, le pesche), Della Casa (il forno), Firenzuola (del legno), and, perhaps, Grazzini (i vetri, v. infra Appendix, List of Grazzini's 'capitoli', No. 15, p. 291). If Symeoni is really thinking of Grazzini in writing thus, this passage would provide proof of the fact that Grazzini's 'capitoli' were indeed well known long before their publication.
satirical eulogy and France.

In 1567 the French reader was presented with another work, in which the resemblance between the classical satirical eulogy and the Bernesque 'capitolo' was noted even more explicitly. Of course, by 1567 the influence of Berni was already widespread in France, but the paragraph is interesting as it proves how conscious the contemporaries were of the fact that Berni and his followers had to a large extent merely revived a classical genre. The passage is contained in La Pazzia, attributed to Vianesio Albergati, and written about 1540, when the printed Bernesque work was still something of a novelty. The work is in fact, for the most part, a translation of the Moriae Encomium, but where, at this juncture, Erasmus had named only classical eulogies, Albergati introduces a list of Bernesque poets as well. Erasmus mentioned praises of tyrants, agues, flies and baldness. Albergati writes:

Mais je leur respondray, qu'il se treuue du temps de (sic) anciens que par escrits divinement couchez, les mousches, les fievres, la vieillesse & la mort ont esté louees & celebrees autentiquement: Et de nostre siecle se sont encorez trouvez de tresnobles esprits, qui ont faict de mesme des jeux de la Prime & des Eschets, des Artichaux, de la Verolle, & plusieurs autres choses moins digne (sic) de louange.

Although the 'capitoli' were the most numerous and important Renaissance descendants of the satirical eulogy to be written in Italy, they were by no means the only works to be influenced by the genre. Strangely enough, both the other types of literature which show this influence were known to the French through the writings

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1 For a full discussion of La Pazzia, v. infra, pp. 89ff.
2 Albergati, op. cit., p. 2 (v. infra, p. 91 n. 2, for the reasons for the use of the French translation)
of one man, Ortensio Lando. Two of his best known works, the
Paradossi, and the Sermoni funebri were translated into French.

1 v. supra, pp. 13, 88, 140 n. 1, 145

2 Paradossi cioe, sententie fuori del comun parere nevellamente venute
in luce, Opra non men dotta, che placevole, & in due parti separata.
A Lione. Per Gioanni Pullon da Trino. 1543.

3 Sermoni funebri de vari authori nella morte de diversi animali. In
Vinegia. Appresso Gabriel Gioioto de Ferrari. MDXLVIII.
The there was an identical edition in 1559, In Genova, no name of
publisher being given.

4 Paradoxes, ce sont propos contre la commune opinion; debatus, en
forme de Declamations forenses: pour exerciter les jeunes advocates,
en causes difficiles. Poitiers, Jan de Marnef. MDLIII. (V. infra, p. 31)
There were several French editions of the Sermoni funebri.

i. Plaisant et facetieux discours des animaux, avec une histoire
advenue puis n'aguerres en la ville de Florence, traduit du
tuscan en francois, Lyon, Gabriel Cotier. 1556. (Brunet,
Manuel.)

ii. Harengues lamentables sur la mort de divers animaux; avec
une Rhétorique gaillarde, Lyon, Benoist Rigaud, 1570. (translation by Claude de Pontoux, v. infra, p. 183 n. 14 Brunet, Supple-
ment p. 279. (Given as 1569 in Manuel.)

iii. Regrets facetieux, et plaisantes harangues funebres sur la
mort de divers animaux, pour passer le temps et reveiller les
esprits melancholiques, non moins remplies d'eloquence que
d'utilite et gaillardise: traductes de Toscan en francoys,
par Thierry de Timofille (i.e. Francois d'Amboise). Paris,
Nicolas Chesneau, et Jean Poupy. 1576. (Brunet, Manuel.)

iv. A reprint of iii, Paris, Nic. Bonfons. 1583. (Brunet,
Manuel.)

v. Harangues facetieuses remplies de doctrines et dentences sur
la mort de divers traductes d'italien en

francois

par P.R.L. Lyon, Pierre Roussin 1618. (Manuel.)

vi. Regrets facetieux et plaisantes harangues funebres du sieur
Thomassin, sur la mort de divers animaux, oeuvre tres utile
pour passer le temps et reveiller les esprits melancholiques,
avec plusieurs chansons joviales et comiques. Le tout dedie
au sieur Gautier Garguille. Rouen, David Ferrand. 1632 (in
part a reprint of iii. Brunet Manuel.)

vii Harangues burlesques sur la vie et sur la mort de divers animaux
Paris, Ant. de Sonnaville. (Manuel.)
and appear to have enjoyed considerable popularity. The Paradossi had in any case been published in Lyons: they must therefore have been known in both French and Italian to many Frenchmen. Written in prose, they uphold various unlikely causes, such as that it is better to be poor than rich, mad than sane, drunk than sober. They are usually on more abstract themes than the 'capitoli', upholding conditions rather than objects. Some were more specific, condemning Aristotle,¹ or the works of Boccaccio.² Originally there had been thirty paradoxes; these Estienne, the French translator, cut to twenty-five, by the omission of the more specific paradoxes, such as those named above. Some of these pieces are, as their titles indicate, satirical eulogies, with all the characteristics of the genre. Since they closely resemble various French works, and must have been particularly important in France, because of the place of origin of the 'editio princeps', and the translation, they will be discussed in detail in a later chapter.³

The Sermoni funebri seem to have met with universal approval, In addition to the French translations, one finds Latin ones, mostly printed in the seventeenth century.⁴ For the modern reader this excess

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¹ No. XXIX in the Lyons edition: 'Che Aristotile fusse non solo ignorante, ma il piu malvagio huomo di quella eta'.
² ibid. No. XXVII. 'Che l'opre di Gioan Bocaccio non sieno degn d'esser lette (ispecialmente le dieci giornate).'
³ v. infra, pp. 261ff.

(continued on next page)
of enthusiasm is hard to share, for the literary value of these pieces is slight. But it is understandable when one considers the Renaissance vogue for animal poems of all sorts, whether 'blasons' or epitaphs. The Sermoni are but one part of a much wider whole. They consist of eleven laments, purporting to be by different people, on the deaths of their respective pets. They occupy an average of six or seven pages, and some of them are on unpleasant animals. Typical of them all, and, since it concerns an unlikely insect, the louse, most closely related to the satirical eulogy on an animal, is the lament entitled; Di Frate Puccio nella morte d'un suo Pedocchio.

In this piece Frate Puccio first bemoans his lack of eloquence, wishing that he might be inspired to do justice to 'l'infinita.

(contd. from previous page)

In fact, the Orationes are dated 1590, not 1591, and the title to this section of the book shows that this is a double translation, i.e. that the Latin has been taken from Claude Pontoux' French version of the Sermoni (v. supra, p.122 n. 4). The title to this section runs: Orationes funebres in obitus aliquot animalium, olim ex Italicis Gallicae per Claud. Pontosum, Postea & Gallicis Latinae factae per Guillemum Canterum, & nunc primum editae. This translation contains all Lando's Sermoni, but in 1616 Daniel Heinsius only selected a few for inclusion in a volume of his own works. That on the louse appears in both editions. Heinsius' work was:

Dan. Heinsii Dissertatio Epistolica, An viro literatiae ducenda sit uxor, & qualis. Item Eiusdem alia amoeniora opuscula: plerque hactenus non edita. Quibus additae sunt incerti auctoris Orationes Funebres, in obitus aliquot animalium. Lugduni Batavorum. Apud Godefridum Basson. 1616. Amongst these 'amoeniora opuscula' is a Laus Pediculi by Heinsius; this perhaps explains his retention of Lando's piece on the same subject! The same group of works by Heinsius and Lando was reprinted two years later. This time the Sermoni were in Latin verse, not prose, and three of them, including the piece on the louse, were omitted:


(contd. on next page)
He describes vividly the way in which he first found his beloved louse. It happened in church, just at the moment when the 'Magnificat' was beginning;

...ritto mi levai, & ecco in sul braccio manco veggo caminar questa Creaturina con un passo lento & grave, che pareva a vederlo l'Abbate di Clugni. Its arrival under such auspicious circumstances naturally led everyone to believe that it was of divine origin, and Brother Puccio tells how the louse soon became as precious to him as a miser’s gold. He put the insect in a safe place, to grow strong, and fed it for two years with the most ridiculous diet Lando could imagine:

col latte di Gallina, col grasso di zanzara, & col sangue di Musciolini. Then he allowed it to wander in his cell, 'con due sonagliuzzi à piedi, & una catenina al Collo fatta per mani per l'assisi.' In mock-heroic style Frate Puccio addresses his superiors in the monastery:

Questo era Padri miei Reverendi il più caro amico che io m’hai essi mai, dal quale, non era abbandonato ne di giorno, ne di notte ne à buona, ne à rea Fortuna. Suto sarebbe più agevol cosa à separare il concavo dal convesso, che noi dua; si di perfetto amore uniti eravamo. *(contd. from previous page)*

*Heinsius' piece on the louse must have been popular, for it was translated into English in 1634: Laus Pediculi, or an Apologeticall speech, Directed to the Worshipful Masters and Wardens of Beggars Hall. Written in Latine by the learned Daniel Heinsius, And from thence translated into English by James Guitard, Gentleman. London. Tho. Harper. 1634.*

1 *Sermoni funebri, 1548 edition, p.11*.
2 *ibid., p. 12*.
3 *ibid., p. 12*.
4 *ibid.*
5 *ibid.*
Following the usual practice of the panegyricist Lando now brings in various classical references. In this instance they consist of a long list of celebrated friendships, none of which, declares Frate Puccio, were comparable in depth and constancy to his with the louse. All the 'hymnes-blasons' on pet animals listed the accomplishments of the animal in question: Lando does exactly the same for the louse, in a passage whose irony lies in the ridiculousness of the accomplishments, and in the mock solemnity with which they are lovingly related:

smoccolavami la lucerna; rifaceva il letticicuolo, scoteva la polvere da a libri; scopettavami il capuccio, spazzia la cella... Era il mio Pidocchio la reputazione del monistero, l'esempio della vera Pacientia, & la norma dell'umilta.

Not surprisingly, all flocked to see this paragon among lice, and Frate Puccio now describes its physical appearance. It was not 'di color livido' like the lice of Puglia, nor like various other types of louse, 'ma era d'un schietto & vero bigio, qual portorno già il primi fondatori dell'ordine minore'. He describes its attractive mouth, with ivory teeth, its refined eating habits, and liking for a diet, not of human blood, but 'di zucchero, di celeste rugiada, di balsamo, d'amomo, & di manna eletta.' If all lice resembled his, this species would never have taken to living on human blood.

Having related the story of the life of his pet, the monk now

1 Sermoni funebri, p. 13r.
2 ibid.
3 ibid.
describes its death. This event has upset him most dreadfully, for although he knows that all things mortal must perish, he was not prepared for his louse to be murdered! This, however, was what befell the 'Pidocchio'. One of the other brothers killed it out of jealousy, and Frate Puccio heaps insults on his head: 'questo seme di Canaan, questo rapacissimo Lupo'. The murderer will go to Hell for his crime, and the lament ends as Puccio wonders whether not a star could/be dedicated to his dead friend.

This praise of the louse is typical of all theSermoni funebri.

Throughout the collection Lando's considerable inventiveness and imagination are apparent in the fantastic or ridiculous qualities, accomplishments and adventures which he conjures up for the various animals. This combination of fantasy and burlesque had been achieved by Lucian in theMuscae Encomium. Lando was fully aware of his place in the long development of the paradoxical encomium, and at the end of theSermoni placed what appears to be the longest of any of the Renaissance lists of predecessors— and many of these had been

1 Sermoni funebri, p. 147.
2 This list appears at the end of the collection, in the form of a so-called apology for the author. It appears to have daunted even the most determined translators, for it appears in none of the translations: the list runs:
'Sonoci molti intenti al calunniare: li quali, biasmano questo Autore che posto si sia à trattare cose si frivole, & di si poco momento, con dir che meglio fatto havrebbe s'egli havesse atteso alli studi della giovveole medicina, ò vero havesse rivolto l'arte, l'ingegno suo alla sante theologia, di cui tanto vago già si dimostrò fin da fanciullo: et io dirò à questi calunniatori che biasmino prima di lui Sinesio cirenense, il quale potendo scrivere dell' altre cose al lor giudicio alte & sublimi, scrisse le lodi della calvatura, mostrando al mondo, che l'esser calvo fusse di singolar ornamento à capi nostri. biasmino anchora Dione (che per sopra nome fu detto Chrisostomo) che cantò si dolcemente la loda della Chioma. (continued on next page)
very long indeed. The popularity of the Sermoni must have meant that this list was widely read and known; it must therefore have played its part in spreading the vogue for the satirical eulogy, and understanding of the historical background of the genre.

(continued from previous page)

Biasmino Omero & la guerra ch'egli scrisse delle Rane: biasmino il Moreto, le Api, & il Culice del buon Virgilio. Vituperino Policrate, & Isocrate stremi lodatori di Busiride tiranno: vituperino prima Glauco, che lodò con tanta vehementia l'ingiustitia, vituperino Favorino, che tanto inalzò Thersite & la quartana febre: dichino primieramente, male di Luciano, che lodò si efficacemente la Mosca, & la vita parasitica: dichino mal di Seneca philosophe tanto grave, che s'indusse a scrivere l'Apotheosi di Claudio: Mordino con i lor maligni denti prima Plutarco di haver scritto un dialogo di grillo & di Ulisse, mordino Apuleio & il suo Asino, & se non basta di morderlo, che se lo mangio spacciatamente (pur che Apuleio se ne contenti) Se vorranno li maligni flagellare con la loro pestifera lingua l'autore della presenti sermoni per essersi posto a trattar di si humil soggetto, flagellino anchora Themisone che scrisse si diffusamente le lodi della Plantagine, & Omero huomo si grave le lodi del vino. flagellino Ephren Siro, che vituperò il ridere con non piccolo volume. flagellino Marcione che scrisse del Raffano: Hippocrate lodatore della orzata, & Mesalla, il quale di ciascuno littera dell'alphabeto ne scrisse due volumi: perché non si maravigliano questi tali più tosto di Orpheo & di Esiodo trattatori si diffusi delle sifuaginationi, ò vero di Giuba Re che scrisse si prolisso volume sol dell'herba Euphorbo? perché non si maravigliano così di Erasistrato che longamente si occupò in scriver sol dell'herba Lisimachia; & così di Icesio medico che scrissi di quella herba detta Anonimos? vorrei vedere che questi calunniaitori si ridessero prima di Democrito che fece si gran volume del numero quaternario, & un'altro volume consumo in trattar solo del Camaleonte. Ridinsi prima di Pitagora, che scrissi delle Scalorgne, di Cato ne lodatore del cavolo, di Dioele magnificatore della rapa. Di Crisippo lodatore della Verza è Brasica che si fusse: di Museo esaltatore della herba detta Polion: di Phania phisico eccellente, & gran lodatore dell'Urtica: ridansi di Asclepiade che scrissi del Mosto, & le lodi di quell'herba detta Anthemis.' (pp. 34-35)

1 v. supra, pp. 113
This picture of the development of the satirical eulogy in Italy during the sixteenth century would not be complete without some discussion of the adaptation of the *Moriae Encomium*, *La Pazzia*, attributed to Vianesio Albergati, the apostolic protonotary. This interesting and little known work had two French editions, in a translation by Jean du Thier. It is discussed, somewhat briefly, by Croce, in an article on the translations and imitations of the *Moriae Encomium* and of the *Colloquia*. According to the *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, *La Pazzia* was written some time soon after 1530. There was an edition in 1541, in Bologna and another one, about 1550, s.l.n.d.

In his article Croce comments on the popularity of the *Moriae Encomium* in Italy, mentioning the 1515 Aldine edition, at Venice, and the 1518 Giunta edition, at Florence. As an example of the reaction to this work in Italy he quotes an appreciation of its satire by Paolo Giovio:

*(Erasmo) fece stampare primieramente un'operetta intitolata *La Pazzia*, la quale fu quella che sparse la fama del nome*

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1 For Albergati's life, the most up-to-date article is that contained in the *Dizionario biografico*, v. in fra n.4.


3 The article appeared in the Aneddoti di Varia Letteratura, Bari 1953, Vol. XII of Croce's Scritti di Storia Letteraria e politica. It was No. XLVII in the collection, and had the title 'Sulle Traduzioni e Imitazioni Italiane dell''Elogio' e dei 'Colloqui' di Erasmo'.


5 Entitled simply *La Pazzia*.

6 With no name or pseudonym of author. (This is the one in the B.M.)
suo per ogni parte. Essa è fatta ad imitazione di una
delle pungenti satire di Luciano. E trasfigge gli uomini di
tutte le professioni con acutissimi stimoli, mostrando
apertamente che le operazioni di tutte le sette non sono
altro che espresse pazzie: cosa nel vero molto gioconda, e
che, per le arguzie gentili di che essa è tutta piena, dà
piacere insino alle persone di gravità ed impiegate in
altri negozi; ma indegna al tutto di un uomo di chiesa;
perciò che pare si faccia boffe in essa anche delle cose
di Dio.

Apart from its influence on Albergati, Croce also points out
the influence of the Moriae Encomium on Tommaso Garzoni, the eccentric
and precocious author of the Piazza Universale di tutte le Professioni
del Mondo. 2 As far as the Pazzia of Albergati is concerned, Croce
has this to say:

A ogni modo, la Pazzia italiana è mediocrissima
rifrittura del libro di Erasmo in languida e scolorita
prosa, tolta per prudenza tutta la parte satirica sugli
uomini di chiese e aggiuntavi qualche pagina sui grammatici,
i pedanti, le questioni sulla lingua. L'autore dice che
nessuno (?) aveva sin allora lodato la Pazzia, che pure ne
è degna, e perciò toglie sopra di sé questo carico; e, fatto
un breve esordio, discorre della pazzia e del suo imperio
sulle varie età della vita umana, sugli uomini e sugli dei,

1 C. Croce, art. cit. p.412-3. Taken from Paolo Giovio (translation
from the Latin, 1558, pp.200-202).

2 v. Opere di Tomaso Garzoni Da Bagnacavallo : La Piazza Universale
di tutte le Professioni del Mondo. La Sinagoga de gli Ignoranti.
L'Hospidale de'Pazzi incurabili; & Il Teatro de'varii, & diversi
Cervelli Mondani. In Venetia, MDCXVII, presso Giorgio Valentini, &
Antonio Giuliani. The Piazza Universale is over 400 pages long, and
is divided into sections, each headed with the name of a different
profession or type of person, rather on the lines of the Narren-
schiff. I have not read the work, but in his Prologue Garzoni
mentions Momus, and defends his work in terms which any writer of
a satirical eulogy might have used: 'se il dotto Apuleio ha potuto
con facendo stile celebrare le lodi dell'Asino, Plutarco comporre
un dialogo del Grillo con Ulisse. Luciano commendar tanto la Mosca.
Pittagora loder cotanto la Cipolla. Diocle estoglier superbamente la
Rapa. Virgilio diffusamente scriver della Zenzala, il Vida far un
libro particolare della scacchidea: Homero formare un'opera della
guerra delle Rane: ben potrò io formare una Piazza di gente mobile,
e plebea pur daltro conto, & istimazione, che questi miseri soggetti,
on non dirò di bassezza, ma di somma viltà manifestamente ripieni.'
(p.10').
sulle varie condizioni e stati sociali, sul matrimonio, sulle donne, sugli animali, sui poeti, cacciatori, astronomi, giocatori, litiganti, marinai, negromanti, streghe, grammatici e pedanti.

Because of the rarity of Albergati's work, and because, although it contains much that is taken from Erasmus, it is by no means a slavish translation, it is worth considering La Pazzia in further detail. Only thus is it possible to see what, if any, originality its author, whoever he may have been, possessed. ¹

The whole of the Moriae Encomium had been put into the mouth

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² On the authors to whom the Pazzia has been attributed, v. Dizionario biografico, loc. cit. I. Sanesi, writing on Lando (Il Cinque Centista Ortensio Landi, Pistoia, 1893, p. 87-9, quoted by E. Garin in the review mentioned above, p. 244) says that the author is a 'senese', not the 'bolognese' Albergati, and certainly the Pazzia is not in the style of anything else known to have been written by him. From the biographical data given in the course of the work one gathers that the was ill at the time of composing it; this might well have been true of Albergati, since the Dizionario biografico (pp. 622-3) finds no documents concerning him after about 1532. For the sack of Rome, also mentioned by the author of La Pazzia, v. ibid., p. 622.

Quotations from La Pazzia will be given in the French translation (1567), for various reasons. Firstly, because this would have been the version known to most Frenchmen. Secondly, since it is an accurate translation there is no risk of error in this respect. Also, the pages of the French translation are numbered, whereas those of the Italian original are not. Reference to a numbered version is obviously far easier. Lastly, and perhaps most important, there is the question of the actual language. It is impossible to know whether the writer of La Pazzia was translating those passages of the Moriae Encomium which are repeated in his work from the Latin or from a vernacular translation. There can therefore be no question of any very detailed linguistic comparison. Despite this one can see many close parallels between the two works. The quotations from the Moriae Encomium will be given, as in the chapter on Erasmus (supra pp. in English, taken from the White Kennett translation (1876 edition)).
of Folly, with the goddess speaking in the first person, and addressing an imaginary audience. At times, particularly in the passages of religious criticism, Erasmus fails to sustain the mask of irony, and seems to forget his mouthpiece almost completely. However, by and large, the character is sustained right to the end of the work. The tone ranges from the gay, the mocking, the sardonic, through to the transparent anger and bitterness of the serious passages.

Albergati's work was, in all these respects, quite different from that of Erasmus. He himself is the speaker, and at times his own personal feelings and opinions seem so to overwhelm him that he appears to forget entirely his so-called aim, and launch into some long, and often interesting digression.

The early mention by both authors of their predecessors has already been discussed.¹ Next both describe the ancestry of their goddess, Erasmus declaring her parents to have been Pluto and a pretty young nymph; Albergati, Pluto and 'la gracieuse Deesse Jeunesse' ²

¹ v. supra, pp. 68 and 181
² Les Louanges de la Folie, p. 3
daffodills, mallows, onions, peas, beans, or such kind of trash, but there give equal divertissement to our sight and smelling, rue, all-heal, bugloss, marjoram, herb of life, roses, violets, hyacinth, and such like fragrances as perfume the gardens of Adonis.

And being born amongst these delights, I did not, like other infants, come crying into the world, but perked up, and laughed immediately in my mother's face. (p.11)

Both authors now describe the companions of Folly, Erasmus seeing his goddess suckled by Drunkenness, one of Bacchus' offspring, and Ignorance, the daughter of Pan, Albergati giving her Venus and Bacchus themselves as companions.

Next both consider the begetting of human life, and the way in which the gravest philosophers must forget their dignity if they wish to have children:

The next place to the gods is challenged by the Stoicks; but give me one as stoical as ill-nature can make him, and if I do not prevail on him to part with his beard,... yet at least he shall lay by his gravity, smooth up his brow, relinquish his rigid tenets, and in despite of prejudice become sensible of some passion in wanton sport and dallying. In a word, this dictator of wisdom shall be glad to take Folly for his diversion, if ever he would arrive to the honour of a

(All sages) s'ils veulent estre peres, & observer le divin commandement de croistre & multiplier, il est necessaire qu'ils mettent a part la gravité, les estudes & la prudence, & qu'ils embrassent la Folie; mettans en oeuvre la partie du corps, laquelle quasi ne se peut nommer, voir ne toucher sans rire. (p.45)

1 Erasmus, ed.cit., p.10.
2 Albergati, p. 3v.
father... is it the head, the face, the breast, the hands, the ears, or other more comely parts, that serve for instruments of generation? I trow not, but it is that member of our body which is so odd and uncoth as can scarce be mentioned without a smile. (pp.13-14)

So terrible are the pangs of childbirth that no woman would have more than one child, did not Folly make her forget all her troubles once they were past. As for children themselves, they are loved because of their folly:

What then is it in children that makes us so kiss, hug and play with them, and that the bloodiest enemy can scarce have the heart to hurt them; but their ingredients of innocence and Folly... (p.16)

The same is true of adolescents:

The next advance from childhood is youth, and how favourably is this dealt with; how kind, courteous, and respectful are all to it? and how ready to become serviceable upon all occasions? (p.16)

The chief advantage of old age is that one becomes once more a child, and it is for this reason that old men and children always get on so well together. Erasmus and Albergati now criticise study and learning, Erasmus talking about students, and Albergati using
the same description for 'les sages et graves hommes'.

Passing from mankind in general to specific groups of people and nations, Albergati's text shows a considerable expansion of Erasmus. Erasmus named as being particular devotees of folly the 'Hollanders'. Albergati describes the Folly of the 'senois', the Portuguese, the Bolognese, the Florentines, the French, the Genoese and the Neapolitans. Much of what he says is dry and conventional, but there are some picturesque details:

Et qui est-ce aussi qui ignore comme sont grands les fols à Florence, & combien ils peuvent. Que dirons-nous de ces babillards de Mantouë, & de ces couyons Venitiens avec leurs manches à plein fons, & leurs gondolles. Semblablement de ces seigneurs Espagnols, lesquels avec tant de leurs Juradios, & tant de leurs seigneuries, se reputent les sages du monde; n'ont-ils pas edifié en leurs plus nobles villes de tresgrands Palais, & à icieux assigné gros revenu, seulement pour nourrir & entretenir leurs fols?. (p.6'-7')

Both authors now consider the folly of various gods. Erasmus' tone is more sharply critical; he speaks of 'that bawd Flora', and of the 'lewd pranks and debaucheries' of the gods. Albergati refers to most of the same deities, Venus, Bacchus, Cupid and Flora, and, like Erasmus, speaks of Momus' rejection from Heaven, but leaves out many of Erasmus' details.

Returning to the human level, both show how our reason is dominated by our passions, in particular by anger and lust. This paucity of intellect is particularly marked in women, Plato having even been in doubt as to whether to classify them as 'brutes or rational creatures',¹ says Erasmus. To this Albergati adds the fact

¹ ed. p.27
that the Turks under no circumstances give credence to women's evidence in law-suits, and do not believe their souls to be immortal. Folly keeps women beautiful, knowing that here, and here alone, lies their charm:

...for what is it but too great a smack of wisdom that makes men so tawny and thick-skinned, so rough and prickly-bearded, like an emblem of winter or old age, while women have such dainty smooth cheeks, such a low gentle voice, and so pure a complexion, as if nature had drawn them for a standing pattern of all symmetry and comeliness. (p.28)

Erasmus had not written much more about women at this point, merely mentioning their various techniques for attracting men, 'Paint, washes, curls, perfumes, and all other mysteries of ornamént' (p. 29). Albergati on the other hand, soon proves that while he disapproves most strongly of these tricks he nonetheless knows all about them: they are far from being Erasmus' 'mysteries'. An ardent mysogynist, he still cannot resist devoting one of the longest, and few original sections of his book to a minute and fascinating description of the women of his day.

First he launches into an indignat tirade against 'femmes savantes'; the French text actually uses the adjective 'scavantes'. The picture he paints is almost worthy of Molière, and shows him at his best:

Toutefois, entre elles il y en peut avoir quelquesunes qui, contre leur naurel presument, en renonçant du tout à la folie, de lieu veulent devenir sages, scavantes & sabtiles; chose que la folie en aucune maniere ne peut souffir ne permettre. Et lors
qu'ils (sic) devroyent coudre, filer & vacquer aux affaires & negocies domestiques, à quoy elles sont dediees, l'une fait profession de choses grandes, l'autre se veut du tout adonner à la Philosophie, & ordonne, parle & dispute du Monde, du Ciel, des Idees, de l'immortalité, & de la divine essence, comme si c'etoit un nouveau Aristote; & veut arguer aux excellens Philosophes, & aux plus grands Theologiens: Et souventesfois, quelque ignorante qu'elle soit, sera si hardie que de les reprendre. L'autre voudra faire profession de la Poésie, se mordera le levre, & fait le bouquin, hume le vent & avalle sa salive, se persuadant que l'esprit du divin Homere, ou l'ame de la sage Sappho luy est entree au corps: Elle composera des vers, des petites lettres & chansonnets d'amour, & disputera des Poétes Grecs, Latins & Tuscons, qui ont mieux & plus doucement exprimé les affections & passions d'amour: mettra en avant un subtil argument sur le quatrieme des Enéides de Virgile, dira Epigrammes, chapitres, chansons, sonnets & madrigales, faisant une anatomie de la langue Tuscanne, pour la recercher & retourner parole par parole. La façon de parler de Bocace ne la satisféra pas, par ce que en d'aucuns lieux il ha fut beaucoup plus savant que bien ordre en son langage: aussi que ce beaucoup du rude & du vieil. Elle dira que Dante n'est pas grand'chose que des Triomphes de Petrarque: Que la nouvelle Grammaire avec l'Asollan sont trop affectez: Que l'Arcadie est une traduction sans invention, & n'est pas Tuscanne: Le Morgant est mal limé: Orland furieux delecte le commun peuple, mais en plusieurs lieux se trouve qu'il a defaut de jugement, & se perd & absyme aux adulations. Le Courtisan est Lombard, & a prins l'invention d'autrui. Quant au Seraphin, & quelques autres qui ont par cy devant eu cours, & ont ete fort estimez, n'est pas grand cas, & à peine meritent ils d'estre leuz. Elles se moquent de Aretin, disans qu'il n'est point argut, sinon à dire mal d'autrui, quand la bouche ne luy est close avec quelque present. Conclusion, tout ce qui a esté dit par quelques fameux & singuliers Auteurs que ce soyent, ne les peut aucunement satisfaire ne contenter, tant elles pensent avoir grand engin, dy-je bon entendement. (p.9⁵⁻¹⁰⁵)

Since Albergati has made more than plain his law opinion of the 'femmes savantes', one may safely assume that the then fashionable opinions, which he has heard them express, are the exact opposite of his own. Indirectly, therefore, this passage gives us some insight into Albergati's own literary tastes.

From their lack of intelligence, Albergati goes on to discuss
women's magic charms for making themselves loved, their pills and potions, their exotic perfumes and jewels, and their equally exotic and infinitely varied manner of dress. All the references are to his own contemporaries, and so are in specific, not general terms. Historically and even sociologically, the details he gives are fascinating. Of their beauty preparations he says:

Quant à se peindre & peler les sourcils, c'est chose ordinaire. Semblablement de faire la peau blanche, les joues & les levres colorees. Et ne fut, ne m'y aura jamais peintre qui peust adjouter en cest endroit à leur artifice. Au regard de distiller eaux, gomme dragant, allun de roche, argent sollymeé, & autres semblables mixtures & compositions pour faire la face claire & reluisante, unir & liser la peau: de sorte que en leur visage lon se peut facilement mirer: certainement elles saevent ce qui en est, & en ont l'art tout entier. (p. 12r)

Albergati goes on to speak with horror 'Des femmes desguisees, & faisans actes virils', as the marginal note puts it. Rejoining, at last, Erasmus, he speaks of the usefulness of women at banquets, where their folly helps keep the party gay. Erasmus, less of a misogynist than Albergati, confines himself to the remark that Folly, rather than women, is the chief agent in producing gaiety on such occasions. Both writers now consider the part played by Folly in friendship, whereby we gloss over one another's faults, turning a blind eye to our friends' weaknesses:

and at another time the fond parent hugs the squint-eyed child, and pretends it is rather a becoming glance and winning aspect than any blemish of the eye-sight, what is all this but the very height of Folly? (p.32)

Cupid is usually portrayed as being blind, because he makes things
appear to us as the opposite of what they in fact are. As for marriage, this institution could never continue to exist, did not Folly intervene:

The same which has been said of friendship is much more applicable to a state of marriage, which is but the highest advance and improvement of friendship in the closest bond of union...how few matches would go forward, if the hasty lover did but first know how many little tricks of lust and wantonness (and perhaps more gross failings) his coy and seemingly bashful mistress had oft before been guilty of? (pp.33-34)

Albergati, surprisingly enough in view of his opinion of women, is far less realistic than Erasmus in his description of the deceived, but happy husband, confining himself to a mention of the new practice of sleeping in separate beds, and a reminder of the tragedies caused by jealousy.

No social relationships would be possible, did not Folly make cowards of us all:

there could be no right understanding betwixt prince and people, lord and servant, tutor and pupil, friend and friend, man and wife, buyer and seller, or any persons however otherwise related, if they did not cowardly put up small abuses, sneakingly cringe and submit, or after all fawningly scatch (sic) and flatter each other. (p.35)

Et certainement les peuples ne pourroyent souffrir ne tolerer les Princes, ne les Princes les aimer, ne les serviteurs les seigneurs, ne les fils les peres, ne les disciples leur maistre d'escole, ne semblablement aucune compagnie ne conjonction ne pourroit demourer ferme ne durable, si la Folie avec sa douceur & bémignité ne les venoit à domestiquer, apprivoiser & addoucir. (pp.15^v-15^v)
In both works now appears the proverb used by Favorinus, about nature being sometimes a mother and sometimes a step-mother. She has given us envy, so that were it not for Folly, who has bestowed upon us the priceless gift of self-love, we would never be content. Here Erasmus writes that actors, musicians and poets are amongst the groups of men most guilty of philauty. This passage Albergati cuts, inserting in its place a defence of his own work; a task Erasmus had undertaken in his Preface:

Quant à moy escrivant ceste mienne folie, j'esprouve assez de combien est grand ce plaisir, me semblant quelque-fois avoir trouvé invention aucunement subtile, ingenieuse & belle, & ne l'avoir encore trop lourdement escrite: mais siaucuns viennent par cy après à voir & lire telles lourderies, ils pourront facilement juger & cogn&istre comme en cest endroit je suis excessivement trompé & abuse: estans choses indoctes, impertinentes, mal limees, & sans aucun goust ne saveur. Or elles seront telles que lon voudra, si est-ce toutesfois que pour l'amour & grace de la Folie, je ne me suis peu delecté à les escrire: & ay esperance que paradventure elles ne desplairont point à quelque autre bon & honnestes compagnon, qui ne sera du tout ennemi de la Folie. (p.16^)

After this apology, Albergati returns to his source of inspiration, repeating, in shortened form, much of what Erasmus had said on wars, and on the notorious cowardice in battle of philosophers. Each author lists classical examples of timorous philosophers, Erasmus mentioning Isocrates, Socrates, Plato, Theophrastus, and Cicero, and Albergati listing Demosthenes, Cicero, and a certain 'Sozino', (in the Italian text), who was speechless with terror when required to make a speech before Pope Alexander.
The two Catos and the Gracchi are named next, as examples of the folly of allowing wise men to govern states, and it is pointed out that wise fathers often give birth to foolish sons. Albergati inserts an original passage, on the happiness of primitive peoples, particularly that of the inhabitants of the newly discovered 'Indie Occidentale'. This blissful existence has been ruined by the greed of the Spaniards:

Laquelle joyeuse, gracieuse & pacifique façon de vivre, les ambitieux & avaritieux Espagnols leur ont trouble & interrompu, en communiquant & fréquentant en ceste Région; Car avec leur trop de scavoir, leurs grandes finesses, leurs tresdures & insupportables loix & edits l'ont remplie de cent mille maux, facheries & travaux: tout ainsi que s'ils avoyent porté par delà le vaisseau de Pandora. (p.18"

Erasmus and Albergati both agree that sages are no fun to have at banquets, for they dampen the jollity, with their depressed and doleful appearance. Albergati now gives a long list of wise men, of whom about half are contemporary Italians, who came to an unhappy end, despite all their learning. All that is needed to govern men satisfactorily is, not intelligence, but a series of deceits and stories. Tales such as that of Menenius Agrippa, about the various members of the body that by Themistocles about the Fox and the Hedgehog, are told by both writers at more or less length. Erasmus cannot resist a criticism of the custom of deifying men, and according them triumphal rides, but Albergati does not repeat this criticism. He inserts a dig at Mahomet, 'avec les incroyables folie (sic) de son Alcoran' (p. 21"), who nevertheless succeeded in ruling fierce peoples peacefully. Erasmus mentioned Mahomet elsewhere
in the *Praise of Folly* (p.92).

As Croce said, Erasmus' attack on religious abuses was cut in its entirety by the author of *La Pazzia*. If the author was Albergati, these cuts would be understandable, in view of his position as protonotary. The only passage in *La Pazzia* in which religion is given more than a passing mention, is the following one, in which he attacks the congregation, not the priest:

> Telle chose se voit encore manifestement en nos beaux-peres prescheurs, lesquels pendant qu'ils exposent & declarent les grands mysteres de la sacree Theologie, & les doctrines, meditations & contemplations de leurs illuminez Docteurs, ont bien peu d'auditeurs qui leur prestant l'oreille, la pluspart de l'assistance cause & babille, & les autres dorment: Mais soudain que le predicateur vient (comme ils ont de bonne coutume) a reciter quelque fable, ou bien qu'il luy eschappe de la bouche aucune sornette, tous se resveillent, se rendent ententifs, & puis au bout du jeu se mettent à rire à gorge desployee. (pp. 2r-2i)

At this point in the two works Albergati cuts and compresses into four sides about ten pages of Erasmus' discussion of vain-glory, 'la gloire', and ambition, which drive men to do extreme things, and even to risk their lives. Erasmus has a fine development, which recalls Shakespeare's 'all the world's a stage', in which he shows the whole of mankind playing a part, pretending to be a certain character, when in reality they are probably just the opposite. He lifts the argument onto an almost cosmic level, the whole world being seen as a kind of riddle, or paradox, with everything in it, Janus-like, having a dual aspect:
so as that which at first blush proves alive, is in truth dead; and that again which appears as dead, at a nearer review seems to be alive: beautiful seems ugly, wealthy poor, scandalous is thought creditable, prosperous passes for unlucky, friendly for what is most opposite, and innocent for what is hurtful and pernicious. In short, if we change the tables, all things are found placed in a quite different posture from what just before they appeared to stand in. (p.50)

This passage shows at how many levels the idea of the paradox was interpreted at this time. For Erasmus it has here become a philosophical concept; for Estienne, Lando's translator, the 'Paradoxe' was a technique, to be used in the training of young lawyers.

Albergati also omits Erasmus' next section, in which he attacks the Stoics for proposing that the ideal man is the without passions.

He skips a few pages to where Erasmus talks about the wretchedness of this life which Folly makes us so cling to:

Farther, in every course of life how many wrecks there may be of torturing diseases, how many unhappy accidents may casually occur, how many unexpected disasters may arise, and what strange alterations may one moment produce? Not to mention such miseries as men are mutually the cause of, as poverty, imprisonment, slander, reproach, revenge, treachery, malice, cou senage, deceit, and so many more, as to reckon them all would be as puzzling arithmetic as the numbering of the sands. (p.56)

These reflections inspire Albergati to make yet another digression, this time a purely personal one. Having just, like Erasmus, given the names of various men in history who have preferred to commit suicide rather than continue this wretched life, he writes:
L'exemple desquels je devrois pieùs avoir imité, pour tout à un coup donner fin aux misères & calamités dont continuellement je suis affligé: ayant desja, & non pas sans honneur & réputation passé la fleur de mon âge. (p.24^)

He lost all his possessions 'és deux horribles sacqs intervenus à Rome', and many of his friends, and two of his brothers have also perished. He forgets entirely the praise of Folly, and tells, in detail, of all his sufferings:

Mais ce n'est pas tout: car à ce mesme but je suis tombé en infirmité de maladie incurable: en laquelle estant abandonné des plus excellens medecins, & desesperé de tout allegement & remede, je vis long temps a sans aucun moyen de paix ou de trefve: Me voyant avec douleur & rage devourer non seulement la chair, mais encores les misérables os: Estant si difforme qu'à peine me puis-je moymesmes reconnoistre pour celuy que j'ay esté autresfois. (p.25^)

To his great grief he can no longer even enjoy literature as much, ayant perdu une grande partie de la veuë, de l'ouye, de la memoire, de l'entendement, de l'odorement & du goust: de sorte qu'estant vif, je suis fait quasi semblable aux morts, & vivant je meurs tous les jours mille fois. (p.25^)

He will die without an heir, as did his brothers:

Et pour conclusion, je suis si empesché de larmes, que je ne puis dire le reste de mes misères, adversitez & calamitez. (p.25^)

Trying to integrate this long series of personal confidences into the subject he is supposed to be discussing, Albergati says that despite all his troubles, Folly, 'L'unique refirgeration & repos de ma fascheuse vie' (p.25^) helps him feel moments of relief, and hope.

