The Anti-Courtier Trend In Sixteenth Century French Literature.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is an attempt to survey the development of the Anti-Courtier Trend in sixteenth century French literature. The first part of the thesis is devoted to an examination of the literary sources which influenced this trend, starting with Latin and Greek literature, and including Neo-Latin works, Italian works, Spanish works and finally, Medieval works - both in Latin and in French. Part two is a chronological survey of the sixteenth century French works which constitute the anti-courtier trend. It is divided into three chapters which represent three distinct periods in the evolution of the trend. These are, firstly, the Pre-Renaissance period, from 1498-1539, secondly, the Renaissance period, from 1540-1559, and finally, the period of the Religious Wars, from 1560 to the close of the century. Each of these chapters is preceded by a short account of the factors, political, social, economic and literary, operative in determining or modifying the development and evolution of the trend in that particular period. The thesis is completed by two appendices, the first a chronological list of sixteenth century French works comprising the anti-courtier trend, the second a bibliography of the French translations of the works of Antonio de Guevara published between 1531-1605, and finally by a bibliography of works consulted.
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**Introduction.**

In deciding upon a chronological approach to the subject of anti-courtier writings in sixteenth century French literature, I have been influenced both by the extent and the nature of the period covered, a period of great change, marked by the Italian wars, by the Renaissance of letters, and by the Religious wars. These events, among others, are reflected in the literature of the sixteenth century, not least in the anti-courtier trend. The chronological approach has therefore allowed us to emphasize the transformation, provoked by such occurrences, within this trend. Accordingly, interest in this transformation, which may be observed in three distinct stages, will explain our division of the century into three periods, since this must otherwise seem somewhat arbitrary and artificial. At the same time, it has been possible to combine the overall chronological survey with a topic by topic analysis of our theme within each phase or period of its evolution. To have relied entirely upon this method of subdividing the main theme into various topics would on the other hand, have obscured the process of transformation and would have entailed some repetition and much confusion, since the more complete and extensive anti-courtier satires would have to be reintroduced and studied over several chapters.

Finally, wherever we have used the word satire, it is understood, unless otherwise indicated, to include all manner of attack, from direct criticism, to ridicule, to sophisticated irony and parody.
Chapter I. The Classical Influence

It would be difficult to overestimate the influence of Latin and Greek writers on the development and evolution of the anti-courtier trend in French Renaissance literature, both directly and indirectly. We can say straightaway, in fact, that one of the reasons for the increase in the number and vehemence of the attacks on courtiers in the French literature of our period, was the frequency of the attacks on parasites and sycophants in Ancient literature. The prototype of the sixteenth century French courtier is to be found in the cohorts of legacy hunters, dinner hunters, flatterers, charlatan professors and private tutors who were the constant target of dramatists, satirists, and moralists in Rome and Athens.

The stock character of Roman comedy is the parasite, and the most typical representative of the breed is Gnatho, in Terence's _Eunuchus_\(^1\). He was certainly also one of the

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most familiar, since Terence was extremely popular in the Middle Ages, and his influence was maintained by being widely studied and acted in the schools. He was also one of the four most popular authors of the Rhetoriqueurs. Editions of the complete works published in the fifteenth century are almost too numerous to mention, and the influence of this author was further strengthened and increased by the various translations into French of the plays, which appeared during the Renaissance, the first of

1) John of Salisbury and Jean de Montreuil, secretary to Charles VI, both writing in Latin, quote Terence extensively, the former in his Policraticus, when he draws on the Manuchus in particular, the latter in almost all his writings. He invokes the authority of Terence especially with reference to court life, see below ch.V, pp. 148-9. Nicolas de Clemanges compares the machinations of churchmen to those of Gnatho in his treatise De Corruptio Ecclesiae Statu, in Opera, Leyden, p.15, col.1.


3) Brunet, Manuel du Libraire, quotes at least 20 editions of the complete works, published without date, place or name of printer in the last 20 years of the fifteenth century, in addition to at least this number again which can be dated, starting with the original Venice edition of 1471. The most important edition of the complete works in France was probably that of Erasmus, printed in Paris by R. Stephanus in 1538, and subsequently in 1539, 1540, 1541, in Paris and Lyons.
which, attributed to Octovien de Saint-Gelais, was published in Paris around 1500. 1) Baif's translation of the *Eumuchus* was performed in Paris in 1565. 2)

Gnatho, more real and less grotesque than the typical Plautine gourmandiser, more plausible and more subtle too, is the inventor of a new code for social success, of which he is very proud. He gives a very revealing prospectus and panegyric of the profession of parasite:

"hoc novomst aucupium; ego adeo hanc primus inveni viam.
est genus hominum qui esse primos se omnium rerum volunt
nec sunt: hos consector; hisce ego non paro
me ut rideant,
sed eis ul tuo adrideo et eorum ingenia admiror simul.
quidquid dicunt laudo; id rursum si negant,
laudo id quoque;
negat quis: nego; ait:ai o; postremo imperavi
egomet mihi
omnia adsentari. is quaestus nunc et multo uberrimus." 3)

1) *Therence en françois, prose et rime, avec le latin*, Paris, Par Antoine Vérand, c.1500.


3) *op.cit.* 2.2. pp.256-8.
Gnatho has brought his art to such perfection that he intends to found a school of flatterers, rather in the manner of a school of philosophers, whose disciples should be known as Gnathonici.

Gnatho's brand of flattery is that which is universally and eternally practised. It was therefore natural in the sixteenth century to identify Gnatho with his descendant, the much despised courtier, as John of Salisbury had in fact done in his Poliecranicas in the twelfth century, and as Niphus did in his treatise De Re Aulisa of 1534. 1) The analogy between the two was especially easy to draw since in Latin comedy the term 'rex' was used by a parasite to designate his patron. 2)

The contribution of the Latin satirists to the anti-courtier trend in the early part of our period is slight. The imitation of their works in general by French writers was rare before 1549. 3) Horace was of course known and quoted at the time, and the first French translations of

2) Cf. Terence, Phormio, 336; Plautus, Captivi, 92; also Horace, Epistles, i, XVII, v. 45.
single poems began to appear in 1544, but it was after Du Bellay had advocated him as a model for aspiring satirists to follow, in his Deffence et Illustration, of 1549, that the poets of the Pléiade consciously imitated him to a considerable extent. Ronsard for one seems to have preferred Horace to Juvenal. The first relatively extensive French translation of Horace— it contained in fact the first book of the Satires, dedicated by François Habert to Mellin de Saint-Gelais, did not appear until 1549 either.

1) On the influence of Horace in particular see R. Lebègue, Horace En France Pendant La Renaissance, in Humanisme et Renaissance, vol.III, 1936. Jean du Pontalais mentions Horace in his Contredictz de Songescruez, fo.CLXXI, Rabelais several times in his works—cf. Flattard, L'Oeuvre de Rabelais, Paris, Champion, 1910, p.201. There were three translations of Horace published in 1544, one of the First Satires, imblank octosyllabic verses in the Oeuvres of Bonaventure des Périers, who had just died (published in Lacour's edition of the Complete Works, Paris, 1866, vol.I, pp.97-102); the second was Jean Martin's translation of the epode Beatus Ille, in decasyllabic verse, appended to his translation of Sannazaro's Arcadia; the third was Peletier's translation of the Art Poétique, of which only the second edition of 1545 is known. Peletier's Oeuvres Poétiques, Paris, M.Vascosan, 1547, contain adaptations of Odes I, XXXI, and II, XVI and of Epode II.


3) See Lebègue, art.p.161. This translation was reedited in 1551 and enlarged to include the remaining Satires, 7 Epistles (I, 1, 2, 4, 5, 9, 18, 19) and Odes IV.
Of Horace's satirical writings\(^1\) there is one, the fifth satire of the second book, a satire of legacy hunters, which is of special interest to us. This satire, one of his most trenchant and effective, takes the form of a dialogue between Ulysses and Tiresias, and is in fact a parody of the scene in the *Odyssey* when Ulysses learns from Tiresias that he will return to Ithaca only when poverty-stricken. He therefore requires the advice of the sage as to ways and means of amassing a fortune again.

This is the pretext which allows Horace to prescribe, in ironical vein, the precepts which must be followed by those cultivating the art of legacy hunting, in order to meet with ultimate success. Having come upon a rich, childless old man on whom to prey, the chief rule is to embrace his cause, be his counsel and his nurse. But have a second string, lest your unsolicited attentions to a childless man should betray you. Make common cause with any crafty freedman whose words carry weight with your victim. But tireless concern and unremitting devotion will serve you best of all. Praise his verses, indulge his passions, but temper zeal with discretion—

"Cautus adito:
neu desis operae neve immoderatus abundes.
difficilem et morosum offendet garrulus; ultra
non etiam sileas. Davus sis comicus atque
stes capite obstipo, multum similis mebuenti.
obsequio grassare; mone, si increbuit aura,
cautus uti velet carum caput; extrahe turba
oppositis umeris; aurem substringe loquaci.
Importunus amat laudare: donec 'che iam!'
acaelum manibus sublatis dixerit, urge,
crescentem tumidis infla sermonibus utrem." 1)

The contempt shown by Horace for the fortune hunters
of his day, in this poem, is little different from the
hatred of benefice- and bishopric-hunting courtiers shown
by French satirists of the sixteenth century, and indeed,
was yet another useful literary precedent for them, to
justify their own writings on this subject. By his use of
irony and parody in this particular satire Horace clearly
foreshadows Lucian 2), and it is not therefore surprising
to find that the style in which Du Bellay wrote his Poète
Courtisan 3), a work now known to be an imitation of Lucian's

1) op.cit. p.206, v.88-98.

2) The whole question of Lucian's resemblances to Horace, which
with regard to this satire, are really quite striking, is a
very difficult one. Such resemblances are due, in the opinion
of Lejay, the French editor of the Satires, to a direct
knowledge of the Roman poet on the part of the Greek writer.
This view is by no means universally accepted. Fiske, Luci-
lius and Horace, Wisconsin, 1920, p.401 argues that they may
really be due to their common indebtedness to Menippus of
Gadara.

3) On the Poète Courtisan see below pp. 41, 328, 591.
Rhetor, has been attributed, in the past, to the influence of Horace.

So far we have considered Horace's satire of fortune hunters in attempting to assess his influence on French anti-courtier writings. But more important still, though in a less obvious way, is his love and praise of the quiet country life, a theme which is constant in all his works, odes, epistles and satires, a theme which has guaranteed his popularity throughout the ages. The sixteenth century was certainly no exception. We may say, without exaggeration, that no two single poems were more often copied, adapted, translated than the epode of Horace Beatus Ille Qui Procul negotiis, and the later imitation of the same poem by Claudian, intitled De Sene Veronense, which begins:

1) On Lucian's Rhetor as a source of Du Bellay's poem see below pp.41 and ch. vii pp. 388, sqq.

2) Fleuret et Perceau, op.cit.p.xviii say; speaking of Ronsard, "son modèle le plus direct fut Du Bellay, plus pur, plus parfait que lui dans Le Poète Courtisan...Ronsard y trouva le style familier que Du Bellay avait su transposer d'Horace."

3) In all the following the moderation of the quiet country life is preferred to a life of ambition - Odes II.16, III.1, 16, Epistles I, 10, 16, Satires, II, 6.

"Felix qui propriis aevum transegit in arvis.
Ipse domus puere quem videt, ipse senem..."\(^1\)

Even a summary reckoning finds, in an Italian anthology of satires published in 1560\(^2\), three authors, Ariosto, Alamanni, Bentivoglio, who executed variations on this Horatian theme, while in Spain Luis de León produced, in imitation of Horace's epode, one of his most famous poems, Vida Retirada, and Guevara constructed his Menosprecio de Corte\(^3\) around the commonplace eulogy of country life, which he contrasted with court life.

In France imitations were, if anything, even more numerous, and it is interesting to trace the gradual transformation which the two original Latin poems, indirect satires of ambition, underwent in sixteenth century French literature. In the poems of Horace and Claudian the virtues of the country life are opposed to the dangers, irritations, and complexities of the life of merchants, soldiers and city business men and officials. This structure is followed very closely in early imitations. Thus, in the poem of Mellin de Saint-Gelais, "O bienheureux qui a passé son aage/ Dedans le clos de son propre heritage..."\(^4\), no

3) See below, ch.IV, p.134.
4) This poem appears in Corrozet's anthology, Parnasse des poètes modernes français, Paris, 1571, fo.34.
attempt is made by the poet to extend the application of Claudian's poem to contemporary life and times; it is little more than a translation. Soon, however, freer adaptations of the theme began to appear which were more relevant to contemporary society. The country life was preferred, not to the merchant's, soldier's, business man's life, but to the life of the courtier. Thus much is implied in Du Bellay's adaptation in this sonnet of the Regrets

"O! qu'heureux est celuy qui peut passer son age Entre pareils à soy & qui sans fiction Sans crainte, sans envie & sans ambition, Regne paisiblement en son pauvre mesnage...

Il ne s'empesche point des affaires d'autrui,
Son principal espoir ne depend que de lu,
Il est sa court, son roy, sa faveur & son maistre."

and in the following imitations which are all, in varying degrees, satires of court life: Ronsard, Discours à Odet de Coligny, Desportes, "O bienheureux qui peut passer sa vie" 1) Vauquelin de la Fresnaye's Satyre à Repichon 2), Jean de La Jessée's Sonnet, "Heureux cent fois qui peut user sa vie" 3) and finally Pibrac's, Plaisirs de la Vie Rustique. 4) Ronsard's


4) Satyres Francoizes, Caen, 1606. See below, pp.696-99.

poem *La Salade*¹, although not an imitation of the Epode *Beatus Ille*, makes use of the general horatian contrast between modest contentment and ambition, to attack court life. Other French satires of court life based on the contrast between court and country life are descended less directly from the classical theme, via the influence of Guevara.² Guevara himself, it is interesting to note, was influenced in his adaptation of this classical contrast by Seneca as well as by Horace and Claudian. The question of retirement is one which Seneca deals with in his Letters to Lucilius.³

Juvenal, like Horace, was known and quoted in the first half of the sixteenth century in France, but the first translation of his satires into French, by Michel d’Amboise⁴, did not appear until relatively late,⁵ 1544.

continued from previous page:


2) For a list of these works see below ch.VIII, pp. 487-506. Some writers combined imitation of Guevara with direct borrowings from Claudian and Horace, i.e. Du Tronchet, Rapin, and Isaac Habert. See ch. VIII, pp. 487-489.

3) In Letters, 8, 19, 68 especially. See below ch.IV, pp. 137-137.

4) See Fleuret et Perseau, ed. cit. p. xii.

5) Late as compared with the translations of such authors as Ovid, Terence, (cf. p. 3) and Virgil.
and this was far from being a complete translation.¹ He was not generally popular with the prose satirists of the early Renaissance, partly perhaps because of Erasmus' condemnation of him - in the preface to his *Encomium Moriae* he says that he prefers not to imitate Juvenal in stirring up secret crimes and abuses but chooses to describe what is laughable rather than what is disgusting. In spite of this judgement however, some of Juvenal's most pithy sayings later found their way into his collection of *Adages*, and it is from this source, rather than directly from one of the many contemporary editions of Juvenal's satires, that Rabelais quotes him.

¹) Only satires VIII, X, XI, XIII were in fact translated. It is surprising how few attempts were made to translate Juvenal into the vernacular languages. There was in fact only one complete translation of Juvenal into a modern language until well into the seventeenth century. This was a free version in Italian terza rima published c.1490 by Zorgi Summaripa. Geronimo de Villegas translated the tenth satire into Spanish in 1515. Again in Italian, Lodovico Dolce dedicated a paraphrase of the sixth to Titian in 1539.


³) Highet, *op.cit.* p. 211.
Apart from such references and quotations, and the attempt at a French translation, Juvenal was not truly appreciated, far less imitated, in France, much before 1550. In the second half of the century the situation changes. The poets of the Pleiade recognised him as a model to be followed, although they preferred Horace, and imitations accordingly appeared. 1) Scaliger acclaimed him the best of satirists, and in 1585 François Pithou made a valuable contribution to the fortunes of Juvenal by publishing the text of a recently discovered, and far less corrupt manuscript of the satires. Regnier completed the revival of interest, by declaring his preference for Juvenal over Horace:

"Il faut suivre un sentier qui soit moins rebattu,
Et, conduit d'Apollon, reconnaisstre la trace
Du libre Juvenal; trop discret est Horace
Pour un homme piqué."

Of all the Latin satires known in France at the time, those of Juvenal are the most important as a direct source of anti-courtier satire. His satires, in particular the third, second and ninth, and to a lesser extent the fifth and tenth, have a special relevance for sixteenth century

1) One by Tahureau, his Ode à Jacques de St. François, Seigneur d'Aunay, an imitation of Satire VIII, in his Premières Poesies, Poitiers 1554. The third poem of Ronsard's Bocage Royal, addressed to Henri III, ed. cit. vol.III, p.204-9, is in part an imitation of Juvenal's first satire, on the theme "difficile est saturam non scribere."

2) Highet, op. cit. p.214.

French satirists of court life.

Juvenal's third satire, perhaps the most artistically perfect of them all, gives us a vivid exposition of the Roman society of his day in the words of a friend Umbricius who, disgusted with the life of the capital, has decided that it is time for him to move to the coast. The reasons he gives in his famous speech are briefly these: that it is impossible for a man to make an honest living in Rome where true merit passes unrecognised, where public acclamation is reserved for the self-made, self-enriched contractors and speculators, the "arrivistes". Success otherwise comes only to those who are willing to lie, to fawn and crawl, to burn accomplice in any crime. Romans are ousted from the posts to which they aspire by Greeks and foreigners from the East. The Greeks especially, in a torrent of bitter invective, he lampoons as a nation of proverbial charlatans and play actors ready to fill any role, usurp any position:

"ingenium velox, audacia perdita, sermo promptus et Isaeo torrentior: ede quid illum esse putes? quemvis hominem secum attulit ad nos:
grammaticus rhetor geometres pistor aliptes
augur schoenobates medicus magus: omnia novit graeculus esuriens." 1)

and he analyses fully their brand of smooth-tongued flattery:

"Quid quod adulandi gens prudensissima laudat
sermonem indocti, faciem deformis amici,
et longum invalidi collum cervicibus aequat
Herculis Antaeum procul a tellure tenentis,
miratur vocem angustam, qua deterius nec
ille sonat quo mordetur gallina marito?...
natio comoeda est. rides, maiore cachinno
concitatur; flet, si lacrimas conspexit amici,
nec dolent igniculum brumae si tempore poscas;
accept endromidem; si dixeris 'aestuo', sudat,
non sumus ergo pares; melior, qui semper et omni
nocte dieque potest aliena sumere vultum
a facie, iactare manus, laudare paratus."

Nothing is more bitter, more pathetic, than his complaint that nowhere does it count for so little to be a Roman, than in Rome itself:

"nem cum faciilem stillavit in aurem
exiguum de naturae patriaeque venenio,
limine summover, perierunt tempora longi
servitii; musquam minor est iactura clientiis."}

Juvenal continues by expressing his concern that poor men are despised, that everyone is forced to live above his means in Rome and concludes with a graphic account of the noise, bustle and danger of city life.

The ninth satire, like the second, deals with homosexuality, which Juvenal regarded as the chief source of corruption in the Rome of his day.

Both the fifth and tenth satires were popular in the Middle Ages. The fifth treats of a favourite theme in Latin

1) op.cit. p.38 v.88-91, 100-6. 2) op.cit.n.240, v.122-5.
satire, the banquet. 1) It contains more precisely the account of the humiliations suffered by the poor client at the rich man's table, who, at every course, is served with inferior food and drink, to make him fully aware of his dependent status.

The tenth satire is a rhetorical declamation on the vanity of human wishes. Those who long for riches are reminded of the fate of Seneca, of Lateranum, of Longinus; those who lust for power, that of Pompey and Sejanus, while yet others who have striven for greatness, for example Cicero and Demosthenes, have fallen by their talents. The vanities of military glory, of the glory of motherhood and old age, end this dismal catalogue of human failures.

Juvenal's influence on the anti-courtier trend in sixteenth century French literature is twofold. His indirect influence was considerable. A very large number of Neo-Latin, German, Italian satires, which were themselves imitated by French satirists, contained imitations of Juvenal.

1) Lucilius was probably the first to establish the tradition of this theme in Latin satire. He wrote at least five satires on banquets. Horace's Satire VIII, bk. II is probably modelled on one of these. Manacorda, in his article Notizie Intorno Alle Fonti Di Alcuni Motivi Satirici Ed Alla Loro Diffusione Durante Il Rinascimento, in Romanische Forschungen, Erlangen, Band XXII, H. III pp. 735-760 gives three examples of this theme, Pliny the Younger, Epistles, II, 6, Petronius, Satyricon, XXXI, and in Greek Literature, Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae, VI, 5 in Il Convito Del Cortegiano, p. 735.
Imitations by Neo-Latin writers were confined almost exclusively to the fifth and tenth satires which were used extensively by Piccolomini in his De Curialium Miseriis, and by Huten in his dialogue Aula, both of which were popular in France in their own right. Brandt, the author of the very popular Narrenschiff, a review of the follies of each class and department of society, borrows extensively from the tenth satire of section 26 of his poem, both in plan and ideas. Juvenal's third satire was popular with the Italian poet Alamanni, who adapted it

4) Section 26 of the Narrenschiff falls into four divisions which correspond roughly to the divisions of the Tenth satire of Juvenal.
   b) Old age
   c) Beauty
   d) Power
in his satire addressed to Tomaso Sertini\(^1\), and it is from this indirect source that Vauquelin de La Fresnaye imitates it in his *Satire A Philippe de Noent*\(^2\). Claude de Frellon imitates it too, in his *Discours à M. de la Broue*, possibly also via Alamanni, although this is difficult to state with certainty.\(^3\) Such indirect influence therefore bore fruit mainly in the last quarter of the sixteenth century in France.\(^4\)

This is also true of Juvenal's direct influence, and it is not difficult to understand why this should have been so. The early of first Renaissance in France was a time of enthusiastic advancement, and hope of further progress. Then, there was no predominant feeling that merit was unrecognised and unrewarded, that the royal favours were unjustly distributed or withheld, and this is reflected in the fact that there is little criticism of court life or courtiers in the works of Marot and Rabelais. However, in the latter years of the century the prevailing feeling was one of pessimism, social changes took place which accentuated the resemblance between the Rome of Domitian and the court of the Valois. The homosexuals whom

2) *Satyres Francaises*, Caen, 1604. On V.de la Fresnaye, see below, ch.VIII, pp.512-3.
3) This poem was first published in *La Muse Guerriere*, 1587. See below ch.VIII, pp.512-3.
4) With the exception of its extremely unobtrusive (imperceptible almost) influence in imitations of Piccolomini in period 1640 - 1680. See below, pp.516-17.
Juvenal attacked as responsible for the corruption of Roman society, reappeared as the "mignons" at the French court. Juvenal's fierce xenophobia, directed mainly against the "graeculus esuriens", had only to be redirected, to find an equally deserving target in the Italian émigrés, consummate flatterers and charlatans all, who enjoyed disproportionate influence at the French court under the aegis of Catherine de Médicis. The only road to success open to native born Frenchmen at the French court was the same as that described by Umbricius for Romans at Rome. It is not surprising then that Juvenal's indignation was echoed by French satirists of court life in the later sixteenth century.

The relevance of Juvenal's criticisms was recognised in particular by Henri Estienne. In the course of a discussion on contemporary manners and morals in Les Deux Dialogues Du Nouveau Langage, François Italianise, François Italianise, Celtochile says:

"Ne trouvez-vous pas en ce poète satyrique plusieurs autres remonstrances qui auroyent besoin d'être faictes aux courtisans de ce temps?"

Ronsard, in the Bocage Royal, in a poem addressed to Henri III, adapts the speech of Umbricius in Juvenal's third

satire. There are several direct adaptations of Juvenal in the satires of Regnier, including a reminiscence of Umbricius' speech, in his Satire au Marquis de Coeuvres. In the violence of his tone at least, D'Aubigné recalls Juvenal, in the second part of Les Tragiques, and it has often been suggested that in his attacks on the "mignons de court" he was reminded more closely of Juvenal's second and ninth satires but there is surprisingly little firm evidence of this. However we will return to this question later.

II.

The influence of Greek literature on the anti-courtier trend in our period is confined to two writers who followed closely upon each other; one a moralist—whose approach to the problems of his day was rational and didactic—Plutarch; the other a satirist, Lucian.

1) On this point see Hight, op.cit. p.249.
2) ed.cit. p.29. See below, ch. VIII, p. 51.
The influence of Plutarch on the general movement of ideas and reorientation of sixteenth century French literature towards rationalism, is recognised and accepted by all literary historians. No other Greek writer enjoyed greater authority, or was more widely accepted as counsellor and arbiter in matters ethical and moral than Plutarch. No better testimony to this can be found than the generous tribute of Du Verdier:

"Et dire que le renom de cet excellent auteur grec s'est rendu immortel, à vivra tant que le monde sera en estre, avec telle & si grande gloire & admiration de quiconque le lit, que les plus doctes estiment, ordinairement que si jamais il advenoit par cas ou nécessité, que tous les livres du monde fussent brulés ou perdus (étant toujours de ce nombre les saints escrits) & qu'il en fallût conserver un tant seulement, ce seroit Plutarque seul, auquel on donneroit cet advantage comme à celui, qui pour sa rareté & accomplissement, pouvoit rendre tolerable le désir qu'on aurroit des autres, & faire cesser le deuil du besoin qu'on souffroit pour la perte du reste."

No other Greek writer, with the possible exception of Lucian and Plato, was more published, translated, imitated.  

1) On this point see especially P.Villey, Les Sources et Evolution des Essais de Montaigne, vol.1, Paris, Hachette, 1933.


Rabelais, Montaigne, La Boétie, Bodin, and Charron are all indebted to him in varying degrees. In spite of this, however, Plutarch's influence on the anti-courtier writings of our period, has never before been established or assessed.

Plutarch's contribution to anti-courtier literature in the French Renaissance, lies in his treatise on flatterers Quomodo Adulator Ab Amico Internoscatur. It was among those works of the Moralia which were translated into Latin by Erasmus, and it has the distinction of being the first of Plutarch's works ever to be published in a French translation, a fact which seems largely to have escaped attention. The translator was François Sauvaige, and the work was printed in Paris, in 1520.

1) See Plattard, *op.cit.*
4) *De Discrimine Adulatoris et Amici*, Venice, Aldus, 1513. It is this translation which was used by both Sauvaige and Du Saix as the basis of their translations into French as the title pages of their published translations show. Erasmus was one of the many great European humanists to translate Plutarch into Latin. The others include Politiano, Pirckheimer, Melanchton, Budé, Turnebe, N. Estienne.
5) *Le Livre de Plutarque, mout utile et profitable à toutes gens de quelque estat qu'ils soient Pour discerner un vrai ami d'avacques un flateur*, par François Sauvaige, Paris, Ives Gallois, 1520. For a description of this translation see Bliignières, *op.cit.* p.170 and p.426, note R.
years later another translation, which was to be reprinted several times, by Antoine du Saix, was published. These translations thus ensured a wide diffusion of the treatise even before the appearance of Amyot’s translation of the *Moralia* in 1572, which was itself subsequently reprinted countless times. The popularity of this treatise in France, published separately or collectively with Plutarch’s other moral writings, is thus established beyond all reasonable doubt.

The title of the treatise describes its contents and explains the author’s purpose, which is to provide a set of rules for the guidance of those who may need to distinguish between flatterer and true friend. Plutarch first establishes the disposition of the true friend, examines his behaviour, thoughts, words, in various situations. He then examines the conduct of the flatterer in identical situations, comparing and contrasting his reactions with the previously determined reactions of the true friend. The result is a series of parallels and antitheses, striking

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in their penetration and sagacity, illustrated here and there by similes taken from nature and anecdotes from history.

Plutarch's concern is for the welfare of empires, states, and great households. He makes it clear from the outset, that he is not writing about mere dinner-hunters and such common parasites, but about the more subtle, and for this reason, infinitely more dangerous sycophants who attach themselves to men of great power and position, in other words the courtiers of contemporary Greek society, whose advance and rise to power must be fiercely contested by every possible means.

Our best defence is a knowledge of our opponent and of his strategy, but we must be careful since the flatterer is careful to model his conduct upon that of the true friend. Thus he is always cheerful of countenance and amiable, and observing that friends are drawn to each other by community of interest and outlook, he endeavours to adapt his own interests to those of his victim. But his most plausible trick yet, based upon the observation that frank speaking is the language of friendship, is to appear critical from time to time:

"just as clever cooks employ bitter extracts and astrigent flavourings to remove the cloying effect of sweet things, so flatterers apply a frankness which is not genuine or beneficial but which, as
it were, winks while it frowns, and does nothing but tickle." 1)

The flatterer therefore tries to remain undetected and to deceive by resembling the true friend. He will only be undone if it can be shown that there are discrepancies in his conduct.

From this is deduced the first rule. The test for a flatterer is to ask oneself whether a man is consistent in his tastes, opinions, friendships, whether his life follows the ordered pattern of the life of a friend and free-born man, for the flatterer:

"is not simple, is not one, but variable and many in one, and like water that is poured into one receptacle after another, he is constantly on the move from place to place and changes his shape to fit his receiver." 2)

Here then is the first difference between friend and flatterer. The one is truly like-minded, the other cultivates like-mindedness as the occasion arises:

"If he is on the track of the scholarly and studious young man, now again he is absorbed in his books, his beard grows down to his feet, the scholar's gown is the thing now and a Stoic indifference, and endless talk about Plato's numbers and right-angled triangles. At another time, if some easy tempered man fall into his way, who is a hard drinker and rich, off goes the scholar's gown, the beard is mown down like an unprofitable crop; it's wine coolers and glasses now, bursts of laughter

1) op.cit. p.277.
2) op.cit. p.281.
while walking in the streets and frivolous jokes against the devotees of philosophy. 1)

His inconsistency of opinion is just as great as the impermanence of his tastes, since at one moment he will echo your distrust and dislike of a mutual acquaintance, but is just as swift to modify this judgement to one of praise and commendation, should you change your mind:

"it is not because of his own feelings that he loves and hates, and rejoices and grieves, but that, like a mirror, he only catches the images of alien feelings, lives and movements." 2)

The second point to be observed is this. While a friend only imitates and commends what is laudable, the flatterer imitates without moderation the most unfortunate defects in his victim. Thus disciples copied Plato's stoop, Aristotle's lisp, and the followers of Dionysius, whose sight was failing, flattered him by pretending to be afflicted with the same malady. If he does imitate good qualities and accomplishments he is careful always to concede supremacy in these matters to his victim, since his aim is to show that he thinks the tastes of his victim are excellent by imitating them, and his prowess unrivalled.

Having dealt with the differences and discrepancies which arise through the flatterer's attempt to conform,

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1) op.cit. p.283.
2) op.cit. p.285.
Plutarch then compares, in a very elaborate parallel, the purpose and consequences of friendship—which are beneficial—and the purposes and consequences of flattery, which are adverse and harmful. A true friend is rather like a physician in that, although some of his medicine is pleasant to the taste, this is incidental, its most beneficial effects may be those which make it least agreeable. On the other hand, the flatterer offers not medicine but perfume, which gives pleasure always to the recipient, but has no beneficial or remedial qualities. Thus flattery calls vice virtue, disguises prodigality as liberality, so that the victim is not disgusted but delighted with himself, and further fosters vice by disparaging opposite qualities. Or the flatterer may encourage his victim less directly, by reporting to him the praises of others, may puff him up by asking his advice, since the flatterer intends that his confidence should be taken as a testimony of the victim's skill, and intimates that he has not merely received advice, but has been divinely enlightened, or he may flatter by a silence which indicates extreme deference, submission even, to the rich and important.

Another important distinction which may be observed between friend and flatterer, is in the matter of frankness, since the flatterer will more often than not, make a parade of harshness, will be as immoderate in criticism as he is in commendation.
However, it is in considering the offices, services and ministrations of friend and flatterer that the most revealing and significant differences will be noted. The parallel here takes the form of a vividly dramatic little sketch:

"Take the case of one person meeting another: a friend sometimes, without the exchange of a word, but merely by a glance and a smile, gives and receives through the medium of the eyes an intimation of the good will and intimacy that is in the heart and passes on. But the flatterer runs, pursues, extends his greeting at a distance, and if he be seen and spoken to first, he pleads his defence with witnesses and oaths over and over again." 1)

Similarly, while a friend is discreet in his offers of help, the flatterer is over assiduous, and ostentatious in the execution of his services:

"shows only sweating and clamour and running to and fro that gives the appearance and suggestion of urgent and onerous business." 2)

In arduous or dangerous tasks the flatterer is foremost in begging to be excused from participation, but will willingly undertake any disreputable and shameful transaction. Otherwise he is socially and economically useless, like the ape who

"cannot guard the house like the dog, nor carry a load like the horse, nor plough the land like oxen; and so he has to bear abuse and scurrility and endure practical jokes, thus submitting to

1) op.cit. p.333.
2) op.cit. p.339.
"be made an instrument of laughter. So also with the flatterer." 1)

A final test is to consider the attitude of a man to the other friends of his patron, for whereas the true friend is happy to participate in these relationships, it is the nature of the flatterer to be envious, and to seek to destroy them. If he cannot accomplish this immediately, he openly cringes to them and makes a great show of deference to them as his superiors, while all the time intent upon a secret campaign of slander and calumny in the hope that eventually the mud will stick, and that he will replace them in the hierarchy of his patron's affections. It is here especially that we recognise the machinations of the courtier.

Plutarch's conclusion is that the most effective means of countering the menace of flattery, is to eradicate self-love and conceit, the allies of the flatterer.

1) op.cit. p.345. This passage was imitated by Rabelais, Gargantua, XL, where he adapted Plutarch's comparison to refer to the monks, thus: "Le singe ne garde point la maison comme un chien; il ne tire pas l'aroy, comme le beuf; il ne produit ny laict ny layne, comme la brebis; il ne porte pas le faiz, comme le cheval. Ce qu'il fait est tout concilier et desgaster, qui est la cause pourquoil de tous receoyt mocqueries et bastonnades. Sembleblement un moine ne labore...etc"
For sixteenth century French satirists, Plutarch's treatise was an inexhaustible source of vivid portraits of the flatterer in his many poses, and of valuable illustrative anecdotes. As such, there are traces of its influence in Les Deux Dialogues Du Nouveau Langage François Italianisé, whose author, Henri Estienne, had previously given a valuable complete edition of the Moralia in Greek and Latin, and in the little known work of Louis Le Caron, Les Questions Diverses in which he adopted the same practical, didactic approach to a problem which was every bit as pressing in his day as in Plutarch's. But its influence is perhaps greatest of all in the long poem by Guillaume du Buys, called L'Oreille du Prince, published with the rest of his poetic works in 1583. Finally, and less directly, there is evidence of textual imitation of this treatise in Guevara's Menosprecio de Corte, which is, in its own right, an important source of French anti-courtier satire.

Equally popular with the men of the Renaissance was the Greek satirist Lucian. The number of his editions is phenomenal. It has been calculated that between 1496 and 1550 the Greek text of the complete works or of part of them, was published at least eighty-five times, while the number of Latin translations for that period exceeds one hundred and twenty. These were reinforced by translations into the vernacular languages.

Lucian's, of all the writers we have so far studied in this chapter, was the most important single influence on the evolution of the anti-courtier trend in the French literature of our period. The reasons for Lucian's popularity in France during the Renaissance have been amply demonstrated. Briefly however, and with particular reference to French anti-courtier literature, it is sufficient to note the community of interest and similarity of viewpoint which existed between the Greek writer and the French satirists whose works we are to consider. Thus Lucian vigorously attacks flattery and the various exponents of


2) C.A. Mayer, the cit. p.303 and Appendix A—A Bibliography of The Editions of Lucian from 1496-1550.

3) C.A. Mayer, the cit. p.319, sqq.
this craft who flourished in the Athens of his day just as readily as they did at the French court in the sixteenth century. French satirists, realising that in Lucian's brand of satire there was a valuable and most efficacious prophylactic to be administered to the contemporary distemper, made common cause with the Greek. Apart from those Dialogues of the Dead [1] which are partly devoted to the exposure of legacy-hunting flatterers, and Timon [2], in which parasites and toadies are again attacked, the most important works for us to consider are the De Parasito [3], the Rhetorum Praeceptor [4], and the letter De Mercede Conductis Potentium Familiaribus.

The De Parasito and the Rhetorum Praeceptor are both important for the literary techniques which they employ, as well as for the social criticisms which they embody.

Lucian's purpose in writing the De Parasito was twofold, since it is not only an attack on the Athenian parasites of his day, but should also be seen in the light of

the famous controversy between philosophy and rhetoric. It is a parody of this dispute and of the attempt by philosophers to demonstrate, that, by the Stoic definition of an art, rhetoric was no such thing. Lucian here skilfully adapts the arguments, tricks of language and logic of the dialecticians for his own purpose, which is to prove ironically that, by the terms of the same stoic definition, Parasitic is an art superior to philosophy, to rhetoric, or indeed to any other art you care to mention. The work is in fact a highly refined satirical eulogy.

The dialogue is between Simon the Parasite, and Tychiades. Simon launches into a panegyric of his profession and is made to present his case in such a way that we are left in no doubt as to the real intention of the author. Thus, in his attempt to prove that parasitic is an art, or, according to the first term of the definition, "a complex of knowledges exercised in combination" he says:—

"In the case of the 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. This makes the Parasite's art even greater, since it is better than divination at distinguishing things so hidden and obscure.

As for knowing how to talk appropriately and to act in such a way as to become intimate and show himself extremely devoted to his patron,
do not you think that this shows intelligence and highly developed knowledge?

Tychiades

Yes, indeed.

Simon

And at banquets, to go away with more than anybody else, enjoying greater favour than those who do not possess the same art - do you think that can be managed without some degree of theory and wisdom?" 1)

He dismisses the second term of the definition, that an art should be directed to some end useful to the world, equally lightly, by saying that there is nothing in the world more useful than eating and drinking! Again Parasitic is superior to stoicism and epicureanism since the parasite alone attains the goal of happiness. Collectively, Parasitic excels other arts since it can be acquired without hardship, toil or application, the rewards are immediate and far greater than the effort expended.

To sixteenth century French readers of Lucian the parallel between Simon the Parasite and the courtiers of their day was obvious, since for one thing, the essential attributes of both are completely interchangeable - a ready tongue and a ready wit, coupled with a talent for flattery and a servile manner, and a common unwillingness to devote themselves to any more arduous exercise.

Quite apart from its subject matter, however, this work introduced into French literature the technique of the

1) op. cit. p.249.
satirical eulogy, and the elements of irony and parody.

Erasmus, the foremost Lucianist of the Renaissance was the first to revive the satirical eulogy in the manner of Lucian, and in his preface to the *Encomium Moriae* he quotes the *De Parasito* as a model and example of the type of work he has written. His colloquy *Pseudochei et Philetymi* is a more specific imitation of Lucian's *Parasite*.

Erasmus had shown what use could be made of Lucian's techniques. Others followed. In France, as a satirical eulogy *La Bordcrie's Amye de Court* is therefore a descendant of the *De Parasito*, while more directly, Philibert de Vienne, in *Le Philosophe de Court* adapted and developed Lucian's argument and technique even more felicitously.

Lucian's pamphlet, the *Rhetorum Praeceptor*, was also much admired in the Renaissance. The substance of the monologue is briefly this. A boy who aspires to the fame and fortune which he believes the status of public orator will confer upon him, purports to ask the advice of a professor in this subject. The advice which he is given, strictly utilitarian, is as follows. There are two roads which lead

to the summit of success. One is thorny and almost impassable, the other easy and more immediately attractive. Each road has a guide. The one, manly and vigorous who will swear by hard work and abstemious habits, with prolonged study of the classical models, as the way to succeed. The other guide, a languid effeminate, suave and seductive, will advocate, as a recipe for instant rhetoric, large quantities of each of the following, ignorance, recklessness, effrontery and impudence. In addition, he will say, it is as well to adopt an affected, sing-song delivery, a mincing gait, an effeminate style of dress, and to complete the pose, to have a host of disciples and supporters, and always a book in hand. So much for outward appearance.

In order to project a satisfactory public image one must have recourse to charlatanism and trickery. Lard your discourse therefore with Attic words and unfamiliar terms, blind them with science, coin new words and invent precedents for solecisms. Have a reserve of fairly recent speeches made by other men, on which to draw in an emergency, and if pressed to speak, reject all difficult topics as unworthy of your attention, then rely upon your wits, and let spontaneity and volubility be preferred to a logical presentation of ideas, and insert plenty of references to historical events. A masterful display of histrionic thigh-slapping and throat-clearing should effectively quell any impending rebellion on the part of the audience. Improvisation is another thing
which readily provokes admiration, and any preparation or imitation of the ancients is at all costs to be studiously avoided. Pack the audience with your own supporters to act as cheer-leaders. Off the platform, and in your private life, be arrogant in self-praise, and treat rival rhetoricians with calculated scorn and impatient derision. Give the impression of high-living, and of having a large following of devoted female admirers, since this will be seen as an irrefutable tribute to your powers as a rhetorician, the final accolade. But,

"For the rest, you need have no fear. Effrontery and shamelessness, a prompt lie, with an oath to confirm it always on the edge of your lips, jealousy and hatred of everyone, abuse and plausible slanders - all this will make you famous and distinguished in an instant." 1)

It may be wondered how such a work could be important as a source of anti-courtier literature in sixteenth century France, and what possible relevance it could have. In fact, this work is the prototype of those Renaissance satires in which the satire lies in the giving of ironical advice. Erasmus again was quick to realise the potentialities of this device, which he adopted in one of his own Colloquia, and also to effect the transposition of subject matter to a more contemporary target, since it is possible to give, or

1) op.cit. p.165.
lay down, ironical precepts for any calling, standing or profession. His own work was a satire of the nobility, the essence of which was, that to be a noble, one had only to be impudent, luxurious, and incur heavy debts.

In France, the first writer to make use of Lucian's work was A. Turnebec in his Latin satire De Nova Captandae Utilitatis Ex Literis Ratione Epistola, published anonymously in 1559. In the same year, Du Bellay, under the pseudonym I. Quintil du Tronssay, published in French a verse translation of Turnebec's satire, and his own poem on the same subject, Le Poète Courtisan. The same theme and treatment may be observed to a lesser extent in a passage of Ronsard's poem La Promesse, and in La Jesse's Poète Courtisan, imitated largely from Du Bellay's earlier work of the same name. The anonymous Médecin Courtisan, which must be also included among the number of anti-courtier satires, is based directly on Lucian's Rhetor as well.


2) On these two works see below ch. VIII, pp. 538 f. It is interesting to note that the Italian satirist Sansovino copies the Lucianic technique of ironical advice in his Second Satire—a poem also on the "poète courtisan" theme which in turn inspired Vauquelin de La Fresnaye's Satyre à J.A. de Baif. On Sansovino see below ch. III, pp. 102, 597. and on Vauquelin's imitation of his second satire see below ch. VIII, pp. 548, 599.
Lucian's De Meroede Conductis Potentium Familiaribus is a vivid and dramatic picture of life in a great man's household. This work, together with the Timon, was the most popular of Lucian's writings among humanists of the fifteenth century. It was also among the first of Lucian's works to be translated by Erasmus, and it was translated into French in 1536.

The work takes the form of a letter to a friend, Timocles, real or imaginary, who is thinking of earning a living as a private tutor in a rich man's household, to whom Lucian gives salutary warnings about the dangers and humiliations of such a life - a most effective stratagem, since by adopting this pretext the writer is cleared of any semblance of personal parti pris.

After discussing the motives which lead people to forego their personal liberty, Lucian gives us an insight into the hardships of such a life, in several memorable scenes which his dramatic talent brings to life. The running about for instance:

1) C.R.Thompson, op.cit. p.20.
3) By Fr. des Gouttes, Lyons, Fr. Juste, 1536.
"It calls for much running hither and thither, and for continued camping on doorsteps; you must get up early and wait about; meanwhile you are elbowed, you are kept locked out. You are sometimes thought impudent and annoying, you are subordinate to a doorman with a vile Syrian accent and to a Libyan master of ceremonies, and you tip them for remembering your name. 1)

or the occasional interview with the master, which proves to be an ordeal in itself:

"But your man does not even look at you for many days on end. And if ever you have a rare stroke of luck — if he sees you, calls you up and asks you a casual question, then, ah! then you sweat profusely, your head swims confusedly, you tremble inopportune, and the company laughs at you for your embarrassment." 2)

or perhaps the banquet, in which the discomfort of the new recruit is acutely portrayed, in which we see the fellow-diners and hear their jealous quips and sneers. 3)

But the ultimate humiliation is to find that you are needed, not for your academic abilities, but as the status symbol of a rich Roman, whose prestige is currently measured by the number of Greek professors in his entourage:

"As you have a long beard, present a distinguished appearance, are neatly dressed in a Greek mantle, and everybody knows you for a grammarian or a rhetorician, or a philosopher, it seems to him the proper thing to have a man of that sort among those who go before him and form his escort; it

1) op. cit. p.429-431.
2) op. cit. p.431.
3) op. cit. p.439.
will make people think him a devoted student of Greek learning and in general a person of taste in literary matters. So the chances are, my worthy friend, that instead of your marvellous lectures it is your beard and mantle that you have let for hire." 1)

This in fact is the reverse side of the medal shown by Juvenal in his third satire.

There is much in this sketch of the life of a private tutor in a rich man's house which is suggestive of the life of the Renaissance artist or writer at the court of some dignitary, since at this time the system of patronage was more widely practised than ever before, or indeed since, and the prestige of a King and his court depended upon the number and fame of the artists, writers and scholars who could be persuaded to take up residence there. In a reference to this particular work in his Epistles, Erasmus 2) emphasizes that the condition of the impecunious 'homme de lettres' was as acute in his day, as that of the hireling professor in Lucian's.

Lucian's De Mercede Conductis Potentium Familiariibus was first imitated by Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, the fifteenth century Italian humanist, in his letter De Miseriis Curialium, 1444, a satire of court life, which was itself popular in France. 3) It was also used by Hutten

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1) op.cit. p.455.
2) See F.G.Allinson, op.cit. p.147
3) See below ch.II, pp.64 sqq.
in his dialogue *Aula*, and it is, in fact indirectly, through these two *neo-Latin* works, that Lucian's letter influenced French writers.

Another of Lucian's most important legacies to sixteenth century French satirists, is the dramatic dialogue, in which Lucian claimed to have combined the socratic philosophical dialogue of Plato, with the comedy of Aristophanes. In this respect Bonaventure des Fériers's *Cymbalum Mundi* and to a lesser degree the Dialogues of Tahureau are Lucianic in character, but the most extended adaptation of the Lucianic dialogue is to be found in the later work of Estienne, *Les Deux Dialogues Du Nouveau Langage François Italianisé*.

Lucian's influence on anti-courtier satire in the French Renaissance was both direct, and indirect through the medium of *Nec-Latin* Lucianic works, and it is especially important since it resulted in concordance, not only in subject matter, but also in technique. It is in this last respect that Lucian's contribution to anti-courtier satire, as indeed to almost all French satire of this period, was

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1) See below, ch. II, pp. 67-199.
3) See below ch.VIII, pp. 594-5.
most striking and beneficial, since up until at least the first third of the century, indigenous satire consisted of nothing more flexible or diversified than simple statements of direct criticism, or more boldly, invective, and with rare exceptions seldom rose above mediocrity, whereas those French anti-courtier satires which owe most to Lucian, Le Philosophe de Court, Le Poète Courtisan, and Les Deux Dialogues, are those which exhibit greater depth and sophistication in attack and have greater intrinsic literary merit.

It should now be apparent that the importance we have attached to the influence of classical literature on the anti-courtier trend in sixteenth century France is in no way exaggerated or unjustified. In the first place, the very frequency of attacks on the cringing hordes of parasites in classical literature, even when they did not directly imitate each and every one, the very number of such attacks, gave those French writers whose critical taste instinctively rejected material for which there was no sound literary, that is classical, precedent, justification and stimulus for their own attacks on courtiers, and thus ensured continuity, (with modifications to suit prevailing social conditions) of this traditional literary theme. Apart from

1) See below ch. VII, pp. 461-3.
providing precedents and prototypes however, the results of this influence are more easily seen in the direct imitations by French writers which we have mentioned, and in indirect imitations, especially of Juvenal and Lucian, usually via neo-Latin works. Finally, we have also shown that an important source of indirect satire of court life was the essentially classical theme of the golden mean and praise of country life.
Chapter II. The Neo-Latin Influence

The development of the anti-court theme in the Neo-Latin literature of the Renaissance is not inconsiderable. We may divide the Neo-Latin works in which this theme occurs into two classes; firstly, those in which the writer is concerned to attack the courtier himself, and his activities; secondly those in which the author's purpose is to expose the dangers and disadvantages of court life.

The portrait of the courtier in Erasmus' *Encomium Moriae*, a landmark in the satirical literature of the Renaissance and a work which needs no introduction, is one which stresses the pretentiousness, the sycophantic expertise and the idleness of members of this profession. He writes:-

"Iam quid de proceribus aulicis commemorem? quibus cum nihil sit addictius, servilius, insulsius, abiectius: tam omnium rerum primos se videri volunt. Hac una in re tamen modestissimi: quod

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1) The date of the first edition is 1511, although the dedication bears the date 1508 in some editions. The first edition is that published in Paris by Gilles Gourmont. Seven more editions followed within a short time - Strasbourg, 1511; Venice, Aldus, 1515; Venice, J.de Tredino, 1515; Florence, P.Junta, 1518 among them. A French translation appeared in Paris, Pierre Vidoue pour Galiot du Pré, 1520.

This passage is but a very short extract of a work which embraces many sections of Renaissance society. But even in these few lines the writer has successfully captured, by reproducing the most significant and most revealing of his words, of his gestures, of his attitudes, the blinkered mentality of the typical courtier, content to wear the insignia of a noble office without accepting any of the accompanying responsibilities, finding personal fulfillment in the observance of an unchanging, obsequious ritual and

1) Encomium Moriae, Paris, Gilles Gourmont, 1511, sig. gig r°.
in a vulgar display of opulence. 1) It is a widely accepted view that Erasmus' influence on satirical literature in sixteenth century France was very great indeed. 2) There is no doubt that the Encomium Moriae, much read, stimulated critical interest in contemporary society, and for this reason alone it is important to include it in a review of the sources of satire directed against particular social groups in the French literature of our period.

Cornelius Agrippa, less successful than Erasmus at avoiding the reverses of court life, is correspondingly harsher in his treatment of courtiers in his De Vanitate Scientiarum 3), a work composed in 1526 after the author's fall from favour at court. Agrippa's attack is concentrated into four chapters, the first of which, serving as an introduction to the subject, contains a violent, but


2) On this subject see Lenient, La Satire en France au XVIe Siècle, Paris, 1876, vol. I, ch. I. On Erasmus' adaptations of Lucian and his indirect contribution to French anti-courtier satire in this way, see above ch. I, p. 38, 40-41, 44.

3) De Incertitude & Vanitate Scientiarum Invectiva, Antwerp, J. Grapheus, 1530 (privilege 1529). This is the first edition of a work many times republished. On Cornelius Agrippa, and for a full account of the circumstances in which the work was written see A. Prost, Corneille Agrippa, Sa Vie et Ses Oeuvres, Paris, 1881.
uninspired diatribe against the court as a congregation of blackguards practising every vice under the sun. 1)

It is interesting to note that Agrippa distinguishes between courtiers of noble birth and Commoner-courtiers. The first he upbraids for their unbridled extravagance and for their dissipation, as Erasmus had done:—

"Prior of partes tenent satrapae nobiles, iinquam, illi Thrasones, qui fastu, luxu & pompa insaniunt... Hi vires omnes in Venerem frangunt, tum illorum ingensaux gula est & gustus per omnia cultum quaerunt, opulentur splendide, dant & accipiunt convivis. Inter hos laudi plerunque ducitur, si illustri convivio sic sua prodigant semel, ut trimestri siito impudenter mensas circumeant alienas." 2)

However, his bitterest attacks he reserved for commoners at court 3). These he describes as men of all work, offering their services to influential nobles, discharging duties often degrading and in the first instance for no ostensible reward, gossiping, scandal-mongering and traitorously spying their way to more considerable positions as intendants, secretaries and treasurers; as men who, having achieved these positions are determined to abuse and to exploit them ruthlessly. Corrupted by power and ruled by avarice, they have no gratitude for those who have

1) See Henrici Cornelii Agrippae Opera, Lyons, Beringos fratres, 1531, op.cit. ch.LXVIII, "De Oeconomia Regia, Siwe Aulica," pp.145-7-

2) op.cit. ch.LXIX, "De Nobilibus Aulicis", p.147.

3) op.cit. ch. LXX, "De Plebeis Aulicis".

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1) See Henrici Cornelii Agrippae Opera, Lyons, Beringos fratres, 1531, op.cit. ch.LXVIII, "De Oeconomia Regia, Siwe Aulica," pp.145-7-

2) op.cit. ch.LXIX, "De Nobilibus Aulicis", p.147.

3) op.cit. ch. LXX, "De Plebeis Aulicis".
helped them, no friendships except those from which they may hope to profit:

"nullum obsequium eorum amplius gratuitum est, sed omnia deinceps ad precia venalia habent. sodalitatem nullam nisi lucri causa colunt... amicos, hospites, propinquos socios, quicunque lucrum non adferunt, tanquam steriles arbores despiciunt..." 1)

These are the men, the dregs of our society, he writes, clearly revealing his social prejudices, whose authority is surpassing that of the nobility, who have amassed fortunes substantial enough to enable them to buy up the ancestral properties of the ruined aristocrats:

"Atque haec sunt plebeiorum aulicorum artes, quibus multi ex infima hominum fece ad amplissima munera, quaestures, dignitatesque consequuntur, proximamque apud principes & reges suos authority adaequat, divitias principibus pares conflant, regiaque extruunt palatia, dum interim nobiliores illi aulici sua omnia in scorta, in ales, in venationes, in equitia, in convivia, in pompas, in vestes, in fastum profundunt, terras, castra, possessiones, patrimonium decoquentes quae tunc plebeis iste emunt, in nobilium locum his suis scelestitissimis attribus succedentes." 2)

The violence of this attack may be partly attributed to Agrippa's aristocratic morgue, although his own pretensions to nobility were almost certainly unfounded if not wittingly fraudulent. Secondly, and his letters on the subject would confirm, he seems to have attributed his own downfall at court to the machinations of such officials. 3)

1) op.cit. p.150.  
2) op.cit. p.151.  
Agrippa's antagonism extends to the women of the court. They are, according to him, promiscuous, lascivious, oversexed and adulterous, vain and extravagant. Their preoccupations - confined to the latest hairstyles and cosmetics - are frivolous, their conversation - limited to back-biting and boasting of their amorous enterprises - equally so. In addition they are completely untrustworthy, deceiving both their husbands and their lovers, and men are sternly warned to steer clear of such monsters. Again it is legitimate to conclude that this outburst, although anti-feminism was commonplace in sixteenth century literature in France, was inspired by personal resentment, by the thought that a woman's influence, a woman's treachery had militated against him. In fact, in a letter written shortly after his disgrace, Agrippa writes of the promises of a Princess which were never fulfilled, and chides himself for having trusted a woman.

Another Neo-Latin writer to show personal hostility to courtiers was Estienne Dolet. As a man of letters he was

2) See Prost, *loc. cit.*
3) It is difficult to determine the position of another writer Augustinus Niphus, the Italian author of the treatise *De Re Aulica*, first published in 1534. It seems at times as if he intended in this work to correct the impression given by Castiglione's *Cortegiano*, for he states, in admonitory tone, in his preface and elsewhere, that modern writers who have treated of the courtier's profession have not done what they claimed to have done. In elaboration of this point, he goes on to comment that a good courtier should be just that and nothing else; his role is solely to wait upon the Prince's
incensed by the lack of respect shown by courtiers for learned works. The extent of his indignation is immediately apparent in the poem *In Aulicos Sciolos*.

**Quosdam, Inepte de Doctorum Scriptis Iudicantes:**

"Feces hominum, venti, nebulae, atque quisquiliae, Algæae; floccique; & male olentia stercora, Inania pondera terræ; onagri, beluae, Umbræ vacuæ sensu, cucurbitae, gravi Somno papaveræ plena, mortis imagines, Quid Litteratorum labores iudiciis Censetis absurdis? decet id vos seilicet Molles Voluptatis Columbellos: decet id Umbras vacuæ sensu, cucurbitas, gravi Somno papaveræ plena, mortis imagines. Quin vos Voluptati validis incumbite Remis: cutem, ventrem, gulum, penem potius Curate (rem vobis propriam) nec Litteras, Nec Litteratorum labores tangite."

The writers whom we have so far considered in this chapter have been principally concerned to expose the shortcomings of the courtier. But other Neo-Latin treatises were written in which, as we have said, the emphasis was on the appalling conditions under which many courtiers lived, and the disadvantages of their profession. In this second class the vices of the courtier are demonstrated by implication, since each is partly

3) continued: pleasure, to accompany him, to amuse and divert him, and there should be no question of him acting as adviser and mentor. His aim should be to gain the royal favour, but in quite a different way from Castiglione's courtier. Niphius' approach in this respect is more obviously immoral than Castiglione's, he recommends servility and applies Gnatho's words to the courtier but whether in doing so he was intentionally, or merely incidentally satirical and cynical, is not immediately apparent. See Augustini Nippi, *Opuscula Moralia et Politica*, Paris, 1645. There is a short account of Niphius' work, and a comparison with that of Castiglione in E. Bottari, *Castiglione e il Suo Libro del Cortegiano*, Pisa, 1874, ch. VI.

1) Dolet, *Carminum Libri Quattuor*, Lyons, 1538. On Dolet see
responsible for the misery of his fellow courtier. Such a work is the *De Curialium Miseriis Epistola*, written by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, later to become Pope Pius II.

Piccolomini's letter was written in 1444 to his friend Johannes de Eich, and it was printed for the first time around 1473. Its popularity was great. It was printed seven times in all in the fifteenth century, many times during the course of the sixteenth century, and it was translated into English, Spanish and German.

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2) op. cit. Liber II, Carmen VI, p. 115.

1) *De Miseriâ curialium*, Rome, MGCCLXXXIII - *Die tercia mensis morcei in domo Johannis Philippae de Lignamini*. There is some doubt as to whether this is really the earliest edition. Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, vol. I, p. 71 gives it but adds, "il y a dependant une autre édition peut-être plus ancienne, sans lieu, ni date, ni nom d'imprimeur. Les caractères sont ceux qu'employait Ulric Zell de 1467-70."

2) On each occasion without place, date, or name of printer. For further details of fifteenth century editions of this work see Panzer, *Annales Typographici*, huremberg, 1793-1803, and Hain, *Repertorium Bibliographicum*, Stuttgart, 1821-


*De La Miseria de Los Cortesanos*, tr. Diego Lopez, Sevilla, 1520. For German translations see Graesse, *Trésor des Livres Rares et Précieux*, 1869, I, p. 27.
The writer's main argument is that all men who of their own accord, seek employment at court, are fools. This he sets out to prove by studying the condition of the fifteenth century courtier, using the knowledge which his own experience of court life\(^1\) has given him as a guide.

The preliminary remarks are defensive in character, Piccolomini says in effect that there is no reason to believe that the courts of Kings, Princes, and others will be deserted as a result of the revelations contained in his work - and he should not therefore be criticised for depriving courts of their servitors - since there are in the world an infinite number of fools who are firmly convinced that the only profession worthy of them is that of courtier.\(^2\)

In the writer's experience there are three classes of fools, whom he describes thus. Those who seek what can never be found, those who seek that which would be harmful to them if they found it, and finally those who pursue their search along the most difficult path. The courtier

\(^1\) Piccolomini spent a large part of his early life in the service, if not of Princes, then at least of some important churchmen. From 1431-1434 he was secretary to Cardinal Capranica, most of which period was spent at the Council of Basle. In 1434 he entered the service of Cardinal Albergati, whom he accompanied to the council of Arras. From 1440-1442 he was secretary to the Antipope Felix V. In 1442, two years before the composition of his De Miseriis Curialium, he entered the service of the Emperor Frederick III, a service which lasted twelve years.

is a fool on each and every one of these counts.\textsuperscript{1)}

This piece of reasoning is followed by an examination of the motives which lead people to take up posts in great households. The strongest motive of all is ambition\textsuperscript{2)}, to satisfy which, men will endure any hardship, no matter how great. They are further encouraged by the expectation of acquiring at court, fame and fortune, power and honours of every kind, by their envy of luxury and by their desire for unrestricted indulgence in every kind of pleasure.\textsuperscript{3)} The writer concedes that there are some who go to court for more laudable reasons, those who wish to confer with learned men and those who think they will gain merit and ensure the salvation of their souls by exposing them to the terrible temptations of court life without succumbing to them.

Whatever their motives however, they are all equally doomed to frustration and disappointment. The remainder of the treatise is largely devoted to a conclusive demonstration of the ill-founded nature of the expectations of aspiring courtiers. Thus there is a section on honour in which the difficulties of acquiring it at court are

\textsuperscript{2)} continued; my knowledge, and I know of no account of this particular work. It is not mentioned by P. Van Tieghem in this study of \textit{La Littérature Latine de la Renaissance}, Paris, 1944.

\textsuperscript{1)} \textit{ed. cit.} pp. 26-27, para. 4.

\textsuperscript{2)} \textit{op. cit.} p. 26, para. 3.

\textsuperscript{3)} \textit{op. cit.} p. 27, para. 5.
described. This is followed by a section on power, one on riches, another on pleasure. This last is worked out in great detail, and sub-divisions made for each of the five senses. Within these sub-divisions a vivid enumeration of the pleasures anticipated precedes a grim account of what is actually experienced. Finally the author explains why those who go to court with good intentions are also bound to meet with failure.

This then is the structure, the bare framework of this letter, in which the author sets out to expose the evils and harsh realities of court life. What are his principal criticisms?

He emphasizes firstly the marked injustices of court life. Honours are bestowed, not upon the poor but virtuous, but upon the rich and powerful, and upon those whose tastes, and vices, most closely correspond to the tastes and vices of the Prince:

"Dantur honores in curiis non secundum mores atque virtutes sed ut quisque ditor est atque potentior, eo magis honoratur. Nam quem unquam pauperem, tametsi praestanti virtute praeditum, regum aliquis sublimauerit? Audio quod obiciis. Fuerunt nonnulli, dicis, obscuro nati loco atque inopes quondam qui nunc omnibus sunt praeslati? sic enim principes uoluerunt. Sed quos, et, sic praestatos ais? Nempe quos suis moribus conformes inueserunt. Quibus moribus? Avaritiae, libidini, crapulae, crudelitati. Sic est sane. Placet auaro rege, qui pecunias undeque refert. Gratus est libidinoso qui uirgines atque maritas sibi conciliat...Caro est ebro qui combinit...Nemo acceptus est, nemoque ex paruo statu praefertur aliis, nisi magno aliquo facine re sese principi conciliauerit." 1

1) op. cit. p.29, para. 7-8.
Yet another hazard of court life is insecurity. There is nothing more unstable than the power and position of a man which depends entirely on the Prince's good will towards him. He cannot rely upon the support of his fellow courtiers:

"At transeunti per urbem tibi inclinabunt homines, denudabunt capita, sedent loco, salutem dicent, manus osculabuntur. Ita est certe: at transieris, digitos retrotendent subsannabuntque tibi, et 'Ille est,' inquient, 'qui principem nostrum seducit, qui bellum suadit, qui victigalia auget...Huiusmodo est honor curialium,'" 1)

since power arouses suspicion, envy, and distrust among those less favoured, culminating in the spread of subversive rumours. In the struggle for supremacy at court there are no loyalties strong enough to override the courtier's inbred instincts of self-preservation and self-advancement, brother is not safe from the intrigues of brother:

"Sed nulla est apud principes diuturna potestas mulliusque status debilior, nullius incertior, nullius infirmior est quam eius qui apud principem uidetur esse potentior. Sunt aemuli multi, simul-tates, odia; omnis potentia magnae invidiae subiecta est. Incidunt suspiciones, parantur insidiae, perstrepunt undique delatores; atque ut oculus parua festuca turbatur sic principum gratia offensiuncula uel minima cadit. Interdum etiam nullo crimine perditur; tantum apud principes subdola lingua potest... Saepe qui heri placuit hodie displicet, nullum est in atriis principum maius studium quam ut alios de gradu praecipitent et se erigant. Potentatum quilibet appetit, nulla inter curiales habitat fides; non frater a fratre tutus inuenitur, nec patri filius fidus est, nec filio pater. Quilibet sibi studet; omnes praeferri volunt, omnes mandare. Si quid potens est mille circa se oculos habet et totidem linguas ad

1) op.cit. pp.29-30, para. 8.
"ruinam eius aspirantes, et unus hinc alius illinc praemit. Nimirum multos timere habet, qui multum potest, et illum omnes oppugnant qui principi gratior existimatur."

All freedom of thought and action is denied the courtier:

"Oportet te...iu3tuin atque iniustum exequi mandatum, ridere et flere cum rage, laudare quem laudat, uituperare quem uituperat. Nulla tibi aut in uerbis aut in operibus libertas supererit."

Those who came to court to feast their eyes on the pomp and pageantry, splendid robes, beautiful women, pictures and other works of art, will find that they have less freedom and opportunity to enjoy them at court than private citizens in their own homes, and widely travelled merchants.

Similarly, because of the lack of personal freedom, those who are attracted to the court in the hope of listening to the wisdom of the philosophers, are disappointed since the philosophers do not speak as freely in the presence of the Prince as they do in the class room. For the philosopher too, freedom and leisure for study is severely curtailed by the demands of court routine.

Loss of one's fortune is another of the occupational hazards in the life of the courtier. Because some few become rich, thousands flock to court with the same thought,

2) op.cit. pp.34-5, para. 12.
3) op.cit. p.36, para. 15.
4) op.cit. p.39, para. 16.
5) op.cit. p.64, para. 41.
not taking into account the fact that the proportion of those who are successful is infinitesimal, and that the remainder are reduced to extreme poverty, either by living beyond their means, or because the stipend allotted them is meagre and irregular.\textsuperscript{1)}

Finally, having lost his freedom and his fortune, the courtier will lose his conscience and his virtues, for even the most virtuous are corrupted at court as surely as even a good horseman is thrown by a frightened horse. Those who send sons to court in order to learn manners and morals, are ignorant of the true state of affairs:—

"Sunt qui dicunt fi\textsuperscript{i}lios suos idcirco se principibus tradere, ut mores ediscant fiantque uirtute praestantes. Melius dicerent, ad intelligendam maliciam turpitudinemque descendam se filios tradisse: sunt enim in curiis uiciosissimi iuuenes, sermones inhonesti. Ille luxuriam commendat, ille uaracitatem; nemo de uirtute se iactat...Nec te putes adolescentem pudicum, sobrium uerescundum et bene moratum apud principes inuenire...."\textsuperscript{2)}

In addition, the courtier is deprived, by the circumstances of this way of life he has chosen, of the most important thing in life, the opportunity for friendship\textsuperscript{3)}.

A large proportion of Piccolomini's letter is taken up with lengthy and graphic descriptions of the appalling living conditions which were the lot of the courtier. This is how Piccolomini describes a meal at court, beginning with the wine, sparing no sordid details:—

1) \textit{op.cit.} p.62, para. 39.

2) \textit{op.cit.} p.65, para. 42.

3) \textit{op.cit.} p.66, para. 44.
"Qualis coena tamen? Vinum quod succida nolet lana pati? ut Luuanalis ait affertur quod cum biberis, insanus fias, acetosum aquaticum corruptum, pendulum, acerbum aut frigidum nimis aut tepidum, colore sapireque malo. Taceo illos principes qui tantum ceruiidiam in potu praebent, quae cum ubique amara sit, in curiis tamen et amarissima et stomachissima est. Nec tibi uel in argento uel in utrii dari pocula credas; manque in uno furturn timentur, in altero fractura. Potabis igitur ex ligneo scipho, nigro, antiquo, foetido, in cuius fundo faex concreta est, in quo saepe minxisse domini consueuerunt. Nec tibi uni sciphus dabitur ut sibi velis uel aquam misceas uel purum bibas, sed in communi potabis; atque ibi mordebis ubi nunc uel pediculosa barba uel saliuosa labia uel immundissimi dentes fuerunt. Vinum postquam in mensa fuerit per multas manus transibit, ante quam ad te veniat."

The drinking cups may be dirty, but the table linen is even more repellent:

"Quid tibi de mappis dicam nigris, laceris, unctis, quae nedum tibi fastigium moueant, sed manibus applicantur teque sequuntur, si quando te ibi uolueris tergere; quod plures ueriti madidas pingui iure manus in propriis desiccant uestibus. Hinc est illud abdomen quod in pectoralis curialium cernis, ut satius sit in stabulis porcorum quam in curiis comedere dominorum."

Courtiers, like flies, were attracted to the tables of the great, but they were fortunate indeed to pick up as many crumbs as the flies. The food with which they were served, at very irregular intervals, was regularly dirty, of poor quality, and badly cooked:

"Nulla tibi alia mactantur animalia quam boues, caprae, porci uel ursi, nec ista recentia uel paululum trite, sed postquam foetere coeperunt, dispensatores emere solent...Carnes tuae frigidae, bis coctae, immundae, insipidae, foetentes, fumo et carbonibus plene, nullis condimentis, nullis

1) Juvenal, Satire V, 24-25. 2) op.cit. pp.43-44, para.20-3) op.cit. p.45, para. 23. 4) op.cit. p.42, para. 18.
"salsamentis speciebusque nullis apparatae. Caules putridi, rapae mercantes et muscidae, legumina semi-cocta, cicera pisis, fabis, lentibus, interdum pulueribus atque cineribus mixta. Caseus rare ad te venit, aut, si venit, unus est, plenus verminibus, undique perforatus, situ squalidus, saxo durior. Butirum foetidum lardumque tua fercula condit. Oua tunc opponuntur tibi, cum iam pullos alunt. Pira et poma marcida, quae nisi tu comederis porcorum esca fuissentQ. Oleum, quo tibi uel caules coquantur 4), de lampadibus sumitur uel lucernis, cuius foetore fugare serpentes possent, quae illud fuisset creendum est propter quod Romae nemo cum Bochare lauari uolebat...Pisces tui uel salsi lucii, uel earpones, uel allecia. Si natalicium fuerit poteris et tencam gustare, luit in quo iacuit odor foetentem, uel anguillam colubrae cognatam, aut hase piscis qui apud cloacas urbiun nutriuntur. 3) Si quis nobilior piscis apponetur, quadrifugus erit."

The courtier is enduring a form of torture which is no less severe than that of Tantulus, since he is forced to contemplate the delicacies served up to the Prince, while toying reluctantly with his own unappetising mess. 5) And, as if this were not enough, he is at the mercy of the proud and resentful servants who are deaf to all requests. 6)

With the same thoroughness and attention to detail which characterises the above description of a meal at court, the author closes his work with a description of the trials of the courtier in miserable lodgings, concentrating his attention upon the unhygienic state of the bed which he is

3) Cf. Juvenal, Satire V, 105 "pinguis torrente cloaca".
4) op. cit. p.45-46, para, 22-23.
6) op. cit. p.49, para. 25.
expected to share with all comers, including bugs, fleas, and cockroaches.¹) The courtier is seen for the last time on a military expedition.²)

Such is the life of the fifteenth century courtier as described by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini. Although professedly based on his own personal experience, this letter obviously owes not a little to the work of Lucian, also in letter form, to his friend Timocles, On Salaried Poets in Great Houses³). The plan of Piccolomini’s work follows very closely that of the Greek writer, and the principal episodes and descriptions contained in the De Curialium Miseriis are all to be found sketched in in Lucian’s letter. He starts likewise by examining the motives of those who take up posts in great houses,⁴) concludes also that their expectations are unfounded.⁵) He sketches briefly the humiliations experienced by the philosopher living in a rich household, especially at the table⁶), and the when the

¹) op. cit. p. 56, para. 33. A description which equals, if indeed it does not surpass, in prlixity and crudeness, the ones we have quoted!
²) op. cit. pp. 58-59.
³) See above ch. I, pp. 42, sqq.
⁴) ed. cit. pp. 421-429. The motives attributed, “for the sake of pleasure, dazzled by the wealth of gold and silver... envy of that abundance and luxury... impelled by the mere name of associating with men of noble family and high social position...” are similar in both cases.
⁵) op. cit. p. 429, sqq.
⁶) op. cit. p. 439. “You do not dare to ask for a drink for fear of being thought a toper...” cf. Piccolomini, op. cit. p. 44, “Nec famuli uinum apponunt nisi post medium mensae; quod si ante petieris, et importunas et ebriosus indicaberis.” The established philosopher in Lucian’s work, like the courtier
household is on the move, the difficulty in obtaining the paltry allowance when it falls due, and the indignity of being cast off in old age. In spite of the obvious relationship between these two works, Piccolomini's, because of his obsessive concern with minute and insignificant detail, fails to reproduce the dramatic element which so enlivens Lucian's, and in consequence is often ponderous and prolix.

Juvenal is the other main source of Piccolomini's treatise. For detail, Piccolomini, in his description of the courtier at table, draws heavily on the graphic portrait

6) continued; in Piccolomini's is scorned by the servants, p.459, "though you ask for it repeatedly, the page hath not even the semblance of hearing."

1) op.cit. p.465, "And if you have to go into the country, I say nothing of anything else, but it often rains; you are the last to get there - even in the matter of horses it was your luck to draw that kind! - and you wait about until for lack of accommodation they crowd you in with the cook or the mistress's hairdresser without giving you even a generous supply of litter for a bed!" Compare this with the expedition described by Piccolomini, op.cit. p.58, para.35. "Equitandum in tenestris, inpluuita, in uento, in multibus, cum uero iter arreptum est, in iis locis potissime mansisset, ubi nec uina sunt nec cibaria, nec, in quibus recipi ques, diuersoria."

2) Lucian, op.cit. p.475. "As to your pay itself it is a matter of two obols or four at a time, and when you ask for it you are a bore and a nuisance. So in order to get it you must flatter and wheedle the master and pay court to his steward too, but in another way; and you must not neglect his friend and adviser either. As what you get is already owing to a clothier or doctor or shoemaker, his gifts are no gifts and profit you nothing."

Piccolomini, op.cit. p.61, para.38. "Quid uero in stipendiiis exigendis? Quanta morositas quantaque diminutio est?Nunquam in tempore dabitur, nunquam integrum; nunc ad istum, nunc ad illum remitteris, diversisque mendacis eluderis..."

3) Lucian ibid. "To sum it up, after garnering all that was
which Juvenal has left us in his fifth satire of the parasite at the rich man's table\(^1\). The section on power echoes most of what Juvenal has to say on this subject in his tenth satire.

3) continued; most profitable in you, after consuming the most fruitful years of your life and the greatest vigour of your body, after reducing you to a thing of rags and tatters, he is looking about for a rubbish heap on which to cast you unceremoniously, and for another to engage who can stand the work."

Piccolomini, \textit{op.cit.} p.62, para. 39. "\textit{Parum adhuc dixi, cum nundum dolenda sed optanda more tua principi sit, cui diutius servuisti; aut enim pro longis obsequiis non te remuneravit, et solutur obligato morte tua...etc.}"

It is interesting to compare these two passages with the poem by Eustorg de Beau lieu, \textit{D'Aloua Vieulx Serviteurs}, in \textit{Les Divers Rapports}, P.de Ste. Lucie, Lyons, 1537, a protestation against the unjust treatment of faithful servants who, discarded penniless and old, subsisted for the rest of their lives on alms which they begged for outside churches.

1) Apart from instances already noted, compare the following:-

\begin{verbatim}
Juvenal
"Cardiaco numquam cyathum
missurus amico," Sat.V,32.

"Et iam defecit nostrum mare,
dum gula saeuit.\textit{/Retibus adsi-
duis penitus scrutante macella/}
Proxima, nec patimur Tyrrehenum
crescere pissem." \textit{op.cit.} \textit{v.44-46}

"Adspice quam longo distinguat
pectore lancea/Quae fertur
domino squilla, et quibus
undique saepta/Asparagis, qua
non despiciat convivia cauda." \textit{op.cit.} 80-82.

"Vitibus ancipites fungi ponentur "boleti optimi, quales edes
amicis/Boletus domino, sed
qualem Claudius edit." \textit{op.cit.} 146-7
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
Piccolomini
"nec unquam tibi uel minimum
cyathum communicabit, quamuis
cardiaca passione crudaris." \textit{op.cit.} p.44.

"\textit{Saevientia namque guttura
saciare non sufficiunt nostra
flumina nec maria, dum
piscatores proxima quaeque
scruptur retibus, nec piscas
sinunt in uicinia cresere.}" \textit{op.cit.} p.46-7.

"squillam defert asparagis
undique saepem, cuius cauda
nundum familias sed hospites
quoque...despicit." \textit{op.cit.} p.47.

"boleti optimi, quales edes
solebat Claudius...curial-
bus autem uiles et ancipites
fungi ponuntur." \textit{op.cit.}
p.48.
\end{verbatim}
Piccolomini's *De Curialium Misericia* was closely imitated by Jean du Pontalais in the third section, *De L'Estat de Court*, of his *Contredictz de Songecreaux*; by Jean Bouchet in the second *Epistre* of the second part of his *Epistres Morales et Familieres*, by Pierre Boaistuau in his *Theatre du Monde* and finally by Gabriel Chappuis in the late sixteenth century work *Le Misaule*. Chappuis appended to his *Misaule* his own translation of another Neo-Latin work, Hutten's *Aula Sive Misalus*, which we are about to discuss.

Hutten's *Misaule*, a dialogue, was first published in 1518. Its popularity throughout the sixteenth century was very great, not only in Germany, but also in Italy and France.

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2) *Epistres Morales et Familieres*, Poitiers, Bouchet and Marnef, 1545. See below ch. VI, pp. 300, 599.


5) *Ulrichi de Hutten Equitatis Germani Aula Dialogus*, Augsburg, In officina Sigismundi Grimm Medici & Marcii Vuyrsung, M. D. XVIII. There were ten more editions of this work in the sixteenth century:
- *Aula Dialogus*, Leipzig, V. Schuman, 1518.
- *Aula Dialogus*, Basle, 1518.
- *Aula Dialogus*, Bologna, In edibus Hieronymi de Benedictis, 1519.
Its value as a reflection of the life of the sixteenth century German courtier is doubtful, since the work owes something to Lucian and Juvenal and a lot to the earlier work of Piccolomini.¹)

The dialogue²) opens with the meeting of two old friends, Castus and Misaulus, the latter dressed in the clothes of a courtier. His friend admiringly congratulates Misaulus on his new condition, but Misaulus despondently replies that now he is no longer a free man. Castus, however, is not convinced. He sees court life as one which is infinitely preferable to his present way of life, which is one of study and contemplation. Dazzled by the thought of sumptuous living, fine clothes, the friendship of the great, the acclamation of the multitude, he has decided to embark upon a court career and to gain experience of the ways

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5) continued; Aulica Vita, Frankfort, Io Feyrbendt, 1578. Dialogus Aula, Leipzig, 1590.

6) Apart from editions printed in Italy, the work was translated into Italian. Domenichi's Dialogo Della Corte, Venice, 1552, is nothing but a translation of Hutten's work. See below ch. III, p. 162.


1) For an account of this dialogue, especially of its sources, see N. Caccia, Note su la Fortuna di Luciano nel Rinascimento: Le versioni e i Dialoghi Satirici di Erasmo e Di Ulrico Hutten, Milan, C. Signorelli, 1914.

of the world. Misaulus tells him that to do so would be
to trade security and dignity for endless worry and
deprivation, and then enlightens him as to the true nature
of court life.

The criticisms which Hutten has to make of court
life are by and large the conventional ones, and vary
little, in substance, from those of Piccolomini, but they
are vividly illustrated by dramatic little scenes, and by
extended metaphor. Thus, the abject servitude of the
courtier is demonstrated in this sketch, in which the
principal actors, the Prince and the courtier, are clearly
seen, and their reactions noted:-

"eos beignius habent qui obstipo ante se capite,
quoties reaspererint, inclinant, quibus agilia
sunt genua, qui omnes illorum nutus, nemum iussa
observant, qui ceremonias aulicas pro legibus
colum atque igitur uno omnes ordine callent et
exequuntur...sumnum studium est, ut recte misceatur
regiae pompeae incessus, ut ad omnem principis
intuitum palleat quis ac attonito similis sit. An
non vides, ut apud hos titubantem dicere oportet
ac prae timore sudantem nonnumquam? et quantumcumque
aliquod familiaris et exiguum est negocium, qua
perplexitates, quam haesitarer ac trepida ille agat
orator...Ubi periculum est si in tituli pronunciatione
vel syllabam praetermiseris aut poëtes tui si
officium ibi minus scite faciant, cavendumque ut
omnia sint mollia, perfracta omnia, ut opus sit docto
alicui comnodierum actori operam dedisse ac histri-
onicam didisse, quo nequid in congeneriratione
aberretur." ¹)

An even better example is this passage which shows the
magnificent gestures, the hyperbolical protestations of
friendship, the empty promises, with which established
courtiers assail each other:-

¹) op. cit. pp. 67-69.
"Amicos...qui vicies die s a  lut ont : ^ t  dum te sibi vicissim adsentari volunt, genua inclinant, nudo capite occurrant, a tertia usque iugere dextram porrigit, et quidam sesquialnaribus advolatus tibiis continuo thus illud aulicum adspergit, 1) magnifica promissa, ingentes pollicitationes: dicas plane divinitus oblatum tibi a quo sic ameris, cum ille interim huiuscemodi inescatum te illecebris totum ad se traducit tuaque animadversa simplicitate crebro ista intonat 'Heus, age, tuus sum, mea omnia committo tibi: quid ni? amicorum omnia communia, utere me ut voles.'—altera manu panem ostentat altera fert lapidem: verbis amicus est, cogitatione insidias struit: palam benevolentiam, occulte periculum intentat." 2)

Another very interesting feature of this dialogue, as we have said, is the effective use of sustained metaphor. The court is referred throughout as a dangerous sea, 3) and the courtier who starts out on a career there, is embarking upon an odyssey not less dangerous than that of Ulysses himself. 4) The courtier who succeeds is he who escapes the perils in his path, the Sirens, the Cyclops, Scylla and Charybdis, representing the temptations and evils of court

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1) "thus illud aulicum adspergit", an expression which became proverbial. The gushing conduct and empty words of the courtier were a byword in sixteenth century literature. Thus Philibert de Vienne in Le Philosophe de Court, ed.cit. pp. 53-5, says, "ce n'est que braverie de bien promettre, tellement que on dit en commun proverbes: 'Promesse de gentilhomme, Eaubeniste de Court.'" See also Tahureau, Dialogues, op.cit. p-214, "alors pour ne me montrer point incivil je les remarçis de leur bon vouloir, les accusant de mon costé d'eau beniste de cour d'aussi bonne grace & autant hommestement pour le moins comme ils m'en avait despéré du leur," and Estienne, Deux Dialogues, ed. Ristelhuber L.288 Celi: "Mais dite-moy, l'eau beniste est-elle toujours en la cour à aussi bon marché qu'elle souloit estre...?"

2) op.cit. pp.48-49.
3) op.cit. pp.46-7.
4) op.cit. pp.47-8.
life, whose ship is not blown off course, or entirely wrecked, by the winds and storms, (in other words envy, cupididity, ambition), which are characteristic of this sea. 1) The parasites and sycophants of the court are likened to the suitors of Penelope who grew fat on the land of Ithaca in Ulysses' absence. 2) Misaulus advises his friend not to put to sea on such a perilous voyage and Castus is finally convinced that he would be hard put to it to survive such an ordeal. 3) There are traces of Hutten's influence in Estienne's Deux Dialogues, in the poem by Amadis Hamyn, Des Courtisana, in the Second Volume des Oeuvres Poétiques, and in Chappys' Misaule 4).

textual content:

1) ibid. et passim.

2) Although the metaphor of the courtier as a sailor on a perilous voyage occurs in Lucian, op.cit. pp. 413-5, in Nicolas de Closanges, see below, ch.V, p. 167, and in Chartier see below p. 168, Erasmus in his Encomium Moriae, see above, pp. 48-9 is the first to look to the Odyssey for an extension of the metaphor. Following his example Hutten too is reminded by court parasites of Penelope's suitors, but going further than Erasmus, he likens the progress of the virtuous courtier to Ulysses' journey. Henri Estienne continues this tradition in his Deux Dialogues, see below, ch. VII, p. 508.

3) G. Insulanus Menapius obviously considered that both Hutten and Piccolomini had painted far too black a picture of court life. In his Aula Dialogus, first published in 1539, he imagines a conversation between himself and Hutten in which he attempts to refute some of the charges levelled by his two predecessors, and to mitigate others. See Aula Dialogus Gulielmi Insulani Menapii, Gretrivurgenuls. Quo libello partim refelluntur & derivantur, partim attenuantur Aesae Silvii & Ulrichi Hutteni in Aulam criminationes, London, Thomas Adams, 1612.

4) On all these imitations see below ch. VIII, pp. 505-10.
The ideal of court life is a theme which was also developed by the Neo-Latin poets. Jacob Boissard wrote a stanza on the theme "Aulica Vita Splendida Miseria":

"Melle alcem tintam comedes, & dulce venenum;
Servaque inaurato colla premere iugo;
Aegystique nurus imitabere, quisquis in aula
Deperdis misero tempora servitio."

Michel L'Hôpital advises "Aula discedat, qui nescit fallere mentirique", and Estienne Paschasius composed an epigram De Curia Aulica:

"Non ulli conscriptu loco quae incerta vagatur,
Instabilisque viris, instabilisque locis;
Et regis, cui sunt onerosa negotia curae;
Quaeque suum, curans publica, curat opus;
Quaeve intestinis agitatur saucia curis,
Seu prodessit sibi, sive nocere datur.
Cui proprium cura est curare, & currens nonne
Aulica legitimum Curia nomen habet?"

Although many Neo-Latin poets echo the horatian preference for country life, examples of the development of the court versus country theme are surprisingly difficult to find. Nicolas Bourbon the elder does not seem to have been inspired by this theme to any great extent, and Salmon Macrin himself, in the poem De Rusticorum Foelicitate for instance is more concerned, as the title suggests, to emphasize the delights of the country rather than the unpleasantness of court life.

2) op. cit. vol. II, p. 169.
3) op. cit. vol. II, p. 954.
Although the influence of the majority of Neo-Latin attacks on courtiers and court life which we have discussed, may not be measured by the direct imitations which they inspired, they nevertheless contributed to the establishment and diffusion of this literary theme in sixteenth century literature. The works of Piccolomini and Hutten however provoked direct imitations in France and continued to make the anti-court theme important and even predominant in sixteenth century French literature.

continued;

Chapter III. The Italian Influence

Italian literature contributed to the development of the anti-courtier trend in the French literature of our period in two quite distinct ways. Reaction to Castiglione's book *Il Cortegiano* on the one hand, and imitation of existing Italian satires directed against courts and courtiers on the other hand, were two further sources of anti-courtier literature in France from 1542 onwards.

Paradoxically perhaps, it was the *Cortegiano*\(^1\), the book in which Castiglione set out to describe and prescribe the qualities necessary to the perfect gentleman and courtier, which made by far the more significant contribution to the increase and evolution of French anti-courtier satire. For while the book enjoyed in France an almost unparallelled success\(^2\) (being widely read both in the original and in the excellent French translations which appeared within a short time of its first publication and which continued to appear

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1) The date of the first Italian edition, printed at Venice by Aldus, is 1528.

throughout the century, there was, in spite of, or more probably because of its success, a strong reaction to it.

Before we can fully understand the reaction of some French writers to the Cortegiano, a work deserving of appreciation if only for the beauty and poetry of certain passages, we must first examine critically Castiglione's conception of the perfect courtier and the underlying doctrine of social acceptability, for although the idea of the complete man and of social politeness had been long accepted, and much discussed by the writers of antiquity,

1) The first French translation was published in Paris, in 1537-Le Courtisan, auquel œuvre ordonné en quatre livres est conceue l'idée du parfait courtisan & les conditions d'iceluy vivement représenterées. Translation attributed by du Verdier to J. Chaperon. Paris, V. Sertenas, 1537. In the same year there were two further editions. They were: Le Courtisan, nouvellement traduit de langueytallique en vulgaire français par Jacques Colin, Paris, J. Longis, 1537; Les Quatres Livres du Courtisan, du Conte Baltasar de Castillon etc... tr. Jacques Colin, s.l., (Lyons, Denys de Harisy) s.d., (1537). Subsequent editions include: Le Courtisan... tr. J. Colin, nouvellement revu & corrigé par Mellon de Saint-Gelais, Lyons, Fr. Juste, 1538; s.l., 1540; Paris, Corrozet, 1549; Le Parfait Courtisan, tr. Gabriel Chappuis, es deux langues etc. Lyons, Cloquemyn, 1580; Lyons, Huguetan, 1585; Paris, N. Bonfons, 1585; Paris, Cl. Micard, 1585; Paris, A. L'Angelier, 1592. An additional indication of the popularity of this work is the fact that it influenced in varying degrees many French writers of the sixteenth century, among them Rabelais and Montaigne while the 'Querelle des Amies' was largely inspired by the Cortegiano. See below, ch. VII, pp. 89, and 441, sqq.

2) There appears to be no complete study of the influence of the Cortegiano in sixteenth century France. There are some useful pages however in Bourciez, Les Moeurs Polies et la Littérature de Cour sous Henri II, Paris, Hachette, 1856 and in Magendie, La Politesse Mondaine et les Théories de l'Honnêteté en France de 1500-60, Paris, Alcan, 1925.
(by Aristotle in his *Ethics* for instance, by Plutarch in his treatise on education and by Cicero in his *De Officiis*) there are certain ambiguities, immoralities even, in Castiglione's interpretation.

The first of these becomes apparent on consideration of the end which Castiglione had in mind for his courtier. Why was he to be perfect? in order that he might successfully devote himself to the service of the community and the welfare of his fellows, or that he might pursue even more successfully the path of self-advancement? The impression grows throughout the work that the latter was the case, and Castiglione's belated statement that

"io estimo che io indurre, o aiutare i suo Principe al bene, e spaventarlo dal male, sia il vero frutto della Cortegiana."[1]

does little to mitigate it, since, having advanced so far, the fortune and influence of the courtier would be

inextricably bound up with that of his Prince, and once again, it would be in his interest to maintain the ruler whose favour he enjoyed.

All Castiglione's recommendations, dictated with the end of self-advancement in mind, are immediately suspect, but

1) *op. cit.* (Lyons, 1580, with French translation by G. Chappuis) *Bk. IV,* p. 526.

2) See below p. 86.
they are often intrinsically immoral. Practically the first principle of the Cortegiano is that appearances count. Castiglione places great emphasis from the start on the importance of making a good impression -

"vedete adunque di quanta importanza sia questa prima impressione, e come debbe sforzarsi d'acquistar la buona ne i principii chi pensa haver grado, e nome di buon cortegiano." 1)

There is one quality, one asset without which it is impossible to create the desired impression, to appear immediately and in every respect an admirable person. This quality is "la Gratia" or "Bonne Grace":-

"Il Cortegiano ha da compagnar l'operationi sue, i gesti, gli habiti, in somma ogni suo movimento, con la gratia. Et questo mi par che mettiate per un condimento d'ogni cosa senza il quale tutte l'altre proprieta e buoni conditioni siano di poco valore. Et veramente credo io, che ogn'un facilmente in ciò se lascirebbe persuadere, perché perla forzar del vocabulo si puo dire che chi ha gratia, quello è grade." 2)

If the courtier is not naturally endowed with Bonne Grace then he must

"con studio, e fatica, limare e coreggare in gran parte i diffetti naturali..." 3)

by which means he may hope to acquire it.

1) op.cit. p.43.
2) op.cit. p.60. Cf. also p.33 and p.56.
3) op.cit. p.38.
It follows naturally from this that Bonne Grace entails dissimulation, first, since those who are lacking it must pretend to have it, and secondly they must conceal the pains to which they have gone to promote the impression of innate graciousness. In all things, we are constantly reminded, the courtier's principal preoccupation should be to appear naturally gifted and to achieve excellence with no apparent effort. A studied or affected charm is entirely foreign to the notion of Bonne Grace. The diligent application to models and precepts which is responsible for this acquired ease and poise in society must be carefully hidden if the deception is to be maintained and a flattering image of the courtier established:

"Et ciò fuggir quanto più si può & come un asperissimo, e pericoloso scoglio la affettazione; e per dir forse una nuova parola, usar in ogni cosa una cesta sprezzatura che nasconda l'arte, e dimosti ciò, che si fa, e dice, venir senza fatica, e quasi senza pensarsi. Da questo credo io che derivi assai la gratia, perché delle cose rare, e ben fatte ogni un sa la difficoltà, onde in essa la facilità genera grandissima maraviglia. Pero si può dir quella esser vera arte, né più in altri se ha da poner studio, che nel nasconderla perche s'è scoperta, le v' tutto il credito, & fa l'huomo poco estimato..."

This passage is among the most significant in the whole

1) op.cit. pp.65-6.
work, since it shows clearly the equivocal character of Castiglione's doctrine. For although nonchalance or "sprezzatura" does not alone constitute Bonne Grace, the adoption of such an attitude brings with it certain advantages. Firstly, it promotes in the mind of the onlooker, and Castiglione's courtier is always conscious of the eyes fixed upon him, the idea that he is much more skilful, than he appears to be and that with a little diligent application he could excel at anything he cared to turn his hand to. Thus even in those arts and accomplishments in which the courtier is far from proficient, he will give the impression of having a vast reserve of undeveloped talent. 1)

If dissimulation may be used in such a way to provoke admiration from the onlooker, it is also undeniably useful in forestalling less generous reactions. For although the perfect courtier should take pains to present himself in the most flattering light, concealing his inadequacies, highlighting his good points, this must be done discreetly, both in word:

1) This notion of elegant amateurism is further developed in the second book where the courtier is recommended, when playing a musical instrument, to affect indifference as to the standard of his performance, while at the same time playing to the best of his ability. The seemingly insignificant effort expended by the courtier, and the contrasting brilliance of the performance will not fail to impress any audience most favourably. Cf. op.cit. p.180.
"se vorrà tocar qualche cosa, che sia in laude sua propria, la farà dissimulatamente, come a caso, e per transitò e con quella discrezione ed auvertentia..." 1)

and in deed -

"Non è ancora disconvonîente, che un'huomo che si sente valere in una cosa, cerchi dextramente occasion di mostrarsi in quella, e medesimamente nasonda le parti, che gli paian poco laudevoli, il tutto però con una certa advertita dissimulazione." 2)

He must appear to be never conscious of his own superiority since nothing more quickly alienates the sympathies of others. Castiglione rightly saw that the least suspicion of brilliance would arouse both envy and distrust, which the courtier would avoid by adopting a pretence of mediocrity recommended in the maxim

"governarsi con una certa honesta mediocrità." 3)

Only by doing this would he continue to be socially acceptable.

So much for appearances as a means to "bona stimatione" and "quell' universal favor che tanto s'appressa." Prowess in certain fields will undeniably enhance the reputation of the courtier still further. In fact, Castiglione's recommendations as to the accomplishments of the ambitious courtier are invariably dictated by this completely utilitarian concern.

Thus, a large part of the courtier's time and energy should be devoted to physical exercises, to the perfecting of

1) op.cit. p.172.
2) op.cit. p.245.
3) op.cit. p.246.
the skills of horsemanship, to attaining proficiency in jousting, running, jumping, swimming, tennis and so forth. The courtier, by increasing his adeptness, should aim to outstrip and to surpass his fellow courtiers in these performances.

"ponga ogni studio e diligentia di passare in ogni cosa un poco più avanci che gli altri, di modo che sempre tra tutti sia per eccellente conosciuto."

Military prowess and feats of bravery and daring are conceived in Castiglione's scheme solely as social assets too. Nowhere perhaps is the preoccupation with self-advancement so apparent as in the following passage. The courtier is advised to position himself so that all eyes are upon him, the central figure in the action, and to reserve his finest acts of courage for the finest audiences, before whom alone will his good qualities be sufficiently recognised and justly recompensed:

"Ritrovandosi il Cortegiano nelle scarmuzzze, o fatte d'arme o battaglia di terra, o in altre cose tale, dee discretamente procurar d'appar-tarsi dalla multitudine, e quelle cose segnalate e ardite che ha da fare, farle con minor compagna che puo, e al conspetto di tutti i più nobili e estimati huomini che siano nello esercito, e massimamente alla presentia e se possibile e innanzi a gli occhi proprii del suo Re o di quel Signore a cui serve, perché in vero è ben conveniente valersi delle cose ben fatte."

Castiglione's recommendations on the art of conversation

1) op.cit. p.55.
2) op.cit. pp.169-170.
are also significant. Acclaim in polite society as a brilliant conversationalist and a ready wit is as important as acclaim gained from courageous exploits on the field of battle. He must, with his reputation again in mind, vary the tempo of his conversation according to the mood of the company he frequents. He should avoid talking exclusively of serious subjects, and should be capable when necessary of switching elegantly to a lighter vein, of reviving a flagging conversation with the help of an inexhaustible flow of inconsequential but seemingly witty small talk. 1) In all, he must aim to be a purveyor of that which the assembled company finds most acceptable to its own tastes, regardless of his own.

It is in the context of conversation that Castiglione introduces his recommendations on the extent to which it is desirable that the ambitious courtier should be knowledgeable and cultured, and in this context knowledge is reduced to dilettantism and culture to a purely social asset:

"Quello adunque che principalmente importa, ed è necessario al Cortegiano per parlare e scrivere bene, estimo io che sia il sapere: perché chi non sa a nell'animo non ha cosa che meritì esser intesa non puo ne dirla né scriverla." 2)

For instance, we are told that added sparkle will be imparted

1) op.cit. p.89.
2) op.cit. p.87.
to the courtier's conversation if it is larded with the best of French and Spanish expressions\textsuperscript{1)}, if frequently used, over-worked words are given new connotations, better even still if the courtier coins new ones on the spot, preferably from the Latin.\textsuperscript{2)} Similarly, to be well-read in the Classical authors both Latin and Greek, is a fitting accomplishment for a gentleman, since it will improve his conversation and will enable him to write prose and verse with greater facility, although he must of course avoid the suspicion of pedantry.

To the same end, that is, to be highly regarded and sought after in polite society, the perfect courtier should be able to sing, and to play several instruments to enable him to make a notable contribution to any gathering, and because women find music pleasing. Finally, he should be able to draw and should have a useful knowledge of painting and sculpture.\textsuperscript{3)} Thus although the courtier is to follow primarily the profession of arms, it is essential that he should exercise and develop those other talents which are socially useful, and will help him on the road to becoming the friend and adviser of his Prince.

\textsuperscript{1)} op.cit. p.90.
\textsuperscript{2)} op.cit. p.91.
\textsuperscript{3)} op.cit. p.126 and 131.
Such then are the necessary accomplishments of the perfect courtier. Castiglione also lays down certain rules of conduct with examples of the situations in which they should be applied. The most important and frequent recommendation here is that the courtier should in all things exercise prudence and caution, 'in ogni sue operatione sia cauto'.  

The advice given at the beginning of the work, almost in passing -

"Appresso bisogna, che e par sé, e per gli amici intenda le querele, & differentie, che possono ocorrere, & sia auvertito ne i vantaggi, in tutto mostrano sempre, e animo e prudentia."  

is fully elaborated on subsequent occasions. All spontaneous reactions must be eliminated; every action, every word, every gesture must be prudently weighed and judiciously planned: -

"Appresso consideri ben, che cosa è quella, che egli fa, o che dice, il loco, dove la fa, in presentia di cui, a che tempo, la causa, perché la fa, l'età sua: la professione, il fine, dove tende, e i mezzi, che a quello condur lo possono: e così con queste avertenze s'accomodi discretamente a tutto quello che far, o dir vuole."  

The prudent courtier will go to war only when considerations of personal honour and his good name call for such a step.

1) op.cit. p.166.
2) op.cit. p.55.
3) op.cit. p.169.
He will not needlessly sacrifice his reputation on foolhardy exploits.\(^1\) Obviously our courtier will acquire no further honour by attending a village fete.\(^2\) He should therefore stay away. Similarly guided by prudence and discretion he will only participate in certain sports, such as wrestling, when he is sure of winning, since, if he were floored by some boorish peasant, far from enhancing his reputation, he would become a figure of fun.\(^3\)

Conformity is often a necessary adjunct to prudence and caution, one which the perfect courtier will never hesitate to adopt when in any doubt. The courtier should adapt himself to the manners and customs of whatever society he happens to find himself in -

"habbia tanto guidicic che sappia accomodar e a i costumi delle nationi ove si ritrova." \(^4\)

The same conformity is recommended in matters of dress, which for normal occasions should be "grave e riposato". And we have already seen how, by developing his skill at accomplishments upon which great store is set in court circles, and his learning too in such a way that he may amuse and gratify his audiences, he is again conforming to the tastes and standards of the society in which he moves.

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1) op.cit. p.170.  
2) op.cit. p.173.  
3) op.cit. p.174.  
A supreme degree of conformity is required of Castiglione's courtier in his relationship with the Prince. He should be unsparing in his adoration and in his efforts to please his master. He should take pains to discover those things which are particularly pleasing to the Prince, and adjust his own tastes accordingly. He should in short be "accommodating", a key word in Castiglione's doctrine. It must be admitted though that Castiglione does not for one moment suggest that deference to the wishes of the Prince should include murder for unworthy motives. For, the courtier's aim is after all to lead his Prince along the path of virtue: if he has been unable to dissuade his Prince from dishonest designs the courtier should be willing to sacrifice his position at court, in order to preserve his moral integrity. Or what is left of it? For here again there is a weakness in Castiglione's thought. It seems unlikely that a man who has shown such a fine disregard for nicier moral considerations during his rise to power, and who has in fact become a thorough courtier in the bad sense of the word, should suddenly, and with so much at stake, be capable of such disinterested conduct, or that he should even be able to distinguish between worthy and unworthy motives.

1) op.cit. p.191.
2) op.cit. p.191.
To seek to form a perfect courtier and complete gentleman as the trusted friend and adviser of a ruler may have been, initially, a noble ideal, but in the Cortegiano it is one which is inextricably blended with the instinct and art of self-advancement. Castiglione's courtier is diplomatic and accommodating, and shows great flexibility of character. But are these such admirable qualities when incorporated into a code of behaviour the ultimate aim of which is, as we have seen, to acquire for the courtier, favour and influence? It is an ideal which embodies fatal ambiguities.

Castiglione's courtier was to know something of everything, to be as effortlessly proficient in as many spheres of human activity as possible. At best he would have been a creditable copy of Leonardo da Vinci, but in actual fact he is nothing more than an elegant and fashionable dilettante whose pursuit of knowledge, (if indeed it can be termed a pursuit); and of perfection in the arts, is far from disinterested, since knowledge is here valued purely as a social asset. Similarly, adaptability in Castiglione's doctrine acquires unpleasant connotations of servility, diplomacy is synonymous with duplicity, flexibility savours of deviousness. Reluctant throughout to insist on certain positive moral standards in the perfect courtier - Castiglione in fact dismisses the whole question of moral requirements in one short and disconcertingly vague statement:-
"diremo in poche parole, attendendo al nostro proposito bastar che egli sia (come si dice) huomo da bene, e intero: che in questo si comprende la prudentia, bonta, forza, e temperanza et tutte alt' altre condizioni, che a cosi onorato nome si convengono; e io estimo quel solo esser vero Filosofo morale, che vuol esser buono, e a ciò gli bisognano pochi altri precetti che tal volontà." 1)

he has conceived a doctrine in which it is more important to appear virtuous than to be virtuous. To sum up, we can do no better than to echo these words of Bourdieu:-

"Ce qu'on ne peut accorder, c'est que ses (Castiglione's) régles de conduite soient infaillibles. On sent plus d'une fois qu'il est le contemporain de Machiavel; moins connu aujourd'hui son livre est à bien des égards le complément du livre du Prince. Machiavel historien de l'époque avant tout, réduisant la politique à des intérêts habilements menagés, a exposé la conduite tortueuse du Maître; il a voulu mettre en lumière, et n'a peut-etre que trop réussi à ériger en dogmes les moyens employés, la perfidie, l'artificie, la violation de la foi jurée. Tel maître, tel valet. Munie des instructions de Castiglione le courtisan est digne de servir de Prince: il saura s'insinuer avec souplesse dans sa faveur, et s'y maintenir par la flatterie de chaque jour. Avec sa langue dorée, sa bravoure de costume et de manières, il est fort capable de monter plus haut et de passer favori en titre."

Interest in Castiglione's Cortegiano was twofold. Besides being a manual for the ambitious courtier, the work also contains what is almost a treatise on love. The third and fourth books introduce many of the then

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1) op.cit. pp.111-112.
2) op.cit. pp.278-9.
fashionable and poeticised concepts of neo-platonism. It was this part of the work which provoked the most immediate interest in France, and the most immediate reaction.

Castiglione's "donna di palazzo" is conceived as a paragon of all the virtues and enjoys an exalted status in court society. In her turn, she exerts a civilising influence upon all who come into contact with her, she inspires all men to greater virtue, and is the indispensable adornment of court society:

"corte alcuna, per grande ch'elle sia non può haver ornamento o splendore in se, ne allegria, senza Donne, ne Cortegiano alcun'essere aggratito, piacevole, o ardito, ne far mai opera leggiadra di cavallerie, se non mosso dalla pratica, e d'allamore, e piacer di Donne..."

1) See Cohin's Introduction to his critical edition Oeuvres Poétiques d'Héroet, Paris, 1909, pp.xxi sqq. and below ch. VII, p. 408. Manuscript copies of the French translation of the third book were circulating before the complete translation was published.

2) It was precisely the third and fourth books of the Cortegiano which inspired to a large extent the famous Querelle des Amies. The starting point of the whole polemic was the poem by La Borderie, L'Amye de Court, a satire of the ideas contained in this part of the Cortegiano, (see below p. and ch.VII, pp.410 sqq) This in turn provoked the replies of Fontaine, La Contr'Amye de Court, and of Héroet, Le Parfaite Amye, both of which were inspired largely by the Cortegiano. La Borderie's satire was first published in 1542 in Paris, and in 1544 this poem, with the two replies, and a further poem by one P. Angier, L'Experience de L'Amye de Court Contre la Contr'Amye, were published collectively in Paris by Galliot du Pré, preceded by Allégorie's French translation of the Menosprecio (see below Appendix II, no.78). A. Papillon's Nouvel Amour also formed part of this polemic. On these works
Her influence for good is even stronger on her suitors:

"Et certe impossibile è, che nel cor di huomo nel qual sia entran to una volta fiamma d'amore, regni mai più viltà: perché chi ama desidera sempre farsi amabile più che puo..."

The second important point in Castiglione's diffusion of fashionable concepts concerning love, is the submissive role which is prescribed for the suitor, and the concept of service. The courtier will be governed in all his actions by his respect for the object of his affections, he will serve her unquestioningly and place himself at her disposal at all times:

"Quello che comincia ad amare, deve ancora com-piacere, e accodarasi talmente alle voglie della cosa amata, e con quella governar le sue e far che i propri desideri siano servi e che l'anima sua istessa sia, come obedient ancilla: ne pensi mai ad altro che a transformarsi, si possibile fusse in quella della cosa amata, e questo reputar per sua somma felicità: perché cosi fan quelli, che amano veramente." 2)

without expecting any other reward than that his soul will grow daily closer to hers. 3) He will never offend his loved

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3) op. cit. p. 385

1) op. cit. p. 466.

2) op. cit. pp. 490-1.

3) op. cit. p. 489 and passim.
one by any unguarded declaration of his feelings, but will express them by a sigh, by a look, by his submissive attitude, an idea which Castiglione expresses in the most Petrarcan terms:

"Amor si conosce in un sospiro, in un rispetto, in un timore, che in mille parole: poi far che gli occhi siano que fidi messaggeri, che portino l'ambasciate del core." 1)

It is interesting to note that Castiglione's interlocutors are by no means unanimous in their adoption of the fashionable concepts expressed. Gaspar for one, appears as a detractor of women, calling attention to their cruelty, heartlessness, craftiness, especially in their dealings with their suitors, and their mercenary natures, in a way which presages the treatment meted out to them in French anti-Cortegiano satires.

At this point it may be convenient to consider the reasons which lay behind the reaction to the Cortegiano in France. They are not difficult to find or to understand.

The reaction was inspired partly by political and patriotic, partly by moral, considerations. One of the most

significant social and political developments to take place in sixteenth century France was the spread of Italian influence in politics and in commerce, the diffusion of Italian thought in manners and fashions, in literature and in art, and not least, the influx of Italians themselves, especially at court. Resistance to this unwelcome contamination was expressed by the more conservative-minded Frenchmen in the form of anti-Italian satires of which there are many examples in the middle and later years of our period. 1) The Cortegiano was regarded by many as just another manifestation of this unwanted infiltration by the Italians of French society. Thus some of the reaction to this work is more particularly to be explained as an expression of anti-Italian feeling, and a reflection of the political climate.

Reaction inspired by patriotic feeling was occasioned by the content of work, as well as by the external circumstances which we have described. The notion of making oneself socially agreeable and acceptable, they looked upon as a new fanciful idea thought up by foreigners, and as something moreover which threatened established French manners and customs. ¹) They were quick to realise that the mealymouthed discretion of the dissembling Italian courtier, with all its implications of sycophancy, was incompatible with the robust candour which they held to be especially characteristic of their fellow-countrymen. They objected no less strongly to the emasculated approach to love recommended by Castiglione. Their opposition, originating as before from conservative patriotism was therefore designed to safeguard "le vieux bon sens français" and to preserve the so-called "Franchise gauloise". ²)

To those French writers influenced in addition, or solely, by moral considerations, the doctrine contained in Castiglione's book was evidence of an evil genius and mentality. The cult of the perfect gentleman bore the ineradicable stigma of hypocrisy since success depended entirely upon the

¹) Cf. Louis le Caron, who, in his Questions Diverses, attributes the unhappy state of the country to precisely this code of behaviour. See below ch. VIII, p. 575.

readiness to compromise (with the resulting loss of one's personal honesty) to accept the values of the society in which one wished to be accepted.\(^1\) At the time of the Religious Wars in France Castiglione's precepts were especially valuable — and one of his omissions too, for he had not specified that religious conviction was necessary or even desirable in the perfect courtier — to those who felt it prudent to undergo rapid and frequent conversions from one faith to another, or more often, to abandon all faith, as circumstances dictated: at this time critics could point to Castiglione's teachings as the precedent for such moral inconsistency.\(^2\)

The anti-Cortegiano literature which was born of this reaction attacked not only the precepts contained in the Cortegiano itself, but also those French courtiers who attempted to follow these precepts, to model their conduct upon that of Castiglione's courtier, since their imitation, prompted by enthusiasm rather than good sense, turned the ambiguities of Castiglione's philosophy into obvious failings.

French anti-courtier satires of the sixteenth century which were directed wholly or partly against the Cortegiano,

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2) See below ch. VIII, pp. 586-87.
fall into two groups. First to appear were those directed against Castiglione's neo-platonism, for instance LarBendèrìere's poem L'Amyle de Court of 1542 1), the account in Noël du Fail's Propos Rustiques of 1547 of La Difference Du Coucher De Ce Temps et Du Passé 2), and finally certain passages of Tahureau's Dialogues 3). Those in the second group, by far the larger, attack the fundamental doctrine of social acceptability as it appears in Castiglione's recommendations to his courtier. The most systematic of such attacks is to be found in the little known work of Philibert de Vienne, Le Philosophe de Court, published in 1547 4). From this moment onwards passing attacks are to be found in the Dialogues 5) of Tahureau, composed in 1555, in the Dialogues of Louis le Caron 6) of 1556, in the Regrets of Du Bellay 7) of 1556, in Jean de la Taille's Courtisan Retiré 8) of 1573, in Henri Estienne's Deux Dialogues du Nouveau Langage François Italianisé, 1578 9), in Le Caron's Questions Diverses, 1579 10), and in Artus Thomas' L'Isle des Hermaphroditès, published belatedly in 1605 11).

1) For a full account of this work in this connection see below ch. VII, pp. 418, 599.
2) See below ch. VII, pp. 427, 599.
3) See below ch. VII, pp. 422, 599.
5) See below, pp. 460, 599.
6) See below, pp. 456, 599.
7) See below, pp. 468, 597.
8) See below, ch. VIII, p. 574.
9) See below, pp. 579-586.
10) See below, pp. 574, 597.
11) See below, pp. 575, 599.
Some of the most interesting anti-courtier works in the French literature of our period are undoubtedly those inspired by Castiglione's work. The attention of French satirists was directed, temporarily at least, away from the traditional shortcomings of the courtier. They were now attacking the cult of politeness and dilettantism, and more significantly the state of mind behind it, which had gained hold at the French court, and which thus presented them with a new, and hitherto unexploited vein of satirical material.

II.

If, in certain aspects, Castiglione's work gives us a picture of the court of Urbino, and indeed of courts in general, as the home of refinement and of social graces, this impression is soon reversed by reading the numerous satires of court life which appeared in Italy throughout the century.

The vogue which Italian literature, particularly satire, enjoyed in France during the Renaissance has often been studied. 1) Many French writers have been shown to have

looked to Italian satirists for guidance and inspiration. It is appropriate therefore to consider and to assess the extent to which the frequency with which the anti-court theme was treated in Italian literature was a contributory factor in the increase in the number and vehemence of the attacks on court life and courtiers in the corresponding period of French literature.

The Rime of Seraphino dall'Aquila, first published in 1502 and subsequently reedited many times until the middle of the century, although predominantly love poems, and as such, well known to, and copied by, many French poets, afford possibly the first example of Italian anti-court satire of the Renaissance. This volume includes two satirical sonnets directed, specifically perhaps, against the Roman court. In the first "Invidia Corte, d'ogni ben nimica"1), Seraphino describes the court in general terms as the home of all the vices, the enemy of faith, of piety, of trust. The second is more vivid, and worth quoting:-

1) continued; the many French translations of Italian works which appeared during the course of the century, see J. Blanc, Bibliographie Italicofrancaise Universelle, Milan, 1886.

1) Opere, Rome, J. de Besicken, 1502; Venice, M. Monferr, 1502.

"La corte è come el gioco del quadrato,
L'un caccia l'altro da segio e partito,
Non per ragion, ma sol per appitito
Chi a dinari assai piu che cervelo.

La sera vedera senza mentelo
Un regazon come un gufo amatito
E la matin di seta e d'or vestito,
Tanto che tu dirai: non è più quello.

Quando è ben'n alto fin dove pò andare
E'vien un for de villa e rompe el gazo
E fal' giù de la rota trabucare,
E ritornar come prima ragazo.
Com'è proverbio santo quel parlare:
Ombra de gran signor, capel de pazo." 1)

The two sonnets were almost certainly known to Du Bellay, and they have been mentioned as possible models for the satirical sonnets against Italian court life in the Regrets. 2)

Alessandro Piccolomini was another Italian poet to attack the vices of the Roman court, and to use the sonnet as a vehicle for satire. Vianey has pointed out the distinct similarities which exist between the Cento Sonetti, which first appeared in 1549, 3) and the Regrets, in the conception and execution of the two works, in the arrangement and choice of subject matter. 4) Special mention should be made of the sonnet of Piccolomini addressed to Giuliano Ardinghello, and intitled Sopra L'Ambition de la Corte de Roma:

1) op.cit. Sonnet, XC, p.128.
3) Cento Sonetti di M. Alessandro Piccolomini, Rome, V. Valgrisi, M.D.XL VIII.
"Chi mette in Roma'l pie, se gran favore,
Giulian, non gli da'l ciel, si sente drento
Inquietà ambition, qual vivo argento
Scozza le vene, e dar assalto al Core.

Non sta gemo'l pensiero, e'l senso fuore
Veglia mai sempre, in ogni banda intento;
Passa'l pie innanz' ognihor; ne sta contento
D'un grado men che del supremo honore.

Mentre ch'or quest, 'hor quel pai' s'erge e scaglia
Ecco poi ch'in un punto'l manda a terra
Quella crudel che'il Re ca'l servo aquaglia.

Io, co'l favor del Signor mio Cupido,
Che con altro veleno'l cor m'asserra;
Mecco stommi da parte, e guardo, e rido." 1)

Although it recalls several of the sonnets of the Regrets,
in subject, in tone of language and in movement, it is
actually the source of Sonnet CXXVIII of Olivier de Magny's
Soupirs. 2)

The anti-court theme is very often found in the poems
of the regular Italian satirists. 3) The most famous of
these to write of court life and courtiers was, of course,
Ariosto. Ariosto had lived for some time in the entourage

1) ed. cit. Sonetto LVI.

2) On Olivier de Magny's anticourt satire in Les Soupirs,
see below, ch.VII, pp.344 and on this sonnet in particular
p.340-7, the exact source of which had not previously,
to my knowledge, been identified.

3) That is, those whose satires conform to the limits of the
narrow literary genre, after the pattern of those of
Horace and the other Classical satirists, Juvenal and
Persius.
of Cardinal Hippolyte D'Este, and his situation there was similar to that of Du Bellay in his cousin's household at Rome. In his Satire, published for the first time in 1534, and many times after this date, Ariosto speaks of the life of the courtier as one of harsh slavery and not one of splendour, as is usually imagined by people who are unfamiliar with it. In his second satire, addressed to his brother Alessandro Ariosto and to Ludovico da Bagno, Ariosto, who has now left the court, asks if he is still remembered there, and whether or not he is accused of ingratitude towards his former master and patron. He then imagines the scene in which his former friends at court, in order to agree with their master, join in the chorus of reproaches directed against him in his absence, and follows this with a reflection on the fickleness of all courtiers. The whole scene, admirable in its concision and for the keen knowledge and observation of his fellow courtiers, which it shows, is extremely vividly drawn:

"Io desidero intendere da voi Alessandro fratel, compar mio bagno, S'in la corte è memoria più di noi!"

1) Le Satire di M.Ludovico Ariosto, s.l., 1534. There is a copy of this now rare book in the B.M. This is the edition which I have used.
On Ariosto see V.Cian, La Satira, Milan, 1939; A.Cioranescu, L'Arioste en France, Paris, 1939; Vianey, Mathurin Regnier, ch.II.

2) op.cit. Satira Quarta, A.M.Aniballe Maleguccio.
It is this scene which Du Bellay has reproduced, in a more condensed form in Sonnet CL of the Regrets.

Ariosto's satires were included in the anthology of Italian satire edited by Francesco Sansovino in 1560, Setti Libri di Satire. Also included were the works of Alamanni, Bentivoglio, Pietro Nelli, Sansovino himself, and Antonio Vinciguerra. All the works in this anthology, which includes several anti-courtier satires, had been composed, and in some cases published separately, in the first third of the century, but it was as a collection

1) op.cit. Satira Seconda.


3) Sette Libri di Satire, Venice, 1560. The composition of this anthology is as follows: Book I, Ariosto, Seven Satires; Book II, Bentivoglio, Six Satires; Book III, Alamanni, Twelve Satires; Book IV, Pietro Nelli, Eight Satires; Book V, Vinciguerra, Eight Satires; Book VI, Sansovino, Three Satires; Book VII, Seven Satires by various authors. On this work see Vianey, loc.cit.

4) Bentivoglio's satires were here published for the first time, although they had been composed earlier. Vinciguerra's were published for the first time in 1527. Alamanni's first appeared at Florence in 1532, and Ariosto's, as we know, in 1534.
that they made their greatest impact on the French satirists of the later sixteenth century.

The satires of this collection with which we are principally concerned are Ariosto's second and fourth—which we have already described, two by Luigi Alamanni\(^1\), and finally one by the editor, since they were all imitated extensively, and in many cases literally translated, by Jean Vauquelin de la Fresnaye, the author of the Satyres Françaises.\(^2\)

Ariosto's two satires on court life are bodily incorporated by Vauquelin into his Satyre à Claude D'Auberville\(^3\) and the Satyre à P. de Verigny, Sieur Deslondes.\(^4\)

Alamanni's ninth satire, A Thomasino Guadagni, an unimaginative, uninspired paraphrase of Horace's epode, Beatus Ille is partly transferred by Vauquelin to his own

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1) On Alamanni see H. Hauvette, Luigi Alamanni, Un Exilé Floréntin à la Cour de François Ier, Paris, Hachette, 1905 and Paul Laumonier, Alamanni et La Pléiade, in Rev. de la Renaissance, 1903.

2) Les Satyres Françaises, Caen, 1605. Composed along time before publication.

3) The text I have used is that given by J. Travers, Caen, 1867, in 2 vols. Bk. II, 5, p. 203 sqq. See also below, ch. VIII, p. 51\(^3\) n. 2. We have not discussed this imitation fully since it has been done so often before, by Vianey, op. cit., and in his article, Les Satyres Françaises de Vauquelin de la Fresnaye, in Rev. des Universités du Midi, 1395, pp. 386-392, and by Trtnik-Rossettini, op. cit.

4) ed. cit. Bk. II, 5, p. 227 sqq. The same remark applies to all his imitations from Italian sources.
own Satyre à Repichon, that is when he himself is not directly inspired by Horace. Alamanni's tenth satire, which contains an extended adaptation of the "Quid Romae faciam" speech of Umbricius in Juvenal's third satire, is more interesting:

"Io non saprei, Sertin, porre in disparte
La verità, colui lodando ogni hora
Che con più danno altrui dal ben si parte.
Non saprei riverir chi soli adora
Venere e Bacco, ne tacer saprei
Di quei che'l vulgo falsamente honora.
Non saprei più ch'a gli immortali Dei
Rendere honor con le ginocchia inchine
A più inguiosti che sien, fallaci, e rei.
Non saprei nei parlar covrir le spine
Con simulati fior, me l'ure havendo
Mele al principio, e triste assentio al fine.
Non saprei no, dov' il contrario intendo
I malvagi consigli usar per buoni,
Davanti al vero honor l'util ponendo..." 2)

Alamanni is giving his reasons for preferring to stay in Provence, rather than live at court. This poem finds its way almost unchanged into Vauquelin's Satyre à Ph. de Nolent and possibly also into the work of another poet, into Claude de Trelon's Discours à M.de la Brune.

1) ed.cit. Bk.II,6,p.234 sqq. For Vauquelin's direct imitation of Classical sources in this poem see below ch.VIII, p.466.

2) ed.cit. fo.74v°.

3) op.cit. Bk.III,3,p.265 sqq. On this poem as an indirect imitation of Juvenal via Alamanni see below ch.VIII, p.572.