1 If even part of what is related here is true, it would account for the fact that (v. supra, p.19^ n.2) there is no trace of Albergati after 1532.
Both writers now describe the way in which Folly helps men and women to forget old age, and, with false teeth and dyed hair, fall in love as if they were still in the prime of life. As usual, Erasmus' passage is far more vivid than that of Albergati. His two, very realistic pages on old men's follies are compressed into a few very pedestrian lines in La Pazzia.¹

Up to this point Albergati has followed Erasmus' order fairly closely, cutting in many places, and introducing personal digressions, not but jumping from place to place in the elements he chose to imitate. In the second half of the book, however, he not only cuts large sections of the Moriae Encomium but rearranges such arguments as he does take.²

Erasmus passes next to a discussion of various categories of fool: hunters, builders, inventors, gamblers and so on. Albergati copies some of these passages and omits others, or replaces them with categories of his own, such as sailors, necromancers, and magicians. Most clearly borrowed are the sections on hunters,³ builders and gamblers.⁴ However, in the section on builders, Albergati once again confesses to a personal weakness in this direction, and his description of the various features of the houses being built in his day is worth quoting. Erasmus had written:

1 Erasmus, pp.58-59, Albergati, p.25.²
2 eg. Erasmus, p.64-66, on the advantages wild animals have over domesticated ones, goes to Albergati p.28²; Erasmus on real simpletons, or mad men, pp.67-72; Albergati p.26²; discussion of the different types of madness, Erasmus pp.74-75; Albergati, p.29².
3 Hunters: Erasmus pp.78-9, Albergati p.31².
4 Gamblers: both writers decide that gambling should be classified amongst the inventions of the furies rather than of Folly, which is a far gentler thing: Erasmus pp.80-81, Albergati, p.32².
Near a kin to these are such as take a great fancy for building: they raise up, pull down, begin anew, alter the model, and never rest till they run themselves out of their whole estate, taking up such a compass for buildings, till they leave themselves not one foot of land to live upon, nor one poor cottage to shelter themselves from cold and hunger: and yet all the while are mighty proud of their contrivances, and sing a sweet 'requiem' to their own happiness. (p. 79)

This Albergati adapts as follows:

Diray-je point de combien est delectable la folie d'édifier & construire logis, chercher la commodité de l'assiette, des huis, des fenestres & croisées, des perrons, vis & escaliers, formant rondes stanzes carrees, & les carrees rondes? il est vray qu'en voyant croistre ses ouvrages avec un incroyable desir & plaisir, lon ne sent ne la despense, ne la fain, ne le froid, ne le chaud. Et certes j'estimois grandement ce gratieux & aisé moyen d'aller à l'hospital, si en cela je ne m'estois si enveloppé, que j'en porte l'esprit & les habillements deschirez. (p. 31)

Some idea of the cuts made by Albergati from this point onwards is given by the fact that whereas the Moriae Encomium still has about a hundred of its two hundred pages to run at this stage, Albergati has only about eight pages before the end of La Fazzia. These last pages contain passages on school-masters and geometricians which are borrowed largely from Erasmus, and a fairly long development on the spells of magicians which is not to be found in the Moriae Encomium. This last section runs:

Les autres pensent avoir dans des anneaux & en cristalins les esprits familiers enfermez, comme perroquets en cages, & avec ideux trouver les tresors cachez, s'evoyer secrets, acquier l'amour des dames, la grace des seigneurs, estimans ces esprits estre du tout dediez à obeir & satisfaire à leurs commandemens, desirs & appetits.

...Et que dites-vous de ceux qui en proferant ces paroles,

1 cf. supra p. 66 where the same passage is compared with a similar section in the Nattenship.
Vent sur vent porte moy aux noplces, pensent incontinent
estre convertis en especes d'animaux, & aller par la
cheminee au sabbath avec ceux de leur secte? (34)

After imitating part of Erasmus' attack on grammarians, and school-
masters, and introducing a section of his own, criticizing those
who write grammars in the vulgar tongue rather than in Latin, from
which the vulgar tongue is derived, Albergati's La Pazzia comes to
a somewhat abrupt end. ¹

As the above quotations from La Pazzia and from the Moriae
Encomium show, the Italian writer does indeed copy his predecessor
in many respects. However, he also inserts several original
developments, some of which are quite long. What is interesting is
that where he imitates Erasmus most closely, Albergati seems to
write least well. He almost invariably condenses, and unfortunately
chooses to cut out the most vivid and picturesque elements of
Erasmus' text. In this respect Croce's adjective 'scolorita' ² is
applicable. However, to dismiss the whole of La Pazzia as a
'mediocrissima rifrittura' ³ is quite unjust. Where Albergati forgets

¹ The French translator placed the following lines on the final
page of the book:
Fait & composé en Indie Pastinaque par monsieur Ne me blamez,
à l'issue des masques & folies de Caresme prenent, Avec grace &
privilege de tous les nouveaux Heteroclites, & expresse protes-
tation, Que quiconques de ceste Folie dira mal, qu'il s'asseure
de là en aprés estre un vray fol, encore que pour tel n'eust esté
jamais cogneau.
The expression 'Indie Pastinaque', which at first sight appears
strange, is a literal translation of the Italian expression 'India
pastinaca' (v. Tommaseo & Bellini, Dizionario della lingua Italiana,
Turin, 1929, under 'pastinaca'; cf. also the term 'ficcar pastinache',
equivalent to 'ficcar carote', explained (under "carota") as 'Dare
ad intendere altrui cose che non son vere. Forse dal poco valore di
quella pianta'.)

² v. supra p. 190.
³ ibid.
his model and launches out on his own, his strong personal opinions and feelings, on a variety of topics, come to the fore, and he often succeeds in writing striking and unusual passages. La Pazzia is the best Renaissance imitation of the Moriae Encomium.

Between Albergati and Berni, La Pazzia and the Capitolo della Peste, the difference is immeasurable. Yet both clearly belong to the same basic tradition, that of the satirical eulogy. The variety of the development of this genre in sixteenth century Italy, covering as it does the paradox, the joking funeral oration, the prose treatise and the 'capitolo' preceded, and profoundly influenced a similar broadening of scope in the French satirical eulogy.
CHAPTER V

THE FRENCH SATIRICAL EULOGIES

Introduction: The Middle Ages

The paradoxical encomium, as discussed in the whole of the present study, was a classical genre, rediscovered during the Renaissance. It was revived consciously and deliberately, in the case of great humanists such as Erasmus and Alberti. Other Neo-Latin writers either imitated their example, or drew direct inspiration from panegyricists such as Lucian. The revival soon spread to the vernacular, in France, Germany and Italy. In these languages the satirical eulogy sometimes took on a variety of outward forms - 'capitolo', 'blason', epitaph, funeral oration - but retained always, to a greater or lesser degree, its two essential elements; satire, or irony, and praise. Before considering the French eulogies, it is important to try and find out, as far as this is possible, just why this genre was so rapidly successful, and, more particularly, whether or not its popularity owed anything to any medieval predecessors.

After looking at the various types of satire written during the middle ages¹ one finds that there is nothing at all in this period which exactly resembles the satirical eulogy. This genre, with

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¹ See, for example, C.F. Lenient, La Satire en France au moyen âge, Paris, 1859, and M. Manitius, Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, Munich, 1911-19.
its relative sophistication and constant self-awareness, was essentially
a Renaissance creation, or re-creation. However, one does find
various medieval genres and traditions which may help to explain
the immediate wide acceptance of the satirical eulogy, and its
integration at so many levels of literature.

The first of these medieval genres and traditions is the
tradition of the Christian paradox: as Miller puts it;

However, the tradition of Christian paradox, exemplified in
Tertullian's "certum est, quia impossibile est", and that of
the "advocatus diaboli" might well have maintained a concern
with paradoxical subjects, and with "making the worse appear
the better reason" that would provide some continuity between
classic practice and the resurgence of interest in the
paradoxical encomium that appears in the Renaissance.

It would of course be wrong to speak of 'influence' here, the
Christian paradox being more a matter of theological discussion than
of literature, and the paradox, either in Lando's sense, or in the
sense of the standard Renaissance satirical eulogy, being a strictly
secular and literary concept. However, the very different levels
at which a paradox can be used and interpreted have already been
commented on in connection with Erasmus and Albegati and another
name for the satirical eulogy is the 'paradoxical' encomium. It
seems that Miller may well be right in what he says.

G. Cronin, in an article on the bestiary, quotes also a medieval

1 v. Miller, _art. cit._, p. 151.
2 v. _supra_, pp. 202-3
3 Grover Cronin, 'The Bestiary and the Medieval Mind - Some
Ars Praedicandi which shows how much importance the church attached to technical ability, or eloquence, in the upholding of the more difficult and paradoxical among its tenets:

Et Leo papa: Haec est virtus eloquentiae ut nihil sit tam exile quod non extollat, nihil tam incredibile quod non dicendo praerorate probabile fiat, nihil tam horridum vel incultum quod non oratione splendescat.

What strikes one most in a passage such as this is the underlying continuity in attitude towards eloquence and rhetorical skill, from Fronto, Quintilian and Favorinus, through the Middle Ages, to the Renaissance. Rhetoric was an art, to be learned, and the church seems to have recognised that its methods could be useful in preaching, to present in the best possible light various theological difficulties and problems. In some respects, therefore, it can be maintained that the idea of defending the indefensible, of 'proving' the unbelievable, never really lapsed between antiquity and the dawn of the Renaissance. But this theory fails completely to take into account the chief innovation of the satirical eulogy, namely its satire. Theologians or preachers making use of rhetoric and eloquence in order to improve their skill in speaking, or demonstrate some obscure point in religion, intended what they wrote or said to be taken seriously, no matter how paradoxical it might seem. The author of a satirical

1 G. Cronin, art. cit., p.195; taken from the Forma Praedicandi of Robert de Basevorn.

2 Synesius was, after all, Bishop of Cyrene, and seems to have lavished as much care and attention on proving the arguments in his Calvitiae Encomium as he would have done on the composition of a sermon.
eulogy, however, tended to believe the opposite of what he actually wrote.

A very flourishing type of medieval literature which has obvious connections with the present genre is the parody, whether that of Holy Writ, or that of religious literature and themes. It has been shown above that the classical paradoxical encomium probably arose out of a desire to parody the serious panegyric; certainly Lucian's Muscae Encomium can only be understood in this light. Similarly, the Tragodopodagra was a parody on classical tragedy, and many of the 'capitoli' were parodies of Petrarchan poems. In a piece such as the Tragodopodagra the element of parody is particularly easy to distinguish because the genre in question is one which is written according to certain precise formulae. It is true also that typical parody, like many satirical eulogies, applies the lofty or exaggerated language of a serious work, its elevated ideas, its noble purpose, to a subject not in the least deserving of such treatment. But a parody is really a kind of literary joke, whose humour lies in its mishandling and distortion of a work or a genre familiar to the reader. It may be a satirical comment on this work or genre, but it contains little real satire. It is in this respect that it differs most fundamentally from the best satirical eulogies. These may in fact not be designed as parodies at all, merely as attacks on something, expressed in the form of a eulogy. Such a work is the Moriae Encomium.

1 v. supra, p. 5.
2 v. supra, p. 38.
Even where there is little satire, one cannot necessarily find any trace of parody. The ironical encomium was often written solely as a display piece, to demonstrate rhetorical skill and ingenuity.

One therefore cannot altogether equate the medieval parody with the Renaissance satirical eulogy. Nevertheless, there is a considerable degree of overlap between the two genres; as Miller puts it, mentioning also the Goliardic songs:

Finally, the numerous parodies of religious ritual and themes and the Goliardic songs of the late medieval period offer celebrations of the power of gold, of drinking, and of physical love, which, if they do not fall within our genre, must at least have helped to establish an atmosphere in which the paradoxical encomium could flourish.¹

Since the satirical eulogy contains considerable elements both of paradox and of parody, it will always be possible to discern superficial likenesses between medieval works of these two types and certain Renaissance encomia. But it does not seem that this is a very direct or conscious link. A far less vague connection between the Pre-Renaissance period and the sixteenth century is provided by the 'blason', whose importance is such as to deserve separate discussion.

The 'Blason'.

At the end of the chapter on the Neo-Latin writers,² it was stated that one of the reasons both for the early acceptance and for the eventual disintegration of the satirical eulogy was probably

¹ Miller, _art.cit._, p. 151.
² _supra_, p. 147
its similarity to various other contemporary genres, such as the epitaph. This statement applied equally in Italy, where works such as 'capitoli', 'paradossi', and 'sermoni funebri' were all, in their various ways, satirical eulogies. It is, if possible, even more essential to a proper understanding of the numerous satirical encomia written in French\(^1\) during this period.

The great Italian flowering of the genre, in the 'capitolo', took place in the 1520's and 1530's, whereas there was no large-scale resurgence of the genre in France until the 1540's and 1550's. All the evidence indicates that the influence of Italy and of the Italian revival predominated in France over that of antiquity and of the Neo-Latin, important though these latter influences undoubtedly were. One cannot therefore look merely to the relevant works of Erasmus and Lucian as reasons for the reappearance of the genre in France. The 'capitoli', the 'sermoni funebri', and the 'paradossi' were all translated or imitated in France at some stage during the sixteenth century; the classical and Neo-Latin panegyricists, with the exception of Lucian, were used and named far less extensively, although in some instances classical and Italian sources might both be named, as in the Hymne de la Surdité.

\(^1\) As opposed to the Neo-Latin encomia written by Frenchmen. Galissard and Arbaleste may have been French, but there is nothing in their works which distinguishes them from similar pieces written by their contemporaries of other nationalities.

\(^2\) v. supra, Italian chapter (passim) for the many links between the two countries which may have accounted for the spread of the genre from Italy to France.
Of course, this generalisation about the predominance of the Italian influence does not hold good in every instance. Du Bellay's *Poète Courtisan*, modelled on a classical and a Neo-Latin work, is an obvious exception. But it remains true of the majority of French satirical eulogies, which were as much Bernesque works as they were Lucianic. It may help to explain the fact that most French satirical eulogies are by poets, imitating Berni, rather than by prose-writers imitating Erasmus or Lucian.

However, once the fundamental choice of medium had been made, the French writer had still to decide which among all the many poetic forms to adopt. Antiquity did not help him, and there was no such thing as a 'capitolo' in France. At this juncture the native French tradition seems to have reasserted itself, for in a large number of cases French writers chose to write their satirical or ironical eulogies in an indigenous form, the 'blason'. This genre had had an independent development before the revival of the classical genre, but now it was to subdivide into various types of poems. All still came under the same broad heading of 'blasons', but some now are in satirical eulogies, called by another name, and some remain true to the original nature of the 'blason'. In much the same way the heading 'capitolo' in Italy covered many works which bear no resemblance to the satirical eulogy. In the sixteenth century 'blasons', 'contre-blasons', and what have since been christened 'hymnes-blasons' were written on topics taken from
each one of the traditional categories of satirical eulogy. The 'blason' plays so important a part in the history of the classical 'genre' in France that the present section will deal exclusively with this poetic form, thus avoiding repetition in later chapters.

There is no single complete work on the 'blason', in all its manifestations. But several studies, of varying length and completeness, do exist, either in the form of articles, or as sections of larger works. Understanding the genre is made more difficult because it has been explained in many different ways, and the existing accounts of its history are very unequal in quality and range. Since the present thesis is not concerned primarily with the 'blason', it is proposed merely to summarise here, in so far as this is possible, the story of the development of the genre, and to attempt to show why this genre played so important a part in the history of the satirical eulogy in France.

Most of the works listed above attempt to trace the origins of the word 'blason'. The usual explanation of the change in meaning of the word is that given by Pike:

Charles d'Héricault, Les Oeuvres de Guillaume Coquillart, Paris, 1887, Vol. II.
Hélène Harviit, Eustorg de Beaulieu, A disciple of Marot, 1495(?)-1552, Lancaster PA, 1918, pp. 79-83.
V.L Saulnier, Maurice Scève (ca. 1500-1560), Paris, 1948, II, pp. 72-82.
The word 'blason' meant originally the coat of arms painted on a shield, and soon came to mean not only the coat of arms but the description of those arms. By a natural extension the term then passed into common parlance to mean a description of anything at all, and not only a eulogistic description, but a diffamatory one. It was used as early as the 13th century in these diverse meanings.

The heraldic origins of the genre are still very much apparent in the early 'blasons', such as the fifteenth century Blason de toutes armes, Blason des armes and Blason des couleurs, written by the herald at arms of the King of Aragon.\(^2\) It was this Blason des couleurs which Rabelais was to criticise in Gargantua.\(^3\) A 'blason', whether a heraldic description or a piece of literature, aims in fact to give the essence of something, 'cogliere la segreta essenza'.\(^4\)

It wants to describe the essential quality of the thing to which it...

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1. Pike, *art. cit.*, p. 223. It must be said that Pike's 'explanation' is vague in the extreme, giving no precise quotations or dates in support of his claim, and jumping abruptly from this passage to Sébillet's famous definition of the literary 'blason' in the sixteenth century. He does not tell us whether the 'eulogistic' or the 'diffamatory' meaning was the most common or the first to appear, or make any mention of the related verb 'blasonner'.

A far more detailed and convincing account of the early history of the genre is given by Giudici, *op. cit.* With a mass of interesting quotations, he suggests that the change in meaning of the word 'blason', from 'écu' to a literary genre, was probably preceded and facilitated by a similar change in meaning in the verb 'blasonner'. (p.77)


3. 'Qui vous meut? Qui vous point? Qui vous dict que blanc signifie foy et bleu fermeté? Un (dictes-vous) livre trepelu, qui se vend par les bisouars et porteballes, au tibre: le Blason des couleurs. Qui l'a fait? Quiconques il soit, en ce a est prudent qu'il n'y a point mis son nom. Mais, au reste, je ne sçay quoy premier en luy je doive admirer, ou son oultrecuidance ou sa besterie.' (Gargantua I. ix. ed. Lefranc, Paris, 1912, pp. 96-7).

refers, and can be either approving or disapproving of its subject.\(^1\)

Up to 1530 the numbers of 'blasons' are small. Some resemble medieval 'dебats',\(^2\) presenting both sides of a question in alternate stanzas or sections, and others are lists and descriptions of things such as the wines of France.\(^3\)

They vary considerably in length and quality. All of them share the fundamental characteristics of being a detailed description of something, either in order to praise it, as with the blasons on certain towns or wines,\(^4\) or in order to condemn it, as with Gringore's *Blason de Fratique*,\(^5\) or the same author's *Blazon des Herétiques*.\(^6\)

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1 cf Méon, *Blasons, poésies anciennes des XV et XVI\(^\text{er}\) siècles, extraites de différents auteurs imprimés et manuscrits*, par M.D.M.M... (Dominique Martin Méon). Nouvelle édition, augmentée d'un glossaire des mots hors d'usage. Paris, 1809. Avertissement: 'Le mot BLASON est employé dans le même temps en deux sens opposés, blâme et élogme, ce qui est prouvé par le Chant des Seraines et autres poésies d'Étienne Forcadel. Dans l'Épitre dédicatoire à son ami, il s'exprime ainsi: "Après m'as instamment sollicité de les mettre en lumière (ses poésies) te constituant pléiège pour moi contre les Blasonneurs", c'est-à-dire, les critiques. Dans ce même volume on trouve le Blason de la Nuit, qui est un Éloge de la Nuit; le Blason des Dames selon le pays, où ce mot est pris tantôt en bon, tantôt en mauvais sens; enfin le blason des couleurs, qui est un dixain dans lequel l'auteur énonce les qualités et propriétés des couleurs selon les idées reçues de son temps.'

2 For example, Coquillart's *Blason des Armes et des Dames*, a dispute as to whether a good king should devote himself to the fair sex or to warfare; Guillaume Alexis' *Grant Blason de Faulces Amours*, which contains both the satire and the apology of womankind. v. also A. Tilley, *The Literature of the French Renaissance*, Cambridge, 1904, I, p.89.


5 *ibid.*, p. 226.

6 *ibid.*, p. 228.
It is here that one begins to see a possible point of contact between the 'blason' and the satirical eulogy. A satirical eulogy tended to be monographic in nature, to have no plot, and to give long and detailed arguments in support of whatever it had taken as its subject. The fundamental difference between the 'blason' and the satirical eulogy is that the 'blason', in its original form, is not ironical. The writer of a 'blason' wishes to describe in detail an object or a series of objects, or to give one or both sides of a particular question. His own opinion of the object under discussion usually becomes plain in the course of the 'blason': if he approves of it, the blason is one of praise, if not, it is diffamatory. The writer of a satirical eulogy on the other hand, pretends to praise what in reality he seeks to condemn. There is a far greater degree of subtlety in this genre than there is in the 'blason', but it is easy to see how confusion between the two became possible.

The number of 'blasons' written before 1535, when Marot wrote his Blason du beau Teatin, is small, and although some of them contained strongly expressed views, these were all expressed straightforwardly rather than indirectly. The Blasons Anatomiques, and the answering 'contre-blasons' by people such as Huetterie, underwent an Italian influence, but it was not that of the satirical 'capitoli', and so did not tend to introduce more irony into the works.

1 Pike, art. cit., p. 230.
2 Marot's poem had been influenced by the "strambotti" of such poets as Tebaldeo, Serafino and Sassoferato; short pieces praising various aspects and possessions of their ladies - her hair, her breasts, her mirror, her clothes.
However, in certain of the Blasons Anatomiques the dividing-line between the straightforward eulogy and the ironical one has become very fine. For instance, one might not expect a Blason du Cul, or a Blason du Pet & de la Vesse to be eulogistic. Even allowing for Renaissance freedom on such subjects, the titles are ambiguous. This ambiguity may be one of the reasons why the writers of 'contre-blasons' felt obliged to put the word 'contre' in their titles, despite the fact that the word 'blason' alone had hitherto been accepted as meaning either praise or blame. These writers may well have felt that when such 'blasons' as these could be poems of praise, they needed to make their own critical intentions obvious right from the start.

After the Blasons Anatomiques and the ensuing dispute, came Corrozet's Blasons Domestiques, written in an attempt to rehabilitate the genre, suffering as it was from the excess of unabashed and pornographic details listed with such care by the 'blasonneurs' of the female body. The genre had by now been well and truly popularised, and a wide variety of 'blasons' began to appear. But what happened to it between the appearance of the Blasons Anatomiques and the Blasons Domestiques and the rise of the 'hymne-blasons' has never been properly discussed. How did this subtle change in the

2 V. Pike, art. cit., p. 231; 'They (the Blasons Anatomiques) glorified the flesh as it had never been done before, and against that glorification Huetterie fulminated in vain.'
'blasonneur's' approach to his subject, from the direct to the ironical, come about? None of the studies listed above seem even to understand that this change took place, and there is consequently no available analysis of it.

Saulnier describes thus the development of the 'blason' around this time:

L'histoire du genre blason médaillon ne finira pas avec les Blasons Anatomiques. On peut le voir s'abattardir, après cette réussite, en deux directions différentes. D'un côté, l'on s'éloigne de la brièveté du genre, en lui conservant son caractère de monographie descriptive, et l'on atteint le discours didactique monographique, du genre du Discours du lacis, ou de la Bellete de François de Clary, Albigeois; c'est à une variété de ce genre, brillante chez la Pâliade, qu'on a donné de nos jours le nom d'hymne-blason. Ou bien l'on sacrifie son caractère de description objective pour lui faire advenir dans le genre médaillon la tendance satirique. Le Blason du Bonnet carré est une charge contre gens d'église et gens de loi; le Blason des Basqines et Vertugalles, les Blasons du Gobelet et du Platelet, manifestent la même déformation du genre: c'est le médaillon satirique et symbolique.

This passage makes no mention of the introduction of irony into either the descriptive or the satiric type of blason. In the Bellete and in the 'hymne-blason' we find, however, not straightforward descriptions of praise or blame, but poems whose tone is half serious, half joking, one of gentle 'badinage'. And in the so-called satirical

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1 In the early part of his discussion Saulnier distinguished between two types of 'blason', the 'blason satirique', and the 'blason-medaillon', the first containing an attack on something, and the second being a monographic detailed description. The pages in which he shows the various ancestors, medieval and classical, of these two types of 'blason' are interesting (op.cit., pp.74-5), but his interpretation of the facts, even some of his facts, are wrong (as Giudici shows). For instance, he claims that there are only satirical 'blasons' in the fifteenth century, and that this type of 'blason' must therefore have been the first to appear. But one of the most famous 'blasons', and one which was given the name 'blason' right from the start, was Coquillett's Blason des Armes et des Dames (Œuvres, ed.cit. II, p.147 ff). This, as has been shown above (p.217) was a 'débat', not a satire. The same is true of some other
'blasons' we find, in some cases, indirect, rather than direct attacks.\(^1\) The reason for this change of attitude is given by Giudici\(^2\) and by Rossettini.\(^3\) It lies in fact in the influence of Italy. The earliest 'blasons' to be satirical eulogies as opposed to either satires or eulogies are the three anonymous 'blasons' published in Lyons in 1547.\(^4\) Two of these praise unpleasant diseases, and the third criticises honour. All of them show clear evidence of the influence of the satirical eulogy, either that of antiquity or that of the 'capitoli'. This little collection, coming as it does between the *Blasons Anatomiques* and the 'hymne-blasons', is extremely important.

\(\text{(continued from previous page)}\)

early 'blasons'. It is true that some 'blasons' fit very well into one or other of Saulnier's two categories. But it is misleading to make such rigid distinctions, for in many cases the two types of 'blason' are both present in a single work.

2 Saulnier, *op. cit.*, II, p. 76.

3 *v. infra p. 353 ff.* There seems no valid reason for distinguishing between the Pleiade's 'hymne-blasons', and the *Belleête*. This is really another 'hymne-blason'.

1 For example in the *Blason du Gobellet* and the *Blason du Platelett* (Montaiglon, *op. cit.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 345-354). Although these two pieces are attacks on certain aspects of religion, the anonymous author often uses ironically words of praise:

\[\text{'Gentil Gobellet argenté...'} (L, 7, p. 346)\]
\[\text{'O digne couppe, o couppe d'or'} (L, 51, p. 347)\]

Later in this poem the satire becomes more violent, and the irony disappears. The same formula is followed in the *Blason du Platelett*. These two pieces, dated 1562, are late enough to have been influenced by the new, ironical attitude of the 'blasonneur' towards his subject.

2 *op. cit.*

3 *op. cit.*, p. 165 ff.

4 *v. infra pp. 296 ff.* The full title runs, *Blasons, de la Goutte, de Honneur et de la Quarte*. 

\[\]
There were obvious resemblances between the 'capitolo' and the 'blason', as between the 'blason' and the satirical eulogy. Both were descriptive and monographic, accumulating details and arguments in favour of their subject. Both were verse forms, varying in length, but rarely very long. They were, essentially, minor genres, but could cover an infinite variety of topics. Small wonder, therefore, that the French, seeking to imitate the Bernesque poets, should find that the 'blason' provided the ideal form in which to compose such imitations:

Ainsi les éloges grotesques des poètes italiens devaient rappeler aux Français les 'blasons' de leur tradition littéraire dont la vogue continuait encore au XVIIe siècle, et qu'on préféreraient peut-être aux paradoxes bernesques si difficiles à imiter.

Indeed it is true that the French writers do not seem to have found certain aspects of Bernesque poetry readily transferable from one language and milieu to another. But they did absorb, almost, it seems, unconsciously, the Bernesque poets' habit of ironically praising the despised and the unworthy. They thus introduced into the 'blason' a subtlety and sophistication which had never before been characteristic of the genre.

1 The Bernesque paradoxes were difficult to imitate because of their brilliant verbal fantasy. Also many of the hidden, or more restricted allusions and 'jeux de mots' would have defined translation, or even understanding, by any but the best Italian scholars. Quotation from Rossettini, op. cit., p. 165.

2 The various 'blasons' and 'hymnedblasons' which are of importance in the history of the satirical eulogy will be discussed in the chapters dealing with the categories to which they belong.
The Vice Eulogies

Praises of unpleasant animals and diseases can be entertaining, ironical, even mildly satirical. But it is in the praise of a vice, bad habit or failing that the greatest opportunities for social, religious or personal attacks and criticism occur. The Moriae Encomium, the first Renaissance work of this type, set a standard of excellence hard for others to imitate. Indeed, the Italian La Pazzia is the only later eulogy to follow at all closely the general plan and style of the Praise of Folly. However, in the French vice eulogies, one finds, instead of the close imitation of models and tendency to quote from and repeat one another of the Neo-Latin writers, a variety and individuality of approach which make this group of works the richest and the most interesting of all the satirical encomia.

The superiority of the average vice eulogy over its animal or disease equivalent arises firstly because of the greater scope and depth inherent in the choice of subject. A panegyric on an animal or a disease can at best include only brief passages of satire, inserted, so to speak, as extras, and only loosely connected with the main theme of the work. A vice eulogy, however, has as its chief purpose an attack on one or more of the universal, eternal follies or weaknesses of mankind. It differs from traditional satire only in its method of attack, in its technique. Traditional satire,
that, for example, of Horace and Juvenal, uses a direct approach, criticising openly; the mock eulogy uses an indirect method, pretending to praise and to approve of the failing it in reality seeks to condemn. Their mask of irony seems sometimes to have proved too cumbersome for these authors, and on occasion Erasmus and Philibert de Vienne would launch all-out attacks in place of the veiled criticisms characteristic of the genre in which they were writing. That such a change of tactics is acceptable in their works shows how close to direct satire the vice eulogy could sometimes be.

The Renaissance writers were most fortunate in that when they wished to experiment in the field of the vice eulogy they could find inspiration in some of the best of Lucian's writings, and in one of the most famous works of their own day. So impressed do they appear to have been by the De Parasito, the Thetor and the Moriae Encomium that one finds a number of French encomia which are related to one or more of these three works. In most of the remaining French vice eulogies the influence of Italy predominated. In some instances it is possible to detect both classical and Italian influences, but, broadly speaking, the French vice eulogies seem to belong to one or other of these two groups. For this reason the present chapter will consider first those eulogies which are directly inspired either by Lucian's two pieces, or by Erasmus' work, outstanding enough to have been counted a classic even in its own day. The following
section will deal with those works which were chiefly influenced by the Italians. The Italian 'capitoli' and other satirical eulogies covered between them such a multiplicity of subjects that there will inevitably be some areas of doubt, and of overlapping in such a division. It is almost impossible to find a French eulogy which does not, by its subject at least, recall some Italian equivalent. Where the influence is not absolutely apparent in the text this will, of course, be indicated.

This division according to source is inevitably somewhat arbitrary. Its advantage over a strictly chronological ordering is one of clarity. Imitation and originality can be more easily distinguished if closely related examples are described together rather than at intervals throughout the chapter.  

**Section 1. French imitations of classical vice eulogies,**

especially those by Lucian, and of the Moriae Encomium.

The De Parasito was undoubtedly the best of all Lucian's satirical eulogies, and it inspired one of the greatest, though until recently, one of the least known Renaissance vice eulogies, namely Philibert de Vienne's Philosophe de Cour. This long work, cast in the form of a philosophical treatise was first published at Lyons. Little is known about the author; he was an 'avocat au Parlement de Paris', and must have spent some time in Lyons, where he got to know writers

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1 For a chronological arrangement of the various French eulogies, v Appendix A.
of the stature of Sceve. The Philosophe de Court, according to Philibert's introductory Prologue, was the outcome of conversations which took place in Lyons during the winter of 1546-47. Philibert often styled himself 'L'Amoureux de Vertu', and dedicated his Prologue to 'L'Amie de Vertu'.

As F.M. Smith has shown in her thesis, the sixteenth century was swift to see how classical satire on parasites could be brought up to date by adapting it to the court, and to hypocritical, flattering courtiers. Philibert de Vienne, on the other hand, made use of the indirect method of attack found in the satirical eulogy.

He could read an excellent example of this type of mock panegyric in the De Parasito. Simon began with an apparently plausible proposition—a well-known definition of an art—and proceeded to elaborate it in such a way as to reveal the ridiculousness of the definition and the weaknesses in his own character. Philibert does not aim at any specific individual, but at many types of current court hypocrisies and vices. Beginning on a lofty philosophical note with a suggestion for a new 'summum bonum', he soon starts his attack on the courtier, expressing himself sometimes seriously, and directly, more often in ironical eulogistic terms which are extremely effective. As A. Cartier says in his article on Louise Labé and the Philosophe de Court, in this work

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2 Thes. cit., p.37.

3 cf. supra pp. 157, 165
sous une forme ironique et parfois assez piquante, l'auteur fait l'éloge des qualités, c'est-à-dire des vices indispensables pour réussir à la cour.

The eulogy is preceded by a liminary sonnet by Scève. Headed M. Sc. Au Lecteur, this runs:

Si la Morale est des trois la première
Pour hautement l'Esprit instituer:
Ne devra donc l'homme constituer
Son but en elle, & l'avoir pour lumiere?
Veu que la vie à errer coutumiere
Ne pourroit trop en mœurs s'esvertuer
Pour à tout bien ses faitsz perpetuer,
Sans lequel elle est vapeur, ou fumiere.
Et pour bien vivre, & tresheureusement
Serait assez de bien scavoir sa Court,
Fust au Lettre, Marchant ou Artisan:
Mais entre tous celuy est seurement
Vray Philosophe, & tresbon Courtisan,
Qui se compose au fil du temps, qui court. 2

The last three lines of this sonnet are extremely revealing. Saulnier sees in them evidence of Scève's 'désenchantement, calme d'aîleurs, sans amertume'. 3 Giudici too mentions the prevailing melancholy of the poem as being one of its chief virtues. While, as Giudici shows, 4 it is not always true in Scève's case that the liminary sonnets composed by him sum up the argument of the work for which they were written, it does seem that in the present instance the sonnet and the work may well be connected. The last few lines, therefore, may be just plain bourgeois common sense, or, and this

2 Philosophe de Court, 1547 edition, p. 2.
4 Giudici, op. cit., p. 23.
hypothesis would fit in far better with the definition of the Philosophe de Court as a satirical eulogy, they may be meant ironically. Giudici was aware of these two possibilities:

A meno che, cosa pur sempre possibile, tutta la chiusa non debbe essere interpretata come una velata e malincolica ironia, come potrebbe suggerire la presenza di parole "court-court".

Philibert does indeed suggest that his courtier shall adapt himself to all circumstances, following in all things the acceptable and the desirable in the eyes of the court. The adjectives 'very' and 'tresbon', as applied by Sceve to such a character, are surely ironical. They show that he was fully aware of the nature of the book, either because he had been present at some of the discussions which gave rise to the idea for it, or because he recognised its irony on reading the completed work.

The text of the Philosophe begins with a sort of preface, the 'Prologue à l'Amie de Vertu'. Then comes an introduction proving, by some clever reasoning, that 'fashion in general, and courtly fashion in particular is our true philosophy, since by philosophy we mean a way of life, and not abstract speculation.' Philibert takes care to protect himself from any adverse criticism by giving this early part of the work a religious and moralising nature.

In the first chapter of the book he shows that this new philosophy,

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1 *epist.* p.23.
2 This sonnet should probably, therefore, be taken as evidence of Sceve's understanding of Philibert's purpose, and of his desire to fit the mood of his sonnet to that of the book, rather than as an indication of 'une morale de l'accomodement social' (Saulnier, *op. cit.* I, p.323).
as defined by himself, is simply the fashion of the court:

\[\text{as defined by himself, is simply the fashion of the court:}\]

The art of the courtier is a difficult one, and requires much study and practice. Since it is a philosophy, its chief aspect must be the definition of virtue. With cutting irony Philibert describes court virtue:

Vertu est, un vivre à la mode de Court: & est différente de celles des anciens en cela, que leur vertu (comme j'ay dit cy devant) est vivre selon Nature: la nostre est, vivre selon la Court; & tout ainsi que anciennement ilz disoient, que si nous suyvions Nature, et ne feissions autre chose sinon que nostre raison naturelle nous monstre, nous ne ferions jamais mal; aussi tant que nous suyvrons la manière de faire de Court, nous ferons toujours bien. Car qui seroit le fol qui voudroit dire une chose mal faite, qu'auroit faite un gentilhomme de Court bien apris? Apellons-nous pas bestes et Pithaux ceux qui ignorent ou ne trouvent pas bonne une vertu Courtissanne?

After Virtue, Philibert discusses Prudence, or Wisdom, vital for the perfect courtier. Certain fashionable requirements - fencing, singing, dancing and so on - are listed. Wisdom will tell us the right amount of knowledge to pursue in these fields, the courtier needing neither too much nor too little of all these attainments.

Et pource que Vertu est la mediocrité entre deux vices, quand on conçoistra les deux extrémités, facilement on trouvera le milieu, qui est vertu.

The two dangerous extremes of knowledge, to be avoided at all costs, are rashness and what Philibert calls 'curiosité'. At this point Philibert gives some portraits of various characters other than

1 Philosophe de Court, ed. cit., p.27.
2 ibid., p. 31-32 - cf. supra p.160
3 Philosophe de Court, p. 42.
courtiers and gentlemen. These are openly satirical and very amusing, but outside the framework of the satirical eulogy. They resemble the lists of different types of "folly" in the various praises of folly.

On the question of 'Curiosité' Philibert enters into further detail. His criticism of old-fashioned 'Sages', the court kill-joys, bears a striking resemblance to Lucian's descriptions of dull studious philosophers, in the De Parasito and the Rhetor, and to Erasmus' similar picture of philosophers at banquets:

Nous appellerons en nostre Philosophie Courtisanne le Curieux, celuy qui se rompt la teste es artz, & sciences, qui ne servent de rien à l'instruction de nostre vie, selon vertu, c'est adire, selon la mode de Court. Jugeons maintenant combien il s'en faut, qu'un tel homme soit prudent. On en peult voir beaucoup de telz au-jourd'hui comme ceux qui marchent encore par les passees des anciens sages, et veulent attaindre ceste vertu vraie, & parfaite, comme il l'appellent, qui est si hault logee, & en un lieu tant difficile. Vous les verriez à la Court plus mornes, plus tristes, plus melancholiques, ilz ne mengent que à leurs heures, ilz ne parlent sinon quand il leur plait, ilz ne riroient pas pour le Pape, ilz ne veulent estre subjetz à Prince ne seigneur tant grand soit il, ilz trouvent mauvais tout ce que les autres font: bref ilz ne plaisent à personne. De quoy leur sert ceste grand'curiosité? de se faire espeller foulz et servir de Triboulet. Que ilz ayent la réputation des gens honnestes, civilz, courtisans? Jamais...

Philibert propounds a philosophy of elegant dilettantism at considerable length. He deals next with Justice, showing both professional knowledge and familiarity with Aristotle. Justice in the courtier consists merely of the outward appearance of this

1 ibid., pp. 43-5.
2 v. supra pp. ed. cit. p. 43
quality. As long as the judge cannot condemn you, you are free to commit any crime:

Generalement, & cest un grand point de ceste vertu, il est permis, tromper, brouiller, chiquaner, faire du pis que on peult, moyennant que le Juge n'y puisse mordre. 1

Paradoxically, crimes committed with arms are more excusable than those committed without, since they usually occur when one is defending one's honour. These crimes Philibert places in the category of commutative justice. His ironical defence of the virtue of fighting for what he has just shown to be a quite worthless honour is brilliant:

Et ne peult on si peu blesser l'honneur d'un gentilhomme ou autre Courtisan, qu'il n'y gise un combat (il se entend en defaut de preuve) tellement que pour un desmentir il est permis, & peult on justement tuer un homme: car vanitè & menterie est la plus grand playe que l'on scouroit point faire à nostre honneur. En quoy l'on peult voir quel estime nous faisons de l'honneur: veu que cela nous est permis pour le defendre, que les anciens & les loix mesmes ont permis pour defendre la vie. Et non sans cause: car l'honneur & la reputation sont la fin de nostre vertu, sans lesquelz, nostre vertu ne seroit rien. 2

The second type of justice is the distributive. This is defined as the distribution of three things, wealth, reverence and spiritual goods. Here generosity is of great importance, since it is by being generous that a good reputation is acquired at court. But one must always pick the objects of one's generosity with care, bearing in mind their possible usefulness in building up one's reputation with others.

The remaining sections of the Philosophe de Court deal with

1 Ibid., p. 55.
2 Ibid., p. 57.
Prodigalite', 'Magnarinite', 'Temperance', and 'Bonne grace'. It has been proved that Philibert borrowed much in his work from the Cortegiano, but that he borrowed in order to satirize. ¹ Many of the terms he uses are translations of similar terms in Castiglione's work. P.M. Smith's thesis shows that Philibert was fully aware of the utilitarianism and elegant dilettantism of Castiglione's philosophy in his Philosophe de Court he sets out to demonstrate all these weaknesses.

While certain passages in the book are open attacks, the framework of the work is in fact that of a typical vice eulogy. Philibert pretends to approve and support a hypocritical and selfish way of life, while at the same time he gives us sufficient clues to enable us to be sure of his real opinion of the Philosophe he is portraying. Right from the start, like Erasmus, he warns the reader to look for more than its apparent meaning in the text:

Donques cojoining vostre tant bonne affection, & à fin de vous mettre hors de ceste prison, et tenebres misérables d'ignorance, je vous ay escrit ce petit livret, assez rude et impolit toutesfois, comme d'un homme allant par pays; par lequel vous verrez en brief ce qui m'ha tousjours semblé de la Philosophie, en laquelle posoient les anciens le Bien souytain: puis comme en ce temps elle est desguisee, & fondee sur les opinions des hommes, non sur ♦ Nature; après cela vous trouverez (et non pas tant encore que j'eusse bien voulu) ce que je sens de ceste nouvelle Philosophie, qui est la mode de vivre de ce temps; en escrivant laquelle je n'aye peu que je n'aye fait le Democrite et usé de faceties.

In the Renaissance, the name of Democritus was almost synonymous

3 Philosophe de Court, Prologue, pp. 11-12.
with satire, and the word 'faceties', the passage in brackets, indeed the whole atmosphere of these lines all indicate Philibert's feelings. The irony of this book, occasionally relieved by passages of exuberant satire, has already been evident in the passages quoted above. But these are far from being the only important pieces of irony. Philibert excels at letting a single, well-placed word reveal his opinions. The combination of 'justement' and 'tuer', quoted above, is one such passage. Similarly, when Philibert ironically recommends stealing to his 'philosophe' - if he can get away with it:

Lhomme seroit il pas bien de son païs, cestadire, nyais, simple & beste, qui ayant locasion de tromper honnêtement son compagnon, ne le trompe pas? cela ne sentiroit pas son Philosophe, ne sa Court.

The irony is no less sharp for being less condensed in the section which Philibert devotes to keeping one's promises:

Encores diray-je ce mot avant que de passer oultre, que la loyauté nest point tant requise en nostre Justice envers nos semblables ou inferieurs, comme en celle des anciens, qui en font son fondement: car il suffit tenir sa parole en tant que le Juge nous y peult contraindre: hors le danger de proces, ce nest que braverie de bien promettre: tellement que on dit en communs proverbes, Promesse da gentilhomme, Laubeniste de Court.