4) In La Muse Guerriere, Paris, 1587. On this poem see also below ch.VIII, p.573.
Sansovino’s contribution to the *Satyres Françöises* is his second satire, an ironic appraisal of the ways and means of survival and success at the court, in the form of advice to a poet who aspires after the court’s recognition, and, he thinks, the wealth this will bring him. Sansovino’s satire is seemingly another version of Lucian’s *De Rhetor*. After chiding his friend for his misguided idea that the court will recognise a mere poet, for,

"I poeti si pascon di novelle,
Ma i ladri hanno le tavole abbondanté..."  

he lays down the following rules:

"Voil' ch'ai rubar sia presto, e al render tardo,
Che la bocca piena habbia di promesse
Ma a l'osservarle poi fatti infingardo...
Sì tu mangi per sorte rape o ghiande
Di che tu sguazzti sempre a quaglie o starno,
E tu vuoi mutar spesso vivande.
Vo il che ne ruffianesmi anco tu tegni
Le man, che questa parte assai s'appaegge
E di piacer altrui sempre disegni."

These are the recommendations which Vauquelin ironically

1) op. cit. *Il VI*, Satira Seconda a Guido Doffi, 169v° et sqq.  "Riprendendo coloro che attendono alle cose della Poesia dimostra per Ironia che le virtù sono hoggi in poco prezzo, e che si esaltano solamente coloro ch'attendono al ventre, all'avaritia, e alla lussuria. Et chei Poeti a di nostri la fanno magramente non havendo altro che gli pasca fuor de versi." Sansovino also contributed the preface to Vauquelin’s *Satyres*. His own *Discorso Sopra la Matera Della Satira* became in French the *Discours Pour Servir de Preface Sur La Satire*.

2) op. cit. fo.171r°.  3) op. cit. fo.171v°-172r°.
addresses to a fellow poet in his Satyre à J.A. de Baif.

Satire of court life was by no means confined, in Italian literature of this period, to poetry. Some prose works contain even more vehement attacks upon the intolerable conditions of life at court. The dialogue especially seems to have been a favourite vehicle for satire of this kind.

Pietro Aretino was probably the most implacable critic of courts and courtiers of this period. Early in his career he earned the title of the scourge of princes for his satirical activities. He attacked the vices of the Roman court fearlessly and scathingly at every possible

1) op.cit. bk IV, 6, p. 288. On this poem see below ch. VIII, pp. 42.

2) Obviously we must limit ourselves principally to the study of those works which we can prove were known to, and imitated by - in varying degrees - later French writers. But there are reasons which justify a rapid examination of the anti-courtier satire of Pietro Aretino, although evidence that he was imitated in any way is inconclusive. That his anti-court writings were known in France although apparently not translated, is certain. There is an oblique reference to these in the Discours de La Cour, Paris, A. Roffet, 1543, a poem by Claude Chappuy, who, describing his journey to the French court, says:

"Mais allant renconstray l'Aretin
Avec pasquil, l'ung me parloit Latin,
L'autre Tuscan, & m' estoient inconnus
Fors de renom, car ilz estoient veuz
En leurs habitz tissuz de Mosquard
Qui point & pieque, & si fault au nomorie..."

opportunity, but especially in his play *La Cortegiana* one of the first that he wrote, and in his *Ragionamento Delle Corti*.

*La Cortegiana* concerns the fortunes of a young Siennese who comes to Rome to realise his father's wish that his son should rise to become a Cardinal. Maco, for that is his name, falls in with a painter Andrea who, playing upon his naivety, offers to teach him the art of the successful courtier. There are during the course of the play several violent attacks on the court which take the form of monologues and dialogues and which may more properly be considered as such, then as part of a dramatic work, since they are completely unconnected with the main plot. These are directed against intrigue and injustice of court life:

"Non si ingadriscano se non ignoranti, Plebei, Parasiti, e roffiani. Hor dopo il ladro, ne viene il traditore Che più? con un grattar di piedi a gli incurabili son cancellati gli homicidi." 4

1) *La Cortegiana*, Venice, FR. Marcolini, 1534. The edition I have used is that published by the same in Venice a year later.

2) *Ragionamento Delle Corti*, Novara, M.DXXXVIII (This is the text I use)

3) In Act I.9, I.22, Act II.6, Act IV.6, Act V.1. This edition has no pagination or foliation.

4) *op. cit.* Flaminio, Act II.6.
against the appalling living conditions and against effeminate courtiers, of whom we are given this description:

Magcio: Come si fa la nimpha?
Andreo: Questo ve lo insegnarà ogni Cortigianazzo furfantino, che sta da un vespro all’altro come un perdono a farsi nettare una cappa, e un saio d’accottonato, e consuma l’hora in su gli specchi in farsi i ricci, e ungersi la testa antica; e col parlar Toscano, e co’l Petrarchino in mano, con un si a fé, con un giuro addio, e con un panco la mano gli pare essere il totum continens.” 1)

Aretino’s criticisms are continued at greater length in his Ragionamento Delle Corti, a discussion in two parts between Lodovico Dolce, Francesco Coccio, Pietro Picardo — who is replaced in the second half by Giustiniano — all friends of Aretino. The basis of the discussion, as in Hutten’s dialogue on court life, is the intention of one of the speakers, of Coccio, in fact, of abandoning the life of study in favour of a career at court which to him would be comparable to life on Olympus. His arguments are opposed chiefly by those of Picardo, to whom the court is the

"Spedale de le speranze, sepoltura de le vite, baila di gli odii, razza de l’invidie, mantice de l’ambitioni, mercato de le menzogne, serraglio de i sospetti, carcere de le concordie, Scola de le fraudi, Patria de l’adulatione, Paradiso de i vitii, Inferno de le virtù, Purgatorio de le bontà, e limbo de le allegrezze.” 2)

1) op.cit. Act 1.22.
2) op.cit. (unfortunately this edition has no pagination or foliation.)
Ludovico Domenichl is the author of another dialogue against the court, the *Dialogo Della Corte*\(^1\) which was published for the first time in 1552. However, comparison of this work with the earlier dialogue of Hutten, *Missalus*, reveals that the Italian work is nothing more than a faithful translation of the Neo-Latin one from start to finish. Only the names of the speakers are changed. It is extremely unlikely that this imitation was more widely known in France than Hutten's dialogue, and that it inspired any French imitations itself.

The anti-courtier trend was thus a well-established feature of Italian literature in the sixteenth century. In spite of this, however, its influence on the corresponding period of French literature is not as great as might have been expected. In fact, only Piccolomini and the regular

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1) *Tre Dialoghi de M. Ludovico Domenichii*, Venice, 1552. The fact that this work is a translation and not an original work seems to have escaped attention so far. Another Italian dialogue on court life, Tasso's *Il Malpiglio Orso de la Corte*, written in 1582-5, comes too late, we feel, to have exercised any notable influence on the French works of this period. For an analysis of this work see B. Croce, *Poeti e Scrittori del Pieno e del Tardo Rinascimento*, Paris, 1945, vol. II, ch. XLIV, *Libri Sulle Corte*, pp. 198-202.
satirists Alamanni, Ariosto and Sansovino can be shown conclusively to have inspired textual imitations of their works by French satirists. This conclusion, although negative, is important since it has been customary for critics to stress as very considerable the influence of Italian satirists on sixteenth century French satire.

It remains for us to emphasize, however, that the most important single Italian contributor to the development and evolution of the anti-courtier trend in sixteenth century French literature, was in fact, although unwittingly, Castiglione, whose _Cortegiano_ gave French satirists renewed inspiration.
Chapter IV. The Spanish Influence

We have seen the initial enthusiasm which greeted the publication of Castiglione's Il Cortegiano, both in the original Italian, in 1528, and in the first French translation of 1537.\(^1\) However, Castiglione was not long to remain the undisputed authority on court life in our period. Within a very short time his authority and his views were challenged by a Spanish writer, by Fray Antonio de Guevara,\(^2\) who, in 1539, had published at Valladolid his two

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1) For details of both these editions see above, chapter III, p. 74, n.1, and p. 75, n.1

treatises on court life, the Aviso de Privados, and the Libro llamado Menosprecio de Corte y Alabanza de Aldea. 1)

Chamard, in his study of the Origines de la Poésie Française de la Renaissance tells us that there are two reliable indications by which we may judge the popularity of a given work,

"c'est d'une part les éditions qu'on en donne et d'autre part les traductions qu'on en fait." 2)

By this criterion the Aviso de Privados enjoyed in France a modest success. It was first translated into French by

2) continued

1) Both these works were included in the edition of the Obras de Guevara, Valladolid, Villaquirán, 1539. The two treatises came off the presses within a few days of each other, and I have been unable to discover any sure indication as to the order in which they were written. They are, in certain respects, complementary.

Jacques de Rochemore 1), under the title of *Le Favory de Court*, and published by Guillaume Roville at Lyons in 1556. 2) This edition Roville reprinted within the year, and in the following year a third French edition was published by Christophle Plantin at Antwerp. 3) These were the only sixteenth century French editions of this work. 4)

Guevara was equipped by personal experience to write of the vicissitudes of court life, 5) but it was probably

1) From the title page of this edition we learn that Rochemore was "lieutenant particulier de la seneschaulée et siege presidial de Beaucarre en Nimes". See also below, Appendix II, p. 433-4.

2) For full bibliographical references see below Appendix II, A Bibliography of the French Translations of Guevara Published Between 1551-1605, p. 35, no. 67.

3) See below, loc. cit. nos. 68, 69.

4) It was not until 1622 that the Aviso was again published in France, this time in a new translation by Sebastien Hardy, under the revised title, *Le Reveille-Matin des Courtisants*, Paris, R. Estienne.

5) Guevara spent his childhood in the remote district of La Montana. At the age of twelve he was taken to the court of the Spanish kings, where his uncle, in his position of majordomo, enjoyed considerable influence. There he was educated and remained until he was twenty-five, when his career as a courtier came to an abrupt end, and he retired from the world to become a monk. Guevara himself explains this change of situation in the prologue to the Menosprecio, ed. cit., thus: "Ya que el principe don Juan murió, y la reyna dona Ysabel falleció, plorg a nuestro señor sacarme de los vicios del mundo y ponerme religioso franciscano." In addition to the deaths of the prince, in 1497, and the queen, in 1504, Guevara's uncle had died in 1503. He was thus left without influence at the court and his hopes of advancement were crushed. His retirement, however, was only
an event outside his own life which finally decided him to write about the court. Castiglione's *Cortegiano* was no less popular in Spain than elsewhere in Europe. Indeed it was highly praised by Charles V and in 1534 it was translated into Spanish by one of Spain's greatest humanists and Italianists, Boscán. It is therefore not at all improbable that it was the widespread success of this Italian work which prompted Guevara to write his *Avisó de Privados*, as there was previously no known Spanish model of the genre.  

5) continued.

temporary. Owing to the part he played in the "Guerra de Comunidades", and to his growing reputation as writer and scholar he was appointed court chaplain and official historiographer to Charles V, rising eventually to become bishop of Guadix and Mondoñedo. Thus he was in fact, a successful courtier, but not, one feels, as successful as he would have wished.

1) *Los Quatro Libros Del Cortesano*, tr. Juan Boscán, Barcelona, Pedro Monpezat, 2nd April, 1534.

2) It would be totally misleading to suggest that there was any indication, or indeed any intention, of imitation of the *Cortegiano* on the part of Guevara in this work. We must therefore disagree with Clément, *art. cit.* p.594, when he writes: "Dans L'Avisó de Privados, il me paraît certain que Guevara a vraiment eu le dessein de compléter son devancier, et d'écrire lui aussi, une doctrine, un code du parfait courtisan." Costes, *op. cit.* vol.II, p.95, also rejects Clément's view: "il n'y a qu'à comparer attentivement son livre et celui de l'écrivain italien pour s'apercevoir tout de suite qu'il n'y a lieu de chercher aucun point de contact entre les deux ouvrages, ni dans la forme, ni dans le fond." In fact the first Spanish writer to imitate Castiglione's *Cortegiano* closely was Luis de Milán, in his *Libro llamado El Cortesano*, 1561.
The Aviso de Privados y Doctrina de Cortesanos, to give it its full title, is dedicated to the favourite of Charles V, Francisco de los Cobos. The author's prologue and the "Argumento del Libro" are largely combative, stressing the value of good counsel as it is to be found in this book, since the courtier's strongest defence is an awareness of the pitfalls which lie in store for him:

"Por que si ellos quisieron en él leer y los consejos que en él hallaran, tomar; tenganse por dicho que despertarán de las vanidades en que están adormecidos: y despavillarán los ojos para ver en que están engañados."}

We learn from his preliminary remarks that the author's intention is to provide a guide for all those who wish to survive at court while at the same time preserving their integrity. Resigned to an abuse which he cannot eradicate, Guevara attempts, in the Aviso, to come to terms with it.

The opening chapters of the Aviso contain an unexpectedly violent attack on court life, so violent in fact that it might almost have been meant for inclusion in the Menosprecio. All attempt at compromise is temporarily forgotten. The first chapter especially, tells us that:

"Más corazón es menester para sufrir la corte, que para andar en la guerra."

1) op. cit. Argumento del libro (the preface has no pagination or signatures in the 1539 edition of the Obras, from which all our quotations from the Aviso and Menosprecio are taken.

2) op. cit. fo. 1 r°.
Guevara emphasises firstly the actual physical discomfort and inconvenience of court life. The courtier, like Cain, is condemned to a life of perpetual wandering, as, if he is to be at all successful, he must accompany the court on its long and frequent journeys to various parts of the kingdom:

"Aunque esta maldición de Cayn fué la primera, osaremos afirmar que en los cortesanos hasta oy dura: pues vemos que andan siempre por tierras ajenas: y que cada día conocen nuevas posadas." \(^{1}\)

Once the actual journey is completed, then the scramble for accommodation begins. The whole of the second chapter is devoted to an energetic description of the tribulations and trials of the courtier looking for a night’s lodging in a town or village too small to cope with the unexpected increase in population. Accommodation which was both sanitary and central (for reasons of prestige it was important to be lodged as near as possible to the royal residence) was obtained only by humouring those officers of the court who were responsible for the allocation of billets:

"En la corte de qualquier agravio que nos hagan podemos pedir justicia, sino es de los aposenta-dores, con los quales avemos de tener paciencia porque de otra manera, ellos quedarán enojosos y nosotros desapacentados. Suffrese en el officio\(^{1}\)

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1) *Ibid.* Guevara himself had experienced many such journeys, which he describes with great realism and not a little humour in his *Epistolas Familiares*. The best of these is the letter relating to the journey and sojourn of the Spanish court at Medina del Campo, contained in a letter addressed to the Marques de Los Velez - *Epistolas*, Antwerp, Pedro Bellero, 1578, pp. 90-4. Part One.
The courtier living in a strange house suffered many restrictions. In illustration of this, Guevara rapidly sketches the scene of a courtier arriving at his billet late at night only to find the house shut up, his host asleep: we are left to assume the angry exchanges which follow. Thus it is with feeling that he concludes:

"En la corte ventura es caer le en suerte buena posada, y muy mayor es tener buen huésped!"²

This part of the work deals of course, with life and procedure at the Spanish court. But the situations described with such verve were not unfamiliar to those with experience of the French court which, under François Ier especially, was subjected to much the same peripatetic existence.³

1) op. cit. fo. 4 v° - 5 r°.
2) op. cit. fo. 4 r°.
3) Marot described the situation of the French courtier very realistically in his Epîtres...Aux Dames de Chasteaudun:

"...peult estre ce jour
Prendrons d'assault quelque rural séjour,
Ou les plus grands logeront en greniers
De toutes pars percez comme Paniers."

From the irritations in the life of the courtier, Guevara passes to the dangers inherent in the profession. The courtier is almost certain to be reduced to a state of abject and humiliating poverty by the expense involved in living in a manner which will enhance his prestige, by the exorbitant price of food for man and beast, and by the high cost of keeping servants and mistresses. But if he loses his fortune at court, he also loses his freedom. Guevara's main argument is that all courtiers are slaves, but they are even more wretched than the ordinary slave, since they have many masters:

"Examinemos aquí ahora qué son las cosas que es obligado un cortesano a ley de cortesano hacer: y por ellos veremos cuántas y cuán arduas cosas se obliga sufrir. A ley de corte es obligado el buen cortesano a servir al rey, y acompañar a los privados, visitar los cavalleros, servir a contadores, dar a los prteros, grangear a los oydores, entretenecer a los alcaldes, sobornar a los aposentadores, lisonjear a los pagadores, hacer por los amigos, y aun dissimular con los enemigos. Todas estas cosas, ¿qué pies abastan para las andar, ni que fuerzas para las sufrir, ni que corazón para las comportar?"

In this respect the life of a courtier is harder even than that of the monk:

"Mucho más es uno meterse cortesano, que meterse religioso: porque en la religión abasta no más de a uno obedecer, más en la corte es necesario a todos servir."

1) op. cit. fo.2 r°.

2) op. cit. fo.1 v°.
The courtier in fact, is reduced to a nonentity incapable of independent thought or action, whose every movement is regulated by the demands of the court:

"¿Por ventura, en lo que toca al dormir, duerme el cortesano quando quiere? No por cierto, sino cuando puede. ¿Por ventura, en lo del comer, come lo que quiere? no, por cierto, sino lo que tiene. ¿Por ventura en el vestir, viste se cómo quiere? no, sino a los otros vea. Lo triste de cortesano que en peynar el cabello, lavar la barba, sacar calças, guarnecer espadas, renovar las botas, buscar cenogiles, proveerse de talavartes, comprar gorras, y affairar capas, se le passa la vida, y aun la mocedad!" 1)

So far, in spite of the energy of his attacks on court life in general, there has been little direct satire of the courtier, and of his vices. Guevara does in fact turn his attention more particularly in this direction by exposing the envy and malice which are the mainsprings of the courtier's every action. His days are spent plotting the downfall of those more favoured than himself:

"¿Quién es él que en la corte ama tanto a otro que aun que en sangre sea su propinquu deudo, y en la conversación su muy estrecho amigo, si por caso vale más que él, no desee que se muera? Y sino vale tanto como él, no trabaje porque no se le yguale: Una de las cosas que veo en los cortesanos es el mucho tiempo que pierden y el poco provecho que hazen, porque lo más en que consumen los días y emplean las noches, es en contradezir a los que les preceden, deshazer a los que les ygualen, lisonjear a los privados, murmurar con los abatidos." 2)

1) op. cit. fo. 5 v°.
2) op. cit. fo. 1 v°.
Doubts and anxieties plague him at night. With obvious insight into the workings of the courtier’s mind Guevara draws a convincing portrait of a man whose peace of mind is completely shattered by his preoccupation with self-advancement, a portrait worthy of La Bruyère:

"¡O qué lastima es de ver a un infelice cortesano: él que mil veces de noche despierta, da vueltas en la cama, tiene la cabeza desvelada, llena su infelice fortuna, sospira por su tierra, ha lastima de su honra, por manera que se le pasa toda la noche en vela, y desvelado pensando y imaginando entre sí por do va el camino del tener, y las sendas del valor."

These initial chapters of the Aviso de Privados contain perhaps some of the best examples of Guevara’s writings on court life, and it is consequently no surprise to find that a number of French writers of the sixteenth century drew their inspiration from this work as well as from the much more widely known Menosprecio.

The Menosprecio de la Corte y Alabanza de Aldea was actually the first of Guevara’s two treatises on court life to be translated into French. If, as we have seen, the success of the Aviso in France was, from the point of view of the number of editions it ran into, only modest, the Menosprecio on the other hand enjoyed outstanding and lasting popularity. In the period between 1542, the date of the first French translation by Antoine Allègre, which appeared

1) op. cit. fo. 2 r°.
at Lyons 1), and 1568, there were no fewer than twenty-six editions of the Menosprecio in French, and it is, together with the Epistolas Familiares, the only one of his works to be republished in the twentieth century.2)

The Aviso de Privados tells us how to survive, and succeed, in spite of all the hazards, while at the same time preserving intact or almost, our standard of moral values. Both the Aviso and the Menosprecio show the dangers to which the courtier is exposed during his career. In the latter, however, all pretence at compromise, all hope of survival, is abandoned. It is an outright condemnation of courtiers and court life; it is the logical development of the Aviso.

The Menosprecio de Corte is preceded by the Author's preface, dedicated to the King of Portugal. Here Guevara indicates the satirical nature of the work:

"no contento de reprender a los cortesanos quando predico, me precio de ser tambien satyrico y espero en los libros que compongo."3)

The substance of the Menosprecio may be summarised briefly thus. The first chapter serves as an introduction and is a

1) Du Mespris de Court: & de la Louange de Vie Rustique Nouvellement traduict d'Hespaignol en Françoys. A Lyon chez Estienne Dolet. Appendix II, no. 70. For all details of the French translations of the Menosprecio, see below loc.cit. pp 686
2) Menosprecio de Corte etc. in Clásicos Castellanos, Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 1942.
3) Ed. cit. Prologo, last page. (No pagination, foliation or signatures)
lengthy and erudite paraphrase on the "vanitas vanitatum" theme. Since the courtier has never despised worldly wealth he has only himself to blame for the unenviable predicament in which he finds himself at court. Guevara makes it clear from the outset that he thinks it unwise to advise anyone either to go to court, or to abandon it. The choice belongs to the individual: he alone is the best judge of his own temperament and disposition - if he is ambitious and covetous then let him stay at court. The courtier should not retire from court though, at a time when he has experienced setbacks in his career there, or feels he has fallen from favour, for this would lead to regrets and recriminations after the event. His reason for leaving the court should ideally be that he hopes to redeem himself, to recover his lost integrity by devoting his life to virtuous pursuits, and the most praiseworthy moment to renounce this worldly way of life is when one is young and one's hopes are high:

"A la verdad, el verdadero menosprecio del mundo y dar de mano a la corte es cuando el cortesano está en hazienda rico, en fuerza robusto, en el cuerpo sano, en la edad mozo, y en el valer privado." 1)

Guevara then devotes a chapter to the problems of retirement and how best to overcome them. Guevara criticises those who retire from the court only to try to relive, in

1) op. cit. fo. 2 r°.
their retirement, their former existence. The retired courtier must renounce completely and irrevocably all former interests and preoccupations. It takes a long time to rid oneself of the vices acquired during a life time at court; the treatment is a long one and time must be wisely disposed of. Guevara was a shrewd psychologist. His reorganisation of the life of the former courtier is designed to flatter his self-esteem as well as to rehabilitate. It is far preferable to be first in one's village than second or ever third at court. Therefore under Guevara's scheme the former courtier now becomes a benevolent patriarchal figure closely resembling a village squire, who is universally revered and respected. His days are usefully employed in visiting the poor, the old, the infirm, in attending mass assiduously, and in frequent reading of the holy scriptures - a complete contrast, in short, to his former life of idleness.

The following chapters are devoted to the enumeration of the advantages of country life, as opposed to the inconvenience and discomfort of living in the wake of the court. Guevara takes great pains to stress the complete freedom of village life as compared to the restrictions which circumstance and convention impose upon the courtier.

At the end of the seventh chapter Guevara abandons his comparative method and concentrates exclusively upon exposing the vices of the courtier. The satire becomes more violent as the writer warms to his subject, and the outbursts more
spontaneous. Finally, Guevara comments on the fact that the courts of long ago were more correct in every way than the present one. This chapter is followed by a similar one, a catalogue of those famous men who retired voluntarily from public life to enjoy the charms of the countryside, a chapter which leaves the author every opportunity, and one which he accepts with alacrity and enthusiasm, to display his vast knowledge of classical antiquity. The remaining three chapters are devoted to a review of that part of his life which Guevara spent at court, to an enumeration of the vices he acquired and the virtues he lost.

Such is the subject matter of the Observaciones, but what of the substance of the author's criticisms on court life and courtiers?

On court life in general Guevara's criticisms are largely a restatement and an elaboration of the points already made in the Aviso. The courtier, unlike the country landowner, does not enjoy the all important freedom of his own house:

"¡Oh qué bienaventurado es aquél a quien cupo en suerte de tener qué comer en el aldea: porque él tal no andará por tierras estranías, no mudará posadas todos los días, no conocerá condiciones nuevas!..."

Neither does he enjoy the privilege of eating his meals when, and with whom, he chooses:

"Es privilegio del aldea, que todos los que moran

1) op. cit. fo. 7 v°.
en ella, coman a do quisieren, y a la hora que quisieren: lo que no es así en la corte y grandes pueblos: a do les es forzado comer tarde y frío, y desabrido: y aun con quien tienen por enemigo. Tres condiciones ha de tener la buena comida: es a saber, comer cuando lo ha gana, comer de lo que ha gana, comer con grata compañía. 1)

In the village the first and only consideration is one's personal convenience. The countryman, unlike the courtier, may dress as he pleases, and, freed from the demands of fashion he is also freed from the accompanying expense:

"Es privilegio de aldea que cada vezino se pueda andar no solamente solo, mas aun sin capa y sin manto: es a saber, una varilla en la mano, o puestos los pulgares en la cinta, o bueltas las manos atrás. No pequeña es la libertad de la aldea, en que si uno no quiere traer calzas, trae camahuellas; sino quiere traer capa, andase en cuerpo, si le congoxa el jubón aflaxa las agujetas, si ha calor andase sin gorra, si ha frío vistese un gamarro. 2)

The countryman enjoys the social freedom which the courtier will never know. Thus it is no disgrace, in the village, for him to frequent people of widely different social standing. In addition, while the courtier is obliged to follow, day after day, a servile and obsequious routine, the rustic freely enjoys and freely pays homage to the beauty of the surrounding countryside. 3)

Apart from leading a freer life, the countryman is much healthier than the courtier, since food and provisions

1) op. cit. fo. 10 r°.
2) op. cit. fo. 8 v°.
3) op. cit. fo. 10-11.
are more plentiful and of better quality, and, since the air is cleaner, he suffers from none of those ailments which usually afflict those living at court. At the same time, there are greater opportunities for leisure time activities in the country where the days seem longer. The courtier never knows the peace of mind which the countryman takes for granted and enjoys, as of right. The courtier is the victim of the injustices of the court, whereas in the smaller more compact society of the village, justice is faithfully administered, the virtuous are honoured, the wicked punished.

Such is the picture we gain of court life in general, by reference to country life. What are the author's observations on the courtier himself? For Guevara the courtier is a degenerate being. One of his first criticisms in fact, is of the completely vacuous existence which the courtier leads, an existence which makes no economic contributions to the society which supports it. The sole function of the courtier is to be elegantly idle. The force of such a rebuke is of course strengthened by the implied contrast with the extremely active and useful life led by Guevara's ideal countryman. Guevara gives this account of a typical day in the life of a courtier:

"En la corte es a do los hombres más tiempo pierden: y que menos bien le emplean. Desde que un cortesano se levanta hasta que se acuesta, no ocupa en otra cosa el tiempo sino ir a palacio, preguntar nuevas,
ruar calles, escrevir cartas, hablar en guerras, relatar parcialidades, halagar a los porteros, visitar a los privados, banquetear en huertas, mudar amistades, remudar mesas, hablar con alcahuetas, requestar damas, y aun preguntar por hermosas." 1)

This dissipated existence was common to all courtiers and one is left to assume that it was at least partly responsible for the state of advanced physical deterioration observed by Guevara and described in these terms:-

"de tu palacio sale la cabeza cargada de canas, los ojos de laganas, las orejas de sordedad, las marizas de reuma, la frente de arrugas, los pies de gota, los muslos de ciática, el estómago, de humores, el cuerpo de dolores: y aun el corazón de cuidados." 2)

Having dealt briefly with the physical deterioration of the courtier, Guevara turns his attention to the much more serious deterioration in the standard of moral values. One of the less extreme manifestations of this decline is the ability of the courtier to be perpetually insolvent:

"En la corte es llegada a tanto la locura que no llaman buen cortesano sino al que está muy adeudado. ¡Qué lástima es de ver a un cortesano el cual deve al trapecio el pan para los moços, al joyero la seda de la librea, al sastre la hechura que no le pagó, a la dama el raso que la mandó, a la amiga la clanda que le prometió, al juez las costas del proceso, al platero la hechura de la medalla, a los moços la soldada del mes, a los huéspedes el alquiler de las camas, al correo el porte de las cartas, al corredor la venta del cavalle, a los porteros el aguinaldo de la pasqua: y aun a la lavandera el lavar de la ropa." 3)

1) op. cit. fo. 12 v°.
2) op. cit. fo. 26 r°.
3) op. cit. fo. 13 r°.
Fine feelings and noble sentiments are unknown among courtiers whose only instincts are those of ambition and greed. Their only loyalty, their only allegiance is to the tenets of their profession which Guevara ironically speaks of in religious terminology. Just as a monk gives his life to God, so the courtier promises himself to the court, sells himself, his freedom, and his integrity, in the hope of an uncertain and indeed improbable advancement:

"Por la profesión que hacen conoceremos la religión estrecha que tienen, pues prometen al demonio de no le desagradar, a la corte de la contentar y al mundo de la seguir. Prometen de andar siempre por la corte abovados, tontos, amodorridos, sospechosos, y aun sensativos. Prometen de siempre trafagar, negociar, importunar, pedir, comprar, vender, trocar, llorar, y pelear; y aun nunca se emendar... Esta es pues la profesión que los cortesanos hacen, ésta es la regla que en su religión tienen." \(^1\)

The courtier's chief weapons in the struggle to rise above his fellows and thus further his ambitions are flattery, dissimulation and deception. His whole routine is one of judiciously planned and carefully executed flattery:

"se levanta con cuidado de madrugar al consejo, de yr a las diez a palacio, de contentar al portero, de acompanar al privado, de estar al comer del rey, de buscar a do comer, de andar tras aposentadores..." \(^2\)

of fawning obsequiousness and inappropriate adulation, as described in the following extract:

\(^1\) op. cit. fo. 19 r°.
\(^2\) op. cit. fo. 10 v°.
"Antes que comience a medrar ha de servir al principe, seguir a los privados, cohechar a los porteros, dar a los truhanes, quitar a todos la gorra, hacer a quien no le merece reverencia, dezir al official 'vuestra merced', aguardar que despierte el secretario, llamar a quien no llaman señoría, alzar del consejo el antepuerta...finalmente deve a la corte hazerse a las condiciones de todos: y aun fingir parentesco con algunos privados." 1)

Guevara has even more to say about dissimulation, which is an equally important part of the courtier's armoury. All spontaneous reactions of dislike and hatred must be concealed behind an inscrutable mask of goodwill:-

"Entre los famosos trabajos que en las cortas de los principes se passan es: que ninguno que allí reside puede vivir sin aborrescer ó ser aborrescido, perseguir ó ser perseguido, tener embidia ó ser embidiado, murmurar ó ser murmurado: porque allí a muchos quitan la gorra, que les querrían más quitar la cabeza. i 0 quantos ay en la corte que delante otros se rien, y apartados se muerdan! i 0 quantos se hablan bien: y se quieren mal! i 0 quantos se hazen reverencias: y se dejanretan las famas! i 0 quantos comen a una mesa que se tienen mortal inidicicioi...Finalmente digo que muchos se dan el parabion de alguna buena fortune, que querrian más darse el pesame de alguna gran desgracia... ¿Qué vida qué fortune, qué gusto, ni qué descanso puede tener uno en palacio, viéndose allí entre tantos vendidos?" 2)

More serious than either flattery or dissimulation, is deception. Deception of oneself and of others is the accepted practice of court life, where normal standards do not apply, where values are reversed, and where, by common assent, vice masquerades as virtue, and personal merit

1) op. cit. fo. 13 r°.
2) op. cit. fo. 19 v°.
goes completely unrecognised:

"En la corte todos son obispos para crismar, y
curas para bautizar y mudar nombres: es a saber,
que al soberbio llaman honrado, al pródigo
magnífico, al coarce atentado, al esforzado
atrevido, al encañizado grave, al recogido
hipócrita, al malicioso agudo, al desleal
eloquente, al indeterminado prudente, al adultero
enamorado, al loco regocijado, al entremetido
solicitó, al chocarrero donoso, al avaro templado,
al sospechoso adivino..." 1)

There is no escape from the maze of deceit and the
deceivers are themselves in turn deceived by the incon-
stancy of Fortune:—

"Al príncipe engañanle los lisonjeros, a los
privados los negociantes, a los señores los
mayordomos, a los rico los truhanes, a los
moños las mujeres, a los viejos la codicia,
a los prelados los parientes, a los clérigos
la avaricia, a los frailes la libertad, a los
presumptuosos la ambición, a los maliciosos
la pasión... y aun a todos juntos la fortuna." 2)

In one chapter Guevara gives a more detailed account of the
sharp practices and sins of his fellow courtiers. In a
gallery of portraits we see successively, those who lie in
wait to trick the unwary newcomer to court life, the
confidence trickster, the spongers who go uninvited, from
table to table, for free meals:

"Ay otra manera de vagamundos y perdidos en la
corte: los quales no tratan en palacios ni
andan por monasterios, sino por plazas,

1) op. cit. fo. 12 r°. There seems to be good reason for thinking
that this passage is a borrowing, or reminiscence, on the part
of Guevara, of Plutarch's treatise on flatterers, of the
following extract in particular:— "And so in attempts at
flattery we should be observant and on our guard against pro-
digality being called 'liberalty', cowardice 'self-preserva-
tion, impulsiveness 'quickness', stinginess 'frugality', the
amorous man 'companionable and amiable', the irascible and
over bearing 'spirited', the insignificant and meek 'kindly'.
dospensas, mesones, y bodegones: y danse a
acompañar al mayordomo, servir al botiller,
ayudar al despensero, aplazar al repostero,
y contentar al cozinero, de lo cual se les
sigue que de los derechos del uno, de la
ración del otro, de los relieves de la mesa,
y aun de lo que se pone en el aparador,
siempre tienen qué comer, y aun llevan so el
sobaco qué cenar..."1)

for the pimps:—

"Ay otros géneros de perdidos en la corte: los
quales ni tienen amo, ni salario, ni saben
oficio, sino que están allegados, por mejor
decir, arruflados con una cortesana, la cual,
por que le procura una posada, y la compaña
quando la corte se muda, le da ellas a él quanto
gana de día labrando, y de noche pecando..."2)

and finally also the card sharpers and the procuresses.

In such an environment moral degeneration is inevitable.

The good who go to court have every chance of being
corrupted, while the bad have little hope of regaining
their lost integrity in this breeding ground of all the
vices:—

"El que de su natural no es bueno, gran libertad
tiene para ser malo. En la corte si quiere uno
adulterar, ay factores que lo negocien. Si
quiere vengar injurias, ay quien tome por él la
mano. Si quiere banquetear, a cada paso
hallará glotones. Si quiere publicamente
mentir no falta quien lo apruebe. Si se
quiere amotinar assaz hallará de apasionados.
Si quiere jugar lo que tiene, hallará tableros
públicos. Si quiere darse a hurter, hallará
hombres de gran sutileza...Finalmente digo que
si quiere darse a los vicios, halla en corte
muy famosos maestros."3)

1) continued. M citation p. 56.

2) Ibid. fo. 15 v°.

3) op. cit. fo. 11 v°.
As the work progresses, Guevara's pessimism becomes more acute. The description he gives of the complete demoralisation is unrelieved by any compromise:

"No podemos negar, sino que allí se mueren los privados, allí se mudan los estados, allí caen los favorecidos, allí se engargan las viudas, allí se infaman las casadas, allí se sueltan las donzellas, allí se enmotece los ingenios, allí se acuerdan los esforzados, allí se derraman los religiosos, allí se anegan los prelados, allí se olvidan los doctos, allí desatinan los cuerpos, allí se envejecen los mozos...."

Guevara's final tirade, in character highly rhetorical, is a restatement of all his previous condemnations. It is worth quoting, partially at least:

"Quédate a Dios mundo, pues no ay que fiar de ti, ni tiempo para gozar de ti...Quédate a Dios mundo, pues prendes y no sueltas, atas y no aflojas, lastimas y no consuelas, robas y no restituyes, alteras y no pacificas, deshonras y no halagas, acusan sin que aya quejas, y sentencias sin oyr partes: por manera, que en tu casa, o mundo, nos matas sin sentenciar, y nos entierran sin nos morir. Quédate a Dios mundo, pues en ti ni cabe ti, no ay gozo sin sobresalto, no ay paz sin discordia, no ay amor sin sospecha, no ay reposo sin miedo, no ay abundancia sin falta, no ay honra sin macula, no ay hazienda sin conciencia, ni aun ay estado sin queja, ni amistad sin malicia. Quédate a Dios mundo, pues en tu palacio prometen para no dar, sirven a no pagar, comandan para engañar, trabajan para no descansar, halagan para matar, subliman para abatir, rienc para morder, ayudan para derrocar, toman para no dar, prestan a luego tornar, y aun honran para luego infamar, y castigan sin perdonar. Quédate a

1) op. cit. fo. 13 r°.
Dios mundo, pues en tu casa abatan a los privados, y subliman a los abatidos, pagan a los traydores y arrinconan a los leales, honran a los infames, y infaman a los famosos, alborotan a los pacíficos, y dan rienda a los bulliciosos, saquean a los que no tienen, y dan más a los que tienen, libran al malicioso y condenan al inocente, despiden al más sabio y dan salario al que más es necio, confianse de los simples y recatanse de los avisados: finalmente allí hacen todos todo lo que quieren, y muy pocos lo que deben."

To sum up then, there is perhaps one surprising omission in Guevara's otherwise comprehensive survey of court life, that is, the almost total absence of attacks on the exaggerated mannerisms adopted by courtiers in speaking, in walking, in gesticulating, of absurd fashions, of the excessive use of perfume by men. His criticisms are not directed at outward and obvious manifestations of dandyism. More probing, he attacks the deterioration, both physical and moral, which court life promotes and encourages. His attacks are those of a moralist and an ecclesiastic. A firm believer in the monarchy, he does not of course ever question the reason for the continued existence of the court, in spite of his vaguely formulated economic condemnation of this institution.

1) op. cit. fo. 25 v°.

2) He does however criticise these features of Spanish court life in his letters. The Spanish court suffered from Italianisation as much as the French court. In the Menosprecio Guevara makes only one passing remark about "un nuevo hablar, un nuevo jugar ..un nuevo vestir". Fo. 21 v°.

3) See above, first quotation.
Guevara's method and literary technique in the Menosprecio is not without interest. The basis of his satire on court life is, in the first instance, personal indignation and resentment. But satire cannot remain wholly a matter of personal resentment, since it implies the condemnation of a society, or of an institution, by reference to an ideal. Thus, in the Menosprecio, Guevara's satire is based upon a method of contrast and antithesis. He is concerned with measuring and demonstrating the aberration from the ideal. The courtier's way of life is contrasted with the life of the country gentleman, since this is Guevara's ideal, to the detriment of the former. Sometimes the contrast is direct, as in the following passage:

"Es privilegio del aldea que él que mora en ella pueda hacer más ejercicio y tenga más en que embeber el tiempo: del cual privilegio no se goza en los grandes pueblos porque allí ha de presumir cada uno de ser muy medido en las palabras, recogido en la persona, honesto en la vida, exemplar en las obras, paciente en las injurias, y no muy visitador de las plazas: por manera que tanto es más tenido uno en la república quanto menos sale de casa. ¡O bienaventurado él que mora en ella, a do uno se puede poner libremente a la ventana, mirar desde el corredor, passearse por la calle, sentarse a la puerta, pedir silla en la plaza comer en el portal... y aun provar el vino de sus vecinos. Todas estas cosas se pueden en el aldea hacer sin que nadie pierda su auctoridad, ni aventura su gravedad."

1) op. cit. fo. 9 r°.
Some writers have criticised Guevara's descriptions of country life for their lack of realism and close observation. This shows a complete failure to understand the author's intention. For the emphasis is clearly intended to be on the satire of court life. The praise of rural life is chiefly a yardstick by which Guevara intends us to assess the gulf which separates the ideal from the actual.

Sometimes the contrast is not stated but implied. Some aspect of the life of the countryman is singled out by the author for praise, and by his very choice, the author is drawing attention to the deficiencies or abuses of the system which he is trying to improve. How much happier is the countryman, whose merits are both recognised and rewarded, than the courtier, is the implication of the following apostrophe:

"¡O quanto es honrado un bueno en una aldea, a do a portia le presenta las guindas el que tiene guindalera, brevas el que las tiene, tempranas, melones si le salieron buenos..." 1)

The technique is similar to that of Voltaire in his Lettres Philosophiques. Guevara is no more concerned with giving a series of picturesque studies of Spanish country life in the sixteenth century than Voltaire was of eighteenth century English life and manners. An interesting fact is that Guevara abandons his method of contrast after the first seven

1) op. cit. fo. 10 vo.
chapters, but by this time the ideal has been firmly established and the comparison occurs in the mind of the reader.

Antithesis however, remains an important feature of the work. It appears to be Guevara's favourite literary device, and is often abused. Sometimes we find whole phrases in antithesis, sometimes single epithets. There are many examples:

"Fuy a la corte inocente, y torne me malicioso, fuy sincerissimo y torne me doblado, fuy verdadero y aprendi a mentir, fuy humilde y torne me presumptuoso, fuy modesto & hize me vorace, fuy penitente y torne me regalado, fuy humano y torne me inconversable." 1)

Guevara's satire is often energetic and vigorous, his criticisms trenchant, but its effectiveness is often blunted by his tendency to repeat himself, and by his appeal to emotion, as in his final tirade, where satire degenerates into pure pathos at times.

We have analysed in some detail Guevara's method and literary technique, contrast, antithesis, since these are features of the work most noticeably copied by French imitators. 2)

The sources of Guevara's criticisms on court life in the Menosprecio 3), are exactly the same as those of the Aviso

1) op. cit. fo. 23 v°.
2) See below ch. VII, and VIII, passim.
3) I have found no study of the sources of the Menosprecio in any of the works I have consulted on Guevara.
de Privados, that is to say that he relies entirely on his personal knowledge and direct observation of court life. Just as there was no previous Spanish model of the Aviso de Privados, so there was also no Spanish model of the Menosprecio. The praise of the retired country life, on the other hand, is a commonplace theme of classical literature. Horace's second epode and Claudian's imitation of this same poem immediately spring to mind. The most obvious indication of their influence, apart from the fundamental contrast between contentment in retirement and ambition in the city, and court, upon which Guevara has built his satire, is the constantly recurring formula, in the early chapters of the Menosprecio, "O bienaventurado",

1) To my knowledge, the only previous Spanish work to deal with court life in any way was the Doctrinal de Los Privados, c. 1455 by Inigo Lopez de Mendoza, Marquis de Santillana. Se Obras, ed. A. de Los Rios, Madrid, 1855. This Doctrinal though deals with fickleness of fortune, but in relation to an actual event, and references to court life in particular are few and vague. It could in no sense be described as a model of the genre of either of Guevara's treatises on court life.

2) On Horace, Claudian and Seneca see above ch.I. It is impossible to judge with certainty to what extent Guevara was sincere in his recommendation of country life. It seems, however, that this part of the Menosprecio may have been inspired by personal feeling as well as by literary reminiscence. In a letter to the Abbot of Monserrat he expresses his desire, frustrated by circumstance, to retire from the court. Cf. Epistolas, Antwerp, 1573, p. 169.
the equivalent of "Beatus Ille" and "Felix Qui". Guevara's development of the theme of the delights of country life has far less charm than Horace's, is decidedly more prosaic, and points to the inspiration of a more ascetic author, namely Seneca. The subject of retirement from the affairs of the world is one which Seneca treated of many times in his letters to Lucilius as we have seen. Guevara's ideas on the purpose of retirement, that it should be considered as an opportunity for moral self-improvement by devoting oneself to virtuous pursuits, this idea is fundamental to Seneca's thought on retirement also:

"Otium tibi commendo, in quo maioras agas et pulchriora quam quae reliquisti." 1)

Guevara foresaw the objections which a courtier might raise to the suggestion that he should leave court. Such a decision required courage, and daring, but the alternative to retirement, to grow old at court 2) was even more hazardous. This too corresponds to Seneca's thought:

"Quomodo, inquis, exibo? Utoumque. Cogita, quam multa temere pro pecunia, quam multa laboriose pro honore temptaveris; aliquid et pro otio audendum est, aut in ista sollicitudine procurationum et deinde urbanorum officiorum senescendum in tumultu ac semper novis fluctibus." 3)

The privilege of eating with friends of one's own choosing, a

2) See above, p. 121 and op. cit. passim.
3) op. cit. vol. I, XIX, p. 128.
privilege which retirement alone confers, is one which is valued equally high in the Menosprecio and in the Epistolarae Morales:

"'Antes, inquit (Epicurus), circumspiciendum est cum quibus edas et bibas, quam quid edas et bibas. Nam sine amico visceratio leonis ac lupi vita est.' Hoc non continget tibi nisi secesseris."

Guevara's work owes something to Seneca, not only in thought, but in style as well. The influence of the Latin writer is apparent in Guevara's rhetorical prose, in his use of antithesis especially. Guevara in fact endowed Spanish prose, by his imitation of Seneca, with a firmness that it had never known before, a service which earned him rich praise from the Spanish critic Menéndez y Pelayo:

"es un escritor de primer orden, uno de los más grandes prosaistas anteriores a Cervantes."

Guevara's literary merit did not go unrecognised in the sixteenth century either. In discussing the reasons for the popularity which the Menosprecio enjoyed in France, and the interest which it excited, it is important to remember that Guevara had already won a considerable reputation in

1) See above, p. 123-4.
2) ibid. p. 130.
3) See ch. V, p. 179.
4) op. cit. p. CCCXLIV.
France following the publication there, both in its original Spanish, in 1529, and in the French translation of René Berthaut de La Grise, in 1531, of his Libro Aureo de Marco Aurelio. The success of this work was repeated when his Relox de Príncipes, in reality a revised and augmented version of the Libro Aureo, and undoubtedly the most widely read as well as the most often appreciated of his works in sixteenth century France, was published in French in 1540 and again in 1542.

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1) For details of these editions, and the interesting circumstances under which the Libro Aureo first came to be translated, see below Appendix II, pp. 615-16.

2) Some indication of this esteem may be gathered from the generous tribute which Maurice de La Porte paid to Guevara, some time later in his Epithètes Françaises. The entry is as follows: "La noble & ancienne maison des Guevares en Espagne a produit de nostre temps un Antoine, Evêque de Mondognet, prêcheur & chroniqueur du grand Charles le quint Empereur. Iceluy outre plusieurs autres œuvres nous a laisssé trois livres publiés souk le nom d'Horloge des Princes, tant sententieusement élaborés, qu'il nous faut journallement regretter le trespas d'un si sçavant personnage. Quand à moy, pour les avoir leus & releus, ensemble tout ce qui a esté mis de luy en nostre vulgaire, je confesseray qu'il est impossible de faire lecture aucune dont on puisse tirer plus grande consolation & utilité." op. cit. Lyons, B. Rigaud, 1593, fo. 200.

3) See below Appendix II, p. 624, nos. 21, 22.
In addition to his already established reputation as a writer, another factor in the success of the *Menosprecio* was that Guevara had correctly gauged the literary tastes of the moment. Moral and satirical portrayals of contemporary society were greatly appreciated. Although the courtier was already in French literature one of the most frequent targets for satire, nevertheless the *Menosprecio* soon acquired the status of a standard work on this subject.\(^1\)

In this capacity the *Menosprecio* could hardly have reached the French reading public at a more opportune moment. The French translation of the Spanish treatises appeared just four years after the first French translation of the *Cortegiano*, at a moment when Castiglione's doctrine was making opponents, as well as attracting would-be exponents. The first anti- *Cortegiano* satire, *L'Amye de Court*, it will be remembered, was printed for the first time in the same year as the *Mespris de la Court*, but the privilege had been granted in 1541. There can be no doubt that the

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\(^1\) See the judgement of P. Boaistuau, *Theatre du Monde*, Paris, V. Sertenas, 1561 p.44v\(^\circ\). "Si tu desires plus ample connoissance lis ce qu'a fait dom Anthoine de Guevara...et Aeneas Sylvius... qui ont compose deux tres-excellens & particuliers traititez de ceste matiere, ou ilz ont si bien despeins messieurs les courtisans au vif, qu'ilz ont retraché l'esperance de rien adjouster a ceux qui en veulent discouvrir apres eux." Although Boaistuau mentions Piccolomini's earlier work, as well as Guevara's, the peak of its popularity, and of its influence in France was well passed, and never at any time was its popularity equal to that of the *Menosprecio*.
Menosprecio provided the perfect counter to the Cortegiano. Guevara attacks the court, Castiglione glorifies it as the home of perfection and school of social graces. Guevara's firm moral stand, that virtue and court are incompatible, confronts Castiglione's doctrine, shallow and immoral, with its built-in compromise, of appearances "faute de mieux". In other ways the two works are even more opposed. Guevara is for the ancients, Castiglione for the moderns. While Guevara deplores the moral corruption of the court of his day, and looks with reverence to the example of his ancestors, Castiglione mocks reactionary old men whose meditations on modern manners are punctuated with muttered exclamations of "O temporaj O mores!" Critics of Castiglione and of his adherents, moralists who were actively engaged in combating the vices of the court, reactionaries, all, or all three in one, adopted Guevara as the champion of their cause. And in the minds of other French readers, Guevara's satire was inevitably linked with

2) op. cit. ch.XVI. De Quanto Mejor corregidos solían estar las cortes y republicas antiques que lo están agora las nuestras.
3) op. cit. bk.II, p. 160.
4) Noel du Fail is a good example, since he attacks Castiglione's neo-platonism, see below pp.427 and imitates Guevara when attacking court life, see below, ch. VIII, pp.514-15.
anti-Cortegiano literature after 1544. For in this year Guevara's *Mespris de la Cour* was published for the first time with those French works which comprised the polemic of the *Querelle des Amyes* 1), the chief of which was of course *L'Amie de Court*, La Borderie's satire of the third book of the Cortegiano. 2)

The success of the *Menosprecio* in France was entirely dependent though on such incidental reasons as the reputation of its author, current literary tastes, and the opportune time of its appearance. The book appealed to members of the court itself, to those who were at odds with the society in which they found themselves, to those who suffered most from its injustices. They could find much to agree with in Guevara's picture of court life, for although he is describing the Spanish court and the Spanish courtier, his observations are made in a moral context, his criticisms have a far wider and more universal application and would have been equally valid for French, English or Italian courts. Guevara's courtiers are little different from those that La Bruyère was to depict a century later. For those who were exhausted by the strain imposed by court life, the *Menosprecio* was again not without interest. In his idealisation of country life Guevara appealed to those very people who longed

1) See Appendix II, p.438, and no.78.

for the charms of the retired life far from the tumults and disappointments of the court, who craved a life of epicurean calm and moderation, and he gave them an opportunity to indulge in the favourite day-dream of the times, when, as even now, men toyed with the idea of retiring from public life to the country. This is especially true during the period of the Religious Wars in France, as a careful study of the dates of French imitations of the *Menosprecio* will reveal.

The first French imitations of the *Menosprecio* appear in 1547, and continue to appear throughout the rest of the century. Imitations fall into two classes, those in which the fundamental contrast between court and country is preserved, and secondly, those in which Guevara's direct criticisms of court life are alone reproduced. In the first group, by far the larger, we find the poem of Jacques Peletier, *Louanges de la Vie de Court Contre la Vie du Repos*, which, in spite of its title is a satire of court life.¹ Maurit Scève's eclogue of the same year, 1547, *La Saulsaye*,² shows also the influence of the *Menosprecio*. To these we may add the indirect satire of court life by Estienne du Tronchet,*Discours du Contentement d'un homme de Village...Au Mespris de

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¹ *Oeuvres Poétiques*. Paris, M. Vascosan, 1547. On this work see below, ch. VII, pp. 357-64.
Ceux des Villes, a poem which first appeared in 1568. The same author, in a letter in a volume which appeared the following year, Lettres Missives et Familieres, while preserving the method of contrast of the Menosprecio, draws upon the Aviso de Privados for the substance of his attack on court life. No French satirist drew upon Guevara more extensively than Jean de la Taille. His poem Le Courtisan Retire, of 1573 is inspired by the Aviso as well as by the Menosprecio, although primarily by the latter. Subsequent imitations include the poem by Nicolas Rapin, Les Plaisirs du Gentilhomme Champetre which was published in 1583 but probably written around 1578, Isaac Habert's poem Les Plaisirs de la Vie Rustique, of 1585 and among the Contes d'Eutrapel of Noel du Fail, the last one, La Retraite d'Eutrapel. In


3) La Famine ou Les Gabonites...ensemble plusieurs autres oeuvres poetiques, Paris, 1573. See below pp. 475-504.


6) Contes et Discours d'Eutrapel, Rennes, 1585. See below pp. 504-5.
the second group of imitations, there is the attack on

court life by Pierre Boaistuau in his *Theatre du Monde*,

first published in 1558,  

1) another of the *Contes d’Eutrapel, Eutrapel et un Veilleur*, and finally, a poem by Claude de

Trellon entitled *Discours à M. de la Broue*.

So far we have dealt with Guevara’s two treatises on

court life in considering his anti-courtier satire.

However, it would be a serious omission to pass over in

silence his *Epistolas Familiares*, which contain several

attacks on court life, and which of all Guevara’s works,

holds the most interest for present day readers. As with

most of Guevara’s works, the success of the *Epistolas*

was even greater abroad than in Spain itself, and their greatest

success of all was in France. Between 1556 and 1596 there

1) *Le Theatre du Monde*, Paris, J. Longis, Rob. le Mangier,

1558. See below, ch. VI pp. 369-70.

2) *op. cit.* no. XVIII. See below pp. 519-15.

3) First published in *La Muse Guerriere*, Paris, 1587. On this

poem see below pp. 518-17.

Of the French imitations of Guevara which I have mentioned,

those of Du Tronchet, Rapin, Habert and De Trellon have

never, to my knowledge, been mentioned before.

4) *Epistolas Familiares*, Valladolid, Villaquirán, 1539.

See below, Appendix II, p. 45.
were thirty-four editions of the French translation. The first translator was Jean de Gutierrez, doctor to the Cardinal of Lorraine, and himself a Spaniard. The translation of the first book of the letters was published by Macé Bonhomme at Lyons in 1556. The second book was published, again by Macé Bonhomme, in 1559. In 1560, a French translation of a third book of Guevara's letters, appeared at Lyons. The translator this time was Antoine du Pinet. Now, since Guevara never wrote a third book of letters, the composition of this volume poses some interesting problems. It is described as containing, besides the letters, an account of the "Guerra de Comunidades" and Guevara's Arte de Marrear. The Arte de Marrear was first published by Guevara in the first collected edition of the Obras, in 1539. The letters which deal with the "Guerra de Comunidades" were, in the Spanish editions, published in the first book. This leaves a score of letters unexplained. They are in fact

1) For bibliographical details see below Appendix II, pp. 644-699.
2) See Appendix II, no. 98.
3) See Appendix II, no. 101.
4) See Appendix II, no. 102.
5) Obras de Guevara, Valladolid, Villaquirán, 1539.
spurious, the work of the Italian translator Alfonse d'Ulloa. ¹) This in itself also helps to explain why all the French editions of the third book of letters, were translated from the Italian, and not from the Spanish, as the first two books had been. The letters in the French translation of a fourth book, published for the first time in 1584, ²) are likewise spurious additions from the pen of Ulloa.

Not without good reason have Guevara's letters relating to the Spanish court been compared to the memoirs of Saint-Simon. Here Guevara's writing has gained in concision and incisiveness. He makes greater and more effective use of irony, his satire at times is quite mordant, and he seems to have a great control over his pen - gone are the erudite allusions and the superfluous pedantry. The criticisms of court life are unchanged. He mentions again the envy and animosity between courtiers, their dissimulation, and the useless existence they lead. The letter to Don Enrique Enriquez is worthy of note:

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¹) This fact has passed almost unnoticed in the many bibliographies I have consulted. It is mentioned briefly by Cañedo, op. cit., p. 534. The reason why it has gone unnoticed may be due to the ingenious way in which Ulloa sandwiched his own inventions between two works which were obviously Guevara's, since they had appeared before, i.e., the account of the war, and the Arte de Marear. The fourth book, which is completely spurious, was soon recognised as such.

²) See Appendix II, no. 125.
"Dezís Senor que os escriva qué es la cosa en que más occupa el tiempo, y a esto os respondo que según los cortesanos tenemos por officio malquerer, cizanar, blasphemar, holgar, mentir, trafagar y maldezir, con más verdad podremos dezir del tiempo que le perdemos que no que le empleamos. Dezís me Senor que os escriva quiénes son los con quién más converso en esta corte, y a esto os respondo que es de tan malviduno la corte y su gente que nos que en ella andamos y desde niños nos criamos, no es nuestro estudio buscar con quien conversemos, sino en descubrir de quiénes no guardemos. A penas tenemos tiempo para defendernos de los enemigos, y queréis que nos ocupemos en buscar nuevos amigos? En las cortes de los principes yo confieso que ay conversación de personas, mas no ay confederación de voluntades, porque la enemistad es tenida por natural, y la amistad por peregrina. Es de tal condición la corte que los que más se visitan, peor se tratan...

Preguntáys me Senor, que nuevas tenemos... nuevas secretas escriven de allá, que son para los que tocan lastimosas, y para los que las oyen graciosas, y son, que muchos de los que fueron a Italia con César, se han allá enamorado y más de lo que era menester derramado, mas en este caso, yo vos joro Senor, que según me zumban los oydos sus mugeres toman acá venganza de ellos, porque si ellos dexaron allá algunas mugeres prenadas, también hallarán acá a las suyas parecidas!

Apart from this letter, and others in which the gist of his remarks on court life is similar\(^1\), there are others which might have had an even greater interest for conservative-minded French readers, namely, those in which Guevara deplores extravagant customs common among courtiers. He writes to an Italian at the Spanish court complaining "quán infama cosa es

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1) The edition I have used is the Antwerp, Plantin, 1578 one. Letra para don Enrique Enriquez, bk. I p. 79.

Such complaints were frequent in France also. Similarly, Guevara's criticisms of exaggerated expressions of politeness, he devotes a whole letter to one in particular—"Besos las manos"—would have been sympathetically received by French satirists, concerned at the importation of such mannerisms into the French court. In fact Noël du Fail condemns the "baise-main" in his Contes d'Eutrêpe, and refers specifically to Guevara's letter on the subject.

One of the letters in the third book, and therefore by Ulloa—under Guevara's name—was directly imitated by Jean de la Taille. This letter, which the author-translator has addressed to Guevara's niece, purports to show by means of a fable the ignoble instincts which impel people to take up service at court. Briefly, the subject of the fable concerns an ass, a fox, and a lion. The lion, in order to cure himself of a disease, orders his courtiers to bring him the heart and brain of an ass. The fox, finding an ass in a field, tempts him to go to the court by playing upon his greed.

2) op. cit. Part II, Letra Para Don Francisco de Mendoza, pp. 48-59.
3) op. cit. XVIII. See below pp. 514-15.
4) For the Italian text Lettere del Guevara Libri I-IV, Venice, Valgrisi, 1575. I have used, as Jean de la Taille probably did, Du Pinet's French translation, by M. Bonhomme, Lyons, 1560.
But, frightened by the distinctly hostile attitude of the lion towards him, the ass leaves the court. Twice more he is persuaded by the fox and his own covetous nature to return to court. The third trip proves fatal to him. The fox himself devours the heart and entrails of the ass, telling the King that he had not found any heart or entrails in the ass's corpse, adding:

"Sachez sire, que si cet animal eust eu coeur & cerveau l'Avarice & la Convoitise du bien ne l'eust fait venir par trois fois en cette cour ou il a laissé la vie pour gage."

The point is clear enough, but the author adds this further commentary:

"vous peux assurer qu'il y a nombre infini d'hommes qui ont aussi peu de cerveau & de coeur que l'asne de nostre fable. Car encore qu'ayons assez de quoi vivre de neanmoins nous ne laissions de nous assujettir à l'Inconstante Fortune. Nous en ayons...qui ne suivent la cour pour nécessité qu'ilz ayent mais seulement pour voir que les autres la suivent. D'autres laissent leur maniere de vivre propre à leur naturel pour s'empêtrer & envelopper d'affaires contraires à leur profession."

This letter inspired Jean de la Taille in the composition of his poem Le Festin du Lion.

1) op. cit. p. 184.
2) ibid.
Guevara's influence on the anti-courtier trend in sixteenth century French literature is incontestable. Apart from the welter of bibliographical evidence which attests to the popularity of his works in France, we have seen that his attacks on court life form the basis, to a greater or lesser extent, of a number of French works on this subject. We may further add that Guevara's Mensuprecio entirely replaced Chartier's Curial, and almost entirely, Piccolomini's De Curialium Miseriis Epistolae, as the standard work against court life, in the second half of the century in France.

1) In considering the Spanish influence on the anti-courtier trend in sixteenth century French literature, we have so far confined ourselves to the works of Guevara, who was the initiator, to some extent, of this type of literature in Spain. His work however was taken up and continued by other Spanish writers. One of these was Gutierre de Cetina, a disciple of the famous Garcilaso de la Vega. Although a typical Renaissance courtier, Cetina bitterly attacks the vices of the court in his Epistola dedicada a Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, a work which clearly owes something to Guevara. See his Obras Completas, ed. Hazanas y La Rua, Seville 1895. On his work see R. Lapesa, La Poesía de Gutierre de Cetina. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza writes in a similar strain in his Epistola a Don Gonzalo. See Obras Poéticas, Colección de libros raros y curiosos, Madrid, 1877. On his work see E. Señan y Alonso, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Apuntes biográficas-criticas. Diego de Acuña wrote several satires called Coplas del Provincial Segundo. On him see J.P.W. Crawford, Romantic Review, 1916. However, it is impossible to say with any certainty whether any of these works were imitated, or indeed, even known to French readers of the period. There were certainly no translations. Cetina's works remained in manuscript form until the late 19th century. One edition of Mendoza's works was published in 1610. Acuña's Poesías Varias were published once in 1591.
Chapter V. The Medieval Influence

The courtier whose inertia is rewarded by a sinecure, or similarly, the parasite who enjoys social and economic privileges grossly disproportionate to his contribution to the society which supports him, is, as we have already seen from our examination of Classical sources, one of the oldest subjects of satire. He was no less frequently, nor less vigorously vilified by Medieval writers.

Invectives against court life and courtiers, both in Latin and in French, were numerous throughout the Middle Ages, but more particularly towards the end of the period, in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Some of the earliest attacks on court life in European literature were those written in Latin by humanists and moralists. Of these works possibly the earliest, and certainly one of the most interesting is John of Salisbury's Poliorcaticus. The contents of this work are more precisely indicated by its sub-title, De Nugis Curialium et Vestigiis

Philosophorum. This treatise, written in 1159, was printed for the first time in 1475. 1)

The Polycraticus opens with a short dedicatory poem, the Entheticus ad Polycraticum 2), in elegiac metre, composed on the model of Ovid's introductory verses to the Tristia. John addresses his book and before sending it on its travels, warns it of the dangers of court life, and bids it seek out its patron. A prose preface to the first book, in the form of a letter to Thomas à Beckett to whom the work is dedicated, follows. 3) After the conventional praise of

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1) Polycraticus Sive De Nugis Curialium etc. s.l., (Brussels, Apud Fratres Vitae Communis), s.d., (c. 1475)
Subsequent editions include three sixteenth century ones, two of which were printed in France. They are:
 a) Polycraticus de Nugis Curialium et Vestigii Philosophorum Iohannis Saresberiensis doctissimii viri, Paris, B. Rembolt and Guillaume Petit, MDXIII.
 b) Iohannis Saresberiensis Polycraticus de Nugis Curialium, s.l., (Lyons) C. Fradin, MDXIII.
 c) Iohannis Saresberiensis Polycraticus, etc. Leyden, Fr. Raphelengius, 1645 In the seventeenth century the popularity of this work in France increased and a French translation of books I-IV, under the title of Les Vanités de La Cour, by E. de Mézéray appeared in Paris, Chez Toussaint Quinet, 1640, and was reprinted again in 1647.


3) op. cit. pp. 12-18
letters, the author expresses his own disenchantment with court life\(^1\), and regrets the twelve years which he has wasted there:\(^2\)

"Quare maioribus me non ingerio curiis, cum tibi Ysocratis responsurus sum uerbo, qui ingeritus ab amicis, quare non in forensibus negotiis uersare tur, respondit 'quae locus hic callet, ego nescio; quae ego calleo, locus hic mescit'. Ego enim contemno quae illi aulici ambulant, et quae ego ambio illi contemnunt. Mirare magis quare non praecido, aut rumpo funem, si alias solui non potest, qui me in curialium nugis tamdiu tenuit et tenet adhuc tantae obnoxium seruituti. Iam enim annis fere duodecim nugatum esse tae det et penitet me longe aliter institutum." \(^3\)

He then explains the division of the book, the first six sections of which are devoted to a discussion of the "nugas curiales", the remainder to the "vestigia philosophorum".\(^4\) In addressing his criticisms of contemporary society to his friend, when such criticisms are directed in reality against the failures of others, he follows the stratagem of Seneca in his writings to Lucilius.\(^5\)

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1) Occasioned perhaps by the circumstances under which this book was completed. The first crisis in John's relations with the court occurred in the spring of 1159. The Policraticus was finished when the crisis was most acute, that is, when he was removed for a short time from his usual work at the Archbishop's court, by the order of Henry II.

2) John's experience of court life was not confined to the English court. He had spent some time at the corrupt Papal court, which he does not include in his reckoning of twelve years above. Here he seems to be dating his official career from 1148, the year in which he was a member of the Pope's (Eugenius III) own retinue at the Council of Rheims. From 1154 he was a member of the court of Archbishop Theobald at Canterbury.

The writer's fundamental proposition is that man's estrangement from reason and from virtue is the result of his contact with court society. The activities and preoccupations of this society, which he examines, are, in his view, illustrative of its decadence.

The first book of the Politeia is given over to the censure of all forms of courtly idleness and dissipation. Bad enough to neglect one's own affairs in order to follow those of another at court, but still worse to adopt the same frivolous pursuits! His denunciation of hunting is particularly severe:

Continued from previous page:


5) op.cit. p.15. "Sic dum alios doceat Seneca suum monet Lucilium." 1.5.

1) op.cit. pp. 18-19. "Inter omnia quae uiris solent obesse principibus nichil perniciosus esse arbitror, quam quod eis fortunae blandientis illecebra aspectum subtrahit ueritatis, dum diuitias suas et delicias congerit mundus, quibus delicati sensus pruriginem vicissim refouet et accendit, ut animus multiplici lenocinorum fraude captus, quadam alienatione sui ab interiore bono deficiens per exteriora mendacia uariis concupiscentiis evagetur...Sic rationalis creatura brutescit, sic image creatoris quadam morum similitudine deformatur in bestiam, sic a conditionis suae dignitate degenerat homo."
"Quid eo brutius, qui ex defectu rationis et impulsu libidinis, dimissis propria, aliena negotia curat, et non modo negotiis, sed et alienis otiis iugiter occupatur? quid eo bestialius, qui omissa officio, de media nocte surgit ut sagacitate canum, venatorum industria, studio commilitonum, servulorum fretus obsequio, temporis et famae iactura, rerum laborisque dispendio, de nocte ad nocte pugnet ad bestias." 1)

From hunting he passes to gambling, 2) and from there to the practice of music, 3) concluding with a condemnation of those nobles and courtiers whose only claim to wisdom and to knowledge lies in the study and practice of these pursuits:—

"Nunc uero nobilium in eo sapientia declaratur, si venaticam noverint, si in alea dampanabilium fuerint instituti, si naturae robur effeminatae nocis articulis fregerint, si modis et musicis instrumentis uirtutis immemores obliuiscantur quod nati sunt." 4)

He turns his attention next to the troop of people inevitably to be found in the wake of any court, the jesters, actors, and conjurers. They are popular with those who wish to wile away the hours of self-inflicted inactivity, and he roundly condemns the misplaced liberality of Princes to these entertainers, as symptomatic of the perverted values of this society:—

2) op. cit. v, ch. V.
3) op. cit. I, ch. VI.
4) op. cit. I, ch. V, p.38, ll. 5-9.
"sum gratiam suam histrionibus et mimis multi
prostituant et in exhibenda malitia eorum ceca
quadam et contemptibili magnificentia non tam
mirabiles quam miserabiles faciunt sumptus." 1)

Of particular concern to him, was the importance
attached by nobles and courtiers of the twelfth century
to magic and astrology. 2) The whole of the second book
is given over to a discussion of these matters. The
practice of the occult arts clearly illustrates, in his
opinion, the abandonment of reason which he has
observed among the ranks of the ruling classes of his day.

Having discussed the courtier's pursuits, and his
superstitions, the writer passes to the study of the
courtly art of flattery, used inevitably as a means of
furthering one's career in a great household. For it was
undoubtedly this all too prevalent feature of contemporary
life which constituted, in John's eyes, the most serious
transgression of the basic moral principles necessary to
the well-being of any state or community.

1) op.cit. I, ch. VIII, p. 46, 11. 2-6.

2) Liebeschicn, op.cit. p. 27 says on this point:- "We are
accustomed to date the classical time of magic and astrology
in connection with politics from the period of the emperor
Fred. II and the astrologer of his Sicilian court, Michael
Scot. But, as we see in the Poliocrates, as early as Henry
II's time, a writer on court life and on politics could feel
himself impelled to insert a digression on the philosophical
problem of astrological signs in their bearing on free-will
and necessity, because prominent courtiers believed in the
possibility of knowing or influencing the future by means of
secret arts."
Flatterers are not only the most pernicious of the state's enemies, they are a danger to themselves and to their friends. In his portrayal of the characteristics, and in his analysis of the techniques, of the sycophant, John's own observations are supported by quotations drawn from Latin comedy and satire. There are no limits to the flatterer's mental agility and flexibility; with Gnatho he can say:

"Negat quis: nego; ait: aio; Denique imperau corporis omnia assentari...
"

Like an actor, the flatterer is a man of many parts, and many disguises, ever ready to meet the demands of the moment; but he surrenders thereby, irrevocably, his claim to human dignity. He silences the voice of reason and moderation in others:

"Cum uero praesenterit voluntatem, sic palpat, sic demulcit, tanta suavitatis perungit gratia, ut uirtuti somnnum inducat, et totam moderationis, sine qua numquam recte uiuitur, formam Lethei fluminis infusione subuertat...."

His language is gushing and ingratiating, as John shows in his commentary on an extract from Terence:

1) op.cit. vol.I, bk. III, ch.4, p.173. The quotation is from Terence, *Eunuchus*, 2.11.21-22. Modern editions have "postremo imperau...


"Magnas grates agere Thais michi?... 'Ingentes', inquit. Fuerat quidem satis si 'magnas' respondisset. Sed, quia adulatoris fraus omnia extollit in maius et de suo aliquid adicit unde sibi gratiam cumulet, 'ingentes' inquit." 1) When a lie will serve his purpose better than the truth, then he does not hesitate:-- "Vurum qui suo nomine, ut proprii loquamur, dicitur adulator, vitia cuiusque dealbet, et ne se ipsum uideat, oculos colloquentis quadam nube uanitatis implet, et aures falsis praescon- iorum titulis reficit. Ait ethicus: 'Quid quod adulandi gens prudissima laudat sermonem indocti, faciem deformis amici, et longum invalidi collum ceruisibus aequat Herculis.......' 2) The most redoubtable, since they are the most subtle, are those who flatter while ostensibly seeking to correct or perform some courteous service. This is a practice which has been much followed of late the writer informs us with obvious concern:-- "illa magis timenda, quia magis perniciosa sunt, quae quodam cautelae velamento studiosius occul- tantur et quasi sub imagine in crepatiis aut correctionis alteriusque officii aut virtutis irrepunt. Quod nonnullos, dum benevolentiam immoderatius captant, fecisse reperies." 3) Another of the practices of flatterers is illustrated frequently in Latin comedy, where masters are duped by their slaves, who, after slight disputation, pretend to

1) op.cit. p.179.
3) op.cit. I.III. 5, p.181, 11.5-9.
be convinced by their masters' reasoning, thereby strengthening not only their false convictions, but also their gratitude to them. Finally, the flatterer, like the bird-catcher, is always on the alert for an opportunity of ensnaring the unwary:—

"Quid quod aucupes nouitatum rumusculos congerunt eisdemque curiosorum auribus satisfaciunt, ut hac via compendiosius ad id quod desideratur accedant? Temporis quoque diligentissimi observatores sunt, ne quid intempeste ingerant..." 2)

After his lengthy analysis of the flatterer and his wiles, the writer expresses his anxiety as to the adverse effect which the rise of flatterers has had on the society of his day. They occupy the highest position, are everywhere acclaimed:—

"Qui sunt enim qui vestibus nitent, qui fastigiati incidunt, qui sequipederarum stipantur comitatu, commilitonum et contuberalium dealbantur obsquo, qui primis salutationibus in foro gloriantur qui primos recubitus habent in cenis, quorum aures mulcentur fomento praenominum et quibus nobilium molles reserantur auriculae, quos fortunae gratia alerum suum remigio ad sullimia subuehit et extollit et a quibus quaelibet magna domus dispositionis suae formulam trahit et habitum mutuat? Nenpe adulatores, qui alienum viuunt ad nutum dum eos fraudulentem emungent..." 3)

but their only concern is to safeguard and to promote their own interests. More honest men are driven from the houses

1) op.cit. I.III.5 p. 181.
2) ibid. 11. 24-28.
3) op.cit. I.III.6 p. 185, 11. 11-21.
of the great, and are debarred from taking their rightful place in the royal administration.

The most concentrated, and at the same time the most scathing attack on courtiers appears in the fifth book of the *Policraticus*. Developing the familiar comparison between the body politic and the human body, John examines the functions of the various organs. The courtiers in the royal employ, whose function should be to support the Prince, to act as auxiliaries, since they are as the sides to the human body, are criticised for their avarice, for their vanity, for their malice, all of which increase with the increase of their personal power:

"At improbitas curialium eo usque innotuit ut de testimonio conscientiae, de venustate morum, de odore opinionis, de sinceritate causae, de torrente eloquentiae, nisi pretio interueniente quis frustra confidat...nichil apud curiales efficies, nisi plumbea eorum corda aureo vel argenteo malleo vanitatis vel cupiditatis incude emollias...Inter alios tamen benigniores sunt qui minimum possunt, licet fore omnes pr媲i sint ad nocendum quod cuius longe facilius est quam prodesse." 1)

To John it is more than ever clear that the causes of all the corruption and perversion in the society of his day, was to be found at court. For just as surely as those who were attracted to the lovely waters of the fountain of

Salmacis 1), were turned into hermaphrodites by bathing in them, so those who served at court were irremediably corrupted by its atmosphere. There is certainly no place for a good man or a philosopher at court since philosophy and ambition are incompatible. He who affects to be both philosopher and courtier is neither:

"Hac autem poetici nube figmenti nugarum curialium representatur imago, quae uiros abieeta uirtute ecolliant aut imagine retenta pervertunt. Qui curialium ineptias induit et philosophi vel boni uiri officium pollicetur, hermafroditus est, qui duro uultu et hispido muliebrem deturpat uenustatem et uirum muliebribus polluit et incestat. Res siquidem monstruosa est philosophus curialis; et, dum utrumque esse affectat, neutrum est, eo quod curia philosophiam exclusit et ineptias curiales philosophus usquequaque non recipit." 2)

His message, therefore, is the same as that of Lucan, whom he quotes:

"'Exeat aula.
Qui uult esse plus.' " 3)

This work written by the foremost representative of humanistic thought before Petrarch, enjoyed a wide diffusion in Europe throughout the Middle Ages. 4) In France it was

1) ibid. Salmacis. 2) Ovid, Metamorphoses, IV. 235 sqq.
2) op.cit. I.V.10, pp.329-330, 11.25-33, l-2.
3) Lucan, Pharsalia, VIII, 493. Quoted by John, ibid.
4) The diffusion of the Policraticus in Italy in the early 14th century can be studied in the thesis by Paul Renucci, Une Source de Dante, Le Policraticus de Jean de Salisbury, Paris, 1951.
quoted, paraphrased, referred to, by many writers including Jean de Meung in the *Roman de La Rose*. Eustache Deschamps included the *Policraticus* in a list of works and authors that every educated man should know,\(^1\) and Pierre Michault, the author of the *Doctrinal de Court*, was almost certainly familiar with it.\(^2\)

John's work was certainly known in sixteenth century France too, and seems to have been popular. After its first edition in 1475, it was reprinted three times in the course of the next century, twice in the year 1513 at Paris and at Lyons; the third edition was printed at Leyden. The aspects of court life described by John of Salisbury were not so different from those which formed the subject of many attacks by French writers of anti-courtier satire in our period. John's denunciation of those nobles and courtiers whose exclusive preoccupation was hunting, for instance, and his reasons for such an attack, find a very close parallel in the *Contredictz de Songecreux* by Jean du Pont-Allais.\(^3\) John criticised the practice of the occult arts; in France too, the interest in magic, and the mania for astrology, imported

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from Italy, in prominent court circles, caused much concern, and was attacked by Bonaventure des Périers and Tahureau, among others.\(^1\) John's preoccupation with flattery as a form of self-abasement, and as a dangerous social phenomenon, is shared by many later moralists, while his conviction that the court was the quintessence of evil, and his conception of the man of the court "as a symbol of the contemporary world's defection from its religious and moral standards"\(^2\), was perpetuated in the writings of many French satirists and moralists \(^3\) in the latter half of the sixteenth century especially. For these reasons then, the *Policraticus* is not without interest as a possible source of anti-courtier literature in our period.

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2) Liebeschuetz, *op. cit.* p. 16.

3) Notably by Henri Estienne, in *L'Apologie Pour Herodote*, 1565 (see below, ch. VIII, p. 564) and by La Noue, *Discours Politiques et Militaires*, (see below, ch. VIII, p. 574).
Whereas the Polioratius, as we have seen, was written with the intention of correcting abuses in the ranks of the ruling classes which threatened not only the moral, but also the political foundations of that society, other Latin works of the Medieval period directed against court life, did not have such a close relevance to the contemporary political scene. Many, in fact, are evidence of an established literary tradition, rather than an increasing concern for the well-being of the body politic; they can be classified as a distinct genre.

Attacks on court life which come into this class are predominantly epistolary in form, written by a person who is, or has been, in residence at court himself, and addressed to a friend or relative with little or imperfect knowledge of the true conditions of life which prevail there, and who may be tempted to embark upon such a way of life himself. This, with only minor variations, is the framework of such attacks. The aim is to warn the inexperienced of the moral dangers of such a way of life to the individual, a theme which is combined in most cases with the gradual emergence of the idea of the superiority of the quiet, retired life of rustic solitude and harmony. Thus, in a letter to his friend, Hugues de Saint-Severin, Petrarch prefers his present humble circumstances to the existence of
a courtier, who although perhaps enjoying certain material advantages, is the victim of mental anguish and moral torture of various kinds. The writer speaks, in this case, from past experience:—

" Recognovi equidem in verbis tuis Curiae mores olim mihi cognitos atque invisos... Certe ego paupertate mea dives sum, neque id meo tantum sed multorum judicio et consensu: illi opibus suis inopes ac mendici, atque utinam dolituri acris si scire possent, quanto mihi uni tranquillior feliciorque dies unus, quam illis omnibus tota est vita obsessa curis pessimis, voluptatibus foedis marceens, tremula, mutans spe, vanis elusa gaudibus, veris et oppressa moeroribus et gelata terroribus et cupiditatibus inardescens, quamque nemo est eorum cum quo statum meum ullis conditionibus permutatum velim. Licet enim inter yasa aurea miserum esse, inter fictilia felicem." 1)

The criticisms of court life contained in a letter written by Nicolas de Clemanges, one of the earliest French humanists 2), to his friend Jean de Montreuil, are much more distinctly hostile in tone, although similar in substance, to those of Petrarch. In a style declamatory and rhetorical Nicolas de Clemanges inveighs against the court as the natural home of all the vices, affording peace of mind and stability of fortune to no man:—


"Nam si mare magnum & spaciosum (Sacris attestantibus eloquis) est mundus iste, ubi tantis inhorrescit procellis, tantis flatibus agitatur, tantis fluctibus intumescit, tam saeuis excusat turbinibus, sicut in Curis Principum ubi inter Scyllam mordacem inuidiae canibus ut aiunt succintam, & rapacem atque insatiabilem avaritiis Charybdim nauigare oportet, ubi velut in solio proprio, imperat superbia, regnat ambitio, furt crudelitas, languescit desidia, defluat luxuria, carpit detractio, tradit proditio, ubi nulla pax animi, nulla quies conscientiae, nulla fides, nulla charitas, nulla securitas, ubi blanda assentatio, amicitiae simulatio, inuriae dissimulatio, ubi latentia oedia, fictis verbis, serena fronte, sed fallacis obsequii mendositate adoperta. Ubi denique rotae fortunae versatilis, quae summis infima mutare gloriam voluit."

In this instance, the writer's apprehensions are for his own welfare at court, since, he says, he is unskilled in the courtiers' arts and practices - which he enumerates thus:

"Quid queso in temporalibus curiis, acturus sum, artium talium ignarissimus, quas nec umquam didici, nec discoe cupio, qui in lingua & fronte animum gesto, qui rudis & parum Curialis, adulari, insidiari, vento pascere, temporis servire nescio, qui ridicere dentibus, plaudere gestibus, ulnis amplecti, facetis uti non noui, quibus aulici et palatini inserviunt."

The most interesting aspect of this letter, is the development of the metaphor of the court as a dangerous sea, whose navigational hazards, foremost among them Scylla and

2) Ibid.
Charybdis, must be avoided if one is to survive the voyage. Nicolas de Clemanges appears to have been the first writer to develop this metaphor in the context of anti-court satire. It was subsequently adopted, whether independently, or by imitation, of Clemanges is difficult to say, expanded, and abused, by a long line of writers including Chartier, Meschinot, Erasmus, Mutten and Estienne. 1)

Jean de Montreuil, writing to Pierre and Cornthier Col, 2) introduces some slight variety into the established pattern of these letters. He describes how, one night, Terence appeared to him in a dream, exhorting him repeatedly, and in the strongest possible terms to shun court life, on account of the perils it holds in store for the unwary:—

"Tuque his in potibus, et commessationibus crapulisque amodo moraberis? Tu demum hos Jannicius suffletos vento & ob sublimia gloriantes aestern insectaberis? desine, iam desine, Johannes. ." 3)

1) In Chartier's Curial the court is a sea in which the courtier is about to be shipwrecked; those outside the court are the watchers on the shore. It is very similar to that used by Lucian in his letter on court life, De Mercede Conductis Potentium Familiaribus (see above, et al, p.412) but it is extremely unlikely that this is the origin of Chartier's image, since Lucian's works were unknown in France at the time. The most probable source of this image as used by Chartier is neither Lucian nor Clemanages but Lucretius, De Rerum Naturis, where it is used to illustrate the epicurean doctrine of non-involvement in the misfortunes of others. This is the same image which was so successfully adapted by Du Bellay, Regrets, XXXIV, "Comme le marinier, que le cruel orage..."

For Meschinot cf. Lunettes des Princes, Paris, N. Higman, 1522
and

"Falleris, Johannes mi, falleris, subdit ipse, quin potius invidia, ambigione, superbia, simulatione, dissimulatione, crudelitate, perfidia, libidine, cupiditate, discordia, ignorantia, mendacio, stultitia, ceterisque vitibus exuberanter oppleti sunt; & quomadmodum castruurnn mores brevi Salustius designat sententia, alitd in pectore, aliu in lingua promtum habere vultum, quam ingenium bonum habere..." 1)

and to prefer instead a life of solitude and scholarly contemplation:—

"subtrahe ergo pedem atque redi, & tuorum instructorum alumnorumque nostrorum Petri Manhac, & Gontheri Colli, quod quidem tanti facis, istas pompas curiarum & urbium tumultus fugiendo, rura incolas, solitudinem ames, libros legas, et meas inter cetera comedias..." 2)

But, apart from invoking the authority and advice of Terence in this letter, Jean de Montreuill imparts added interest by his attempt to introduce a series of sketches or portraits of obnoxious courtiers, thus breaking away to some extent from the usual stereotyped declamation and invective. For instance:—

Continued from previous page
1) Ballade La Court Est Une Mer, see below p.234. For this metaphor (greatly extended) in Erasmus, Hutten and Estienne see below p.71 note 2.


3) op.cit. col. 1399

1) op.cit. col. 1398

2) ibid.
"hanc aspice gentem. Num vides inconsideratissime, illum, qui proximus tecum sedet, qui cum coram in os quorundam loqueretur, illos plaudenter affari, colere, de ipsis benedicere, laudare & praedicare, amplexus & oscula porrigere, manus simul expodere; illis qui absentibus extemplo maledicit, accusat, execratur, atque damnat, ac si vita nequaquam digni essent? ut verissime rex ille quem prophetam appellatis, dixerit: 'Ore suo benedicabat, corde suo maledicat. Vides, inquam, alium te dextra tenentem, tibi adeo qui gratatur, et se supplicem reddit, quia et forsavit gratiam es laturus, cum tuum primum exhaustum officum aut beneficium exstiterit, nullatenus te agnoscet. Quod si te adverse invadat fortuna & sibi casu obvixit, scito nil verius esse, tibi pro tinus tertum vertet, & posteriora monstrabit. Videsne alium neentem te brachiis, & qui a collo tuo pendet? centum aliis, ne ignores, idem fecit quos decepit. Sed is alter, & is alter, inquis, mihi optime obsuetur & curialissime, imo gratis sua offert. Cave ergo circumspectus, si mihi credis, ne gravioribus te oneret. Verum est enim proverbium illud: Omnia sui causa facere curiales." 1)

This class of Medieval anti-courtier literature is best exemplified by Alain Chartier’s Latin letter, De Vita Curiali, since it combines all the characteristics of the genre. This work, written in the early fifteenth century, is perhaps better known by the title of the

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1) op.cit. II. col. 1399.
3) The exact date is still unknown. Champion, op.cit. p. 55, places it between 1422-1428.

Chartier's letter, addressed to his brother, purports to be his reply to the former's frequent and pressing requests that he should use his influence to gain him an introduction to court circles. This is the device which allows Chartier, under the pretext of dissuading his brother from following his own footsteps, to attack the moral corruption and material discomforts of court life.

The picture here presented is sombre indeed. Established courtiers wait to corrupt the uninitiated on their arrival at court in a thousand subtle ways, and to mock them if they are foolish enough to persist in their former virtuous conduct:

"Non enim desunt in curiis, qui vel compoite sermone seduciunt, vel palpent muneribus, livore contendunt, minis absterreant, adulatione blandiantur, deliciis illaqueent et quaquaversum hominum mentem penetrant. Nostra vero desclivis humanitas imitandis hominum moribus et vitis cepacendis facilius est, et quae tantis obsidetur virtus, tentamentis vix evadit. Esto perseveres et te ipsum vitiorum corruptioni evellas, nihil praeter te ipsum vicisti, quem etiam privatus leviori pugna superares. Aut enim tua virtus ridiculorum te faciet aut odiosum tua veritas, aut te spectatum reddet tua circumspecta discretie. Nichil enim iniquis est suspectius quam provida acquitas." ²)

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1) For a long time the original Latin version by Chartier was considerably less well known than the fifteenth century French translation of uncertain origin, but which, nevertheless, was regarded for many years as Chartier's own work, and, moreover, his greatest legacy to French prose. P. Champion, *op. cit.* p. 56 is very enlightening on this point.

2) *op. cit.* p. 6, 11.3-14.
Corruption, indeed, is a necessary qualification for success at court, and the new-comer must expect to be schooled in this new way of life:

"Aulicus abusus et curialis mos est ut neminem aut incorruptum relinquat curia aut incorruptibilem diu patiatur extolli... Huc tende, si de amittenda libertate contendas, tunc te ipsum deseruisses scies cum curiam sequi volueris quae hominem propriis moribus alienat, alienis adaptatis: verax est, fingere docetur; honestum colit, turpia dissimulare libebit; patiens est et ad lucra tardus, aegerbit; petere nescit, datore carebit..." 1)

Since the easiest road to success is often to be found in flattery the uninitiated courtier should discount the unsolicited salutations of another who would never be guilty of disinterested conduct:

"Praeter haec plausus et salutationes inter felicitates curialium magnipendimus, nihil tamen vanius dici potest quam simulatione laetari, ut dum quis te nutu veneratur, corde despicit. Gratia soli caputio referenda est quod frequenti depositione consuntur nec fraudi communicat, sed adulantes non gratia sed cautela est adhibenda; non enim virtutes suas, sed suas commoditates prospicit, ut quod a te quaerit, blande subripiat..." 2)

and who would be the first to greet the downfall of a favourite with derision and contempt. 3)

Chartier's concluding definition of the moral climate of court life is a forceful and succinct summary of his previous criticisms:

1) op.cit. p.6, 11. 18-20, p.10, 11. 11-16.
2) op.cit. p.16,11. 1-8.
3) op.cit. p. 3.
"Est virorum conventus, qui se ad invicem decipiendum, boni communis simulatione, commun­­icant. Viri pectora, metallum, annonam et vestem venditione et emptione commutant. Nos vero curiales hominum institores sumus et humanitatem pretiis exponimus pretiosam. Alienam amicitiam aut assentatione aut corruptela emimus, nostros vero favores reciproce venundamus. Quid illic certum acquisieris...?" 1)

The Curial also includes a description of the material discomforts of court life, and this leads the writer inevitably to express his preference for the country life which his brother enjoys, to compare and contrast the two repeatedly. Thus the courtier experiences appallingly crowded and often unhygienic living conditions, while the countryman is master in his own home:

"Vide domuncula quantum liberatis tibi conferat tua. Tu ei gratiam referas, quae te solum dominum capit et hostiolo clause alium te nolente non admittit. Pulsantur divitis fores, murmure sonant alta pallatia, atriis latis pressura iminet. Stringitur latus populi concussu, calet anhelitu potentis aula." 2)

Likewise the courtier suffers a loss of personal freedom in such elementary matters as when and what to eat, when to go to bed, when to get up, how to spend his leisure, while the countryman need never be similarly inconvenienced:

"Adde quod semper hospes est qui curiae servit et alienae domus habitarator, alterius in fame alieno­­que appetitui comedit, cum famelicis sine fame

1) op.cit. p.22, 11.5-11. *(sic). for 'pecora' perhaps?
2) op.cit. p.20, 11.12-16.
vescitur, cum saturatis curis occupatus esuriem sustinet. Alleno voto vigilat cum iam obsomniasse cepisset. Et quid servilius est quam naturae vires et vitalia iura fortunae subegisse, cum nihil in homine liberius sit quam naturaliter vivere? Nos servientes sub alleno statuto victitamus, tu domi pro imperio vivis. Parvo sub texo quietus regnas, altis in aedibus servimus trementes. Cibos ad esuriem parus tuo tempore accipis, nos ad ingluvium inordinate crapulamur. Tu breves noctes dulci somnpo affidis, nos vino curisque gravati lectis circumvclvsmur eversis."

The letter ends with the recommendation to flee the court coupled with an enthusiastic eulogy of the simple life:

"O fortunos quietos penates et pauperes lares honesti, quem edocuit parcitas contenta vivere pauco nec alienos edere labores anxia mensa! O felix casa, virtute potens, nescia fraudis, quam dei metu moderatas vitae regit honestas! Illuc non intrant scelera, illic recte vivitur ubi solus peccati pavor animum remordet, cum neque rumore terretur domus neque pulsatur frequentem tumultu aut livoris oculis penetratur. Numis vitae tranquillitate lactatur natura et in casulis periodos implet, tractimque finit plecida aestas, cui senectus expectata tempore ad venit suo."

Much has been made of the Curial as an historical document having particular relevance to conditions prevailing at the French court during the period of Chartier's service there. This, however, would seem to be a palpable exaggeration of its historical content, since

1) op.cit. p.12, 11.5-17.
2) op.cit. p.24-26, 17-22, 1-4.
3) Champion, op.cit., p.54 et passim.
there is nothing in Chartier's letter which would allow us to identify one court more than any other. His letter is the expression of certain fundamental truths about court life in general, and for much of the time the author seems to have preferred to confine himself to enunciating certain moral precepts concerning the vicissitudes of fortune\(^1\), the vanity and transience of earthly glory and titles\(^2\), the moderation of one's desires\(^3\), which have a special relevance for those at court.

Nor is the political import of *Le Curial* greater than its historical validity. No attempt is made here, as is, on the contrary the case in the *Quadrilogue Invectif* \(^4\), to relate the moral corruption in court circles, to the unhappy plight of the nation as a whole. The Curial is thus definitely to be regarded as a further example of the literary genre established by Petrarch, Nicolas de Clemanges and Jean de Montreuil. Chartier's judgement is made from the moral standpoint and would appear to be completely divorced from historical and political circumstances.

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1) op.cit. pp. 8-10 et passim.
2) op.cit. p.16
3) op.cit. passim
4) *Le Quadrilogue Invectif*, 1422. See below pp. 198, 599.
Alain Chartier's Latin letter was the least widely known of his works in the fifteenth century, so little known, in fact, that an anonymous French translation was thought to be the original and was retranslated into Latin by Robert Gaguin. 1) His reputation in the fifteenth century, and early sixteenth, rested largely on his poem La Belle Dame Sans Merci. 2) However, it is possible to find references made by contemporaries to Chartier's letter. Possibly the first of these occurs in Martin Le Franc's Estrif De Fortune et De Vertu, written probably in 1448. Vertu quotes Chartier as an authority on the miseries of the courtier's existence:

"Alain Chartier, poete francais, nouvellement à mon plaisir, Descript a les miseres de Court." 3)

The next reference is to be found in a letter written by Jean Lannoy, a contemporary of Guillaume Chartier, Alain's brother, to his son Louis in 1464:

"J'ay escript icy ensieuvant la coppie d'unes lettres que Maistre Alain Caretier a aultrefois escript, touchant l'estat de la court, à son frere, qui de present est evesque de Paris, de treshonnorable et tresbuable vie, qui lors

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1) On this point see L. Thuasne, art. cit. and Champion, loc. cit.

2) See A. Piaget, La Belle Dame Sans Merci et Ses Imitateurs, in Romania, t. XXX, 1901 p. 22 sqq. This article is also very enlightening on the question of the authorship of the Curial etc.

3) The passage is quoted by Piaget in his thesis, Martin Le Franc, Prévôt de Lausanne, Lausanne, Payot, 1888, p. 190, which I have been unable to consult, but of which there is an interesting review by G. Paris in Romania, XVIII, 1889, p. 319. Piaget quotes from B.N. ms. fr. 1150, fo. 226 r°.
At the beginning of the sixteenth century François Robertet refers also to this work, by name, in his reply to a poem from Guillaume Cretin. He says:

"La retraite de cour ou la demeure:
L'un et l'autre puis choisir et escrire.
Pas n'est discret qui tousjours là demeure;
Au Curial Maistre Alain l'as peu lyre." 2)

These references are all anterior to that quoted by Heuckencamp in the introduction to his edition of the Curial 3), as being possibly the earliest. This occurs in a letter written in 1511 by Jean Lemaire des Belges to Jean de Marnix. Here he explains why he has failed to deliver his promised French translation of Piccolomini's De Curialium Miseriis Epistolae, and compares it unfavourably with Chartier's Curial:

"Affin que je ne soys du tout trouvé mensonger,
je vous envoye le double du Curial que maistre
Alain Chartier composa jadis sur ceste matière,
lequel vault autant ou mieulx que celuy du
Pape Pye." 4)

These remarks are a valuable guide in estimating the

1) Piaget, art. cit. p.48.
3) op. cit. p.XXXXII
4) Oeuvres Complètes de Jean Le Maire des Belges, ed. Steiner, Louvain, vol.IV, p.381.
popularity of this work, which is difficult to assess merely from the number of times it appeared in print, since it was never published separately but only in editions of the complete works 1), which may have been popular for the poetry they contained.

At this point it may be convenient to examine any influence which Chartier's work may have had on subsequent anti-courtier literature. There is no reason to believe, as Heuckencamp suggests, 2) that because of their similar treatment of an identical theme, Piccolomini knew Chartier's letter, either in the original Latin, or later French — indeed it is even possible that the French version is posterior to the 1444 letter of the Pope. 3) The most conclusive reason for discounting Chartier's influence on the De Curialium Miseriis is that it can now be proved that Piccolomini here follows, in structure and subject matter, Lucian's letter, De Mercede Conductis Potentium Familiaribus. 4)

1) Les Fais Maistre Alain Chartier, Paris, Pierre le Caron, 1489
   Id.... Paris, Pierre le Caron, 1499
   Les Fais et Dits etc. Paris, Michel le Noir, 1514
   Id.... Paris, Vve. Jehan Trepperel, 1514
   Paris, P. Le Noir, s.d.
   Les Oeuvres de Feu Maistre Alain Chartier, Paris, G. du Pré, 1526
   Paris, G. du Pré, 1529

2) op. cit. p.xxxix

3) See Champion, loc. cit.

and in some matters of detail, Juvenal's fifth Satire. The difference between the letters of Chartier and Piccolomini is that, although only twenty years or so separate them, Chartier follows an existing 'native' literary pattern, and his work is distinctly medieval, while Piccolomini the humanist derives his inspiration from Classical, more particularly Greek literature, and his work presages the 'learned' literature of the Renaissance.

Similarly, it is impossible to prove that Guevara's Menosprecio De Corte owes anything at all to the Curial, or indeed that Guevara was even familiar with the work. 1) True, they share a common theme, but it is a theme at least as old as Horace and one which, more significantly still - since the prose style of both Chartier and Guevara owed much to his influence 2) - had been treated by Seneca in his letters to Lucilius. 3) Of the passages of the Menosprecio quoted by Heuckencamp as having each a parallel in the Curial, for example:-

El philosophe Aristoteles menosprecio Aristote le phillozophe se la gran privança que tenía con el rey glorifia d'avoir laissé Alexandre: no par mas de por tornarse les haulx palais du roy a su academia a leer philosophia. Alexandre...

1) Heuckencamp, op.cit. p.xli expresses the hypothesis that he was.
2) On this point see above ch.IV, p.138.
Muy grande parte de nuestro descon- tente esta, en que lo mucho nuestro nos parece poco, y lo poco ageno nos parece mucho...

Al hombre colorico y mal suffrido no le conviene ser cortesano; por que si todas las affrontas, y dis- favores, y sinsabores que a uno hazen en la corte, se para a las pensar, y piensa de las vengar: tenga se por dicho, que en solas la que recibio en un mes, terna que vengar diez anos.

...la vida desta corte, no es vivir: sino un continuo morir.  
El hombre cuerdo, y que sabe el reposo, lo que esta en la corte, dira que muere: y lo que reposa en su casa dira que vive...

En el aldea...no ay gente que te decodazos...no ay ruydos que te espanten, no ay alguaziles que te desarmen

Es privilegio del aldea, que to- dos los que moran en ella, coman a do quisieran, y a la hora que quisieren lo qual no es asi en la corte, y grandes pueblos: a do les es forzado comer tarde y frico, y dessabrido: y aun con quien tienen por enemigo

Si por ventura come fuera de su casa, come tarde, come frico, come dessaborado y aun come obligado...

Telle maleurté soeffre nature humaine qu'elle appete ce qu'elle n'a pas et se farse du bien qu'elle a sans autruy dangier.

Et si tu estrives à leur envie ou que tu y prengnes vengeance, je te dy que ton vengement engendra plus aigres adversaires que paradvant.

Et se me demandes que c'est que vie turjalle, je te respons frere, que c'est... une seurete tremblante et une morjviese vie....

...es haulx palais a tousjours noyse et murmure, es grans places sont les grans peuples dont l'on est dure- ment pressé...l'ussier y donne de sa verge sur les testes de ceulx qui y sont..

S'il a acoustumé de menger sobrement et à droicte heure, il disnera tart et souppera en telle faczon, qu'il des- acoustumera son temps et sa maniere de vivre.

Tu peux menger quant tu as faim, et à ton heure et à ton plaisir, et nous...

Et n'oublie pas que qui sert à court, tousjours luy convient il estre hoste habergé en autruy maison, Et si fault qu'il mengeusse à autruy appetit, aucunesfoiz sans fain avecques gens fameilleu.
En la corte (como la fortuna es inconstante en lo que da, y muy incierta en lo que promete) de una hora a otra cae uno y sube otro... Abaten al privado, y subliman al abatido.

Aucunesfoiz se treuve plus avant porté ung povre meschant qui durement en a esté para-vant rebouté et le plus fier et orgueilleux à qui homme n'osoit par avant toucher s'en treuve aucunesfois le plus esloigné...

Ilec ne scet homme au certain si son estat y est seur ou non

... al otro arme fortuna la sanc cadilla para caer, y a él de la mano para subir.

Maintenant elle se essaye à jouster contre les plus fors, et maintenant eslieve les plus foibles...

Si quería darme a estudiar, sobrevenían mis amigos...

A il acoustumé de lire et d'estudier es livres, il musera oyseux toute l'adjournée...1)

the first is a classic example which Guevara could have known from many other sources, the second and ninth are moral and literary commonplaces, the remainder can be explained by the similarity of the subject treated by the two writers, and to their common indebtedness to Seneca. And at no time is there any question of textual imitation.

Critical opinion is divided as to the degree of influence exercised by Chartier's work on later French anti-courtier literature. Heuckencamp, the latest editor of the Curial, states quite clearly that it is impossible to find a later

1) We have reproduced Heuckencamp's quotations from pp. XLI-XLII of his edition of the Curial in toto, since this seems the easiest and fairest way of demonstrating our point.
French work which is a direct imitation. 1) Champion, by his silence on this point would seem to agree. Guy 2), on the other hand, says that the Curial had a great vogue and many imitators, but offers very little in the way of firm evidence in support of his contention. In fact, the truth is probably to be found half way between these two statements. There are traces of the influence of the Curial in Saint-Gelais' Debat 3), in Robertet's letter to Guillaume Cretin 4); more obvious traces still in Bouchet's attack on court life in the Regnars Traversant 5) and in his Panegyric du Chevallier Sans Reproche 6), while even closer links can be proved with certainty — and up to now this has been ignored or denied altogether, in the case of one work only, to my knowledge. It can be proved in fact that P. Gringore's Curial 7), of 1521, takes more than just its title from the French version of the De Vita Curiali, and that it is a direct and close imitation of the fifteenth century work.


3) On this work see below ch.VI, p. 282. 4) See below ch.VI, p. 274.

5) See below ch.VI, pp. 282-289. 6) See below ch.VI, pp. 286-289.

7) Included in the Menus Propos, Paris, Gilles Cousteau, 1521.
Although much of the earliest satirical literature written in French was directed against the religious orders, we find, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, some attempt to criticise the nobility and the court in the allegorical Roman de Fauvel, written between 1310 and 1314 by Gervais du Bus. Fauvel, a horse, is the personification of the world's hypocrisy:

"Fauvel est beste appropriée
Par similitude ordonée
A signifier chose vaine,
Barat et Fausseté mondaine,"

and the epitome of six vices which are each represented by a letter of his name, thus:

1) For instance, the Livre de Manières, by Estienne Fougeres, 1120 - which also has a few lines on nobles who waste their time hunting - as also has Le Dit de Mais, Jubinal, Nouveau recueil de Contes, Dits, Fabliaux et Autres Poésies Inédites des XIII, XIV, et XV Siècles, Paris, Fannier, 1839-42, vol. p. 138; the satirical Bible of Guyot de Provins, Jean de Meung's half of the Roman de La Rose, 1277, the Roman de Fauvel, 1310, Renard Le Contrefait, 1319-22. On these works see Ch. Langlois, La Vie en France Au Moyen Age D'Après Les Moralistes du Temps, vol. II, Paris, Hachette, 1926.


"De Fauvel descent Flaterie,
Qui du monde a la seignorie,
Et puis en descent Avarice,
Qui de torchier Fauvel n'est nice,
Vilanie et Variete,
Et puis Envie et Lascheté.
Ces siex dames que j'ai nommées 1)
Sont par Fauvel signifiées:"

To worship Fauvel and to stroke him is to live by flattery, and although he is adored by all classes of society, his most assiduous admirers are drawn from the ranks of the religious orders including even the Pope who is unwilling as the next to pander to Fauvel, and from the ranks of the nobility:-

"He las! li seignor temporel
Ne donnent ausi un porel
For que Fauvel soit bien frotés.
Je ne saii au jor d'ui, par m'ame,
Nul grant seignor ne nule dame
Que tuit n'en soient assotés." 2)

Since the nobility is susceptible to flattery itself, it follows that the place of the flatterer, the acolyte of Fauvel, is at court:-

"Bien peut les grans seignors hanter
Qui sait de Placebo chanter;
Telle canchon trop leur agree.
Il n'ont mès cure de mesnie
Qui prestement ne leur otrie
Toute leur plaine desirée.
Comment qu'il n'i ait pas reson,
Si veulent il toute seson
Qu'on leur die: "Bien dit, misire." 3)

1) *ibid.* ll. 247-254.
2) *op.cit.* p.41, ll. 1029-34.
The second part of the Roman de Fauvel opens with a description of Fauvel's court and assembled courtiers. These are represented by a list of allegorical personages who seem to have stepped straight out of the Roman de La Rose; on the right Charnalité, Convoitise, Avarice, Envie, Detraction, Haine, Rancune, Tristesse, Ire, Paresse, Oisiveté, Venus, Gloutonnie, Ivresse, Lecherie; on the left Orgueil, Presomption, Despit, Indignation, Vaine Cointise, Vantance, Bouban, Outrecuidance, Hypocrisie, Faux-Semblant (for these last two the author does in fact refer us back to the Roman de La Rose for a fuller description), Variété or Inconstance, Doubleté, Lacheté, Ingratitude, Vilenie, Angoisseuse, Barat, Boulérie, Fausart, Tripot, Tricherie, Meutre, Trahison, Roberie, Panjure, Foi-Mentio, Houlérie, Hasard, Heresie, Sodomie. This allegorical court may, or may not, be taken as a satire of courts in general, and of the vices generally associated with court life.

Although it is difficult to prove that the Roman de Fauvel had any influence on contemporary or subsequent French literature, the memory of the work is perpetuated

1) op.cit. 11, 1388, 1466, 1481, 1491, 1507, 1531, 1533, 1547, 1549, 1554, 1555, 1557, 1563, 1565 bis.

2) op.cit. 11, 1570, 1571, 1572 bis, 1573 bis, 1574 bis, 1575 bis, 1599, 1608, 1609, 1613, 1617, 1623, 1643, 1659 bis, 1660, 1662, 1665, 1666, 1667 bis.
in the curious expression "estriller Fauveau"
meaning to flatter, and in the composite substantive
"un estrille-fauveau", used in the sixteenth century
with the additional meaning of "arriviste". The
expression was current until the early seventeenth century.
The expression is used with particular regard to flattery
at court by courtiers, in a late fifteenth century quatrains,
one of a collection of Dictz Moraulx pour mettre en
"tapisserie" by Henri Baudé and others. It serves as a
caption to a drawing in the manuscript entitled Le Fauveau
Estrillé, and is as follows:-

"Je suis Fauveau qui desire à toute heure,
Estre estrillê et devant et derriere,
De m'estriller qui ne scet la maniere
A court pert temps et trop en van labeure."
In the sixteenth century the substantive appears in Marot's second *Coq-à-l'âne*, in Rabelais' *Quart Livre*, and the verbal form is used several times by Antoine du Saix in his translation of Plutarch's treatise *Quomodo Adulator Ab Amico Internoscatur*.  

Another similar animal allegory which became increasingly adopted as a vehicle for satire and parody of contemporary society was the *Roman de Renart* in its later branches. This is especially true of *Renart le Contrefait*, begun in 1519, subsequently expanded and finished as late as 1540, the work of an anonymous clerk of Troyes. Early in the work the author expressly declares his intention, not of imitating the *Roman de Renart*, but of impersonating Renart, to adopt this disguise:—

"Pour dire par écrit couvert
Ce qu'il n'osait dire en appert."  

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6) *op.cit.* vol.I Première Branche w.121-2.
Once again the main targets for attack are to be found among the nobility and the church. The episode which particularly concerns us is one of the first - the Lion has summoned to him his courtiers and counsellors, for a plenary meeting of the court.

Foremost among the courtiers, foremost that is, in diabolical cunning and ruthlessness, is Renart, and half the force of the satire lies in this simple device, this choice of Renart, traditionally among animals the embodiment of guile, to represent the courtier. But lest we should fail to perceive the author's real target, he takes quite particular pains to enlighten us, to lift the veil of allegory temporarily, thus:--

"Pour Renart qui gelines tue,
Qui a la rousse peau vestue,
Qui a gran queue et quatre pies,
N'est pas ce livre commenciez,
Mais pour cellui qui a deux mains,
Dont il sont en cest siecle mains,
Qui ont la chappe Faulx-Semblant,
Qui va les coeurs des gens emblant."

The author describes at some length Renart's skill as a courtier, notes his techniques and his relationships with fellow courtiers:--

1) op.cit. vol.I Première Branche, pp.5-9, v.415-788.
2) La Fontaine of course, was later to adopt, very successfully, this transparent symbolism in some of his Fables, among them Le Renard, Le Singe, et Les Animaux, 1.VI.6; Le Lion Malade et Le Renard, 1.VI.14; Le Cour Du Lion, 1.VII.7; Le Lion, Le Loup, et Le Renard, 1.VIII.3.
3) op.cit. vol.I, p.6, v.455 sqq.
"Selon son art il se maintint,
De samblant, de parole et d’oeuvre
Son sens demontre et son sens coeuvre;
Comme coys et joyeux se tint,
Aveques les meilleurs se tint;
Sa parole à nul ne refuse;
Moult treshumblement son temps use;
Des plus saiges trait à sa part
De ses parolles leur depart
En arguments, en questions,
En plusieurs inhibicions;
Peu en un argument se tient,
L’un denye, l’autre soustient
Graieusement et acrait;
Et par ce plusieurs en atrait.
Selon chascun il se contient,
Par quoy chascun payé se tient;
Abstinence sceut bien constraindre
En rire, en jurer et en plaindre,
En offrant à tel son hostel
De qui voulsist avoir le pel;
Et disoit: "Tout me povez prendre;"
A tel qu’i voulsist voir entendre,
Par ce fist de ses ennemis
Les plusieurs devenir amis..." 1)

By the selective description and accumulation of his
words and actions is Renart revealed as an arch hypocrite;
implicit in this revelation is the author’s condemnation.
It is in the concrete presentation and psychological
realism of this portrayal of the hypocrisy of Renard the
courtier, since such a portrayal is an obvious advance on
many previous attempts in French, that the main interest
of the passage lies.

But the courtier in the person of Renart is more than
a hypocrite; he is represented in this episode as the
ruthless oppressor of the poor, for it is on Renart’s

1) *op.cit.* vol.1, p.6, w.490 sqq.
insistence—and despite the protests of some of the other counsellors—that it is decided that heavy taxes and other impositions be served on the poor to bolster up the nobility. ¹)

While the "clercs" led the reaction against nobles and courtiers in the animal allegories of popular literature with criticisms of flattery and oppression, another quite distinct tendency among poets in the fourteenth century was to expose the dangers and frustrations of court life in general. Such poems were the complement of those Latin letters which we have already examined, in that they develop concurrently, and more emphatically, the theme of the superiority of country life to that of court, with the difference that here it is the country man who is introduced to develop the theme and not the unfortunate courtier.

The first of such poems, and the one which gives its name to the Franc Gontier tradition, was known as the Dits de Franc Gontier, after the rustic who is the central figure of the work. It was written by Philippe de Vitré, ²) bishop of Meaux, who, in his life time, enjoyed the

¹) op.cit. vol.I, p.7-8.

²) Philippe de Vitré was born in 1291, died June 1361. He was elevated to the bishopric in 1351. For further information on his life and works see A. Piaget, Le Chapel de Fleurs de Lis, in Romania, XXVII, (1898), p.55sqq.
reputation of being a great poet. ¹) In spite of his reputation however, his *Dits de Franc Gontier*, alone of all his poems, survived and was popular long after his death. ²)

The poem is a short one, comprising four verses of eight lines each. The first two verses describe the pastoral setting in which Franc Gontier and his lady are enjoying a frugal meal:

"Soubz feuille vert, sur herbe delitable,
Lez ru bruiant et prez clerm fontaine,
Trouvay fichée une borde portable.
Ilec mängeait Gontier et Dame Helayne
Fromage frais, laict, burre fromaigée,
Craime, matton, pomme, nois, prune, poire,
Ailx et oignons, escailongne froyée
Sur crouste bise, au gros sel, pour mieulx boire.

Au goumer beurent, et oisillon harpoient
Pour resbaudir et le dru et la drue,
Qui par amours apres s'entrebaisoient
Et bouche et nez, polie et bien barbue.
Quant orent prins le doux mès de nature
Tantost Gontier, haiche au col, au boys entre;
Et dame Helayne si met toute sa cure
A ce buer, queuere dos et ventre, ³)

¹) Petrarch referred to him as the only French poet of his day, "poeta nunc unius Galliarum", and Eustache Deschamps classes him with G. Machaut as one of the most eminent poets of Champagne (ed.cit. t.V.p.53, t.VIII p.173).

²) For the critical text of this poem see Piaget, art.cit. p.63. It is also printed in the Dictionnaire Historique, II.305, by Prosper Marchand, La Haye, 1753 and by Montaiglon et Rothschild, Recueil de Poésies Françaises du XV et XVI Siècles, vol.X. One of the earliest printed editions, to be found in the B.M., is dated 1490. The poem was also published by Jean de Tournes in his 1591 multi-lingual edition of Guevara's *Menosprecio de Corte*. For further details of this edition see below Appendix II p. 642-4.

³) op.cit. p.63.
and the second half of the poem is given over to Franc Gontier's unfavourable impressions of the discomfort of court life:

"J'oy Gontier en abatant son arbre
Dieu mercier de sa vie seure:
'Ne sçay', dit-il, 'que sont pilliers de marbre,
Pommeaux luisans, murs vestus de paincture;
Je n'ay paour de traison tissée
Soubz beau semblant, ne qu'empoisonné soye
En vaisseau d'or. Je n'ay la teste nue
Devant tirant, ne genoû qui s'i ploye.

Verge d'uissier jamais ne me deboute;
Car juyques là ne m'esprent convoitise,
Ambition, ne lescherie gloute;
Labour ne paist en joieuse franchise;
Moult j'ayme Helayne et elle moi sans faille,
Et c'est assez. De tombel n'avons cure.
Lors je dy: 'Las! serf de court ne vaulx maillée,
Mais Franc Gontier vaulx en or jaune pure.'"

Vitry's poem was later translated, or paraphrased rather, since his version is twice the length of the original - into Latin by Nicolas de Clemanges, whose own thoughts on court life are already known to us, and the two works are usually to be found side by side in the earliest editions.

The theme of Vitry's poem is perpetuated by Eustache Deschamps in many of the ballades composed by

1) op.cit. p.64.
2) He gives a more ample development to the description of the pastoral setting for its own sake. The only critical edition of this poem is that of A. Coville in his book Recherches Sur Quelques Ecrivains du XIV et du XV Siècles, Paris, Droz, 1935.
3) Ed.cit. t.I. LXXX Pourquoi Il Ne Va Pas A La Cour c.1392. t.V.MXVIII Il Fait Bon D'Etre Loin de La Cour xxi22 and MILXXI p.385 Les Grands Etats Sont Dancreux, which begins "Mieulx veult mangier du potage et deschos..."
him towards the end of the fourteenth century, one of which in particular is obviously inspired by the *Dits de Franc Gontier*. In this poem, *Le Vrai Bonheur Est Aux Champs*, the poet recounts how, on returning from the court where he had served for a considerable period, he chanced to come upon a rustic couple, Robin Le Franc and his Lady Marion, partaking of a meal, in a wood by a stream. Thus the setting and situation are identical in the two poems, the only difference being that Deschamps restricts his introduction to one verse. Here is part of it:

"En un bosquet, dessus une fontaine,
Trouvay Robin Le Franc, enchaipelé,
Chapeauls de flour s avoit cilz afublé,
Dessus son chef, et Marion sa drue.
Pain et civoz l'un et l'autre mangé;
A un grand gomer puisent l'eau parfonde,
Et en buvant dist lors Robins qui sue:
J'ay Franc Vouloir, le seigneur de ce monde."  

As in the earlier work, the remainder of Deschamps's poem is devoted to the monologue of the countryman. Robin's speech is slightly longer than that of Franc Gontier and rather more carefully worked out. Among the advantages of country life Robin mentions are the health and strength which such a life bestows, and secondly complete personal freedom to do work which they have chosen. They are free from the envy, the fear, the uncertainty which torments the courtier:

1) *op.cit.* t. III CCCXV  
2) *ibid.*
"Nous ne sommes d'omme nul habusé,
Car Envie sur nous ne mort ne rue...

Juge ne craint qui me puist faire paine
Selon raison: je n'ay rien offensé.
Je t'aime fort, tu moy d'amour certaine.
Pas ne doubté que soes empoisonné.
Tirant ne craing: je ne soy homme armé
Qui me peust ester une laitue.
Paour n'ay pas que mon estat se mue...

Dieux! qu'à ces cours ont de dueil et de paine
Ces curiaux qui dedenz sont boute;
Je l'apperceu trop bien l'autre semaine,
C'un foi des bois avoie là porte.
Ilz sont tous sers; ce n'ay je pas esté.
Mangier leur vi pis que viande crue
Car sanz exces est suffisant et ronde.
Plus aise homme n'a dessoubz et nue!
J'ay Franc Vouloir, le seigneur de ce monde." 1)

Besides the translation and imitation, Vitry's Dits de Franc Gontier provoked a reply, in the form of a poem of four verses, the counter-part or complement of the earlier work, by Pierre d'Ailly. 2) This poem, which describes the pomp, splendour and misery of the life of a great nobleman, written at the very beginning of the fifteenth century, was known as the Contredits de Franc Gontier. 3) This poem is always found printed together with Vitry's poem and was itself likewise paraphrased in Latin by Nicolas de Cleemanges. 4)

5) For the critical text see A. Piaget, loc. cit.
The introduction to the poem is a description of the tyrant's palace, which, as one expects, is peopled by personifications of all the vices:

"Ung chastel sçay, sur roche espoventable,  
En lieu venteux et lex eau perilleuse;  
La vy thirant seant à haute table,  
En grant palais, en sale plantureuse,  
Avironné de famille pomeuse,  
Plaine de Fraude, d'Envie et de Murmure,  
Vuide de Foy, d'amour, de paix joyeuse,  
Sere et subgie par convoiteuse ardure." 1)

Sated with food and drink which no longer tempts his jaded palate he is now only preoccupied by greed and tormented by mistrust. How much more greatly to be preferred then, the author concludes, is the well-regulated, well-moderated existence of Franc Gontier:

"Par avarice sent douleureux martire,  
Traison double, en nulluy ne se fie,  
Cueur a felon, enflé d'orgueil et d'ire,  
Triste, pensis, plain de merencolie.  
Lesi trop mieulx vaut de Franc Gontier la vie,  
Sobre lesse et nette pvrete,  
Que poursuir par orde gloutonnie  
Court de Mârart, riche malerut." 2)

So far, as we have seen, satire of courtiers in French literature of the early Middle Ages, is not only infrequent but also largely indeterminate. No clear picture has yet emerged of a medieval, French courtier, who is therefore easily distinguished from any other representative of the profession, although we have, however, been acquainted with

Continued from previous page

4) For a description of the 1591 edition see below Appendix II, p. 64.5.

5) For the text of this work see A. Coville op. cit.
the moral failings and preoccupations common to the species as a whole.

Towards the end of the Middle Ages, however, that is, at the very end of the fourteenth century, and during the course of the fifteenth, there is not only a marked increase in the number of attacks on courtiers and their milieu, but also a diversification of the nature of these attacks. For while such generalised descriptions of court life, with which we are already familiar, both in Latin and in French — from the earlier period, continue to be written in the fifteenth century, without in any way adding to our knowledge of either material conditions, or courtiers, and with no further justification (apart from an occasional element of personal resentment on the part of the author) than that such descriptions were now recognised and conveniently established as a suitable literary topic, other attacks, originating largely from the now articulate bourgeoisie, give a clearer, more detailed picture of the society which engendered them, and of the most urgent of the problems of that society.

Again it is possible to divide these last into two classes. The first consists of works written under the stimulus of national crises, reflecting genuine concern at the misgovernment of the country and the oppression of the poor by the nobles who were the King's advisers and courtiers, and having a political and historical significance. Crushing
indictments of the extravagancies of court life under Charles VI are to be found in the sermons of the time. Thus Jean Gerson, in his most famous sermon, the *Vivat Rex*, delivered before the King himself at the Louvre in 1405, appeals directly to the court to abandon those excesses which result in complete ineptitude, both physical and moral, especially on the field of battle:

"En l'estat de chevalerie soit gardée frugalité en toutes choses, c'est à dire mesure en vins, en viandes et vesteures qui pourroient tourner le corps et couraige à lascheté, paresce et delict voluptueux. Qui se emplist de vins et de viandes tellement qu'il chancelle ou tresbuche en la borne, comme sera-il ferme contre hache ou espée? Qui ne se veult esveiller au son doux d'une chanson que fera'il au bruit horrible d'une trompette? Se la robe trayne deux piez par terre et les manches sont larges à dextre ou à senestre et les poullaines de demy pie de long que prouffitera tout cecy pour fuylr vigoureusement ses ennemis?"

Jacques Le Grand, in a sermon to the Queen, again in 1405, was even more vehement in his criticisms of the debauchery.


2) Quoted by E. Droz, in her edition of Le Quadrilogue Inuestif, note 2.

and effeminacy of the court, of extravagant fashions which contrasted strangely with the penurious conditions in which the poorer classes lived.

Some years separate these two sermons from Chartier’s work, the Quadrilogue Invectif, written in 1422, and yet the criticisms of courtiers and nobles remain the same.

Their prime preoccupation is to look after their own purses:

1) "In tua curia domina Venus solium occupens, ipsi sciam obsequuntur ebrietas et commensatio, quae noctes vertunt in diem, continuantes choreas dissolutas. Haec maledictae et informales pedisseae, curiam assidue ambientes, mores vivesque enervant plurimum, et impedita saepius ne milites vel scutiferi delicati adeant expediciones bellicas ne in aliqua parte corporis deormentur... Haec et multa alia, o regina, in opprobium curiae tuae dicuntur. Quae si non velis credere, in habitu mulieris pauperculae sundo per civitatem, audies ab infinitis personis." op.cit. p.268.