There is no doubt, then, that the Philosophe de Court is a direct descendant of the De Parasito. But, as has been shown, it is Lucianic in a very general way as well, and the Rhetor, Lucian's other vice eulogy, may also have contributed something to its formation

1 supra, p. 231
2 Philosophe de Court, p. 55
3 ibid., p. 57-8.
The *Rhetor* contributed rather more towards one of the earliest French vice eulogies, *La Borderie's Amye de Court*. Here we have a poem which ironically recommends and 'justifies' a completely selfish and amoral way of life. *Amye de Court* is in fact a female, sixteenth-century Simon, living on her wits and proud of her success, prepared to take all she can from anyone foolish enough to be deceived by her. The poem therefore owes much to both the *De Parasito* and the *Rhetor*. The *Amye de Court* first appeared in Paris and the Privilege is dated March 1541. There are no lamiary verses or epistles to the reader, La Borderie beginning his poem immediately. Written in decasyllables, it is put into the mouth of L' Amye de Court herself. She sets out to describe and justify her way of life, in all its aspects, at the same time attacking a number of different types of people who do not agree with her philosophy. She begins by criticising Petrarchan-style lovers, who babble incessantly of love's bow and arrows:

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Je croy le tout n'estre que poësie,
Ou pour mieux dire humaine frenaisie.  
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she declares, unromantically. Love of this type is not a god, but a 'folie ou infelicité'. She herself is proud of being able to conquer the god of love, and is convinced that he could never disguise himself sufficiently to trap her. *La Borderie* is extremely clever in building up his portrait of L'Amye, so clever that many of his contemporaries thought he was sincerely advocating this attitude to

1 *L'Amie de Court inventee par le Seigneur de Borderie.* Paris. Gilles Corrozet. ('privilege' dated 9 March 1541.)

2 All quotations are taken from the 1547 edition of the *Amye de Court*, contained in *Opuscules d'Amour, par Heron* La Borderie, et autres divines poëtes.* Lyons, Jean de Tournes, pp. 111 ff. Here p. 112.
and to love. But in reality he makes his real opinion of L'Amye more than plain. The poem contains several passages which, if taken at their face value, would seem to be meant seriously, not ironically, and would show Amye in a far more favourable light. However, La Borderie neatly invalidates these passages by surrounding them with evidence of Amye's fundamental cynicism and greed. The Philosophe de Court also contains some sincere passages, but differs from La Borderie's poem in that these are not rendered incredible by what precedes or follows them. When, for example, L'Amye de Court waxes lyrical over the way in which her heart is locked up in a tower called 'Fermeté,' guarded by 'Honneur' and 'Innocence,' and claims that no man shall win her affection, because

De Dieu la tiens, à Dieu seul la veux rendre.¹

one tends to feel that critics may have misjudged her. But as she continues to reveal her thoughts one realises that her attitude is by no means as lofty as she makes out. 'Honneur' and 'Innocence' are certainly not terms which she should apply to herself. La Borderie was obviously using them sarcastically. L'Amye soon reveals herself to be vain, selfish, cynical and ambitious, determined to get as much as possible from her suitors in return for as little as possible:

Je retiens tout, & personne ne chasse,  
Fondant ma gloire & louenge estimee  
Sans aymer nul, estre de tous aymee,  
Qui est le point de mon enseignement....²

¹ L' Amye de Court, ed. cit., p. 118.  
² ibid., p. 115.
Depuis le temps (Dames) que je me hante,
Je me congnoy, de moy je me contente,
Je me sens forte, instruite & bien apprise,
Pour prendre autruy, & n'estre jamais prise.¹

Not only does having a large number of admirers help her remain beautiful, but they have a more material use:

J'ay sceu gaigner un grand Seigneur, ou deux,
Pour avoir tout ce dont j'ay besoing d'eux,
Accoustremens, anneaux, chaines, doreures,
Nouveaux habitz & nouvelles pareures.²

Even from these brief extracts it is possible to see why the Amye de Court qualifies as a vice eulogy of the type of the De Parasito. Both Simon and L'Ameye are proud of themselves. They boast of their skill and reveal the various tricks of their trade. At the same time, Lucian and La Borderie have so written their works that the two different ways of life are clearly seen to be reprehensible.

La Borderie, for instance, constantly uses the words 'honneur' and 'honneste', with clear ironical intent. The presents Amye receives in return for promises she never intends to fulfil she calls 'honnestes onemens'. Gifts, La Borderie writes, benefit both the giver and the receiver, and

...La vertu...
N'est offensée à donner ny à prendre.³

In any case, says L'Ameye, the idea that one should not accept presents without giving oneself in return must have been invented by 'quelque sotte amoureuse imparfaict'.⁴ This would be a completely unequal

¹ ibid., p. 121.
² ibid., p. 122.
³ ibid., p. 125.
⁴ ibid., p. 124.
exchange, she argues, since she can always return the jewels, but what she has given, none can restore to her. She is determinedly materialistic:

Doibt on penser mon industrie morte,
Si je les ay sans la perte des miens,
Sans faire tort à moy ny à mes biens?
Car je veux bien que lon sache ce pointct,
Que le desir d'estre si bien en poinct,
Ne me scauoit ceste Loy ordonner,
Qu'en prenant d'eux, je leur doyve donner.¹

Although for the time being she enjoys herself with a number of suitors, finding some characteristic to appeal to her in each one of them, she calls herself a 'Lyonne saige', scrutinising a flock in order to pick the juiciest victim. She is determined to find herself a husband, realising that her beauty will not last. It has been said that she intends to marry a rich fool²; in fact she says that she hopes for someone she can love, but that if necessary she will marry a fool, provided he is rich enough. She would then train this fool into her own ways, and render him more lovable. But rich her future husband must be, for poverty, in Amye de Court's opinion, is a disease for which there is no cure:

Quant à mary je resoulez donc ce pointct
De l'avoir riche, ou de n'en avoir point,
Bien qu'il soit crud, & que ses moeurs perverses
De tout je sente estre aux miennes diverses.³

Statements of this sort must of necessity invalidate any loftier-sounding passages in the poem. Thus the section of the poem in which

¹ Amye de Court, p. 124.
³ Amye de Court, p. 141.
Amye, with her smattering of fashionable knowledge, is talking of love in an elevated Ficinian style, and the part near the end, in which she dreams of the ideal husband she might one day have, become mere parodies of such ideas, when in the mouth of one who elsewhere is so selfish and calculating.¹

F. Gohin, in his edition of the works of Héroet,² has shown that La Borderie drew extensively on Castiglione's Cortegiano for his portrait of Amye de Court. For his notions on Ficinian love, for certain of his details about ladies who allowed their lovers to lie in bed beside them, and for much more besides, La Borderie is indebted to his Italian predecessor. However, his is a caricature of what for Castiglione were seriously-meant and high-minded ideals. La Borderie cleverly shows the weaknesses inherent in the Italian system, if this system falls into the hands of the wrong people. With ruthless sarcasm he demonstrates what can be the logical outcome of too great a preoccupation with appearances, rather than with fundamental moral worth. Qualities and virtues

¹ The two passages mentioned here are on pp. 133 and 144-5.
² F. Gohin, Antoine Héroet: Oeuvres Poétiques, Paris, 1909, pp.xxv-xxvi. "Il semble viser tout d'abord d'autres oeuvres que le Courtisan; en fait, c'est de ce livre qu'il a tiré la matière de son poème: les détails curieux que donne Castiglione sur les galanteries dont les dames sont l'objet à la cour et sur les complaisances qu'elles montrent, ont été repris par La Borderie, non plus pour les condamner, mais pour les justifier: toutefois, l'exagération des traits et l'effronterie des aveux semblent toujours faire tourner l'apologie en satire."

The above analysis has shown that Gohin need not have been so tentative in his definition of the work. The word 'semblent', which I have underlined, does seem to indicate that there was some element of doubt in his mind. Lefranc appears even more undecided, or rather he appears unaware of the satirical nature of the Amye de Court: for he dismisses this as 'un commentaire en vers, assez maladroit, de cette partie du Cortegiano qui préoccupait tant l'opinion.' (ed. Tiers Livre p. xlviii, Lefranc fails to appreciate the irony of the Amye de Court, v. also p. xlix.)
which in the ideal court lady of Castiglione are really present, are simulated by La Borderie's 'heroine' for the most materialistic purposes. She has a façade of virtue and spontaneity which masks in fact one of the types of lady criticised in the Cortegiano. Lord Gasper, talking of women's cruelty, launches a vehement attack on some of the fair sex:

...which...procure as muche as they can to gete them a great numbre of lovers, and (if it were possible) they would have them al to burne and make asshes, and after death to return to lief, to die again.

...But to kepe them still in afflictions and in desire, they use a certein lofty sowernesse of threatnings mingled with hope, and wold have them to esteame a woorde, a countenance or a beck of theirs for a cheef blisse.

He describes the way in which these women play off one lover against the other, now arousing their jealousy, now encouraging them, only to refuse them later. Like Amye de Court they pretend to doubt their lovers' sincerity, in order to avoid giving themselves to them. What they seek, says Lord Gasper, is the sense of power this mastery over their admirers gives them. La Borderie copies Castiglione very closely, as he writes:

Et ne scauroie plus grand heur demander,
Qu'estre obeie & tousjours commander.

What for Castiglione had been an open attack on a certain type of woman was transformed by the French writer into a witty, extremely cutting satirical eulogy. While Amye de Court was not deliberately

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1 The quotation is taken from Hoby's translation of the Italian work: The Book of the Courtier (The Tudor Translations, No. XXIII), London 1900, p.285. v. also pp. 286-7. L'Amye de Court's debt to Castiglione is also discussed by P.M.Smith, thes. cit., pp. 413 ff.

2 Amye de Court, p. 136.
setting out to give instructions to would-be imitators, she is, undeniably, describing her methods as highly desirable and sensible. This poem by La Borderie illustrates perfectly the link between the vice eulogy, and the work containing satirical advice, on the pattern of the Rhetor.

The subtlety of L'Amye de Court was not understood by some of La Borderie's contemporaries, and Charles Fontaine felt forced to write his Contr'Amye de Court in the name of all unselfish and devoted women. He little realised that his laborious attack on women like Amye de Court was infinitely less effective than La Borderie's disguised condemnation.

It was difficult to decide whether L'Amye de Court owed more to the De Parasito or to the Rhetor, but with the next work on our list such a decision is far less hard to make. Du Bellay's Poète Courtisan, the companion-piece to his translation of Turnèbe's De nova captandae utilitatis e literis ratione epistola, ad Leoquernum, is clearly imitated to a considerable extent from the Rhetor. Memories of the De Parasito may also be there, as are memories of the whole genre of the satirical eulogy, but the Rhetor is the key to the origin of both Turnèbe's and Du Bellay's descriptions of how to become a court poet the easy way.

Turnèbe had begun his epistle by suggesting that the would-be writer should choose Mercury and Apollo as his guides. Instead of

1 v. Lefranc edition of Rabelais, Tiers Livre, p. XLIX.
concentrating on learning he should learn to deceive and to push himself forward. But how is this trickery to be learned? By going to Italy. Turnèbe in 1559, like Philibert de Vienne in 1547, is a precursor of H. Estienne in his anti-Italianism. He ironically 'recommends' becoming entirely Italianate. The student should praise other scholars - in order to be praised himself. He must gain the favour of the ladies, especially those with pretensions to learning. Let him write some small trifle, but on no account ever publish anything. He must criticise others and pass for a connoisseur in literary matters. If he does publish, let it be anonymously; if the work is a success he may then safely admit that it is his. He must talk a great deal about his future works, but never let them be seen.

Du Bellay translated Turnèbe's satire in his *Nouvelle maniere de faire son profit des lettres*, which preceded the *Poète Courtisan*. In his own piece he then imitated and expanded the ideas contained in Turnèbe's work. He admired Turnèbe, and probably approved of his attack on Italianism, as also of his attacks on court poets.¹

¹ The question of whom Du Bellay was attacking in the person of his *Poète Courtisan* has been much debated. L. Clément, in his 'Le Poète Courtisan de Joachim Du Bellay', *Revue de la Renaissance*, 1904, 225-65 tries to establish a case for Charles Fontaine. The weakness of his claim, due to the fact that Fontaine was not the author of the *Quintil Horatien*, have been shown by Hawkins, in his *Maistre Charles Fontaine Parisien*, Cambridge, 1916, pp.149 ff. L. Seche and Vianey sought to prove that Du Bellay had Saint Gelais in mind, but the majority of critics seem to feel that Paschal was the poet satirised. H.W. Lawton, in his recent selection of *Poems* by Du Bellay (Oxford, 1961, p.173) does not even mention the other contenders for this doubtful honour, stating categorically that Du Bellay was 'attacking the court writer, ironically and without actually naming him, in the person of Pierre de Paschal'. Chamard (*Du Bellay, ed.cit.* vol. VI, (contd. on next page)
With his gift for satire and irony and knowledge of Lucian, Du Bellay cannot but have realised, on reading Trenaube's work, that he had here an opportunity for attack ideally suited to his genius and in the best traditions of the satirical praise or advice. Many of the ideas expressed in Du Bellay's poem are free, and very entertaining adaptations of ideas in the Rhetor.

When Du Bellay advises his poet not to work too hard, he is imitating Lucian's picture of the old-fashioned type of public speaker:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Je ne veux que long temps l'estude il pallisse}, \\
\text{Je ne veux que resveur sur le livre il vieillisse,} \\
\text{Feulletant studieux tous les soirs & matins} \\
\text{Les exemplaires Grecs & les auteurs Latins.}
\end{align*}
\]

For Lucian's speaker 'hard work, scant sleep, abstention from wine, and untidiness are necessary and indispensable.'

For both the Rhetor and the Poète Courtisan ignorance is a positive asset, and their physical appearance is far more important (contd. from previous page)

p.129), also finds in favour of Paschal, but sums up the situation by agreeing with what Vianey had said of the work in general: "Le Poète Courtisan répond, non aux préoccupations qui sont celles de Du Bellay en 1549, mais aux rancunes qui sont les siennes en 1559. En 1549 il reproche, dans la Défense, à l'école de Marot sa médiocrité; mais il a pleine confiance que le public sera pour la nouvelle école. En 1558, rentré à Paris, après plusieurs années d'absence, il s'aperçoit que les courtisains accaparent les honneurs et les biens, qu'ils ont des 'oreilles de fer' pour écouter les vers que la science leur sert de risée.' (Vianey, Chef-d'oeuvres poétiques du XVIe siècle. 1924, p. 155). cf. Hawkins, op.cit., p.160; 'The Poète Courtisan was not directed against an individual, but against a class; and some characteristic of this class is to be found in almost all the contemporaries of Ronsard and Du Bellay.' cf. also Laumonier, Ronsard Poète Lyrique, Paris 1909, p. 172, note5 It is probable then, that, in accordance with the tradition of Lucian, Du Bellay may have had in mind the court poet, rather than any specific court poet. Or he may have combined characteristics of several poets of whom he disapproved in order to make a composite whole. Similarly, the De Parasito attacks a class of people rather

1 Du Bellay, ed.cit.p.131 ll.21-24. /than any specific individual

than the quality of what they produce. Do not bother with the classics, say both authors:

As for reading the classics, don't you do it - either that twaddling Isocrates or that uncouth Demosthenes, or that tiresome Plato. ¹

Laisse moy donques là ces Latins & Gregeois,
...Et soit la seule court ton Virgile & Homere. ²

However, the court poet of Turnèbe and, more particularly of Du Bellay, is far subtler in his approach to his enemies than is Lucian's Rhetor. This latter individual is taught to laugh at all his rivals, to suggest that they are stealing material from someone else, to smile sarcastically at certain moments, to abuse and to slander.³ Du Bellay's poet must never forget that he is also a courtier. A newcomer to court will either be a fool or a wise man. If he is a fool, the poet must seek his company, for he will appear particularly brilliant beside such a rival. If the newcomer is a wise man the poet must befriend him, control his every move, praise and patronise him, so that every honour the other gains will seem to be due to the friendship of the 'poète courtisan'.

Vianey links the ironical approach of the Poète Courtisan with certain sonnets of the Regrets:

Le Poète Courtisan se rattache donc beaucoup moins à la Deffence qu'aux sonnets CXXXIX-CLIV des Regrets, qui sont une satire de l'hypocrisie et de l'ignorance de la Cour. Et dans les sonnets comme dans la pièce en alexandrins, c'est le même genre de satire; la satire ironique qui loue ce qu'elle

2 Poète Courtisan, ed. cit., p. 133, ll. 55, 57.
veut condamner.... On doit se garder de croire que le Poète Courtisan soit simplement une satire personnelle contre Mellin de Saint-Gelais. Ce qui fait la valeur de cette pièce, c'est sa portée. C'est qu'elle attaque avec une merveilleuse justesse tous ceux pour qui la littérature n'est qu'un jeu frivole et un moyen de parvenir.

It is certainly true that these sonnets show how ideally suited to Du Bellay's temperament and circumstances was the satirical eulogy cast in the form of ironical advice on how to succeed.

It is interesting to note, before looking at these sonnets in more detail, that Du Bellay's gift for sustained irony was appreciated by his contemporaries no less than by modern critics. As early as 1555 Antoine Fouquetien, in his *La Rhetorique Francoise*² quotes from Marot, Ronsard, Belleau and Du Bellay as he illustrates the various points he seeks to make.

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1 Quoted by Chamard *cit.* p. 129. N.1.

2 There is an article on Fouquetien (or Foquelin, or Foclin) in *Studies in Philology*, 1954, vol. 51, by Walter J. Ong, pp.127-142. It is entitled 'Fouquetien's French Rhetoric and the Ramist Vernacular Tradition'. Ong says that Fouquetien's seems to have been only the second French Rhetoric to appear (Fabrie's *Grant et vrais art de pleine rhétorique*, Rouen 1581, being the first). Fouquetien was able to use verse quotations as well as prose because he pigeonholed verse within rhetoric by a curious system of counting syllables. The work appeared again in 1557 (the first edition had been by André Wechel in Paris), but according to Ong it was not really popular. Although the vernaculars were gaining ground in the sixteenth century, the conscious attempts to spread the use of them, such as this one by Fouquetien, were more often than not ineffective and abortive. 'Fouquetien's vernacular program was doomed, on the pedagogical horizon, to an immediate and protracted eclipse.' (Ong, *art.cit.*, p.142)
Among the Ornaments with which he suggests we decorate speeches are metonymy, metaphor, synecdoche, and irony. It is in connection with the last of these that Fouquelin mentions Du Bellay:

La second espece de Trope est appelee Ironie, quand par le contraire le contraire est entendu: c'est à dire quand on usurpe quelque mot, le contraire duquel nous voulons signifier. Les Francois la peuvent appeler simulation & dissimulation, laquelle peut entendre, tant par la pronuntiation, que par la nature de la chose de laquelle on parle. Car si elle repugne à ce qu'on dit, il est manifeste, qu'on dit d'un & entent d'autre. ...

Aucunefois l'Ironie est multipliee & continuee, comme au discours sur la louange des vertus, & divers erreurs des hommes, par du Bellay.

From this passage by Fouquelin one can see just how conscious the use of irony could be at this time. He goes on to quote lines 115-144 of Du Bellay’s Discours sur la Louange de la Vertu & sur les divers erreurs des hommes. A Salm. Macrin. 2 He continues:

Auquel exemple, ces mots là, divine ruze, louable envie, belle chose, & singuliere, heureuse poursuite, & autres semblables, sont usurpez pour leurs contraires, c'est à dire sotte ruze, envie digne de vitupere, vilaine chose, malheureuse poursuite, &c.

Fouquelin analysed the content and the nature of these verses perfectly correctly. They are clearly satirical and yet they are in the form of praise. The two elements of a satirical eulogy are present. This poem is only one on a rudimentary level, but it contains some sharp criticism of the courtier;

C'est une divine ruze
De bien forger une excuze,
Et en subtil artizan,
Soit qu'on parle ou qu'on chemine,
Contrefaire bien la myne
D'ung vieil singe courtizan,

1 Fouquelin, op.cit., 1557 edition (Paris, A. Wechel), pp. 8v-9r.
3 Fouquelin, op.cit., p. 9v
This type of irony is precisely that referred to by Vianey. A sonnet such as CXXXIX in the Regrets shows a similar subject-matter and treatment:

Si tu veux vivre en Court (Dilliers) souviens-toi
De t'accoster tousjours des mignons de ton maistre.
Si tu n'es favory, faire semblant de l'estre,
Et de t'accomoder aux passetemps du Roy.
Souviens-toi encore de ne prester ta foy
Au parler d'un chacun...........
Faisant ce que je dy, tu seras galland homme:
T'en souviens (Dilliers) si tu veux vivre en Court.\(^2\)

In this and in several other sonnets, such as CXXXIII and LXXXV Du Bellay uses with considerable effect this type of irony.

Jean de la Taille was to write an almost identical sonnet 'praising' the courtier as a 'galand homme':

Si piaffer, si faire bonne mine,
Faire trotter un dé, & en tout lieu
Une querelle, une carte, un sang-dieu
Porter long poil à la Sarrazine:
Si retrouver son feutre à la mutine,
Faire vertu & du vice & du jeu,
Si se moquer des lettres & de Dieu,
Rire & gaudir d'une grace badine:

1 ll. 157-162, ed. cit., p. 149-50.
2 ll. 181-186, ed. cit., p. 153-4. The Italianisms listed here by Du Bellay are of interest.
Si sçavoir bien violer & voler,
Habler, morguer & pezer son parler,
Trancher du brave & faire rien qui vaille,
Bref, si tel art fait les hommes galands,
Je suis d'avis qu'au rang des plus vaillants
Tu sois le prime, & que l'ordre on te baille.¹

The gradual development of this sonnet towards the climax of
the last two lines is typical of the way in which Du Bellay loved
to use this verse form, and is probably imitated from the Regrets.²

In 1559 appeared another work which followed closely the pattern
of the Rhetor, and of the Poète Courtisan. This was the Médecin
Courtisan,³ thought by many to be by Du Bellay.⁴ Certainly the
plan and style of the poem are similar to those of the Poète
Courtisan, but it is impossible to be categorical on this matter.

¹ Oeuvres de Jean de la Taille, Seigneur de Bondaroy, ed. René de

² Although these sonnets by Du Bellay are indeed very like his better
known satirical eulogies on the courtier, it is difficult in general
terms to think of the sonnet as a fit vehicle for the satirical
eulogy. In the case of Du Bellay who wrote the largest number of
original satirical eulogies to be written by any one Frenchman
during the Renaissance, one is justified in looking for this type
of attitude in many places in his works. But as a rule the sonnet
was a form not favoured by writers of paradoxical encomia. Probably
it was too short a form, for the great secret of the classical genre
was to pile up a number of arguments, and list details, in support
of its claims. A sonnet has no space for anything much more
intricate than an ironical comment. It cannot easily contain
the changes from irony to sincerity, the complicated mythological
and other references, which are usually to be found in the
satirical eulogy. It is only with these reservations, and because
Vianey's passage might otherwise be misleading, that these sonnets
have been included in the present thesis.

³ Le Médecin Courtisan, ou la nouvelle et plus courte maniéré de
parvenir à la vraye et solide médecine. A Messere Dorbuno, Paris,
1559, Pour Guillaume Barbé. Quotations are taken from Montaiglon,

⁴ v. Montaiglon, ibid.
Both works begin by saying that it is completely useless to spend much time in study. The court is the important place in life, and here one should concentrate all one's energies. Try to please the powerful and the useful: here lie one's chances of making for oneself a successful career. To labour over books is a complete waste of time:

Que nous sert plus longtemps racourcir nostre vie Epluchants les secrets de la Philosophie? Que sert, pour le plaisir de ces menteuses Seurs, Acravanter nos ans de cent mille labeurs.

The Poète Courtisan had been advised to disregard Homer and the classics; the Médecin Courtisan is told to practise 'sans Hippocrate et sans un Galien."

Il ne te fault longtemps remascher le laurier; Il ne te fault veiller, ainsi que l'escolier Jusques à la minuit.

Like Lucian's orator, the Médecin must have a stock of learned-sounding words with which to dazzle his hearers; a scénavor pédantesque Un peu entremeslé de la langue Tudesque.

A scattering of Latin words will serve to complete the new doctor's vocabulary.

He should not trouble with all the things most doctors trouble with, relying on his wits to extricate himself from awkward situations. Just learn the names of a few basic medicines and with these concoct

1 Montaiglon, op.cit., p.100.
3 Médecin Courtisan, ed.cit., p. 102.
very elaborate-sounding brews. The author repeats what has surely been one of the favourite jokes against doctors, recommending his Médecin to cultivate bad writing! For the ordinary person this illegible scrawl will be far more impressive.

Armed with this 'knowledge' the new doctor can go into practice immediately at the court - if no other diseases appear, there he can at least be certain of a never-ending stream of patients suffering from venereal diseases. The newcomer should claim to have a special secret ointment, like the quack doctors in the Tragodopodagra. He can inspect his patients' excreta, and check their diet, but must take care that his ignorance is never discovered.

The Médecin Courtisan ends as the author tells his friend, the Italian Dordonus, to whom he had dedicated the work, that he composed it in an attempt to ensure greater success for him at court. This passage is reminiscent of that part of the Rhetor in which the new-fangled speaker is describing the old-fashioned, difficult road to fame. Du Bellay, enjoying his irony to the full, says that his poor friend has been misguidedly struggling to acquire real knowledge, armed with success at court, little realising that this wish forms a contradiction in terms. He has, of course, failed to gain success, but Du Bellay informs him gravely that if he follows the methods he has just described he cannot fail to rectify the situation.

Thanks to Du Bellay's great gifts as a satirist and to the 1 v. De Parasite, ed.cit., vol. IV, p. 143.
resemblance between the classical parasite, the new-fangled orator and the Renaissance courtier, the Rhetor has among its direct descendants some of the most enjoyable French vice eulogies.

It has already been shown that the satirical encomium on a historical character is closely related to the vice eulogy. French writers do not appear to have revived this type of encomium. The Neo-Latin writers had composed a few such works, but only French example appears, yet again, to be by Du Bellay. It is his ode A Bertrand Bergier, Poète Dithyrambique, a lively poem slyly poking fun at his friend. For all its apparent simplicity this ode has been variously interpreted. At times Du Bellay does indeed seem to be advocating more spontaneity in poetry, as he depicts Bergier, who relies entirely on inspiration and native wit for the invention of his verses. But when he produces examples of the 'gems' created

1 v. supra, p. 19
3 However, the condemnation of work is so excessive as to leave no doubt in the mind of the reader as to Du Bellay's intentions. On Bergier's writings, cf. Baff, Euvres en Rime, ed. Marty-Laveaux, Paris 1887, Vol. IV, pp. 348-50. Baff writes a poem dedicated to Bergier, entitled De Bertrand Berger de Montanbeuf, in which the description of this poet tallies exactly with that given by Du Bellay. This poem first appeared in the third book of Les Passetemps (Paris, Lucas Breyer, 1573). In it Baff says that Bergier is not like most people, for he writes a poetry invented 'en son cerveau'. He writes onomatopoeic verse, representing all manner of sounds:

Bien que par fois tu bedones,
Et bien que par fois tu tonnes
De Mars les troubles divers,
De tout la paix tu ne laisses,
Mais quelque fois tu t'abaisse
Jusqu'à l'orner de tes vers.
Est-il son que tu n'exprimes
Dans le naîf de tes rimes,
Soit le tintin des oyseaux,

(continued on next page)
by his friend it becomes apparent that he must mean most of what he says ironically. The fun Du Bellaypokes at his friend may be gay and good-humoured, but it is unmistakable and completely in the style of the satirical encomium.

He begins his poem with the tale of Hesiod, transformed in a moment into a poet by drinking the 'eau de Pegase'. This story proves that poets are born, not made; nature performs this miracle on her chosen object 'avant qu'il ayt songé d'estre scavant'. Bergier has surpassed even Hesiod in the speed with which he has become a poet. 'Sans mascher le laurier prophète' he is now able to reveal 'les haûts secrets' of the gods. If the Médecin Courtesan is indeed by Du Bellay then he must have been very fond of this expression, for it recurs in the later work:

Il me te fault longtemps remascher le laurier.

This was of course an idea common to all Pléiade poets, but the phrasing of it is remarkably similar in these two cases.

(contd. from previous page)

Baïf, like Du Bellay, stresses the fact that Bergier did not work for his talent. The above verses show that the prevailing mood of Baïf's poem was one of good-humoured irony, and tolerance.

1 Divers Jeux Rustiques, ed. cit., p. 117.
2 ibid., p. 118.
3 v. supra, p. 243.
4 Chamard, ed. cit., p. 118. Note on line 22, mentions Ronsard's use of the same expression (in 1553).
Although Bergier has never read the verse of his predecessors, he has nevertheless managed to write 'des vers plus que dix', continues Du Bellay in well-feigned amazement. The artificial jargon of versifying passes him by, and he rejoins the great tradition of Homer, who relied on inspiration not art for his poetry. Here Du Bellay was probably imitating the Ode à Michel de l'Hôpital of Ronsard, where the various stages of the development of poetry are discussed. However, like the Ficinian sentiments expressed by L'Amie de Court, these lofty ideas are completely deprived of sincerity in such a context. Showing, like Ronsard, the gradual deterioration of poetry since the earliest times, Du Bellay criticises 'ces Énéides, Et ces fascheuses Thébaïdes',

Ou n'y a vers sur qui ses dois
On n'ayt rongé plus de cent fois.1

This idea, from the Latin 'ungues arrodere', was also to appear in the Médecin Courtisan:

Brief il ne fault ronger tes ongles jusqu'aux doits.2

In a splendidly noble comparison Du Bellay likens Bergier to a fine horse racing its companions. Swifter than lightning his Muse overtakes all its rivals.

After cleverly building up his picture of a great and inspired poet, throughout the first part of the Ode, Du Bellay now shows how ironically he has intended this section to be taken. Not that he

1 ed.cit., p. 120.
2 Médecin Courtisan, ed.cit., p. 103.
contradicts what he has said: merely enters into more detail on what Bergier has written. The ridiculous achievements of his friend he then praises in lofty tones totally unsuited to the description of such doubtful talent:

Premier tu feis des dithyrambes,
Lesquelz n'avoient ny pieds ny jambes,
Ains comme balles, d'un grand sault
Bondissoient en bas & en hault.

Tu dis maintes gayes sornettes,
Sur aë bruit que font les sonnettes,
Accordant au vol des oyseaux,
Les horloges & leurs appeaux.

Apres en rimes heroiques
Tu feis de gros vers bedonniques,
Pui en d'autres vers plus petits
Tu feis des hachi-gigotis.

Ainsi nous oyons dans Virgile
Galoper le coursier agile,
Et les vers d'Homere exprimer
Le flo-flotement de la mer.

Que diray-je des autres graces,
Que les Dieux comme a pleines tasses
Ont versé dessus toy, à fin
D'en faire un chef d'oeuvre divin?

Bergier's outward appearance is perfectly suited to his character. He has a beard and a 'grave port venerable' worthy of a king. He is a merry companion with whom Du Bellay feels any king would be glad to spend his time.

In his La Langue de la Pleiade Marty-Laveaux supports the attribution to Bergier of the Dithyrambes à la Pompe du Bouc de E. Jodelle, Poète Tragique. Certainly these verses are very much in the style of Bergier, as described by Baif and Du Bellay. In a kind

On the third of these stanzas cf. Baif's poem, supra, p. 250 n.3
of 'fureur poétique' the writer of this poem composes lines such as the following:

Euoe mes entrailles sonnent
Sous ses fureurs qui m'espoïconneut,
Et son esprit de ce Dieu trop chargé,
Forcené, enragé,
Iach, fach, Euoe
Que l'on me donne ces clochettes,
Et ses jazardes sonnettes.
Soit ma perruque decoree
D'une couronne couléeree:
Perruque lierre-porte,
Que l'ame Thracienne emporte
Deça delà dessus mon col.

The Ode a Bertrand Bergier seems to be one of the few French works to praise ironically a specific living individual. Classical eulogies had dealt with historical and mythological figures in this way, as had Renaissance works such as the Neronis Encomium. In France, however, the ironical eulogy of a living man or woman was never widely revived. Instead, French writers seem to have preferred the satirical or joking epitaph, whose relationship to the paradoxical encomium has already been discussed.²

A number of sources can be found for these poems. Like the Neo-Latin writers, the French could draw on Catullus and on the


However, Laumonier (Ronsard Poète Lyrique, étude historique et littéraire, Paris 1923, pp. 99-102) disproves this theory, showing that the verses are in fact more likely to have been by Ronsard. He proves his contention with a further section, ibid., pp. 735-42.

2 v. supra, p. 128 ff.
Greek Anthology. There was also the rich native tradition of Villon. It seems that at this time 'les testaments et les épitaphes burlesques sont à l'ordre du jour'. Tabourot collects a group of them in Les Bigarrures and feels they should be studied:

L'on m'a rapporté qu'un jeune docte personnage en a colligé trois volumes, y compris les non imprimez qu'il a peu rechercher. Le premier livre est des antiques monumens; le second, des vers, et le tiers, des François. Mais je luy conseille d'ajouter un quatriesme des follastres Epitaphes, car il seroit aussi curieusement recherché que les autres.

These epitaphs are far more realistic, satirical, even cruder than those on animals. They concern drunkards, 'maquerelles', prostitutes and other real or imagined people, and tend, as the years go by, to become repetitive. They must remain outside the present study, but the following list, which is far from complete, will, if read in conjunction with those quoted by Tabourot, give some idea of their range and frequency:

   cf. T.F. Crane, op.cit., p. 274 (quoting Bargagli):
   'An amusing game is the game of Epitaphs, where each chooses a person to write his epitaph.' cf. supra, p. 166 n.3
4 v. infra, pp.356 ff for those on animals.
Marot (from the Adolescence Clementine, ed. Saulnier)

Epitaphes

i. De Frere Jehan Levesque, Cordelier, Natif d'Orleans (No. II, ed. cit., p. 113)

ii. De Jehan le Veau (No. VIII, ibid.)

iii. De Guion le Roy, qui s'attendoit d'estre Pape avant que mourir. (No. IX, p. 114)

iv. De Jouan, le fol de ma dame. (No. X, ibid.)

v. De Feu Maistre Pierre de Villiers. (No. XII, p. 115)

vi. De Jehan Serre, Excellent Joueur de farces. (No. XIII, pp. 116-117)


Du Bellay. Epitaphe de l'Abbe Bonnet. (infra, pp.257ff)

Ronsard


ii. Epitaphe de Jaques Mernable. (ibid.)


Auvray

i. Tombeau d'Angoulevent. (Le banquet des Muses, 1628)

ii. Tombeau de Marion.

Habert

i. Epitaphe de Mathelot, bon ivrogne.

ii. Epitaphe de Maistre Robert l'asnier. (Part of Les Epistres cupidiniques, quoted infra, p.314?)

* * * * * *
A typical and average example of these epitaphs is the Epitaphe de l'Abbé Bonnet, by Du Bellay. Study of this epitaph is particularly valuable since it serves to complete our picture of the way in which a great Renaissance author used the genre of the satirical eulogy. One finds in it a lively and amusing satire of a "plaideur". Full of professional tricks, like Bridoye, Bonnet is determined to spin out each case as long as possible. He is, however, fundamentally unlearned, and despises book-learning;

Bonnet fut un Docteur sans titre
Sans loy, paragraphe & chapitre,
Bonnet avoit leu tous auteurs, 
Fors poëtes & orateurs:
D'histoires & mathematiques, 
Et telles sciences antiques,
Il s'en moquoit: au demeurant
De rien il n' estoit ignorant.

He was dressed in filthy old clothes, smelled of garlic and got drunk enough every morning to last him the whole day;

Bonnet faisoit mille trafiques,
Bonnet savoit mille pratiques
En proces; et les plus famez
De ces cortisans affamez,
En matiere de benefices
Pres de luy n' estoient que novices.

Ending with a witticism, as if this were an 'hymne-blason', not an epitaph, Du Bellay says that in fact the only lawsuit ever lost by Bonnet was that against death, and that he is probably still pleading his case before Rhadamanthus!

With this brief discussion of a closely related genre, we pass
from the direct imitations of classical vice eulogies to those which were influenced by the earliest major Renaissance satirical eulogy, the *Moriae Encomium*. This work became a 'classic' of its genre in its own century, a bridge between antiquity and the Renaissance. However, though it was much quoted and much admired, few seem to have been brave enough to risk a close imitation of Erasmus' great work. Only Albergati in Italy, and an unknown author in France were prepared to praise folly again in separate works; Lando did so also, but only as one among many of the sections of his *Paradossi*.

The only surviving French praise of madness seems to have come down to us in its English translation only. This appeared in 1576 in London, and was entitled *The Mirrour of Madnes, or a Paradoxe maintayning Madnes to be most excellent*: done out of French into English, by Ia. San. Gent. The translator, Sandford, gives no clue as to the author of the original version of the work. His own translation he dedicates to one Arthur Champernon. In his dedicatory epistle he speaks of the power of nature in all our actions, complaining that the nature we obey is one which has been perverted by the love of money. A poem to the Reader follows, containing the self-justification so dear to the writers of satirical eulogies:

> From foraine Realme, this treatise small, transported came To English coaste, in Frenche attire, still flitting Fame Doth blowe abroade thinges once discloesd, in every lande, In written woerdes, which ale in Bookes shall firmylye stand.

1 v. *infra*, p. 162 ff.

Reprove me not, though fame by me enlargement take
This trifling toy, this merry ieste, for solace sake,
Compiled was in foraine speake, I pardon crave,
If any bee, whom I herein offended have.
For Cynicke like the Authoure here, with skoffes doth barke
At mens madde deedes, which vainely bent no reason marke.
Wherefore in earnest some wil take, that which in ieste
Is meant of me, in doing so, they do not best.

After a further two lines recommending his work to the reader,
Sandford places the device 'Tutto per il Meglio'.¹ The paradox
itself begins with a discussion on the 'sumnum bonum'. Philibert
de Vienne began the Philosophe de Court with a very similar passage.²
Sandford proposes to offer a new 'sumnum bonum', namely madness.
The whole of the work which follows attempts to prove, by the most
tortuous and sophistical arguments, that madness is in fact man's
chief end. First of all, however, Sandford passes in review the
chief ends proposed by several classical philosophers - Zeno,
Aristotle, Plato and Epicurus. The last named of these, Epicurus,
had claimed that man's chief end in life lay in wine, food, fine
clothing, a rich house, sleep and love. As examples of men who
had followed this type of philosophy Sandford quotes Sardanapalus,
Alexander, Nero and others. This type of pleasure is in reality
madness: but moderately taken is usually held to be profitable.
One can therefore draw the easy conclusion that madness must also
be profitable.

The next section of the Mirrour of Madness contains a sharp

¹ V. infra, p. 269
² V. supra, p. 226, and also pp. 157, 165
attack on the Pope, not unlike that contained in the Moriae Encomium, but shorter and less virulent. Who, Sandford asks, is the most excellent subject on earth? The Pope, he answers himself, for with his authority he can do more than even Christ was able to do:

\[\ldots\text{in so muche that hee is able to dispence with the Newe and Olde Testamentes, and to call thinges whiche are not, even as though they were, & of nothing to make somethinge, and to create his creature.}\]

Various statements of the Pope's are criticised, because in them the Pope appears to set himself above the Scriptures themselves. As for the doctrine of trans-substantiation, Sandford can only call it madness.

From the religious he passes to the military. Famous warriors - Hannibal, Caesar and others - are named, and the way in which they reached power is described. They achieved their fame through the cries of the wounded, the use of the sword, murder and crime. Sandford's feelings on war are more than plain. Yet war brings fame, and fame is to be desired. On the other hand, war is madness. Therefore, madness must also be desirable.

Exactly the same elementary form of proof by syllogism is now applied to love; 'all fire is madness in his operation, every Love is a fire, therefore every Love is madness'. Politian, Petrarch, Castiglione and Ovid are all mentioned at this point, and various quotations are given. After this the work ends, with the hope that all will honour madness.

* * * * *

1 Mirrour of Madness, p. 61.
Section II. French Vice Eulogies influenced by Italian works

When looking for Italian sources of French vice eulogies, it is important to bear in mind that this type of encomium was the one best suited for any sustained satirical attack. The chapter on the Italians showed that the Bernesque 'capitolo' contained in fact little real criticism and satire. Its attacks were for the most part superficial and lighthearted: moralising and didactic elements are non-existent. The Sermoni Funebri are obviously of importance for the French animal eulogies, but contain no satire at all. The Pazzia, though translated into French, was never influential. We are left with the Paradossi.

These short pieces are crucial to the understanding of the French vice eulogy: whereas the Bernesque poems were never translated in their entirety, and thus less readily available to the average Frenchman, the Paradoxes were translated a great many times, and published in various places in France. They are discussed here, rather than with the Italian satirical eulogies, because Estienne ruthlessly cut and adapted what Lando had written. His Paradoxes, while not original, are very different from the Paradossi. Their immense popularity justifies us in considering them more important than their Italian model in spreading awareness of this genre in France.

1 supra, pp. 168-9
2 It did, however, inspire some French imitators, in this category. v. infra, pp. 275, 281
3 The best proof of the popularity of the Paradoxes is the number of editions of Estienne’s translation, v. infra. Appendix E, Section 3
It would be tedious to describe here all the paradoxes, although all are satirical eulogies. Some of them, however, were closely related to Neo-Latin and classical eulogies, and others inspired a line of French works. These paradoxes deserve closer attention.

The fifth of Estienne's pieces strikes one immediately, for its title runs: Pour le sot. Qu'il vaut mieulx estre sot, que sage. He begins by saying that this paradox has already been maintained by two excellent advocates - possibly Erasmus and Albergati, or even

1 All quotations are taken from the 1553 Poitiers edition. Here p. 49 ff. In his epistle to the reader Estienne is very careful to stress his honourable intentions. He does not wish people to believe these defences 'contre la commune opinion'; he hopes merely that they will appreciate his inventiveness:

'En quoy toutesfois je ne vouldrois que tu fusses tant offensé, que pour mon dire ou conclusion, tu en croye autre chose que le commun. Mais te souvienne, que la diversité des choses resjouit plus l'esprit des hommes que ne fait toujours & continuellment voir ce qui leur est commun & accoustumé.'