2) "Summa ingenuitas his temporibus reputatur balneum, frequentare luxurose vivendo, et indul preciosis, loricatis, fimbriatis et manicatis vestibus; et cum tibi sciam commune sit, dico quod similis est te induere de substancia, lacrimis et gemitis miserrima plebis, quae continue, quod compasciendo referimus, ad summum regem ascendunt, pro injusticiis sibi factis," p.272.


4) Even as long afterwards as 1443, these reproaches were frequently met with. Thus, in the Journal d’Un Bourgeois de Paris, ed. A. Mary, Paris, 1929, part of the entry for the year 1443 reads as follows: "en ceullu temps n’estoit melle nouvelle de roy ne de royn, ne de quelque signeur de France a Paris, ne que se ils fussent a deux cent lieues, mais les gouverneurs sous leur umbre faisoient tailles sans cesser, disants que le roy et ses subjects mais qu’ils eussent de l’argent, qu’ils iroient conquerete toute Normandie; mais quand là estoit quilli, et qu’ils l’avoient par devers eux, plus ne leur en challoit que de jouer au dez, ou chasser au bois, ou danser; ne ne faisoient mais, comme on souloit faire,
"Plusieurs de la chevalerie et des nobles orient aux armes, mais ilz courent à l'argent." 1)

to live a life of luxury and decadence:

"O tres redoutable et perilleuse accustumance de voluptez et d'aisses, o envieillie et enracinée norreture de pompes et de delices, tant avez bestourné et ramolli les courages françois que ceste subversion, dont Fortune nous fait ciseau de si prés, nous avez couvée et mise sus, et toutes voies sont et demeurent par vous les cuers si enveloiez que le peril de la seigneurie et d'eulx mèmes et la doubté de leur prouchaine desercion ne le peut retraire de leurs delicatives accustumances." 2)

Chartier concludes that the cause of the present troubles in France may be largely attributed to the crass ineptitude and greed of those in power:

"Pour ce te dy que de la grant plante de biens et des richesses du temps paisible les puissans et les nobles hommes ont usé en gast et dissolution de vie et en ingratitute et descongoissance de Dieu, qui a suscité contre eulx, la murmure du peuple. Si est vostre desmesurée vie et vostre desordonné gouvernement cause de nostre impacience et commencement de noz maudz, car, lors que les biens et les richesses multipлицent par le royaume et que les finances y habandoient comme source d'eaue vive, voz pompes demesurées, voz oisivetez souillées de toutes delices et la descongoissance

4) Continued: "ne joustes, ne tournois, ne nuls faits d'armes pour peur des horions. Brief, tous les signeurs de France estoient tous devenus comme femmes, car ils n'estoient hardys que sur les pouvres laboureurs et sur les pouvres marchans, qui estoient sans nulles armes." op.cit. p.327.

1) op.cit. p.12.

de vous mesmes vous avoit ja et a bestourné le sens, si que ambition d'estaz, convoitise d'avoir et envie de gouverner, vous commencérent à mener à la confusion où vous estes."

So much for those attacks which were political in emphasis and aim. Other writers witnessed the same symptoms of decadence but launched no direct appeal for reform; they were content to record their observations satirically in their works.

Of all such Medieval French writers Eustache Deschamps was without doubt the most persistent, the most prolific, and the most acrimonious in his strictures upon his fellow courtiers, and the one who best succeeded in leaving behind him a clear impression of the age in which he lived.

Deschamps often attacks the courtiers of his acquaintance for shortcomings which they share with courtiers of

1) op.cit. p.34.


On Deschamps see Ch. Lenient, La Satire en France au Moyen Age, and Sarradin, Deschamps Sa Vie, Ses Oeuvres, Paris, 1879.

3) Deschamps had a long and successful career at court, and actually outlived four kings, Philippe de Valois, Jean, Charles V, and Charles VI, before being relieved of his post as Baili de Senlis in 1404.
any epoch, for flattery 1), for lack of loyalty 2), for greed 3), but even in such instances, thanks to his technique of reproducing the words spoken, as for example the insidious words of the flatterer, "Monseigneur dit trop bien" which is incorporated into the refrain of the Ballade Contre Les Flatteurs 4), and the actions as well in some cases, we are left with the impression that such people were drawn by an observer on the spot, and not by a moralist generalising on the profession. Nowhere is this better seen than in the ballade Contre La Cupidité des Gens de Court 5).

"Faictes mes lettres commander.
Parlez au Flamant en destour.
Veuillez les généraux mander
Que paiez soye sans retour."
Et l'autre dit pour le meilleur:
"De vos cofres, plus brief n'y voy."
Chascun fait ainsi sa clamour:
"Sire, souvainez vous de moy."

Par derrier la table au disner
Et à souper, vont à leur tour
Les compagnons, pour confessar
L'un après l'autre, et font leur plour.
On les rassoult de leur fouler;
Response ont souvent troy et troy,
Disans, partans, plains de dolour:
"Sire, souvainez vous de moy." 6)

1) Ball. 69, 74, 1033, 1070, 1092, 1096, 1107, 1370 et passim.
2) Ball. 1092, 1096 et passim.
3) Ball. 1030, 1103.
4) Ball. 69, t.I p.107.
5) Ball. 1030 t.V p.303
6) loc. cit. vv.9-24.
Deschamps' criticisms of debauchery at the French court are in some respects more specific than those to be found in the sermon of Gerson and the work of Chartier, since his poems include a hostile portrait of homosexuals.  

Contre Les Hermaphrodites:

"Mental poncé, filz Hermosondricus,  
Efféminé, defaute de nature,  
Couraige vain, vuit de toutes vertus,  
De vice plain, qui ne tient qu'à ordure,  
Non masculin, femenine figure,  
Qui imposer suelz faulx noms sur autruy;  
Ains es livres de telz gens bien ne luy  
Quant ilz ne sont en nature parfaïs,  
Corrus de corps, de pensee, les truy,  
Infeables, desloyaulz et mauvais.

Car doublement sont telz gens entendus  
Homme et femme qui ont la pourtraïture,  
Femme d'omme, qui doit estre barbus,  
Homme sans poil, c'est à chascun laiure.  
Eulx encontrar n'est que male adventure,  
Et leur regart ne doit plaiat à nulluy,  
Car nature double a aucuns sur luy,  
Aucune aussi, incestes en leur fais,  
Usans des deux; de mon temps en congnuy,  
Infeables, desloyaulx et mauvais."

This would appear to be the first of such attacks in French, of homosexuality at court, although not the first in Medieval literature since John of Salisbury draws a graphic portrait of the homosexual courtier in his Poliorcatus.

1) Gerson is content, in the Vivat Rex, to speak of voluptuous acts which he further qualifies though by borrowing from John of Salisbury the metaphor in which he likens the court to the fountain of Salmacis, whose waters were supposed to turn into Hermaphroditus all who bathed in them. See above p.8

2) Ball. 1129, t.6, p.49-50.

While not all the courtiers whom Deschamps attacks are immoral, most lead a completely dissipated and useless existence. The soft-living, pleasure-seeking, irresponsible younger courtiers are the object of his censure on more than one occasion. In the Lai de Vaillance he regrets the disappearance of former chivalrous and virtuous standards of conduct, and muses bitterly on present day manners:

"D'eulx vous compteray l'istoire:
    Leur jeunesse demener
Veulent et leur temps user
    Es delis, manger et boire,
Mau paier, assez acroire,
    Eulx polir com blanc yvoire,
Bien dormir et reposer,
Pechié de char alosier,
    Faiz de plommes mescroire;
Dieu ne doubtent ne prouveire;
Cuidier est en leur amoire,
    Maugrêer et parjurer...

Ilz se dornent grand matin,
Puis enquirent du bon vin
Où ilz le pourront avoir,
Ne leur eschappe lopin
De perdriaux, de connin..."

The same criticisms are repeated in a poem Contre Les Modes du Temps:

"Chascuns d'eulx par nuit veillera;
    Aux suettes sont comparé,
Cêr par jour l'en les trouvera
    En lit jusqu'a midi sonné;
A tous gieux sont habandonné
Et à vivre de gloz morseaulx,
A convoitier l'or à monceaulx

1) op.cit. t.II, p.220 v.187-198, v.203-7."
While one should be careful of attaching too much importance to criticisms of youth in general and while these criticisms in particular may be partly attributed to the resentment of the old courtier who saw himself being supplanted, at the end of a long period of faithful service, by these bright young things, we know, since they are confirmed by other writers of the period, that they are partly true.

It is in Deschamps' work that we find ample confirmation too of the startling changes in costume which occurred at this time. He has nothing but unreserved contempt for the exaggerated fashions adopted by the court dandies of his day, for the outrageously short outer garment, for the shoes which no longer conform to the natural shape of the foot, which he sees as symptomatic of evil more far-reaching - the increasing laxity in court morals. This is apparent in his poem Contre Les Modes du Temps, which is certainly worth quoting, partially at least:

"...maint, qui bien garde y prendra,
Sont singe, tant sont escourte,
Et tant de taisches sur eulx a,
Comme panthère loqueté
Sont, et de plusiers draps brodé:
De leurs manches font chalemiaux

1) op.cit. t.III, bell.404 p. 196.
His attempts to destroy the pretences of this new found sophistication by a consistent exaggeration of detail, (best seen in the second stanza of the extract quoted above), thus highlighting the comic and even ridiculous elements, can also be seen in several shorter extracts, as for instance, the following:

"On porte une aulne de bœufs
Et, qui pis est, chacuns se paine
De porter habis si trescours
Que l'on voit les culs tous les jours
De plusieurs; ...:"

1) op. cit. t. III, CCCCV, p. 195-196.
2) op. cit. t. V Ball. 1011, p. 274-5 vv. 34-9.
But it was not only the novelty of such fashions which shocked Deschamps. The thrifty bourgeois reacted equally strongly against the careless extravagance displayed by courtiers in the use of expensive silks and fine cloths for their finery, as his frequent comments will testify:

"De draps de soie et d'or fin
Sont vestus, de blanc, de noir,
Perles, fourrez à polvoir:
Chacuns semble un palazin."

The satire of court fashions in the poetry of Deschamps is interesting for two reasons. Not only does it convey a vivid and precise impression of the society in which he moved, but it is also the first time in French literature that a courtier was satirised for the clothes he wore, although attacks of this kind were to become increasingly prominent in later anti-courtier satire, especially with the ever mounting extravagance of the fashions adopted by courtiers on their return from the Italian campaigns of Charles VIII, and later still, again as the result of Italian influence, at the court of Henri III, in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Continuing our examination of fifteenth century anti-courtier satire we find that still, towards the middle of

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1) op. cit., t.II 1ai 308 p.221, v.215-8. See also Ball, 985, 1070, 1160, 1196.
the century and some forty years after Deschamps, the chief rebuke levelled at courtiers is that of foppishness in dress. Thus even in a work such as *Le Champion Des Dames*, written in 1442, in which the author, Martin le Franc, champions the cause of women in a dispute with Malebouche, there are several passages—digressions on the falseness of men—of sustained irony in which the author takes courtiers to task for their outrageous clothes. The latest range in breeches, he maintains, is designed to protect masculine vanity and masculine legs—with all their inherent imperfections—from the harsh and critical scrutiny of public appraisal:

"Diray-je, je ne me puis taire.
Dont vient que voz chausses fourrez,
Et voz jambettes de beaucaire,
Rengrossissez & rembourrez?
Quelle responce my donrez,
Fredons escliers damoiselaux,
Qui quant les chausses descouvrez,
Semblerez aller sur fuseaux?
Ne voulez-vous pas amender
L'oeuvre de nature, si faictes
Par chausses garnir & bender
Mussez vos jambes contrefaictes,
Affin qu'elles semblent mieulx faictes
Aux unes & aux autres gens,
Et aux esbatemens & festes
Semblez mignons frisques & gens?
Pour quoy si bas vous attachez,
Et voz porpous portez si longs,
Si non affin que vous cachiez,
Et mussez vos maigres jambons?"

The author, in the person of Franc Vouloir continues his survey of court fashions absurd and ephemeral:—

"Dites moy, je ne me connois, Sont plus en court manches frangées? Où sont ces chapeaux bourbonnais, Robes jointisses & pressées, Grosses cornettes bien troussées, Entour de la gent testière Sont-elles ja presque passées, Les met-on en autrre manière? Nompas deu x jours ne les met on, Car il souffit du bourrelet Par despit autour du menton. Mais que diray-je du collet, Et du soleil au lignolet, Et d'au tres notable fassons, Où il ne faut poil ne poilet? Je vous prî’ que nous le sachons, Vous souliez les robes porter Jusques à la jambe demye, Ores les faictes escourter; Sur les genouix ne faictes mye, En tant que se le vent fremie, On peut bien voir voz petits draps, Vierge du puy vierge marie, Vous me faites crosier les bras... Voz meurs sont pour faire une fable Voz meurs font les saiges sourire..."  

Such frivolity and inconsistency in the choice of one's clothes he concludes, as Deschamps had before him, betrays the degeneration of the inner man:—

"Certes monstrent la maladie De voz cuers & de voz courages."  

But the censure of the fashions adopted by courtiers

2) From previous page:

1) op. cit. fo. cxiiv° – cxiiv°.

2) ibid.
is merely the prelude to more serious criticisms. It introduces a charge of licentiousness and lechery, which Franc Vouloir substantiates thus:

"Mais or suis contrains à hastez,
De dire de noz damoiseaulx,
Qui font faire les grands pasteze
Plains despices & moiniaulx
Affin que leur entre es boiäulx
Quelque chaleur pour les reins poindre,
Encor les affaitez rigaulx
De certain huile se font oindre;
Je tais estançon & tartuffes,
Et maintes choses qu'aulcuns prenent
Pour leur luxurieuses truffes
Soustenir." 1)

Such practices among courtiers in the second half of the sixteenth century were attacked as Italianate, and previously unknown to the members of the French court. It is therefore all the more interesting to find that the same conduct should be criticised by a French writer over a century earlier!

Court fashions continued to provoke much comment, often from writers not normally associated with anti-courtier tendencies. Thus even in the work of Charles d'Orléans 2), we find a rondeau which decries the new vogue as impractical, and pours scorn on those who wear it:

1) Franc Vouloir Pour Confirmer Ce Dessus Dit, Ramaige à Propos L'Outrageuses Luxure d'Aulcuns, fo. cxiwv

"Laissez aler ces gorgias
Chacun yver, à la pippée;
Vous verrez comme la gelée
Reverdira leurs estomacs.

Dieu scet s’ilz auront froit aux bras,
Par leur manche deschiquetées:
Laisser aler ces gorgias!

Ilz portent petit souliers gras,
A une poulain embourrée;
Froidure fera son entrée
Par leurs talons nuy par embas:
Laissez aler ces gorgias,

while Guillaume Alexis, in the Faintises du Monde, of 1460, comments even more succinctly on the disadvantages of high fashion:

"Tel est gorgias cest esté
Qui l’yver sera la roupie."

The last years of the reign of Charles VIII saw the advent of a new class of courtier-cum-soldier — often neither paid by the army nor regularly employed by the court, survivors of the Italian campaigns, unwilling to relinquish the hope — of better things to come — and the glory of being attached, however precariously, to the court, and who struggled to support themselves in a way to which neither they, nor their meagre means were accustomed.

1) Another description of a "gorgias" is to be found in the Chroniques of Jean Molinet, ed. Buchon in Collection de Mémoires Nationales de France, 1826, t. 45-7, ch. cccii, p. 165.
2) op. cit. vol. II, no. VIII, p. 295.
4) op. cit. vol. I, p. 110 v. 701-2. There is a poem in Le Parnasse
Henri Baudé, one of the most interesting of the later fifteenth century poets, has left us in his Ballade Du Gorrier Boscart, a memorable and keenly observed caricature of a member of this new class, an opportunist in every respect the fifteenth century forerunner of the Baron de Foeneste, striving to create by appearance what is denied him by reality:-

"De noir veloux fut la robe empruntée
d'un mien mignon, fourrée pour le chault;
Une chesne de leton surdorée,
En my juillet, sur ung petit courtault,
Souliers camuz, boufiz comme ung crapault,
Large bonnet avoit à suffisance;
La chemise par le collet luy sault;
Chacun s'en rit et il y prent plaisance...

Ung grant laquais luy portoit son espée
(Dont la moitié du fourreau luy desfault);
D'une robe revestu deschirée,
Comme s'il vinst freschement d'un assaut;
Faulte d'argent, à tous propoz lui fault...


3) The features of the costume described here are typical of that worn in the reign of Charles VIII. See Quicherat, Histoire du Costume En France, Paris, 1877.
'J'ay', ce dit-il, 'despendu en l'armée, Tout mon vaillant, dont pas n'ay esté cault; Mais encore ay une terre engaigée A réméré, pour plus qu'elle ne vaul; J'en pers les fruitsz, mais de ce ne me chault, Car je prendray d'amour telle alliance, Que l'on verrra que je volleray hault!'' Chacun s'en rit et il y prent plaisance."1)

This self-assured, self-satisfied opportunist, posing as a fashionable young blood, is implacably exposed by the penetrating observations of the author, who shows him sitting on his horse revelling in the splendour of his (borrowed) attire and (sham) gold chain, not only unperturbed by the mirth of the crowd to whom he is a ridiculous figure of fun, but content to receive their attention, kind or otherwise. Barely able to support himself and with his property mortgaged, he keeps a laquais, again for appearance sake, to bring him his sword - essential this, since it is the insignia of the nobility - but even this innocent pretence is cruelly destroyed by the malicious parenthesis in which we are told that half the scabbard is missing!

Baudé was the first writer to portray the extravagance and indigence of this turn of the century courtier, who, in the early years of the sixteenth century, inspired François Robertet in his *Debat du Boucanier et Du Gorrier*.

1) op.cit. pp. 30-32.
Octovien de Saint-Gelais in his *Debat de l'Homme des Champs et l'Homme de Cour*, and Jean Bouchet in parts of the *Temple de Bonne Renommée*.

So far we have considered anti-courtier literature based on direct observation and reflecting a given society. Before turning to attacks on court life in general, it may be convenient at this juncture to examine an intermediate class of anti-courtier literature. Such writings describe the practices which bring success at court, and contain there, a double fronted attack, since they question the integrity of the courtier and the perverted values of the society in which he thrives. However, such attacks, made from a moral standpoint, lose much of their force since their application is no more relevant to one society than any other. This much will be obvious when we compare the works of two writers, separated by over half a century, and describing one the French court, the other that of Bourgogne, but whose criticisms are so similar as to be interchangeable without any diminution of validity.

Into this class come four of the ballads of Eustache Deschamps. To be rich and highly favoured, we are told, the courtier must lie, comply, swear, drink:

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1) See below, ch. V, passim.

2) Ballades LXXIV, MXXXIII, MLXX, MCVII.
"Qui au jour d'ui veult à court demourer,
Avoir estat et estre chier tenu,
Aux grans seigneurs faut leur bon accorder,
Et bien se gar qu'il n'ait riens retenu
De Verité, s'il ne veult estre nu;
Car qui la dit, le temps est que mendie
Ait avec lui, pour estre riche et dru,
Condidion de ribault et de pie,
Car il ara grace par fort jurer,
Par regnier les sains et leur vertu,
Par bordeler, par ferir, par venter,
Par boire aussi, qu'il ait le bec agu
Comme pie, qu'il se soit maintenu
A bien jangler: a ces pois estudie,
Estat ara: ait lors pour son escu, 1)
Condidion de ribault et de pie.”

Very nearly the same practices are described in the well known ballade Sur La Maniere de Vivre a la Cour:

"Apprenez moy comment j'aray estat
Soudainement, dame, je vous en prie,
Et en quel lieu je trouveray bon plat
Pour gourmander et mener glote vie.
Je te l'octroy; traison et envie
Te fault sçavoir, ceuls te mettront avant;
Mentir, flater, parler de lecherie:
Va à la court et en use souvent.

Ment largement afin que chascuns rie,
Promet assez et tien po de convent;
Fay tous ces pois, ne te chaille qu'on die:
Va à la court et en use souvent," 2)

while yet another poem gives more specific instructions on how to become powerful:—

"Au commencier le sot seige ferez
Et apprenez hardiment à mentir;
Branlez du les dont vous povez sentir
Qu'il vous pourra valoir aucunement;...

1) op. cit. t.II  p.174-LXXIV Conditions Pour Reussir à la Cour
   c.1392.
2) op. cit. t.V. p.365-MLXX.
"Faictes à part à plusieurs enquérir
S’il n’esechet rien, se nulz est enrumez
Où vous puissiez aucun don acquérir;
Se officier se peut laisser mourir,
Son office querez diligemment
Et demandez à tous communément,
Sans honte avoir, qui donner vous voulra,
Et vous ferez, par tel gouvernement,
Que grant proufit de la court vous venira."

If there was any intention of irony in any of the above extracts, it is very thinly veiled, since the author is describing what a courtier of this sort actually does.

The most extensive work in this category is the Doctrinal Du Temps Présent, often simply known as the Doctrinal de Court, written by Pierre Michault in 1466, and purporting to describe courtiers and conditions at the court of Bourgogne.

The structure of this work is the most ponderous and intimidating invention ever conceived by a Rhétoriqueur! The writer adopts as a vehicle for his criticisms the allegory of a conducted tour by the poet of a University of two faculties - vice and virtue. The principal and professors of the first faculty are representatives of all the vices. To make matters more abstruse though, Michault

1) op.cit.t.V.pp.309-9.MXXXIII Conseils Pour Réussir à la Cour.

2) On Michault and the Doctrinal see G.Doutrepont, op.cit. H. Guy, op.cit. and H.Chamard, Origines de La Poesie Francaise de la Renaissance, Paris, 1920 pp.155-136. There are four known editions of the work before 1522. They are:- Bruges, Colard Mansien, c.1479; Lyon; Par L'Imprimeur de L'Abuzé en Court c.1499; Geneva, Jacques Vivian, 1522; Geneva, s.l.s.d.
has grafted on to his allegory the form of a manual of grammar, imitating the Doctrinale Puerorum of Alexandre de Villedieu, with the difference that each Professor of Vice, when lecturing on a grammatical term, gives his own interpretation of the moral significance of the term. Thus, the nominative is the case of lying, bragging and swearing, the vocative the case of flattery, the accusative the case of slander and false accusation, and so on.

Although Michault's Doctrinal has a wider application, containing instructions to Princes and women, his attack on the morals of courtiers is obviously the most important aspect of the work. Fortunately the author himself expresses his intention on this point quite clearly, in an introduction:

"Point ne fait à tirer en doute que trop plus plaisant et agréable ne me fust de reciter les louanges, biens et vertus du mondain cours que les vicieux fais d'icellui, mais l'exigence du temps present et le train moderne, principalement celui des cours, me contraint et a guillonne à escrire ce que je y ay nouvellement veu." 1)

The courtier Michault reveals to us is the product of the Faculty of Vice. Ambitious and ruthless, he will pursue his ends firstly by boasting of his high birth while at the same time deliberately disputing that of his rivals:

1) Le Doctinal Du Temps Present de Pierre Michault, ed. Thomas Walton, Paris, Droz, 1931, pp.4-5, III.
"Elevévez vous es noms de vos maisons
Et déprimez les noms de vos voisines,
Disant ainsi: 'Tout ce que nous faisons
Nous le pouvons, car nous en sommes dignes,
Mais ceux ci sont partis de deux meschines
Qui servoient en l'ostel de mon pere,
Et l'une fut bastarde de mon frere.'

Quant ainsi mal de vos voisins direz,
En déclarant leur naissance estre trouble,
De vostre nom l'omnne esclavoirs
Tant qu'il sera plus reluisant au double,
Et faictez tant que vostre nom redouble,
Disant ainsi: 'Ce ribault veult fouler
Mon nom parce qu'il scet du bas voler,'" 1)

by exalting the honour and glorious exploits of his
forebears, tracing the origin of the family coat of
arms 2), by giving exaggerated accounts of his wealth
and estates:--

"Parlez devez en exaltacion,
En devisant vos noblez descendues;
Et faict trouver tresnoble extraction
Bien loingtannes et de hault tronc venues.
Ne vous chaille s'elles ne sont congneues;
A tout le moins, ceux qui les conteront
Dez auditeurs louanges en auront...

1) op.cit. p.12, w.50-6, w.64-70.

2) This practice of ancestor worship and related affectations
is universal and eternal among the nobility, cf. Juvenal,
Satires, (and others less than noble) as can be seen from
the almost identical observation made by La Bruyère in more
forceful and axiomatic language in De La Cour, (Les Carac­
tères) no.20: "Un homme de cour qui n'a pas un assez beau
nom doit l'ensevelir sous un meilleur...ne parler que de
ducs, de cardinaux et de ministres; faire entrer dans les
conversations ses aicuus paternels et maternels, et y
trouver place pour l'oriflamme et pour les croisades; avoir
des salle parées d'arbres généalogiques, d'écussons chargés
de seize quartiers... dire en toute rencontre: 'ma race, ma
branche, mon nom et mes armes.'"
"Par ces beaulx motz et par autres plusieurs
Voz Genitifz seront hault eslevez,
Et entrerez avecques les seigneurs
En tous les lieux quant entrer y voulzrez,
Et les plus grans par souz les bras prendrez,
Vous pourzemenant par sales et egilys;
Et contrez de voz faiz et devises."

The predatory courtier will obtain money, which to
him is synonymous with power, by a judiciously executed
campaign of flattery, in which his victims will be the
Prince, naturally enough:-

"Tres redoute seigneur,
Je ne veul pas oultre vray vous vanter,
Mais vous avez tel los et bruit d'honeur
Que Salomon oncques n'acquist greigneur,
Mais je vous prê, pource que suis povre homme,
De voz deniers quelque petite somme,"

lesser minions of the Prince, but having nevertheless
some influence:-

"Est-il bailly, il le fault faire conte,
S'il est servay on le fait chevalier,
De gre en gre, de pas en pas hault monte,
Tant seuent bien leur cas appereiller,
En ce cas cy, enfans, vous fault veiller
Que ces moyens gardes et observez
e le bon gre du Datif conservez,"

even new-comers to the court:-

"Puis vous convient aux autrez assister,
Venans nouveaux, a partier leurs requestes
Vers le Datif, et tellement juster
Qu'il les leur passe, ou laides ou homnestes;

1) op.cit. p.13 w.92-3, p.15 w.155-161.
2) op.cit. p.15 w.138-9.
3) op.cit. p.16 w.218-224.
"Vous acquerrrez assez par telles questes,
Mais soiez tous doubles et parciaux,
Car socte chose est d'estre trop loyaulx,"¹

and finally women:

"Platez dames et platez damoiselles,
Tirez à vous ces haulx et nobles cœurs..."²

His tactics and methods of operation are described in the
lesson on the use of the Vocative and 'Verbi Gracia':—

"Ses moyens sont soubriz et flaterie,
Contempt céle et action couverte
Assez sucerez de vaime menterie,
Pleme d'abuz, en quoy elle est experte
Je vous prometz que ce cas rend desserte
Et merite quant on pratique bien,
En observant son secret et moyen...

Venons doncques au Verbi Gracia
Pour clarament le vous donner entendre
En cest hostel, en ceste court cy a
Des gens puissans, là vous faut il actendre,
Et de plain vol vers eulx le chemin prendre.
Et leur ferez: Humiliate vos; ³
Bona dies et plusiers agios."

He will be free with his offers of service, bestowing
upon suitable candidates his unctuous complaisance and
extreme deference, and freer still with his empty promises:—

"Puis vous offres de tout entierement
A les servir ainsi qu'il convient faire,
Et leur priez adonc̄ treshumblement
Que vers le chief ils vous vuesilent actraire
Et quant vous verrez qu'au seigneur plaix pourcez
Et que povez de vous partout entrer,
Adonc̄ vous fault user de beaul parler..."
Parler convient et services promectre,
Faire plaisirs à chascun et chascune.
Si vous tenez de cent promessez une,
C'est bien assès, mais promectez toujours;
Les promesses ne font pas les cours jours."  1)
Flexibility in word, thought, and action, is another requirement:

"Nully ne doit estre ferme ou estable
En ses propos, regars ou contenances
Mais tous les cors doit estre variable
En faictz en ditz, d'ung en autre mueble."  2)

Michault's successful courtier, like Deschamps', is also dissolve in words and deeds, frequenting taverns and loose women, gambling - more often than not with loaded dice 3), uttering false rumours and blasphemous oaths:

"Or soyez doncques dissoluz
En voz langaiges et paroles,
Et par consequent, resoluz
De Rumeur suir les escoles,
Tavernes et les femmes foles,
Les jeux de dez et cetera
Soient mis en voz protocholes
Sans adviser qui s'en taira...

Dieu rit quant ribault se perjure;
C'est une auctorité d'Ovide;
Et puisque le jurer procure
Du pensez la bonne adventure,
Il ne luy fault ne frain ne bride.
Jurez hardiment, car je cuide
Que Dieu qui congnoist vostre cas,
Parte ne vous dampnera pas."  4)

1) op.cit. p.21, w.379-85, p.22, w.423-7. cf. Deschamps above p.214 (2).
2) op.cit. p.38, w.329-332.
3) See p.23, w.477-483.
Having thus displayed his own talents and fitness to be regarded as a successful courtier, it only remains for him to dismiss the claims of his rivals, and to annihilate any opponent of his ultimate advance and rise to power. The first he does by greeting favourable reports of rival courtiers with disparaging remarks, prefaced by 'if' and 'but', or sometimes outright contradiction:

"Apres, vous fault aider de 'sy'
Et de 'Mais'. Voy cy la maniere:
Quant aucun vous dira ainsi:
'Ung tel a vertu bien entiere,`
'Si ne fust sa teste legere,'
Perez vous...

Et quand on dit: 'ung tel est bon'.
'Il est vray, mais il est trop chault.'
'Ung tel a notable renom.'
"Dieu y mecte ce qui y fault.'" 1)

The second is achieved in several stages. Impending insolence from a recalcitrant fellow courtier is quelled by an arrogant and highhanded manner:

"Qui ne vous vouldra faire honneur,
Disant cop à cop: 'Monseigneur,'
Ne repondez synon: 'Dieu gart.'
Et puis regardez la teneur
De sa cedule et la valeur,
Et lui dictez: 'Vous venez tart'...
XXX, sans plus tenir de lui mul compte,
Et fust il ores nepveu de conte." 2)

Inplacable in his dealings with rivals, he treats resistance to any enterprise of his with impatience and

1) op. cit. p.78, w.97-102, w.108. This is one of the few occasions in the whole work when the combination of grammar lessons and satire of courtier comes off, and the structure is not overstrained.

2) op. cit. p.45, w.121-5, 29-30
disdain:—

"S'aucunesfoiz vous trouvez resistance
En poursuivant vostre bonne entreprise
Pourrez vous tost en une impacience,
Et en desdaing, car c'est la droite guise;
Et puis dicter: 'Ung tel trop me desprize
Qui m'empêche d'obtenir cest office
Qui bien m'est deu pour mon leal service.'" ¹)

He will intimidate them with splenetic utterances and threats of bodily assault:—

"Pour ung seul mot vous en repondrez diz,
Tousjours croissans en injure vilaine,
Et supposé que telz desplaisans ditz
Ne soient point faulx ou vilains mesditz
Rabatez les à toute force et painne,
Et puis prenez parole fort haultaine
Qui durera le terme de quatre heures...
Et s'il respond, menassez le de batre
Par voz varletz..." ²)

and wreck their arguments and their reason with floods of invective. ³) Finally, he will precipitate their downfall by propagating slanderous accusations against them, at the same time feigning sympathy for his victims:—

"De Faulx-Semblant aussi se fault couvrir,
Et dire aux gens quant ilz sont accusez:
'He, Dieu, qu'est ce qui fait ce vent courir
Encontre vous? ce sont gens trop rusez;
Si fault il bien que vous vous excusez,
Car de ma part, selon que je vous sens' ⁴)
Je vous en tien trespurs et innocens,"

and by his insidious methods, awaken the suspicion of the Prince and inflame his wrath against them:—

¹) op.cit. p.16, w.225-231.
²) op.cit. p.131, w.257-258, 25-6.
³) op.cit. p.129, w.177-184.
⁴) op.cit. p.19, w.325-29.
"Quant vous voiez qu'ung seigneur est plain d'ire, 
Ou qu'il se veult tout chaudement vengier, 
Vous ne devez, par quelque couleur, dire 
Mot, quel qu'il soit, par lequel on conspire 
Que sa rigueur vuesillez faire changier, 
Ains devez lors sur son ire arrengier 
Nouvel courroux pour l'enflammer plus fort 
A se vengier, voire, soit droit, soit tort." 1)

Such are the instructions to aspiring courtiers by the professors of the school of Vice. To make sure that we understand the first half of the Doctrinal to be a mordant attack on the courtiers of his day, and that there is irony on his part in these instructions, the author interrupts at the end of each 'lecture' to add his own moral commentary in a discussion with Virtue. And to make doubly sure, there is a sequel. The course complete, Virtue leads the author to the other, and now deserted, Faculty of Virtue in which the chairs are held by Justice, Prudence, Attrempance (Temperance), and Force, which gives Michault, having first aroused these professors from their slumbers, an opportunity of expressing his views on the ideal courtier, still within the limits of this allegorical convention.

The interesting feature of this work, and of the four ballades of Deschamps which we have considered, is the use, although limited, of irony - rare in the French works of this period, especially so among the Rhetoriqueurs noted for their naive and inadequate attempts at any form of satire - and

1) op. cit. p. 129-130, w. 193-200.
only increasingly and skilfully used in later years, during the Renaissance, by those writers influenced directly or indirectly, by Lucian. 1) Is it then pure coincidence that Deschamps, in the Ballad Comment Tout Homme de Pratique Doit Parler Selon Rhetorique, in which he recommends a knowledge of Classical authors, should include among them the name of Lucian:

"Qu'il ait veu maint acteur ancien,
Valerium, Tulle et Policastrique,
Tite Live, Seneque et Pricien,
Virgile aussi, Socrates, Lucien
Qui de parler; a droit furent lumiere;..."2)

or are we to attach a deeper significance to this reference (one of the earliest perhaps in French literature) to the Greek writer, to infer that he would hardly be likely to recommend for such a programme of self-education an author of whom he personally had no knowledge? If Lucian was to him more than just a name 3), and his use of irony in these ballads is similar to that of the Greek, in the Rhetor, it would be remarkable indeed, since the first Greek manuscripts were not brought to light until the early fifteenth century, and were not widely known, even to humanists, until about 1440 onwards. Even in Michault's case, it is unlikely that

1) See above op.  2) op. cit. t. VII, ballad 1367 p. 209.  3) It may be that the use of the name was dictated by purely metrical considerations, that it was the most obvious to fit in the rhyme scheme, but then he could have used Claudien just as easily.
he knew Lucian. The most obvious conclusion to be drawn from all this is therefore, that their use of irony was a natural, spontaneous development in the evolution of more mature techniques in indigenous literature.

We come now to discuss those works - the largest 1) - which contain attacks on court life in general, sometimes inspired by personal resentment, rarely revealing evidence of direct observation, banal both in substance and in treatment.

Some time before the Curial was written, Eustache Deschamps had already fully exploited, in numerous of his poems, all the possible variations on this theme. Thus he describes in one poem the material conditions of the courtier's life, the bad food and drink, the appalling lodgings, just as Chartier was to do later in the Curial:

"Vin barillié et viande pourrie
Y ont plusieurs;
On est logiez, non pas a son deduit,
En povres draps et en paillarderie;
Souventesfoiz en grant noise et en bruit,
Et maintenfoiz, qui bien n'y remedie,
Plus y despent qui plus a de mesgnie;" 2)

1) Two 15th century works on court life mentioned by Walton, op.cit. Introduction, which have been lost, may belong to this category. They are: Chastelain's Livre des Abusemens de Court and Regnand Le Queux's Miroir de la Court.

2) op.cit. t.II Balade De La Dolour Qui Puet Advenir A Ceulx qui Suivent Court de Prince, p.95. vv. 5-7, (17.21).
Interesting this, not only as a possible source of part of Chartier's work, but for another reason as well. How much of a literary commonplace is this description, and how lacking in foundation, can be seen by contrasting it with others in which he comments the luxurious and extravagant high living at the court, a fact amply confirmed by other contemporary sources.

Other ballads tell of the difficulties experienced by courtiers in obtaining rightful payment for their services at court:

"Advisez bien des seigneurs la maniere:
Moulant promettent quant servir les venz,
Mais du paier va ce devant derriere;" 3)

the loss of personal freedom,

"S'il vit à court, sa vie abrégera;
Car comme serf fault aler et venir,
Matin lever et à tart se couchier..." 4)

"A apetit d'auncuns fault estre duit
Et que frans cuers au felon s'umilie..." 5)

and more tangibly, the loss of health and strength, youth, and one's personal fortune, mentioned many times:

1) Cf. op.cit. p.1210. Much has been said of the possible influence of Chartier's work on later French literature, but nobody has considered it necessary to examine his own use of earlier French works.

2) See above pp.203-4.

3) op.cit. vol.VII, p.135, Ball. MCCCLII, De Ceuls Qui Servent Aux Cours Royaulx.

4) op.cit. vol.V, p.286, Ball. MXVIII, Il Fait Bon D'être Loin De La Cour.

5) op.cit. vol. II, p.95, De La Doleur Qui Puet Advenir A Ceulx Qui Suivent Court de Prince.
"Car en servent y sont maint en vieilli
Sanz bien avoir, leur chevance ont perie..."1)

"Mon corps se part, use, gaste et destruit2)
A court suir, qui est doublouse vie..."

"En attendant estas, honours, rappors
Le jeunes temps s'enfuit, vieillesse acourt..."3)

Added to this is the uncertainty of advancement, since
merit is unrecognised at court, and the cumulative
effect of these set-backs is to produce a mood of
complete disillusionment, demonstrated in many poems
but particularly in the following ballade—

"Puis que je voy que servir longuement
Et faire bien n'ont point de connoissance,
Que promesse mue soudainement
Et que raison a petit de puissance,
Et que Vouloir fait nouvelle ordonnance,
Sanz regarder qui a fait mal ou bien,
Qu'il bons part et li chetis s'avance,
Je ne veuil plus fors que vivre du mien.

Car j'en sauy moult qui ententivement
Et par long temps ont gasté leur chevance,
Et pour servir autrui tresloyaument,
Use leur corps, et en droicte esperance
D'avoir guerdon; mais c'est foile cuidance,
Qu'à telz servens ja ne donnera l'en rien
Ains leur foulot on; quant je voy tel dance4)
Je ne veuil plus fors que vivre du mien."

Countless poems proclaiming the folly of serving at court,
restate in more general terms, the criticisms of the
material conditions of court life which we have just examined.

1)op.cit. vol.I p.23 Ball. CXIV, Contre la Cour.
2)op.cit. vol.II, p.94.
3)op.cit. vol.V, p.202, Ball.DCCCCLXVIII, Des Perils Qui Sont
A suir la Court.
4)op.cit. vol.I, p.148, Ball.LVI, Resolution de Quitter la Cour.
5)op.cit. Ball.MXXV.MLXXXVIII, MCVIII, MCCCLXVII, MCCCXXVII, MCCCCLXVII.
So much for the disadvantages and the discomforts incurred, there are worse things to come. The perils and dangers of life at court are legion, but they do not, and this is a matter for genuine regret, defy Deschamps' energetic attempts to catalogue them all, catalogue, since there is no better way of describing the limitations of his technique in this instance. The court, he declaims with magnificent invective, is the home of all the vices, and to support this allegation he introduces us to a galaxy of personified abstractions - all the old familiar faces in fact:

"Porte d'enfer, destruction de corps
Langueur de mort, abrégment de vie
Mue en peril, haine et descors,
En Beau Semblant, Traison et Envie
Luxeure, Orgueil, Paresse, et Glotonnie
De tous pechiez le chastel perilieux,
Le droit palais et hostel de Fortune,
Mondaine Court..." 1)

To any of these the courtier may fall a victim, toEnvie, operating through fellow courtiers,

5) continued: et passim.

1) op.cit. vol.1 p.237, Ball. CXVIII, Il Faut Fuir La Cour. Cf. tom.cit. p.231, Ball.CXIV Contre La Cour:"

"...celle court de tout vice nourrie;
Là est Orgueil, Luxure, et Glotonnie,
Convoitise, Mentir, Detraction
Omicide, Larrecin, Traison
Envie grant, lascheté et paresce;
C'est l'entrée de l'infemal maison..."
"Qui grace y a, il est pincez et mors
De maintes gens: qui grans est, qu'on l'escrie:
S'il a argent, il faut qu'il soit retors..."¹)

or to Traison, for at court,

"........... li fils detrairoit à son pere,
La fille aussi y trairoit à sa mere
Pour querrer honueur et l'avoir devant eux..."²)

or, unable to resist their combined onslaught, he may
capitulate, himself become their agent, and thus be
morally corrupted and lose his soul:-

"L'ame s'en duelt, a'zom dolente vie
Delaissier Dieu en congregacion
Te telz pashiez! c'est la destruction
D'ame..."³)

It is with these dangers ever present in his mind that
Deschamps takes as his theme in many of his attacks on
court life, the problem of how to survive the holocaust.
The gist of his advice, which is always constant, can be
very briefly expressed: to live safely one should be
"aveugle, muet et sourd".

The work which is most explicit on this point is a
ballad intitled De La Maniere d'Etre a La Court ⁴), but it

¹) ibid. p.233.
²) op.cit. vol.V, p.400, Ball. MXCII, La Loyauté Ne Se Trouve
Pas A La Cour.
³) op.cit. vol.I, p.232.
⁴) op.cit. vol.II, Ball. CCVIII, p.36.
is probably better known as the *Doctrinal Des Servans En Court*, which itself is the second part of the *Doctrinal Des Princes et Des Servans en Court*, a work well known in the fifteenth century since it is found in many manuscripts of the period, and long published anonymously.  

The two ballads comprising the work are both to be found separately in the manuscripts of Deschamps' poems and have been quite definitely attributed to him by the latest editors of his works.  

Here then is Deschamps' counsel of prudence:

"Es grans cours fault souvent faire le sourt,  
Qu'on ne voit riens et qu'on ne scet parler,  
Atruï blandir et qu'oms sache du hourt,  
Faire plaisir, soufrir, dissimuler,  
N'il n'est pas bon d'y toudis demourer,  
Mais pour mieulx je conseille et consens  
D'avoir a'court ung pie hors et l'autre ens..."

In another ballad Deschamps points out the consequences of ignoring this advice:

"Pourquoi viens tu si po à court?  
Qui fuit la court, la court le fuit.  
-Pour ce qu'il y fault estre sourt,  
Et sansz vecoir ne que de nuit;....  
Or voy, or oy bien et parole:  
Par ces trois poins sont maint destruit:  
Je n'ay cure d'estre en geole.


2) *op.cit.* vol. XI, p. 111.

3) *op.cit.* vol. II, CCVIII, p. 36 seqq.
"Qui dit voir, nul ne le secourt,
Qui voit trop oler, l'en le deffait;
Qui voit et entent, sur lui court
Chascuns..."1)

This, without doubt, is one of the themes dearest to Deschamps. 2)

In this he was not alone, for it is the most frequently found variation on the general theme of attacks on court life. One after another the poets of the fifteenth century pick up the refrain in tones sometimes combative, sometimes, if the advice is too late, merely condolatory, but always the refrain is constant.

Thus, in the curious little poem by Martin Le Franc, written shortly after 1442 and intitled La Complaince Du Champion Des Dames A Martin Le Franc Son Acteur3), the author imagines a scene in which his book, which was not in the first instance well-received at the court of Bourgogne4), returns to him, from the court, in a very sorry state, and the dialogue which ensues in which he gives his book the following rules of conduct for any further stay at court it may have to make:

1) op.cit. vol. I, p.182, Ball.LXXX c.1392.
2) Cf. Ball. CCLVI, DCCCCLXVIII, CLXXIX, and Pieces Attribuables, Ball.XIII, XIV et passim.
"Je te culdoye estre advise
Pour dissimuler long et court
A l'encontre du plus rusé
Et du plus rouge de la court.
Bouter de soy, faire du lourd,
Ruer avant le bec au vent,
A temps parler et estre court
Met homme en grace bien souvent."

In his *Livre Des Fortunes Et Adversitez*, Jean Regnier tells us in verse of the life of the travelling representatives of the courts of princes and lords. The author joins a jovial company of such people on the roads. Rather like Chaucer's pilgrims, they beguile away the long hours of their journey by each telling a story. One of their number, however, refuses to participate either in the story telling en route or in the general merrymaking in the evening at the inn. The author solicits from him the cause of his melancholy, and receives the reply that, having faithfully served a good prince for a number of years, he has been the victim of a slanderous campaign and has consequently fallen from favour. To the disillusioned courtier the author replies that his sad history is one which they have in common, tells him to seek the protection of Dame Bonne Renommée, and to flee Sedition, and adds, by way

1) C.Paris, ant. cit. p. 427, strophe XV, vv. 113-120.

2) On Jean Regnier see Goujet, Bibliothèque Française, vol. IX, pp. 384-44 and P. Champion, op. cit. t.I, pp. 227-234. Early editions of the Fortunes Et Adversitez are extremely rare. There is a sixteenth century one, Les Fortunes et Adversitez, Paris, La Garde, 1526 - in 8° in the B.N. (Rés.Ye.1400). A reimpresion by P. Lacroix, Geneve, J. Gay, 1867 is also quite rare as only 100 copies were printed. The most recent, and to one I have used is: Les Fortunes et Adversitez de Jean Regnier, éd. Droz, Paris, 1923.
of consolation, advice which is the fruit of his own past experience:

"Audi vade vide tace,
Entendez se sçavez l'usage,
Se tu vis vivere pace:
Qui ainsi fait, dest fait de sage,
Et l'on dit en nostre langage
Trop parler nuit, trop grater cuyt:
Ce n'est pas ung patois sauvage:
Tant grater chiere que mal gist.

Celluy qui ce langage mist,
Et en francois et en latin,
De grant prudence sentremist
Le proverbe si est certain.
Je l'ay sçpris ung bien matin,
Après que fusmes resveillz,
En t'hostel dunc duc palatin:
A le sçavoir vous travaillez.

Et plus si ne vous merveillez
De ce qu'on dit et fait a court
Ne dictes mot, dormez, veillez,
Se vous parlez faictes le court,
Faites l'aveugle et le sort
Et ayez tousjours grans oreilles:
Se bien sçavez faire le lourt
A la court vous verrez merveilles.

Soit de jour qu de nuyt aux veilles
Gounez-vous sagement;
Honneurs verrez plus que de pailles
Il en y a tres largement.
Se rien voulez prenemment
A nul ne dictes vostre fait,
Se ne sçavez certainement
Qu'il soit bien vostre amy parfait.

Car bien souvent on est defait
Par trop declairer son affaire..."  

1) The author himself tells us that this part of the work was completed in the year 1449, ed.cit. p.194:—
"Fin du compte fais a grant peine
Lan quarante neuf quatre cens."

Jean Meschinot included in his *Lunettes Des Princes*, a very popular work with contemporaries and one of the "best sellers" in the early history of printing, which was written between 1458-9, a ballad attacking court life, enumerating its perils and adding, in the familiar words of advice, his formula for survival:

"La court / est un / mer / dont sort / Vagues d'orgueil, d'envie orage; / Qui la chiet à peine en ressort, / Malebouche y fait maint dommage / Ire esmeut deses et outrages / Qui les nef, g'ttent souvent bas: / Traison y fait son personnage."

S'eschapper veux, faing estre sourd, / Et n'use pas de grant langage; / Temporise faisant le lourd, / Escoute et cele ton courage; / Sans mouvoir emplus que ung ymage / S'eschives noises et débats...

Pour dire vray, au temps qui court; / Court est bien perilleux passage..."

Finally in this category, we come to consider those works in which the authors are concerned to demonstrate the

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2) First edition by E. Larcher, Nantes, 1493 and 1494. Champion, op. cit. t. II, p. 189 estimates that there are 10 editions prior to 1500, and countless, in the first half of the sixteenth century.

3) See above pp. 13-4 for this image. Ver. "si est une mer"

truth of the commonplace observation of the vagaries of life and the instability of Fortune but, as in Chartier's *De Vita Curiali*, with particular reference to the court and the estate of courtier. There are four such works, one with serious didactic pretensions in its own right, and the other three allegorical in form and literary in conception.

Le Jouvencel ¹ written in 1446 by Jean de Bueil, is, in spite of the novel form adopted by the author, a serious work, a treatise on military education, but with a wide moral application, and partly autobiographical since it is derived in some measure from the author's own considerable military knowledge, and unfavourable memories of court life. ²

The work falls roughly into three divisions, the first of which is intended to teach obedience, the second combat, the third leadership.


2) Cf. ed. cit. Introduction Biographique, p.lx, "La Tremoille ne fut pas le seul à méditer dans sa retraite sur la vérité du proverbe: 'Amour de court n'est pas affiement' (Bourdigné). Bueil en fit aussi la dure et prompte expérience. Depuis bien des années il servait fidèlement Charles d'Anjou. Il aurait même été, si l'on en croit Tringant, le principal artisan de la fortune de son maître. Or, ce dernier, bien loin de montrer à Jean V la reconnaissance due à ces éclatants services, n'aurait cherché qu'à lui nuire."
It is the first part of the work, which describes the early career and education of le Jouvencel, which concerns us. Le Jouvencel, flushed with the tributes of loyal friends for the success which has greeted his first military ventures, conceives the idea of presenting himself at court, to try his fortune in this other sphere of influence. His more experienced companions and mentors, on hearing him voice this desire, at once move to dissuade him from such a perilous enterprise, and prove conclusively that the profession of arms is more worthy of a noble, more honourable too, than that of courtier.

The situation created by the author to introduce his arguments against court life, is thus in some ways analogous to that of the Curial, and other Latin letters of this type. The arguments themselves, cogent and closely reasoned, are presented with forceful clarity by two protagonists, a soldier friend of le Jouvencel, and an old man.

1) Chapters I-V inclusive.

2) Chapter V, p.39 - "Comment le Jouvencel vouloit aller à la court; et comment on lui remonstre que l'exercite des armes vault mieulx et qu'il n'y doit point aller."

3) See above p.145.
The arguments of the first speaker are briefly these: that since he has been so successful in his early military career, he has no need to go to court, where he would waste time and money. Moreover, while Princes tire quickly of courtiers in their immediate entourage, the services of a military man will always be needed in an emergency. In addition to this, he points out, as a soldier, and unlike a courtier, he will either die gloriously, or live honourably, although poor (but even so not as poor as a courtier):—

"Et au regart de la povreté, je vous dy qu'il est plus de nobles povres pour sieuvyr la court et les bonnes villes qu'il n'est pour sieuvyr la guerre. Et vous dy qu'ilz puent bien parvenir à la mort et à la povreté aussi bien comme vous. Mais à l'honneur ilz ne vous approcheront jamais ne ne gaingneront les grans biens et franchises, comme font les bons hommes d'armes. Car ce qu'ilz gaignent, ilz le tiennent de Dieu et de l'espee, et est franchement leur. Mais l'omme de court est par le contraire, car il est tousjours soubz la main des commissaires et en dangier."

The second speaker, the old men, confirms what his younger companion has just said, before going on to explain his own intention:—

"tout ce que vous a dit nostre compagnon vous avendra, c'est assavoir: moquerie, perdicion de temps et de peine mal employée. Si y pourrez bien despendre tout le vostre avant que on vous y dome. Et par ce serez frustré de vostre intencion et vous en retourneraz sans rien faire." 2)

1) op. cit. p.44.  
2) op. cit. p.46.
The first part of his argument is to be devoted to an exposition of "aucunes des imperfections, doubtes et corrupcions qui se font à la court", the second to an encomium of the soldier and his profession, and the third is a comparison of the two ways of life.

The trend of his remarks on the imperfections of court life, is to stress the uncertainty and mutability of it. Any advancement is at best only temporary:

"si n'est point parfait ne durable l'avancement qu'on y a et qu'on acquiert par frequenter la court." 1)

Fluctuations in one's fortunes moreover, may occur on any one of three fronts, that is, either in one's relationship with or to the Prince:

"le premier (doubte) si est qu'on doit toujours douter la mutation du vouloir et de l'affection du prince..." 2)

or, as a result of one's own conduct, and misjudgement:

"L'autre doubt est la peur qu'on a de mesprendre. Car à faire diverses choses et à complaire aux seigneurs, il a bien maniére de y tenir le moyen; et est plus aisé de desvoyer que de tenir le droit chemin; et advient souvent que, par cùidèrre complaire, on desplait..." 3)

of finally, one's relationship with other courtiers, where envy may initiate a major reversal of fortune:

1) op.cit. p.47
2) op.cit. p.47
3) op.cit. p.48.
"Le tiers point est doute et le plus dangereux, est le doute d'envie, qui jamais ne fut bannye de la court des princes, tant ecclésiastiques que terriens et seculliers. Et ceste envie est à craindre en deux manières. Car l'en aura envie sur toy ou tu l'auras sur autruy, et aucunesfoiz, tout y est. Et je te dy, se tu as envie sur autruy, tu seras incessamment lasse et travaillé en l'entendement et n'auras jamais joye tant que tu ayes trouvé façon et moyen de lui nuire; et, en lui coidant nuire, tu nuiras à toy-mémes. Aussi est bien à craindre l'envie d'autrui. Car, quant tu seras à la court, ou tu feras bien, ou tu feras mal, Se tu fais mal, tu te pers et diffames. Se tu fais bien, je te asseure que...croisent les envyes encontre toi, et auras des envyeux sans nombre...."1)

The encomium of the military life, which is quite lengthy, need not delay us, but the final comparison between a career in the field, and a career at court, is an interesting restatement and elaboration of points made summarily by the first speaker:-

"Ainsi comme a dit nostre compagnon qui a parlé avant moy, les malheurs qu'on peut avoir à la guerre, peut-on aussi bien avoir pour sieurir la court, et des autres encore plus largement, comme povreté, peine, travail, estre mal chuchié, mal repeu, mal logié et souventesfoiz pour tous services et bienfais en la fin desherite, quant on ne s'i accout conduire et qu'on vuet plus faire et plus entreprendre qu'il n'appartient. Et si vient-on aussi bien à la court à la mort et à la destruction du corps, comme on fait par armes. Mais jamais n'y acquiert-on les biens, les honneurs et les grans renommées qui viennent en pou de temps par sieurir les armes...Par quoy je conclue que mieux vaulx nostre matier et est mieux con veneable meimement à gens de vostre estat et du miens, que d'aller baguenaudier à la court et regarder qui a les plus belles pointes; les plus gros bourrelets ou le cheveu le plus pelé à la faôn de maintenant..."2)
Finally, the memory of a soldier's service to his country never dies, and he fades away with honour, perhaps more than his fair share, while abuse, or at best, oblivion, is the lot of the courtier, as the following sketch shows:

"Veez-là ce mangeur de souppes et humeur de brouetze de court! Te souvient-il bien que quant nous allions devers lui, il ne tennoit compte de nous et ne nous daignoit saluer?...Ce n'est qu'ung flatteur et ung menteur." 1)

We have previously said that the situation here is analogous to that of the Curial. The arguments themselves are, perhaps, even more closely related. Jean de Bueil has much the same remarks to make on the subject of the unpredictability of a Prince's favour, the envy at court and the living conditions, as Chartier. But it would perhaps be idle to suggest imitation by De Bueil of Le Curial on these points alone, which, after all, are commonplace in the attacks of the period on court life, as we have seen. However, there is yet another parallel in the two works, the sketch of the absurd and despised courtier at the end of his career - similar in both works 2).

1) op.cit. p.55,56.

2) Cf. the above quotation with the following passage of the Curial, "Sic enim curialis altitudinis ventosa gloria comparata est, ut in ea temere constituti omnibus invidiae, detractio-nis aut odii spectaculum sint, destituti postea opprobrio damnationique in populis subiaeant, et quos sequaces assentatores habebant, blasphemos et irrisores invieniant." ed.cit. p.3.
which, taken with the other points noted above, might justify the impression that Jean de Bueil was familiar with Chartier's work, (although, on the other hand, such similarities could, in theory, be the result of community of personal experience between the two writers).

Jean de Bueil's arguments then, are not in themselves original. What is new, however, and therefore interesting, is the explicit comparison between the soldier and courtier - an agreeable variation on the courtier versus countryman dispute with which we are familiar from the Franc Gontier tradition. Moreover, the comparison underlines the increasingly made distinction between the 'noblesse d'epee' - the most ancient, descended from the old 'chevalerie', and the 'noblesse de robe', whose members were elevated from the bourgeoisie from the beginning of the fourteenth century onwards, 1) and were often to be found discharging various functions at court, and reflects the scorn and contempt shown by the former for the latter.

Chartier's writings on court life and courtiers in Le Curial and the Quadrilogue Investif are fairly well known. This is not however the case with the sombre picture of the instability of court life which is to be found in the work.

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sometimes referred to as the Traité de l'Esperance, but which, in all early editions of the complete works up to and including that of Galliot du Pré in 1529, is printed before, and under the general heading of Le Curial.

The Traité de L'Esperance is a heterogeneous collection of prose and verse containing, among other things, attacks on the court, nobility, the church, and linked, like the Quadrilogue, although much more loosely, by the appearance of an allegorical personage.

Chartier tells us that, oppressed by the memory of past events, shocked by the present, and fearing the future, he is approached one day while he is in this desperate state of mind by an untidy, unkempt old woman, none other than "Mélancolie" herself, who wraps her mantle around him, and carries him off swooning to the "Logis D'Enfermeté", throws him into the couch of "Angoisse et Maladie", where he remains for some time. He is at length disturbed by the apparition of three more horrible phantoms, namely, "Desflance", "Indignation" and "Dessesperance".

Indignation it is who addresses the author on the subject of court life:


2) Perhaps because the Curial was the best known single work in this section, and because of the disparate nature of the pieces which form the Traité de L'Esperance.
"Quelle folie te meut d’approcher désormais court ne palais royal, ne de plus servir a office publique quant sans exaulcement & sans prouffit tu y as perdu le temps de ta plus vertueuse jeunesse & ton labeur en vain de gasté... Se la court a mescongneu tes services, & les ingrats ont oublie tes bienfaictz que pensest-tu désormais prouffiter a la chose publique ne a toy mesmes, quant bien fait & malifice sont tout en ung compte, sinon en tant, que par long usaige malice a plus de hardement & d’entrée... Aumoins ce fruit en deussest tu avoir rapporte que par la congoistre tu la sceusses fuyr & eschover... Souvienne toy que vie curialle est de la nature de folles & dissolue femmes qui plus cherissent les derniers venus & gettent les bras plus ardamment au col de ceulx qui les pillent & diffament, qu’a ceulx qui trop les ayment & servent. Se tu veulx congoistre fortune & te soubsmettre a sa variablete de tout temps en court la trouveras. La s’esbat-elle de ses tours bestournez & fait ses mutations & son entregiet... elle prend son deduit a faire d’ung chetif mescongneu ung puissant orgueilleux qui tout descongoist, & d’ung hault satrape esleve en vaine gloire & en pompe ung meschant fol & desfait, qui depus vit en vergogne du dechiet de son estat & en desfiance de sa vie. L’une fois eslonge les prochains, l’autre donne obprobre aux eslongnes... Se tu as le courage ou pour plus proprement parler la folle cuydance de toy vouloir ingerer jusques au dangereux donjon ou Dame court se retrait en son prive, saches que le guichet en est si petit, la planche si estroicte, le fosse dessoubz si parfont, & y court le vent d’envye à si grands bouffées, que à l’entrer ou à l’yssir tu t’y pourras blecer sans guarison ou trebuscher sans ressource."

This is largely a restatement of points made previously in

the Curial. 2)

3) from previous page: Oeuvres de feu maistre Alain Chartier, Paris, G. du Fré, 1529 "Comment Indignation fait remonstrance des abuz & vanitez qui regnent es cours des Princes, voulant induire a desloyauté enve,rs son Prince le subsect travaillant en affliction." Co.V, sqq. 2) Although it seems probable that

1) ibid. iso;Mercerot order, it is still only a conjecture.
L'Abuzé En Court, variously attributed to René, King of Anjou and Sicily, and Charles de Rochefort, written about 1470, is an allegory in prose and verse, the purpose of which is, once again, to demonstrate the vicissitudes of court life.

In the porch of an ancient church, among the sleeping poor huddled in their rags, the author one day comes upon an old man, distinguishable from his fellows by his tattered, but silk, clothes. He tells the author that he is a disillusioned refugee from court:

"En service me suis ployé
De court, qu'à plusieurs ainsi touche,
Et pour y complaire employé
Cuer, corps, sens, langue, plume et bouche..."

and the author earnestly implores him to recount his history in full.

We learn that as a young man he had been warned by a friend of the dangers of court life, but one day, when accosted by two elegant young nobles, Abuz and Foulcudier, who paint an irresistible picture of the charms of court life, he allows himself to be persuaded to join them.

At first he is highly successful, being in the good graces of the ladies of the court, whileing the hours away on

1) Oeuvres Complètes de René Roi de Sicile, éd. Quatrébarbe, Angers, 1845, 4 vols.
2) op.cit. t.IV, p.79.
horseback hunting or hawking, and living on the fulsome promises of a charming lady, Madame La Court. It is Time, another allegorical personnage, who first seeks to enlighten him as to the real value of these promises:

"Mon enfant, si les paroles et toutes les promesses que Madame La Court t'a à ceste heure promises, estoient par toj enfermées en terre, à l'aventure en herbes seraient converties plus tost que de la pareille somme ne seras subz elle enrichy, veu l'occupation en quoy subz elle es occupé. Je ne dy pas que si luy vacque aucune office, pour laquelle mme luy fauldra desbourcer denier, je croy bien que à l'aventure tu en auras, s'il en demeure, mais non pourtant ad ce ne te doiz pas attendre; avant te fault solliciter tes besoignes à ceste premiere venue, affin de pover parvenir à la seureté de ton fait, et dois penser en toy que en toute la ville de Paris, qui est la meiluer et la plus grant cîte de France, tu ne trouverois ung marchant que te prestast quatre aulnes de drap, ne hostellier qui te herbegeast douze nuytz, ny tavernier qui te prestast la despance d'une sepmaine sur un plain panier de promesses, si te convient à ton fait adviser..."1)

Follebombeance and Abuz rush to counteract the effect of these damning words, Abuz by reminding him of all the wonderful pastimes which he enjoys at court, the other by reminding him of the fashionable clothes he now wears. 2)

From this moment onwards, however, his position at court deteriorates. His gifts, and other attentions addressed by him to Madame La Court no longer provoke any response apart from vague and empty promises. His money squandered, and living costs increasing, he is forced to pay

1) op.cit. t.IV, p.107.
2) op.cit. vol.IV, p.109.
court to those more fortunate than himself:—

"si m'estoit force de suivre ceux qui en (de l'argent) avoyent, et avoir à chacune parolle le bonnet à la main. Et sur ma foi, je me puis bien vanter que en ceste saison ay pris trop plus de pitié de moçois fait en ma vie, car je eusse bien esté pour ung repas tant seullement bonnet et chapperon quatre foys." 1)

On the advice of Time he presents a humble petition to Madame La Court for aid, but only to be told to wait a little longer. He then visits three friends who courted him in his better days, but his pleas for assistance are turned down. He returns once more as a humble supplicant to Madame La Court, but is cruelly rejected. He is completely disillusioned,

"Les motz qu'on va en court disans
M'ont fait, sousz umbre de promesse,
Perdre comme je voy mon temps,
Pour quoy de soupirer ne cesse.
J'ay perdu et temps et richesses
Toute joie et esbatement,
Force beaulté, sens et jeunesse, 2)
Pour croire trop legièrement."

The Court, however, has no feelings for the individuals who serve her, as she explains here:—

"Que me chault-il qui cours ou saille,
Ou qui plus s'en avancera?
Doute n'ay qu'à serviteur faille;
Pour ung cent on en trouvera.
Si l'ung recule, l'autre yra:
Plus heureux qui plus s'avance:
Si est bon à qui y sera
D'avoir à son cas actremance.

1) op.cit. vol.IV, p.118.
2) op.cit. vol.IV, pp.138-9.
"Trois choses sont sous moi la Court,
Qui bien servent par une espace;
Mais quant l'œuvre vers la fin court,
En mocquerie tourne et passe;
L'une est rapporter par fallacie;
L'autre le fait de filaterie;
L'autre qui tout honneur efface
Est l'état de macquerelerie.

Tous flateurs qui sevent filater
Et venir corner à l'oreille,
Et en flatant faire sembler
De chose commune merveille,
Posé que la court s'appareille
À les ouyr pour une espance,
Souvent en ce leur appareille
Ung bon conflit en passe passe."

The courtier continues to implore the aid of those around him, and even pursues the court on one of its migrations, cap in hand, and genuflecting to the treasurers. However, he is met on the road by Maladie and Povreté, and carried away in their arms. His only gain from his experience of court life is Patience. The moral of this allegory is surely obvious.

In style this work is typical of the Rhetoriqueurs. As for sources, it is possible to see in the portrayal of Madame La Court, at first alluring and enticing, and finally completely apathetic, a reminiscence on the part of the author of the metaphor used by Chartier in the Curial, and an attempt to expand its application, and give it a more poetic form by completing the personification.

1) op. cit. vol. IV, p.148-9.

The last work in this class is Octovien de Saint-Gelais' *Sejour d'Honneur* 1), again a mixture of prose and verse. Written some time between 1490 and 1494, it can best be described as an allegorical autobiography. The fourth part of the book is the one which treats of the fickleness of fortune at court - the *Sejour d'Honneur*.

Guided by "Sensualité", the author makes his way to a magnificent dwelling. They are greeted at the entrance by Madame Court, for whom the new-comer has not sufficient words of praise:

"Belle, gracieuse & entiere... 
...bien semble assez suffisante
Pour estre d'ung pays regente." 2)

Upon hearing that the new applicant is a poet Madame La Court is charmed, gives him immediate access, through the gate of Favour, to the infamous "escalier d'honneur", with its treacherous, steep and slippery steps, which lead eventually to success. They have seen many a great man tumble headlong to the bottom, and the author mentions in


2) Id. cit. (1526) fo. yi
particular Doyac and Olivier Le Daim. But, undaunted by
the prospect of the failure of others, he starts the
upward climb eagerly, together with the other hopefuls:

"Si apperceu en celle eschelle
De montens une kyrielle." 1)

With the help of Bon Vouloir, whose...he has enlisted, 2)
the author is soon standing before the throne itself. He
dedicates to the King a ballad which is favourably
received. From this moment onwards he dreams of the
favours which Fortune has in store for him. His reveries are
rudely shattered by the harsh, imperious tones of Ambition,
who addresses him thus:

"C'est trop dormy pour hommes qui pourchasse.
Chasun travaille & tu te tiens a part
Ce n'est pas fait en bon curial homme
Bien te convient doncques suivre ma part.
Se tu veulx estre argentueux de grant somme
Resveille toy, laisse repos & somme..." 3)

The author fights hard against his rivals "Les Angs" whom
he beats, only to be overcome himself by "Les Autres".

Trying to slip back into the court, to nurse his wounds, by
a little used side gate, he is refused admittance by an
irascible porter called Long Aage.

Banished now for ever from the court, he walks sadly
into the desert of Melancholy, where he is assailed by an

1) op.cit. fo.zi.
2) op.cit. fo.zii.
3) op.cit. fo.ziii.
ugly apparition, "Maladie". Despairingly, he throws himself under "L'Arbre d'Angoisse", where even the attempts of Sensualité to revive him are in vain. He is finally rescued, to everyone's relief, not least the reader's, by Dame Raison, who takes him along the avenue of Penitence, to a hermitage in a pleasantly rustic setting. Here, in the presence of the hermit, "Entendement", he abjures his former errors, makes his profession of faith, and lives a godly life ever afterwards.

Guy, in his article on the Sejour D'Honneur sees in this work unmistakable traces of the influence of Chartier's Curial. He refers to the portrayal of the court in both cases as a woman, and to the allegorical combat between the courtier and "les ung" and "les autres", which he contests is a poetic extension of one of Chartier's remarks on the envy of fellow courtiers. However, it would surely be more pertinent to speak of L'Abuzé En Court, as the most probable, the most direct, and the most immediate source of Le Sejour D'Honneur, since the two works are so alike both in conception and execution. The portrayal of Madame Court in the latter may be derived from a remark of Chartier, but it is

1) "Se tu as office en Court, si t'a apperille à y combattre. Car se tu y as aucun bien autres appeteront de te couster et n'en eschapperas, sans debat", a commonplace enough observation.
more probably through the intermediary of the portrait, remarkably similar, in *L'Abuzé En Court*. In both the later works too, the fate of the disillusioned courtier is similar, they are taken up by "Maladie". Both works, it is true, exemplify what Chartier says in the *Curial*, but this can be said of many others besides, which are otherwise unrelated. Finally, both *L'Abuzé En Court* and *Le Séjour D'Honneur* have their origins firmly in Medieval poetical tradition, the tradition of the *Roman de La Rose*.

It will be seen from this analysis that to attack the court was quite a long established tradition in Medieval literature, and criticisms originate from most sections of society, from the "clercs", from the rising bourgeoisie and even from those who had held good positions at court themselves, Deschamps, Michault, Saint-Gelais among others, and perhaps even from a king himself. They attack courtiers, in accents political, satirical and often moral. They speak of the superiority of the countryman's or soldier's life over that of the courtier. They attack court life in general, for its iniquities and vicissitudes. Their satirical techniques are often rudimentary, ranging, in fact, from direct statements of criticism to a degree of caricature, by exaggeration of detail, in the descriptions of court fashions. In some, a very limited use, of irony appears but there is a predominance over other elements of
inventive and declamation, and a continued reliance upon allegory.

The influence of this great bulk of Medieval anti-courtier literature on the trend in the sixteenth century is slight. We can say that such influence as there was, was confined to the first third of the sixteenth century.

It is possible to discern a continuity between the Medieval trend and that of the early sixteenth century principally in attacks on court life in general. Here the substance of criticisms is carried over, so too is the contrast of court and country life of the Franc Contier tradition, a contrast which early sixteenth century writers make still more definite by the adoption of the Medieval Debât form. 1) One Medieval work in particular, Chartier's Curial, left a considerable mark on anti-court attacks of the Pre-Renaissance period. Its influence is discernible in varying degrees in Saint-Gelais' Debât de l'Homme de Court et l'Homme des Champs 2), in Robertet's Epître à Cretin 3), in Jean Bouchet's Regnars Traversans 4), in his Panegyrie du Chevalier Sans Reproche 5), but is most noticeable in Gringore's Curial 6).

1) Octovien de Saint-Gelais, Debât de l'Homme de Court et de l'Homme des Champs (see below ch. VI, pp. 265 sqq.) and François Robertet, Debât du Boucanier et du Corrier, see below pp. 328 sqq.
2) See below, loc. cit.
3) See below, p. 275.
4) See below, pp. 282 sqq.
5) See below, pp. 286 sqq.
6) See below, pp. 288 sqq.
There is continuity too in criticisms of such abstractions as flattery which, unchanged by the passing of time, did not require the confirmation of direct observation.

But it is, however, in attacks on the courtier and his profession that the Medieval influence is least. We may attribute this fact to the changed social conditions of the sixteenth century — and to changes in the conditions of the courtier himself especially; it is only when there is some degree of community of experience between writers of different periods that observations transferred in the process of imitation will continue to be relevant. Thus it is that literary continuity, which must depend partly upon social and political continuity, gives place here to greater authenticity, to an increasing reliance upon direct observation, in the anti-courtier satire of the early sixteenth century.

1) It is precisely the one late Medieval attack which reflects conditions which differ only in degree from those of the early sixteenth century (i.e. the outburst of extravagance at court), Baudé's Ballade du Gorrier Braugart, which alone may have some influence on the trend in the next period. See above p. 211 and below p. 324.

2) On the appearance of the professional courtier see below ch. VI, pp. 262-3.
Part II. The Evolution And Development Of The Trend.
In the period of the sixteenth century which we are about to consider, from 1498-1539 - that is, the period extending from the beginning of the reign of Louis XII, and throughout the greater part of that of François Ier, the anti-courtier trend was completely and indisputably dominated by the Grands Rhetoriqueurs and their disciples.\(^2\)

It may be said, with some justification, that the Grands Rhetoriqueurs disappear very quickly after 1525, and that after this date only provincial poets like Jean Bouchet continued to maintain the older literary traditions and conventions. But it is precisely these very survivors of a by-gone literary age who zealously perpetuate in their works the anti-courtier trend until the outer limit of this first period. In this respect the evolution of the anti-courtier trend in the early sixteenth century, differs from that of other satirical trends. Rabelais and Marot, the two most important writers to be influenced by the first Renaissance, had already produced their most celebrated satirical works, had already renewed the themes of

\(^{1}\)The term Pre-Renaissance may appear unsatisfactory when applied to a period which includes Baud, Bracançon, Rabelais, Marot. An alternative might be Early Renaissance, but on the other hand, the whole point of this chapter is to demonstrate that Anti-Courtier satire in this period, from 1498-1539, exhibited none of the characteristics of even early Renaissance satire. In a context

\(^{2}\) We include in this class Roger de Colyaye, Guillaume de la Perrière, and Eustorg de Beaulieu. If Anti-Courtier satire I therefore preferred the term Pre-Renaissance.
anti-clerical satire, and satire of the judiciary, pushing the second-rate satire of the Rhetoriqueurs on these topics into well-merited obscurity. But the satirical writings of Rabelais and Marot include little or no anti-courtier satire. Thus, in this field, the authority of the Rhetoriqueurs was unchallenged.

The sixteenth century in France was characterised by an efflorescence of satire. Satire of the Catholic church, its institutions and dogmas, and of the legal profession, is especially prominent in the early years, but, increasingly insistent is the growing volume of satire directed at the court and its members.

Some part of this increasing tendency to attack the court may be explained by literary influences. Attacks against court life were frequent, as we have seen, in medieval French literature, and many of the Rhetoriqueurs of the sixteenth century do little more in their own attacks than continue, and elaborate upon, an established literary theme. To attacks such as these must be added those which are the result, not merely of continuation, but of direct imitation of earlier and much read works, particularly in

1) In the case of Marot there are perhaps, in the whole of his output, just two fleeting allusions against courtiers. See below, p. 330, 335.

this period, of Chartier's *Curial* ¹) and Piccolomini's *De Curialium Miseriis Epistola*. ²)

We must, however, look beyond literary influence, in order to explain entirely the growing hostility towards courtiers in this early period. The evolution of the anti-courtier trend is closely related to historical events and their consequences, political, social, and economic. The precise historical events which concern us here are the series of Italian campaigns launched by the French from the last years of the fifteenth century to the middle of the sixteenth. We can say with no hesitation at all that the increase in the volume and vehemence of the anti-courtier writings of the early sixteenth century was due in many respects to the Italian campaigns, more precisely, to their attendant consequences.

It is obviously true that the increase in the number of attacks on courtiers was more or less proportionate to the increase in the numbers of courtiers themselves. Now, one of the most direct and immediate results of the Italian campaign was that the relatively restricted number of regular courtiers was swollen by a vast influx of adventurers-cum-courtiers - having no official duties at court, but on the periphery of court and army, drawn to follow the royal

¹) For an account of this work see above, ch V, pp. 170-182.

entourage into Italy by their predatory instincts and expectations of lucrative spoils. 1) These new-comers, we gather from the many attacks upon them in the literature of the period, 2) combined the faults and vices of both courtier and soldier, and their presence was especially obnoxious to the populace between campaigns, when the army

1) A reading of Jean Marot’s commentary on Le Voyage de Venise, an account which is usually considered to have some documentary value, will confirm this. He writes for instance,

"Qui vit adonc Rustres aventuriers
Testes lever, courir aux Armuriers,
C'estoit plaisir, car chacun d'eux bien ouyde
En cestuy an tous estre tresoriers.
Dit le Picard, 'plais Dieu ches Usuriers
Me rempliront me bourche qui est vuyde...
Bo cap de bien, non sapi que bol estre
Respond adonc Arnoton de Gascogne,
Mais si podg sur quelque ung la main mettre
S'il n'a ducat...
Jou le batray comme ung billain Ibroigne." fo.33r

Jean de Marot de Caien sur Les Deux Heureux Voyages de Genes & de Venise, Paris, F. Roufet, printed by G. Tory de Bourges, 1532.

2) We have already discussed Baudé’s Ballade d’un Corrier, Bragart, see above, pp.21-12, written in Charles VIII’s reign. Later attacks include La Farce Nouvelle de Folle Bombance, c. 1500, see below, p.522-3; Robertet, Debats du Boucanier et Du Gorrier, 1504, see below, p.523-4; La Vacherie’s Gouvernement des Trois Estatz du Temps Qui Court, c. 1510, see below, p.330; Bouchet’s Panegyric du Chevallier Sans Reproche, 1527, see below, p.335 and his Temple de Bonne Renommee, 1516, see below, p.534-79.
was idle and they were equally redundant at court. Frequently in debt, they lived on gifts and pensions from the King which they did nothing to deserve,\(^1\) and they showed a strange reluctance to return to a useful profession.

Other new-comers to the French court were expatriate Italians, for the Italian campaigns had not only opened up Italy to the French,\(^3\) there was a reciprocal movement.\(^4\) Their presence at court, in large numbers, provoked considerable comment from as early as 1498,\(^5\) and it is abundantly clear from such comment that they were not universally well-received at court, for a variety of

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1) Robertet, op. cit., and Bouchet, are especially critical of this. See below, pp. 332, 47.

2) La Noue, Discours Politiques et Militaires, Basle, 1537 has some interesting comments on this subject. Cf Discours IX, p. 182-4. The reasons he gives for this reluctance - "Vaino gloire, & l'oisiveté & licence soldatesque."

3) It would of course be inaccurate to suggest that this was the earliest French contact with life in the peninsula. Since the beginning of the 14th century France had sent both students and teachers to Italian universities - to Padua especially.


5) In the anonymous Sottie Nouvelle de l'Astrologue, Paris, 1498. See below, pp. 342.
reasons, the most natural being that France was then on a war-footing with some of the Italian states. Distrust though, hardened into loathing when it became apparent that the Italians had usurped all the most lucrative and influential positions at court.¹ Concern was also caused by the diffusion - both by Italians themselves and by Italianate Frenchmen - of an Italian way of life, conduct, morals and mannerisms at the court, although in this early period direct criticisms of certain practices on the grounds that they were Italianisms is rare, but this is nevertheless the implication behind many of the criticisms of 'unFrench habits' constantly made by austere moralists.²

So far we have seen how, as a consequence of the Italian campaigns, the French court was enlarged, at the beginning of the century, by the arrival of adventurers and Italians. Another important consequence of these campaigns, upon which most historians are agreed, was the acceleration of the trend towards absolutism in the French monarchy, and its development and consolidation under Louis XII and François Ier.³ It was this consequence,

¹ See below, p. 342.
² See below, pp. 343, 549.
which, in part, led to a further increase in the royal entourage. For with the consolidation of the central authority of the monarch that of the nobility diminished. Loss of authority combined with economic decline will explain their growing dependence upon the monarch and their presence in increasing numbers at his court. 1) Firstly, it should be remembered that the Italian campaigns represented a financial embarrassment to many of the nobility, since they were required to finance and equip their own expedition. 2) Secondly, the Italian wars introduced them to a vastly more refined, sumptuous and extravagant way of life than they had known before. Little wonder that on their return to France they should seek to emulate the Italians in this respect, even at the cost of

1) F. Decruze de Stoutz, La Cour de France et la Société au XVIe Siècle, Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1838 - p.68. "La noblesse subit au seizième siècle une importante modification. De caste féodale qu'elle a été, elle tend à devenir une aristocratie de cour; de territoriale, elle se fait palatine."

2) Romier, Le Royaume de Catherine de Médicis, La France à la Veille des Guerres de Religion, Paris, 1922, vol.I, ch.III - La Situation de la Noblesse au XVIe Siècle, pp. 177-181 traces the far-reaching consequences of this burden borne by the nobility into the second half of the century.
ruining themselves in the process. They looked to the
King's favour and munificence to reimburse them for the
everous expenses incurred by their participation in the
wars, and to maintain them in unaccustomed extravagance,
either by gifts or pensions, or by appointment to royal
offices which carried considerable pecuniary advantages.

From this it can be seen that the Italian campaigns
not only contributed to increase numerically the royal
entourage, but that indirectly, through the development of

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1) Extravagance, in dress especially, reached such a pitch —
and was by no means confined to the higher ranks of
society — that François Ier was forced to issue an edict
in 1517 prohibiting the import and sale of expensive
materials. The text of this interesting document is sub­
stantially reproduced in the Journal d'Un Bourgeois de
Paris Sous le Règne de François Ier, ed. Bouilly, Paris,
Picard, 1910 (Collection de Textes Pour Servir à l'Etude
et à l'Enseignement de l'Histoire) pp.45-6:- Comme depuis
que, par la grâce de Dieu, soyons parvenus à la couronne,
sions trouvé nos subjectz avoir esté grandement foulez &
apauvris, tant par la guerre que par la superfluité &
desordre des habillementz des draps d'or, d'argent & de
soye, que ne convient porter à leur estat; dont l'or &
l'argent sort de nostre royaume, pays, terres, & seigneuries
par leadictz desordes & abus d'iceux draps d'or & de soye,
åçavoir faisans que, pour le bien, proffit & utilité de la
chose publique, avons deffendu & deffendons que en nossictz
royaumes etc...dès les montz, n'entrecront aucuns draps d'or,
d'argent, veloux, satin, damatz, camelotz, taffetaz brochez
ou brodez d'or, d'argent ou cramojsz; & ce, sur peine de
confiscation d'iceux & d'amende arbitraire..."

2) Lavisse, op. cit. p. 211. "Le roi eut autour de lui un très
grand nombre de seigneurs et de nobles, attirés par sa bonne
grâce, sa séduction personnelle, par la facilité et le
charme de la vie, par l'espoir des faveurs, par la
necessité même, car la nobless était en général pauvre."
absolutism, which set the court apart from the nation, they led to a change in the nature and functions of the courtier. In the past the French court had consisted of vassals, often more powerful than the King to whom they owed allegiance, who discharged a temporary function, fulfilled a statutory obligation, or transacted occasional business, before returning to their own domain where their authority was unquestioned. Now, on the contrary, we have the advent of the professional courtier, who regards attendance upon the monarch as a means of support, a livelihood, an end in itself, and, moreover, which, by the second half of the reign of François Ier, was being consecrated and exalted by Castiglione and his disciples. The existence of this ever increasing class of privileged beings was not looked upon with such favour by those unenlightened by Castiglione’s creed however. Discharging no useful function in society at large, and like the monks, producing nothing and making no contribution to the economy, they were an excellent target for satirists.

1) Lavissé, ibid. “ce monde tendit à se séparer de la nation et à en séparer le monarque.”

2) Decrue de Stoutz, op.cit.p.3. “Pendant tout le moyen âge, il n’y eut à proprement parler ni cour de France, ni société française. Ce qu’on appelle alors le cour du roi, c’est l’assemblée politique des vassaux, des officiers de la couronne, qui assistent le maître dans l’administration de l’état... il n’avait pas alors un train beaucoup plus considérable que celui des grands vassaux de la couronne. Souvent un duc de Bourgogne le dépasse en éclat.”
The same influences were at work in the transformation of the milieu in which the courtier functioned. Gradually at first, under Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne, on the model of the brilliant courts of the peninsula, perceptibly, under François Ier, and significantly, in the second half of this reign, when the influence at work was that of Castiglione's Corte\'giano, the court became the highest expression of French society.\(^1\)

Since the Corte\'giano was written at the request of François Ier, as request he made to Castiglione before his accession,\(^2\) it is highly unlikely that it did not serve him as a guide and inspiration (Castiglione, we remember, expresses in this work the particular hope that under François' kingship the French court would assume a more polished air\(^3\) and it is therefore no

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3) from previous page. Lavisse, op. cit., p. 209. Cf. also Claude Chappuy, Discours de la Court, Paris, Boffet, 1543, whose list of the motives of aspiring courtiers, in a work meant as an apologia of court life, will confirm this.\(^4\)

1) Romier, op. cit., p. 74 denies the existence of a French court or of any "esprit de cour" until the second half of the century. This view fails to take into account the influence of, and interest in, the Corte\'giano, even before it was translated into French. In fact, there was no startling transformation in French court life during the period of the religious wars. The difference between the court of François Ier, and between that of Charles IX or Henri III, was merely one of degree, not kind. See below, p. 472.


exaggeration to suggest that he made a conscious attempt
to develop and embellish the French court which, to a
large extent, was a reflection of his own personality
and tastes.

In spite of the nomadic existence of François' Court,
and the lack of a large enough royal residence before the
completion of Fontainebleau, it was particularly noted
for its dazzling brilliance and magnificent luxury - the
King's example in this respect being assiduously followed
by his courtiers. A Venetian ambassador sent home this
report of the expenses met by the King:

"La chasse coûte au roi quarante mille écus; les
écuries, vingt mille; les menus plaisirs, quatre-
vingt seize mille, cent mille, et même cent
cinquante mille; car, dans ce chapitre sont
compris les achats de bijoux, notamment de
diamants, les présents publics faits aux dames
de la cour; et le roi dans ces choses-là n'est
pas ménager." 2)

Complaints that lavish expenditure at court was subsidised

1) On the various aspects of court life and its organisation
under François Ier, see L.Batifol, La Cour de François Ier,
in Revue Hebdomadaire, nov.-dec., 1907, pp.191-212; Lavisse,
op.cit. La Maison du Roi et La Cour, p.205sqq.; Dimier,
Le Château de Fontainebleau et La Cour de François Ier, Paris,
1930; Douet, Les Institutions de La France au XVIe Siècle,
Paris, 1943, vol.1; A.Bailly, François Ier, Restaurateur des
Lettres et des Arts, Paris, Payard, 1954. On the voyages of
the court, apart from works quoted above, see the report of
Marino Giustiniano in Tommaso's edition of Les Relations
des Ambassadeurs Vénitiens sur Les Affaires de France au
XVIe Siècle, (Collection de documents inédits pour servir à
l'Histoire de France, Ière Série, Hist.Politique,vol.1)

2) op.cit. Giustiniano, p.101.
by the oppression of the poor were not infrequent in the literature of this period.1)

That women began to be considered an essential adornment of court society, was both a reflection of the King’s propensities and of the influence of the *Cortegiano*. A similar observation may be made in respect of the increasing place which literature and the arts occupied there.2) The organised entertainments, tournaments, jousts, masquerades, likewise reflect François’ chivalry, and the Italian influence. Some of the more frivolous pastimes which occupied the monarch and his courtiers, were as unfavourably reviewed as the extravagance deployed by them. Public reaction on one occasion, early in the reign, is recorded in the *Journal d’Un Bourgeois de Paris*, thus:

"Pendant lequel temps y furent traitées mout de choses...de la paix du Roy et de l’empereur, et de la paix et alliance du Roy et des Suysses, et de plusieurs autres grandes choses. Mais néanmoins, le Roy et aucuns jeunes gentilshommes de ses mignons et privez ne faisoient quasi tous les jours que d’estre en habitz dissimulez et bigarreg, eyans masques devant leurs visages, allans à cheval permy la ville, et alloient en aucunes maisons jouer et gaudir, ce que le populaire prenoit mal à gre."3)

1) See below, pp. 336, sqq.


3) *op. cit.* pp.48-9. May 19th, 1517. See also the comments of
The development and flowering of court life, particularly in the latter half of this period, which we have briefly indicated, and the increase in the ranks of courtiers — accompanied by a decrease in their social usefulness, were undeniably the most significant factors to provoke unfavourable reaction and thus provide an additional stimulus for the development of the anti-courtier trend early in the sixteenth century.

3) continued

Antoine du Saix, below pp. 393-4.
Least affected by changing circumstances in this period are the attacks on court life in general, its disadvantages and even dangers, as distinct from those on the courtier himself. Many of them, in fact, continue the medieval tradition.

One of the earliest attacks of this period on court life in general, written probably at the turn of the century, is that of Octavien de Saint-Gelais in a long poem called “Le Débat de l’Homme de Court et de l’Homme des Champs.” As can be seen from the title the attack is pursued in the form of a dialogue.

Riding along early one morning in the direction of Tours, the author tells us, he came across a troop of courtiers on horseback. Two of their number are seen to be engaged in an earnest and animated conversation, the one a courtier, the other a countryman. The latter proposes that the courtier’s life is a happy one, for he knows only the gay and brilliant aspect of it, and willingly elaborates upon what he considers to be its obvious advantages. His courtier friend is not slow to counter his companion’s arguments with a dreary tale of woe.

1) The poem has never, to my knowledge, been dated with precision. Molinier, op. cit. Part II, ch. 2, section 3, seems to place its composition during the period of Saint-Gelais’ tenure of the bishopric of Angoulême, between 1495-1502.

2) This poem appears in the B.N. ms. fr. n. acq 1158, fo. 74r°-81v° (an early sixteenth century manuscript). It was first printed in La Chasse et Depart d’Amours, Paris, A. Vérand, 1509, sigs. Cv r°-Di r°. This is the text I reproduce.
To the countryman, who seems to speak throughout with his tongue in his cheek, the court is a land of plenty which his own humble condition leads him to contemplate wistfully:

"Plus amassez de biens une septaine,
Plus de plaisirs, de joies & de bon temps,
Que ne faisons si vivons cent ans
Qui ne voyons dedans noz maisonnettes
Fors petit peuple & povres femmelettes."

To this the courtier replies sagely, and sadly, that the advantages of court life are more apparent than real:

"La Court si est une fin Regente,
Car qui n'en bouge, qui plus la suit & hante,
Moins si connoist, cela vous dis je bien;
Et tel y cuyde acquérir ung gros bien
Qui se depart en desplaisir trop aigre:
Voylà comment le gras mange le maigre."

But to this the countryman's reaction is one of well simulated incredulity.

Unsympathetically, one feels, the countryman suggests that, in view of the tribulations experienced by his friend, he should depart from court. The courtier ignores, or fails to notice this attempt to bring his monotonous lament to a swift conclusion. He continues the jeremiad by adding that at the end of a courtier's career both body and fortune are spent:

"Vous dictes bien trés, bien sommes abuses,
Et aveuglez trestous en clere vue,
Car quanzt noz biens & noz corps sont usez,
Et la bouche demeure despourvue,

1) op.cit. sig.Cv r°.  
2) op.cit. sig.Cv:v r°.
Il n'est couleur à l'heure qui ne meure,
Et qui pis est, pour croistre les travaux
Et par faute, souvent d'argenterie
Estre arresté en grosse hostellerye."  

The countryman ironically, suggests that, with a little more wisdom and fore-thought it should be possible to extract some benefits from serving at court without detriment to one's person. Not so, says the courtier:

"Les plus sages y perdent leur science
Et les plus caux y viennent abestiz,
L'un vous dira, 'mon amy, patience',
L'autre trouve mille grands abastiz,
Les auncuns sont des povres et chemin
Qui ont tout l'or & l'avoir du royaume
Et renvoient à Gaultier & à Guillaume,
Povres soldars qui ont tout despandu
Mal assurez d'avoir le residu."  

The discomforts of court life would be tolerable if they were temporary, and gave way to brighter prospects, but, we are told, this just does not happen:

"S'il ne tencit qu'à peines supporter
Mais qu'il y eust amendement et cesse,
Chacun voudroit tresvoulentiers porter
Du mal assez, ce là je vous confesse.
Mais sur ma foy, le bast aujour'd'hui blesse
À toutes gens si trasfort les coustes,
Que les plus grans & les plus redoutez
Sont estonnez de veoir ung tel descandre,
Car les gros chiens veulent les petits mordre."  

While ironically acknowledging that the life of a courtier is fraught with all the hazards that fate and fellow man can devise, the countryman is still unwilling to believe that success is so elusive:

1) op.cit. sig. Cv v°.
2) ibid.
3) op.cit. Cvi r°.
"Il ne vous fault qu'ung bon recueil de roy,
Le chiquensaulde ou la plaisante gogue,
Pour dire garé, c'est homme est d'grant vogue." 1)

Such success, the courtier replies, might have been possible in the old days, but under the present order favour is not lightly bestowed. The courtier enumerates his efforts to win through:—

"Quant est de moy j'ay fait ce qu'on doit faire
Pour parvenir à l'audessus du vent;
Courir, trocter pour vuyder mon affaire,
Entrer, saillir, me pousser en avant
Pour oreiller, aupres d'ung sustenant
Pour escouter, ce qu'on dit, ce qu'on trasse,
L'ung je salue & puis l'autre j'embrasse,
Je couche tart & me lieve matin;
J'ay plus de mal que n'a ung vieil mastin." 2)

and in a further reply to his companion who continues to proffer advice on how to win friends and influence people, the disgruntled courtier gives a list of the type of person most likely to be well-received in court circles:—

"Priser sang bien sçavons lesquelz on prise —
Petis flateurs, rapporteurs meadisans,
Qui sont propres pour user de faintise,
Pour cloire ung huys assez promps & duysans;
Mais qu'ils saussent faire chose en dix ans,
Qui fust utile au maistre & profittable,
Fiez-vous-y, leur sens n'est pas capable
Pour s'estendre droitement jusque-là;
Or dites moy que parler est cela." 3)

To add to the discomfort and demoralisation, there are the inevitable money troubles, aggravated by the unsympathetic way in which requests for money from courtiers are dealt with by those in authority:—

1) ibid.  2) ibid.  3) op.cit. sig. Cvi v°.
"Souventesfois pour estre desfraye,
Je demande pour dieu, cent escus, sire,
J'ay despendu tout le mien & fraye,
Argent me fault, tout se fend & desaire,
Argent s'en va, argent s'en suyt & tire.
Aucunesfois je me voys escondyt,
Dont me convient faire ung beau gros credit
Et bien souvent je me treuve confuz.
Quant tout soubdain est fait de moi refuz."

Finally, the discussion is rounded off by the countryman who at last acquiesces on the other's point of view, seeing every reason to be satisfied with his own way of life:

"Brief, la court est ung dangereux mestier;
Qui l'aymera si en preigne la voye.
Quant est de moy, je subvray mon cartier.
Estre ne veulx eschansch, penntier,
Ne chamberlain, j'en quiete drois et gaiges.
A ce que voy, mieulx vault estre aux villages
Et sur ce point vous recommande adieu."

On all three counts of form, theme, and content, Saint-Gelais continues in this poem the medievaleal tradition. The débat, the form adopted by him here, was popular in French literature from the thirteenth century onwards. The theme, the comparative merits of court and country life - suggested by the title but never fully developed until the penultimate stanza - for elsewhere in the poem the emphasis is clearly upon the criticism of court life without any interpolated praise of the country -

1) ibid.
2) ibid. sib. D/1R0.
the theme can also be traced back to the Middle Ages, to the letters of Jean de Montreuil and Nicolas de Clemanges, and to much of the Franc Gontier material. The substance of Saint-Saëns' criticisms, which are an elaboration of points made earlier in the Sejour d'Honneur, will also be familiar to anyone with a knowledge of Chartier's Curial, or indeed, of any of the many works in direct line of descent from it. Purely literary, these criticisms have little basis in the personal life of the author who was a most successful and highly favoured courtier. The poem is distinguished by its complete lack of originality.

An exchange of poems between Guillaume Cretin and François Robertet, in 1504, provides us with two more views on court life. Cretin, in his Epistre A Maistre François Robertet, in commenting upon the vagaries of fortune, and the fruitless culmination of a life of service, expresses his profound dissatisfaction with court life, and his intention of retiring from his post:

1) See above, pp.48 and pp.90-5.
2) See above, pp.248-99.
3) It is difficult, with the best will in the world, to find any traces of the "heureux détails, fruits de l'observation", of which Molinier, op.cit.,p.164, speaks so readily.
"Le monde court en court, et moult traverse. 
Où bien souvent aucuns ont vain crédit; 
Fortune y est qui s'y monstre adverse 
Et sçait trouver le vent pour vaincre edict. 
L'un a le bout, puis l'autre y ancre, et dit: 
'Ce cy va mal, cela n'est qu'un abuzz.' 
Tel en est que mains honneur y a beuz 
Qui tost pourra goutter bruyage amer: 
Le gout de court ne se doibt trop amer.

Or, à propoz de ceste court bragarde, 
Restraictes veuxx avant trois mois sonner. 
Car j'ay malheur qui se grant umbre agarde 
Qu'apres labeur ne puis bien moissonner. 
Je croy chascon quiert come moy sonner, 
Gaillard m'en vaiz à ce qu'ay de painson. 
Combien pourtant qu'en ma bourse ait poý son, 
Content me pars, sans plus longues demeures: 
Mais o'ost ainsi que regnard dit des meures."

Here again, the ideas expressed are familiar to us from much that was written on this theme in the Middle Ages, but Cretin, writing in the first person, is describing his own thwarted ambitions, and strikes a truer and more personal note, which imparts a poignancy so noticeably lacking in Saint-Gelais' Debat.

1) op. cit. p.251, w. 37-54.

2) The fact that this is written in the first person, does not of itself prove that Cretin is speaking of his own disappointments; Chartier's Curial is also written in the first person, but is purely literary, and has no relevance to his own condition. But, from the fact that Cretin did leave the court in 1504, probably to take up his post at the Sainte Chapelle at Vincennes, and from the Reply of Robertet, who accepts his friend's reasons for retiring, without further comment, this is extremely probable.
Robertet's reply\(^1\) confirms the criticisms made by his friend Cretin, but his mood is rather one of resigned, philosophical acceptance, than bitter disillusionment, at the ingratitude of the court, but since he is consoling, as well as approving, his friend for his decision to retire from active court service, this is perhaps not a completely unmodified statement of his views:

"Or, je lairray tout ce propoz-là court, Et viens à ce que tu m'as fait savoir; Que à chacun ne rit tousjours la court, Comme l'on peut partout là et ga voir. Si l'un en prent, l'autre en veult avoir; Chacun poursuyt, chacun quitert l'avantage; Mais le puy est quant il faut avant aage Le pris à tort tout soudain desmascher Sans gueres avoir losir de desmarcher.

Le sens si est comme tu mieulx l'entens: Humble et loyal se bien entretenir, Et cependant qu'on a bruit et le temps, Trouser son cas, laissant autre tenir Lieu après lui; car tousjours maintenir On ne se peult en dominacion. Non icelluy qui domina Sion Et le peuple, n'en fut pas tousjours maistre...

La retraicte de cour ou la demeure; L'un et l'autre puis choisir et escrire. Pas n'est discret qui tousjours là demeure; Au Curial Maistre Alain Chartier l'as peu lyre. Et davantage il n'est rien qui tant l'yre De Dieu provoque que d'en faire mestier; Car tel ou grange, qui n'est que mestier, Et tel souloit haultement triumpher Qui n'a luette ne diz pour triumpher.\(^2\)

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Some of the attacks on court life in this period crop up in the most unexpected places. Incongrous to the modern reader, are those which interrupt the narration of events in historical works or chronicles. Thus, in his Chroniques de Louis XII,¹) the author, Jean d'Auton, pauses to give his personal reflections on the uncertainties of court life—although these of course can have no documentary value at all, this being the stock literary cliché of the time—when introducing his account of the dismissal and subsequent disgrace in 1504, of Pierre de Rohan, Mareschal de Gyé:

"Je ne sçay que dire de la riant entrée de Madame La Court, du variable gouvernement d'icelle, de son entretienment doublieux, ne de sa perilleuse issue, si n'est que à paine y peult nul longue auctorité avoir, ne toujours y estre le bien-venu; car de sa commune maniere, à tel monstre huy bon visage, à qui demain tournera le dos, et l'acointance de ses aucteurs est de telle nature que nul n'y veust compaignon endurer ne per suffrir. Somme, c'est ung si dangereulx laborinthe que bien souvent les plus advisez s'y trouvent esgarez." ²)

The ideas expressed in the extract quoted above are the essence of all the Medieval attacks which we analysed in a (previous chapter).

²) op.cit. vol.III, ch.XXIV, 1504, p.329.
previous chapter, but particularly of the Curial.

Two more attacks on court life which continue the Medieval trend are to be found in the Opuscules Du Traverseur des Voes Perilleuses\(^1\), in other words, Jean Bouchet, both of which are written in the fast disappearing ballade form. In the first, Ballade Sur Ce Que L'Acteur N'a Esté Homme De Court, Bouchet rejoices that he has escaped this experience, and in emphasizing in the greater part of the poem the expense of court life, the unhappiness it brings, and the unexpected reverses of fortune, says nothing that has not already been said before, many times:

"Quant j'oy parler d'un Prince et de sa court
Et qu'on me dit, 'frequentez y, beau sire,
Lors je respones, 'mon argent est trop court.
Je y despendrois sans cause miel et cire,
Et qui de court l'alichement desire
Il n'est que ung fous, et fust ce Parceval:
Car on se veoit souvent (dont j'ay grant ire)
Tres bien monté, puis soubdain sans cheval.

Adverty suis que tout bien y a court,
Et que d'argent on y trouve à suffire,
Mais je say bien qu'il diffline et decourt,
Comme argent vif sur pierre de porphire,
Argent ne craint son maistre desconfire,
Mais s'esfouert aller par mont et val,
En le rendant, pour en deul le confire,
Tres bien monté, puis soubdain sans cheval.

Homme qui à l'entendement trop lourd
Rien ny vouldroit fors pour souffrir martire
Et qui l'esprit a trop gay, prompt, & gourd,
Y part son temps, malgré à luy se tire;
Esprit moyen chevance à luy retirer,
Mais le dangier est de ruer à val,
Car la court rend le mignon qu'elle atire
Tres bien monté, puis soubdain sans cheval.

Prince vray est, on ne m'en peut desdrire
Que la court sert ses gens de bien et mal
Et qu'elle rend homme sans contredire,
Tres bien monté, puis soubdain sans cheval.\(^1\)

The second attack, Autre Ballade Touchant Les Abuz de Court, is far more violent and declamatory in tone, and highly rhetorical in treatment. The court is seen as a minor hell, a preparation for the real thing, populated by the personified vices. The whole is extremely reminiscent, both in style and content, of many of the ballads written by Deschamps on the same subject:2

"Qu'esse de court? si non ung purgatoire?
Où l'on supporte ung nombre de torment;
De tous maleurs le parfait repertoire,
Et des enfers l'entier preparatoire
Carny de peine et de gemissements...

Ung hort bordeau souvent est l'oratoire
Langages faulx sont les nourrissements,
Envie tient illec son consistoire
Y dominant comme en son territoire;
Orgueil y fait les grans exaulemens
Et gourmandise y rend vomissemens;
Pauvrete met les gens au galata;
Babil met sus souvent de gens ung tas,
Lesquels apres experience ruz;
Desir d'avoir fait faire maints fatras;
Poul est celuy qui trop se y amuse.

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1) op. cit. Ballade no.XV. sig. hiii + 4 v° - 5 r°.
2) Especially Ballade CXIV and CXVIII. See above p. 228.
Guillaume de La Ferrière, a very little known poet of the period, contributes to the number of attacks on court life in this category, in his *Théâtre des Bons Engins*, which was completed and first published in 1531. In the first of two dizains on the subject, he stresses the dangers which court life holds for the innocent, the basically honest and those who do not conform to the standards of those around them:

"Simplicité, selon le temps qui court,
Est des meschans repute pour vice
Expressément entre flateurs de court,
Mis & plongez au gouffre de malice.
L'homme fort simple est repute pour nice."  

1) *op.cit.* Ballad XVI. sig. hiii + 5r.-v.

2) *Théâtre des Bons Engins*, Lyons, Macé Bonhomme, 1536. There were two subsequent editions of this work in 1539, in Paris, by Denis Janot, one of them printed on vellum (this is the one I have used), and one in 1554, Paris, E. Groulleau. There is a reference to this work, and to the *Morosophie*, in Colletet's *Discours de la Poésie Morale*, published as part of the *Art Poétique*, Paris, A. Sommaville, 1652, para. 37, p. 107. He says: "celles (les emblèmes) de Guillaume de La Ferrière, Tholosain, divisées en deux livres, l'un râdiclement intitulé Le Théâtre Des Bons Engins, et l'autre La Morosophie, ou folle sagesse, le tout par tetrastiches Latins, & quatrains françois." On La Ferrière see C. H. Dexter, *Guillaume de La Ferrière And His Poetic Works*, London University N.A., 1952.
Qui ne veult estre aujourd'huy cavilleux
Sera tenu, pauvre, meschant, poilleux;
Pour se vestir n'aura ne draps ne linges.
Qui suyt la court en ce temps perilleux,
est comme l'asne entre ung troppeau de cynges."1)

The second of the two poems underlines the sacrifice of personal liberty which a career at court entails, thus:-

"Homme qui a pour vivre a l'advantage,
Et suit la court pour gloire & vanité,
Semble au lyon qui se rend a servaige
Et d'ung fillet est en captivité;
Pour peu de cas est en perplexité.
Où il pourroit en liberté se mettre,
Il ayme mieulx estre vallet que maistre.
Combien qu'il veult tost rompre le fillet,
En liberté nature le fist mettre
Mais vain espoir l'arreste au lieu qu'il est."2)

Eustorg de Beaulieu is the author of a rondeau and huitain on court life3), but neither poem shows evidence of any attempt to rejuvenate the treatment of this theme. In the first he stresses particularly the physical discomfort experienced by the courtier, as both Deschamps and Chartier, among others, had done before:-

"Suyvre la Court est proffit & honneur
A plusieurs gens, Mais qui rense au labeur
Et paovreté que maint homme y endure,
Ne trouvera guere moindre aventure,
Vivre chez luy de sa peyne & sueur.

1) op.cit. XLIII.
2) op.cit. LVIII.
3) Eustorg de Beaulieu, Les Divers Rapports, Lyons, Pierre de Sainte Lucie, 1537. Only three copies of this first edition of the work are now extant, two in France, at the municipal libraries of Troyes and Versailles, and the third in the B.M., C.17986. There is one copy of the second edition, Paris, Alain Lotrain, 1540 still in existence, at the Munich State Library. A third edition was printed in Paris, Alain Lotrain, 1544. On Eustorg de Beaulieu see Helen Harvitt, Eustorg de Beaulieu, A Disciple of Marot, 1495-1552, Lancaster Press,
Que profite il destre appele Monsieur?
Et se morfonde a servir ung Seigneur
Duquel il fault par vent, gresle, et froidure
Suyre la Court.

Vous me direz, plusieurs y ont bon heure,
Ce qui est vray, mais aussi du malheur,
Sans mettre en compte hayne, envie et murmure,
Le faict recueill, & coucher sur la dure,
Puis tout croteux par pluye ou par chaleur
Suyre la Court."

The second poem, Huitain Du Train De La Court, is even more general:

"La Court courut, court, & courra,
Mais tel apres elle a couru,
Qu'en lieu d'en estre secouru,
En courant meachaf secourra.
Toutefois quand il recourra
Devers madame Flatterie,
(Pourveu qu'en sachant Flatterie)
Je croy qu'elle le secourra."

We have examined so far attacks on court life in general which continue, in substance and treatment, the Mediæval trend. Some writers go even further in this direction, for the resemblances between their works and those of the earlier period are not merely due to a process of natural evolution, not merely proof of filiation between them, but to close imitation of these earlier works.


1) op. cit. Le Second Rondeau: De Cœulx Qui Suyvent La Court, sig. Aii vo.

2) op. cit. sig. fiiij + 4r.
Thus, in his earliest attack on court life, in his work *Les Regnars Traversant* Les Perilleuses Voyes Des Folles Fiences Du Monde, written in 1500, and published two years later, Jean Bouchet, in a chapter entitled *Des Folz Esperans Es Cours Des Princes*, clearly imitates passages of the *Curial*, the French version— the text of which had only recently been twice published in editions of the complete works of Chartier's *De Vita Curiali*. For example, Bouchet, like Chartier, expresses surprise that anyone financially and otherwise independent, living comfortably with his family, should wish to exchange this state of happy security for one of subservience, evil and corruption:

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2) Bouchet, *op. cit.* ch. VI, cl. 61 r°.


4) As we have explained above, *loc. cit.*, the Latin version was not known at the time to be Chartier's work, and was never even published until 1724, in the *Amplissima Collectio* of Martène and Durand. Here it is wrongly attributed to the Italian humanist, Ambrostus de Milis, and this erroneous attribution was supported by Heuckencamp in his edition of the *Curial*, Halle, 1899.
"Je suis esbahi des fortunés hommes qui sont en liberté & vivent en paix avecques leur familles sans mengier le fructz d'aultru, comment ilz habandonnent ce seur estat pour escrire servitute mortelle & soy exposer à degloisir, envie, violence & corruption de vertus." 1)

This passage seems to have been suggested by two passages from the Curial, when Chartier, addressing his remarks to his brother, says:-

"Je m'esmervelle mault comment tu qui es prudent et saige, deviens sy forceuez de toy oser exposer à tant de perils." 2)

and, much later on, in the closing passage of the work:-

"O fortunez hommes qui vivez en paix, o beneuées familles où il a honnesté pouvreté qui se contente de raison sans mengier les fruiz d'autruy labeur!" 3)

This, by itself, however, is not enough to prove imitation; but there is more! For instance, when Bouchet tells us that men are lured to the court by its entrancing, wholly charming, aspect, only to discover, too late, its harsher side:-

"Sê petite esperance est à seigneurs, madre est celle de leurs cours, ainsi que te diront les curiaux... la court attirait frauduleusement les ambitieuses gens par faulxse promesses, & leur rit au commencement & par après les mort si cruellement qu'ilz voudroient ne l'avoir point congneue..." 4)

we find the original in these words of Chartier - whose device of personifying the court as a woman, endowed with

1) op. cit., de la misère des Courtois, sig. C i: 2) ed. cit., para. 5, 11.23-5. 3) op. cit., para. 21, 11.28-31. 4) ibid.
human attributes, Bouchet has copied in the extract above:

"La court alesche friandement ceulx qui y viennent en leur usant de fausses promesses. Le court rit au commencement à ceulx qui y entrent et puis leur rechigne par après, et aucunesfois les mort tres aigrement." 1)

Again, but for a slight difference in the order of the phrases, Bouchet's warnings of the hypocrisy, ill-will and envy, corruption and so on of court life, and the contempt in which virtue and virtuous living is held, as they appear in the following passage:

"Ceulx qui mieulx sçaivent dissimuler en court sont les plus prisez, ceulx qui estrivent aux envyes des curiaulx engendrent ennemis & adversaires, ceulx qui veulent user de vertus sont damoçqués, & pour en parler souverainement, à la verité, les abuz de court & la forme de vivre des curiaulx sont telz que jamais homme ny prouftite en biens temporelz s'il n'est corrompable & vicioz, car bonnes meurs y sont mesprisées & ravellées..." 2)

are lifted from the text of the Curial, as will be seen when the following extract is compared with the above:

"Soyes certain, ou que ta vertu t'y fera mocquier, ou que ta verité t'y fera hayr...Et se tu estrives à leur envie ou que tu y prennes vengeance, je te dy que ton vengement engendra plus aigres adversaires que paradvant. Et par le contraire ceulx qui scevent dissimuler sont prisez et temporisent es cours plus que aultrès gens. Les abus de court et la maniéré des gens curiaux sont telz que jamez homme ny est souffert

1) op. cit. p.25, para. 19-20, 11.9-12.
2) ibid.
Bouchet's final comment on court life in this chapter of the *Regnars Traversant*, concerns the instability of favour and fortune, and contains the essence of a much longer passage on the same theme to be found in the *Curial*, although here the imitation is less close:

"Et davantage fortune y est si tresmuable que ceulx qui sont rejettes elle fait soudainement remonter & ceulx qui sont audessus de sa role fait lourdement descendre à leur confusion."

The French text of Chartier's work has:

"A ceulx qu'fortune la variable a plus hautement eslevez ne reste plus si non cheoir de si hault si bas, pour ce qu'elle ne leur doibt plus rien, si non ruyne...à faire les grands tresbucher tend.elle volentiers ses laz, et les pauvres et les degetiez fait elle souvent haut monter en certainte incertaine et en reglée irregularité."

Thus, the resemblances observed in the two texts are far more than distant echoes here and there, which one strains to catch. For every statement by Bouchet in the passage we have analysed, and it is a continuous passage, not just a collection of likely sentences culled from hundreds of pages, for every one of these statements it is possible, as we have shown, to point to the original statement, expression, or figure of speech, in Chartier's work.

1) *op.cit.* pp.7-9, par.5-6, 11.15-16, 21-30. 2) *ibid.* 3) *op.cit.* p.9, 11.15-17, p.11, 11. 3-5.
Should any lingering doubts remain after this, as to Bouchet's indebtedness to Chartier in this matter, they are speedily dispelled by the knowledge that this is not an isolated example of its kind. For it can be proved that Bouchet drew upon the Curial again, at a much later date, for his attack on court life contained in the Panegyric du Chevalier Sans Reproche, published in 1527. 1)

Bouchet, in this chronicle of the life and career of Louis de La Tremoille, gives over a whole chapter to the elaboration of the theme of the dangers of court life. He recalls the interview between father and son, and the father's reaction to the boy's request to be sent to serve at court. In the manner of the Latin historians, this is conveyed in an exhaustive and eloquent, but purely imaginary discourse:

"La Cour est une humilité ambicieuse, une sobriété crasseuse, une chasteté lubrique, une modération furieuse, une contenance superstitieuse, une diligence nuisible, une amour enveuse, une familiarité contagieuse, une justice corrompue, une prudence forcemée, une habondance affamée, une hautesse misérable, un estat sans seureté, une doctrine de malice, un contemnemnt de vertuz, une exaltacion de vices, une mourante vie et une mort vivante, un ayse d'une heure, un malaise continuel, et chemin de dempnacion. C'est un lieu où l'on prend par force ou peine ce qui doit estre acquis par vertu." 2)

2) Panegyric du Chevalier Sans Reproche (in Nouvelle Collection de Mémoires Pour Servir à l'Histoire de France) éd. Michaud et Poujoulat, 1ère Série, t. IV, Paris, 1857, Ch. V.
That this eloquence was not La Tremoille's, nor even Bouchet's, is apparent when the speech is compared with the following extract from the Curial:

"Et se me demandes que c'est que vie curiale, je te respons, frere, que c'est une povre richesse, une habondance miserable, une hautesse qui chiet, ung estat non &table, une seureté tremblant et une morvieuve vie, et ainsi peut elle estre apellee de ceulx qui sont veritablement amoureux de sainete liberté." 1)

The only difference between the two passages is that Bouchet, in the manner of most enthusiastic disciples, has seized upon Chartier's elegant antithesis, tried to improve and expand it, and in so doing has abused the device 'à outrance'.

In this chapter Bouchet again sees fit to comment upon the vicissitudes of fortune experienced particularly by the courtier:

"Les plus hault eslevez sont en plus grand dangier que les bas assis, car fortune ne se rit fors du trebuchement des grans, et plus souvent exerce ses mutacions sur ceulx qui sont soubdain et sans grands merites montez, 2) que sur les petiz, dont elle ne tient compte...

a comment which can again be traced back to the Curial:

"Fortune fait voulentiers ses jeux es haulx degrez...et quant elle s'esbat avecques les petiz, ce n'est pas si à certes; car du meschief des pouvres gens ne fait elle que soy subrayre. Mais elle rit à plaine

1) op.cit. p. 23, para. 19, 11. 31-35.

2) ibid.
The device of personifying fortune, and endowing it with human attributes, for instance laughter, is noticeably common to both extracts.

During this early period Bouchet was not the only Rhetoriqueur to draw upon the Curial for the substance of his attacks on court life in general. Pierre Gringore does so to an even greater extent in a work, published in his Menus Propos, in 1521, which is no more, and no less, than an attempt to put Chartier’s work into verse. As if in acknowledgement of his source, Gringore has called his own attempt Le Curial.

Gringore’s Curial is a very little known work. In fact it is mentioned, to my knowledge, in only two critical studies. In Guy’s book on L’Ecole des Rhetoriqueurs, it occurs merely as a name in his enumeration of the contents.

1) op.cit. pp.9-11, para.7, 11.31-34, 1-3.

of the *Menus Propos*. In the only complete study published on Gringore, by M.C. Oulmont, the work is mentioned only cursorily. In his two references, however, the author denies that there are any but the most tenuous links between Chartier's and Gringore's works on court life. He dismisses the community of title as mere coincidence, and any further similarity in subject matter, as, at most, the continuation of a popular literary theme:

"Il est des œuvres ou des fragments d'œuvre où l'on ne saurait affirmer qu'il se soit servi d'un modèle: nous rangeons dans cette catégorie *Le Curial* des *Menus Propos*: ce titre même rappelle nécessairement l'ouvrage célèbre d'Alain Chartier et quelques traités sur ce sujet écrits au XV et au début du XVIe siècle; mais *L'Abus Én Court*, *le Doctrinal de Court*, de Pierre Michault, sont tout aussi proches que *Le Curial* de la pièce de Gringore sur le rôle du Courtisan."  

That the ideas expressed in Gringore's *Curial* are literary commonplaces - and had been so for over a century, nobody will deny. But this does not automatically rule out the possibility of an even closer relationship existing between the *Curial* - the fifteenth

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1) *op.cit.* para. 578.
3) *ibid.* "Quant au titre (*D'Abus du Monde*) il est, comme celui du *Curial*, assez usuel à cette époque."
4) *ibid.*
century French translation of Chartier's *De Vita Curiali*, and the sixteenth century work of the same name, by Gringore. In fact, Gringore's work is pure reproduction - in verse - of the earlier *Curial*. Not only does Gringore - who, so far as is known, had no personal knowledge of court life - express exactly the same views on court life - throughout the entire length of his poem, and without once departing from the order in which these are presented in Chartier's work - but he expresses them in identical terms, with identical images and metaphors. What is more, the same illustrative anecdotes are found in both works. In such circumstances, we feel, it is surely legitimate to speak of imitation.

The most satisfactory way of proving the full extent of Gringore's indebtedness to Chartier would be to give the full text of Gringore's work side by side with the text of Chartier's work. But for reasons of space this is not possible here. However, a selection of continuous verse, taken from the beginning, middle and end of Gringore's work, where they answer exactly to the corresponding portion of the *Curial*, should suffice. Thus, early in his poem Gringore repeats what Chartier had said about corrupt courtiers:
"Les nobles cours des princes desgarnies
Ne sont jamais de diverses mesgnies.
Ungs sont flateurs bien d’autruy empechans
Et deceptifz bouches ont aplanyes
Et beau parier non de raison munies
Mais blandissant par delitz allechans
Se ont fait plaisir ilz le sont reprochans
Du corrompus par dons & par promesse.
Envie en court domyne & est maistresse."

Later, he agrees with Chartier that all one's thoughts and actions, likes and dislikes, are regulated by those of the court:

"Qui sert en court laisse pour le jour
Les propres murs pour complaire à
Ce qui peu vaut il l'honore & le prise
S'il ayme honneur, deshonneur vient vers luy;
Se est patient, souffreté a pour appuy;
Le veritable on tempe de faintise
Et s'il ne veult faire quelque entreprise
De demander il sera souffretaes."

"La court...fait à
homme delaisser ses
propres murs pour
soy mouler à ceux
d'autruy. Car s'il
est veritable, on le tiendra aux
escoles de faintise.
S'il ayme vie honeste, on l'apprêterà dissimuler
oeuvres deshonnecestes.
S'il est pacient et
non challant d'avoir
prouffiz, il sera
laissé avoir souffreté; car s'il ne
scet ou ne veult
riens demander, aussi ne trouvera il qui riens luy donne."

1) Gringore, *op.cit.* sig. bii v° - bii r°; Chartier, *op.cit.* p.7
"Se coustume as de menger sombrement, comsomberment,
Ton train fauldra changer totalement
Et délaisser ta manière de vivre.
Qui veult repos, peine aura largement,
Et qui est clere en voulant prudemment
Estudier ou lire en quelque livre,
Oyseux sera attendant que on luy livre
Le cabinet du Prince ou l'huys ouvert;
Le temps perdu n'est jamais recouvert."

"S'il a acoutumé de menger sobrement et à droicte heure, il
disnera tart et soupperà en telle faczon,
qu'il desacoutumera son temps et sa manière de vivre. À il
acoustumé de lire et d'estudier és livres
il musera oyseux toute l'adjournée en attendant qu'on luy œuvre
l'huys du restraict du Prince." 1)

Finally, Gringore's concluding remarks on court life are
identical to those of Chartier:

"Communément la salle souveraine
Des princes est mal sentant par l'allaine
De gens que on veoit en ce lieu pourmener.
Aувunefois on y entre à grant peine;
L'huysier y est qui a la main soudaine
Pour de sa verge aucuns lourds coups donner.
Si on te veult la salle habondonner
Pour y entrer ainsi que à ton demeure,
Pense que court se change aheure en heure.

"La salle d'ung grant prince est communément infaicte et reschaufée de l'alaine des gens, l'uisier y donne de sa verge sur les testes de ceulx qui y sont, les uns y entrent par force de bouter et les autres estrivent à y resister.

1) Gringore, op.cit. sig. biv + 1°, stanzas 23 & 24; for 'sobrement'?
Chartier, op.cit. p. 11, para, 9, 11. 21-33.
"Qu'es que court for ung couvent de gens
Qui se assembler sont promptz & dili-gens
Tresdesirans tromper l'ung l'autre en somme?
Les ungs par estre audacieux ou gentz
Autres donmans or, bagues & argens.
Il y en a qui n'ont repos ne sommes
Mais sont veillans pour decevoir les hommes:

On n'y acquiert loyal ne vray amy
A trompeur fault trompeur & demy.

Je te adverть que curialle vie
Est povreté sans richessee assouvy,
Une hauteesse & seureté tremblant
Une fierté, ung despie pleine d'envie."

"Le court... est ung cou-
vent de gens qui soubb fautise du bien
commun se assemblent
pour s'entretromper;
car il n'y a gueres de gens qui ne vendent
achaptent ou eschant-
gent aucunesfoiz leurs
rentes ou propres vest-
temens. Car entre nous
de la court sommes
marchans affaictiez
qui achatons les autre
gens et autrefoiz pour
leur argent leur ven-
dons nostre humanité...
Et se me demandes que
c'est curialle vie, je
te respons frere, que
c'est ung povre riches-
se, une habondance
miserable, une haute-
se qui chiet, ung
estat non stable, une
seureté tremblant..."

As for common expressions and figures of speech in the
two works, we can mention the use of the term 'vivoter' as
here:

"Servans de court ne font que vivoter
Soubz le vouloir d'autruy..."