'Oeuvre qui peut profiter, & qui apporte merveilleux contentement à ceux qui frequentent les Cours des grans Seigneurs, & qui veulent apprendre à discouvrir d'une infinité de choses contre la commune opinion.' The underlining is not in the text.

Agrippa's work, with its attacks on various categories of men and women, professions and sciences, owes much to the Moriae Encomium, and is also very Lucianic. His prologue actually mentions both Lucian and Momus. But it contains far more satire than irony, and so cannot qualify as a true satirical eulogy.
Grazzini. He proposes to fill in the gaps left by his predecessors.

Being mad, he begins, is surely one of the pleasantest states in the world: philosophers used to think that to be happy one had only to be able to 'contrefaire le sot'. Estienne relates the story of a man who used to think that all the ships arriving in Dieppe were his own. He would make plans for them and be perfectly happy in his imaginary world. His brother took him to doctors, who cured him, but the poor man was far less happy sane than mad.

Thanks to Folly, poor men can imagine themselves kings and popes - here Estienne tells of a "lacquaiz" who would shut himself up once every day and think that he was Pope. What is more, when one is merely imagining that one holds this high office, one can enjoy all the advantages of the position with none of the difficulties and responsibilities. The number of fools has always been infinite, and it is therefore ridiculous to be angry if called one. Solomon and the seven sages of Greece all had their moments of folly; at this point Estienne refers to Greece as 'ceste menteuse & ambitieuse Grece.' A man claiming insanity is excused any crimes he may have committed. The 'sot' is never worried about food and clothing, and thus obeys Christ's precept about taking no thought for the morrow. He is not ambitious for worldly power or troubled by all

1 This passage may well come from Lucian's Navis, seu Vota, a satire on the folly of human wishes, in which Adimantus imagines that the ship he sees in the harbour in front of him is his.\[\]v. Lucian, ed. cit. Vol. VI, p. 445ff.
2 Paradoxes, p. 53.
3 V. Grazzini supra, p.167-8
the vain desires of those who call themselves 'sages'. Almost the whole gamut of Erasmus' and the Italian writers' arguments appear in the paragraph which follows:

Le sot, ne se sent espoinct de tant d'esguillons de fortune; ne cherche combats a outrance: n'a plaid, ne proces, ne querelle pour acquérir ou debatre son bien: n'a tant de peine a faire la court pour entretenir les uns & les autres: ne se rend (pour la misère de deux ou trois escuz) bouclier a dix mille boulets d'artilleries, mosquettes ou harquebouzes; ne se rompt le col a courir en poste, offices, benefices, ou confiscations: ne languist a la poursuite de l'amour ou faveur des dames: ne paye taille ne tribut: Finalement, n'est aucunement subject a personne, & vit en plaine franchise & liberté. Il luy est permis & licite, de dire ce que bon luy semble, touchant le fait des princes, & personnes privées: sans que pour cela il en tombe en aucun danger de prison ou punition corporelle: & n'ha aucun besoin de rhétorique artificielle, pour se faire attentivement ouyr, & donner a un chascun le joyeulx passetemps de ses risées.

Fools seem to have a charmed life, protected from all dangers by Fortune: in fact they often live longer than the wise. Estienne may well be ironical in the next section of this declamation, where he deals with poets. 'Sottie' and 'poesie', he declares, are closely linked, for both suppose, according to all the most ancient definitions, a 'fureur divine'. 'Chascun sçait, que le poète qui plus en a, est estimé desplus excellent'. The greatest men such as Plato, and the most famous nations, such as the French, are all a little mad. In a list which recalls those in the French farces quoted in connection with Erasmus, Estienne names various nationalities in whom Folly abounds. He includes some criticism of

2 ibid., p. 57.  
3 v. supra, p. 62.
certain Italian cities, such as Sienna and Parma, whose admiration for Folly is well known,¹ and concludes with the remark that Folly must be a desirable state since so many of these fine cities are more 'sottes' than 'sages'.

Estienne's paradox Pour le Chiche² resolves itself into a praise of temperate living. Justifications for this are not hard to find, and Estienne is swift to remind his readers that a temperate life is the best cure for that familiar disease, gout. The other illness mentioned here is, significantly, quartan fever. Recluses and philosophers have always recommended a frugal existence, and the French would do well to forget the rich dishes they are so fond of making.³

Another interesting paradox is one which uses all the arguments of the Neo-Latin writers in favour of drunkenness - Pour les Biberons, Que l'ébriété est mieux que la sobriété.⁴ The Bible, it says, states that wine was sent to gladden men's hearts. This same idea was expressed by Homer, Horace and Plato. Truth lies in wine, not, as Democritus claimed, at the bottom of a well. Water, 'ce fadde brevage',⁵ is of no use at all, and Estienne criticises certain 'mal

1 'S'il faut passer jusques en Italie, nous y trouverons plusieurs grandes & nobles citez entre autres, servir comme de grandes & bien belles cages à sots de toutes façons: & qui sont (en faveur de ceste tant estimee dame) des plus honorablamente situes de tout le paÍs.' (Paradoxes, ed.cit., p. 59.)
2 ibid., p. 170 ff.
3 cf. infra, p. 304
4 Paradoxes, ed.cit., p. 68.
5 ibid., p. 70.
croyant humanistes' who have attacked wine, going against such authorities as the Scriptures. A confused list of classical topers follows: Noah, Hector, Pindar, L. Cotta, Homer, Agamemnon, and many who combined wisdom, virtue and a love of wine. Nations such as the Tartars and the Germans, countries like Greece and Italy, medical treatises, all are used to support Estienne's thesis in what he calls one of his most enjoyable discussions! He ends bidding one and all to flee sobriety, since 'elle rend les personnes melancholiques, & de si petite force & courage.'

A fourth paradox which is of importance here is one which satirises one of man's eternal failings, his love of law-suits. It is entitled Paradoxe que le plaider est chose tres utile, & necessaire à la vie des hommes.

Like Folly in the Moriae Encomium, Estienne addresses his readers and imagines that he is pleading a case in court. The paradox contains

1 Paradoxes, ed. cit., p. 76.
2 This paradox was not by Landö, but by Estienne himself. It appeared under the title given here, à Caen, Martin & Pierre Philippe 1554.

A whole group of paradoxes were published at 1554, at Caen by Martin and Pierre Philippe, i.e. one year after Estienne's first translation. Although his name is not given at any stage, they are identical, and are preceded by his preface "Au lecteur", quoted above (p. 262). The first three are the same as the first three in the 1553 edition (i.e., on poverty, ugliness and ignorance). Then comes the new one, on law-suits. This is followed by the next three from the 1553 edition (blindness, madness, and "Pour le desmis de ses estats"). With this the collection ends.
the following splendidly ironical picture of the changes wrought in a man by Proces:

Si tost qu'il fut, à la requeste d'un quidam, plongé en ceste divine mer de procez, vous orrez qu'il a tellement changé de toutes moeurs & complexions estranges: que de lourdault en peu de temps il est devenu gentil, de recluz privé, de presumptueux affable, de desdaigneux doux & humain, de mespriser familier & reverend: & n'est pas le moindre Paige, à qui il ne face maintenant la court. Il est devenu si reverend & officieux, tant bien parlant à la mode du temps, devisant des choses honnestes, dissimulant ses pensés, & faisant honneur à tel qu'il vouldroit n'avoir jamais veu, que chacun dit ne le plus reconnoistre pour tel qu'il estoit au paravant. Tout aussi tost qu'il fut adverty que son procez estoit sur le bureau, jamais Ciceron ne practiqua tant de couleurs de Rhetoricque, qu'il en inventa en sollicitant Messieurs de sa chambre. Il apprit lors à se coucher tard, lever matin assisté aux heures assignées, à parler modestement & sans cholere, estre patient & endurant de la longeur de iroix, de souffrain post, de hauttain, courttois & amyable: tous ses propos n'estoyent que monsieur & madame, vostre trehumble & tremboeissant: toutes ses contenances n'estoyent, que la jambe en arriere, le bonnet au poing, la teste panchée.

There is much in this picture which reminds one of the suffering undergone by the would-be courtiers in other satirical praises.

Law-suits keep plenty of people in work and they are healthy, making us run about. Jargon is defended as necessary in all sciences.

'Proces' is said by some to be a Hydra, ruinin families, but this multiplication is good, and comparable to the increase of corn at harvest time.

Estienne's nineteenth paradox is entitled Pour la Guerre.²

In it he mentions authors who have written in favour of peace, giving Erasmus as one of the chief of these, but says that he intends to

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1 Paradoxe, ed.cit., p. 2²-p. 2² cf. infra, p. 274
prove that these writers were wrong. In peace-time all military discipline is lost; this discipline has long been recognised by rulers as essential for the preservation of their empires. Most statues of classical figures show them in military dress, and the Carthaginians' esteem for warriors is world-famous. Nowadays it is an honour to bear arms for Christ: all respect the knights of Jerusalem and of Rhodes. Furthermore, many of the bravest warriors become a public menace in peace-time, when they have nothing to occupy them. How right the Romans were to call war 'Bellona', for she is indeed 'belle'! Those who suggest that this name was intended ironically are completely mistaken. The Bible is packed with tales of bloody battles, and God was called the 'Lord of Hosts' by the children of Israel. Even in the New Testament, Christ told the disciples to sell their mantles in order to buy swords. War checks the pride and insolence of the rich, 'elle sert à esveiller & aguiser les esprits des hommes, & rendre leurs corps plus robustes, legiers, patients & endurciz à tout mal & fortune.'¹ For all these reasons war should be preferred to peace, 'bien grandement louee, & à haulte voix exaltee.'²

This paradox in favour of war may well have inspired one of the earliest French vice eulogies, Claude Colet's Oraison de Mars.³

1 ibid., p. 143.
2 ibid., p. 144. For Lando's paradox on prison v. infra, p. 275 ff.

The second edition was greatly expanded:
L'Oraison de Mars aux Dames de la Court, ensemble la Response des (continued on next page)
Colet's work appeared in Paris in 1544. He knew Philibert de Vienne, who wrote one of the other poems contained in this collection, and, like Philibert, came from Champagne. His device was 'Tout pour le mieulx', which he sometimes gave in Italian, 'Tutto per il meglio'. This may indicate that he knew Italian. One cannot prove that he knew Lando's work, or the possible early translation of it in 1544, but the dates do not altogether discount such a hypothesis.

In his introductory epistle, dedicated to one Charles de Haultcourt, Colet says that his friend saw the poems he had written some time ago, poems in which he described the miseries of war as they were being endured by the French at that time. He had not

(continued from previous page)


These two volumes are of importance for Philibert de Vienne, as it seems certain that he was the author of the Epistre mentioned in the title, who styled himself 'L'Amoureux de Vertu'.

1 This device appears, also as 'Tutto per il meglio' in the Mirrour of Madnes (supra, p.259). A device is scant evidence of authorship, but it is possible that Colet wrote more than one satirical eulogy, and that the French original of the English version was by him. However, in the absence of more definite proof, this solution can be no more than a suggestion.

2 There is a Neo-Latin work which is closer to Colet's Oraison than Lando's paradox, in that it too is in verse, is entitled 'Oratio', and is put into the mouth of the god of war. It is called Oratio in laudem belli, habita ab ipso Marte in postremo Cameracensi concilio, ad conciliandam pacem convocato, postridie calendas graecas. per Thomam Lineum Busciunducis. Iperis vaenit Gaspari a Lapide. Paris. Christian Wechel. 1531. The fact that both authors used the same publisher is also of interest. This was written to be delivered after the Peace of Cambrai, the 'Paix des Dames', concluded in 1529; these peaceful circumstances do not prevent Lineus from composing a eulogy, satirical of course, of war! He is careful, like all good Neo-Latin writers, to explain himself: 'Non enim sumus animi adeo male compotes, ut aliter Bellum laudatum velimus, quam Busyrim Polycrates, quartanam febrim Phavorinus, Calvitium Synesiua, denique omnium phoenix Erasmus Moriam, ...' (Dedicatory epistle).
dared publish them, fearing the opposition of those whom he calls 'Ministres de Mars',

et aultres lesquels ne se delectent et prennent plaisir qu'en rapines, embrasementz & saccagamentz de villes & chasteaulx, violemtns de femmes, forcements de fillcs, pillages d'eglises & toutes aultres manieres d'inhumanites nouvellement excogitez, & dont le recit seul causeroit une horreur & frayeur aux escoutans.

Not having witnessed these events personally, Colet is reluctant to describe them in detail. He had therefore left the Réponse of the ladies to Mars without completing it. Now his friend has persuaded him to finish and publish his work, and he hopes that

le bon vouloir & desir que j'ay à la paix, qui est mere & nourrice de tous biens, fera excuser les defaulx qui y seront trouvez.

In view of this preface, with its descriptions of 'ceste infernale furie la guerre', the Oraison de Mars is obviously a satirical poem, an ironical self-defence by the god of war.

Mars, like Folly, is the personified speaker of the work. He complains that the ladies all criticise him and wish to drive him out of the country. He admits that he may be

...de visage terrible,
Aux paovres gens le plus souvent nuisible,
Les yeulx flambans & la main equippée
De pots de feu, d'armures & d'espee,
Tousjours sanglante & de meurdres pollue.

Evidently Colet cannot resist this type of passing attack on war,

1 Oraison de Mars, p. 3. cf Mirrour of Madnes, supra, pp. 259-60.
2 ibid., p. 5.
3 ibid., p. 9.
even in what purports to be a defence of it. But, Mars continues, he does not break the laws. He now traces his origins, in typical satirical eulogy style. He is the son of Justice, created by Jupiter to fight the Giants. Unfortunately Justice, his mother, was forced to flee from earth to heaven; hence the idea that Mars is always found together with Discord and Ambition. He claims that he has always been the friend of kings, ready to protect the good and punish the wicked. He helps to preserve the diversity and the individuality of nations, causes cities to be strong and fortified, and magistrates to be protected.

The arts and sciences are full of arguments and variety: here pokes fun at a wide range of people - 'Sorbonistes', grammarians, advocates and historians.

Par tout y a quelque contention.
Entre Curæz, entre Praedicateurs
Qui de la foy sont les vrayz zelateurs,
Et en qui plus doibt reljure prudence.
Souventefoys se trouve difference....
Entre praelats & entre les chanoynes,
Et entre abbez, le couvent & les moynes,
Officiaux, vicaires, promoteurs,
Inquisiteurs, clerces, laics, accusateurs,
Entre mondains & entre reguliers,
Entre Augustins & entre Cordeliers,
Se trouveront trop plus de differents
Que n'en avoyent les chevaliers errants.1

This list is similar to the medieval ones, and is not of much satirical value, except perhaps through sheer force of numbers.

Both marriage and love are full of quarrels and difficulties,

1 Oraison, p. 13.
and Mars decides that 'rien n'est sans moy'. As Job said, life is a battle, and Christians are bidden to fight. On a cosmic level, the stars and the planets all go in contrary directions, as do the winds. Within man himself there is the eternal struggle between the mind and the body, between his good and his evil tendencies. Animals are provided by nature with claws, horns and stings with which to fight; obviously war is part of the natural order of things. People say that man came 'nud' into the world as a sign that he should seek peace, not war. This is a ridiculous idea, Mars decides; the truth of the matter is that man, being so much cleverer than the animals, can invent weapons for himself.

If war is as terrible as men claim, why are such splendid triumphs given to the victors? Why is history full of tales of battles? In fact Mars and Minerva go together, for prudence and diligence are of vital importance in battle. The dead in a war are honoured and praised, and Mars feels that while he gives the honour, it is not he, but God, who causes these men's death. The moment at which a man shall die is not for him to dictate. Dying in battle is far preferable to dying from a painful illness: since we must all die sooner or later we might just as well die gloriously and bravely on the field. Mars praises soldiers, who must be strong, temperate men, hard-working and virtuous. He lists famous warriors - Caesar, Alexander, Pompey and Hannibal. Those who are not skilled with

2 cf. Estienne, supra, p. 268.
arms are considered cowards, and many women have not been afraid
to lead armies into battle. Semiramis, Cleopatra, Xenobia and
Camilla are but a few of these famous women.

Referring, now, to contemporary events, Mars tactfully assures
his listeners that François Ier's cause is a just one, and that he
is certain of victory. Here Colet was presumably not speaking
ironically! Mars begs the world to excuse the roughness of his
work, explaining that he is just off to supervise and favour the
French cause.

The Oraison de Mars had much in common with both Lineus and
Estienne. Estienne's own paradox, on 'proces', described above, seems
to stand alone as a possible source of a poem by Passerat, the
Divinité des Procès, published in 1598. O. Rossettini was unaware
that Passerat's poem had any predecessors:

Passerat n'imite personne, sa pièce est tout à fait
originale. Seule l'idée de diviniser le proces peut passer
pour bernesque et autoriser à ranger cette satire dans le
groupe des plaidoyers burlesques. Mais l'exécution en est
originale. Le pièce de Passerat enfin est supérieure aux
froides traductions et imitations des 'capitoli' bernesques
précédemment analysées.

In fact, Passerat almost undoubtedly took the idea of ironically
praising 'procès' from Estienne. His own contribution was the verse
form, and the ingeniously developed deifying of 'Procès'. This
deification he achieves by passing in review every aspect of the

1 Les Poésies Françaises de Jean Passerat, ed. P. Blanchemain, Paris
2 op.cit., p. 196. The other Bernesque works mentioned in this
quotation will be described infra, p. 281
divinity of the gods, then carefully twisting these aspects to apply them to law-suits. This satirical deifying is similar to that of Podagra in the Neo-Latin gout eulogies. Passerat declares at the outset that after so many religious troubles he does not intend to talk directly about theology, but will discuss something which closely resembles divinity, namely Procès. The mysteries of God and those of Procès are equally difficult for man to understand. Both must be treated with reverence and due ceremony. Both can suddenly change their opinions; having favoured Troy for ten years the gods then gave victory to the Greeks, while in court lawyers may be shouting at one another all day, then go out and make merry together in the evening. The gods make men pay dearly for their favours; so do Procès;

Avant que par Procès soit riche une partie
Il se faut coucher tard, & se lever matin,
Et faire à tous propos le diable Saint Martin:
Remarquer un logis, assiéger une porte,
Garder que par derrière un Conseiller ne sorte,
S'accoster de son Clérice, caresser un vanlet,
Reconnostre de loing aux ambles un mulet,
Avoir nouveaux placets en main & en pochette,
Dire estre de son cru tout cela qu'on achète.
A beaux deniers contans; bref, il faut employer
Possible et impossible à procès festoyer.
On n'ose démentir des Dieux les saints oracles;
Ny l'arrest des Procès. Les Dieux font des miracles
Les Procès que font-ils? les plus gouteux troter
Galoper les boiteux pour les solliciter,
Les rendans, au besoin, prompts, dispos & habiles.

The similarity between Estienne's paradox and Passerat's poem is particularly striking in the lines just quoted.

1 v. ed. cit., p.p. 67 of. supra, p. 267
The gods, Passerat continues, have sacrifices made to them - so do the 'juges des Procés'. Both accept only the best! The arguments become more and more ingenious, as the various characteristics of Procés are likened to those of individual gods. Procés have the wiliness of Mercury, the eternal youth of Apollo and Bacchus, the changing forms of Proteus

Vous le pensez civil, il devient criminel
Vous l'estimez finy, le voila éternel.

Etienne's paradox number XVIII, Que la prison est chose salutaire & profitable, has not yet been discussed. It was translated into verse by Jean de la Jessée, in 1583. O. Rossettini discusses the two pieces, and also the various Bernesque poems on similar themes. She corrects certain mistakes made by Toldo, who had seen personal reminiscences of Italy in passages which La Jessée was in fact merely translating from the Paradossi. It is impossible to say whether La Jessée had before him as he wrote the Italian or the French versions of the paradox in question: for once, in this piece, Estienne remains very close to his original. At no stage does La Jessée take from Estienne something which he could not equally well have found in Lando. It is not proposed to discuss the two works

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1 ed.cit., p. 70
Rabelais had made fun of certain aspects of the law in The trial of Bridoye. However, he seems to have meant only part of what he wrote ironically y. J.D.M. Derrett, "Rabelais' legal learning and the trial of Bridoye", BHR, XXV, 1963, 111-171. Bridoye's defence of deciding lawsuits by dice cannot therefore be considered a satirical eulogy.

3 op.cit., p. 193-95.
in detail here, as this has already been done by O. Rossettini.

But a few passages, taken from Estienne’s translation, and followed by the relevant lines by La Jessée, show how close the imitation was to its model.

Both writers begin by saying that the most precious things are always locked away:

Si les biens enfermez & recluz es estroittes maisons sont de plus grand pris & requeste, & en plus grande diligence conservez, que ne sont les desployez & exposez à l’arbitre de ceux à qui touche la volonté d’offencer autruy; J’ay bien grande occasion d’affermier que la prison soit meilleure, que la liberté.

Si les biens, & joyeaus, es maisons recellez, Sont beaucoup moins communs, & de plus chere garde, Que ceux que le Vulgaire es boutiques regarde À l’oeil, voire au pouvoir, d’un chascun estallez: Qui ne croira, je vous suplie, (Si l'imprudence, & la folie, N’enchantent par trop ses espris:) Qu’il vaut mieux estre en assurance Dans une close demeurance, Que vivre au large, & n’estre pris?.

We should not be frightened by the word ‘prison’;

Et ne doivent soubs correction ces paroles de prison & prisonnier, tant offencer les aureilles d’aucunes personnes. Ce mot de chartre, serf, esclave, Offance en vain l’enfleure grave De quelque titre, ou dignité.

We are always prisoners, until our death, and release from our sinful bodies:

1 Paradoxes, ed. 1553, pp. 132-3.
2 La Jessée, op. cit., p. 230.
3 Paradoxes, p. 133.
4 La Jessée, p. 230.
Qui fut la cause pour laquelle le saint Apostre de Dieu, demandoit à haute voix, Qui seroit celuy qui le délivreroit de ceste mortelle prison? il entendoit la prison de ce corps charnel, laquelle ne me semble de rien moins utile à la vie de l'homme, qu'est la prison de pierre, qui luy sert de vray rampart & sauvegarde.

Voyla pourquoy Saint Paul crioyt à haute voix, Qui me délivrera de ma prison mortelle?
Entendans le travaux, la peur, & la cautelle,
Du corps fresle, & charnel, asservy sous ces loix;
C'est vraeument un monceau de terre,
Qui (comme un tombeau) l'ame enserre,
Luy servant de fort, & de rempart.

There is another famous paradox in favour of life in prison. This is by Odet de la Noue, and was written during the six years he spent a prisoner in the Château de Tournay. However, although it is called a 'paradoxe', and uses some of the same arguments as Estienne, it is a work of philosophical resignation, describing his feelings and aspirations during his captivity. One of the most striking characteristics of the satirical eulogy as a genre is the way in which themes and ideas, though superficially identical, and almost certainly borrowed, are constantly adapted and twisted to

1 Paradoxes, p. 133;
2 La Jessée, p. 231.
La Jessée followed this poem with another, La contre-prison, ibid., p. 234 f. Here the tone is far more personal, and does not seem to be imitated. Prison is like hell, he says (cf. Marot, L'Enfer) and attacks trials, judges and so on. Writing for and then against a given theme was a typical feature of the satirical eulogy, classical, Neo-Latin and Italian.

3 Paradoxe, que les adversitez sont plus necessaires que les prosperitez,
Lyons, J. de Tournes, 1588.
Translated into English under the title The Profit of Imprisonment, A Paradox, written in French by Odet de la Noue, Lord of Teligni, being prisoner in the Castle of Tournay. Translated by Josuah Sylvester. 1605.
fit the various attitudes of the writers. Here De la Noue elevates the tone of the clever, but impersonal arguments of Estienne. Man, he says, unlike animals, must seek what is spiritually good. For this struggle we train our children. The world is a real battleground of good against evil, and God and his Son are our only helpers in the fight against the Devil. Adversities are necessary, and more desirable than prosperity. No adversity is more beneficial than prison. This may sound paradoxical, but greater paradoxes than this exist.\(^1\) He himself is glad to be in prison, where he can read and study, far from all the vanities of the world. He writes, plays musical instruments, and sings, and assures the reader that being in prison is the finest thing in the world. Obviously, Odet de la Noue's prison was a far more comfortable and luxurious place than that criticised by La Jessée!

Estienne's paradox \textit{Pour le Chiche}\(^2\) or Francesi's 'capitolo' \textit{In Lode della Povera}\(^3\) may have provided inspiration of a less apparent kind for Jean Godard's poem \textit{La Pauvreté}.\(^4\) However, this piece is much longer than either of its predecessors, and far more personal. It is dedicated to Audebert Heudon. Audebert and his brother Jean must have been close friends of Godard, for they both wrote liminary

\begin{itemize}
\item \(1\) For example, the fact that men can give up wealth and property and still be happy, cf. Estienne, \textit{Pour le desmis de ses estats}, \textit{Paradoxes\textsc{, ed.cit.}}, pp. 62ff.
\item \(2\) cf. \textit{supra}, p. 265.
\item \(3\) \textit{Appendix E, infra}, p. 389
\end{itemize}
poems for the collection, and both had poems in the collection dedicated to them. Godard begins his piece by declaring that he only sings of things close to him, things that he knows really well:

Aussi veux je à ce coup chanter la Pauvreté,
Laquelle est prez de moy, & l’a tousjours esté.

Poverty prevents him from giving Heudon the rich gift he deserves, and so he asks him to accept this poem, which, if he, Godard, becomes famous, will one day be of value. Despite his intended praise of poverty, Godard cannot refrain from wishing that it would leave him soon. But he knows that the number of poor people has always been large.

When Jupiter sent Pandora’s box, he sent in it all the diseases and vices. *'Plaisir* and *'Paresse* between them made Poverty, which has been with us ever since. Now comes a list of the virtues of this lady, a list which could have been taken from either Frances or Estienne. She is virtuous, fleeing luxury and jewels, Bacchus and Venus; and temperate, living on bread and water only. She salutes all humbly as they pass; though Godard remarks wryly that no one takes any notice when she does this! *'Paresse* may be her mother, but she does not love her, working hard, for anyone who will employ her, and sleeping little. She envies no one, and lives simply, as man used to be in the *sicle d’or*. A description of this age follows, similar to those given by Mauro. At that time men were virtuous and poor, and the gods would visit the earth and mingle with the human

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1 *ibid.*, p. 303.
2 *v. supra*, pp. 162, 164.
beings. There was no question of storing up treasures for oneself, and Godard recalls the tale of Philemon and Baucis. It is therefore wrong to despise Poverty, he says, for she is 'sage, & prudente, accorte & avisee.'

When 'Mémoire' gave birth to the Muses, she decided that Poverty should bring them up, and teach them humility. The Muses, after this excellent upbringing, decided that none should follow them if he did not first dedicate himself to Poverty and honesty. To be rich, especially at court, one must be a hypocrite: this the true poet can never agree to. Godard himself has obeyed the demands of the Muses, and is almost destitute. Bravely, he assures his friends that a 'denier' from a poor poet is worth far more than an 'escu' from a rich man! Classical examples of men who refused riches, and preferred to remain poor, are listed. Having defended poverty - rather half-heartedly, it must be admitted - Godard now ends his poem with a joking 'envoi' similar to those in the Pléiade's 'hymnes-blasons'. As a reward for his eulogy, he begs Poverty to spare his friends, whom he lists:

    Escoute ma requête, o sainte Pauvreté,
Ne te monstre jamais farouche ny cruelle
Ne à mes deux Heudons, ny à mon Pimpernelle. 1

He begs her to loosen a little the chain with which she binds him. He does not want to escape, but would like to be less impoverished. If he had more freedom he would sing of Francus, who came to Gaul and gave his name to France. 2

1 cf. the Poète Courtisan, supra, pp. 241 ff
2 Godard, p. 319.
3 Godard must surely be thinking of the Franciade.
The Paradoxes inspired more French vice eulogies than the Bernesque 'capitoli', but the Bernesque poets did not lack imitators, even in this category of eulogy. O. Rossettini discusses very clearly and thoroughly the interesting set of poems inspired by Mauro's two 'capitoli' In dishonor dell'Hono. The first of the French imitations, in 1547, was one of the Blasons published in Lyons. Rossettini shows that the anonymous author copied twelve 'tercets' from Mauro's first 'capitolo' and one from his second. Amadis Jamyn, in 1575, published a poem entitled Elegie de l'honneur. This copies twenty-one 'tercets' from Mauro's first 'capitolo'. Finally, Regnier, in his Satire VI, written in Rome between 1604 and 1605, and published in 1608, gives yet another free rendering of Mauro's ideas, as expressed in his first 'capitolo'. There is no need to repeat O. Rossettini's excellent analysis of all these

2 v. supra, p. 221
3 op. cit., p. 174.
poems, but it is worth adding that Regnier clearly sees his poem as a classical as well as an Italian piece:

*Hal Dieu pour quoy faut-il que mon esprit nevaille,*  
*Autant que cil qui m'est les Souris en bataille,*  
*Qui sceut a la Grenouille apprendre son caquet,*  
*Ou que l'autre qui fit en vers un Sopiquet.*

The *Batrachomyomachia* was invariably listed amongst satirical eulogies. One of the most famous French satirical eulogies is Rabelais' *Eloge des Dettes.* It seems, however, that this has only the title in common with Berni.

In 1546, when the book was published, the 'Querelle des Amyes' sparked off largely by the *Amye de Court,* was already some years old. Certain chapters of the *Tiers Livre* are concerned with some aspects of the quarrel, but the section of the work which concerns the present study is the praise of debts and of debtors by Panurge. This praise is contained in chapters III and IV. Chapter V contains a perfectly serious rejection by Pantagruel of Panurge's thesis. The presentation of first one and then the other side of a given case in an argument was of course reminiscent of medieval debates, but while Panurge's arguments strike us as being clever and sophistical, those of Pantagruel have a ring of sincerity about them which would

2 v. supra, p. 63
3 *'Si la virtuosité dialectique qui brille dans cet étoffissant paradoxe se rattache à quelque tradition, ce doit être à ces parodies de plaidoyers ou d'argumentations auxquelles s'exerçaient les Bazochiens aux jours gras.'* (J. Plattard, *Vie de François Rabelais,* Paris, 1928, p. 176. v. also Plattard, *L'Oeuvre de Rabelais,* Paris, 1910, pp. 90-91. *'Pourtant, plus encore que l'exemple de ses maîtres, plus que le désir de cultiver à son tour ce genre littéraire, l'habitude des jeux de raisonnements, nés de la pratique de la scolastique, l'a amené à écrire ces deux paradoxes.*
seem to betray Rabelais' true opinion on the matter. The praise of debts and the subsequent attack on debts do not therefore form a perfectly matched pair of mock-defences, although there may well have been some influence of these popular arguments. The medieval 'débat' may have influenced Rabelais' choice of form, though he could equally well have found the idea of writing for and then against a topic in classical and Neo-Latin satirical eulogies. This eulogy of debts, coming as it does in an important position near the beginning of the book, must surely be meant to be interpreted at various levels. In form it is a satirical eulogy; but its tone varies from the lyrical to the ironical.

A. Lefranc suggests that the inspiration for the praise of debts may have been provided by some lines in the Songe de Pantagruel, by François Habert d'Issoudun. In this poem Panurge makes a loan to Ceres and Bacchus, and says that they are to repay him:

1 If it did, it was the only touch of medievalism in the passage, for elsewhere in this eulogy Rabelais makes fun of medievalism, and, particularly, of scholastic philosophy. Panurge uses the jargon dear to writers of scholastic works - but only to ridicule it: 'Dea en ceste seule qualité je me reputoys auguste, reverend et redoubtable, que sus l'opinion de tous philosophes (qui disent rien de rien n'estre fait) rien ne tenant ne matiere premiere, estoys facteur et creator.' (Tiers. Livre ed. Lefranc, Paris 1931, p. 43-4)

Further on, Panurge describes the sorry state of a world in which no one makes loans: 'Entre les elemens ne sera symbolisation, alternation, ne transmutation aucune. Car l'un ne se reputera oblige à l'autre, il ne luy avoir rien presté.' (ibid., p. 47)


Ilz sont tenus de me rendre la somme
Quant on verra content estre tout homme
Et quant mourra du monde l'heresie,
On bien d'un gras moine l'hypocrisie.
Ou quant prelatz n'auront qu'ung benefice
Et que puny sera tout malefice:
Quant, on verra mettre fin aux proces,
Et qu'on verra, sans querelle et excès,
Vivre le monde, et en tranquillité
Quictes debteurs et estre en liberté.  

There is indeed a certain resemblance between this part of the Songe
and the beginning of Chapter IV of the Tiers Livre, with its vision
of an improbable, marvellous future: however, the lyricism of
Panurge, its enthusiasm and fantasy, makes Habert's list seem very
pedestrian:

Entre les humains paix, amour, dilection, fidelité,
argent, monnaie monnole, chaudes, bagues, marchandises
repos, banquetz, festins, joye, liesse, or, tréteront
de main en main. Nul proces, nulle guerre, nul debat;
nul n'y sera usurier, nul lechart, nul chichart, nul
refusant. Vray Dieu, ne sera ce l'age d'or, le regne
de Saturne, l'idée des regions Olympicques, es quelles toutes
autres vertus cessent, charite seule regne, regente, domine,
triumphe? Tous seront bons, tous seront beaulx, tous seront
justes. O monde heureux! O gens de cestuy monde heureux!

Habert's influence was restricted to a single argument but that of
Rabelais' great predecessor, Erasmus, must have been of importance
to his whole attitude to satire and irony. The brilliance and fame
of the Moriae Encomium cannot have failed to impress Rabelais. He
knew Lucian directly, as did all his contemporaries; in the Moriae
he could see how effective Lucian's approach to satire, and to the
eulogy, could be. The abuse of classical quotations, and twisting

1 Quoted from Tiers Livre, ed. cit. pp. LX-LXI.
2 ibid., pp. 51-2.
3 In any case, Rabelais had already imitated Lucian very thoroughly
in his two earlier books.
of legends, the bursts of ironical lyricism, the sly fun poked at sophists and philosophers generally, all these characteristics of the *De Parasito* and Lucian's other panegyrics find their counterpart in the praise of debts.

In almost every paragraph of Panurge's praise can be found quotations and mention of various authors and classical figures. More often than not these are pictured in quite novel situations, as when Panurge depicts a universe without mutual debt:

Un monde sans debtes! La entre les astres ne sera cours regulier quiconque. Tous seront en desarroy. Jupiter, ne s'estimant debiteur à Saturne, le depossedera de sa sphare, et avecques sa chaine homerieque suspendera toutes les intelligences, dieux, cieulx, daemons, genies, heroes, diables, terre, mer, tous elemens. Saturne se raliera avecques Mars, et mettront tout ce monde en perturbation. Mercure ne vouldra soy asservir es aultres, plus ne sera leur Camille, comme en langue hetrusque estoit nommé. Car il ne leurs est en rien debteur. Venus ne sera venerée, car elle n'aura rien presté.

This amused and irreverent attitude towards the gods would have delighted Lucian, and is thoroughly Lucianic in tone. Rabelais ends this same chapter with a revised version of Menenius Agrippa's tale of the revolt of the various parts of the body against one another, a tale which had already been repeated by Erasmus.

2 cf. L. Thuasne, *Etudes sur Rabelais*, Paris 1904, p. 70: "L'origine de ce long paradoxe de Panurge à la louange "des debteurs et emprunteurs" (Pantagruel, III, 3-5) est, d'une part, un passage de l'Éloge de la Folie qui se termine par une allusion à l'apologue de Menenius Agrippa, de l'autre, et surtout, un extrait du traité *Lingua* dans lequel Erasme, tout en étant surpassé, dans ce duel littéraire, par Rabelais, physiologiste et médecin de profession, doublé d'un écrivain de génie, n'a pas moins donné, dans une forme excellente, une description magistrale de l'économie du corps humain, dans laquelle il a su éviter la sécheresse, tout en restant clair et précis! (Lingua per Des. Erasnum Roterodanum diligenter ab auctore recognita Eale 1525, pp.16 ff. - quoted by Thuasne, pp.72-4.)
Rabelais brings Lucian's attacks on sophists and philosophers up to date, as was his wont when making use of classical sources, by letting Panurge quote Ficino, Hippocrates and others in support of his absurd proposition.\(^1\) The free use, and misuse, of even the most imposing authorities is of course a distinctive feature of the satirical eulogy, and one which must have appealed very much to Rabelais, with his phenomenal memory, and vast reading. Like everything Rabelais wrote, his praise of debts and debtors can be interpreted and appreciated at many levels. However, at one level at least it seems fair to maintain that this piece of exaggerated praise, put into the mouth of a character such as Panurge, must have been meant as a satirical eulogy.

Turner's imitation of Rabelais' eulogy has already been discussed.\(^2\)

There exists one more, much later French praise of debts. It is by the Sieur de l'Ortigue, and is called La felicité du débiteur.\(^3\) It is a Bernesque not a Rabelaisian piece, beginning:

Il me prend une extreme envie  
De faire voir l'heureuse vie,  
Les plaisirs & les voluptez  
Des personnes endebtez.

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1. Whether Rabelais is really making fun of these great writers, or whether, as M. Screech suggests (Tiers Livre, ed. M.A. Screech, Geneva 1964, p. 40) he merely wishes to make us laugh at the effrontery of Panurge in daring to make use of such solemn authorities is difficult to determine.

2. v. supra, pp. 96 ff.

It is nothing more than the usual Bernesque joke, with none of the serious undertones of Rabelais' piece. De l'Ortigue says that captains borrow from merchants in order to go to war. He pictures the 'sergents' as they go by night to surround a debtor's house and take him to prison; the debtor usually escapes under cover of darkness! His creditors court the debtor as if he were a Prince. He is never afraid of burglars, for he has no money for them to take. If he actually goes to prison, he is guarded and protected as a Prince might be, and is kept there at his creditors' expense. De l'Ortigue is sure that his friend, a debtor, for whom the poem appears to have been written, will soon agree with him that there is nothing in this world so fine as 'Debvoir & ne payer personne.'

The Bernesque satire had one final burst of popularity in France before, later in the seventeenth century, it finally petered out. This was in the works of Bruscambille, also known as Deslauriers. Bruscambille was 'harangueur' at the Hôtel de Bourgogne in the early years of the seventeenth century:

Venu à Paris en 1606, il entra à l'Hôtel de Bourgogne comme harangueur: avant le spectacle et en intermède, il débitait des morceaux de son cru, 'satires bernesques', d'après des modèles italiens sur des sujets généraux de politique ou sur des points d'actualité. Comme il s'adressait au parterre, ses boniments étaient souvent bouffons, trop souvent orduriers. Il vivait encore en 1629.

Vianey wrote an article on 'Bruscambille et les Poètes Bernesques',

2 In Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France, VIII, 1901, 569-576.
in which he set out to show just how much the Frenchman owed to
his predecessors. He writes that, after a marked decline in
popularity in the years following the Pléiade revival, the
Bernesque eulogy was revived, in this very different form, by
Bruscambille. He describes the subjects copied by Bruscambille
from the Italians, and shows that the Frenchman uses all the
techniques of the Bernesque poets, the 'mélange des bouffonneries
vulaires et des réflexions sérieuses, des comparaisons triviales
et des images précieuses', the 'calembours' and the fantasy. He
feels that Bruscambille succeeded where Ronsard and the Pléiade
failed, because he recaptured the essential feature of the 'capitolo',
the fact that it was written for oral delivery. Bruscambille
stripped the Bernesque poetry of much of its elegance, and fine
language, and adapted it to his less refined audience. However, he
does manage to keep a surprising number of Latin and Italian
quotations, and despite all their obscenities some of these little
pieces are full of interest.

They were usually called 'Paradoxes', a fact significant in
itself. There was a short edition, containing only a few pieces,

1 Here Vianey over-simplifies. If he is admitting the 'hymnes-
blasons' as Bernesque poems, these continued to be written through-
out the century. v. infra p. 343 and there was also the sequence
of poems against honour, described above, p. 28

2 art. cit., p. 572.

3 Not Greek, however. Bruscambille says that he does not know
more than two words of this language: these two words he gives
in the 1629 edition, p. 75.
in 1615, but the principal edition was that which appeared in 1629. It is not proposed here to discuss all these 'prologues', merely those which are on Bernesque topics. Looking first at the 1615 edition, one finds straightaway a Paradoxe sur la prison. Here, dressed up with a good deal of back-chat and many digressions, are some familiar arguments. Bruscambille maintains that:

La prison est l'azile sacré de la vertu, le domicile des bonnes moeurs: bref que les privileges des Prisonniers (sont?) sans nombre.

In what he calls his 'Primo Capitolo' Bruscambille says that prisoners are exempt from paying taxes, and from fighting wars. His 'Secundo' says that they are so carefully looked after that they are harder to approach than Princes. Prison improves one's health and one's complexion, and one has time to read and meditate.

Other paradoxes in this edition are in favour of Winter, of Pedantry, of the Bottle, i.e. of drinking, and of spittle.

The 1629 edition contains several interesting pieces. There is one in favour of ignorance, entitled Paradoxe, Nihil scientia pelius, aut inutilius. In this Bruscambille writes that one of the boasts of rhetoric is that it can disguise the truth, making white appear black. He lists various arts and sciences and decides that

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1 Facecieuses Paradoxes de Bruscambille, & autres discours comiques. Le tout nouvellement tire de l'Escarcelle de ses imaginations. Rouen, Thomas Maillard, 1615.
3 1615 edition, p. 2
4 Ibid., p. 3
5 ed. cit., p. 86.
6 Ibid., p. 7. cf. Du Bellay, infra, p. 207
they are all useless. Next comes a paradox called Egestas nobilissima, in which Bruscambille shows how poverty is the mother of invention, and how the poor need never fear robbers. After this come three pieces on the theme Qu'un Petit est quelque chose de corporel. Then comes a more subtle prologue, Prologue en faveur du mensonge.

Je soustendray que le mensonge est fort utile & nécessaire à l'homme, & que l'une des plus belles vertus qui le rende aujourd'hui recommandable, est de savoir mentir parfaitement.