"Entre nous serviteurs
de court ne faisons
que vivoter à l'or-
donnance d'autruy." 2)

At the very beginning of both works we find the metaphor of
the ship leaving a safe haven for the turbulent waters of
the open sea used to describe the abandonment of private
life for public life:

1) Gringore, op.cit. sig. biii 12 r°, stanzas 35, 36, 37;
Chartier, op.cit. p.21-3, para 17-6.
2) Gringore, op.cit. sig. biv 2 r°, stanza 25; Chartier, op.cit. p.13, X
"Celluy est fol & plein d'outrecuire
dance
Qui veult saillir du havre d'asseur-
ance
Pour soy noyer & plonger dans la mer."

Personification is an extended form of metaphor, and in both
works the court is vividly and visually portrayed as a tart:

"La court attrait simples gens sans
douter,
Et prend plaisir soy faire convoiter.
Ainsi que fait la putain ou ribaulde
Qui est parée esperant de troter
Deça, delà, pour humains rassoter,
En gestant ris & faisant chiere baulde..."

Similarly, fortune is personified and seen clapping her hands
in jubilation over the downfall of her victims:

"Des plus grans que je puis dire
Que à gueulle bée en rit, ses
paulmes bat."

Finally, in common with Chartier Gringore gives a list of
famous men of antiquity who retired from public life in
favour of a quiet simple existence; in both works the list
is the same and includes Aristotle, Diogenes, Pythagoras
and Horace. 4)

1) Gringore, _op.cit._ sig. b v° Stanza 3; Chartier, _op.cit._ p. 5, II.
2) Gringore, _op.cit._ sig. biv° Stanza 38; Chartier, _op.cit._ p. 25, XIX.
3) Gringore, _op.cit._ sig. biv° Stanza 22; Chartier, p. 11, VII.
The Curial was not the only work to be plundered by the Rhetoriqueurs in their attacks on court life. Piccolomini's De Curalium Misertiis Epistola, rated inferior to the Curial by Jean Le Maire De Belges, also brought grist to their mill.

The first sixteenth century writer on court life to imitate Piccolomini's letter was Jean L'Espine Du Pont-Aleis, in 1530, in his book Les Contredictz de Songecreux. The subject of this book is a deliberation as to the most suitable career for a boy to embark upon. This allows the author to pass in review every section of every class of

1) See above, p. 177.

2) Les Contredictz De Songecreux, Paris, Galliot Du Pré, 1530. The work is attributed to Joan du Pontalais, since his stage name was Songecreux. Cf. A. Du Saix, L'esperon de Discipline, 1532 Preface, sig. C: "A plus se contrefaire que maistre Jean du Pont a Lez au gnial, autrement Songecreux pour badiner en ses farses & comedies."

society, in the tradition of such works as the Narrenschiff, the Regnars Traversant, Le Livre de La Grant Dyablerie, Les Folles Entreprises, and Les Abus Du Monde. This he does with obvious satirical intent. The third part of the work, which is a mixture of prose and verse, is called De L'Estat De Court.

The author of the Contredictz quite readily acknowledges his debt to Piccolomini on at least two occasions, once in the general Prologue:

"En cherchant comme ay dit devant,
Tout par tout avec fantaisie,
Je trouvay ung ouvrage grant
Qu'avait fait Enee Silvie.
Parlant de la grant peine infinie
Que gens de court ont tost et tard:
De cestuy-la je prins ma part." 1

and later in the preamble to the section on court life itself:

"Je vous respons comme Aneas Sylvie
Qui connoissoit trésoast les cuer mondains..
Et respondoit comme tous courtisans,
Noz serviteurs sont de malheur tout pleins." 2

What is the extent of this imitation? First, it seems quite clear that the dialogue form of the Contredictz, in which one speaker, L'Ung, begins each section with an encomium of his subject and is followed by a second speaker, L'Autre, who refutes in detail his arguments — with an

1) op.cit. fo. III r°.
2) op.cit. fo. CXXXI r°.
occasional interruption from L'Acteur, who effects the transition from one part of the argument to another, or adds his voice to that of L'Autre, is an adaptation of Piccolomini's method in the De Curialium Misericia. Here every argument that has ever been mustered in favour of court life, in praise of it, is put forward by the author and then systematically demolished by him.

As for the plan of contents, here again there are similarities between the two works. All the episodes and descriptive passages of Piccolomini's letter are incorporated by Jean Du Pont-Alais into his account of court life with only slight alteration of the order in which they occur in the earlier work. Both begin with a defensive statement that they are in no way to be held responsible, because of the revelations contained in their works, for a drift of men away from the courts. Both agree though that there are so many fools in existence that this is never likely to happen. This is followed by a statement of the motives which send people to court:

"Premièrement jamais en court ne viennent,
Sinon pour fin: ou que vers eux retiennent,
Honneur & los, ou puissance ou noblesse,"

1) For an account of this work see above p.5-67 Huten, in his Misaules, 1518, had already adapted part of the substance of Piccolomini's work to the dialogue form, so that there was already a precedent for Pont-Alais. Gabriel Chappius, later in the century in his Misaules, 1585 also adapted the work as a dialogue.
Ou par plaisir ou que joye ilz maintiennent; 
Ou par avoir amasser richesse." 1)

The only substantial difference in the plan of the two works is that, whereas Piccolomini next deals with each of these motives in turn, and subdivides his work accordingly under the headings they suggest, Jean Du Pont-Alais deals with the dangers and discomforts of court life in a lengthy preamble, taking anecdotes and descriptions - for instance, the meal at court and the courtier on a military campaign - from within Piccolomini's various sections, and does not himself subdivide under the headings, honour, power, riches, pleasures (dependent upon the senses of sight, hearing, touch, taste etc.) until much later in his work, and consequently these sections, without the illustrative material, appear considerably reduced. 2) Both writers round off their treatises with a discussion on the duties of a king, but whereas Piccolomini refers to the Emperor Frederick, Du Pont-Alais speaks of "Le noble roy Loyas."

It is difficult to analyse fully the substance of Pont-Alais' remarks on court life, since this would mean repeating, almost word for word, the account we gave earlier of the De

1) op.cit.fo. CXXXII. Cf. Piccolomini, op.cit. p.27,V. "Mini videntur omnes qui regum uel principum latares aut honores quaerere famamque saeculi aut potentiam aut diuitias aut voluptates."

2) The section on honour begins at fo. CLIV, but the attack on court life starts on fo. CXXVIII.
Curialium Misericors, so close are the two works. Nevertheless, here is one passage which shows his preoccupation with the courtier’s lack of integrity, with the corresponding passage of the Neo-Latin text for comparison:

"Obeyr fault à tous, ou ce n'est rien. "Oportet in curiis communicer te fault pour ton maintien. Avecceux ceuld qui sont en ta maison. Avec les fauix tu fasas trahison,.... Avec joueurs vivras joyeusement, Avec les vieilx parliers de raison, Avec nouveaulx tu sera compaignon, Avec ribaulx te tiendras ordement, Avec hardys te hardy proprement, Tu te feras. Se tu fais autrement, L'en te tiendra comme une beste mue."

Passing from the moral to the physical condition of the courtier, he appears equally concerned with the appalling squalor which surrounds him. Here is his description of the liquid refreshment served to courtiers, and the manner of its dispensation:

"Le vin que l'en sert par expres, Il n'y a celluy tant soit sage, Que s'il en boit qu'il en enrage; Vin puant, aigre et aquatique, Tout froide, tout chault, tout lunatique, Tout corrompu, les vers dedans; Pour seulement le mettre aux dens Ilz en cherront hors de la bouche. De la cervoise je n'y touche.... On les fait boyre simplement,

1) op.cit. fo.138; Piccolomini, op.cit. p.52, para 28.
En hanaps de boys ou de terre,...
Tant grâs, tant infame, tant ord,
Tout plein de morveau par le bort
Plus oingt, que hanap à meseau
Quatre fois, puis on le fait beau
Après qu'on a pisse dedans,
Chasun l'escure de ses dents,
Mais devant que nul le rebaille,
Quelque taigneux tout plein descaillle,
Ou quelques bavaceux pourry,
Si en aura le bord honny
Et pour honneur beura devant
Et en plusieurs lieux...
Chasun boit à mesmes le pot. "1"

which can be usefully compared with the similar passage from the Piccolomini quoted above. 2

The final example, in this early period, of an attack on court life, based on Piccolomini's letter, is to be found in the second Epistre 3) of the second part of Jean Bouchet's Epistres Morales Et Familieres Du Traverseur, 4)

Although not published until 1545, many of these letters were written much earlier, some before 1530 even. 5)

1) op.cit. fo. 139v².
2) See above, pp. 42-3.
3) "La Seconde Epistre est aux Serviteurs des Empereurs, Roys & Princes, & autres gens de court, Où il est traité de l'honneur de La Court, des miseres & dangers d'icelle, & de ce que les gens de court doivent faire pour leur proffit & honneur." fo. 9 v².
4) Epistres Morales Et Familieres Du Traverseur, Poitiers, Jacques Bouchet and Jean de Marnef, 1545.
5) For this particular letter Hamon, op.cit.p.12, tentatively suggests sometime after 1530. This may very well be the case; it is even possible that Bouchet was influenced by Jean Du Pont's use of the De Curialium Miseris, in 1530, in his own anti-court writings in the Contradictz de Songecreux.
Commenting upon Bouchet's description of the harsh realities of court life, Hamon says:

"Pauvre Bouchet! faut-il voir dans ces détails si précis et d'un réalisme si brutal, des souvenirs personnels? Le tableau est poussé au noir, j'ai peine à croire pourtant qu'il n'ait pas été pris sur le vif." ¹)

Nothing, in actual fact, could be further from the truth in this instance, as we shall see. There is one occasion on which Bouchet departs from the text of his model, not to add words of his own on the indignities of court life though, but to administer a sharp rebuke to the ruling classes of his day for their oppression of the poor, ²) which is quite another subject. For the greater part of his letter Bouchet confines himself solely to the theme treated by Piccolomini, confines himself also to Piccolomini's treatment of this theme.

Bouchet, in his letter, follows the plan of Piccolomini's much more closely than did Pontalais in the Contrediction. Here there is no redistribution of anecdotes and illustrative material, and the subdivision under the various headings begins, as it does in the neo-Latin work, the attack proper, on court life.

Again the method of attack is the same, starting with the build up of the advantages and pleasures of court life, to give a wholly delightful impression:

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¹) op. cit. p. 13
²) See below p. 386.
"Il est bien vray qu'on veolt on ces grans cours
Joustes, tournois, danses, & maints bons tours,
Esbatemens, dames & damoiselles
Couvertes d'or, gantes, mignonnes, belles,
Gens triumphans en habitz & chevaulx,
Levriers & chiens, chasser par montz & vaulx,
Harmon lesusans, & triumphantes bardes,
Ruer coursiers, faire les grands penades,
Ambassadeurs, gens peritz en tous arts,
Gens eloquens venans de toutes pars,
Vins precieux, delicats viandes,
Et gens usant de paroles friandes,
Orné langage, escolle de maintien,
Honestete gratieux entretien,
Et toute chose à la veue plaisante." 1)

although from the above extract, which contains the
substance of all Piccolomini's remarks in all five
sections devoted to the sensuous pleasures, it can be seen
that Bouchet, in his imitation, has pruned his model
extensively, but nonetheless intelligently; the result
being less of a detailed inventory than an impressionist
vision, to which the poet's quick fire enumerations lend
an added sense of the breathless activity and bustle of
the court. But the poet is quick to show us the reverse of
the medal; to illusion is opposed reality:

"Vous sçavez bien messieurs de court, comment
Estes traitez? & comme il fault qu'on vive,...
Vous y verrez tant de gens mal repeuz
Qui des morceaux tant frians qu'ilz ont veuz
N'en auront fors l'odeur de la fumée,
Et n'y verrez une heure accoustumée
Pour les repas, l'un matin, l'autre tard,
... Touchant le boire, on boit à tous vaisseaux
Avec galleux, napleux, rongneulx, mezeaux,
Et sans laver le verre ne la tasse...

1) op.cit. fo. 10 r°.
Vous n'y verrez jamais la nappe blanche
Fors en huyt jours une foiz le dimanche,
Et des logis, on n'en a pas qui veult;
Du Mareschal des logis on se deult
A tous propos, & les petis se logent
Desous la dure, ou patience forgent,
Et s'il y a par grand Fortune ung lict
Ce ne sera pour y prendre delict,
Il sera dur, noir, vilain, & rebelle
Et les lindeux paincts de sang & gratelle
Où un napieux, ou ladre aura couche,
Ou d'autre mal contagieux touchez,
Dont il advient bien souvent mort subite,
Mieux il vaudroit coucher en aultre giste.1)

In this description however, his adaptation of Piccolomini's criticisms is not so successful; instead of condensing their substance he has diluted them to a quarter of the strength and force they have in the original, rendering them quite anodyne. 2)

By their imitation of this Neo-Latin work, itself inspired largely by works of Lucian and Juvenal, both Du Pont alais - whose quotations from, and allusions to, Juvenal, might otherwise have seemed surprising, since his satires were not directly or well known in France during this early period, 3) both Du Pont alais and Jean Bouchet are the first to make use of, although indirectly, the inspiration of the classical writers in the anti-courtier trend in sixteenth century French literature.

1) op.cit. fo. 10r2).

2) Compare the above extract with the corresponding passages in Piccolomini p.43-4,XX; p.45,XXI; p.45-6,XXII-XXIV; p.56, XXXIII; see above pp. 35-67.

3) On the influence of Juvenal on French satirists of the sixteenth century see above, chapter I, pp.14-23.
Finally, it remains for us to consider attacks on court life of this early period, inspired by personal knowledge and direct observation. Attacks in this category are rare so far. The only one of which I have knowledge is to be found in the magnum opus of Antoine Du Saix, *L'Esperon de Discipline*, published in 1532.1)

The second part of this work is a treatise on the education and up-bringing most suitable for young children, during the course of which the point is raised as to whether it is advisable to send children to court to complete their education and training for life.2) Such was the accepted practice of earlier years, Du Saix agrees, and it was a workable one. But, and the author is firm on this point, nowadays, one should keep one's children as far away from court society, which propagates corruption and vice, as possible:

"Une fois fut, qui n'est plus la saison, Que les enfants de noble & grand' maison Estoyent heureux pour estre bons & sages; Qui les pouvoit à la cour mettre pages... Là des vertus ilz alloient à l'eschelle..."


2) *op. cit.* (1532) sig. Hiiij*Ey*; "Si l'on doit envoyer enfants à la cour des Princes, ou à la suyte des Prelats."
Mais aujourd'hui ce n'est que mocquerie
Il vaudroit mieulx qu'il fussent charretiers
L'on apprend à estre corretiers
Et macquignons de folles amourettes;
Les guignardeurs petitz fleuremurettes."1)

and he goes on to speak of other disagreeable features of
court life, in particular,

"L'idolâtrie, & la ceremonie
Le grand babil, dont la cour est munie,
La joncherie, & le ris espaullier
Dissimuler, faire le bon gallier.
Les faulx semblants masquez d'hypocrisie,
Le dol couvert, la douce punaisie,
Visages peints, & sourcilz parfumez,
Et les fins tourges vieilx regnards fumes."2)

It is interesting to compare this description of the court
with those we examined earlier, whose authors merely
continue the technique of Medieval writers, for whom
direct criticism, and that of an abstract kind, was the
sole weapon with which to combat existing abuses. For here,
Du Saix, on the contrary, has tried to convey an abstract
moral notion, or rather an atmosphere, of deceit and
duplicity, cynicism and decadence, with a few well-chosen
visual details. The phrase 'le ris espaullier' is a verbal
felicity inspired by acute observation, and combines
economy of expression with a wealth of suggestion. Such
power of evocation is rare in this early period, and one
could be forgiven for thinking that it came from the pen of
an established satirist like Du Bellay; in its context it is

1) op.cit. sig. Miijj * 2 r°v.
2) op.cit. sig. Miijj * 3r°.
as revealing of the character of the French courtier as
Du Bellay's "grave soubriz" and "longue reverence" of the
Italian courtier and cardinal in the Regrets. Similarly
evocative, although to a lesser degree perhaps, is the
reference to

"Visaiges paincts, & sourcilz perfumez",
which contributes to the impression of court society, in
this case to its effeminacy and decadence.

In the attacks on court life in general which we have
considered, the part played by literary influences - manifest
in the number of works which have inherited much, or all,
of their form and content, - is predominant. Rare is the
attack which, because it is based upon close knowledge of
existing conditions, is a valuable indication of social
and moral change.

By contrast, the attacks which relate more specifically
to the courtier and his profession in this same period, are
very much less dependent upon literary influences, and throw
much light upon changing social attitudes, manners and
conditions. This is true of all attacks on courtiers except
those in which the chief accusation is of flattery and

1) Les Regrets, Sonnet LXXXVI, v.2; Sonnet CXIX, v.3.
"Et d'un grave soubriz à chacun faire feste"; p.118.
"Leurs mules, leurs habitz, leur longue reverence." p.147
hypocrisy - shortcomings traditionally and proverbially associated with this profession.

The accusation of flattery made against courtiers is the most constant and persistent of all, in this early period. The Rhetoriqueurs of the sixteenth century applied themselves only too willingly in their verses - and in this they were scrupulously faithful to the traditions of their predecessors in the fifteenth century - to the correction of just such moral failings, and to issuing warnings against them.

Jean Bouchet shows his preoccupation with the vice of flattery in the earliest of his works, Les Regnars Traversans. He is particularly concerned, however, not with rank and file courtiers who indulge in sycophancy, but with flatterers in high office at court, members of the King's council, who abuse their position for their own ends. These he refers to as "Martyrs du dyable" since, acting against their honour and their conscience, they suffer many tribulations:

"Je appelle celles gens les martyrs du dyable. Car comme les sainctz martirs ont gaigné paradis par diverses tribulations ainsi que fit sainct Paoul, semblablement les flateurs de court gaignent enfer par divers labours & sont martyrs en ce monde car ilz veillent nuit & jour en perils, comme en peril d'estre tuez, en peril d'estre noiez & en peril des envieux, & en plusieurs autres grands dangiers. Et apres toutes leurs misereres...s'en vont en enfer. Flateurs sont causes de toutes les subsides que les Princes ont fait & font en leurs royaumes car le
"prince qui cuide avoir bon seuu conseil & par l'opinion duquel selon Dieu se doit gouverner aura cinq ou six flateurs de maulvaise conscience lesquelz pour optemperer à ce qu'il desire, le conseilleront mettre nouveaux impostz & trouveront moyen de subtillement piller & menger le peuple outre sa faculté & le prince qui a affaire d'argent cuide bien estre conseillé à que la chose soit raisonnable. Parquoy leur donne auctorité de mettre leurs opinions à execution, & par ce moyen est le peuple foule & opprime."

Apart from such social and political condemnation of the influence of flatterers, in which the author's sympathies are clearly with their ultimate victims, Bouchet also examines in this work the actual processes of flattery:

"Et cesux qui mieulx le sçavent faire sont les premiers avancez. Le flateur mort en absence de partie, & en presence esmeut les parolles de sa bouche soubz tromperie & deception. Et si ne dit rien qui tourne au desplaisir du Prince ou du seigneur. Si le seigneur dit, 'j'ay grant chault', il dira, 'je sue'. Si rit, il rit, si pleure, il pleure, s'il afferme, il jure qu'il est vray. S'il nye aussi faict-il."

The last three sentences of this passage are clearly borrowed from Terence's Eunuchus. But their adoption may not have been spontaneous. Since Bouchet, in the Regnars Traversant, takes his idea of

1) op.cit. Des Martirs du Dyable, sig. Ciij + 3 v°
2) op.cit. Des Flateurs de Court qui sont au conseil du Prince, ibid.
3) For the relevant passage of the Latin comedy see above, ch.I, p.6.
a systematic critical survey of society from Brandt’s Narrenschiff, (the title Les Regnars Traversant, being suggested by another work of Brandt, Alopekiomachia, Seu de Spectaculo Conflictuque Vulpium) a work which he knew well - even to the point of undertaking to translate it into French, and since Brandt himself quoted those verses of Terence Juvenal in a section of his work devoted to flatterers, it is surely not unreasonable to assume that it was this which prompted Bouchet’s use of a literary reminiscence.

The next attack on flatterers in this period is to be found in a very obscure little book called Le Gouvernement Des Trois Estatz Du Temps Qui Court, by Pierre de La Vacherie, himself as obscure as his book.  From the title, it is

3) Brandt, La Grand Nef Des Folz Du Monde, Lyon; Fr. Juste, Fo.
4) Nothing is known of Pierre de La Vacherie. He is mentioned by none of the old bibliographers. Guy does not include him in his study of L’Ecole Des Rhétoriqueurs. Brunet mentions an edition of this work: Le Gouvernement Des Trois Estatz Du Temps Qui Court. — Cy finit ce petit livre des trois estatz du temps qui court, imprimé à Paris par Jehan Trepperel, libraire & imprimeur demeurant en la rue neufve nostre dame à l’enseigne de l’escu de France, s.d. (v.1510). Montaiglon and Rothschild, who reproduce the text of this work, op.cit. vol.XII, p.53, suggest that the work was composed between 1505 and 1512, but, like Brunet, they opine towards 1510.
immediately obvious that the author intends, in the time-honoured fashion of the Rhetoriqueurs, to divide contemporary society into three rigid classes, De L'Eglise, De La Noblesse, Des Gens Pratiques, before stating the obvious shortcomings of each in turn. It is the second of these three sections that we learn of the author's concern at the increasing numbers and power of flatterers in present day society:

"Je connois et voy aujourd'hui,
Aux maisons qui ont le grand cours,
Qu'ung flateur aura plus d'appuy
Que nul autre et plus de recours,
Car le maistre luy fait secours.
Ese pas beau train de noblesse?
Cela regne á present á ses cours,
Qui fait á maint loyal oppresse...

Flateurs ont á present le bruyt
De gouverner toutes maisons,
Car les gens de bien sont en ruyt
Et ne sont pas en leurs saisons,
Car ilz n'ont pas les achoisons
Pour a savoir leur maistre tromper;
Ce sont toutes bonnes raisons;
Bien fait qui s'en peut depporter."

Attacks on flatterers proliferate in the many compositions of Bouchet. In 1516, in his Temple de Bonne Renommée, he returns to the charge, and foresees dire consequences if the activities of such people are not severely curtailed, or indeed, entirely suppressed:

1) op. cit. pp.73-4, 11.444-51, 468-75.

There are at least two more Paris editions, both undated, one "à L'Enseigne de L'Eau de France", and the other, which is the one I have used, "à l'enseigne de la rose blanche couronnée." 1520.
aujourd'hui flateurs ont grands suppôrs;
Je entons flateurs qui en court temporelsent,
Louvans le mal & blasmans le bien fait,
Et les seigneurs trop souvient favorisent
En leurs pechez, voire les auctorisent
A leur pouvoir en publique mesfait.
Par telz mignons, gens de bien on desfait;
Par telz conseilles subiectz on opprime;
Tout yra mal si l'on ne les supprime."

Two further poems, in his Opuscules, are given over to this menace. Le Chappelet Des Princes, contains two rondeaux which urge the prince not to listen to flatterers - Le Prince Ne Doit Ouyr Flateurs\(^1\), and Le Prince Ne Doit Croire De Legier\(^3\), the first of which we shall quote:

"Gardez-vous en roys et dominateurs,
Du myel amer d'un grant tas de flateurs
Qui vont louans vos erreurs et abuz.
Quant ils voyz ont de ceste gloire embuz
En euxx croles plus que es predicateurs.

Vous eslevez plustost ces foulz menteurs
Que gens prudens, car ilz sont inventeurs
De voz plaisirs, dont avez maints abuz
Gardez-vous en.

Ce sont jouhours, boutefeux, rapporteurs,
Langars, jaseurs, affectez detracteurs
Qui bien souvient tant eschauffent phebus,
Qu'il meet a sec les prez et champs herbus;
Traistres ilz sont et mortelz profiteurs.\(^4\)

This was also a favourite theme of Roger de Collerye\(^5\),

\(^1\) op.cit. fo. xv v° - xvi r°.
\(^2\) op.cit. sig. Ell' Rondeau XL.
\(^3\) op.cit. sig. GII Rondeau XLVII.
\(^4\) loc.cit.
and we find in his poems three which deal with the subject, in much the same way as Bouchet did in the rondeau we have just quoted. Two of these are again rondeaux:

"Au temps qui court, Flagorneux, bavereaulx,
Adulateurs, Rapporteurs, Macquereaulx,
Vers les seigneurs sont les tresbien venus,
Posé qu'ilz soient de toute honte nudz
Et plus infectz que ladres & mezeaulx:
Jeunes coquars, Mariollez cuydereaulx,
Jongleurs, Joncheurs, Detracteurs, Flateraulx
Sont eslevez & bien entretenuz
Au temps qui court.

Moqueurs, dresseaulx, Abuseurs, trompereaulx
Diffamateurs, avenceurs, ventereaulx,
Ont vent à gré, tant les gros que menuz;
Mais ceux qui sont vertueaulx bien congnuz,
Moins estimez seront que vielz houzeaulx
Au temps qui court." 1)

Much more effective satirically is the second rondeau, in which the flatterer himself explains in a little jingle how to be successful:

"Pour bien jouer du Placebo,
Pour flater & mentir aussi,
Pour rapporter cala cecy,
Tousjours en grace manebo;
Qui biens veult aovit docebo
Qu'il est besoin de faire ainsi
Pour bien jouer.

En usant de tacebo,
Contre droit & raison dixi
Que vertu nunquam dilexi,
Mais Mon coeur de mal replebo,
Pour bien jouer." 2)

His third poem against flatterers, much more violent in

1) Ed. d'Héricault, XXV, p. 195.       2) op. cit. XXXVI, p. 199-200.
tone than the preceding ones, is written, in ballad form, in the queer jargon sometimes favoured by lesser Rhetoriqueurs:

"Pour succomber le train imbecial
Qui court en court, de flatteurs impudiques
Prémeditant d'ung sens trop bestial
Villipender bons servans domestiques,
Tympaniser par oriz haux & publiques:
Et organer d'un chant vil, sans accord
Convient leurs noms; par moyens ébloques
De raporteurs vient tout mal & discord.
Remembrant mon dict primicial
Tous gens flatteurs sont gens dyaboliques.
Les infernaux, au puytz inferial
Puissent brancher ces sectes aspidiques.
En faux semblant blastes & basiliques,
Gazophilant, détractent gens à tort,
Je les maintiens pour beffleurs repudiques:
De raporteurs vient tout mal & discord.

Besoing seroit, par cry imperial,
De margouller sans appel ou repliques
Telz seducteurs, serviteurs de Belial,
Et les coucher en romans & croniques,
En emulant leurs esmes impistiques.
Improperant, n'espargent droit ne tort;
J'entens assez leurs moyens drachoniques: I)
De raporteurs vient tout mal & discord."

Another warning against the activities of flatterers is given in a huitain by Antoine Du Saix in his Petitz Fatras D'Ung Apprentis, Surnommé L'Esperonnier de Discipline, in 1536. 2) The title of the poem Les Portiers Sont Plus Necessaires Aux Oreilles Que A La Porte, gives an adequate idea of the contents, and treatment:


"Ung grand seigneur faict coucher durement
Des gens au guet, qui veillent à sa porte.
Mais pour dormir beaucou plus seurement,
Se doibt garder du flateur, qui rapporte,
Car faulx semblant le desguise & transporte,
Et ne dit rien, qui soit vray & entier.
Doncques affin que mal on g'en supporte,
Mieux vaulx qu'à l'huys, à l'oreille ung portier."¹)

Guillaume de La Perrière includes in his \textit{Theatre des Bons Engins} four dizains against flatterers. One of these simply describes the procedure of most flatterers, thus:

"Flateurs de court tiennent la pasté aux mains,
A tous venant faisant des serviables:
Jusques à tant que par tours inhumains,
Auront saoulée leurs cœurs insaciables.
Pour se montrer envers tous amiables,
Ont grand babil avecques peu d'effaict:
Marveille n'est si leur cœur contrefait,
He maintes gens reculez en arrière:
Car tousjours ont par leur vouloir infaict
Langue devant & le cœur en arrière."²)

but the remaining poems are distinguished by the author's use of analogies. For instance, a sinister note is introduced into the author's warning when he compares the flatterer, the more dangerous of the two - with a crow, since the flatterer preys upon live subjects:

"Flateurs de court, sont par leur beau devis,
Pis mille fois que non pas les corbeaulx:
Car le flateur devore les corps vifs,
Contrefaisant propos mygnons & beaulx:
Mais le corbeau ne cherche les morceaux
Que sur corps morts ou puante charogne;
Le faux flateur tousjours le vif empoigne,
Pour à la fin le rendre pauvre & mince:

1) \textit{op.cit.} sig. Biiij * 3.
2) \textit{op.cit.} LXXIII
De tel babil, & de si fainete troigne,
Se doibt garder le bon & saige prince."  1)

A similar idea is developed in a third dizain 2), where the flatterer is likened to fleas, and other vermin of this kind, who abandon dead bodies, the inference being of course that parasitic hangers-on proliferate in times of prosperity, and vanish in times of hardship.

Finally, in the other poem La Perrière compares the flatterer with the bird-catcher:-

"Quand l'oyseleur veult force oyeleltz prendre,
Il fainct sa voix avec quelque instrument
Au son duquel vers luy se viennent rendre:
Par ce moyen les prent facilement.
Fletours de court font tout semblablement
Pour attirer les princes en leurs lagz:
Car pour complaire & leur donner soulas,
Cent fois le jour changent de contenance:
Mais quand le prince est contraint dire helas:
Il est trop tard d'en avoir cognissance."  3)

Flattery at court was decried by Eustorg de Beaulieu in a general attack on court life which we have already noted. 4) He returns to the attack in three further poems in the Divers Rapports, which are characterised by a strong feeling of disenchantment with a society which encourages these pests with boundless liberality, in fact a reaction

1) op.cit. XLV
2) op.cit. CIII
3) op.cit. LIII
4) See above, p.28.
common to most of the writers whose outbursts against court
flatterers we have studied. We shall quote the third of
his sequence of poems:

"De flateurs y a grosse bende,
Comme on peult veoir a leurs charrois,
Et si hantent la court des Roys
Dont maint d'iceulx en biens amende,
Ilz disent plus qu'on ne demande:
Pour ce viennent plusieurs des rois
De Flateurs.

Leur cautelle est huy si tresgrande
Que tel n'avoit ne lard ne Poys
Qu'est tout farci descuz de pois
Quand le seigneur est en commande
De Flateurs."

This rondeau exemplifies the approach of the Rhetoriqueurs
to satire, especially in their attacks against court
flatterers. It consists of putting into verse what oft was
thought, and probably better expressed by those who left
writing to others. Furthermore, these direct criticisms
are rarely disinterested; the predominant accusation is that
flatterers are better off than honest people, i.e. the writer,
and Bouchet is the only one who interests himself, not in
those who, fairly or unfairly, have more than himself, but in
those who have considerably less than himself, partly because
of the activity of those who wormed their way into high places.

1) op.cit. sig. Aiij r° Le Troisieme Rondeau des Serviteurs
Flateurs, Rapporteurs & leurs Favorisens.
ibid. Le quatriesme Rondeau de Ne Croire Trop
De Trop Legen Ung Rapporteur.
Aiij r°- Aiij r° Le Cinquiesme Rondeau Sur Le Propos Des
Deux precedens.
Hypocrisy and duplicity, closely allied to flattery, were other charges often levelled at those who frequented the court. Jean Bouchet writes of the duplicity of courtiers even in their relationships with fellow-courtiers, in the following passage from the Panegyric Du Chevalier Sans Reproche:

"La Court aprend à se vestir homnestement, parler distinctement, ryre sobrement, dormir légerement, vivre chastement et eouter tous vens venter sans murmure, mais le tout est fait par vaine gloire, ambition ou ypocrisie. Les homnestement vestuz sont en dedans pleins de moquerie et irrisyon, et detraichtment de chescun; les peu parlans sont enveux, songeurs de mallices, inventeurs de trahisons, les peu rians sont gens austères, arrogans, cruelz et plains de malice; ceulx qui dorment legèrement, veillent jour et nuyt à supplanter leurs compaignons, faire quelques monopolles et destruire chescun; et les chastes aux yeulx des hommes, infament et maculent les honnestes maisons par secretz adulteres et fornications occultes et desrobées." 1)

Antoine du Saix in the L'Esperon de Discipline, in even stronger terms speaks not only of their hypocrisy, but of their treachery, masked by affectations - which he describes vividly - of speech and manner. In the prose prologue to the work he introduces us to the latest courtly art, and its accompaniment:

"Car à la journée d'huy l'estude & exercice principal des plaisantins curialx & larves auliques ne gist qu'en deux choses...en je ne say quelle babillerie nouvellement imprimée plus artificielle que l'invention de la pierre philosophalle, laquelle d'une savante & vertueuse dame est appellée l'art courant. Puis

1) op.cit. ch. V.
pour compagne on luy a adotté une courtisienne
moquerie de quoy l'on sert à couvert en
bastonnades sourdes, & petiz propostz masquez
de douleur, palliez de faintisse soub fusille
& couleur de faulx semblant perfumé de belles
paroles, voelles de riches offres, avec une
minette sucree, en estranglant souspirs &
compriment laivres corallines distillants
langages endormants, excogitez à l'enchiere,
espineux de hameçons affilez sur la pierre
daffecter, empoisonnez de mensonges, sophis-
tiquez d'apparence par le taint de monstre vray
semblable, accrez de contrefaict amitie pour
emabimer le cœur des sotz, & tendrez filez à
prendre grues." 1)

At the very beginning of the passage which includes his
fiercest attacks on courtiers, we find this description of
the simulated friendship which the courtier extends to
another:—

"Couvrent leur cœur de machination,
A leurs propostz donnent couleur & voele,
De bien habier trouvent façon nouvelle
Trenchent leurs motz avec unq sifflement
Accompagnez d'ung bening soufflement,
En palliant le sens de leur parolle,
Masquent leurs motz, jouent si bien leur rolle,
Qu'on jugeroit que ce fut verite,
Tant sont rusez en leur impurité.
L'Ung te dira, je te prie que tu penses,
Que si j'avois ung clair veois en la panse,
Tant que du dueur je feisse ostention,
Tu cognoistrois la bonne intention.
Et pleust à Dieu, qu'il n'a une fenestre,
A celle fin que congneusses son estre:
Car il est tien jusqu'au dernier souspir
S'il se vouloit remettre ou assoupir
En tant, que plus on nay espera vie,
De te servir encor aurait envie.
Je auoirs vers Dieu trop de bien merite
S'il te plaisoit de propre autorité
User du mien comme de ton domaine:

1) op.cit. sig. ci v°.
La volonté seroit trop inhumaine;  
Si tout mon bien n'estoit à ton donner;  
Il est en toy d'en pouvoir ordonner." 1) 

The author couples this description with a more explicit injunction to beware of their treachery:

"Mais soyez y l'incredule Thomas,  
Et ne mettez en vostre nef tous matz:  
Car tel vous dict, tout est vostre & la lie,  
Qui au besoing, en façon d'Italie,  
Si le priez, engainnera le col  
Et que pis est, cherchera le licol,  
Ou le moyen s'il peust, pour vous veoir pendre.  
Voilà Christiens la science & l'art gent,  
Dont noz hableurs espagnoletz abusent,  
Je dis de quoy les masques de cour usent." 2) 

Eustorg de Beaulieu was likewise to complain of the duplicity common at court; he devotes an entire poem to a protest at the worthlessness of a courtier's promise:

"La foy de Gentilhomme a cours  
Entre aulcuns Seigneurs & leurs courtz  
Et quant elle est bien prononcée  
Jamais on ne la void faulcêe  
Jusques qu'on y actend secours.  

Dans les chasteaulx & grosses tours  
Se carre, braghe, & fait les lours  
A son costé la belle espée  
La foy de Gentilhomme.  

La foy d'ung tas de villains lourdz  
N'a pas les souliers de velours,  
Ne la robe deschiquetêe  
Et n'est pas si bien escoutêe,  
Quoy que maintz preschent à rebours  
La foy de Gentilhomme." 3) 

1) op.cit. sig. üiiij * 4r .  
2) op.cit. sig. O r .  
3) op.cit. sig. üiij +3*4. Le Treiziesme Rondeau de La Foy de Gentilhomme, etc.
In addition to their hypocrisy, treachery and lack of faith in their dealings with fellow courtiers, there are, in this early period, more seriously many accounts which testify to lack of faith among courtiers in religious matters, to indifference and hypocrisy. More willing to show respect and to kneel before their king than before their God, they confined themselves to an outward show of worship, to the observance of the most superficial rites, and this in a not very convincing manner. 1) Eloi D'Amerval, in his all-embracing satire of contemporary society, Le Livre De La Grant Dvablerie, first published in 1503, has given an account of the behaviour of courtiers affected by adiaphorism:*

"Noz mignons vont par ceste eglise:
Là fringuent chacun à sa guise
Et se vantent de leurs beaux faiz.
Qu'ilz ont peu estre au matin faiz,
Parlent bien de leurs follies,
Et puis jugent des plus joizyes
Des plus belles, des plus mignonnes
Là ilz en font & dieu de bonnes.
Ouvrent quelque messe peut-estre,
Mais qu'il y ait diligent prestre
Qui saiche despescher accoup,
Car ung long les fasche beau1tou,p ;
Et puis quant dieu regarderont
L'Ung des gensaux ung peu pliront,

1) The behaviour of members of the court and nobility in church seems to have ranged from mere indifference to complete irreverence, especially during the reign of Louis XII, in the first decade of the century. Jean Bouchet comments freely upon it - cf.A.Ramon, op.cit.p.264, but such behaviour seems not to have been confined to this particular section of society. On church worship in this period see R.de Maulde de La Claviere, Les Femmes de La Renaissance pp.327-8;La Vie Au Temps Des Libres Precheurs, vol.II, p.176 sqq. I have been unable to consult this last.
L'autre jambe auront estendue
Aussi rouge que de bec de grue
Depuis le pied jusqu'à la fesse.
Ou peut estre n'auront ja messe
Mais diront seulement pour tout
Ung pater noster tout debout,
Aultre devocion n'ay a.
Avec ung ave maria
Non pas ce grant obsecro te
Court court de peur d'estre croté.
Et puis au partir voulentiers
Touchent des doys aux benoistiers
Sans daigner ester leurs fins gans:
Et à dieu commans mes fringans,
Dieu est beaucoup tenu à enix
Tant ont esté devocieux."

Apart from the content, this passage is interesting because it is unusual to find, so early in the sixteenth century, a writer who has chosen to portray an abstract deficiency, that is, religious apathy, in concrete terms. Instead of relying upon the more usual 'all courtiers are wicked and ungodly' approach, the author has observed certain actions, for example the stinted genuflection with its element of the ridiculous, and the perfunctory performance at the holy-water basin, indicative of disdain, and in so doing has left the reader to make his own judgement, but without in any way diminishing the force of his attack.

2) Éloi D'Amerval, La Grant Dvablerie, Michel Le Noir, Paris, 1508 Book II, ch. 46. - Comment l'acteur represent les hypocrites & les mignons qu'on dit brgarus du temps present.

1) Sensuit la Grant Dyablerie, Paris, Michel Le Noir, nouvellement. (1520?) Bk. I, ch. 46, sig. h×iii r+2r.
Religious indifference was not confined to the professional courtier. In fact, a great many courtiers were by training, clerics, who had deserted their flocks in order to seek worldly goods for themselves in this more profitable profession. These clerical courtiers are rebuked by Laurens Desmoulins in the *Catholicon Des Maladvisez*.* Autrement Dit Le Cimetiere Des Malheureux*, in 1511:

"Tant de prêlatz on voit gorriers fringans
Qui maintenant suyvent cours de seigneurs;
Leurs eveschez baillent à suffragans
Affin qu'ilz ayent des mondains les honneurs."  

The phenomenal extravagance of courtiers in this early period called forth hostile comments from hosts of writers. In an early and anonymous dramatic work, *La Farce Nouvelle de Folle Bombance*, performed at Lyons in about 1500, the author, although attacking the extravagant pretensions of all three social classes, represented here by three fools — Le Gentilhomme, Le Marchand, Le Laboureur. 

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1) *Le Catholicon Des Maladvisez* etc. Paris, Jean Petit et Michel Le Noir, 1511; Lyons, Cl. Nourry, 1512; Paris, J. Petit, M. le Noir, 1513 — (this is the edition to which I refer the reader in footnotes); Lyons, O. Arnoulet, 1534. On Laurens Desmoulins see Guy, op. cit. p. 359-60.

2) op. cit. sig. E1° v°.

3) *La Farce Nouvelle Tresbonne De Folle Bombance*, à quatre personnages, s.l.m.d. (Lyons, E. Chausard), B.M. e.20 e.15; E. Picot, Recueil Général Des Sotties, 3 vols. Paris, S.A.T.F., 1902, vol. 1, no. IX.

singles out the courtier as the most ruinously extravagant of the lot, by urging the fools, through the allegorical personage of Folle Bombance, to imitate the courtier's conduct, if they wish to lead the good life and be faithful followers of luxury:

"N'espargnez tresor ne cheyance,
Combien que soyez drogueles.
Prenez tous ducatz sans balance;
Escus sans peser prenez les...
Quant par les rues vous marcherez,
Je vous dis, pour le faire court,
Vous pourpointz soient desmanchez
Des robes c'est le temps qui court.
Contrefaites gorriers de court,
Si me voulez bien maintenir."

Their extravagance was most obviously manifest in the manner in which they clothed themselves, in their prodigal use of finery and their absurdly exaggerated fashions. A valuable testimony to the senseless pretensions of the courtiers of this period to sartorial elegance, is to be found in the longest known poem of François Robertet, written in 1504, and called Le Debat Du Boucanier Et Du Gorrier.

This work, although reminiscent, in form and structure,

1) op.cit. vol. I no. IX, p.256.
of the earlier debate of Octavien de Saint-Gelais, is far more interesting, far less superficial, since it makes available to the reader the observations and opinions of a contemporary writer, based upon his personal and direct knowledge, of changing social conditions, and of the attitudes of, and to, courtiers, rather than a rehash of an unchanging literary routine theme. In this respect Robertet's poem has a greater affinity with that of Baudé, the *Ballade Du Gorrier Bragart*¹, written less than ten years earlier, and whose portrayal of the courtier's unbridled luxury, coupled with indigence, Robertet corroborates.

From the outset of the poem the writer focuses attention upon the courtier's extravagant dress in a pointed contrast with the fustian and provincial garb of the Boucanier:

"L'un estoit fort & gorrier à merveilles,
Beau gentilhomme & de tresbonne sorte;
Des bigarreures avoit-il nonpareilles;
Des ses manches n'ay point veu les pareilles,
Et ne gay homme qui si larges les porte.
Et au contraire, l'autre se desporte
De telz abitz, & à sa manche estroicte,
Semble bien homme n'avoir pas grant soufreté."²

Subsequently, we hear from the courtier himself of his clothes budget:

1) See below, p. 211.
2) *op. cit.* p. 492, ll. 9-16.
"J'ay puis ung an pris à l'argenterie,
Tant pour mes sayes, frangez et gironnez
En drap de soye, pour la gendarmerie
Et pour mes robes à la grant gorrierie,
Pour mille escutz, dont sont malassignez,
Depuis j'ay eu, que le roy m'a donné,
Deux mille francs que receuz tout content;
Mais en ma bourse n'en a ne tant ne quant." 1)

But the greater part of Robertet's criticisms issue directly,
from the Boucanier. He pours scorn upon the Gorrier's
attempts at elegance, and it is interesting to note that
he attributes these strivings on the part of the courtier
to a desire to forestall the mockery of the Italians:-

"Pour bien garder de rire les Lombars,
Portez pourpoins de fustaines et de serges;
Ne mettez plus à faire voz tabars
Les quinze aulnes de velour - Quelz coquars!" 2)

No wonder, he exclaims, that the courtier is always out of
pocket:

"Et d'autre part, tant de nouvelletez,
Tant de bottes, souliers et brodequins
Que vous portez, taillez et descouppez,
Et de rubans nolez, lardez, couppez
Et puis tenduz comme beaux carnequins,
Tant de pourpoins changer tous les matins;
Puis vous bendez voz chausses de drap d'or -
Quelz principes pour amassar tresor!" 3)

Robertet's objections to the luxury of court fashions
are echoed by Antoine Du Saix, in L'Esperon de Discipline:-

1) op.cit. p.499, l1.114-120.
2) op.cit. p.500, l1.120-33.
3) op.cit. p.503, l1.170-177.
"Tel en habitz comme ung prince se avance,
Dont les parents, le tout vœu & compté,
N'eurent plus haut drap que de vicomte...
Mais retornons à ceste bigarreure,
Telle que au Prince il leur faut la parure.
Question n'est sinon de se occuper
Hascher menu, chiqueter, descouper,
Pour ung pasté de belle mocquerie,
Couvert dessus de folle broderie,
Puis le bonet tout doré & taillé." 1)

Other proofs of the reckless extravagance of courtiers,
were to be found in the style in which they lived. Robertet's
courtier is typical of many; he is criticised by the
Boucanier for striving to increase his standing by
committing himself to unnecessary expenses, and living costs:-

"Et d'autre part, vous beuez ung grant train,
Pour demontrer qu'estes de grant maison,
Parquoy vous fault plus qu'à nous avoir grain,
Poing, paille, et vivres à plus grande foison.
D'autre costé, maintesfois sans raison,
Prenez varletz, qui ne servent de gueres
Fors en despens, pratiquer à choison
Voz chambrières, hostesses et commeres." 2)

The gorrier replies that there are certain expenses which
are inseparable from his profession, but his attempt at
self-justification is far from convincing:-

"Impossible est que me puessse passer
De sept ou huit chevalux pour ma personne,
Mon lict de camp je ne pourrois laisser,
Ne mes coffres; & puis pour tracasser,
Le courtault trappe, la haquenée bonne,
Et pour la guerre, qui au mestier consonne,
Deux grans coursiers, dont l'un est pour la barde,
Pour estrader, genet de Barcelone.
Qui n'est monté, ne vaunt qu'on le regarde." 3)

1) op.cit. sig. 61 - 61 j r°.
2) op.cit. p. 497, 11. 89-96.
3) op.cit. pp. 497s 11. 97-105.
Jean Bouchet, in a declamation *Contre Les Delicatz* 1) joins forces with Robertet, in a similar attack on the courtier who must have comfort on a military campaign, as well as in more normal circumstances:

"Mais il n' y a si petit homme d'armes
Lequel ne vueille avoir outre ses armes
Ung list de camp & aussi grant charroy
Que ung conte, ou duc, voire autant que le roy..
Plusieurs qui n' ont trois cent livres de rente
Portent drap d' or en robe, voire en mente
Et ont laquay's, barbier & doubles paiges."

Increasingly, such extravagance comes to be criticised, not merely as lack of thrift, but as easy-living, soft-living, contrary to old fashioned French simplicity, as a sign of physical and moral degeneracy and effeminacy. This can be clearly seen in another extract of Bouchet's *Temple de Bonne Renommée*, where he speaks against the present trend of extravagance in cooking, of meals:

"............... de metz plusieurs,
Ainsi que font à present aucuns sieurs,
Car il n' y a si petit gentilhomme
Qui n'a vaillant à grant peine une pomme,
Qui cuysinier n' entretient à grans gaiges
Pour aux repas avoir divers potages;
Et veulent bien ces gens delicieux
Vivre par tout plus ayses que les dieux
Dont il advient quant ilz sont à la guerre
Et que viande ilz ne avenent où querrer
Ilz n' ont pouvoir, puissance ne vertuz."

1) In the *Temple de Bonne Renommée*, ed. cit. fo. XXII
2) loc. cit.
3) op. cit. *Contre Les Gourmans*, fo. XXXVIII
The point is made by Bouchet in a later work, the Panegyric du Chevalier Sans Reproche, which, in spite of the stifling literary conventions to which it conforms for the most part, affords, like the Temple de Bonne Renommée, a valuable commentary on contemporary society, that such preoccupation with personal comfort, especially in war, is a new development, and was rare before the Italian campaigns. Thus, in the mythological section of the work, the goddess tells us that:

"Anciennement les capitaines et gens de guerre n'avoient accoustumé de faire trainer après eux tant de bagaige comme font de présent les français, qui ont list de camp, vaisselle et cuisine, et plus d'epiceries et choses attractives à luxe qu'à combattre leurs ennemis, et n'y a si petit gentilhomme qui ne veuille avoir ung aussi bon cuisinier que le roy, etestre servi d'électuaires, divers potaiges, etaultres viandes délicates en diversité, comme princes; et si possible estoient quant vont à la guerre, feroient charoyer après eux toutes les aysses de leurs privées maisons."

Antoine du Saix goes further than Bouchet who associates luxury with decadence and effemineness; Du Saix equates it with definite effeminacy. After a passage in which he extols the vigilance of Alexander, who, while campaigning, slept with his amour on, he asks indignantly if as much can be said of contemporary French courtiers on campaign:

1) op.cit. Nîême pp.405-6.
"Et noz pimpetz suivent - ilz ceste enseigne?...
Il faut avoir lict de camp, pavillon,
Lineeux plus doux que ne sont damoiselles,
Puis faut plumer perdrix dessoubz les ailes
Comme faisoit Heliogabalus,
Et dormir sus au doux son du bas levez.
Mais leur façon tant vile & maculeuse
Est à noter comme miraculeuse:
Car apres Dieu, ilz ont ung grand pouvoir.
Qu'il soit ainsi, si le voulez egalement,
Dieu nous a fait, & nous a baille forme,
Mais le douillet se desguise & transforme,
Et tellement à son plaisir survient,
Que qui est homme, en brief, femme il devient."

The courtiers of this early period of the sixteenth century were guilty of extravagance in yet another field, in their ambitious and splendid building projects. Here again, Bouchet finds this not only prodigal, but indicative of moral weaknesses:

"A present ceulx qui, par fortune, ont été du miserable gouffre de pauvrete retirés et auctorises par les roys et princes, font les maisons de plaisance à colonnes de marbre, representations d'images et symuladres si bien faict, qu'il semble à les veoir qu'on les ayt desrobés à la nature. Le dedans est tout d'or et d'azur, les jardins semblent villes, tant sont les galeries bien couvertes, et pour la multitude de tonnelles et cabinets, tout pleins de lascivie et volupte, que mieulx semblent habitations de gens veneres que marciaux, et de gens lascivieux que de gens de vertu."

Later, in 1531, Marot was to satirise, in his Epistre

1) op.cit. sig. Fiiij & r°.
Au Roy Pour Avoir Esté Desrobeè\(^1\), this mania of courtiers for building stately homes, which they could ill-afford to upkeep, by pretending that he had built two himself, and was in need of funds for their maintenance:

"Advisez donc si vous avez désir
De rien prêter: vous me ferez plaisir,
Car puis ung peu j'ay basti à Clément,
Là où j'ay fait ung grand desboursement,
Et à Marot, qui est ung peu plus loing;
Tout tumbara qui n'en aura le soing.\(^2\)

When not preoccupied with the luxurious style of living of the courtiers of their day, either through a desire to ridicule it, or because they found it morally repugnant, the Rhétoriqueurs were most deeply concerned with the economic consequences of such irresponsibility on the part of this section of French society.

The first of these, and the most obvious, was the financial ruin sustained by the courtiers, although here, not unnaturally, there was very little sympathy wasted. The numerous portraits of this period, and the self-confessions, of indigent courtiers, are meant to expose their folly, not the compassion of the writer. This is conveniently illustrated in the following verses of Pierre de La Vacherie in a work from which we have previously quoted:

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1) Les Epîtres, éd. crit. de C.A. Mayer, University of London, The Athlone Press, 1958, No. XXV.
2) op. cit. p. 176, ll. 113-8.
"Quant est des gorgies de court,
Qui braguent en diverse sorte,
Argent est souvent d'eux bien court,
Car leur terre est vendue et morte;
Mais l'un l'autre se reconforte
En esperant, le temps futur,
Que quelc'un des biens leur apporte.
Interim ilz vivent par cœur.

Ils contrefont les amoureux
De Perrichon ou de Beluche;
Apres ilz sont si langoureux
Qu'ilz n'ont morceaux de pain en huche;
Ilz sont plus secz que vieille bûche;
Pauvre d'Argent les a vaincus;
Chasun souvent souhait épluche;
Non pourtant ilz n'ont point d'escouz.

Ilz vivent du regard des dames
En gemissemens desloreux,
Qui leur font getter maintes larmes;
Tant sont meschans et malleureux;
S'ilz estoient chevalereux,
Comme ilz souloit le temps passé,
En biens seroient plantureux,
Mais trop ont courage laissé."

and in this lament of a gorrier in Laurens Des Moulins' Catholicon Des Maladvisez:

"Le temps passé biens aoye à plaisance
Et pour braguer chiquetoys mon pourpoint
Et mes abitz desquelz ay deffailance
Relas! j'en suis en telle desplaisance
Que j'en chante bien piteux contrepoint.
J'ay despendu tous mes biens malapoint
Pour me braguer par grant outrecuycdance;
On vent bien cher la mondaine plaisance."

The point was that, saddled with enormous debts, their incomes and inheritances pledged to redeem them, their lands and estates mortgaged, they could make no possible

1) op.cit. p. 76, ll. 508-31.
2) op.cit. sig. C v.
contribution to the finances of the state for years to come.

In addition to this, popular feeling was further aroused by the fact that, not only was their lavish spending not benefiting the nation at large, but that it was sustaining in comfort large numbers of foreign merchants and usurers, most of them Italian. 1) Some of this reaction can be gathered from Robertet's Debat, in the words of the buccaneer, thus:

"Vous détruysez avec voz manches larges.
Les estrangers ont l'or, & vous les targes;
Encor bien peu entendez vostre cas,
Car dessoubz l'esle ilz croquent voz ducats...

Les ung acquièrent, & tout vous despendez;
Ils proufivent, & vous ne gaignez rien;
Ils s'enrichissent, & povres vous rendez;
Ils ont la proye des gluons que tendez;
Jamais ne baivent, & vous leur dites, tien;
Ils sont tressages, & pour tels je les tin,
Et vous tres folz de vouloir vivre ainsi
Sans autre soing en avoir ou soucy." 2)

Not only did continued extravagance bring intolerable burdens to the personal finances of the courtier though; it brought great strain to the King's treasury. Hostility reached a new peak when it became known that otherwise penniless courtiers were enabled to continue their reckless spending by gifts and pensions from the King. The aggrieved state of relations between the courtiers, who

1) See Picot, Les Italiens En France Au XVIe Siècle.
2) op. cit. p.500, ll.134-7; p.502, ll. 154-160.
thought themselves entitled to such gifts, and the treasurers, who clearly thought that the money so distributed could have been put to a far better use, is clearly illustrated in Robertet's Debat. Here the boucanier champions the attitude of the latter:

"Vous vous fiez en ces pensions
Qu'avez eu en trois ou quatre années;
Qu'il vous semble que de vos possessions
Et chevauchées viennent ces donûations.
Mais maintenant les chances sont tournées,
Et les finances, Dieu merci, retournées,
Savez-vous où? au soulage de France."

To this the courtier indignantly replies that sometimes they do not even receive payment for their services, let alone pensions and gifts:

"Pour vous parler un peu de nostre fait,
Il vauldût mieux que l'on nous eust chassés,
Car nous croyions nostre payement fait
De trois quartiers, sans avoir autre plaît
Mais de tout rien; puis on nous a cessé;
Le capitaine dit: messieurs, poursuivez
Envers le roy. Je n'ay pas les deniers—
Veillez l'estat de nous autres gorriers."

Although the boucanier charitably agrees that to withhold payment in such a way is an injustice, he still insists that, on the other hand, it is public knowledge that large sums are handed out to some members of the court for frivolous purposes:

"C'est tresmal fait tenir le payement
Des gens d'armes, quant ilz ont bien servy.
Mais maintenant on en fait autrement;
Car on baille, je ne saiy pas comment.

1) op.cit. p. 504-5, 11. 186-92.
2) op.cit. pp. 505-6, 11. 194-204
A tel peult estre qui ne l'a desservy.
Il me semble que l'autre jour je vy
Lever descharge de trois ou de quatre mille
Voire bons francs, pour livrer à quelque fille. 1)

Bouchet too, on many an occasion, showed himself to be highly critical of the amount of money devoted by the King to subsidising irresponsible, and worthless courtiers. In the Temple de Bonne Renommée, he exclaims:

"Mais n'est-ce pas une grande folie
De faire dons...
... à ces folz outrecuidez gorrières
Qui porten l'or jusques à leurs souliers
Et ne seuroient quelque bragou que en face
Faire ung beau faict pour dieu, qu'on les efface
Et que telz gens on envoye au service
Du dieu d'amours comme gens plaine de vice." 2)

while in another passage of the same work he is savagely critical not only of their misuse of such money, but also of their rank ingratitude to the King:

"...Fout s'en va, tant revenu que gaiçes,
Puis ces bravœurs, quant ilz en sont au bout
Et que contrainetz ilz sont de vendre tout,
Maudissent roy, son service & maison
Disant tout hault qu'on ne leur faict raison
Et que tout l'or & tout l'argent du royaulme
Sont sousz la plume & non dessoubz le heaulme.
A telz gorrières dont fortune se joue
Chascun devroit ês yeulx getter la boue." 3)

Later too, in the Panegyric Du Chevalier Sans Reproche, of 1527, his criticisms of the sumptuous buildings put up by

1) ibid. II. 201-9.
2) op. cit. fo. XLIII.(r.).
3) op. cit. fo. XXII(y).
courtiers are made more acrimonious by his knowledge that these buildings were likewise the result of the misguided munificence of the monarch.

Similarly Marot attacked, in his *Epistre Au Roy, Pour Avoir Esté Desrobe*, the shameless demands of certain courtiers for money from the King:

"Je ne voulx point tant de gens ressembler
Qui n'ont souoy autrre que d'assembler;
Tant qu'ilz vivront, ilz demanderont, eulx;
Mais je commence à devenir homeux,
Et ne veulx plus à voz dons m'arrester." 2)

A variant reading for the first two lines quoted above, which is to be found in the earliest published version of this poem 3), actually supplies the names of two courtiers, contemporaries of Marot,

"Je ne veulx pas ressembler à Viscontin,
Ou Valfimière au soir et au matin..." 4)

and these two are shown, in documents of the period 5), to have benefitted considerably from the generosity, spontaneous or otherwise, of François Ier.


4) *Mayer, op.cit.* p.174-5, 11.35-6 C.

5) See *Mayer, loc.cit.*
The Rhetoriqueurs were not ignorant of other means to which members of the court resorted, in order to supplement their incomes when gifts from the monarch were no longer so readily available. The repercussions of their continued extravagance were widely felt by the poorer classes, whom they bled; but such extortionist tactics were often combined with financial malpractices, perpetrated in the pursuance of an office, such as the governorship of a province, which gave access to revenues of state, and untold opportunities for manipulating them.

Once again, it is in Robertet's Debat that we find one of the earliest, and most forthright condemnations of the oppression of the poor by the courtiers, whose luxury was paid for by the sweat of the peasants' brow. The boucanier challenges the gorrier on this point:

"Vous avez tant de chevaux et de paiges, 
Tant de veneurs, et tant de faulconiers 
Que vous rentes, pensions, biensfaictz, gaiges, 
Ne les formes de vos forestz et peages 
Ne vous peuvent assez fournir de deniers. 
Les povres gens, laboureurs, moissonniers 
Ja que bonshoms, payent tous ces pillages 
De vostre train, quant tenez les villaiges."

There is another stinging indictment of courtiers for their rapaciousness in the second letter of the second part of Bouchet's Epistres Morales. We have already seen that this

1) op.cit. p. 498, 11. 106-12.
particular letter reproduces largely the substance of Piccolomini's attack on court life in his *De Curialium Miseriis Epistola*. However, Bouchet's pungent irony on this one count is most certainly not due to imitation. It may be though, that, realising the strength of his own criticisms, too late, he hoped that they might be attributed to his model. In any case, the brusque interruption of the imitation of Piccolomini's work, is indicative of the spontaneity and sincerity of the poet's outburst, and of the urgency of the problem:—

"De voz vouloirs je ne puis estre juge
Messieurs de court, dieu seul les veoit & juge,
Mais chasem dit, (ce que je ne puis veoir),
Que n'acquez or, argent, ne avoir,
Bourgs, ne chasteaux, palais, citez ne viles
Par charité, ne par façons civiles,
Ains les avez du sang des povres gens,
Ou les pillez sur les Roys & regens
En maniant cautlement leur finances;
Et qu'aainsi soit, on veoit par eminences
Voz grands boubans, bastimens & aquestz
Dont simples gens tiennent leurs haulx caquetz,
Disans, comment un tal d'une escriptoire
Plume & papier qui fut povre notoire
A peu si toat tant de biens acquerr...
Il faut bien donc que sobz la belle robe,
De gouverneur, le peuple ou Roy desrobe." 1)

Antoine Du Saix has a similar revelation to make in the first half of *L'Esperon de Discipline*:—

"Tel n'a du pain la moitié de saison,
Ny le vaillant d'une civiere à roue,
Qui fait du pacon, & se mire à sa roue...
Ce neantmoins il n'est rien si etique.

1) *op. cit.* fo. IX vo.
Quel moyen donc? l'on use de pratique,
Pour recouvrir ou argent ou billon.
Les autres font desmarches de Dillon;
A tort ou droit de tous on en arrache,
Tousjours quelc'ung dedans le baïn crache,
Où il sera troussé & bien bille;
Voilà comment le paon est abillé."