This piece is important because it is far more complex than most of those in the collections. As in the Philosophe de Court, when Philibert de Vienne wrote that in order to succeed at court it was necessary to learn certain tricks, of which he himself only pretended to approve, so Bruscambille may really feel that one needs to be a liar to succeed. The paradox is tinged with irony.

This is a long piece. Ancient civilizations all realised the value of lies, says Bruscambille, for they forged gods in order to control the populace. Kings and rulers must use lies. So must merchants, if they are to sell anything. As for lovers, on them the speaker would like to write a whole book. They need to tell one another lies if they are to be happy. There is an amusing piece of mock-heroic imagery here.

Les Amoureux, sur lesquels je pourrais estendre mon discours mais un grand volume n'y suffiroit pas, ne modifieroyent pas si aisément l'anche de leurs desirs au Havre tant desirs de tous les Amants, s'ils n'employaient le vent d'une infinité de menteries pour y parvenir.

1 ibid., p. 91  2 ibid., pp. 95, 96, 104.
3 ibid., p. 113  4 cf. Mauro, supra, p. 160
5 op. cit., pp. 116-7
Courtiers and doctors are added to the list of people who must tell lies, and Aristotle and Plato, who approved of Rhetoric, were thereby implicitly approving of lies as well: 'car n'est-ce autre chose l'art de Rethorique, sinon l'art de bien mentir.'

In true Bernesque and satirical eulogy style Bruscambille follows this piece with one in favour of truth.

In his Prologue sur un Habit he plays with language in a way that could well have been imitated from Rabelais: presumably, like the audiences in Victorian Music-hall, who listened as the Master of Ceremonies recited off a string of obscure-sounding and tongue-twisting words, Bruscambille's listeners enjoyed his verbal fantasy and facility:

Messieurs, & Dames, je desirerois, souhaiterois, voudrois, demanderois, & requerois desiderativement, souhaitativement, volontativement, demandativement, & requisitativement, avec les desideratoires, souhaitatoires, & volontatoires, demanda-toires, & requisitatoires, que vous fussiez enluminez, irradifiez, & esclarifiez, pour pouvoir penetratoirement, secretatoirement, & divinatoirement, videres, propiciantes, intueri du buffet de mes conceptions, pour voir la methode que je veux tenir aujourd'huy a vous remercier de vostre bonne assistance & audicence, laquelle vous continuerez, s'il vous plait, à une petite farce gaillarde que nous vous allons representer.2

Another interesting Prologue is one in which Bruscambille writes 'des Cocus, & de l'utilité des Cornes'. It will be shown that this was a popular subject for ironical eulogies,3 and the arguments here are those used by other Frenchmen before Bruscambille. Being

1 ibid., p. 121.
2 ibid., p. 135.
3 infra, p. 325 ff.
a cuckold is a pleasant state, he writes. The shape of the horn, so disliked by husbands, is a noble one. The new moon is horned, so are several signs of the Zodiac. So also is that fabulous animal, the Unicorn. The very name 'cocus' is a charming one, conjuring up an image of one of spring's most delightful birds.

There are many other pieces in this collection, on the 'Galeux', on madness, on cowardice, on the misery and then on the excellence of man, in favour of big noses, on honour, beards, cabbages, and fleas. The range is remarkable, as is the amount of knowledge Bruscambille seems to possess.

The works studied in this chapter form the most interesting group of satirical eulogies to be written anywhere in Europe during the Renaissance. The Neo-Latin writers had never used this genre for anything much more important than an exercise in ingenuity. The Italians had brought humour and fantasy, poetry and gaiety to

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1 op.cit., p. 303. cf. infra, p. 318
2 ibid., p. 343. Here there is a traditional list of types of people who are mad.
3 ibid., p. 394.
4 ibid., p. 357 and p. 363. The first is semi-philosophical, and the tone is far loftier than usual: 'C'est un Ocean sans fonds & sans rive, que de penser amplement despeindre la misere de l'Homme.' (p. 357)
5 ibid., p. 438, cf. infra, p. 323
6 ibid., p. 449.
7 ibid., p. 459, where beards are praised, and different styles listed cf. infra, p. 320
8 ibid., p. 453. Here Bruscambille shows familiarity with Pliny, v. supra, p. 15
9 ibid., p. 371.
a hitherto prose-ridden and prosaic sphere. ¹ But only in France
did a number of major satirists exploit to the full all the
possibilities of the genre. Instead of the all-pervading similarity
of plan and of treatment, the monotonous borrowing and repetition
of the Neo-Latins, we have a set of works which, though clearly
belonging to the same basic genre, are nevertheless extremely varied.
They count amongst their exponents some of the finest French ironists,
such as Du Bellay and Philibert de Vienne. At last this genre enters
into the main stream of Renaissance literature, and is used with
subtlety and sophistication as a weapon against all manner of
contemporary abuses and hypocrisies.

¹ Albergati is an exception here, for La Pazzia is in prose, and
contains many passages of satire.
CHAPTER SIX

The Disease Eulogies in France

In view of the popularity of the disease praise with Neo-Latin writers both in Germany and Italy, one might expect to find a correspondingly large number of such works written in French. It comes therefore as something of a surprise to find that this is far from the case, and that the disease eulogies in France are conspicuous only by their scarcity. With the exception of Du Bellay's *Hymne de la Surdité* the disease praises that do exist cannot compare either in quantity or quality with the animal praises. On the reasons for this scarcity one can only speculate: certainly it was not for lack of knowledge of the principal classical and even modern disease eulogies. Even Pirckheimer was familiar to the French writers of the latter part of the century.


In the preface, written by André Pasquet, the now familiar type of self-justification appears. It lists several disease praises:

'Car les plus grands personnages se sont bien amusés à traiter des frivoles et légères matières: comme Homère la Guerre des Rats et des Grenouilles: Hésiode, la Malue et l'Aphrodite; Virgile, les Mouches le Mouscheron et les Priapées, encore qu'aucuns en facent un autre auteur. Ovide La Puce et le Noyer. Lucian, La Mousse; Phavorin, les Fièvres quartes. Synesius, La Chauvete, Erasme, la Folie, Pikemerus, la Goutte, Glauce, l'Injustice. Cardan, les louanges de Néron.

L'auteur des Macaroniques son œuvre italien-latin, sous le nom de

(Contd. next page)
The numerous editions of Lucian's works have already been discussed. Synesius' *Calviti Encomium* was also extremely popular. The most notable series of editions as far as the present study is concerned is that by Froben at Basle, containing the translation by John Free, the fifteenth century English scholar. This version was published together with the *Moriae Encomium* in 1515, 1519, 1521, and 1522. Froben's decision to publish the two works side by side probably indicates that he felt them to belong to a similar genre. The most famous edition of Synesius' complete works was, however, that by Adrien Turnèbe. This appeared in Paris in 1553, and was the edition possessed by Montaigne and Theodore de Beze.

(Contd. from previous page) Merlino Coccaio. L'inimitable Rabelais, son Gargantua et Pantagruel. Je pourroy mettre en general toutes les amours de nos poetes francois, mais je me restraingray de dire que le grand Ronsard s'est bien amuse aux louanges de la Fourmy, de la Grenouille et du Frelon. Et Belleau sur la Cerise, la Tortue et autres: voire un peu avant son decez, il fit que deux jours que plusieurs savans advocates ont reçevoit les Fuces de mes Damoissesles des Roches, sur lesquelles, pour m'estre si bien rencontré, je me reposeray, et donneray audience au seigneur des Accords.' (pp.34-5).

While Pasquet makes mention of poems other than satirical eulogies, the major part of his list contains typical works of this type, and amongst them appears that of Pirckheymer. It is interesting to see the 'hymne blasons' classified amongst the ironical praises as early as this.

1. v. supra. p. 51 and v. also C.A. Mayer descrit, Appendix B.
2. John Free was born in London, and died in Rome in 1465. He was at Ferrara with Guarino, and taught at Florence, Padua and Rome. The Pope made him Bishop of Bath. Apart from the translation of Synesius, some poems written by him also survive. The full title of the first edition containing his translation is *Synesii Cyrenensis de Laudibus Calvicii Oratio*, Io. Phrea Britanno interprete.
There is also an English translation of the Ca lviti ii Encomium, by A. Fleming, entitled A Paradoxe, Proving by reason and example that Baldness is much better than bushie haire. This contains a preface which in style and content closely resembles that of the Moriae Encomium.

But despite the importance of Synesius and Favorinus, the influence of Lucian, here, as in other categories of satirical eulogies, was the most vital one of all. It is therefore of particular interest to find

1. The title continues: Written by that excellent Philosopher Synesius, Bishop of Thebes, or (as some say) Cyren. A Prettie pamphlet, to peruse, and replenished with recreation. Englished by Abraham Fleming. London, H. Denham, 1579. The change in title here, from an Encomium to a Paradox, is interesting. It may well be connected with the vogue for paradoxes, which were as popular in England at this time as they were in France. (v. Miller, art. cit. passim).

2. Like Erasmus, Fleming warns his readers not to think the work 'a toie so ridiculous as this appeareth to be.... For Lucian, and Apuleius wrote of an Asse, Themison in praise of the herbe Plantaine, Homere in commendation of Wine, Ephren in dispraise of Laughing, Orpheus & Hesiodus of Fumigations, or Perfumes; Chrysippus of Colewortes, Phanias of Nettles, Massala made for everie severall letter of the ABC, a severall booke, Virgil of a Gnat, Ovid of a Nut, & Erasmus but latelie of the praise of follie, and Heywood yet later, of the Spider and the Flie (cf. Pantaleon Candidus, supra p.118 n2). Shalle we give rashe and unseasoned sentence against these learned men, naming them brainless & brainsicke; or otherwise prescribing unto them matters more mete whereon to meditate? No.

But as the workmanship of Myrmecides was wonderfull, who made foure horses drawing a cart, & their driver with his whip, in such curious compass, that they were hidden under the wings of a flie; and Callicrates a shippe, the whole bodie whereof a little bird coverd with his fethers; even so these, & the like writers, in small matters bevraien great wisedome, deserve no lesse praise for their travel, than others desire pleasure and profite of their tolle'.

(op. cit. Epistile Apologetical). On this reference to the Greek liking for the minute, and its link with the satirical eulogy, cf. supra. p. 14
that one of the earliest and most easily recognisable of such encomia to be written in French was in fact one on gout. It appears, together with one on quartan fever, in the collection of anonymous 'blasons' which were published in Lyons in 1547. The collection as a whole is discussed by O. Rossettini, but not, unfortunately, from the point of view of the satirical eulogy. The two disease pieces are in fact typical of the classical and Italian paradoxical encomia. The one on gout is imitated largely from Franceschi's Capitolo on gout; the poem on the quartan fever, though it may be based partly on Aretino's 'capitolo' on the subject, owes far more to Favorinus and to G. Menapius Insulanus. The collection is important, because in it, for the first time, a satirical eulogy is called a 'blason', and the element of irony is added to this purely descriptive French genre. The compiler of the collection has singled out the two diseases most commonly discussed by writers of satirical eulogies. He introduces his first poem with a string of ironical epithets very much in the style of those in the Tragodopodagra: this subtitle runs; Louange de la tresfroide, tres-chaude, inexorable, trespuissante, & tresredoutable Dame la Goutte.

1. v. supra. p. 221
3. Gout was treated in jocular fashion in certain French farces, for example in those in which 'Maistre Mimin le gouteux' appears (v. B.M. Collection of Farces, op. cit. (cf. supra. p. 61)) But although the gouty man here becomes a figure of fun, there is no resemblance between such works and the satirical eulogies on this disease.
The poem itself, written in decasyllables, begins with a reference to the enforced continence of gouty people. The anonymous writer declares that it is this sober life of the sufferers from gout which has inspired him to compose his poem,

De reciter plus de louange d'elle,
Que Lucian en ce beau dialogue,
Ou il la met au ranc, & catalogue
Des Dieux trescrainz, recitant plusieurs preux
N'estre famés, que pour estre goutteux.¹

After a passing mention of the incurability of the disease, 'Car Goutte hayt sus tout la medecine',² comes a somewhat obscure passage tracing the origin of gout back to the circumcision of Abraham. Addressing Gout herself in tones which are by now familiar, the author exclaims, in a flood of ironical rhetoric;

O caractère indelible & cher!
O sainte Goutte indigne d'attoucher
Pors delicatz, & qu'on doit dorlotter
Sus coussinetz, & en douceur frotter,
Et dyaprer, comme un reliquaire........
Et pour cela exercant ses devoirs
Dire on le peut tresainte & Angelique.³

In defence of gout, the author now claims that the disease does no damage to man's chief blessings -

Biens de l'esprit, de fortune & du corps.⁴

In spite of the illness, health, wealth and wisdom can remain. As far as

1. Blasons, p.3.
2. ibid. p.4.
3. ibid. pp. 4 & 5.
4. ibid. p.5 cf. supra. p.472 for the same argument used by Francesi.
the first of these three things is concerned, such a statement might appear to be a contradiction in terms, but the writer explains his point as follows:

Quant à santé, qui est le bien du corps,
Si elle y muyt, ce n'est que par dehors,
Qu'il semble à voir qu'elle fasche, ou tormente:
Mais ce ne vient que d'une humeur peccante,
Dont elle fait saine purgation
Au seul recueil d'un peu d'inflation.
Donques la Goutte, en son petit mesaise
Donne à celuy, qui l'ha, santé & ayse,
Rendant les siens pleins de tous biens heureux:

Gouty men are always surrounded by people, a benefit which had been pointed out by several of the Neo-Latins, as had the next advantage of the disease, that fact that people make way for them in the streets:

............quand dans la chaire à bras
Portés en Ducz, faisans des Fierabras,
Il faut qu'honneur chacun aux goutteux face,
Soit en l'Eglise, en maison, ou en place.

The blasonneur even goes so far as to claim that passers-by, seeing the gouty man, credit him with as much intellectual as physical weight! Furthermore, Gout inspires a man spiritually, makes him 'humble & courtois' in his dealings with others, and benefits him in that she imposes an enforced restraint on the 'voluptes de Venus, à de table'.

The 'blasonneur' stresses the way in which gout attacks kings, dukes and prelates, but does not elaborate this point. He does enter into some detail on his next argument, which is that gout is most useful as

1. Blasons, p.5-6.
2. ibid. p.6.
an excuse for taking things easily:

Tres excuses pour affaire, qu'on aye,
De n'en bouger: ou le sain malheureux,
Dormant a l'ayse, encor tout sommeilleux
Sort de son lict pour courir & baller.

Gout enables a man to foretell changes in the weather; it forces him to eat and live soberly; these familiar advantages are 'proved' by a list of famous gout-sufferers. The first of these is of particular interest; it is Antonio de Leyva, who had already been mentioned by Cardano. Such a specific and precise similarity provides further proof of borrowing from Neo-Latin as well as from Italian sources. A further classical sufferer from gout was the Emperor Severus, who is quoted by the 'blasonneur' as declaring that it is the head and not the feet which rules a man. The writer feels that this reflects great credit on gout:

Dont dire fault, que sa suave oppresse
Mere est (pour vray) de toute gentillesse.

The 'blason' continues with a list of various medical 'advantages' of gout:

2. cf. supra. p.19
3. ibid. p.7-8. The reference here runs as follows:

'Par elle au Ciel un bon esprit s'esleve:
Tesoing en soit feu Antoine de Leve,
Assis en chaire, & ne bougeant d'un lieu,
Craind des Soudars, plus obey, qu'un Dieu:
Qui aux assaux, & mirables victoires
Ha plus acquis à son Cesar de gloires,
Que maintz Ducz sains. Car en sa providence
Plus de force eut, qu'en son Ost de puissance' (ibid. p.7)
it lessens other illnesses, such as the familiar 'fievre quarte',
it does not affect 'coeur, langue ou chef', considered as the 'membres
haitains', but it makes the rest of a man's body incapable of such
'vanités' as running and dancing. The gouty person is free to
concentrate all his energies on the things of the mind. Indeed, if he
leads a sufficiently sober life, he may well be free of his 'gouttiqutes
douleurs'. Patience and abstinence are as usual named as the great
weapons against the attacks of pain.

Pliny is mentioned as describing several interesting cases of
gout, including one which was alleviated by the use of yeast. In any
case, the 'blasonneur' is emphatic that it would be most unbecoming for
great men to complain of their various afflictions:

Telz feroyent mieux de remettre es memoires
Leurs grandz honneurs, triumphes & victoires,
Sans estre ingratz de ce bien, qu'ilz sont hommes
Sujetz aux maux, ainsi que tous nous sommes.

the heroes are told sternly. Continuing in this moralising vein, he
reminds his readers that men can never know perfect happiness; it is
therefore foolish to make 'tant d'Agios pour la Goutte'.

The concluding lines of the Blason de la Goutte contain an obvious
borrowing from the Capitolo della Gotta. The author declares that his
statement as to the 'dons divins' of Gout is borne out by the fact that,
no matter how hard one looks, one will never succeed in buying a cure
for the disease! Since there is no illness

antidote, people are sadly mistaken if they put it 'au ranc des maux'.

2. ibid. pp. 9-10.
The blason finishes with a tortuous 'jeu de mots' on the word 'goutte':

Fin des goustz goustés de la Goutte,
Qui, quand en degouttant degoutte,
De gousté un trop meilleur gouster,
Que Goutte au vin me fait gouster.

The second of the Blasons de Lyon is the adaptation of Mauro's 'capitolo' against honour, and the third, the other disease eulogy, is entitled Louanges de la tres medicinable et salubre Quarte, a tort dite Fievre, & incurable... The first lines are in the best traditions of the satirical eulogy, with references to predecessors - in this instance Favorinus and Menapius - and to the author's own earlier eulogies:

Pour avoir fait au deshonneur d'Honneur
Blasonnements, aussi en la faveur
De la grand' Goutte a tort dite incurable,
Je veux aussi à l'exemple notable
Des plus savans Modernes, & antiques,
Canonizer par raisons autentiques
La Quarte icy, l'engin exercitant.
Car Phavorin jadis en fait autant:
Puis Menapie Encomiaste exquis,
En dit maintz loz: & duquel ay enquis
Maints arguments pour former sa louange. 3

The writer tries to forestall the objections he knows will be made to his praising such an unpleasant disease. Quartan fever, he tells all 'febricitans', should never have been called a fever in the first place. Its nature has nothing to do with 'ferite' or 'ferveur'; it is not even 'fieré'! On the contrary, it is the mildest and slowest fever one could hope to have. Embroidering on this idea, the 'blasonneur' suggests various more suitable epithets for the disease - 'gratieux tourment',

'douce langueur', 'purge salutaire'. Like the gout, the quartan fever is not a fatal disease, a fact pointed out by Hippocrates. What is more, it comes at the best possible time of the year for a fever - the winter. Other fevers may strike at the hottest moment of summer, when the combination of the heat of the fever and that of the weather can have most serious consequences. A cosy picture of the patient tucked up by the fire is designed to impress this point upon the reader.

Recalling the arguments used by Favorinus and Menapius, the writer states that this fever sweeps away any other fevers which may previously have been troubling the patient. It is therefore more powerful than the greatest doctors, who are unable to find a cure for these ills. Like the gout, the fever can be considerably alleviated by moderation and restraint in one's way of life. What is more, one can never mistake it for any other illness. On the days when one is not suffering from the fever 'on joue, on rit, on s'esbat', whereas with every other disease one feels the whole time as if one is about to die. It seems extraordinary that people complain so much when they have the quartan fever, when it has so many good points, not the least of which is that before it leaves, it renders a man immune to various other ills - a slight variation on Favorinus' claim that it renders him stronger than before he fell ill.

Again remembering Favorinus, the 'blasonneur' reminds his readers that sufferers from quartan fever have more days on which they are free from the disease than they do days on which they run a fever. Besides, one knows on what days to expect it, so does not have the disagreeable
experience of being taken by surprise. Praisers of folly had argued that Folly was desirable since it enabled one to avoid law-suits and trials. The present 'blason' reverses this type of argument. Since quartan fever does not exempt one from appearing before the judge if necessary, the disease cannot be thought of as grave.

The quartan fever does not prevent one from running about freely; on the contrary, exercise is said to be beneficial to it. It is very wrong to say that it is difficult to cure:

Car simple peur, léger ou grand excès,
Maints ont guéris, & guérissent assez,
Voire à simple eau' d'un simple distillé
Souventefois elle s'en est allée.1

The eulogy of quartan fever must have been written two years before the publication of the collection, for the author now says that in the year of his writing, 1545, he, who is not a doctor, has cured several cases of this fever in patients for whom doctors were too expensive. He cured them by giving them 'de ladite eau', which he is going to describe. Returning first to the virtue of the ill he is going to cure, he furnishes us with a few more of the then current myths about 'humours', in which he obviously believes implicitly:

Mais qui plus est, l'humeur melancolique,
Dont causes est, rend l'homme politique,
Doct, & prudent, en tout ingenieux.
Et plus souvent elle n'advient qu'aux vieux
Trop abondans de celle humeur noire,
Qui peut les gens mettre en grand assesseoir.
Car devenir maniaques ha fait,
Ou insenses, ou enragés de fait.2

1. Louanges de la Quart, p.23
2. ibid.
Quartan fever only strikes those who are able to bear her; the very old and the very young usually escape the disease. Considerately, she attacks mainly 'la ratelle', an area in which it is easy to apply 'Par le dehors remede profitable.' As Favorinus had said, she leaves a man stronger after she goes than he was before he was ill. — unless, that is, he fails to behave as he should whilst he is suffering from the disease.

Donc pour un peu, qu'elle peult tourmenter
Ne vault il meaux la Quarte supporter
Pour puis avoir santé perpetuelle,
Qu'estre en danger d'un grand meschef sans elle?  

Man can know no greater blessing than the magnificent health left behind by the departing 'Quarte'.

This is not really a fever, 'ains une lente & saine purgation', and it even cures certain other ills. The fever can change people's character:

Tristes espritz fait devenir joyeux,
Vivre en espoir, rejugenir gens vieux,
Extenuant humeurs melancoliques,
Qui rendent gens bien souvent fantastiques.

The 'blason' ends as the writer addresses all those afflicted with the illness:

Dom désormais, & gens enquartenés,
Sentans son cours, peur ne vous en donnes,
Mais la prenez en joye, & patience:
Vous assurant d'une convalescence
Trop plus utile, & salubre, & durable,
Que si n'eussiez eu la Quarte louable,
Et plus facile a guerir, qu'on ne dit,
Si l'on scait bien ce, qu'a sa cure duit.

1. Les Louanges de la Quarte, p.25.
2. ibid. p.26
3. ibid.
4. ibid. p.27
5. ibid.
Although Aretino did write a 'Capitolo della quartana',\(^1\) it bears scarcely any resemblance to the anonymous *Louanges*.\(^2\) This latter owes far more to Favorinus, and to the Neo-Latin disease eulogies than to its Italian namesake. It is therefore the only one of the three 'blasons' which does not rely primarily on Italian inspiration.

Apart from this 'blason' there seems to be no French satirical eulogies on gout, at least none until the seventeenth century, when there was Etienne Coulet's *Eloge de la Goutte*.\(^3\) This apparent lack of interest in the gout-praise is surprising, in view of the fact that there had been many Neo-Latin works on the subject as well as several Italian and German works.\(^4\)

The most famous, and by far the best French disease eulogy was, of course, Du Bellay's *Hymne de la Surdité*. Written in Italy in the last months of 1556, this poem first appeared in the *Divers Jeux Rustiques* in 1558. It has already been shown that this collection of verse

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1. v. Appendix B p. 390
3. v. *supra*, p. 124 n. 3.
4. On the German works v. O. Gewerstock, *Lucian und Hutten. Zur geschichte des Dialogs im 16. Jahrhundert*. Berlin 1924. This work mentions, amongst others, such German writings as:

For the Neo-Latin works v. *supra* pp. 98-122
contained poems which are satirical eulogies; it is therefore not surprising to find that the *Hymne de la Surdité* is a disease encomium.

Ronsard had published his *Hymnes* in 1555 and 1556. These long, heroic, philosophic, epic or mythological poems, mostly in alexandrines, rhyming in couplets, on such noble themes as Henri II, Justice, Heaven, Demons, and so on, were written in a style very different from that usually favoured by Du Bellay, whose aims tended to be less lofty:

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Je ne veux point fouiller au sein de la nature,
Je ne veux point chercher l'esprit de l'univers,
Je ne veux point sonder les abîmes couverts,
Ny desseigner du ciel la belle architecture.

Je ne peins mes tableaux de si riche peinture,
Et si hauts argumens ne recherche à mes vers:
Mais suivant de ce lieu les accidents divers,
Soit de bien, soit de mal, j'écrit à l'aventure.
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he had said in the *Regrets*. He in fact took the Ronsardian 'hymne' and transformed it, applying it to a subject which was very close to him, namely deafness. From Lucian and Synesius, through the Neo-Latins to the Bernesque poets, writers of satirical eulogies had often taken their own afflictions and ironically praised them. In choosing to write a poem dedicated to Ronsard and telling of his own and his friend's partial deafness, Du Bellay was thus following a well-established precedent. He was, however, far too original a genius not to make of his disease eulogy a highly personal and individual piece, the best eulogy of this type to be written in French during this century.

Du Bellay begins the poem with a praise of Ronsard, modestly refusing

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to compare his own poetic gifts with those of his friend, and commenting meanwhile on the unprofitability of the poet's calling, and the laziness of priests and prelates. His modesty does not prevent him from inserting a few lines of self-praise, put into the mouth of 'ceulx qui trop me favorisent': these people, he writes,

Au pair de tes chansons les miennes authorisent,
Disant, comme tu scais, pour me mettre en avant,
Que l'un est plus facile à l'autre plus savant,
Si ma facilité semble avoir quelque grace,
Si ne suis-je pourtant enfle de telle audace,
De la contre-peser avec ta gravité
Qui sait à la douceur meler l'utilité.

Whatever their differences, he and Ronsard share together two important things, their love of sincerity, and their deafness. It is for this reason that the 'hymne' is dedicated to the 'Vandomois'.

At this point comes the much-quoted passage in which Du Bellay states firmly that he is not going to write a paradoxical encomium, when in reality that is just what in the end he does write:

Je ne suis pas de ceux qui d'un vers triomphant
Déguisent une mouche en forme d'éléphant,
Et qui de leurs cerveaux couchent à toute reste,
Pour louer la folie ou pour louer la peste:
Mais sans changer la blanche à la noire couleur,
Et sous nom de plaisir déguiser la douleur,
Je diray qu'estre sourd (à qui la difference
Sçait du bien & du mal) n'est mal qu'en apparence.

In the second of these lines Du Bellay is probably thinking of the last lines of the Muscae Encomium, in the fourth line the reference to 'la folie' is less easy to situate with certainty. Chronologically, the

1. Hymne de la Surdité, ed.cit. 11. 8-14.
2. ibid. 11. 16-22.
3. ibid. 11. 29-36. For the Greek proverb about turning a fly into an elephant v. also sonnet CXLIII of the Regrets (ed.cit.Vol.II p.167) and for turning black to white v. sonnet CLXXXII of the Regrets (Contd.on next page)
Moriae Encomium, the La Pazzia of Albergati, and even, probably,
Grazzini's Capitolo della Pazzia, are all possibilities. But in view
of the greater importance and popularity of Erasmus' work, it seems
most likely that Du Bellay had in mind the Moriae Encomium. The words
'pour louer la peste' can only refer to Berni's Capitolo della Peste,
since this appears to have been the only eulogy on this subject, either
in antiquity or in the Renaissance.¹ In these few, but significant
lines, Du Bellay appears to show that he has in mind both the classical
tradition of Lucian, the Neo-Latin one of Erasmus, and the Italian group
of the 'capitoli'. The fact that he was able to refer so casually and
fleetingly to such a range of related works, giving no details of authors
or exact titles, shows how widespread knowledge of the genre must have
become by this time. It is in marked contrast to the laborious
self-justification and detailed lists of predecessors common among the
early Neo-Latin eulogists. In these lines there is a double irony: Du
Bellay declares firmly that he is not going to write a paradoxical praise,
that he really does feel deafness to be a great boon, then proceeds to
drop enough hints, during the 'hymne', to show that in fact he does not
wish for this gift as ardently as he pretends.

After the introductory and dedicatory passages, Du Bellay begins his
central development with an anatomical description of deafness. This
seems to follow current views on the subject of the ear, and hearing, and

¹ cf. supra. p.170a.1.

(Contd. from previous page - Note 3) (ed.cit. II, p.196)

is not ironical in any way. Du Bellay distinguishes between those who are born deaf and those who become deaf, feeling the former to be far more unfortunate than the latter. Although common theory has it that we do not miss what we have never experienced, and thus that a man who is born deaf is not aware of his deficiency, Du Bellay writes:

Si est-ce toutefois que pour l'homme estre né
Un animal docile, auquel est ordonné
Contre le naturel de chacune autre beste,
D'eslever, plus divin, aux estoilles sa teste:
Si, par estre né sourd, il ne peut concevoir
Rien plus hault que cela que ses yeux peuvent voir,
Sans cognoistre celuy qui homme l'a fait naistre,
Malheureux je l'estime, or' qu'il ne le pense estre:

Du Bellay presumably means here that a deaf-mute, who at that time would have been unable to be educated, could never learn of religion.

The man who merely becomes deaf, on the other hand, gains more than he loses. The humour returns as Du Bellay lists all the unpleasant noises which the deaf man is spared. The tone here is Bernesque, and the sounds are mainly of non-human origin:

Aussi est-il privé de sentir maintefois
L'ennuy d'un faulx accord, une mauvaise voix,
Un fascheux instrument, un bruit, une tempeste,
Une cloche, une forge, un rompement de testes,
Le bruit d'une charrete, & la doulice chanson,
D'un asne, qui se plaingt en effroyable son.

These lines are followed by a passage almost like a dialogue in form, in which Du Bellay puts forward various possible objections to his contention, and then answers them, one by one. This manner of presentation is extremely vivid, giving the impression of a reported conversation, or

1. lines 77-84.
2. ibid. lines 97-102.
debate. While what Du Bellay says here in favour of deafness is perfectly correct, one cannot help feeling that there is just that slight excess of enthusiasm and hyperbole in some of the 'replies' which is characteristic of the satirical eulogy:

Mais il est mal venu entre les damoizelles:
O bien heureux celuy qui n'a que faire d'elles,
Ny de leur entretien! car si de leurs bons mots
Il n'est participant, par faute de propos,
Il ne s'estomme aussi & ne se mord la langue,
Rougissant d'avoir fait quelque sotte harangue.

Mais il est soubsonneux, & tousjours dans son cœur
Se fait croire qu'il sert d'argument au moqueur:
Il ne le doit penser, s'il se pense habile homme,
Ains pour tel qu'il se croit, doit croire qu'on le nomme.

Mais il n'est appelle au conseil des Seigneurs:
O que cher bien souvent s'achetent tels honneurs
De ceulx qui tels secrets dans leurs oreilles portent,
Quand par legerete de la bouche ilz leur sortent!

Mais il est taciturne: 6 bien heureux celuy
A qui le trop parler ne porte point d'ennuy,
Et qui a liberté de se taire à son aise,
Sans que son long silence à personne deploie. 1

After praising the joys of reading a fine book, Du Bellay addresses Ronsard. Had it not been for his deafness, his friend would never have decided to become a poet, and would thus never have given to France her own Horace, Pindar and Homer. 2 Du Bellay visualises him, communing with Nature, receiving from her poetic inspiration, uninterrupted by the discordant sounds of the world around. Under such circumstances Ronsard may even hear 'la musique des Cieux', which ordinary mortals are unable to perceive.

From this passage, more lyrical than Bernesque, Du Bellay once again reverts to a more joking tone, remembering with regret the peaceful time

1. ibid. lines 111-128.
2. line 150.
he spent in his own house at a time when he was extremely deaf. If he were entirely without hearing no one would be able to trouble him. He mentions here his creditors: 'Rac de gens, Ronsard, à craindre plus que peste'. While this expression may well be entirely accidental, it is interesting to note that in his Capitolo della Peste, Berni too had been glad to escape his creditors. The linking together of the two ideas in the one line may have been a reminiscence or a kind of joke on Du Bellay's part.

Next comes a sharply satirical passage, attacking first the Pope and then all those people in power whom he felt to be responsible for the troubles of the poor. He cautiously puts his criticisms of the Pope in indirect form, pretending they are not his own, and calling the Pope 'ce bon Pere Sainct', but, as Saulnier points out, the phrase is meant ironically, 'contre le Pape, sans faire semblant de rien'.

Je n'orrois du Castel la foudre & le tonnerre,
Je n'entendrois le bruit de tant de gens de guerre,
Et n'orrois dire mal de ce bon Pere Sainct
Dont ores sans raison toute Rome se plaignt,
Blasment sa cruauté & sa grand' convoitise,
Qui ne craint (disent-ilz) aux despend de l'Eglise
Enrichir ses nepveus, & troubler sans propos
De la Chrestiente le publique repos.

It is remarkable that while still keeping to his basic idea of sounds, Du Bellay nevertheless succeeds in introducing such a wide range of criticisms. He does this by imagining the various sounds made by the

1. line 196.
groups of people with which he is dealing.

The *Hymne de la Surdité* ends with an allegorical passage, similar to those which Ronsard placed in his *Hymnes*. In it Deafness is deified, and pictured, accompanied by Silence, Melancholy, Study, and other grave beings. The whole idea of personifying a disease may well be taken from the *Tragodopedagra*, and for all its elements of sincerity and solemnity these lines are more of a parody than an imitation of Ronsard. Indeed, this whole poem is something of a parody on Ronsard's lofty hymns.

In the closing lines Du Bellay cannot resist a quip which dispels all possible remaining doubts as to his real opinion of deafness. If anyone dares to criticise his praise of deafness, he says, may they be smitten with the malady. Had he really felt what he pretended to feel, namely that this illness was in fact a blessing, he would not have wished it on his critics. This type of final quip was common amongst the 'hymnes-blasons', as, for example, when Ronsard wishes that his friend may never be stung by 'le Freslon'.

The *Hymne de la Surdité* can thus be shown to contain elements taken from a variety of classical and contemporary sources. Lucian, Erasmus, Berni, all probably inspired certain lines, and it is therefore quite wrong to attempt to limit these influences to either the classical or the Bernesque. The *Hymne* contains far more satire than any classical eulogy had done, and also several passages which are more lyrical in tone. As

1. For example, his *Hymne de la Philosophie*.
2. *v. infra*. p. 354
for the 'capitolo', this never achieved any depth of satire, such as it did contain being superficial and sporadic. Its interest lay chiefly in its comic verve and ingenuity, and in the fact that it was a reaction against degenerate forms of love poetry. Du Bellay, however, within what might have been an extremely restricting framework, has managed to include a wide variety of topics, and to express these topics in tones which range from the joking to the satirical, the lyrical to the burlesque.¹

The authors of the Lyons 'blasons' and the Hymne de la Surdité had specifically their predecessors in the genre, as had the Neo-Latin writers. But none of the remaining works which will be discussed in this chapter gave any such precise indications of sources. However, they are sufficiently closely related to the disease eulogy to deserve a place here. Only one of the works in fact centres round a disease, the others, instead, like Synesius' Calvitii Encomium, concentrating on various physical defects

¹ The only Bernesque 'capitolo' which is on a subject similar to that of Du Bellay is Bronzino's Capitolo de Romori. (in Secondo Libro, v. Appendix B, p.390). This piece, addressed to Messer Luca Martini, is, like many Neo-Latin works, written to cheer a sick friend. The poet is also ill, and this is the reason why he cannot go to see Martini. Because of his illness, the noises of the household, and those from the street outside, upset and disturb him. The poem complains bitterly about the infernal din: 'Di qui l'urla e i Romor' si senton' quali Sarian troppo in inferno'. (p. 151v)

He describes his bed, and the room where he is lying. He grumbles about the noise made by the dogs and cats of the neighbourhood, and says he must recover soon, if only to escape these horrible noises.

Bronzino also wrote a 'Capitolo contro a le Campane' (cf. Du Bellay, supra, p.309 'une cloche'), in which he showed at great length how disturbing the sound of bells could be. (v. Appendix B p.390)
and eccentricities. The first work is concerned with 'Dame Verolle'.

The idea of personifying and deifying a disease has already been shown to be commonplace in the sixteenth century. The Tragodopodagra may well have been influential here. This idea was fully exploited by the anonymous author of the Triumpe de Dame Verolle, which appeared in 1539. Montaiglon discusses the possible attribution of this work to Rabelais, but can reach no final conclusion. It is a poem, preceded by a prose dedication, and two 'contes' by Jean Lemaire de Belges. The actual poem bears no resemblance to Bino's 'capitolo' on the 'Mal francese', and there seems no likelihood of Bernesque influence. The title 'Dame Verolle' was popular throughout the century, even in works which did not purport to be praising the disease. F. Habert, for instance, writes an Exclamation contre Dame Verolle, in which he criticises the personified disease, calling it a 'vieille interdict,' for attacking his friend.

The dedication of the Triumpe is headed 'Martin d'Orchesino' à Gilles

1. v. supra p. 115 and cf. the Triunphs Podagrae by G B. Fontanus, supra pp. 115ff.
4. v. Appendix p. 388. The only similarities between the two works are to be found in the cruder passages. They seem entirely accidental.
Meleanc son amy et cousin, salut'. It describes the way in which the Romans used to accord triumphs to their victorious generals, such as Scipio Africanus and Julius Caesar. These triumphs are as nothing compared to the one which should be given to a certain noble lady:

Mais, quand je considéré quels ilz ont estez, ne meritent qu'on en face sinon bien petit d'estime, fors par advanture celluy d'une grande dame nommée Verolle, laquelle, issant en gros equipage du Puy d'amours, son royaume et pays, a couru et fait ses fors exploitz de guerre par tout le monde, et a vaincu a peu de gens jusques à aujourd'huy plus d'ennemis que ne feroient oncques tous les plus excellentz capitaines qui furent jamais.

The disease has conquered many lands, and lately a friend of the writer's has even had a painting done of it. The next section of the work says that when many people suffer from the same disease they are less unfortunate than he who suffers alone, for they can comfort one another. An attack on the miseries wrought by venereal disease is followed by a few lines apostrophising those who suffer from it. As was the case with gout, laughter and jokes are the best medicine:

Or doncques,... iceulx pauvres verollez, par le moien de la raillérie et joyeulx mots qu'ilz en dient commodement, font moindres entre eulx les fortes passions veroliqes... Je scay que lesditz verollez tres precieux, comme dit maistre Alcoirbas Nasier en ses Pantagruellines hystoires, entre eulx de tel guerre (genre) de parler se plaisent et font feste.  

The reference to Rabelais is interesting. It concerns, of course, the preface to Gargantua. In this Rabelais writes:

Beuveurs tres illustres, et vous, Verolez tres precieux, - car à vous, non à aultres, sont dediez mes escriptz...

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2. ibid. pp.228-9. cf. supra p.37
The irony of the epithet 'tres precieux', applied to 'Verollez', links these lines with the disease eulogy, but Rabelais does not develop the idea any further. The combination of words probably appealed to him because of its paradoxical nature, and also because of the comic effect it created. He used the same expression again in the Tiers Livre, although it could not have been the Tiers Livre that influenced the Triomphe de la Verolle:

Bonnes gens, Beuveurs tresillustres, et vous Goutteux tresprecieux, veistez vous oncques Diogenes, le philosophe cynic?'1

After its reference to Rabelais, the Triomphe now contains a discussion on the birth-place of 'la Verolle'. Various authorities and stories are listed, recalling the Neo-Latin discussions on the birth-place of Gout and of Folly. After this come two 'contes' by Jean Lemaire de Belges, and then the triumph begins:

Le Triomphe veroliq u e commence à marcher par ord n ance de ranc en ranc ainsi que verrez, le tout bien en ordre.2

A herald summons all 'amoureux malheureux', who are suffering from the disease. Various other figures join the march, the 'Seigneur de Verdure', 'La Gorre de Rouen', and a collection of musicians. Puns and double meanings abound: it goes without saying that most of them are nothing if not realistic. At one point Gout enters, taking part in the procession, and obviously linked with 'la Verolle' in the mind of the author. Gout and venereal disease seem often to have been connected in sixteenth century works, probably because it was thought that both arose as the result of too much contact with that dangerous deity, Venus.3 In a collection of

1. Tiers Livre, ed cit. p.5.
2. Triomphe de la Verolle, p. 257.
3. cf. supra. p. 103.
verse published not very long after the Triomphe there is a short poem which shows the same attitude:

\[
\text{Autre huitain en trioit d'un verolle}
\]

A cinq cents dyables la verolle
Et le vaisseau ou je l'ay pris,
Je n'ai dent qui ne bransie ont (sic. =ou?) crolle
A cinq cents dyables la verolle,
La goutte me tue & affolle,
Je suis d'ulceres tout espris,
A cinq cents dyables la verolle,
Et le vaisseau ou je l'ay pris.

In the Triomphe, Gout enters the parade saying:

En ce triumphe prens mon lieu
Avec Diette, ma grant mere;
Je suis la Goutte, de par Dieu,
Aux ungs rude, aux autres amere,
Et n'y a Virgile ou Homere
Par qui je puisse estre ravie:
Quant je tiens compare ou commere,
C'est a la mort et a la vie.\(^2\)

Many more people enter and speak, until, finally, Dame Verolle comes in, in her chariot, declaring:

Du Puy d'Amour je suis royne et princesse,
Tesmoing Venus et Cupido aussi.
La plus grand part du monde en grande humblesse
Rend l'honneur deu a mon triomphe icy.\(^3\)

This ridiculous portrayal of Dame Verolle's entry, related in semi-dramatic form, exactly parallels that of Gout in the Tragodopodagra.

The literary value of this work is slight. The epilogue, however, states that both 'plaisir' and 'utilité' may be obtained from reading it, since in reading this account of the unpleasant sufferings inflicted by

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1. La Fleur de Dame Poesie Francoise & Recueil de tout plaisir, Paris 1548.
the disease people will be inspired to avoid all the insalubrious places in which they might catch it.

As the Triumphhe shows, there appears to have been no attempt to introduce satire into works in praise of Dame Verolle. These were merely joking attempts at cheering sufferers, and seem to have been aimed at a wide public, for they contain none of the 'learned' allusions and adaptations of mythology popular amongst Neo-Latin writers and Pléiade poets. The only other poem which resembles them was an early seventeenth century piece, Le délice des galleux, again by the Sieur de l'Ortigue, who wrote La felicité du debteur. 'La Galle' is of course the rash or irritation that is symptomatic of early syphilis. Undeterred by his bizarre subject the author waxes lyrical over the joys to be obtained from scratching:

C'est un merveilleux delice,
C'est une agreeable lice,
C'est un esbat gracieux
Plus grand qui soit sous les Cieux
Que d'estre attaint de la galle,
Nulle volupté n'egalle:
Celle d'un galleux parfait.

If theologians only realised the pleasure the 'galleux' feels as he scratches, they would undoubtedly forbid such indulgence. Man can reach Paradise through suffering: certainly he will not do so through scratching, for this is far from being a type of suffering. Indeed, the 'galleux' prefers his affliction to the ambrosia of the gods or to any kingdom that might be offered to him. Despite what he may claim, the author cannot

altogether favour this disease, for he writes:

La galle est un don du ciel
Pleine de fiel & de miel.1

It gets rid of bad humours, an advantage often claimed for gout.2

Passing now to a description of the ancestry of 'la Galle', de L'Ortigue traces its etymology from 'galant', and links it also with 'galanterie'. He tells of how and when it is caught, and ends by saying that the Muses are 'galleuses comme nous'.3 Clearly, public taste had not improved since the days of the Triomphe, for de L'Ortigue was no isolated example of the depths to which the so-called satirical eulogy could plunge.4

A group of works far less pornographic in tone is centred round a most popular Renaissance topic, the beard. The Blason des Barbes de maintenancê5 which was the first in the series, appeared several times during the sixteenth century.6 Pike shows in his article that considerable literature written around this time was devoted to the advantages and disadvantages of beards.7 A link between the discussion of hair and the discussion of beards is provided by A. Hotman's De Barba

2. v. supra. p. 120 op. cit.
6. v. Pike art. cit. p. 239.
7. Montaiglon, op. cit. quotes from a 1551 edition of the poem, but suggests that the original edition may have appeared much earlier at the time when François Ier grew a beard to hide a scar.
et Coma. In fact, the Blason des Barbes is more a straightforward
diffamatory, or satirical 'blason' than it is a paradoxical encomium
or vituperation. As such it is of only marginal interest to the present
thesis. It consists of a description of the mania for beard-growing
which has swept through France just before the piece was composed. More
than two dozen different styles of beard are enumerated. Even the
'hideulx barbaulx paysant' has apparently acquired the habit, for he

Tort la gueulle et fait la mine.
Sa barbe est plaine de vermine,
De morpions, de poux et lentes
Sans repos, et puces goulantes.
Mais sans cesser sa barbe frotte;
Il la desmesle, illa descrotte;
Il la secoue, puis il la tire;
Il la retord, puis il la vire;
Il la resserre, et puis l'espart;
Chascune main en tient sa part.2

The author of this 'blason' is clearly not at all in favour of the beards
he describes with such care. He tells us that priests and bishops have
no business to be bearded like soldiers, and in explanation of these
lines Pike quotes a document of 1556 granting Pierre Lescot permission
to become canon of Notre Dame 'avec sa barbe'.3 Only those who have
vowed for religious reasons not to shave, such as 'chartreux, convers,
anachorêtes' should be permitted to wear beards. In fact, this 'blason'

1. V. supra, p. MCo^he particpants in the hair, anti-hair controversy could
draw on Synesius, Hotman, and also Hucbaldus the monk, who in the ninth
century wrote a praise of baldness in which every word began with the
letter 'C'. There were several editions of this piece in the sixteenth
and seventeenth centuries. (V. Appendix p. The B.M. has four
editions, dating from 1502(?) to 1552. The title of the first of these
editions runs: Carmen de laude Calvorum, cuius Singulae dictiones a C.
littera incipiant. s.i.n.d. It is a 'tour de force' for it is six
pages long!

2. V. Montaiglon op. cit. p. 214.

is more a vituperation than a eulogy. The word 'blason' for this author must therefore still have been able to signify a poem of condemnation. The Blason des Barbes de maintenant is more than a mere list of different types of beards. It is a sharp condemnation of the whole custom of wearing beards, and contains some lively and picturesque comparisons:

Barbe qui ne tien qu'à la levre,
Barbe saultant comme une chèvre,
Barbe aussi ronde qu'une escalisse,
Barbe à noc, barbe d'escrevisse,
Barbe à six poils, et barbe à chat,
Que plust à Dieu qu'on l'arrachast.
Poil à poil à cîl qui la porte.

This Blason elicited an immediate response, when published, from an indignant 'barbu', who takes up the various points made by the 'blasonneur' and answers them in his own 'Contredit':

Apres avoir le Blason entendu
D'un barbiton et tout son prétendu,
En m'esbatant j'ay voulu m'entremettre
A briefvemment luy respondre par metre.

says the Dizain dedicated 'Aux Lecteurs'. This Dizain helps fix the date of the work, and shows that the author was not taking himself too seriously, since he was writing 'en m'esbatant'.

2. La Response & contredit d'un Barbu contre le Blasonneur des barbes de maintenant. Paris. Par Annet Briere, 1551. This work is extremely rare.
3. Sygognes wrote a poem describing a beard, which was included by Des Accords in Les Bigarrures, ed. cit. p.222-4. It is a Beresque piece, similar to those others by Regnier, and Motin described infra, p.325. Its mock-heroic language, applied to an extremely down-to-earth subject, is typical of Berni, and it contains no satire. Sygognes may have had in mind Grazzini's poem on the subject of beards, v. Appendix, p.391, as he writes:

(Contd. on next page)
The Calvitii Encomium inspired a long imitation as late as 1621. This was entitled *Le Chauve ou le mespris des cheveux* and was by Jean Dant. In his epistle to the reader Dant states that although he intends referring to Synesius' work, and has read it recently, his own

(Contd.from previous page):

Barbe des barbes la merveille,
Barbe qui n'a point de pareille,
Reine des barbes en effet,
Je veux que ma muse féconde,
Fasse connostre à tout le monde
Le bien que ton maistre te fait'. (p.223)

However, Grazzini's poem contained far less realistic detail than that by Sygognes, relying more on the traditional type of arguments to support its contention. It was dedicated to Giovanni Mazzuoli, and preceded by a dedicatory epistle which dates the poem as 1542. In this epistle Grazzini says that the one thing his friend lacks is a handsome beard. He cannot understand why Mazzuoli does not grow one. There are two things which distinguish men from women; the first of these he need not name, and the second is a long and handsome beard! If Mazzuoli had a beard he would resemble one of the sages of Greece. The 'capitold itself shows how, in antiquity, men always wore beards. This was their 'primo onore' (Grazzini, ed.cit. p.478). Adam had one, and so did many Old Testament figures, and classical philosophers. Grazzini's list of the various types of beard is reminiscent of that in the Blason des Barbes:

Le barbe son di più fatte maniere,
e rade e folte.e lungh e large e corte
e tonde e quadre e rosse e bianche e nere.
Sonme delle diritte e delle attore,
delle piovute e delle biforcate,
e'n altri modi, come da la sorte. (ibid. p.479)

Grazzini ends his poem saying that he would put up with any disease, plague, cough or fever, rather than the infamous 'la pelatina', which would result in the loss of his beard.

1. *Le Chauve on le mespris des cheveux* par Jean Dant albiggeois.
   Paris, Pierre Bluaine. 1621.
work is not a piece of plagiarism. He intends to cover this matter far more thoroughly than Synesius. The work itself, 196 pages of prose, merely elaborates and adds to the arguments contained in the *Calvitii Encomium*.

Following the French tendency to praise physical peculiarities and eccentricities rather than actual diseases is another group of poems on noses, usually large and ugly ones.

Obviously, the nose was yet another part of the body for the writers of the *Blasons Anatomiques* to eulogise:

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Nez joli, poly, bien façonné,
Ne court, ne long, ains proportionné.
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Another 'blason' on the nose had been written by J-N. Darles, and appeared in the 1543 edition of the *Blasons Anatomiques*.

These 'blasons', like certain others, inspired various 'contre-blasons'.

There is a short piece by Charles de la Hueterie, and another longer one by Jean Rus, entitled *Contreblason du nez*, published about 1540. These 'contreblasons' spare no revolting details concerning the nose they are describing. They are not in fact satirical eulogies, because they merely describe something unpleasant, making no attempt to praise it. They do not therefore resemble the *Capitolo del Naso*, by Dolce, published in Grazzini's collection. Dolce set out to show that a long nose is a highly desirable attribute, and justified this claim in traditional


2. *Oeuvres de Jean Rus poète Bordelais de la première moitié du XVIe siècle. Publiées d’après l’unique exemplaire qui paraisse subsister par Philippe Tanizey de Larroque*, Paris 1875. This editor mentions Dolce's *Capitolo* in connection with Rus' piece, but, as has been shown above, there is really no connection between the two works.

3. v. Appendix p.388
satirical eulogy 'style, by listing famous people who had a long nose, describing its advantages and so on. All the 'blasons' on 'Le C.N.', 'Le Pet', and such topics are like the 'blasons' and 'contreblasons' on the nose, in that they are straightforward pieces of description, containing no irony.

The longest of these poems describing unpleasant noses is an anonymous one, written in the early years of the seventeenth century, entitled L'Anatomie d'un Nez à la mode. Dédic aux bons beuver. It is Bernesque in style, concentrating on all the grotesque and revolting features of a diseased and swollen nose. However, it lacks Berni's lightness of touch and fantasy, and seems closer to Sygognes' piece on the nose, and certain of the other poems by Regnier and his friends on articles of clothing of the courtier. It is thirteen pages long, and can be read in Fournier's

1. Yet another poem on the nose, combining the descriptive nature of the 'blason' with something of the fantasy of the 'capitolo' appeared much later, in Le Banquet des Muses ou les divers satires du sieur Auvray. Rouen, David Ferrand, 1628 (first appeared 1623). This poem, Le Nez, seems a fore-runner of the famous passage in Cyrano de Bergerac: typical stanzas of Le Nez are (p.45):

'Ce grand Nez sert en mainte sorte,
De verrouil à fermer la porte,
De bourdon pour un Pelerin,
De jéavelot, de hallebarde,
De pilon à brayer moustarde,
Il sert aux Massons de truelle,
D'un eventail à Damoiselle,
De besche pour les Jardiniers,
De soc pour labourer la terre,
D'une trompette pour la guerre,
Et d'astrolabe aux Mariniers.'

The poems by Regnier, Sygognes and others on the hat, the stockings, the breeches, the sword and other possessions of the 'courtisan' are 'blason'-like descriptions used for satirical purposes. The sword, for example, is described as being rusted into its scabbard, a reflection on the cowardice of its owner. These pieces are like Bernesque portraits, rather than Bernesque paradoxes. They are nevertheless distantly related to the satirical eulogy.

There are only three more poems which can be said to belong to the present category of eulogy. Two of them are on 'Les Cornes', and the third is in praise of a hunch-backed woman. It might seem more appropriate to discuss eulogies on a cuckold's horns in connection with vice eulogies. However, the two writers in question, Belleau and Caié Jules de Guersens, treat this whole matter, not as a description of human weakness, but as a eulogy on horns as such. They imagine all the different types of horns in nature, and try in this way to convince their readers that the state of the deceived husband is one that is highly desirable. The two pieces thus become eulogies on an imagined physical attribute!

It is not impossible that the two Frenchmen had in mind a similar poem by Grazzini, In lode delle Corna. In this Grazzini declares that

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2. As, for example, when Sygognes, (ed. cit. p. 385) in his Satyre sur le pourpoint d'un courtisan, uses the word 'louanges' in the early lines of what, as the title implies, is in fact a satire:

'Sus Deesse aux dents venneneuses
Chantons les louanges fameuses,
De ce pourpoint rapetassé.'

horns are without a doubt the best thing in the world. Jupiter took on a bull's shape and horns in order to woo Europa. Animals with horns are the most fortunate of beasts. Their horn is a useful substance, from which man can fashion all manner of articles. The new moon is horned in shape, and Moses is sometimes depicted with horns on his head. It is quite wrong to put horns on drawings of the Devil! Finally, the best months of the year are represented by the horned animals Capricorn and Taurus. Most of these ideas are used by the French writers, with a number of modifications and additions.

Belleau's poem is entitled Les Cornes, and is in fact an 'hymne-blason', with its mythological references and joking 'envoi'. He wonders whoever first imagined that horns were a bad thing. Jupiter did not scorn to wear them, and the invention of the horn of plenty proves that there is no stigma attached to the horn. Jason's fleece came from a horned animal, and several of the animals in the Zodiac have horns. Mythology is full of tales of Pan, fauns and satyrs, and tragedy is connected with the goat. Bows and other useful things are horn-shaped, and the hats worn by the members of various professions are given the name of 'cornettes' for the same reason. Like Rabelais, who took his idea of debt on to a universal level, Belleau writes:

Bref je cro\[y] que la terre basse,
Et tout ce que le ciel embrasse
N'est qu'une composition,
Qu'une certe confusion
De cornes mises en nature,  
Non les atomes d'Epicure.

2. Belleau, op. cit. p.87.
This absurd exaggeration is typical of the satirical eulogy. After his list of illustrious horn-bearers, Belleau addresses the 'compère' for whom the poem is intended. Be content, and keep your horns, he tells him:

Puis que vous l'avez attaché
A votre front si proprement,
Vivez Compère heureusement.

This poem was a gay piece of 'badinage'. The other one on the same topic, by de Guersens, published by Lachèvre, is entirely different, though it uses many of the same basic arguments. It is crammed with recondite, even obscure allusions. Although it refers to the horn of the cuckold, this is not, as for Belleau, the point of departure for the whole poem, merely a brief mention. It begins instead with a justification of the choice of subject. De Guersens writes that since the traditional sources of poetry are all in some way connected with horns, an obvious choice for a poem must be the praise of these horns:


2. F. Lachèvre, Les Recueils collectifs de poésies libres et satiriques de 1600 à 1626. Paris, 1914, pp.75 ff. De Guersens poem appeared in La Muse Folastre, Paris, Jean Puzy, 1607. We know very little about de Guersens. Such information as we do have is given by Lachèvre (op. cit. pp.43-48). Apparently he came from Normandy, and died in 1583, aged about 38 or 40. He fell in love with Catherine des Roches (v. infra, p.362). J.C. Scaliger mentions him, saying that he met him at Turnèbe's lessons. He must therefore have lived in a milieu in which the writing of satirical eulogies was much practised and appreciated, and at a time when the Ronsardian style of writing had become sufficiently well known to have exerted a considerable influence on the young poet. He refers in this poem to his own youth (p.75 'mon imbarbu menton', etc.), so the piece may well have been written in the 1560's, when Ronsard's importance was very great.
Si du docte coupeau le front audacieux
D'une corne jumelle avoisine les cieux;
Si du volant coursier la corne talonnière
Fit saillir du rocher la source qui première
Abreuva les neuf soeurs de ses prophètes eaux,
Et si des lauriers verts cornus sont les rameaux;
Si encore souvent les mieux disantes muses
Soufflent dans les cornets, enflent les cornemuses,
Voire si tous les lieux d'ou se partent les vers
Sont des cornes issues ou des cornes couvers,
Estant vrai que l'effect à sa cause retire,
Que puis-je faire mieux que des cornes escrire?¹

Seeking his arguments on a universal scale, Guersens decides that before
God created the Earth, it was 'une masse cornue', and points out all the
stars and planets whose signs have horns - Capricorn, Taurus and others.
Even the sun's rays are not straight, 'ains cornes rayonnantes'. The
horned shape is the finest shape of all, and the moon is at its Σest,
not when it is a full sphere, but when it is young, and horned.

Again recalling Belleau, but in a much longer passage, de Guersens
says that were he not so young² he would put forward a bold theory on the
true nature of the Sky:

Que l'essence du Ciel est telle qu'on la voit,
Ne tient rien de la terre, et que l'air ne la flame,
Ny l'eau n'ont peu ourdir une si belle trame;
Moins encore faut-il croire légèrement
Que nostre rond soit basti d'un cinquième élément;
Nostre oeil en sera juge, il n'est besoin de preuve
Où le sens plus aigu si clairement se trouve:
Nous le voyons de corne, il est corne partout;
Corne parfaicte en soy, corne qui n'a de bout.

The whole dome of the sky, de Guersens maintains, is nothing more or less

1. Les Louanges p.75.
2. ibid. p.76.
3. ibid.
than the inside of a large horn! Obviously anything that remotely resembles a horn in shape, or even anything, like the sky, which is curved, can be introduced as evidence into this eulogy. The next, quite long section is devoted to a description of various gods who have had the outward appearance of animals, or have taken on this appearance for some reason. Once again, Jupiter's various metamorphoses provide useful stories. Egyptian deities such as Isis and Osiris, the first of whom at one stage became a cow and the second of whom was often pictured as a bull, appear next, and are followed by all the satyrs and fauns mentioned by Belleau. As the last lines of this section show, some of these references are quite obscure:

Les cornes de Cippus le firent nommer Roy,
L'Hebreu estoit cornu quand il donna la loy:
Hercule nous ouvrit, Jupiter a plantée
La corne d'Aphelois, la corne d'Amalthée. 1

De Guersens cannot understand why, when so many of the gods have worn horns, men still dread them. These lines, with their lofty language and similes, all applied to a fundamentally ridiculous subject, must surely have been intended ironically:

O corne! qui des dieux va eslevant le front,
D'où vient le peu d'honneur que les hommes te font?
D'où vient, corne, d'où vient que ta pointe honorée,
Au Libyque desert chez Ammon adoré,
Est blasmable entre nous, et que le moindre hommet
Se sent déshonnoré, te portant pour armet?
Belle corne, est-ce pas nostre foible nature
Qui ne peut supporter la divine encornure
D'une chose si rare? Ainsi le chassieux
Se fasche du Soleil qui lui touche les yeux;
Ainsi le dégoûté rejette la viande,
Ainsi le cerveau creux s'ennuie de la bande
Des mignons de Phoebus, quand d'une maule voix
Ils marient un bon vers au vent de leur haubois. 2

1. A La Louange des Cornes, p.77.
2. ibid. p.76.
From gods who wore horns, de Guersens passes to all the objects here on earth which are made of horn, or have some connection with it. The list ranges from hunting horns to knife-handles. Everything can be included if it has a curved shape, or if its name implies some link with the word 'corne'. Thus the stone 'cornelian', in an obscure passage, is dedicated to deceived husbands. 'Cornouaille', 'coral', 'cornette', are all discussed because of this same resemblance to the word 'corne'. And all of us are 'cornus' in one sense, whether or not we are cuckolds, because we have two 'corneas'! We should not fear to fulfil what is clearly our destiny. The poem ends as de Guersens discusses the deep significance of the two meanings of the word 'Pan'. This can either refer to the god, who, of course, was one of the most famous wearers of horns, or else it can mean 'all'. The universality of the horn is conclusively and finally established.

A la Louange des Cornes, with its mass of sometimes obscure classical and mythological references, and ponderous style, makes heavy, though interesting reading. It seems at times to be almost a parody on Pléiade themes and terminology, but these moments are not long or distinct enough for one to be able to state definitely that this was de Guersen's purpose in writing. His display of erudition seems so earnest, and the humorous touches are so rare and so fleeting, that it is impossible not to wonder if he meant most of what he wrote to be taken at its face value. However, the fact that Belleau's poem on the same subject, written shortly before de Guersen's piece, uses the identical arguments for what is
unmistakably a joking and lighthearted ironical eulogy, seems to indicate that de Guersens must also have intended his poem as a joke. If one accepts that this was in fact what he intended, then his exaggerated praise, and mock-solemnity make of the piece a highly successful satirical eulogy.

The last work which must be discussed in the present chapter is a short poem included in Les Muses Gaillardes, of 1609. The same collection had also included Belleau's Les Cornes. It is entitled Louange de la bosse en faveur d'une maîtresse. The most interesting feature of this poem is that the writer uses the same arguments that Synesius had used in favour of a round, bald head, to praise the beauties of his mistress' round back!

Quiconque dit que ma Nymphette
Porte une eschigne contrefaite,
Est un vrai baudet & ne sait
En quoy consiste le parfait.
Se voit-il rien en tout ce monde
De parfait qui n'ait forme ronde?

Just as the eulogies on horns listed all the curved objects around us, so the author of this poem reminds his readers of all the circular things he can think of. The skies are circular, and the sun and moon are most

2 p. 150.
perfect when full, and round. All animals have something round in them, some limbs which have a beautiful curved shape. The branches of trees are round, so are fruits and seeds. Such overwhelming evidence proves that it is far better to have a hunch back than a straight one and with this brave conclusion the poem ends.

As this chapter shows, the disease eulogy, on the pattern of the Tragodopodagra and the Calvitii Encomium, never became widely popular in France. Apart from the Hymne de la Surdité and the two Lyons 'blasons', there are no disease eulogies which can be definitely linked with antiquity. Nor are there many works which imitate the Bernesque poets' disease 'Capitoli'. This type of eulogy seems to have been passed over by most poets, and all prose-writers, for reasons which it is impossible to determine. It could be that the vastly more popular animal 'blasons', epitaph and eulogy overshadowed the other category of encomium, or perhaps the French writers felt that the Neo-Latins had already exhausted all its possibilities. However, it is impossible to do more than speculate here, for none of the writers explains his reason for picking one type of eulogy rather than another.

1. cf. Synesius supra p. 46
2. v. also supra, pp. in connection with Bruscamille.
CHAPTER SEVEN

The Animal Eulogies

The history of the animal eulogies written in French during the sixteenth century, centres round two types of literature, the verse epitaph, and the 'blason'. Very few animal eulogies are in prose, like the Muscae Encomium. Instead, they tend to follow Catullus, Ovid, Statius, the Greek Anthology, and the Bernesque poets, and prefer a verse form.

The early translations of the Muscae Encomium have already been discussed in connection with the Neo-Latin writers, as have Catullus' poems on Lesbia's sparrow, and the sepulchral epigrams of the Anthology. To all these possible sources the later French poets could add the productions of their immediate predecessors, the Neo-Latin writers. The other classical piece which dealt jokingly with animals was Homer's Batrachomyomachia. This poem was often referred to, but seldom imitated.

1 v. supra, pp. 127 ff.
2 v. supra, p. 159
3 It is not in fact a true satirical eulogy. It is partly an allegory, and partly a parody on epic battle scenes. It was imitated in Latin by E. Calentius, in his De bello ranarum et muium, libri III, but the B.M. has an edition in Opuscula Elisii Calentii, I de Be- sicken, Rome, 1503. This work is discussed by P.L. Jacob, op. cit., pp.137-43, under the title 'Les Fantastiques Batailles des grands rois Rodillardus et Croacus'. 'On l'a tout à fait oublié, quand on ne l'a pas confondu avec la Batrachomyomachie d'Homère. Ce poème est pourtant un chef-d'oeuvre de satire allégorique, car ces rats

(continued on next page)
The first French poet to introduce into a poem on an animal the element of 'badinage', that combination of fantasy and humour, which was to be so characteristic of this category of eulogy in France, was Jean Lemaire de Belges. In his *Epîtres de l'Amant Vert*, written in 1505, and published in 1511, he produced some of the most delightful animal poetry to be written in the sixteenth century.

Like so many epitaphs, this work dealt with a specific pet, Marguerite d'Autriche's parrot, eaten by a dog while she was away. Jean Lemaire, seeking to console and distract its mistress, transformed the prosaic fate of the poor parrot into a poetic suicide, which he imagines as taking place because the bird feels it has been abandoned by Marguerite. The charming way in which the bird describes its noble devotion to its mistress, its adherence to the rules of

(contd. from previous page)

et ces grenouilles qui se livrèrent de si terribles batailles, ne sont autres que des hommes... (p.139). Calentius' work was imitated in French in 1532, Paris, Alain Lotrian. In the article quoted, P.L. Jacob discusses the possible attribution to Rabelais of the French imitation. (p.140.) Although it is not an animal eulogy, this work contains a great deal of satire. Its introduction mentions some authors whose names recur constantly in orthodox satirical eulogies:

'Je connois plusieurs non de petite estime, delaissées aucunes fois les choses graves, avoir traité des negoces de petit pris, et valeur. Mesmem Vergilius Maro, à ce qu'il feit essay des forces de son engin, et qu'il fut veu rire avec les Muses a composé plusieurs vers, des petites mouches, autres menues choses abondamment. Le prudent Diocles aussi a extollé les Raves dit grands louanges. Sembblablement, les autres auteurs de grandissime savoir plains, en descrivant semblables menues choses, se sont quelquetemps amusez...'


courtly love, and its tragic, but willing death, needs no repeating. Like Du Bellay after him, Jean Lemaire was able to combine pathos, even nobility of expression with touches of pure fantasy and imaginative humour. Thus, the Amant Vert decides to die:

Par ainsi doncq à ung cœur hault et fier,
On ne scauroit son propos empiescher:
Car moins griefe est la mort tost finissant
Que n'est la vie amere et languissant.

He espies an old mastiff:

Qui ne mengea depuis hier au matin,
A qui on peut nombrer toutes les costes,
Tant est hay des bouchiers et des hostes.

He decides to throw himself into its mouth, but, ever aware of 'vraisemblance', tells the waiting dog:

Attens ung peu, vilaine creature,
Tu jouyras d'une noble pasture;
Attens ung peu que ceste epistre seule
J'aye achevee, ains me mettre en ta gheulle;
Si saouleray ton gosier mesgre et glout,
Et tu donras à mon duel pause et bout.

The idea of the parrot solemnly telling the dog to wait while it finishes its poem is quite ridiculous, a piece of pure fantasy. And yet, such is the art of Jean Lemaire, these lines arouse a smile, but not laughter. The two Epitres are not called epitaphs, but they closely resemble the examples of this genre written at this time. They describe the animal in question, provide a means of paying a compliment to, or consoling, the owner of the pet, contain much subtle and charming 'badinage', and many classical and mythological

1 Epitres, ed.cit., p. 15.
2 ibid.
3 ibid.
references. Catullus' sparrow, Vergil's 'Culex' and a host of other famous animals are listed by Jean Lemaire, in the *Seconde Epître*, when the parrot arrives in the animals' paradise. One can therefore be quite sure of his sources.

Clement Marot wrote one of the earliest French animal epitaphs, in his epitaph *Du Cheval de Vuyart*. Vuyart acquired this horse from the Duchesse de Lorraine. In it the horse speaks, as the parrot had done in Jean Lemaire's work. It tells of its own virtues, and its death. The poem has none of the pathos of the *Épîtres*; on the contrary, it ends with a somewhat dubious joke:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mais mon Maistre cher} \\
\text{N'a permis seicher} \\
\text{Mon los bruit & fame} \\
\text{Car jadis plus cher} \\
\text{M'ayma chevaucher} \\
\text{Que fille ne femme.}
\end{align*}
\]

A longer poem, lamenting the death of an animal was written by Saint-Gelais. P. Blanchemain shows that Saint-Gelais probably had in mind the Neo-Latin epitaphs of such writers as Naugerius and J.C. Scaliger. His piece is entitled *Épitaphe de la Belette d'une Damoselle*.


2 *La Suite de l'adolescence clementine*, Paris, Veuve P. Roffel. s.d. (written c. 1531) (v. also infra, p. 33 ff.).

3 *ibid.*


5 ed. cit., p. 53.
He relates the life of the pet animal. It soon became tame, and never tried to wander away from home. It was allowed into every room in the house, and would hunt through the garden, looking for birds' nests to ransack. Saint-Gelais describes the way in which the little animal would play with the other pet, a dog, of whom it was very jealous:

L'un couroit, l'autre alloit après,
Et l'autre le suivoit de près,
Se mordant col, cuisse et orelle:
Onques ne fut guerre pareille.

It slept in its mistress' bed, a privilege envied by many men, and was eventually killed by a wretched 'fouine'. All the household wept, and sought out the killer. The dead animal has been buried at the foot of a cypress tree, which will grow tall and strong, perpetuating the memory of the weasel.

Saint-Gelais' other epitaph is what Blanchemain calls a 'paraphrase languissante' of Catullus' poem. It follows the plan of the Latin poem, but is more detailed in its description of the physical appearance and talents of the bird. This time, the lines are put into the mouth of the bird's mistress, not the bird itself. She describes its chirping, as she fed it, and declares that she intends to have it painted. It was a handsome bird: its mistress remembers lovingly

1 ibid., p. 54.
2 ibid., p. 58.
3 cf. H. Nais, op. cit., p. 446. 'Cependant, à travers des souvenirs littéraires si évidents, nous pensons qu'il faut apercevoir des traces de la rivalité entre peintres et poètes pour s'acquérir les bonnes graces des Grands en peignant ou en chantant leurs animaux favoris'. Saint-Gelais' poem shows no trace of this rivalry; but it is probably imitated from what Martial said about Issa's master having her portrait painted. (supra, p.138) and cannot therefore be taken as disproving H. Nais' statement.
Son petit corsage joly,
Son petit bec si bien poly,
Sa petite taste follette,
Eveillé, comme une bellette,
Ses plumettes si bien lissées,
Ses jambettes tant déliées...

and so on. These two poems, then, show plainly all the characteristic features of the epitaph-compliment. 

Pet dogs were the most common of all subjects of epitaphs. P. Laumonier gives a detailed list of these poems. They are nothing if not repetitive, some, such as those by Ronsard, Jamyn, Passerat and Desportes on Madeleine de l'Aubespine’s dog, Barbiche, being concerned with the same pet. In fact, though they are sometimes gently mocking in tone, they are not satirical eulogies, but *pièces de circonstance*. The poets obviously did not share the owners’

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1 Saint-Gelais, ed. cit., p. 59.

2 Henry Guy is in no doubt as to the importance of these early French poems as inspiration for those of Ronsard and Du Bellay: in his article 'Les sources françaises de Ronsard', in Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France, 1902, pp. 248-9, he says:

Le recueil des Épitaphes de Ronsard comprend un certain nombre de pièces consacrées à des animaux, et des sujets de cette espèce ont été traités aussi par quelques autres membres de la Pléiade. On serait d'abord tenté d'admettre que ces compositions gracieuses et badines sont calquées sur des modèles antiques, car il est bien vrai que l'on peut lire, dans l'Anthologie, et chez les lyriques latins, des vers qui tendent spirituellement à éterniser la mémoire, soit d'un cheval ou d'un chien, soit d'un perroquet ou d'un moineau. Mais Jean Lemaire de Belges et les poètes de la première moitié du XVIe siècle ont donné à ces bagatelles une importance et une étendue qu'elles n'avaient nullement dans les textes latins et grecs. La Pléiade, à cet égard, s'est accommodée au goût français, et si l'on compare aux interminables épîtres de l'Amant Vert, aux épitaphes d'une belette et d'un passereau par Melin de Saint-Gelays, (Œuvres I.53-60), à celle d'un cheval par Marot, les ouvrages analogues de Ronsard et de Joachim du Bellay, on reconnaîtra que ces deux auteurs ont travaillé selon la méthode de leurs prédécesseurs immédiats.

3 Ronsard Poète Lyrique, p. 265. (v. also, for Neo-Latins, M. Morrison, /art.cit. /pssn.)

4 ibid.
deep love for their pets, but if at times their grief seems a little strained, this does not appear to be intentional, and there is certainly no desire to parody or burlesque more serious epitaphs.

Typical of them is that by Ronsard, on Courte, chiennne du Roy Charles IX. In this he describes the intelligence of Courte as shown by her various accomplishments:

   Courte estoit pleine, grosse & grasse,
   Courte jouoit de passe-passe,
   Courte sautoit sur le baston,
   Courte nageoit dans la marmotte.

   Hic est un barbet, lequel apporte
   A son maistre la cane morte.

Courte would hunt, and run; she was completely devoted to her master - a lesson, in this, to the king's subjects! - and finally died when, in her old age, she was sent away from him. She still served him, however, for the King had a pair of gloves made of her skin:

   Courte ainsi morte & vive, a fait
   A son Roy service parfait.

M. Schweinitz writes of this poem:

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2 ibid., p. 111
3 ibid., p. 112. Contrast this poem in praise of a dog, with Folastrie V (ed. cit., Vol. V, p. 35) in which Ronsard criticises a dog for barking and disturbing the household, so that he was discovered in his mistress' arms. Had it not been so disobliging, he writes, he would have praised it, making it fit to shine as a star in the sky.

There may well have been a reason other than pure sentiment for the king's decision to make gloves of Courte's skin. One of the Sermoni funebri (Del Burchiello nella morte d'un cane detto Linzo, ed. cit., p. 15v) says that if one makes boots of dog-skin this is a protection against Podagra. If one makes gloves, this is a protection against gout of the fingers, Chiragra!
Célébrant la chienne du roi, Ronsard demeure un peu plus élégant que du Bellay, moins marotique, et somme toute, dans un badinage de ce genre, moins charmant.

Ronsard's third animal eulogy is a dialogue, not a true epitaph, and may well have been modelled on Lucian's *Mortuorum Dialogi*. It is called *Dialogue de Beaumont, levrier du Roy, et de Charon*.

At what point does an epitaph of a pet animal become an ironical piece, even a parody on serious epitaphs, rather than a sincere lament? It is difficult to answer this question categorically, but it seems that such a transformation did take place in certain animal poems. What is still more important, it seems that the reason for such a change may well lie in the influence of the Italian Bernesque poems, and of the *Sermoni Funebri*. Although Du Bellay, and other Pléiade poets, were influenced by antiquity and by their immediate predecessors in France, they could also draw on the Italian epitaphs. These epitaphs had been intended, not as compliments and consolation for the owner of a particular pet, but, primarily, as parodies on the exaggerated laments written by Petrarchan poets in honour of their ladies. They therefore contained hyperbolic and ridiculous expressions of grief, and entered into even greater detail on the virtues of the animal in question. The *Sermoni Funebri*, though not in verse, are similar in content.

One /other significant change in the French animal epitaphs which may well have been brought about by the Italians is the change in

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ownership of the subject of the poem. The majority of French epitaphs written prior to Du Bellay's Epitaphe d'un chat were written on other people's pets. Too great a degree of flippancy would obviously have been out of place under such circumstances. But when the dead animal belonged to the author of the epitaph, he was free to write as he pleased. This subtle change can be seen in Du Bellay's work. If one compares his Epitaphe d'un petit chien with his epitaph on Belaud the cat, one finds that the overall plan of the two pieces is the same. Description of the dog and cat, of their physical appearance and clever tricks, is combined with grief at their death. This grief, however, is far more acute in the case of the cat, which belonged to Du Bellay, than in the case of the dog, which belonged to a friend. It can be argued that Du Bellay would obviously feel more at the death of his own pet than at the death of someone else's, but this theory only partly explains the excessive language with which he begins his epitaph:

Maintenant le vivre me fasche;  
Et à fin, Magny, que tu scaiche  
Pourquoy je suis tant esperdu,  
Ce n'est pas pour avoir perdu  
Mes anneaux, mon argent, ma bourse:  
Et pourquoy est-ce donques? pource  
Que j'ay perdu depuis trois jours  
Mon bien, mon plaisir, mes amours:  
Et quo? o souvenance grave!  
A peine que le cueur ne me creve  
Quand j'en parle ou quand j'en escris; 

It has already been shown that there was, behind certain of the poems in

1 Du Bellay, ed.cit., Vol.V pp.103 ff
2 ibid., p. 97
3 ibid., pp.103-4
the Divers Jeux Rustiques, an Italian influence. It is therefore not surprising to find that Italian works have been important in the formation of this epitaph. More specifically, it is possible to narrow the field down to one specific Italian epitaph, Coppetta's Canzone nella perdita d'una Gatta. In this piece Coppetta says that his cat, in this case a female, was more useful to him than any other animal he possesses, whether horse, mule or cock. He asks plaintively

Chi mi t'ha tolto? o sorte empia, & fatale
Destinata al mio male,
Giorno infelice, infausto, & sempre amaro,
Nelqual perdei un pegno (ohime) si caro
Che mi sarà cagion d'eterne pene:  

This beginning is very similar to that of Du Bellay's poem. Coppetta tells of the cat's devotion in protecting him from rats:

Chi or dalle notturne m'assicura
Topesche insidie? o chi sopra'l mio piede
Le notte fredde siede?  

He spends another page repeating, with variations, his expressions of exaggerated grief, then passes to a description of the ancestry of his cat. He is too distressed to say more than that it was descended from the noblest of families. Though it is dead, he sees it, in imagination, everywhere:

Miser mentre per casa gli occhi giro
La veggio, & dico qui prima s'assise,
Ecco ov'ella soresse,
Ecco ov'ella scherzando il piè mi morse,
Qui sempre tenne in me le luci fise,
Qui st' pensosa, e dopo un gran sospiro
Rivoltatasi in giro,

1 v. supra, p. 305 (The Hymn de la Surdité)
3 ibid, p. 24 ff.
4 ibid.
He tells of its accomplishments: it would pull off his gloves, and
do many other things. But most of all, it protected him from rats,
at night:

Io non potrei pensar non che ridire
Quanto sia grave, & smisurato il danno,
Che questi ogn’hor mi fanno,
.......... per tutto il letto,
Corron giostrando à mio marcio dispetto,
Sanno’l l’orecchie, e’l naso mio, che spesso
Son morsi....

Coppetta feels that Jupiter, who has so unjustly seized his pet,
should make of it a new star, or rather a pair of stars, for each
eye would be a single star.

Du Bellay’s poem is by no means a slavish imitation. His cat is,
however, more Italian than French in colouring. 3 He too, no longer
wishes to live now that his pet has been taken from him. 4 Certain
of the two cats’ accomplishments are similar, particularly their
talent for rat-catching. Now that Belaud is no longer there, Du
Bellay, like Coppetta, suffers at night:

Belaud (que j’ay souvenance) 5
Ne me feit ong plus grand offense
Que me me réveiller la nuit,
Quand il entr’oyoit quelque bruit
De rats qui rongeoint ma paillasse:

1 Coppetta, ed.cit., p. 25r. 2 ibid., p. 26r.
3 My tel qu’en France, on les void naistre
Mais tel qu’à Rome on les void estre. (Du Bellay, ed.cit., p. 154.)
4 ibid., ll. 57-66.
5 This elaborate care for exactitude on a matter on which no one but
himself could have corrected him, is in itself humorous, and is remi-
iniscent of Coppetta’s early ‘(s’io non fallo)’ (ed.cit., p. 24r.)
6 The few small faults of their pets were often related with mock
(Contd. on next page)
Car lors il leur donnoit la chasse,
Et si dextremment les happoit,
Que jamais un n'en eschappoit.
Mais, las, depuis que ceste fière
Tua de sa dextre meurtrie
La seure garde de mon corps,
Plus en saurets je ne dors,
Et or, 9 douleurs nompairesilles!
Les rats me mangent les oreilles:
Mesmes tous les vers que j'escris
Sont rongez de rats et souris.

But many of the details given by Du Bellay are not in Coppetta's poem and seem to have been completely personal:

Mon-dieu, quel passetempts c'estoit
Quand ce Belaud vire-voltoit
Follastre autour d'une pelote!
Quel plaisir, quand sa teste sotte
Suyvant sa queue en mille tours,
D'un rouet imitoit le cours!
Ou quand, assis sur le derriere
Il s'en faisoit une jartiere,
Et monstretant l'estomac velu
De panne blanche crespelu
Semblait, tant sa tronoge estoit bonne
Quelque docteur de la Sorbonne!

While the slightly more serious type of epitaph, written for someone else's pet, continued to be written throughout the sixteenth century, there appeared also, inspired by either Du Bellay, the Italians, or both, several epitaphs in which the grief expressed was

(continued from previous page)
devotion, in the Sermoni funebri, and in the 'capitoli'. Coppetta's cat, like Du Bellay's, stole an old cheese (Du Bellay, ll. 125-6; Coppetta; 

Imputai[, puote un errore solo
Mangiarmi un ravagiuolo (ed. cit., p. 24))

cf. infra, p. 346.


2 Y. Niord, thes. cit., gives further points of similarity between the two poems. Both writers use the image of a glove, as the cat unsheaths its claws; both say that their cats had no offspring. There is a lament in the Sermoni Funebri which is on a cat, but it bears little resemblance to that by Du Bellay. It is called Di Monna Fiore da Empoli nella morte d'un gatto (ed. cit., pp. 26 fr.)
obviously exaggerated to the point of absurdity. Typical of these is Claude Pontoux's *Elegie sur la Mort d'un Couchon nommé Grongnet.*

This is a long piece, in which Pontoux spends two and a half pages telling us how unhappy he is, building up the suspense, without telling us why he is so upset:

Ha Gaulard, c'est faict de ma vie.  
Elle est de-ja demi ravie  
Mon amy Gaulard, je me meurs,  
Je voy les filandieres Soeurs,  
Je voy ceste fatale parque,  
Je voy Charon, je voy sa barque....  
Oh mal'heur! ô l'amertume!  
J'ay le coeur plus dur qu'une enclume  
Je ne desire aucunement  
Sinon de mourir vittement.

After piling on the agony Pontoux eventually explains:

*C'est mon petit couchon, Grognet  
Qui mourut seul en un coignet  
Dessouz mon lict, ô quelle perte!*  

Grongnet was a wonderful pig, of noble birth:

Grongnet fut le plus beau Couchon  
Qui naquit jamais dans Branchan  
Dans Forlan, dans Bay, dans Baudreire  
Dans Chenaube, ni dans Plombeire

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2 cf. the beginning of Coppetta's poem, where for about thirty lines we are not told what misfortune has befallen the poet.

3 Pontoux, *ed.cit.*, pp. 315-6 It is worth remembering that Pontoux translated the *Sermoni Funebri* into French, *v. supra*, p.182 n.4. His Italian must have been good, and he could therefore have known Coppetta's poem, which was not available in translation.

5 *ibid.*, p. 317.

5 *ibid.*, p. 317.
This list continues for several lines. Pontoux describes the silky white hair on his pig's stomach, and its sweet nature. It never bit people, as fleas and lice do. Its skin was as white as alabaster, with a rosy glow, and Pontoux waxes lyrical as he tells of its feet, mouth, muzzle, teeth and eyes. Its ears were like velvet in their softness, and its curly tail 'Semblait la crosse d'un Abbé'.

Undoubtedly, Nature never produced a more perfect specimen. Its eyes, like those of Coppetta's cat, should be made into stars. Its flesh is one of the most delicious of meats. People may object to his praising a pig, writes Pontoux:

Mais tu diras qu'il n'est honneste
De louer une sale beste.

But his was not a dirty animal, he protests. It was clean and lovely, with a skin like snow, and it had the most dainty habits. However, even Pontoux is hard put to defend its liking for filth; but his medical training provides him with some extraordinary tales from Galen, Hippocrates and contemporary life, which prove that there is nothing wrong in eating human excreta! These small disadvantages are as nothing beside the unsurpassable virtues of his beloved pig. The two of them would sing together, Grongnet low, Pontoux higher, and share one another's bed. He would tease it, pinching and pulling it about mercilessly. Its only offence was to steal from its master a tasty bit of partridge wing. Pontoux hit the pig to get it back, and was promptly bitten! He does not blame Grongnet, for he realises that

1 Pontoux, ed.cit., p. 320.
2 ibid., p. 321.
he should not have struck him. In any case, he would willingly be hitten a hundred times if he could only have his pig back. He intends to bury Grongnet with the following inscription:

Cy gist Grongnet que l'on veit estre
Le plaisant mignon de son maistre

This somewhat bizarre and very original epitaph shows extremely well the importance of the Italian influence. Its hyperbole, its near-grotesque details, its deliberate repetitiveness, could all have been imitated from the 'capitoli' and from the Sermoni Funebri.  

1 Pontoux, ed. cit., p. 328.
2 The Sieur de la Bergerie treated an ass in similar style, in 1594. (Les Odes du Sieur de la Bergerie, N. Richelet, Paris 1594, pp. 214 ff.) The poem is called 'A sa commere sur le trespas de son Asne qui mourut de mort violente durant le siege de Paris, mil cens quatre vingts dix.

Here again is the exaggerated sorrow of the Italian poems:

Je meurs quand je repense à luy:
Je p ers le sens & le courage
Quand je repense à ce dommage...

The Ligue cost the ass its life, but it died a noble death:

Par le moins il eut ce bonheur
De mourir dans le lit d'honneur,
Et de verser son sang à terre
Parmy les efforts de la guerre.

In a splendid piece of bathos, the poet then writes that the ass was sold to a butcher for three gold pieces, and that its flesh was probably sold as veal or mutton! This sordid end is praised in lofty terms:

De ceste facon magnifique,
En la necessite publique,
(O! rigueur estrange du sort!)
Vostre Asne, ma Commere, est mort.

cf. also L'Espadon Satyrique de Claude d'Esternod, ed. F. Fleuret and L. Perceau, Paris, 1922. (Originally published in 1619.) Here there is a poem on La Mort d'un perroquet que le chat mangea (pp. 60 ff.). Although this owes much to classical and French epitaphs on parrots, (v. p. 60, notes), its exaggeration must surely owe something to the Italians (ed. cit., XI. 1-14.) Another long epitaph was that called the Epitaphe du petit chien Lycophagos by Vincent Denis, published in Paris, by Jean Libert, in 1613. (E. Fournier, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 255 ff.). This epitaph alternates between realism and a mock-heroic style. Its satirical intentions are made plain from the start by the liminary verse, which reads:

Arriere, pleureux Heraclite!
Nous ne pleurons pas comme vous;
Nos pleurs sont ris de Democrite,
Car pleurer, c'est rire, chez nous.
The animal epitaph, then, showed two distinct tendencies in the sixteenth century. The first was to imitate more or less closely some classical or Neo-Latin predecessor, or an earlier French writer such as Marot or Jean Lemaire de Belges. The second tendency drew away from the epitaph-compliment, and introduced even more personal details and reminiscences. It introduced also, in many cases, the hyperbole, the absurdity, and the sometimes grotesque realism of the Bernesque epitaphs and the *Sermoni Funebri*.

Quite as popular as the epitaph, and even more easily recognisable as ironical eulogies, were the 'hymnes-blasons' of the Pléiade poets and their successors. These pieces have been variously interpreted. The title 'hymne-blason' was first bestowed upon them by A. Eckhardt, in a work on Belleau.¹ Eckhardt mistakenly saw these poems as being translations of the Bernesque 'capitoli'.² He failed to appreciate that they were in fact 'blasons', following a well established French tradition, but modifying this tradition in certain ways. They owed much to Berni, but not nearly as much as Eckhardt claims. P. Laumonier agrees that there is a Bernesque element in the 'hymnes-blasons', but says that a discussion of it 'nous entraînerait trop loin'.³ M. Raymond writes:

¹ A. Eckhardt, *Remy Belleau, Sa vie, sa 'Bergerie'*; Budapest, 1917, p. 134 ff. Eckhardt shows that Belleau was the most prolific 'blasonneur' of all the Pléiade poets. Even the *Amours et Nouveaux Échanges de Pierres Précieuses* 'ne sont en dernière analyse qu'un recueil d'hymnes-blasons'. *(op. cit., p. 140)*

² *ibid.* , p. 135.

³ *op. cit.*, p. 139, note 3.
Un genre nouveau, du moins sous sa forme savante, l'hymne-blason', s'offre alors à la curiosité de Ronsard qui s'efforce de l'ennoblier et dédie à Belleau son Frelon, sa Grenouille et sa Fourmi... Belleau répond de la façon la plus naturelle en composant à son tour un Papillon (1554) puis l'année suivante: l'Heure, l'Escargot, la Cerise.

O. Rossettini sums up the 'hymnes-blasons' as follows:

En fait, Ronsard, aidé peut-être par les recherches voisines de Baif (Laurier), se contente de hausser jusqu'au lyrisme le blason bernesque et marotique: il interpelle les Muses et les Dieux, il mêle des vocables savants aux mots du terroir, enfin, après la dédicace où le nom du blasonné est dix fois martelé, il introduit au centre du poème un mythe, un fable qui ont pour mission de voiler des vérités avec de la poésie.

This statement shows that the Bernesque poetry was in fact exerting a double influence, both indirect and direct. Indirect, through the 'blason', already profoundly modified by the 'capitolo', and direct, through the Pleiade poets' personal knowledge of the Italian poems. But though it is easy to spot superficial resemblances between titles of 'capitoli' and those of 'hymnes-blasons', and even between some of the arguments used, it is perfectly obvious that these pieces are completely different from their Italian predecessors.

Most fundamental among the changes wrought in the form is precisely the introduction of certain characteristics later to appear in the 'hymne', a change which earned this type of poem its modern title. It has been said above that Ronsard's Hymnes are lofty poems on noble subjects, and this is how they are usually described. However, they

2 op. cit., p. 177.
3 supra, p. 222.
4 Rossettini, op. cit., p. 176, note 3.
5 supra, p. 306.
do not all deal with philosophy, justice, the King and so on. Some, despite their author's dignified intentions, are in fact half way between the 'hymne' and the 'hymne-blason'. As such they are useful for understanding the link between the two genres. The two 'hymnes' which are of most interest in this respect are the Hymne de l'Hyver and the Hymne de l'Or.

The first of these, one of several 'hymnes' on various seasons, deals with the season least often praised by writers. It begins with a long praise of the poet's profession, with all its hard work and nobility. Ronsard then describes the birth of Winter, and the way in which Jupiter threw it out of heaven, fearing that it would be too ugly. The long mythological development which follows is imitated, Ronsard tells us, from Hesiod and Homer. But at the end comes an 'envoi' which reminds one immediately of the way in which the majority of the 'hymnes-blasons' ended:

Je te salu', Hyver, le bon fils de Nature;
Chasse de mon Bourdin toute estrange avantage,
Ne gaste point ses champs, ses vignes, ny ses bleus,
Qu'ils viennent au grenier d'usure redoubles.
Et que ses gras tropheaux, au temps de la gelée,
Ne sentent en son parc ny tag ny clavelée;
Son corps ne soit jamais de rostres tormenté,
Et conserve sa vie en parfaiite santé.

Had these lines been octosyllables instead of alexandrines, one might have thought them the end of an 'hymne-blason' on winter, for in these poems it was customary to praise one's unlikely subject throughout the poem, only revealing one's true opinion in the last lines.

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1 ed.cit., Vol. 12, pp. 72-85
2 ibid., line 80
3 ibid., pp. 85-6
4 v. infra, p. 354
The Hynne de l'Or dedicated, for obvious reasons, to Dorat, sets out to 'celebrer de l'Or la noblesse et la force'. In it Ronsard addresses Gold:

O bienheureux metal, par qui heureux nous sommes,
Le sang, les nerfs, la force, et la vie des hommes.

He then expresses in lofty language all the advantages of wealth. With touching honesty he writes that the only reason why poets and other writers address their works to princes, is in order to obtain 'quelque largesse honnesta'. He praises Gold, saying that those who defend poverty on the grounds that it is sent by God might just as well write that 'la peste, la famine, la mort' are good things.

However, at intervals throughout the poem Ronsard places the arguments in favour of poverty and against wealth. The Hynne de l'Or is thus a complex creation. Many of its lines, taken separately, might have come from any satirical eulogy of poverty, or vituperation of wealth.

1 ed. cit., Vol 8, p. 180
2 ibid., p. 182
3 ibid., p. 184
4 ibid., p. 194
5 In a note Laumonier writes that Ronsard must here have forgotten his Hymne in praise of death. This need not necessarily be so, if one remembers how close this poem is to the ironical eulogy, in which one merely assembled a number of arguments, regardless of one's personal feelings.
6 lines 355-40, 353-7, 373-6, 389-94.

6 cf. supra, p. 279-80.
A less lofty poem, which appeared before the Hymnes, in the Meslanges of 1554, is the Hymne de Bacchus. Here we have a far more light-hearted hymn, a forerunner of the Hymne de la Surdité rather than of the Hymne de la Philosophie. It owes much to Anacreon, but many of its arguments in favour of Bacchus could have come from a satirical defence of drinking, and its mythological developments owe much to the 'hymnes-blasons'.

The 'hymnes-blasons' therefore deserve their title. They were in fact 'blasons', dressed up with some of the trappings of the 'hymne'. They were very closely related to a small number of 'hymnes', the less lofty ones, which, while retaining some elements of the 'blasons', were serious 'hymnes'. There is a gradual progression in Ronsard's writing, from the 'blason' to the 'hymne'.

The 'blason' element in these poems, unlike the hymn element, needs little explanation. Although none of these poems is called a 'blason', merely given the name of its subject, Le Houx, La Grenouille, and so on, Ronsard uses the word 'blason', and the word 'blasonner' in Le Houx and du Verre respectively:

Mais mojSans plus^ je veux d ire
En ces vers d'un stile doux
Le nouveau blason d'un Houx

1 cf. Laumonier, ed. cit., Vol. VI p.176 n. 1
2 ibid., 267-81
3 ed. cit., Vol. 6 p. 136
It seems that around the years 1554-6 the members of the Pleiade were very interested in writing 'hymnes-blasons'. The first one to actually appear in print, however, was by Baif, not Ronsard or Belleau, and was entitled Le Laurier. This tree was an obvious choice for a poetic 'blason', and there is no element of irony in it, or in similar pieces on trees by other members of the group. In the group of poems on insects and small animals, however, we see the first traces of mockery. Ronsard's La Grenouille first appeared in Le Bocage in 1554. In it he says that the frog is a 'Deesse', who never suffers from thirst, even in the hottest summers:

(Hé Dieu que je porte d'enxie
Aus félicités de ta vie)

He christens it 'la Roine des Ruisseaux', and describes the way in which it frightens away animals much bigger than itself with its croaking. Even the heron cannot stomach it, so well do the gods protect it from harm. It has various medical uses, and its croaking is commonly thought to be a sign of good weather to come. It does not have a long and wearisome life, but lives, free from all cares and worries, for only six months. Ronsard now imagines that the frog earned this blissfully short life as a reward from the gods

1 ed.cit., Vol. 6 p. 165
4 ibid.
5 ibid.
for having woken them up when the giants were invading Olympus.

As a reward for his eulogy, Ronsard begs the frogs not to disturb Belleau as he works — a surprising request in view of his professed admiration for every aspect of the frog!

In *Le Freslon* the mythological section begins immediately and occupies most of the poem. Ronsard tells a tale of the 'freslons' stinging Silenus' ass, and thus saving him from capture by the 'Indois'. It seems probable that this tale was largely Ronsard's own invention, and he gives free rein to his imagination; a dramatic scene is unfolded with a great deal of picturesque detail:

La, sur tous un frellon estoit
Qui brave par l'air se portoit
Sur quatre grands ailes dorées:
En maintes lames colorées
Son dos luisoit par la moitié.
Luy courageus, ayant pitié
De voir au meillieu de la guerre
Silene, & son asne par terre,
Piqua cet asne dans le flanc
Quatre ou cinq coups jusques au sang:
L'asne, qui soudain se reveille
Dessous le vieillard, fist marveille
De si bien mordre a coups de dens
Ruant des pieds, que le dedans
Des plus espesses embuscades
Ouvrit en deus de ses ruades...¹

After this tale of antiquity, Ronsard ends with the familiar ironical invocation:

Or vivés bienheureus Frellons:
Tousjours de moi vos aiguillons
Et de Belleau soient loing, à l'heure
Que la vandange sera meure...

² ibid., p. 92.
The Bernesque poets often referred in one poem to another one, either by themselves, or by one of their friends. Ronsard, too, refers back to his previous 'blasons' in some of his poems. In the *Fourmi* he mentions both the 'Grenouille' and the 'Freslon' as gifts given by himself to Belleau. He is thinking, of course, of his two poems. He starts by forestalling any possible criticism:

Mais, bons Dieus, que dira la France,
Qui tous jours m'a vu des enfance
Sonner les Princes & les Rois,
Et maintenant que je devrois
Enfler davantage ma veine,
Me voit quasi perdre l'âme
M'amusant à je ne saï quoi
Indigne de toi & de moi.

But, he argues, one can achieve fame 'à traicter bien un ouvrage bas'. Ronsard was thinking of a passage from Vergil, but the argument was a favourite one with many writers of satirical eulogies. In any case, a good poet must be capable of varying his style. He recommends all those who are still not convinced to go away and try to puzzle out the already proverbially obscure *Délire*.

Beginning, at last, his praise of the ant, he describes a long line of these insects, creeping along, burdened with spoils which they are taking back to their nest. They are well organised in their nests and societies, and Ronsard advises the French people to profit by the ants' example. There is little mythology in this poem; Ronsard explains that ants are one of the poet's most reliable

1 * supra*, p. 161
3 *ibid.*, pp. 92-3.
4 *ibid.*, p. 93.
sources of images and comparisons, and then seems to run out of arguments:

Que dirai plus? Vous avisez
Les vents que vous profitez
Plus d'un jour devant leur venue:
La Nature vous est connue,
Et toutes les saisons des cieux:
Bref, vous estes de petis Dieus.

Finally, comes the joking 'envoi':

Or, gentils Fourmys, je vous prie,
Si un jour Belleau tient s'amie
A l'ombre de quelque Fouteau,
Sous qui sera votre troupeau,
Ne piqués point la chair douillette
De sa gentille mignonnette.

Many of Ronsard's 'hymnes-blasons' were dedicated to Jean Brinon, and were descriptions of various presents this generous friend of the Pléiade had given him. They are purely 'blasons', with little or no irony. The only other animal poem by Ronsard which is of interest here is his Le Chat, which is in fact a very original defamatory 'blason', also dedicated to Belleau. Grazzini had written a 'capitolo' against dogs, but the two poems are not alike, except in so far as they both discuss a personal phobia.

Belleau's 'hymnes-blasons' on animals contain almost as much mythology as Ronsard, and even more description. For example, in Le Papillon, he wrote

Est-il peintre que la nature?
Tu contrefais une peinture
Sur tes aëlles si proprement
Qu'à voir ton beau bigarrement,

1 ed. cit., Vol. VI, p. 97.  2 ibid.
3 ibid., p. 23, note 3.
On droit que le pinceau mesme
Auroit d'un artifice extreme
P6int de mille & mille fleurons
Le crespe de tes asemblerons.
Ce n'est qu'or fin dont tu te dores,
Qu'argent, qu'azur dont tu colores
Au vif un miclier de belle yeus
Dont tu vois: & meritois mieux
De garder la fille d'Inache
Qu'Argus, quand elle devint vache. 1

In general, however, he follows Ronsard, adding a mocking 'envoi'
in cases where this is appropriate. 2

The 'hymnes-blasons' soon became very popular, and both the
more descriptive and the more satirical ones had many imitators. 3
Only the more ironical poems will be discussed here, for the others
are outside the scope of this thesis.

After the crop of 'blasons' written by the members of the Pleiade
in the 1550s there appears to have been a period during which few
ironical 'blasons' on animals appeared. In 1576 Pierre de Brach
wrote a longer version of Ronsard's Le Freslon. 4 He asks himself
straightaway, whether in fact he dare write on a subject treated by
'le grand Vandomois' 5, but decides that he must be brave:

.... mais quoi ma Muse,
Couhart est celui qui refuse,
Et qui n'ose un trait d'ecoucher
Lorsqu'il voit un meilleur archer: 6

1 Ronsard, ed. cit., Vol. VI, p. 98.
all the Petites Inventions are 'Hymnes-blasons'. They appeared in
1556. Some, such as Les Cornes, Le Mulet and Sur l'importunité
d'une cloche show clear evidence of Bernesque influence.
3 v. M. Raymond, Bibliographie critique de Ronsard en France (1550-85)
Paris, 1927, passim.
4 Les Poèmes de Pierre de Brach Bourdelois. Divisés en trois livres
Bordeaux, Simon Millanges, 1576, p. 34 ff. This collection also
contains an 'hymne-blason' entitled Le Canarin, p. 59.
5 ibid., p. 34.
6 ibid.
De Brach does not copy the details of Ronsard's poem, but his plan is identical, and he too, at the end of the poem, begs the 'frelon' not to sting his friend.

In 1578 François de Clary published his poem La Bellete. Here he took an animal which has often been the subject of epitaphs, but which in this case was not dead. The first lines of his poem show that he was well aware, not only of the contemporary writers of epitaphs, but of his classical predecessors:

Bellete, je voudrois pouvoir
Par quelque magique sagvoir
De dessous la poudreuse lame
De Vergile r'appeller l'ame,
Ou par la force de mes vers
Tirer Catulle des enfers,
Comme jadis le brave Orphee
Ayant d'amour l'ame eschauffee,
Peut d'une Thebaine chanson
Desrober sa femme a Pluton,
Affin que, comme sur sa lyre
L'un a faict son Mouscheron bruire,
L'autre son Passereau chante,
Ainsi je dise ta beauté
Et la facon mignardelette
De laquelle, gent Bellete,
Tu t'estudies a chasser
Le soing et le triste penser

Here, then, Clary had in mind both an epitaph and a narrative poem. He then follows the familiar plan of the 'hymne-blason' on an animal. He describes the weasel, and tells how it cheers him up by its antics whenever he is feeling depressed. He then relates at some length the story of the origin of the weasel, when Galanthis is turned by

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1 La Bellete, par Francois de Clary, Albigeois. Lyon, Benoist Rigaud. 1578. Quoted from Montaiglon, op.cit., Vol. VIII, p.258ff.
2 ibid., p. 258.
the jealous Juno into a weasel; and of how Jupiter to compensate her for this, ensures that the little animal is both agile and beautiful. Clary's own weasel, of course, is the most beautiful and the most agile of all, according to its fond owner, and details of its tricks follow. We learn that it wakes its owner in the mornings, by ringing a little bell, that it chases and sometimes eats the flies which worry him, and even 'studies' his books with him. De Bellay's Peloton also chased flies - and ate them! There is not so much of the mocking note of 'badinage' in Clary's poem, but one is nevertheless firmly convinced after reading La Belle that Clary's poem deserves a place among the ironical 'hymnes-blasons'.

A year after the publication of Clary's poem there appeared in Paris the Oeuvres Poetiques of Etienne Forcadel (1534-79), scholar, lawyer and poet. These contained several eulogies, some of which - that on the rose and that on the violet, for example - are included in the Amphitheatrum. Other eulogies are the Encomie de la Mort, the Encomie de la Pomme, the Encomie de la Croix, the Encomie de l'Oeil, and the Encomie de la Nuit. The most striking of these encomia, from the point of view of the satirical eulogy at least, is that entitled Encomie du Corbeau. ¹ This is obviously a eulogy, and one on a bird not usually thought of as either attractive to look at or to hear. There is bound to be an element of paradox

in such a poem. Whether Forcadel is sincere or whether he is joking in praising this bird, he will of necessity be speaking against the view held by the vast majority of his readers, and will therefore have to seek out unusual arguments in defence of his claim. After reading the Encomie du Corbeau, one no longer has any doubts as to whether Forcadel was serious in his poem. He deliberately exaggerates his praises, no doubt in order to show more plainly his mocking intention. He declares that

Je prétends avoir peu de témoin
Pour coucher icy dans ma Ryme
Le los, qui est due au Corbeau.
Tant il est doux, tant il est beau,
Que plutôt envieux seroit
Qui conque ne le priseroit,
Que sans benin/ sa grace monstre.  

Pretending in this way from the very beginning of his work that he is doing nothing unusual in praising the raven, he goes on to follow the usual animal-praise plan. First comes the description of the physical appearance of the bird, then of its attributes, physical and mental, with various classical references thrown in, in a manner that recalls the Muscae Encomium. Forcadel begins by praising the raven's voice; this would have seemed to the average reader to be one of the least attractive qualities of the bird, and the most difficult to praise. Nothing daunted, Forcadel's ingenuity in finding praiseworthy qualities in his subject is such that even Favorinus would surely not have disowned such arguments!

ed.cit., p. 105
Having established to his own satisfaction the raven's superiority over the eagle, Forcadel praises the glorious glossy plumage of the bird, like jet or velvet. Then, as Clary did in the case of the weasel, in relating the story of Galanthis and Juno, Forcadel tells a story of the early history of the raven. Almost as if he feels that to praise its voice will not in itself necessarily make the reader find it attractive, he decides to relate a legend of Noah and the raven, in which Noah sends not a dove but a raven from the ark to investigate the devastation wrought by the flood. By means of this story he will show that even if nothing can persuade the reader of the harmoniousness of the voice of the raven and of the beauty of his plumage, people should still not criticise the poor bird because of that; it becomes both hoarse and black in serving humanity. When Noah sent the bird out from the ark to reconnoitre, it cried:

"Noë, Noë, Tant qu'encor en est enroué."  

And as a sign of grief at losing sight of the ark, it turned black and has remained both black and hoarse ever since.

As for its virtues, they are numerous, ranging from driving off marauding hawks to carrying food to Elijah. Sometimes its

1 ed. cit., p. 105
2 ibid., p. 107
virtues are rather more fanciful than accurate. It is, for example, according to Forcadel, far superior to the Phoenix, who keeps on dying, for it lives for three hundred years, in order to be able to help mankind. There is nothing remotely scientific about this claim; Forcadel was merely exercising his ingenuity. Although it was called an Encomie, this poem clearly belongs to the group of 'hymnes-blasons'.

Apart from the 'hymnes-blasons', there is one more important series of French poems on animals; is even quoted by Dornavius. It is the series named La puce de Madame des Roches, which was written in 1579, and published in 1583. It was published at the instigation of Etienne Pasquier, and concerned a flea which sprang out from the bosom of Catherine des Roches. The incident occurred in front of the distinguished people gathered at the house, and one after the other these visitors wrote a series of short poems blessing the flea,

1 H. Nais, op. cit., p. 555, comments on the sixteenth-century preference, not only in their 'hymnes-blasons', for invented legends and tales from mythology rather than scientifique fact:

Ils paraissent avoir des idées préconçues sur ce qui constitue un beau texte: le recours à la mythologie, aux images pompeuses, est alors à peu près obligatoire et compromet fréquemment les morceaux longs et qui ont pour sujet essentiel les animaux. On le voit bien avec les hymnes-blasons, même ceux de Ronsard et de Belleau, où l'animal disparaît souvent sous un fatras d'ornements poétiques qui n'ont plus guère de rapports avec lui.

2 One might also classify with the joking 'hymnes-blasons' the poem called La Ferdrix, by Jean Godard, op. cit., p. cf. also Passerat, Le premier livre des Poèmes, Paris, veuve Mamert Patisson, Le Chien courant (fol. 1 a), Le Cerf d'Amour, (fol. 7 b) and Le Fragné, (fol. 33 a).

3 La Puce de Madame des Roches qui est un recueil de divers Poèmes Grecs, Latins & Français; Composez par plusieurs doctes personnages aux Grans Iours tenus à Poitiers, l'an MDLXXXIX, Paris. MDLXXXIII. 

Abel l'Angelier.
and praising the discernment it showed in choosing such a pleasant and much admired place to sit! Catherine herself joined in the joke, and composed a poem about the event which was published with the rest. The fact that these poems were written about this particular occurrence precludes them in one sense from being satirical or even ironical in intention. They were merely an elaborate and, to us, rather curious form of compliment to Catherine. Nevertheless, technically, in that they are eulogies of an unpleasant insect whose bite can be painful, they can qualify for mention here. Dornavius also seems to have considered them as animal eulogies, in the usual sense of the term, since he did not leave them out of the Amphi-
theatrum.

In spite of the fact that these poems are definitely not satirical, even though they may at times be joking, and are always gay, the flea poems in this book are obviously related to the animal poetry we have been discussing and derive much of their inspiration from it. Thus at least three of the poems could, if one judged them on their first few lines alone, have been written to start off one of the usual satirical eulogies on animals. The first of these is the poem by Barhabé Brisson, the Paris jurisconsult, here translated by Pasquier.

Imitation du Latin de M. Brisson, par E. Pasquier.

Vous grenouilles et souris
Animées des escris
Du grand Prince des Poêtes,
Heureuse, vraiment vous estes.

Toy Passereau fretillard
Caressé du vers mignard
De Catulle, o que ta vie
Est jamais ennoblie.
Not only Brisson, but other contributors to the series were aware of the relationship between their poems and other similar animal praises. Joseph Scaliger incorporates these other praises into his poem in a more concise form. Clearly he is joking when he makes the following exaggerated claims for this flea, but it was presumably meant to flatter and amuse Catherine:

Pulicelle niger, nigelle Pulex,
Incitator hoedulis petulcis,
Delicatior hinnulis tenellis,
Docti passere nequior Catulli,
Stellae blandior albulcolumba;

More significant still in this respect is the poem entitled Ren.

Chopini advocati pulex. This begins:

Vermiculum quanti facitis me(ex musca Elephantum) Vates, pulvereo retum quem semine spernut Mortales, saevaque petunt miserum ungue Puelleae? At muscas Lucianus, apes Maro laudibus ornat; Insectum Stagirita genus sophos omne probavit.2

Obviously these poets were consciously imitating Lucian and the classical satirical eulogies. Although their works are in fact not true satirical praises, they provide an interesting example of the
numerous side-developments of the original classical 'genre'.

The amount of praise and the amount of satire contained in these eulogies might vary enormously; yet the eulogists were almost always fully aware of their classical predecessors, who remain the same even when the works they inspire seem to have only the most slender of links between them.

1 Pasquier and his friends were not the first nor the last to write what has been called 'flea-litterature' (by L. Koszolla, in Das Floh-Motiv in der Literatur, Munich, 1924, and by C. Blümlein, in 'Vom Floh-Motiv in der Literatur', Frankfurter Zeitung, 104, 1923). Many works had been written in mock praise of fleas, particularly in Germany. The best known of these writings is Fischart's Flöhhaz. This was copied from an earlier French work quoted by Montaiglon and Rothschild, op. cit., vol. X. It is called the Proces des Femmes et des Puces, Compose par un frere mineur Pelerin retournant des hirrelendes ou il apprnt la vraie recepe pour prendre et faire mourir les pulces. Laquelle sera declarée cy aprés à la d iffinitive dudict proces. (Probably Paris, c. 1520 or even earlier.) The poem contains 176 lines in octaves, the of Villon. In this little work the woman accuses the flea of biting her and preventing her from sleeping. She swears to revenge herself by crushing the flea. With the beginnings of the flea's defence of itself the poem takes on the general plan of a medieval debate, with each of the speakers defending themselves in turn. This particular debate is a humorous one, a 'facétie' as Montaiglon calls it, and some of the flea's arguments in its own defence are so patently ironical that one is reminded of the kind of deliberately chosen and satirical arguments used by Simon in Lucian's De Parasito. Clearly, much of what Simon said in his own defence was quite untrue, but he asserted it with such assurance and conviction that Tychiades was won over. The flea too finds some ingenious excuses for her attacks on the woman, but neither Lucian nor the author of the Proces intended it to be thought that they were really approving of either the animal or the human parasite! Inasmuch as each of these praises is a defence of their way of life by the culprit, and is in the form of self-justification by self-praise, but with a purely ironical intention in the mind of the author of the work, the two compositions resemble one another.

Fischart's imitation of this French work was an extremely long one, containing 4,315 lines, which were later added to still further, with pieces on mosquitoes and other insects. For a description of the work, showing its resemblance to the French poem, V. Montaiglon, op. cit., where Kurz's edition of Fischart's work with its introduction to the Flöhhaz, is quoted. Hauffen, op. cit., quotes various other German flea, louse and fly praises, all on similar lines.
But of all the praises of the flea contained in this collection, the one which most clearly is an animal satirical eulogy and a direct descendant of Lucian's *Muscae Encomium* is the last one of all. It really has nothing to do with Catherine, and her name is not mentioned. Unfortunately, the author is not named, but Dacier shows that it was Bosquier who wrote it. Called *Louange de la Puce*, this would seem to be the only reason for its inclusion as a result of the incident in the collection, since it does not seem to have been written with Catherine's flea at all, but rather for reasons which resemble those of Lucian when he decided to write his praise on the fly:

> Il n'y a pas long temps que je dis en quelque compagnie, par maniere de moquerie, non autrement à bon, que je voulois escrire quelque chose en l'honneur de la Puce, à fin d'exercer ma veine & façonner mon stile à l'imitation de Lucian, qui en a fait autant à l'endroit de la mouche; ...(p 57r)

The *Louange de la Puce* follows the plan and the text of the *Muscae Encomium* very closely. The most striking textual imitations are easily distinguished. Lucian's work began: 1

> The fly is not the smallest of winged things, on a level with gnats and midges and still tinier creatures; it is as much larger than they as smaller than the bee.

The French work begins to praise the flea in similar words, and even embroiders the idea:

> La Puce est le plus petit de tous les animaux, comme au contraire l'Elefant est le plus grand, je parle des terrestres. Quelque rageux m'objectera que le ciron est encore plus petit; je lui respond que de cirons & morpions ne se doit faire mention entre gens d'honneur et reputation. 2

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1 The quotations from the *Muscae Encomium* which follow will all be from the Fowler and Fowler edition of Lucian's *Works*, Vol. III. p.261.

2 op.cit. p 57r.

When describing the legs of their respective insects both authors point out the fact that, as Lucian puts it;

Of its six legs, four only are for walking and the front pair serves for hands; (ed.crt p.262)

and as the French praise says:

Or de ces six pieds les deux de devant sont plus courts que les quatre autres; & de ces deux là elle se sert comme de mains.

Both writers select the courage of their subject as the quality which they intend to praise in most detail. Lucian says of the fly;

Its valour and spirit require no mention of mine; Homer, mightiest of poets, seeking a compliment for the greatest of heroes, likens his spirit not to a lion’s, a panther’s, a boar’s, but to the courage of a fly, to its unshrinking and persistent assault; mark it is not mere audacity, but courage, that he attributes to it. Though you drive it off he says, it will not leave you; it will have its bite. He is so earnest an admirer of the fly that he alludes to it not once or twice, but constantly; a mention of it is felt to be a poetic ornament. 2

Of course the author of the Louange could not quote this passage entirely as it stood; to do so would have been to praise the fly not the flea. Instead he changed it slightly, so that it served his purpose.

Discourons de sa hardiesse; hardiesse, soit de par dieu; mais je me reprendrois volontiers, et vous me vouliez donner à rejouir, tant je craints qu’on ne dise que ce soit plusost temerite que hardiesse... On a beau la serrer sous le doit, la rouller sous le pouce, si une fois elle peut eschapper de vos serres, elle retourne plus furieuse que devant à l’écar-mouche, enragee de vous mordre; & ne vous laisses jamais en paix que premierement elle ne soit souillée de vostre sang.

1 op. cit. p. 58
2 ed. cit. pp. 262-3
Un tygre, un lion, un liepard en feront-ils d'avantage? 
Et toutefois vous me confesserez, que ce sont bestes de grand 
cœur & pleines de vaillance. La mouche donc ne sera rien 
au prix de nostre Puce, encore que Homère l'usurpe souvent 
en ses comparaisons, et magnifiquement lui attribue la force 
& la hardiesse.

The author of the Louange de la Puce is by no means slavish in 

his imitation of Lucian's work. He follows the general plan and 
certain textual reminiscences are easy to trace. But in general his 
arguments are all his own, and he has only learnt from Lucian the gay 
and ironical manner with which he expresses them. The mood of the 
work becomes apparent immediately after the introductory sentence 
quoted above:

Je pense que mes dames les puces en ont senti le vent; 
car depuis ce temps là elles n'ont cessé de me mordre, tant 
le jour que la nuit.

In order to justify his 'admiration' for the flea, our author 
invents various highly ingenious reasons, all of which he expounds 
with great conviction, like Simon in Lucian's De Parasito. Having 
dismissed all other small insects, by saying that they are not 
suitable for discussion among 'gens d'honneur et réputation', he 
writes,

Mais de la Puce, c'est chose excellente, & vrayement digne 
d'estre canonizee, voire dis-je consacrée, par tous les 
temples & chapelles du monde.

1 op.cit., p. S95
2 v. supra, p.366 The time referred to is the moment when he decided 
to compose a praise of the flea. (Here p S7r)
3 op.cit., pp. S7v-S5r.
The flea, he decides, deserves to be deified. The ancient Egyptians deified the Ibis, because 'il a enseigné aux Apothicaires à donner des clystères'. The flea, however, undoubtedly taught mankind the art of bleeding people, and so why not deify it too? Indeed, 'ainsi après à nous saigner, que le plus souvent elles nous ennuient', a comment which probably shows the author's true feelings about the unsolicited bleeding practised upon him by 'mes dames les puces'.

Everything about the flea's physical appearance, from its size to its colour and the number of its legs is praised and justified, with reference to Homer, Plutarch, and Rabelais. Popular sayings, such as the one 'A la sainte Luce le jour croist du saut d'une puce', are all explained as being to the flea's credit.

Socrates, as mentioned in Aristophanes' Clouds is taken as a further example of one who was interested in fleas. Homer's death, or rather the legend concerning it, is also brought in as a means of

---

1 The passage in the Louange de la Puce on the significance of the colour of the flea - whether it is black or purple - may well be a recollection of the passage in Gargantua, chapters IX and X, where Rabelais mocks the belief in the symbolism of colours.

2 op. cit., p. 587. The author also "explains" the popular phrase 'avoir la puce en l'oreille', cf. chapter VII, when Panurge has a flea-shaped earring made for himself.

extolling the fleas; clearly, they had obtained Homer's death, by
suicide, when he failed to solve the enigma concerning the 'Poux',
equally applicable to fleas, in order to punish him for praising
the fly so often in his works, and disregarding the flea! The
fact that the gods had paid so much attention to them in this matter
is important;

Not content with this deduction the writer goes on to conclude that
since, according to the legend, Homer lost only his sight for
criticising Helen, but his life for ignoring the fleas, then the
gods must actively prefer fleas to humans!

Further proofs of the superiority of the flea are furnished by
the fact that both a Latin poet and an ancient people of Lybia took
their name from this insect. The work ends with an explanation of
the brevity of the life of the flea. Lucian had mentioned the
shortness of the life of the fly, but had not elaborated on this.
The author of the praise of the flea bases the whole of his final
paragraph on this fact.

Au reste quant à ce qu'on pourrait objecter qu'elle est
de courte vie (aussi est il vray qu'elle ne passe volontiers
l'Automne) cela est léger et facile à refuter; & tourne plus
tost à sa gloire, qu'à son vitupère. Car je soutiens que la
briefveté de sa vie ne vient point d'autre cause, sinon pour
autant qu'elle se jette ainsi à tout propos, à cors perdu,
& la teste baissee, au milieu des dangers. Ces grands guerriers
coutumièrement ne vivent pas longtemps, & ordinairement ne
portent pas la barbe grise, "turpe senex miles'. Bref
pour trancher court, je dis qu'elle a cela de commun
avec Achille, la perle des hommes de guerre, qui est
appelé par Homere经纬56. c'est, à dire de peu de
duree. Et plus n'en dit le deposant.

On this note the work ends. Clearly it is both the most
definitely and unmistakably Lucianic of all the animal eulogies
of the Renaissance in France. It is far from being a slavish copy,
but keeps both the gaiety and the overall plan of the Muscae
Encomium. It is longer than the Greek work, but not too long.
Using all the typical satirical eulogy methods — twisting of
classical references and authorities, use of popular ideas and
proverbs, misuse of quotations, and pretended serious consideration
and praise of an insignificant animal — the Louange de la Puce
nevertheless succeeds in amusing and interesting the reader as a
work worthy of consideration as one of the best examples of the
classical animal eulogy as practised in France.²

H. Nais sums up the Renaissance attitude to animal poetry in general
as follows:

Le but du poète du XVIe siècle qui consacre un poème à
un animal est l'amusement, la distraction du lecteur... et de
l'auteur. Cela est vrai même des fables, auxquelles les
animaux permettent de donner un tour plaisant à l'enseigne-
ment moral.³

1 op.cit., p. 60
2 One might compare it with a poem by Chantelouve, called The Hymne
de la Puce, published in 1576, in Tragedie de Pharaon et autres
œuvres poetiques contenant hymnes, divers sonnets & chansons,
Nowhere is this attitude more apparent than in the animal poems belonging, or closely related to the genre of the satirical eulogy.

The 'hymnes-blasons' and the epitaphs studied in this chapter were rarely written for purposes of satire. The epitaphs were intended as compliments to the owners of the animals, and, perhaps, as laments on the death of the pet in question. The 'hymnes-blasons' were descriptive pieces, introducing mythology and legends - often adapted or even invented by the author - and, where appropriate, adding to the description and praise a joking 'envoi' revealing the poet's true feelings towards his subject. The animal eulogies were very popular as 'pièces de circonstance'. The majority of them only border on the genre as we have seen it in classical, Neo-Latin and Italian literature, for they are less obviously burlesque, taking as their subjects loved animals and pets rather than unpleasant insects. Their humour, and their link with the satirical eulogy lies in their often joking attitude, and in the delightful atmosphere of 'badinage' which pervades them all, whether epitaph or 'hymne-blason'.

1 Many 'hymnes-blasons' are on objects rather than animals or insects. But they are not remotely satirical, and cannot be discussed here. Examples are, Le Flascon, by Jean Godart (op.cit., pp. 321 ff.); Belleau's poems on precious stones (v. supra, p. 349); those by Ronsard describing and praising his various gifts (v. supra, p. 21); Le Main.

There is also a work entitled De la Dignité & utilité du sel & de la grande charté & presque famine diceluy en l'An present, 1574; Par Jean de Marconville Percheron, Paris, veuve Jean Dallier & Nicolas Roffet. The title of this work reminds one of Plato's reference to a work on the same subject (v. supra, p. 21 n1), but in fact it is a perfectly serious discussion of the virtues of salt, based on the argument that "sale & sole nil utilius" ("Devise anaenne", quoted in the liminary verse).
CONCLUSION

'In tenui enim re non tenuis labor': so said Oenomaüs in the preface to his Encomium Rhodii: 'Yet...I am apt to believe I have praised Folly in such a manner as not to have deserved the name of fool for my pains,' wrote Erasmus, urging his readers to seek out the truths hidden beneath the gaiety of the Praise of Folly. These quotations sum up the two attitudes to the satirical eulogy most prevalent amongst the writers discussed in this thesis. For some of these authors the paradoxical encomium is a display piece, an exercise of rhetorical skill; for others it is a subtle and effective satirical weapon. In certain works traces of both these attitudes can be seen.

In antiquity the genre contained hardly any satire, or even irony. Parody, burlesque, cunning and ingenious arguments, mythological allusions and other features soon to become characteristic of this type of eulogy, might appear, but Lucian stood alone in his attempt to bring in a real element of satire, in the Rhetor and the De Parasito.

When the genre was revived during the Renaissance, the majority of Neo-Latin eulogists preferred the Muscae Encomium and the Tragodopodagra to Lucian's more satirical encomia. Their eulogies are imitative and monotonous to a degree, and tended later in the century to become pornographic. Erasmus is the outstanding exception to this rule. The

1 v. supra, p. 134
Moriae Encomium may have been the product of only a few days' work, but into the pages of this book Erasmus distilled the essence of his thought and philosophy. He thus proved, conclusively and magnificently, that this hitherto trivial genre was a fit vehicle for the expression of profound thought and biting satire.

The Italian manifestations of this literary form concentrated on verbal brilliance, on fantasy and sparkling wit. For the satirical side of the form they represent a step backwards - with the exception of La Pazzia. But their qualities were important, and French eulogies owed much to them.

In France we see the great flowering of the genre as a significant and satisfactory method of satire. In the vice eulogies the author's own views may be expressed in delicate irony, or forgetting temporarily the eulogistic element, he may launch an all-out attack, expressed as direct criticism. These works are particularly interesting because they are so varied in outward form, though still belonging to the same basic genre. 'Hymnes', prose treatises, 'hymnes-blasons' and 'paradoxes' can all be satirical eulogies.¹

The strength of the element of satire in the vice eulogies seems to have been the factor which prevented them from being absorbed and too greatly influenced by other genres. In the animal and disease encomia this element of satire, because of the nature of the subject-matter, does

¹ In fact the 'paradox' is almost exactly the same as the satirical eulogy.
not seem to have been strong enough to prevent these works being greatly modified by other closely related genres. These other forms usually contained less rather than more satire, and therefore tended to influence the satirical eulogy in this direction. Such a genre was the 'blason', which introduced more description into many encomia.

However, and here we come to one of the most interesting points to have arisen out of the present study, the case of the 'blason' this influence worked both ways. The French 'blason' resembled the Italian satirical 'capitolo', and French authors were quick to see the likeness. In transferring the 'capitolo' from Italian to French, however, they brought irony into the 'blason', for the first time. The significance of this change in the 'blasonneur's' attitude to his subject has never been sufficiently appreciated.

In the course of this thesis it has become apparent that the Renaissance vogue for the satirical eulogy was in fact a European rather than a purely French phenomenon. What were the reasons for this unbounded popularity amongst the greatest, as well as the most second or even third rate authors? What was it in this genre which seems to have appealed so deeply to something in the Renaissance mentality that amongst its exponents we find men of all types and professions, poets, philosophers, doctors, lawyers and prose-writers? The element of paradox, which lies at the heart of the genre, without which there is really no satirical eulogy, may perhaps provide the answer to these questions.

The point of departure of the paradoxical emcomium is the decision
to take a view not usually upheld, and to seek to defend it. The paradox here is only at a superficial level. However, though many writers were incapable of expressing this element at a deeper level, the greatest, such as Erasmus and Rabelais, start from the technical, formal paradox, and proceed from it to a philosophic notion, to the realisation that the more one thinks about the human situation, the more one becomes aware that it is inevitably and constantly paradoxical and absurd. The images of Janus, of black and white, for and against, have recurred many times in the course of this thesis, as has the paradoxical idea, widely held at the time, that the fool tells the truth, - yet another reason for claiming that the Moriae Encomium is of capital importance for understanding this genre. It is clearly not by chance that there were so many editions of Estienne's Paradoxes, and that a variety of other satirical eulogies were given the title 'paradox' during this century.

The satirical eulogy is therefore interesting and important for two distinct reasons. Firstly, because it was a vehicle for indirect satire, rediscovered and greatly improved by sixteenth century writers. Secondly, because its popularity seems to have been due to a universal Renaissance preoccupation with paradox.

I. v. Kaufer, op. cit. passim.
APPENDIX A

Chronological list of the principal French satirical eulogies studied in the thesis

This list does not include all the works discussed in the text, merely the most important examples of the genre. It is a short-title catalogue. For further bibliographical details, v. either the Bibliography, or the text of the thesis.

1531 C. Marot

1539 Anon.

c. 1540 J. Rus.

1541 La Borderie

1544 C. Colet

1546 Rabelais

1547 M. de Saint-Gelais

P. de Vienne

Anon

1551 (original much earlier)

Anon.

1553 C. Estienne

1554 Ronsard

1556 Belleau

Epitaphe du cheval de Vuyart

Le Triomphe de Dame Verolle

Contreblason du Nez

L'Amie de Court

L'Oraison de Mars

Tiers Livre

Epitaphe de la Beletté d'une Damoiselle

Le Philosophe de Court

Blasons, de la goutte, de Honnor et de la Quarte

Blason des Barbes de maintenant

Paradoxes

La Grenouille

Le Freslon

La Fourmi

Petites Inventions
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1558</td>
<td>Du Bellay</td>
<td>Divers Jeux Rustiques</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1559</td>
<td>Du Bellay</td>
<td>La Poète Courtisan</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Anon.</td>
<td>La nouvelle manière...</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(? Du Bellay)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156?</td>
<td>C.G. de Guersens</td>
<td>Les Cornes (published 1607)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1567</td>
<td>Ronsard.</td>
<td>Epître de la Courte</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dialogue de traitement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A. Jamyn</td>
<td>Élégie de l'honneur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1575</td>
<td>P. de Brach</td>
<td>Le Freslon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ronsard.</td>
<td>Le Canarin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anon. (date of original unknown)</td>
<td>The Mirrour of Madnes</td>
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<tr>
<td>1578</td>
<td>F. de Clary</td>
<td>La Bellete</td>
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<tr>
<td>1579</td>
<td>E. Fontoux</td>
<td>Élégie sur la mort d'un couchon nommé Grongnet</td>
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<td></td>
<td>E. Forcadel</td>
<td>Encomie du Corbeau</td>
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<tr>
<td>1582</td>
<td>E. Pasquier (ed.)</td>
<td>La Puce de Madame des Roches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1583</td>
<td>J. de la Jessée</td>
<td>La Prison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1588</td>
<td>O. de la Noue</td>
<td>Paradoxe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1594</td>
<td>J. Godard</td>
<td>La Pauvreté</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>De la Bergerie</td>
<td>Sur le trépas de son Asne</td>
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<tr>
<td>1598</td>
<td>J. Passerat</td>
<td>La Divinité des Procés</td>
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<tr>
<td>1608</td>
<td>Regnier</td>
<td>Satire VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1609</td>
<td>(Muses Gaillarde)</td>
<td>Louange de la Bosse</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V. Denis</td>
<td>Epitaphe d'un petit chien</td>
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<tr>
<td>1613</td>
<td>(and 1629)</td>
<td>Paradoxes</td>
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<td>1615</td>
<td>Bruscamville</td>
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<tr>
<td>1617</td>
<td>L'Ortigue</td>
<td>Le délice des galleux</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
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<tr>
<td>1617</td>
<td>L'Ortigue</td>
<td>La felicité du débiteur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16?</td>
<td>Anon.</td>
<td>L'Anatomie d'un Nez à la mode</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1619</td>
<td>C. d'Estaing</td>
<td>La Mort d'un Perroquet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1621</td>
<td>J. Dant</td>
<td>Le Chauve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1623</td>
<td>J. d'Auvray</td>
<td>Le nez</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B

Part I

List and Description of the Important Seventeenth Century Collections of Renaissance Satirical Eulogies

The following list does not claim to be absolutely complete, merely to give some idea of the extent of these collections. From the list of contents given it is possible to see which of the sixteenth century eulogies were perennial favourites, which were soon forgotten, and which inspired imitations and adaptations. What is perhaps most remarkable is how little the taste of the public appears to have changed during this century.

Collection No. 3 in this list, published in 1623, contained substantially the same encomia as collection No. 11 which did not appear until 1677.

The bearing that this decline in originality had on the genre as a whole has been discussed in the Conclusion to the present thesis (supra p. 375).

Note: The Index to this thesis does not cover the works and authors mentioned in Parts I and II of this Appendix.


This collection contains the following works, quoted from the list of contents:

1. Matthaeus Delio de arte Jocandi libri IV.
2. Nicodemi Frischlini in ebrietatem elegia.
3. De Peditu, eiusque Speciebus.
4. De Inte Potandi disputatio.
5. De Lustitudine Studentica.
6. De Cucurbitatione disputatio feudalis.
7. Bonus Mulier sive de mulieribus.
8. De Osculis Jucunda dissertatio.
11. De Virginibus Theses Inaugurales.
12. Floja cortum Versicale.


This, the most important of all the collections, was
been discussed in considerable detail in Chapter IV of
the present study. It is therefore superfluous to describe
it again here.

It was reprinted in 1670.

Extracts from it were published, again edited by Dornavius, in
1626. Encomium Invidiae, Caecitatis, Neminis, Frigillae, Pelecani,
Authoribus incertis, Amphitheatro Sapien-tiae Socraticae

3. 1623. Argumentorum ludicorum et amoenitatum scriptores
vari. In gratiam studiosae iuventutis collecti &
emendati. Lugduni Batavorum . Godefridus Basson. MDC.XXIII.

This collection contains the following works, most
of them far better known than those in Collection I:

1. Laus Podagrae, Bilibaldi Pircheimeri.
2. Encomium Pulicis, Coelii Calcagnini.
3. De arte Natandi, per Nicolaum Wynman.
4. Laus Formicae, Philippi Melanchtonis.
5. Encomium Luti, M. Antonii Majoragii.
8. In Laudem Umbræ, Jani Dousae J.F.
13. Calvitii Encomium, Hugbaldo Monacho auctore.
17. Martinalia, Euriciii Codri.
18. Vini & Aquae Certamen, Incerti.

This collection therefore contains none of the famous classical
eulogies, the oldest one given being that by Hugbald the monk.

The printer's introduction appears to concentrate mainly on the
value of these works as a means of recreation and as a rhetorical
exercise. The following extract from the early part of this introduction serves to illustrate this attitude:

'Benevole Lector, si seria & prisco Catone digna lectitare amas, nihil tibi in hac arena negotii. Quae frontem caperant, quae supercilium attollunt, quae morosae dictionis plena sunt, alibi quaeras oporet. Alter hic libellus noster, aliter sibyllae loqui amant. Non hic Principum de regni rebus consilia, non vitae gerundae rationes, non Academiarum spinosae quaestiones, non Jurisconsultorum aut Medicorum ancipites casus gravi oratione explanantur. Ludicrae sunt, iocosae sunt & doctae festivitatis authoramento gratae dissertationes, quas offero. Scripsere illas viri erudiores, quos a gravioribus occupationibus & curis ad has succisivarum horarum commentiones sua subinde avovavit voluptas, sive ut ipsi levamentum aliquod negotiorum inde peterent, ac temporis partem eruditis istiusmodi nugis fallerent; sive ut doctrinae suae, ingenii ac industriae aliquod documentum in pertractandis rebus frivolis ac omnium iudicio contemptissimis publico darent.'

Still apparently fearing that his public might misjudge his intentions, the printer continues, showing here a better appreciation of the serious side of the encomia.

'Ne tamen iocos solum & nugas pretio distrahere vedear, ita status velim, sub nugarum involucro serios saepissime sensus occultari, & aut vitae melioris momenta, aut naturae mysteria, aut philosophorum placita explicari.'

Further on still he describes his work with the familiar adjective 'ioco-seria'.

4. 1627. Facetiae Facetiarum, hoc est, Iocoseriorum fasciculus novus. s.1. 1627.
Quoted by Graesse.
Perhaps the same contents as Nos. 7, 8 and 9.

The Preface to this collection is identical to that of No. 3 except in the middle section, where the various works contained in the collection are listed and described. The following works have been added to the 1623 edition.
1. Nuptiae Peripaticae, Casparis Barlai.
2. Laus Pediculi, Danielis Heinsii.
3. Laus Elephantis, Justii Lipsii.
5. Encomium Caecitatis. Iacobi Gutherii.
7. Democritus seu de Riu, Erycii Puteani.

This collection contains 18 works in all, Nos. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19 of the 1623 edition having been omitted.


The introduction is again identical to that of No. 3 with the exception of the passage describing the contents. Those works which differ from the 1638 edition (No. 5) are indicated in the index with an asterisk. They are:

1. Allocutio Nuptialis. Marcii Zuerii Boxhornii
   (This is placed after the Nuptiae Peripaticae, and is dedicated to the fiance of Daniel Heinsius' daughter. Evidently the future son-in-law of this prolific writer of satirical eulogies had aspirations in the same direction!)

2. Encomium Ovi, Erycii Puteani.

3. Encomium Cycni, Ulyssis Aldrovandi.

7. 1645. Facetiae facetiarum, hoc est, ioco-seriorum fasciculus novus exhibens varia variorum autorum scripta, non tam lectu jucunda & jocosa, quam lectu vere digna et utilia, multisve moralibus ad mores seculi nostri accommodata, illustrata & adornata. Pathopoli, apud Gelasinum Severum. 1645.

Quoted by Brunet, and by Graesse. Graesse interprets the fictional printer as Phil. de Croy.

I have not seen this edition, or the other one given by Graesse (No. 4), but the likelihood is, in view of the term 'fasciculus novus' which appears in all these later editions, that it was in fact the one described here as No. 8.

8. 1647. (Probably the same as Nos. 4 and 7)

The collector here seems to have been content to add six new titles to the 1615 edition (No. 1) and to change the order in
which the remaining eulogies appear:

1. De Lustitudine Studenticea.
2. De Peditu eiusque Species.
3. De Cucurbitigatione.
4. De Iure Potandi.
5. Encomium Scabiei.
6. Bonus Mulier sive de mulieribus.
7. De Osculis Iucunda Dissertatio.
8. De Virginibus Theses Inaugurales.
11. De Cochleatione Disputatio.
12. Hans Pumbsack. (in German).
15. Floia cortum Versicale.
17. De Beanis.
18. De Casei Laudibus.

9. 1657. Facetiae Facetiariurn ... Pathopoli, Apud G.S.

An identical reprint of No. 8 (1647 edition).


Inside the title page we read, after a repetition of the title;

Opusculum Tam lectu iucundum, quam auditu gratum, Omni Vitae temporis & Studiorum generi inprimis accommodatum. Noviomagi Batavorum. Typis Reineri Smetii. MDCLXVI.

This was now the fourth time that, under one guise or another, this collection had been published. Nearly twenty years had elapsed since the last edition (No. 6) but apparently the genre was still in demand.

The compiler of the present edition kept the same basic Preface, except in his description of the contents, and also in the early part of the Introduction, which he adapts in order to explain the new title of the collection. For 'Ludicrae sunt ... avocavit voluptas' (v. supra p. 382) he substitutes:

'Sed quae proponuntur, sunt "admiranda rerum Admirabilium Encomia", quae quondam suis Authoribus dictu fuerunt amoenae, & nunc nobis omnibus erunt tam lectu iucunda, quam auditu grata. Sunt Lepores & Sales Attici, atque venusta vel festiva Venus
& sermonem & rem tecum habere gestit: aut si mavis, "diserta & amaena Pallas dissipens seria sub ludicra specie" venit ad te ex musaeo Illustrium & Incomparabilium in omni scientiarum genere Vitorum, qui illam diversis locis & temporibus progenuere, quom a gravioribus occupationibus & curis ad has ludicas, sed doctas dissertationes, & subcisivarum horarum commentationes sua subinde avocavit voluptas...

While it would be mere wishful thinking to see any very systematic ordering of works within the collection, there does seem to be a vague attempt at grouping animal eulogies together, and disease eulogies together, although there are exceptions even to this partial classification, as the following list of contents shows:

1. Encomium Ovi, Erycii Puteanus.
2. Encomium Formiceae, Phil. Melanthonis.
3. Encomium Muscae, Francisci Scribani.
4. Encomium Elephantis, Justi Lipsii.
5. Oratio Funebris in Picam, Cuisdam Itali.
7. Encomium Pulicis, Caelii Calcagnini.
8. Encomium Pediculi, Danielis Heinsii.
11. Encomium Febris Quartanae, Guili. Menap. I.
12. Encomium Caecitatis, Jacobi Gutherii.
20. Encomium Umbrae, Jani Dousae F.
22. Encomium Ululae, Conradi Goddaei.


The title page of this edition bears the date 1677, but inside the date 1676 is given, together with the usual alternative title Dissertationum Ludicrarum, etc.
This edition is rather inaccurately printed. For Caecitatis Encomium, Graecitatis is given, Democritur, for Democritus, and so on. It is retrieved by some delightful illustrations, showing gouty men with their bandaged feet supported on stools, an elephant, people drinking, the flea, and so on. These accompany the appropriate eulogy, though not every work has an illustration.

The contents are identical to those of No. 10 (1666).

* * * * * * *

Part II

List of contents of 'Il primo Libro dell'opere Burlesche, di M. Francesco Berni. Di Messer Gio. della Casa, del Varchi, del Mauro, di M. Bino, del Molza, del Dolce, & del Firenzuola. Ammendato, e ricorretto; e con somma diligenza Ristampato. In Firenze MDLII.

This is the Grazzini edition, which was first published in 1548. This list is taken from the 1552 edition.(v. Carlo Verzone, op.cit., Introduction, p. xii)

This part of the Appendix has been compiled for easy reference and for purposes of comparison.

La Tavola de Capitoli di M. Francesco Berni.

1. A Fracastoro.
2. In lode della Peste Primo.
3. In lode della Peste secondo.
4. In lode delle Pesche.
5. In lode de' Ghiozzi.
7. Post scritta al modesimo.
8. A Fra Bastian del piombo.
10. Sopra il diluvio del Muggello.
11. Sopra un garzone.
12. In lode dell'Anguille.
13. In lode de'Cardi.
15. In lode dell'Orinale.
17. In lode d'Aristotile.
18. A M. Marco Veniziano.
22. In lode di Gradasso al medesimo.
23. Lamento di Nardino.
24. In Lamentazion d'Amore.
25. Contro à Papa Adriano.
27. In lode dell'Ago.

Sonnetti del medesimo

This section contains 29 sonnets, including the famous 'Chiome d'argento', imitated by Du Bellay.

D'Autori incerti

1. In lode del caldo del letto. (This is the same poem which the 1538 edition had attributed to Berni, v. supra, p.152).
2. In nome di fra Sebastian del piombo.
3. In lode del pescare.

Di M. Giovan. della Casa

1. In lode del Forno.
2. In lode de baci.
3. In dispregio del nome di Giovanni.
4. Sopra il martel d'Amore.
5. In lode della stizza.

Del Varchi

1. In lode delle Tasche.
2. In lode dell'uova sode.
3. Contro alle dette.
4. In lode de peducci.
5. In lode del finocchio.
6. In lode delle Ricotte.

Del Mauro

1. In lode della Fava.
2. In lode della Fava secondo.
3. In lode di Priapo.
4. Del Dishoncorre primo
5. Del dishonore secondo.
6. Delle donne di montagna.
7. A M. Giovanni della casa.
8. Del viaggio di Roma.
10. A M. Ruberto Strozzi secondo.
11. A M. Pier Carnesecchi.
13. In lode della carestia.
15. Della Caccia.
17. In lode del Letto.
18. A Ottavian Salvi.
20. In lode de' Frati.

Di M. Bino
1. In lode del Malfrangese.
2. Dell'horto primo.
3. Dell'horto secondo.
4. Contro alle calze.
5. Del Pilo.

Del Molza
1. In lode della insalata.
2. In lode della scomunica.

Del Dolce
1. Del naso.
2. Della speranza.
3. In lode dello sputo.
4. In lode dello sputo secondo.
5. D'un ragazzo.
6. Della poesia.

Di M. Agnol Firenzuola
1. In lode della sète.
2. In lode delle campane.
3. In lode del legno.
4. In morte d'una civetta.
5. A una persona stravagante. (This poem is in fact by Lasca.)
6. In risposta.

Tavola del Secondo Libro dell'opere Burlesche di M. Francesco Berni, & d'altri diversi Autori.

Di M. Francesco Berni
1. Sonetto della infermita di Papa Clemente.
2. Voto dò Papa Clemente.
3. Alla corte del Duca Allessandro, a Pisa.
5. Della suggetzione, in che stava in Verona.
6. Ricantatione di Verona.
7. Al Vescovo di Verona suo padrone.
9. Contro à Papa Clemente.
10. L'entrata dell'Imperadore in Bologna.
11. Capitolo della Piva.
12. Capitolo primo alla sua Innamorata.
13. Capitolo secondo alla medesima.
14. Caccia d'Amore.

Del Molza
1. Capitolo in lode de Fichi.

Di M. Francesco Coppetta
2. Capitolo à Nicolò.
3. Capitolo a M. Bernardo Giusto.
4. Canzone nella perdita d'una Gatta.
5. Capitolo in lode dell'Hosteria.
7. Capitolo alla medesima.

Di M. Lodovico Martelli
1. Capitolo in lode dell'Altalena.

Di Vincentio Martelli
1. Capitolo in lode delle Menzogne, a Messer Donato Acciaiuoli.

Di Mattio Francesi
1. Cap. sopra le Carote, à M. Carlo Capponi.
2. Cap. secondo sopra le medesime, à medesimo.
5. Capitolo in lode dello Steccadenti, à Messer Matteo Cantore del Papa.
6. Capitolo sopra la caccia dello scoppio, à M. Benedetto Busini.
7. Capitolo in lode della Tossa, al medesimo.
10. Cap. sopra le Nuove, a M. Benedetto Busini.
11. Capitolo sopra le Maschere, à medesimo.
13. Cap. sopra la Salsiccia, à Caino Spenditore.
15. Capitolo contra il parlar per V. Signoria, al S. Molza.
17. Capitolo del medesimo suggetto, à Messer Fabio Segni.
18. Capitolo del medesimo suggetto, à Messer Annibal Caro.
20. Cap. sopra i Guanti, à M. Luca Martini.
22. Capitolo secondo sopra la Posta, à Messer Annibal Care.
23. Lettera a Ser Pietro da Sezza.
25. Capitolo in lode dello Spago.
27. Capitolo de Rinfrescatoi, à Messer Carlo Capponi.
29. Lettera à M. Iacopo Sellaio.
30. Lettera à Lorenzo Scala.

Di Strassino da Siena
1. Capitolo à Pasquina.
2. Capitolo delle bellezze della Dama.
3. Capitolo secondo delle Bellezze.

Di M. Pietro Aretino
1. Capitolo al Duca di Mantova.
2. Capitolo à sua Diva.

Di M. Bino

D'Andrea Lori
1. Cap. in lode de le Mele à Luca Valoriani.
2. Capitolo in lode de le Castagne, à Ruberto Buonguglielmi.

Di M. Luca Martini
1. Capitolo à Visin Marciaio.
2. Capitolo in lode di Pegli, Villa del Signore Adam Centurioni.

Di S.B.
1. Capitolo in lode del Mortaio, à Lorenzo de Bardi.

Di M. Francesco Baldelli

Di Bronzino Pittore
1. Capitolo primo in lode della Galea.
2. Capitolo secondo in lode della medesima.
3. Capitolo de Romori, à M. Luca Martini.
4. Capitolo contro à le Campane, al medesimo.
5. Capitolo in lode della Zansara, à Messer Benedette Varchi.

Di M. Valerio Buongioco Da Trevigi.
1. Capitolo de tre Contenti, à M. Lodovico Domenichi.
Di Luca Valoriani
1. Cap. in lode de Calzoni, à Luigi Spadini.

Di M.B.
1. Capitolo in lode dell'Asino.

Di Messer Giovan'Andrea Dell'Anguiliara

Di M. Lodovico Domenichi
2. Cap. in lode della Zuppa à Filippo Giunti.

1. In lode della Salsiccia.
2. In lode della Vecchiaia.
3. A Giovanni Mazzuoli. 1593.
4. In lode di Giovanni.
5. In lode delle Barbe. (dated 1542)
7. A M. Benedetto Varchi.
10. A M. Raffaello de'Medici; In lode del bagnarsi in Arno.
11. Al medesimo.
13. Rallegrandosi d'essere in Firenze.
15. Alla Signora.... Mandandoli certi veri.
16. A M. Lorenzo Scala; In lode de'zoccoli.
17. Al medesimo in dispregio de Zoccoli.
20. In lode de'Beccafichi.
22. A M. Lionardo della Fonte.
23. A M. Giovambatista della Fonte.
25. In lode de'Poponi.
27. A M. Cesare Olgiatti.
33. A M. Bacio Davanzati.
34. A M. Giovanni Animiccia Musico. In lode degli Spinaci.
35. In lode della Nannina Zinzera Cortigiana.
36. In lode delle Castagne.
38. Contro al Pensiero.
39. In lode del Tefferuglio.
40. A M. Pandolfo Martelli. In disprego de'Guanti.
41. A M. Lorenzo degli Organi.
42. Al medesimo.
44. In dispregio de'Cani.
45. In lode de i Coglioni vdest Granelli.
46. In lode del Lama de'Vettori.
47. In lode delle Torte Marzapane.
49. Al medesimo. In lode del sedere.
50. In lode delle Corna.
51. In lode della Zuppa.
52. A M. Piero Fagiulì.
53. In lode del Dispetto.
54. In lode delle Moccicche.
55. In lode de i Popone.
Appendix B. Section III

List of editions of C. Estienne’s "Paradoxes"

This list has been compiled from Brunet (Manuel and Supplément), and Graesse (Trésor de livres, etc.). I have not seen all these editions.

The purpose of this list is to demonstrate the popularity of the 'paradox'.

1. 1553 Paradoxes, ce sont propos contre la commune opinion, debatus en forme de declamations forense: pour exerciter les jeunes advocates en causes difficiles. Paris. Ch. Estienne. This, the first edition, is not the one I have quoted from in the thesis. Brunet mentions a possible earlier translation, about 1544.

2. 1553 Reprint of No. 1. The word 'advocats', in the title, replaced by 'esprits'.

3. 1553 A third edition by Estienne, 'reveuz et corrigez pour la seconde fois'.

4. 1553 Poitiers, Jan de Marnef (the edition quoted in the thesis).

5. 1554 Paris. Estienne. Like No. 3.

6. 1554 Paradoxe que le plaider est chose tres utile, & necessaire a la vie des hommes. Caen. Martin & Pierre Philippe. (B.M. edition, not mentioned by Brunet, etc.)

7. 1554 Paradoxes ou sentences, debattues et élégamment déduites contre la commune opinion, traité non moins plein de doctrine que de récréation pour toutes gens. Lyons. Pour Jean Temporal. (chez Barth. Frein)

8. 1554 Rouen.

9. 1555 Same as No. 6, with words 'reveu et augmenté'. Lyons, Thibauld Payen.


12. 1559 Same as No. 9, Lyons, T. Payen.

13. 1559 Same as No. 9, Lyons, J. Temporal (at the end, Nicolas Parrineau. Lyons, 1561).

15. 1576 Lyons.

16. 1583 Paradoxes, autrement Propos contraires à l'opinion de la plupart des hommes: livre non moins profitable que facetieux. Rouen. M. Lescuyer. (Plus La Pazzia, according to both Brunet and Graesse)

17. 1583 Paris, M. Bontons.


19. 1604 Same as No. 18.

20. 1638 Les Paradoxes ou les opinions renversées de la plus part des hommes; livre non moins profitable que facetieux: par le docteur incognu. Paris. Jacques Cailliové. (The Supplément gives this edition as Rouen, J. Cailliové.) The style has been modernised in this edition. There was an English translation of Estienne's translation in 1593, and a Spanish translation direct from Lando in 1552.
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Philibert de Vienne is an important author about whom very little is known. Only in recent years has even his most famous work, the *Philosophe de Court*, been studied in detail: for information concerning his life and other writings, modern critics have to rely almost entirely on the comments of La Croix du Maine and Du Verdier. From these, and from remarks made in the *Prologue* to the *Philosophe de Court*, we learn that Philibert de Vienne was 'Champenois', and an 'Avocat en la Cour de Parlement à Paris'. He appears to have stayed at Lyons sufficient time to get to know Scève and other prominent persons there. The *Philosophe de Court* seems to have been the fruit of conversations which took place in Lyons during the winter of 1546-47. Philibert usually styled himself 'L'Amoureux de Vertu', and dedicated the *Prologue* of the *Philosophe de Court* to 'L'Amye de Vertu'.

Those of his works which have hitherto been discussed by critics were published between the years 1542 and 1548. The first was a

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2 'Philibert de Vienne, Champenois, Avocat au Parlement de Paris. Il est Auteur d'un Livre intitulé le Philosophe de Cours, imprimé à Paris par Estienne Grouleau, l'an 1548. Il florissoit sous François I du nom, l'an 1547.'

(La Croix du Maine, II, 229.)

'P. Vienne, surnommé l'Amoureux de vertu, duquel la devise est, En Dieu me fie. Il a écrit en vers François un petit opuscule, intitulé l'Indignation de Cupido, imprimé à Paris, chez Chrétien Vechel, l'an 1546.'

(La Croix du Maine, II, 340.)

'Philibert de Vienne, Champenois, Avocat en la Cour de Parlement à Paris, a écrit le Philosoph de Cours. Il a traduit du Latin d'Erasme, Sermon de Jésus, enfant, & sur la fin a ajouté le combat du corps & de l'esprit, imprimé à Paris, in 16, par Galliot du Pré, Pan 1542.'

(Du Verdier, V. 195.)

On these quotations cf. C. A. Mayer, *L'Honnête Homme, Motière and Philibert de Vienne's* "Philosophe de Court", Modern Language Review, XI, VI, 1951, pp. 196 ff. Although there is no reference to the real name of the author in the text of L'Indignation de Cupido, La Croix du Maine succeeded in identifying him as P. Vienne. It is therefore strange that he should have kept two completely separate entries on Philibert de Vienne.

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translation of the Sermon de Jesus by Erasmus, published with a poem entitled Le Songe du Combat entre le Corps et l'Esprit, in 1542. In 1546 appeared L'Indignation de Cupido, one long poem preceded by an introductory 'Huictain'. The Philosophe de Court was first printed in 1547, at Lyons. Reprinted in Paris the following year, it was translated into English as late as 1575.

In L'Indignation de Cupido Philibert de Vienne does not give his real name. He uses only his pseudonym 'L'Amoureux de Vertu', and it was from this that La Croix du Maine was able to identify the author of the poem. After the 'Huictain', and again after the Indignation itself, Philibert placed the initials E.D.M.F. Presumably these apparently mysterious letters represent either another pseudonym or a device of some sort. Although he does not make it very clear in his text, La Croix du Maine supplies us with the answer to this riddle:

'P. Vienne, surnommé l'Amoureux de vertu, duquel la devise est, en Dieu me fie.'

En Dieu me fie — E.D.M.F. — the letters are explained. As a means of identification easily recognizable for his contemporaries, Philibert preferred to sign himself with his pseudonym, and the initials of his device.

The Indignation itself is a complaint put into the mouth of Cupid. He defends himself and his mother against charges levelled at them by ungrateful mankind. He views these insults as an attack on the dignity of the gods in general. Before his authority can be utterly destroyed, he proposes to refer the whole matter to Jupiter. Clearly the importance of the Indignation lies neither in its contents nor in the poetic talent of its author. It lies in fact in Philibert's use of his
pseudonym in conjunction with the letters E.D.M.F. in place of his real name. For these can be found again in a collection of poems published in 1544, entitled L’Oraison de Mars aux Dames de la Court. The Oraison and most of the accompanying poems were by Claude Colet, or Collet. There was a second edition of the collection in 1548. The full title of the first edition was:

L’Orasion de Mars aux Dames de la Court. Ensemble la Responce des Dames à Mars, par Claude Colet Champanoys. Plus l’Epistre de l’Amourex de Vertu aux Dames de France fugitives pour les guerres.

This title alone would seem to provide sufficient evidence for attributing the Epistre to Philibert de Vienne, as does the Rothschild catalogue, and not to Gilles d’Aurigny, as does the Catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale. But further proof is given by the initials E.D.M.F., which are placed immediately after the Epistre, and also after a twelve-line liminary poem. This twelve-line poem dispels all possible doubt as to the link between Philibert de Vienne and the initials, for here he no longer hides behind his pseudonym, boldly heading the poem Ad Lectorem P. Vyennoei Carmen Phil. It runs:

Ergo perpetuos fovens resultus
Gens humana ruit, sibique pugnat?
Ergo iura tacent, sacraeque leges.
Et confusa iacent nefasque fasque?

1 L’Orasion de Mars aux Dames de la Court, Ensemble la Responce des Dames à Mars, par Claude Colet Champanoys. Plus l’Epistre de l’amoureux de vertu aux Dames de France fugitives pour les guerres. Imprimé à Paris chez Chrestien Wechel demeurant en la Rue de Saint Jacques, à l’escu de Basle. M.D.XLIII.

This first edition of the Oraison therefore preceded the Indignation de Cupido by two years. It is of interest that in both cases Chrestien Wechel was the publisher.

2 The second edition had been expanded by Colet from 64 to 144 pages:


On Claude Colet, see La Croix du Maine, I, 134:
Claude Colet, natif de Rumilly en Champagne, Poëte Francois & Orateur. Il a composé en Vers Héroïques l’Oraison de Mars aux Dames de la Cour, ensemble la Réponse des Dames à Mars; l’Epitre de l’Amoureux de Vertu aux Dames de France fugitives pour les guerres, & imprimée à Paris chez Wechel, l’an 1544.’

Also Du Verdier, III, 329:
Claude Colet, Champenois, a écrit l’Oraison de Mars, aux Dames de la Cour; ensemble la Réponse des Dames, à Mars, où sont ajoutées aucunes autres Œuvres Poétiques, dudit Auteur, imprimées à Paris, in-8, par Chrestien Wechel, 1548.

Evidently La Croix du Maine knew only the first edition of the Oraison, and Du Verdier only the second. La Croix du Maine mistakenly implies that the Epistre was by Colet.


5 This catalogue gives the following description of the 1544 edition:
L’Oraison de Mars aux dames de la court, ensemble la responce des dames à Mars par Claude Colet Champanoys...

Gilles d’Aurigny in fact contributed a mere eight lines of verse to this edition, and these appear on page 57, two pages before the beginning of the Epistre. In any case he usually styled himself ‘Le Pampilhe’ or ‘L’Innocent égaré’, not ‘L’Amoureux de Vertu’.
The *Oraison de Mars* itself is, like Philibert’s *Indignation de Cupido*, a poem put into the mouth of a god. At first glance it is a self-defence and a self-praise by the god of war. However, Colet makes his true feelings on the subject of war more than plain in his prefatory epistle, dedicated to one Charles de Haultcourt, and in the *Responce pour les Dames de la Court au Dieu Mars*. Colet’s attacks on war far outnumber and outweigh Mars’ rather feeble self-defence. The *Oraison* can therefore be described as a satirical eulogy, closely related to the long line of such works written all over Europe throughout the sixteenth century.

The *Epistre*, which was Philibert de Vienne’s main contribution to the work of his fellow ‘Champenois’, is closely linked with the *Oraison* and the *Responce*. The *Oraison* had been a self-defence by Mars, the *Responce* a bitter attack on the same god by the ladies of the court. Philibert imagines that the great god has been won over by the ladies’ tears and pleas. However, the tone of the *Epistre* is far less serious than that of the two preceding poems. Following the 1544 edition, it runs:

*L’Epistre de l’Amoureux de Vertu aux dames de France fugitives pour les guerres.*

Or veoy ie bien que Mars est convaincu,
Voz arguments, mes Dames, l’ont vaincu,
Vostre parlér l’a rendu amiable.
Il est cruel, mais il est raisonnable,
Car il est Dieu, pourtant vostre oraison
L’a fait soubdain condescendre a raison.
Diray ie point que vos bonnes prières,
Voz cris, vos leieux dont isoient des rivieres,
Tant vous estiez d’impatience attainctes ;
Diray ie point que vos doulces complaintes,
Qui font souvent amour d’une amitié,
Ayent ce Dieu converti a pitié ?
Diray ie point que votre passion
Ait ce dieu Mars meu a compassion ?

---

1 This poem appears in both editions. In quoting it, Latin abbreviations have been expanded.
2 Du Verdier considered it a serious defence of war, completely overlooking Colet’s real meaning:
Las ie le croy, car il est impossible
Que, nonobstant qu’on le die invincible,
Dur, rigoureux, cruel & redoubté,
Il n’ait esté de voz pleurs surmonté,
Et que pour vous n’ait fait cesser les armes.
Mars bien souvent s’est rendu a voz larmes,
Suyvant l’accord qu’a Venus en a fait,
Quand avec elle il fut pris sur le faict,
Si nous croyons au (sic) fables poëtiques.

Vous estes donc, Dames tresautentiques,
Moyen de paix, tant par le beau parlé,
Que par pitié de vous veoir en allé
Es champs divers, errantes commes (sic) bestes.
O pauvre temps ! ô les piteuse estes,
Qui vous souloient paravant reslour !
Quoy ? qui pourrait dire, lire, ou ouir
Les grands regretzes des amours delaissees ?
Les grands suspirs ? les songes ? les pensées ?
Le desconfort ? la desolation ?
Il me souvient des filles de Syon,
Quand leur cite iadis fut ruineée.
L’Amant voiant la face exterminée
Les ieulx battuz, & de pleurer tant las,
Ne sçait chanter a sa dame, qu’helias,
Helas, Adieu : puis l’œul ne peut mentir
Le mesme feu. Ô le dur departir !
Helas fault il (ainsi disoit quelqu’une)
Que nostre Amour soit sujett a Fortune ?
Fault il que Mars par separation
Des corps, d’un cueur face interruption ?
Certes nenny, mais l’ay paour que l’absence
Ne donne au mal, que le sens, vehemence.
Voila comment vous estiez en torment.
Dames d’honneur, & m’esbahy comment
Dame Venus, Cupido & Mercure,
Et le grand Dieu qui de vous ha grand cure
Ont ce permis, veu qu’ilz sont tant puissans,
Et que leurs noms sont encor florissans.

Le mal passé cause une plus grand’ioye.
Ne craingnez plus, remettez vous en voye,
Tout est rassis, tout est bien asseure.
Voicy le temps, le temps tant desiré,
Auquel Amours seront recompensées.
Venez compter voz songes, vos pensées,
Venez veoir cil que trouvez si bien fait
En vostre esprit, si plaisant, si parfaict,
Dames venez recevoir les hommages
De voz sujettz qui portent voz images.
On n’a pas faict responce par credit
A ce qu’un cueur de bien loing vous a dit.
Si vous tardez, ha Dames, Damoyselles,
Je diray mal de voz amours nouvelles.
Chascun s’endort, on ne fait rien icy.
Revenez done, rapportez le soucy,
Soucy ie dy tel que Venus nous donne.
Ça rendez nous, Orleans la mignonne
CHRONIQUE

Ce que Paris de garder vous prya.
Bourges, Blois, Tours rendez ce qu'il y a
De gens en vous non domiciliaires.
Sçavez vous pas qu'estes depositaires?
Rendez, voicy l'interpellation
Que le vous fay, soubs protestation,
Que si depuis le temps de la demeure,
Quelqu''une illece en nouveau feu demeure;
Pour l'interest, qui est inestimable,
Vous en rendrez une autre sa semblable,
Et Cupido sera iuge au procès,
Mercuriaux qui demandez l'acces,
Ne tendez point voz fillez a nos proies.
Paris, Challons & la ville de Troyes
Sont lieux desertz, sont sepulchres dorés,
Sont tableaux neufs no painctz ne figurés,
Sont beaux montiers ou n'y a sainetz ne sainetes.
Fournissez donc a leur justes complainctes,
Beauce, Berry, Touraine, & la Souloingne,
Tout ce pais tirant en la Bourgoingne,
Villes, Chasteaux, Prioriez, Rabajes,
Envoyez nous noz dames esbahies.
Prieurs, Abbez qui gardez en saint lieu
Noz saintz desirs, rendez les de par Dieu.
Metles les hors, ilz ne vous sont idoines,
Car desormais vous auriez trop de moyynes.
Aux Dames de France.
Retirez vous, Dames tresdesirées,
En vos maisons, ou serez asseurées:
Retirez vous, car Mars est convaincu,
Vos arguments, & vos pleurs l'ont vaincu.
Fin de l'Epistre de l'Amoureux de vertu aux Dames de
France fugitives pour les guerres.

From the prominence given to the Epistre in Colet's collection, it would appear that amongst his friends Philibert enjoyed a considerable reputation as a poet. At the time when he wrote the Epistre he had of course not yet written his long prose work, the Philosophe de Court; indeed, up to 1547, those of his works known to us are all in verse.

After 1548, date of the second edition of both the Philosophe de Court and the Oraison de Mars, there seems to be no further definite information about Philibert de Vienne. However, in the Poèmes of Pierre de Brach¹, published in 1576, appears a sonnet dedicated to 'Ma. Vienne, Advocat en la Cour'. The same volume also contains a short liminary poem in Latin, signed M. Vienus. In view of the length of time between the last known published work by Philibert de Vienne and the year 1576, one cannot with certainty ascribe the Latin poem to him, or state that it is to him that the sonnet refers.

¹ There were two editions of Pierre de Brach's works:
Les poèmes de Pierre de Brach Bourdelois. Divisés en trois livres. A Bourdeaux, par Simon Millanges, 1576; and a second one, also by S. Millanges, at Bordeaux, in 1582.
However, such a supposition is not altogether absurd, and in any case the sonnet includes interesting references to poets of, or associated with the Pléiade.

The pages of the Poèmes are not numbered until the start of the Premier Livre, but the Latin poem occurs on the ninth page of the introductory section:

Ausonii veterem renovasti Bracche coronam,
Quae incuit longo pulverulenta situ.
Texta fuit Divae primaevo flore Minervae,
Quem tibi pubenti docta Tholosa tulit.
At nunc victor ovans iuvenili grandior aevo
Tollis Apollinea laurea sceptram manu.
Sceptrum, corona, duo Regalia signa coruscant.
Hoc tibi ius vatum laurea sceptrum ferunt.
Sceptrum, corona, ruunt diverso concita facto.
At tua non unquam laurea sceptrum ruent.

M. Vieneus.

The sonnet is contained in Book Three, the Meslanges, (p. 174):

A Ma. Viene, Advocat en la Cour.

Le Loir marque les bords de sa plus haute rive,
S'enfendant, enorgueilli, des vers du Vandomois,
Et le Loire fameux s'ennfle dessous la voix
De son Bellay, mourant d'une mort trop hastive.
La Seine hausse son eau d'une courte plus vive,
Par Baff, par Jodelle, ornement du François,
Sarte, & Huine, en leur cours a l'envi de ces trois,
Par Garnier, par Belleau, poussent leur eau tardive.
Ainsi le ruisseau lent, & le fleuve endormi,
Comme une grande mer, ayant un Poète ami,
Fait son flot inconnu voir aux terres estranges.
Heureuse notre mer, toi VIENE, heureux aussi,
Elle qui soubs tes vers se voit enfler ainsi :
Et toi qui sur ses flots dois charger tes louanges.

London

Annette Porter.