Courtiers were disliked for reasons other than those
which we have so far discussed, that is their hypocrisy,
treachery, and uninhibited extravagance. We learn from
the gorrier in Robertet's Debats, that they generally
unpopular with the public, especially that section of the
public who were inconvinced by having courtiers billeted
with them:—

"L'un et l'autre les blasme en tel façon
Que maintenant veulent estre exemptez,
De nous avoir et mettre en garnison." 2)

Antoine Du Saix attacks them for their swaggering
disdain and insolence, in L'Esperon de Discipline:—

"Et si pourriez demeurer des ans dix
Pour les cuider retirer de leur boue,
Vous aurez d'eux payement d'une moue,
Et que pis est, le comble du meschief;
Ils vous suivront des pieds jusques au chief;
Partie n'est qui ne soit advisée,
L'oeil sur l'espaulé avec une risée 3)
De tavernier, lustrée de dedaing." 3)

but in another passage of the same work he gives a valuable
lesson to the credulous by showing how quickly the swollen
ego of an upstart courtier may be deflated, by demonstrating

1) op. cit. sig. 6ij v o.
2) op. cit. p 567, l. 215-217.
3) op. cit. sig. 6iiiij 4v o.
that his pretentious eloquence is as transparent and flimsy as his pretentious elegance:

“Pinablement le pimpet se estudie...
Vous affuter menue artillerie
De coups de bec par sa babillerie,
La quelle au nez si dru vous semera,
Qu’en peu de temps tout en perfumera.
Mais quoy? c’est eau d’ung torrent tost sechée,
Jà ny sera bonne raison sechée.
Pour ung prinsault en commenceant tonner
Ung pœuvre sot s’en pourroit estonner;
Veoir ce coursier sortir teste levée;
Mais attendez qu’il ait faict sa levée,
Et qu’il aura ce peu que y est ouvert,
De tous costez le verrez descouvert,
Quand tout est hors l’on peut sarrer la porte.
Lors donnez luy une touche qui porte,
C’est le secret, qu’il sera bien bourré,
Et ne pourra faire aucun coup fourré
Ayant tiré estoc, taille, descharge
Ce qu’il savoit; donc dressez une charge
Jusques au vif, il ne peut rencontrer;
Et fault sur luy de pieds & mains entrer
Et faire entendre, à celluy qui offense,
Que on est passé en roue, & en deffense
En l’envoyant paistre comme ung oison.
Resolvons donc! l’embaisme mett tout cuire
A une fois, & tout desgorgera.
Le jour suivant de metz ne changera:
Car si qu’aucung d’autre propost l’enfance
Le torrent secche, & qui n’en a, n’enfonce.
Parquoyn je tiens en ma conclusion,
Qu’en ces hableurs n’a que confusion.”

The impatience and contempt in which the rank and file French courtier held learning and the humanities, was legendary. In the early years of the reign of Louis XII, the nobles at court were criticised by Jean Bouchet for their stubborn refusal to educate themselves - the

1) op. cit. sig. 61 j v° - 611 j r°.
suggestion that they should be instructed in Latin particularly being regarded by them as an affront to their virility:

"Ilz tiennent à honte & à reproche l'estude & dient tous communément que noble homme ne doit sçavoir les lettres & que c'est deshon- neur à gentillesse sçavoir entendre latin & parler." 1)

Castiglione expresses in the _Cortegiano_ the hope that, under the future guidance of the Duke of Angoulême (later to become François Ier), the French court would ultimately participate in the Renaissance of letters. 2)

The hostility of French courtiers towards writers and scholars was a manifestation of their general dislike of learning. Jean Bouchet hits out at the scorn evinced by ignorant courtiers for men of letters in the _Temple De Bonne Renommée_:

"Aussi l'on veoit (non pas roy, duc ne conte) Mais les bragârs de court laquelz rien n'ont, Qui de ces motz monsieur du bonnet rond Usent toujours par une mocquerie Quant à gens clères parlent en farcerie;

1) _Les Regnars Traversant_, sig. _Bii_ v°.

2) _Il Cortegiano_, Lyons, 1580, tr. Chappuis. Book I, pp. 112-3. "Se la buona fortuna vuole, che Monsignor d'Angolen, (come si spera), succede alla corona, estimo, che si come la gloria dell'arme fiorisce, e risplende in Francia; così vi debba ancor con supremo ornamento fiorir quelle delle lettere."
Et ces corners ou leurs prédécesseurs
Sont descendus plusieurs en sont bien seurs
De gens de lettres enrichis par pratique
Qui par avant n'avoient vaillant la nique.
Ce nonobstant ces villains de courage,
Mescongnissant leur ancien lignage
Vont mesdisant des clercs de la plume
Qui est le bien qui si hault les remplume.1)

It is not difficult to detect a personal note in these anti-courtier remarks. It is possible that Bouchet himself had had a rough passage at court at some moment in his career, and, as Du Bellay was to do later, in the Poète Courtisan and in a certain sonnets of the Regrets, he had both vented his annoyance and taken vengeance in his writings.

Finally we have to consider the influence of the Italians at the French court, which provoked much unfavourable comment in this early period. This reaction took two forms, or rather, was directed at two separate targets, at the Italian courtiers themselves, and secondly at the Italian attitude and way of life which they imported, in other words, anti-Italianism.

Anti-Italian feeling is an important source of anti-courtier writings, since Italian courtiers in France were disliked both by Frenchmen at large, and by French courtiers. That their interference in French affairs at court was deplored by the populace, and that they regarded

1) op.cit. fo.33r. Contre Ceulx Qui Se Mocquent Des Gens De Lettres.
this interference as almost a threat to French sovereignty, is confirmed by the *Sottie Nouvelle de L'Astrologue*, given in Paris in 1498:

Primus: Je ne croi point que Lombards ou Romains N'y ayent jeté quelques choses infettez.


Primus: Leur seront pas un jour leurs barbes faitez Et les cheveux abrégés sur le tourt? 2)

while a later speaker pronounces this column judgement:

"Je dis que Veniciens, Millanoys ne Italien Jamais ne veulent bien en France." 3)

The animosity which some French courtiers felt for their Italian colleagues was due in most cases to nothing more nor less than jealousy, a not unnatural reaction on the part of those who continually saw the richest benefices, and the positions of greatest influence, fall to the foreigners. Du Saix, offers some words of advice to Frenchmen so afflicted:

"Sus donc, debout messieurs les gentilz hommes, Qui cnoignez les perilz & dangiers, D'estre regy par pillards estrangiers, Qui vous plâmnez des honneurs & offices, Que vos enfants n'ont les grands benefices... Mettez vos biens, au lieu de vous destruire 4) En drap de soye, a les bien faire instruire." 4)
As for anti-Italianism, which may be defined as a hostility to Italianate manners and morals and way of life, and to its diffusion by Italian and Italianate French courtiers, we have already indicated that this hostility lies behind many of the criticisms of extravagance, luxurious living, effeminacy and effeminacy, which we have examined. Although in most cases such transgressions are not explicitly always referred to as Italianisms, a pointed contrast is drawn between French manners in the period preceding the wide and reciprocal contacts between France and Italy— the result of the Italian campaigns—and present day manners. This is especially so in Bouchet's Panegyric Du Chevalier Sans Reproche, and in Du Saix's Esperon de Discipline.

Du Saix, however, writing in the latter years of this first period, in 1532, is not content solely with insinuation and innuendo. He is often openly hostile to the Italian code of morals, or rather lack of one, demonstrated by their behaviour at court, as can be seen in the following extract, in which the term Italian, more particularly, an adverbial phrase, "en façon d'Italie", is used as a synonym of another adverb denoting 'treacherously':

1) Cf. Gringore, Moralite, 1512: "Il n'est rien pire qu'ung François Italianise."

2) For Bouchet's anti-Italianism in this work see above, p.339.; for Du Saix, op.cit. sig. O Part I.

3) op.cit. Part I, sig. O.
"Car tel vous dict, tout est vostre en la lie,
Qui, au besoin, en façon d'Italie,
Si le priez, engainera le col,
Et que pis est, cherchera le licol,
Ou le moyen s'il peut, pour vous pendre." 1)  

Furthermore, in the second half of this work,
L'Esperon De Discipline, Du Saix attacks the French
courtier for an attitude, a standard of values, which is
surely inherited from the Italians, perhaps even from
the greatest and most widely known of the Italian manuals
on court life, the Cortegiano, which, although not
translated into French at the moment when Du Saix was
writing his attack, was almost certainly known to him.
This is the standard of values which prizes individual
exploits of military daring, expertise in swordsmanship,
prowess in tournaments, in other feats and skills which
can be paraded before others, especially females, in order
to win admiration, approval and favour from those whose
admiration and approval and favour may most benefit the
performer, this is the standard of values which the French
court is accused of preferring over a more truly noble and
humanitarian one:

"L'on dit, il est noble d'armes & du nom,
Il a mené deux grand levriers en lesses,
Pour le present ce n'est pas gentillesse
D'estre ennobly d'honneur & de vertu,
Il faut avoir tué, bille, battu,

1) op. cit. Part I, sig. O.
Et fait tournois pour estre ayné des dames, 1) Celluy est seul noble de nom & d'armes.
S'il est meschant, l'on n'en donne ung festu.
Mais seulement, qu'il ait bien combattu,
Et beaucouf fait de sang humain espadre,
Voilà l'erreur: Celluy qu'on devoir pendre,
Qui son delict exameneroit bien,
La cour dira, c'est un homme de bien, 2) Gentil gallant invincible à l'espé,
C'est une lame à l'essay bien trempée.
Que si il n'est du rang des vicieux,
Mais vertueux & conscientieux,
Qui ne vouldroit faire une chose oblique,
Ny combtroyt, que pour la paix publique.
En l'art qui court, de messieurs les mignons
Celluy n'est des gentils compagnons,
Ny doibt porter ses armes sumptueuses,
Qui vray noble est par œuvres vertueuses. 3)

The precipitate and indiscriminate imitation of Italian literary fashions by mediocre French poets was met with stern opposition by Jean Bouchet. In a passage dating from 1500 - in the Regnars Traversant in fact - he refers imprecisely to certain "chantz à la mode ytalique", without indicating clearly from which quarter those atrocities were perpetrated; but since the court was the centre of all innovations, especially in the Italian field at this moment, and since he refers to Italian offenders - who were almost inevitably confined to the court - as well, and thirdly, since there was no institution

1) Castiglione advises the ambitious courtier to perform at tournaments in front of female admirers. Cf.tr.Chappuis, p.55, Lyons, 1580.
2) Castiglione's courtier was, a priori, "Huomo da bene."
3) op.cit. Part II, sig. B r°.
apart from the judiciary, which he attacked so freely or so readily at the court, it is safe to assume, that in the following passage the offenders he envisages are courtiers:

"Aucuns veulent pindariser
Chantz à la mode ytalique
Qui ne savent pas adviser,
Que par tant le font desprier
Entre oeuix qui ont la pratique;
Car c'est usage barbarique
De quoy les poeies n'usent.
Mais les coquars qui en abusent
Plusieurs tant frangois que latins
Pour dire j'auray les patins
Ou les gantz de belle eloquence,
Usent de terme sans science
Scabreux ainsi qu'ilz veulent mettre
Et ainsi, par folle apparence
On tient souvent varlet pour maistre."

We may briefly sum up the characteristics of the anti-courtier trend in this period thus. It is a movement which is gathering momentum and since there is an increasing tendency for criticisms to stem from the writer's personal knowledge and direct observation of the contemporary scene, most of the anti-courtier writings offer valuable confirmation of changing attitudes, and pointers to future attitudes. For, developing tendencies which were criticised in this period, the religious indifference, the uninhibited fashions, and the worship of

1) op.cit. bib. iv.
all things Italian, were tendencies which were to become more marked at the French court as the century wore on.

Only those attacks in which the main criticism is of flattery and hypocrisy do not contribute particularly to our knowledge of the courtiers at this one period and place, since such shortcomings are traditionally associated with courtiers everywhere.

Similarly, only one of the many attacks on court life in general of this period, gives any real knowledge of the court life in France at the time. The criticisms otherwise are those which had served for past courts, and would serve equally well for future courts, wherever they might exist.

Literary influence in this period, was, as we have seen, largely confined to these general attacks on court life. Those which were not direct imitations of Chartier's Curial, or Piccolomini's letter on court life, continued, in form and content, medieval attacks of this kind. Criticisms of flattery among courtiers likewise continue an existing pattern.

There is no direct Classical influence in the anti-courtier trend in this first period. The great improvements in French satirical literature attendant upon the renewed interest in Classical satire, especially Greek, were, up to

1) See above, pp. 304-5.
1540, confined to other satirical trends - anti-clerical, anti-legal etc. Only indirectly, and unconsciously, in French imitations of Piccolomini, is any classical influence brought to bear.

Finally, as regards literary influences, we have indicated tentatively an early reaction to some of the precepts and values contained in Castiglione's Cortegiano.

Where there is imitation or continuation in anti-courtier writings of this period, there are no great advances in satirical techniques. Direct statement here and elsewhere, which varies only in degree (statement - criticism - declamation - invective), is the approach most favoured by Rhetoriqueurs unaware of the efficacy of ridicule. Some attempt at satirical - occasionally comical - description is tried, by D'Amerval¹, and by Du Saix², and where the venture is made it is effective.

The most implacable, prolific and consistent opponent of courtiers in this period was Jean Bouchet.

¹) See above, pp. 320-1.
²) See above, p. 305.
Chapter VII. The Anti-Courtier Trend
In The First Renaissance,
1540-59.

The Rhetoriqueurs, who recognised no tradition but their own, and were seemingly impervious to the literary developments — provoked by the Renaissance — taking place around them, dominated the field of anti-courtier satire, as we have seen, largely unaided, for the first forty years of the sixteenth century in France. From this moment onwards, however, their role as critics of the court is almost entirely taken over by a generation versed in the humanities and more anxious to apply themselves, with the example of the Classical authors in mind, to the renewal of French literature, than to perpetuating the sterile traditions of their native predecessors. The Renaissance had made itself felt, and exerted an influence upon French writers and their works some considerable time before 1540, but it is not until this period that its beneficial influence attained and transformed the character of the anti-courtier trend.

This period which extends, in the evolution and development of the trend, from 1540-1559, is marked by the
increasing volume and variety of protests recorded. The increase in volume is partly to be attributed to an aggravation of circumstances and conditions which, in the Pre-Renaissance period, originally gave rise to so much criticism. Thus the court is increasingly the focal point of French society and civilisation, attracting increasing numbers of would-be courtiers and proportionately more protests about their activities or lack of activity. There is also ample evidence to show that extravagance, and expenditure necessarily, was mounting at court throughout this period until the brief reign of François II, who took some steps to curb it.

1) On the court and society life under Henri II see Bourciez, *op. cit.*

2) Marino Cavalli, the Venetian ambassador, gives this account of court expenditure towards the end of the reign of François Ier, in 1546, *op. cit.* vol.I, p.283, "La chasse, y compris les provisions chars, filets, chiens, faucons et autres bagatelles, coûte plus de cent cinquante mille écus; les menus plaisirs, tels que banquets, mascarades et autres ébatements, coûtent cinquante mille écus; l'habillement, les tapisseries, les dons privés en exigent autant; les appointements des gens de la maison du roi, des gardes suisses, françaises, écossaises, plus de deux cent mille. Ainsi on croit fermement que la personne du roi, y compris sa maison, ses enfants, et les présents qu'il fait, coûte un million et demi d'écus par an, sans qu'on puisse en rabattre un liard. Si vous voyiez la cour de France, vous ne vous étonneriez pas d'une telle dépense: elle entretient ordinairement six, huit, et jusqu'à douze mille chevaux. Sa prodigalité n'a pas de bornes: les voyages augmentent les dépenses du tiers au moins, à cause des mulets, des charrettes, des litières, des chevaux, des serviteurs qu'il faut employer, et qui coûtent le double de l'ordinaire."

Jean Michel, ambassador in 1561, writing of the even greater extravagance of Henri II, says, *op. cit.* p.405, "on ne se souvient d'un roi qui dépensait autant pour ses commodités et ses plaisirs, et qui tint une plus riche cour." The same
infiltration of French court circles, begun during the first Italian campaigns at the turn of the century, was stimulated as a result of the marriage, in 1533, of the future Henri II to Catherine de Médicis, and considerably accelerated during this period, after 1547, by her elevation to the position of queen of France, on her husband's accession to the throne. Romier, in his work on the Origines Politiques des Guerres de Religion, has described the significance of this event thus:

"C'est qu'au moment où elle monte sur le trône, la Dauphine, timide naguère et modeste, devient la 'procuratrice' d'un parti, du plus ardent et du plus dangereux des partis, celui des fuorusciti italiens. Autour de la reine, le cercle des Florentins, rassemblé jadis, grossit et se fortifie. Nombreux étaient les Italiens, qui, depuis l'enfance de Catherine, regardaient avec espoir monter la fortune imprévue de cette duchessina florentine." 1)

Writers of this period show increasing concern at this penetration of French society, not, as yet, because they feared the political consequences it is true; their misgivings were on the subject of the integrity of French traditions, morals and manners.

2) continued from previous page: The same writer commenting upon the economies made by François II, says, ibid., "Après la mort de Henri II, la dépense de la cour de François, a été réduite de cinq cent mille francs."


2) See below, pp.396-401.
An aggravation of conditions already existing in the previous period does not alone account for the increased volume of anti-courtier satire during the Renaissance, and still less does it account for the increasing variety of protest. Probably the most important single factor in the evolution of the anti-courtier trend in this period is that of literary influences, whose effect in the Pre-Renaissance period, as we know, had been almost entirely confined to attacks on court life in general.

In this period the Spanish writer Guevara, replaces both Chartier and Piccolomini as the leading authority on the liabilities of court life¹, championing with additional emphasis the advantages of a retired rural existence in his Menosprecio de Corte y Alabanza de Aldea, a point of view willingly adopted by many French poets in this period.²

1) Piccolomini is cited as an authority on the miseries of the courtier's existence in this period, by Boaistuau, in his Theatre du Monde, see below p.360, n.2, but his De Curalium Miseriis is not imitated in this period by any other writer to my knowledge.

2) For the influence of Guevara on this trend throughout the century see above, ch.IV. For this point of view adopted in imitations of Guevara in this period see Peletier, Louanges de la Vie de Court Contre la Vie de Repos, (see below, pp.357-364) and Maurice Scève, Elogies de la Vie Solitaire, La Saulsaye, (below, p.367).
This current of opinion was further swollen by the adherents to the classical tradition of the golden mean, of modest contentment preferred to a life of ambition, with their imitations and adaptations of Horace's *Beatus Ille*, and of Claudian's *De Sene Veronense*. Of the direct attacks on court life in general of this period whose sources can be pinpointed, one, a sonnet by Olivier de Magny, is inspired by a sonnet of the Italian Alessandro Piccolomini, the other, a passage of Boaistuau's *Theatre du Monde*, by Piccolomini and Guevara again.

If prevailing literary tastes and trends led to an increase in the number of general attacks on court life, they certainly led to a great increase in the number of attacks on the courtier himself and his profession. Of the Classical writers, Lucian's influence is important in this respect.

1) On these poems and their influence see above, ch. I, pp. 11-14 and below pp. 365-6.


3) See above, ch. III, pp. 36-49, and below, p. 367.


Secondly, a strong reaction to the doctrines taught by Castiglione in his *Cortegiano*, and to his disciples at the French court who practised them, accounts for many of the protests of this period. 1)

Having examined briefly the reasons which lie behind the increasing volume of anti-courtier satire in the Renaissance period, we come now to consider the increasing diversity of the trend, a diversity which covers both substance and treatment.

New to this period for example, are the attacks on the social politeness and dilettantism, and the fashionable neo-Platonic ideas on love, practised by those French courtiers under the influence of Castiglione, while fewer writers of this period confine their attacks on courtiers to the vague and abstract criticisms of flattery; in the Pre-Renaissance period on the other hand, as we have seen, hardly a volume of poetry appeared which did not contain the routine attack(s) on "flateurs de Court". 2)

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1) See above ch.III, part I. and below, pp. 409-460.

The greatest transformation which took place in the anti-courtier satire of this period, was, however, in the treatment and presentation of the subject. Partly this transformation is effected by what was probably a spontaneous development, an increasing reliance upon direct observation, resulting in picturesque representations, with a wealth of concrete and visual details, of the follies of courtiers.¹ More largely responsible in this period, however, for the adoption by French writers of more subtle and sophisticated satirical techniques was once again the influence of the Greek writer, Lucian, a master of satirical eulogy and ironical advice ², who inspired La Borderie in the composition of his Amye de Court, Philibert de Vienne in his Philosophe de Court, Du Bellay in the Poète Courtisan, and an anonymous writer in a similar poem, Le Médecin Courtisan.³

² continued: B. Aeneu, Le Flateur, p. 51, and De Maistre Serviteur, p. 59 in his Imaginâtion Poétique, Lyons, M. Bonhomme, 1552, both of which were probably composed much earlier than the date of publication suggests. On this point see C. A. Mayer, op. cit. p. 55.

¹ Portraits of affectations among courtiers are to be found in the works of Philibert de Vienne, (p. 37), Noel du Fail, (p. 38), Jodelle, (p. 38), Tahureau, (p. 43), and Olivier de Magny (p. 38) among others.

² For an analysis of Lucianic sources of anti-courtier satire in this period see above ch. I, pp. 34-37.

³ For L'Amye de Court see below pp. 41-44; Le Philosophe de Court, pp. 43-47; Le Poète Courtisan, pp. 38-41; Le Médecin Courtisan, Ibid.
So much for the influences affecting the development of the anti-courtier trend in this period. An examination and analysis of the themes revealed in the works which constitute this trend, is now appropriate.

Attacks upon court life in general, in this period, take two distinct forms. Among poets and humanists, disenchantment with court life, and a nostalgia for the life of epicurean freedom and retired contemplation which they may have forsaken, leads to attacks which, directly, or indirectly, oppose court life to country solitude, to the detriment of the former. The years during which this tendency is particularly marked and appears to come to a head, 1542-1547, are also the last years of the long reign of François Ier, a fact which may suggest another reason, a

1) 1542, of course, is the date of the first French edition of the principal prototype of this kind of work, Guerera's Menosprecio, which Estienne Dolet published at this moment, at Lyons, in the translation of Allegre. In the following year, 1543, appeared at Paris Calvy de la Fontaine's De La Felicité Humaine, a translation of P. Beroaldus' work, which again places human happiness, not in the pursuit and attainment of riches and influential positions, but in modest rural occupations. There is even an echo of this tendency to contrast court and country life in the Tiers Livre of Rabelais, which appears in 1546 - "Plus me plaist le son de la rustique cornemuse que les fredonnements des luz, rebecc et violons auiles." Tiers Livre, ch. XLVII. 1547 is the year of publication of Peletier's work, Scève's La Saulesaye, and Mellin de Saint-Gelais' translation of Claudian's De Sene Veronense. On the interesting and simultaneous increase in anti-court propaganda and works celebrating, independently, the charms of rural life, see A. Hulubei, L'Eloge en France Au Seizième Siècle, Paris, Droz, 1933; V. L. Saulnier, Maurice Scève, Paris, Klinkcsieck, 1948-9, vol. I, pp. 315-7.
political one, for the disillusionment which is thus expressed even, in passing, by Marot himself 1) who had elsewhere frequently acknowledged his debt to the court, for the education it had given him as a poet. Secondly, and in more extreme mood, are works which focus the attention directly and exclusively upon the unpleasant aspects of court life.

In Jacques Peletier's **Louanges de la Vie de Court Contre la Vie de Repos**, published in 1547 2), we have an example of the first kind; the poem, in spite of its title, is a satire of court life.

The structure of this poem is well-defined. It takes the form of a debate between two speakers, a courtier and a countryman. Each has one speech in which to enumerate the advantages of his own way of life, and to dispute his opponent's claim that his own particular way of life is the one to be preferred.

The courtier speaks first, leaving the countryman the advantage of the last word - an indication this of the author's own sympathies. Another such indication is to be

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"Que plaeat à Dieu que l'occasion j'euze,
Qu'aupres de toy user mes jours je peusse,
Loing de tumulte & loing des plaisirs cours,
Qui sont en ces ambitieuses Cours.
Là me plairoit mieux qu'avec Princes vivre."

found in the exaggeratedly and unpleasantly lofty and patronising tone the author causes his courtier to adopt in putting his case, beginning by saying that he has no need to defend himself from his adversary’s arguments, but that he will of course exercise magnanimity. The courtier’s arguments in favour of court life, which take up a relatively small proportion of his speech, are these: that court life gives one the best chance of serving the king, of finding friendship, and of improving oneself in the company of women:

"C’est l’acointance amiable et benigne
De la beauté et grace feminine,
Par laquelle est la rudesse polie,
Le tors dressé, la dureté amollie;
Où tous espritz font leur apprentissage,
Où le rustique enorr deviendroit sage." 1)

He accuses the countryman of inconsistency, in that he retires to the country, and protests against court life, only after having first enjoyed the substantial benefits of such a life himself, before retiring with his fortune made:

"C’est doncques vous qui feittes des rusez,
Aprés avoir vos jeunes ans usez
Suivans la court, et plus de bien receu
Que n’en aviez esperé, ny conceu:
Aprés avoir pratiqué les offices,
Et obtenu estatz et benefices
Par le seul bien des Princes liberaux,
Vous les fuyez pour devenir ruraux;
Vous y avez acquis tout vosstre avoir;
Et puis voulez ce bien du monde oster;
Alors que plus ne le povez gonfler." 2)

1) op. cit. ed. Seché, p.128. ed. 1547, fo. 95 v°.
2) op. cit. p.126. ed. 1547, var. gousier.
The country man, when his turn comes to speak, resents the courtier's interpretation of his search for peace and quiet as an excuse for mere idleness. The life he leads, on the contrary, assures him of peace of mind, and deep satisfaction, which would be impossible for a courtier, surrounded by the envy, intrigues and treason of his fellow courtiers, and himself a prey to the turmoil of ambition which is rarely stilled and more rarely satisfied:

"... il ne peust en nostre entendement
Plus grand malaise et ennuy penetren,
Qu'en demandant, rien ou peu impetrer...
Encor faut il qu'en ceste longue attente
Le poursuyvant d'un demain se contente.
0 quantesfois la pensee secrette
Tout à part soy le vray repos regrette.
Et la couleur de la douleur domine,
En mauvais jeu fait faire bonne mine!" 1)

Finally, the countryman invites the courtier, and the reader, to conclude that his modest way of life is in every respect, mentally, physically and morally more salubrious than any other, by enumerating his pleasures and occupations, the opportunities he enjoys of contemplating the universe of nature, of writing, of hunting, and the benefits of plentiful and readily available provisions. 2)

There are distinct echoes, in Peletier's poem, of Guevara's Menosprecio, indicated, right from the start even

1) op.cit. p.129-30.
2) op.cit. p.133.
even in the title — Louanges de la Vie de Court Contre la Vie de Repos 1), which expresses a similar intention on the part of both authors to contrast the two ways of life, except that, it would appear from Peletier’s title that he intended to take a contrary stand to that of Guevara. This is of course not the case; and the altered emphasis of his title is explained simply by the fact that the courtier, who of course speaks in favour of court life, has the first word. In structure, Guevara’s method of contrast and antithesis of court and country life is adapted by Peletier in an accentuated form, that of a debate. In content, many of the points made by Peletier’s country dweller tally closely with those made by Guevara in the Spanish work.

Although the gloomy picture of court intrigue traced for us by Peletier through the country man, is too vague in expression to offer conclusive proof of conscious imitation on his part, it illustrates Guevara’s rubric to chapter 14 of the Mespris de la Court 2), “De Beaucoup de Travailx de la Court & qu’il est de meilleurs Villageois que Courtisans”, and to chapter 15, “Qu’entre Courtisans ne se garde & amitié & loyauté: Est combien est la Court pleine de travail, d’envie & rancune.”

1) The title of the poem in the original edition of 1547 is L’Antithese du Courtisan et de l’homme de Repos, as shown in its table of contents. On fo. 91 we read Louange de la Court Contre la Vie de Repos.

2) We shall quote the French translation of Allegre, Lyons, J. de Tournes, 1551 when discussing imitations, since comparatively few French people knew Spanish at the time, and the work itself was not printed in France in Spanish until 1591. — See Appendix II, no. 96.
But there are closer points of agreement. Peletier, for instance, in spite of his foreknowledge of the conditions of court life, would not prevent any man from going to court, since the individual must decide upon the best course open to him, after having explored conditions at first hand:

"Je ne voudroye avoir homme interdit
D'aller en court, eusse-je les crédit:
Tout au rebours, je dy qu'il faut la voir,
Qui le moyen de vivre veut savoir!" 1)

In this he is certainly inspired by the second chapter of the Mespris. which is headed

"Que nul ne doit conseiller a austruy qu'il aille en Court: ou depuis qu'il y est, qu'il s'en parte. Mais que chacun eslarge l'estat que mieux il aymera." 2)

and in which Guevara goes on to say that the decision to go or to stay away from court, should be made by the individual in the knowledge of the requirements of his temperament and disposition. Both are agreed that the most difficult decision to reach, is not the initial one, but, having entered court, that of if, when, and how to retire. Peletier's suggestions as to the tangled motives which induce a courtier to continue in his profession longer than is wise,

"Mais le moyen pour sa vie amortir,
C'est n'en vouloir ou n'en pouvoir sortir.
En temps et lieu entrer il y faudroit,
Qui en sortir en temps et lieu voudroit;

1) op.cit. p.132.
2) op.cit. p.17. Cf. p.31, "Conclusion que chacun doit connoître sa partée: & si on voit sa condition ambitieuse, impatiente, & convoiteuse, qu'on demeure à la Court." etc.
are most probably derived from his memories of the Spanish work, of the third chapter of this work in particular, in which Guevara, in a psychological analysis of the courtier's motives, shows that greed for money and favour inevitably influences all the decisions he makes. 2) Finally, Peletier's ideas of the advantages of country life, and the programme of activities traced by him for the rustic owe their inspiration, although they appear in his poem in a much diluted form, to Guevara, in chapters 5-8 of the Menosprecio—both seek to communicate the sense of increased awareness of the natural world on the part of the country dweller. Thus Peletier enthuses:

"Vous connoissez le journel tour des Cieux,
Vous assignez les estoilles des yeux...
Vous contemplez les ouvrages parfaitz,
Que tant divers par tout Nature a faitz..." 3)

in the same vein which characterises Guevara's preface to a detailed enumeration of country pastimes (too long to quote):—

"Autre privilege est que...les jours y semblent estre plus longs, & si les emploje on mieux, ce qui n'est a la court, & aux villes; ou les ans passent sans qu'on les sente; & les jours

1) op.cit. p.132.
2) op.cit. p.28.
3) op.cit. p.133.
sans qu'on en jouisse. Et combien que les esbats soient plus grands au village que aux villes: si est ce que un jour durera plus au village qu'un mois à la court; à raison de quoy le village est heureux, où le soleil semble faire plus long tour. La matinée est prompte, le soir paresseux à venir." 1)

Peletier himself had limited experience of French court life, having been presented to Marguerite de Navarre by his friend Nicolas Denisot. His strong dislike of this milieu, and his preference for studious solitude, is well known, for in a letter to his brother, in 1557, he writes, "honores non sito", and to Ronsard he confided, "nihil nisi in secessione et solitudine possum scribere." 2) The fact that in writing his condemnation of court life, he had recourse to his reminiscences of an earlier, and much read Spanish work, is

1) op.cit. p.47. This passage inspired another leading French poet of the sixteenth century, at precisely the same moment, in 1547, a clear indication of the esteem in which it was held. Maurice Scève copied it in his Erlogue de la Vie Solitaire, La Saulsaye, Lyons, J.de Tournes, 1547, a work which cannot strictly be included in the number of those constituting the anti-courtier trend, since the discussion, between Antire and Philerme, is one in more general terms on the respective merits of town, not court - although the conditions criticised are common to both, and country.

"I.......Il est bien vray qu'en ville
Les passetemps y sont plus grands qu'icy,
Et les soucis y sont plus grands aussi...
Le moys entier ne dure point un jour.

Et en ce bien delectable sejour
Le moindre jour pres qu'autant qu'un mois monte,
Car en tout temps la matinée est prompte,
Et le soir est plus tardif à venir."

op.cit. in Le Livre de Plusieurs Pieces, Lyons, Thibault Fayen, 1549, fo. 60 v°.

2) Quoted by C.Juge, op.cit. p.350.
therefore no impeachment upon his sincerity since his own feelings are in close accord with those expressed by Guevara, in whose work he found almost a justification of his own position.

The conflict between their ambition to achieve the highest recognition of their work, which took them to court, often in the invidious position of canvassers and suppliants, and their need for, and enjoyment of, as writers in the classical and humanist tradition, freedom in which to pursue their literary activities, this conflict was not quite so easily resolved in favour of a studious life by other poets of this period, as it had been in the case of Peletier. Both Olivier de Magny and Du Bellay were unable to rise above this conflict, and expressed their resentment at the inferior positions they occupied, and the menial tasks they were called upon to discharge, particularly during their respective periods of service in Italy, in their poetry, the one in Les Souspirs, the other in Les Regrets.


It is perhaps significant that in both these works, the earliest attacks on court life in the sequence of sonnets, are indirect, and in the case of Magny at least, impersonal, as if the writer in each case was aware that outright hostility and untempered criticism could still damage his prospects of advancement, small as they might then have been. In Magny's free paraphrase of Claudian's De Sene Veronense, the thirty-fourth of the sonnets of Les Souspirs, there is more than mere nostalgia for the way of life described, there is implied a weariness with the trammelled existence and subservient role which Magny was enduring at that moment:—

"Bien heureux est celuy qui, loing de la cite,
Vit librement aux champs dans son propre heritage,
Et qui conduit en paix le train de son mesnage,
Sans rechercher plus loing autre felicite.

Il ne sçait que veult dire avoir necessite,
Et n'a point d'autre soing que de son labourage,
Et si sa maison n'est pleine de grande ouvrage,
Aussi n'est-il greve de grande adversite..."

In Du Bellay's parallel sonnet the same weariness is again expressed indirectly in an adaptation of this same Latin epigram, but the allusions to the courtier's lot are more definite and pointed:—

"O! qu'heureux est celuy qui peut passer son aage
Entre pareils a soy & qui sans fiction,
Sans crainte, sans envie & sans ambition,
Regne paisiblement en son pauvre mesnage!....

1) op. cit. ed. Blanchemail, p. 30, XXXIV.
Il ne s'empesche point des affaires d'autrui,
Son principal espoir ne depend que de luy,
Il est sa court, son roy, sa faveur & son maistre.  

The preceding sonnet in the sequence, built upon the same contrast, and with additional contrast of the poet's state, past and present, is more poignant and more intensely lyrical—

"Je vois ma franchise en prison se changer,
Et la fleur de mes ans en l'hyver de ma vie."

Unmitigated and unconcealed disenchantment is the mood of the poet who, abandoning indirect expressions of frustration embodied in the praise of a life he might have chosen, speaks openly of the unpleasant aspects of court life. Thus Magny, in later sonnets of Les Soupirs, concentrates on the anguish produced by a career at court, on the inevitable disparity between aspiration and reality—

"Celuy qui suit la Court, s'il n'est heure des Cieux
D'y pouvoir demeurer librement & sans peine,
Sent dedans chacun nerf & dans chacune veine
Coule de jour en jour un trait d'ambiance.

Il a toujours l'esprit veillant & soucieux,
Qui comme vif argent se tourmente & demeine,
Il bastit en resvant cent chasteaux sur l'arene,
Et n'arrete jamais ny les pies ny les yeux.

Et cependant qu'ainsi le pauvre se tempest,
Et qu'il ne songe point à la mort qui le guette,
Elle l'envoys en bas fraudé de son espoir.

C'est pourquoi Remboillet, les courts je ne puis suyre,
Et pourtant mes desirs n'aspirent qu'au savoir,
Et qu'en vivant ainsi je n'ay soing que de vivre."

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2) op.cit. XXXVII, p.86. Also Sonnet XXXIX, p.87.
3) op.cit. p.98, CXXVIII.
Magny was well acquainted, from personal observation, and perhaps, from personal experience, with such disparity, yet in this sonnet, in the first two quatrains, he is clearly following Piccolomini's sonnet, Contra L' Ambition de La Corte de Roma, which begins:

"Chi mette in Roma'1 pie, se gran favore, Giulian, non gli da'l ciel, si sente drento, In quieta ambition, qual vivo argento Scorrer le vene, e dar assalto al Core; No sta fermo'l pensiero, e'l senso fuore Veglia mai sempre, in ogni banda intento; Passa'l pie innanz' ognihor; no sta contento D'un grado men che del supremo honore..." 1)

although such imitation need not, however, detract from the sincerity with which he viewed the plight of the courtier. In fact the only notable pretence in Magny's sonnet, in the last tercet, is that he himself is merely a spectator of court life, moved not by desire for advancement, but for knowledge, whereas he was very much of a courtier to the end of his life. 2) But this too seems to be an adaptation of Piccolomini's sonnet and of the last tercet; he professes to be inspired not by ambition, but by Cupid. 3)

Disenchantment and disillusionment is even more clearly expressed in the following sonnet, in which Magny demonstrated the ephemeral nature of hard-won favour, extinguished by a careless act or thoughtless word:

1) See above ch. Ill, p. 99.
2) Cf. Favre, op. cit., p. 93, 91 and 95 sqq.
3) See above loc. cit.
"Servez longueument un seigneur aujourdhuy, Despendez vostre bien à luy faire service, Corrompez en servant la vertu pour le vice, Et soyez attaché nuit & jour près de luy.

Pour luy donner plaisir donnez-vous de l’ennuy, Sans nul respect à vous, servez-le en tout office, Adestez-vous aux jeux dont il fait exercice, Et ne demandez rien pour vous, ny pour autruy.

Continuez longtemps, pour quelque bien acquyer, A le servir ainsi, puis cassez quelque verre, Ou faillez d’un seul mot, vous perdez vostre espoir;

Vous perdez vostre temps, vostre bien, vostre peine, Et ne vous reste rien qu’une promesse vaine, Et un vain souvenir d’avoir fait le devoir."

A further sombre picture of the servitude of court life is to be found in Pierre Boaistuau’s Theatre du Monde. The first part of this attack is imitated from Piccolomini’s De Curialium Miseriis, to whom Boaistuau refers the reader for further details:

"Voylà comme ces pauvres misérables courtisans vendent leur liberté pour s’enrichir. Il faut qu’ils obéissent & obtempèrent à tous commandemens, justes ou injustes, qu’ils se contraignent de rire quand le Prince rit, qu’ils pleurent quand il pleure, approuvent ce qu’il approuve, qu’ils condamnent ce qu’il...

1) Le Theatre du Monde, Paris, V.Sertenas, 1561. Bk.II, fo.44v° "Si tu desires plus ample connoissance, lis ce qu’a fait dom Anthoine de Guervare, & Aeneas Sylvius, autrement dit le Pape Pie qui ont composé deux tresexcellens & particuliers traittez..."
condemne. Il faut obéir à tous, alterer & changer du tout sa nature, être sévère avec les sévères, triste avec les tristes, & quasi se transformer en la nature de celui à qui ils veulent plaire, ou n'avoir rien. Si le Prince est lascif & impudique, il le faut être aussi: s'il est cruel, il faut se délecter à l'effusion de sang. Brief, il faut qu'il symbolise avec l'humeur de celui à qui il veult plaire."

The second part of the attack describes the court as the centre of all the vices, and the reward of court life as physical degeneration. Here Boaistuau's authority is cited from Guevara's *Mespris de la Court*:

"Beaucoup à la court tiostent le bonnet, qui te voudroient avoir esté tete. Tel ploye le genou à te faire reverence qui se voudroit estre rompu la jambe à te porter en terre. Tel y est appelé Monsieur qui merite nom de bourreau. Il y'ousjours un je ne sey quoi, ou un je ne sey comment, ou un je ne l'entend pas, qui est cause qu'incessamment on se plainct ou s'altere, ou s'y despe. A la Cour, si voulez adulterer, vous trouverez des complices: si voulez querelles, vous trouverez à qui: si voulez mentir, vous trouverez...

1) This passage is a combination of several from the Neo-Latin work, first of "Oportet te...iustum atque iniustum exequi mandatum, ridere et flore cum rege, laudare quem laudat, uituperare quem uituperat..." op.cit. p.35, para.12; secondly, of "Oportet in curiis obsequi omnibus, communicare quod habes, servire temporibus, versare naturam tuam et regere nec non ad tempus hue et illuc torquere et flectere, cum tristibus seuser, cum remissis locundae, cum senibus graviter, cum libidinis sus luxuriae uulere. Quod nisi feceris, nec magnus in curia nec diuturnus esse poteris." p.52, para. 23; and thirdly of "Placet auaro regi qui pecunias undecunque refert. Gratias est libidinoso qui virgines atque maritas sibi conciliat... Crudeli iocundus est qui sanguinem quam multum effundit humanum. Nemo acceptus est, nec acceptus est...nisi magno alium facinore sese principi conciliaverit."

op.cit. p.29, para. 7-8."
"qui approuvera vos mensonges: si voulez desrober, 
on vous dira mille subtilitez pour y parvenir. 
Si voulez pipper, cartes & des ne vous manquent 
point. Si voulez jurer, & temoigner faux, vous 
trouverez qui vous paiera, brief, si voulez vous 
addonner a toutes sortes de maux & de pechez, 
vous en trouverez là les vrais formularies & 
exemplaires. Voila la vie d'un grand nombre de 
messieurs les courtisans, qui n'est pas vie, mais 
une mort prolique. Voyla e'n quoy leur jeunesse est 
emploiee, qui n'est pas jeunesse: mais une mort 
transitoire. Quand aux vieillarts, aghais tu qu'ilz 
en rapportent? la teste grise, les pieds pleins de 
gouttes, la bouche edentee, les reins pleins de 
gravelle... & l'ame guere nette de peche." 1)

1) op. cit. fo. 44r° A much closer imitation. Compare Mespris de Court 
p.89:"beaucoup de gens vous y esteront le bonnet qui vous 
voudroient avoir osté la teste: & tel vous fait la 
reverence, qui voudroit s'estre rompu la jambe à vous 
porter en terre..."; p.62: "fault...qu'il appelle Monsieur 
a chacun mot qui merite nom de bourreau..."; p.91:"La Court ha 
tousjours un je ne sçay quoy, un je ne sçay comment, & un je 
ne l'entens qui cause qu'incessamment on s'y despite;" p.54: 
"A la court, si quelconc veult adulterer, il ha complices, 
s'il ha querelle, trouvera qui mettra la main a l'espee;...s'il 
voueul publiquement mentir, il trouvera qui approuvera ses 
mensonges; s'il veult desrober, on lui dira mille subtilitez 
pour parvenir, s'il veult jouer, il y ha tant de chattes & de 
dez; s'il veult jurer faux, il y aura gens qui le payeront. 
Finalement, s'il veult s'adonner a toutes sortes de mal 
faire, en la court en sont les parfaits exemplaires..."; p.108: 
"Ma vie (Lecteur) n'ha pas esté vie, mais prolique 
mort...ma jeunesse un sommeil transitoire;" p.109:" La recompense 
que j'en eu, fut que j'en rapportay la teste grise, les pieds 
pleins de goutte, la bouche edentee, les reins pleins de gravelle... 
& mon ame non guere nette de peche."
Attacks on the general unpleasantness of court life are far outnumbered by attacks on the unpleasantness of courtiers themselves. The most obvious reproach is no longer the most commonly met with; attacks on flattery diminish considerably, without however completely disappearing. We shall see later that the reason for this is not that flattery itself had been banished from the courtier's repertoire, but had been brought up to date, reintroduced in a more subtle guise, and was seen, both by exponents convinced of its desirability, and by opponents equally convinced of its iniquity, as a science of purely Italian invention. The whole art of the courtier was transformed, under this influence and more particularly under the influence of Castiglione, into a philosophy of dubious morality, in which flattery, never overtly advocated, was present in a combination of conformity and dissimulation. 1)

The traditional court flatterer, unmoved by the new techniques, is first commemorated in this period in a dramatic monologue. The most effective way of satirising the flatterer is to give him the opportunity of publicly proclaiming his expertise. This is what the anonymous author of the Dialogue de Placebo Pour Un Homme Seul, has done.

1) See below pp. 437-460, the reaction provoked in the works of P. de Vienne, Tahureau and Louis le Caron.
The Dialogue de Placebo was first given at Rouen around 1540. It is not known whether this monologue, which is quite short, has come down to us in its entirety, or whether it was merely part of a complete dramatic work.

Placebo seems to have been the stock name of a type, the type of charlatan, master of intrigue and flattery, in fact a descendant of the valets and slaves of Latin comedy, of one in particular, of Terence's Gnatho, whose name also was a by-word for flattery. Placebo, in his self-laudatory soliloquy, in his unbounded faith in himself and in the excellence of his profession speaks in the same voice as Gnatho in his famous monologue, and loses nothing in the comparison. He enters with verve, confiding that:


The term Placebo is found in the Canterbury Tales, v.7657, in the Journal d'Un Bourgeois de Paris Sous Charles VI, Ed. Tuetey, p.46, in Enseignements of the Chevalier de la Tour Landry, ch. LXXXIV ed. Montaiglon, p.34, and as we have seen, in the rondeau of Roger de Collerye, ed. d'Héricault, p.199, as a synonym of flattery and "faire du Placebo" as a synonym of "to flatter".

2) For the influence of Terence on the anti-courtier trend, see above, ch.1, pp.4-7.
which may once have been due to his chicanery and knowledge of the by-ways of the law, but now to his success at court:

"Pour le temps qui regne et qui court,
Placebo est homme de court:
Court vestu et de longue robe,
Placebo sait bien qu'on desrobe,
Placebo n'est point veritable,
Ainsi c'est ung amy de table
Ung homme cherchant les banques...

Voyelà de quoy Placebo vit...
Placebo est partout suiy,
Car c'est celuy qui faict l'entree,
Placebo a mainote ventree,
Pour medire & pour raporter,
Tousjours est prest de se vanter,
Placebo est ung fort menteur,
Un blandissee udcateur...
Qui sages de Placebo user
Il est tenu tres habille homme." 2)

But, increasingly, humanists reflected the concern which the Ancients had shown for the political consequences and dangers of flatterers with influence over the minds and actions of rulers.

Interest in the theory of government and maintenance of authority was considerable in Europe as a whole in this period and was stimulated by the publication of Il Principe, soon after the death of Machiavelli. Now, one of the questions considered by him in the Prince is the relationship

1) op.cit. p.12.
2) ibid. p.13-14.
between ruler and adviser. 1) La Boétie, whose Discours de la Servitude Volontaire, written between 1546-48, may have been intended as a reply, considers this problem, as did, some time later, in 1556, the French jurist and writer Louis le Caron. 3) Whereas Machiavelli, although aware of the dangers of flatterers in the courts, is concerned solely with their possible encroachment upon the authority of the ruler, as a menace to his absolute control of government, La Boétie, and later, Le Caron, are concerned with the wider and more iniquitous repercussions of the influence of flatterers, firstly on the country at large, as the following extract from the Discours will show:

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1) Il Principe, ed. L. Burd, Oxford, 1891—chapter XXIII, the subject of which is how flatterers should be shunned by Princes.


"Mais maintenant je viens à un point, lequel est à mon avis le ressort et le secret de la domination, le soutien et le fondement de la tyrannie...ce sont toujours quatre ou cinq qui maintiennent le tyran, quatre ou cinq qui tiennent tout le pays en servage. Toujours il a été que cinq ou six ont eu l'oreille du tyran, et s'y sont approchés d'eux-mêmes, ou bien ont été appelés par lui, pour être les complices de ses cruautés, les compagnons de ses plaisirs, les maquereaux de ses voluptés, et communs aux biens de ses pilleries. Ces six adressent si bien leur chef, qu'il faut, pour la société qu'il soit méchant, non pas seulement par ses méchancetés mais encore des leurs. Ces six ont six cents qui profitent sous eux, et font de leurs six cents ce que les six font au tyran...ainsi le tyran asservit les sujets les uns par le moyen des autres...voyant ces gens-là, qui nacquent le tyran pour faire leurs besognes de sa tyrannie et de la servitude du peuple, il me prend souvent ébahissement de leur méchanceté..." 1)

La Boëtie is thus diametrically opposed to Machiavelli in his view that an absolute ruler is maintained and not, as Machiavelli suggested, destroyed, by those closest to him, favourites and flatterers, and in this sense he may be replying, as Barrérehas suggested, to Machiavelli's observations. But it is equally possible that this protest against courtier-agents of a Prince's tyranny, was inspired by a contemporary event, by the spectacle of Montmorency's cruel repression of rebellions - provoked by Henri's attempts to raise money by the imposition of salt taxes - in La Guyenne, towards the middle of the century.

La Boëtie, great as was his contempt for the favourite

1) op.cit. pp.89-92
and flatterer of the ruler, is none the less aware of another of the dangers of flattery, the danger to the flatterer himself, which he states forcefully:

"Qu'est-ce autre chose de s'approcher du tyran que se tirer plus arrière de sa liberté, et par maniere de dire serrer à deux mains et embrasser la servitude? Le laboureur et l'artisan, pour tant qu'ils soient asservis, en sont quittes en faisant ce qu'ils ont dit; mais le tyran voit les autres qui sont près de lui, coquinant et mendiant sa faveur: il ne faut pas seulement qu'ils fassent ce qu'il dit, mais qu'ils pensent ce qu'il veut, et souvent pour lui satisfaire qu'ils provennent encore ses pensées. Ce n'est pas tout à eux que de lui obéir, il faut encore lui complaire; il faut qu'ils se rompent, qu'ils se tourmentent, qu'ils se tuent à travailler en ses affaires et puis qu'ils se plaisent de son plaisir, qu'ils laissent leur goût pour le sien, qu'ils forcent leur complexion, qu'ils dépoillent leur naturel; il faut qu'ils se prennent garde à ses paroles, à sa voix, à ses signes et à ses yeux; qu'ils n'aient ni œil, ni pied, ni main, que tout ne soit au guet pour espier ses volontés et pour découvrir ses pensées. Cela est-ce vivre heureusement?" 1) 

in this classic portrait of the flatterer.

Louis le Caron, in the first of his Dialogues condemns flatterers firstly for their corruption of the Prince, secondly for their disruption of flourishing states, and concludes with a comment upon the type of people currently

1) op. cit. pp.92-4.

2) op. cit. Premier Livre: Le Courtisan Premier, Ou, Que Le Prince Doit Philosopher. There is very little published work on this author; a Latin thesis on his poetry by F. Gohin, De Lud. Charondae Vita et Versibus, 1902, and a biographical study by L. Pinvert, Louis le Caron dit Charondas, in Rev. de la Renaissance, 1902.
in favour - this last a departure from the formal theoretical discussion which had occupied him up until that moment:

"Il n'est honnête de ruser le prince de telles manières de dissimuler: ce n'est noblement enseigner un esprit royal, ains le corrompre, & (pour mieux dire) empoisonner de la plus pernicieuse misère, qui puisse jamais entrer dans un royaume. Qu'est-il nécessaire où la prudence domine, d'user de vaines & trompeuses subtilités, principalement à un prince duquel la volonté est reçue pour loi? Partant il ne doit endurer ceux qui le voulent caresser & cindre ses oreilles de fausse et blandissante flatûrie, le perpétuel mal des Rois, à lequel sous sa couverte trahison plus souvent détruit les fleurissant royaumes que le plus furieux ennemi. "Ces subtils" (comme dit nostre Poète François) "artisans de mensonges"

Et bons pipeurs de vérité
Fardant sous vaine autorité
Le vain abus de leurs vains songes
sont en moeurs semblables aux Regnards pleins de finesse & tromperies: à est impossible de les voir entre les bons reciter quelque parole vertueuse. Je m'émarveille puis que le nom de flateur est odieux à chacun, comment tontfois on se délecte d'estre flâter. Si quelcun dit un propos non tant plaisant qu'utile, à grand peine sera il resceuill de la moindre des faveurs, des quelles jouissent je ne sçay quelz mignons, qui ne servent que de plaisanter avec leurs petites testes sans cervelle." 1)

Du Bellay's protest, in the Regrets, of the hypocrisy of the courtiers - "ces vieux singes de court" -

1) op.cit. fol.16 vo. A marginal note tells us that the author's quotation is from Ronsard, Ode de la Paix.
".................qui ne sçavent rien faire,
Sinon en leur marcher les princes contrefaire....
Si quelqu'un devant eux reçoit un bon visage,
Ilz le vont caresser, bien qu'ilz crevent de rage..."

with its borrowing from Ariosto's second satire in the lines

"Si leur maistre se moque, ilz feront le pareil,
S'il ment, se ne sont eux qui diront du contraire,
Plustost auront-ilz veu a fin de luy complaire, 1)
La lune en plein midy, à minuit le soleil...

is well known, but Ronsard's complaint about the worthless
and hyperbolical protestations of friendship which he has
encountered at court, has attracted little attention by
comparison. The poem in question is the Ode à Monseigneur
le Cardinal de Chastillon 2) first published in the Nouvelle
Continuation d'Amours of 1556:

"Mais d'où vient cela, mon Odet?
Si de fortune par la rue
Quelque Courtisan je salue,
Ou de la voix, ou du bonnet,
Ou d'un clin d'œil tant seulement,
De la teste, ou d'un autre geste,
Soudain par serment il proteste
Qu'il est à mon commandement.
Soit qu'il me trouve chez le Roy,
Soit qu'il en sorte ou qu'il y vienne,
Il met sa main dedans la mienne,
Et jure qu'il est tout à moy...."

The sequel to these apparently friendly scenes, as described
next by Ronsard, is quite otherwise than one would have
expected:

1) Ed. cit. pp. 1723, sonnet CL, vv. 2-3, 9-10; and 5-9. See above

2) Œuvres Complètes, ed. Laumonier, Paris, Lemerre, 1914-19,
Poète Lyrique, 1902, p. 424.
"Mais quand un affaire de soin
Me presse à luy faire requeste,
Tout soudain il tourne la teste,
Et devient sourd à mon besoin;
Et si je veux le r'aborder
Ou l'accometre en quelque sorte,
Mon Courtisan passe une porte,
Et ne daigne me regarder,
Et plus je ne luy suis cognu,
Ny mes vers, ny ma poesie,
Non-plus qu'un estranger d'Asie,
Ou quelqu'un d'Afrique venu." 1

Ronsard is inspired here not only by personal experience, but also by Marullus’ epigram Ad Antonium Petrutium, in which a similar situation is described. 2

Philibert de Vienne is the author of the following satirical portrait which ridicules French courtiers for their foppish appearance and affected mannerisms:

"l'on peut voir...aucuns petits muguetz de Court,
Compagnons à marier de ville, tous Courtisans affectez, qui font la petite bouche, marchent en pas de grece; crachent à coste, parlent à fretiz,
respondent à eschantillon, portent gang parfumez
à la cinture, la petite botine découpee, la
cape courte, le petit bonnet, les cheveux rescre-
pelliz à la Cesarienne, aucunesfois le petit
toupet en forme de passefillon entre le front &
l'oreille, & venans en est equipage avec le petit
mot d'italien ou Espagnol, qu'ilz portent en
l'escarcelle, deviseront avec quelque grand
personnage des affaires du Royaume & diront brave-
ment que le Roy fait grand service à un tel
Gentilhomme. Desquelle on peut dire, ce que l'on
discit du Philosophe qui avoit belle barbe, Rasex
luy la barbe, il ne saura plus rien; aussi ostez à
des mistes leurs habitz telz que j'ay descritz,
vous les trouverez bestes, ignares, rustiques &
Pithaux; combien que, sans cela, gens qui ont un
peu la veue bonne ne laissent pas les connoistre." 3

1) Ronsard, loc.cit.
2) See Laumonier, loc.cit.
3) Le Philosophe de Court, Lyons, Je de Tournes, 1547, pp.29-30.
in a way which supposes close and acute observation.

Jodelle, too, in a Chanson in his Amours 1), attacks

the French courtier for his unjustified morgue and
mannerisms:

"Jaqueter et boufonner,
Sur autruy se patronner,
Singes en dits, et en faits,
Jusques aux gestes mauvais
De ceux qui ont vogue et bruit,
Car ces deux tous seuls on suit:
Estre à tous serf, toutefois
Se morguer en petits rois:

Avancez le nez, souffler
Les plumes, sa voix enfler
Et puis soudain, s'il le faut,
La rabaisser de bien haut,
La radoucissant d'un ris
Qu'on a tout appris apres,
Qui souvent entre eux s'emeut
Sans s'avoir qui les y met..."

Their pretentious elegance is implicitly condemned by

those writers concerned with court extravagance. Ronsard,
in an ode addressed to Henri II 2), congratulating him upon

an ordonnance of 1550 which was designed to promote greater
sobriety in clothes, welcomes it also as a means of curbing
ostentation among courtiers:

1) _Les Amours et Anthes Poésies de Jodelle_, J. A. van Bever, Paris, Lemerre, 1907. Chanson IX, p.149. Although this poem appears not to have been dated, it is quite probable that it was composed soon after the debacle of the entertainment written and directed by Jodelle, and performed before the king and court in February 1559, which earned for Jodelle the scorn and derision of the courtiers present - the event, and Jodelle's reaction to the hostility of the courtiers are described by Colletet in his _Vie de Jodelle_, p.26, cf., ed., cit. On Jodelle see Ch. Lenient, _La Satire en France au XVIe Siecle_, vol.II, p.13 sqq; Bourciez, _op.cit._ p.300.

2) _Au Roy Henri II, Sur les Ordonnances Faites L'An 1550_, Ode
In one of his last compositions before his death, the Ample Discours au Roy Sur le Falet de Ses Quatre Estats, Du Bellay proposes to François II a policy of restraint in financial matters, which he says, would affect most of all the nobility, whose extravagance in matters of dress, and fashion-consciousness has earned the French the reproach of inconstancy:

"Ceste loy sumptuaire à tous également Profitable sera: mais principalement Au noble, qui par là s'efforce de paraistre: Comme si le moien de se faire connoistre Despendoit de l'habit, & non de la vertu, Dont cest ordre sur tous doit estre revestu. Ce qui à l'estranger donne plus de matiere D'estimer le François de nature legere, C'est la variété de son accoutrement, Subjet comme un Protee à divers changement."  

2) continued: II, Book V, published with the Amours, of 1552. On this poem see Laumonier, Ronsard, Poête Lyrique, pp.79-80, 373-4.

1) ed.cit. vol. II p. 373


3) op.cit. p.303.
In the same poem, Du Bellay makes a muted, respectful plea for a curtailment of expenses incurred in the day to day organisation and running of the court, expenses which it was in the King's power to curb, including gifts and pensions to courtiers:

"Mais sur tout, s'il vous plaît régler votre dépense (Comme vous avez fait) de sorte que la France
Soit d'autant soulagée, & le fruit de la paix
Ne s'escole perdu en inutiles fraiz
De masques, de banquets, & ce que l'artifice
Tire de vostre main, soubz umbre de service." 1)

By far the most violent condemnation of lavish court expenditure in this period is that contained in a poem by Barthélemy Aneau, *Les Garoux*, one of the collection of poems published under the title of *L'Imagination Poétique*, in 1552. 2)

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1) op.cit. p.202-3. Du Bellay, first among the poets of the Pléiade, took to poetry with a political bias. He is followed, in the next period by Olivier de Magny, whose sonnets to Charles IX were never published in his lifetime (see below, ch.VIII, pp. 463-525) and of course by Ronsard (see below, ch. VIII, pp. 468 etc.)

The date of composition of *Les Loups Garoux* is not definitely known; the other poems in the same volume would appear to belong, both in style and content, to a much earlier period than the date of publication would suggest. By the vehemence of its language and the acerbity of its tone however, *Les Loups Garoux* belongs surely to the period in which it was published. Aneau writes of the oppression of the people by the agents of a "violent seigneur" eager to subsidise their master's pleasures, and their own in so doing, at the expense of the poorer majority:

"Gens inhumains, Satallites iniques,
Servans aux falotz des vouloirs tyranniques,
Entretenans l'excessive despense
D'un violent Seigneur: qui rien ne pense
Fors seulement qu'à ses subjectz manger,
Et jusque aux os leur substance ronger.
En sa maison bruslanto de l'arsure
De Gourmandise, Avarice & Luxure
Faux serviteurs, qui soubz nom de service
Pour eux nourrir, & du Seigneur le vice
Trouvent toujours quelque moyen urgent
(Soit Force, ou Droict) de luy fournir argent,
Par Fraude, Dol, Extorse, Pillerie,
Par Force aussi, Rapine & Vollerie.
Non plus ayans des hommes le corps cher,
Que de brebis prestes à escorcher.
N'est pas servy tel seigneur par des Loups?
Sont-ilz pas Loups pires que Loups Garoux?"¹

With La Boétie's contemporary protest in mind, and with the knowledge that, apart from being subject to normal feelings of compassion for the oppressed, Aneau was also a Protestant,

¹ op. cit. p. 95. We have not quoted the poem in its entirety as it is very long.
another group persecuted at this time by Henri II, it is not difficult to ascribe a precise target to his remarks. His attack here, however, has a polemical character associated normally with the fierce anti-court satire of the period of the Religious Wars.

Of particular interest and importance in this first Renaissance period are the frequent and bitter attacks on the ignorance and philistinism of the court which reveal the friction between the courtier and the man of letters, especially the poet. In the Pre-Renaissance period, when there is no reason for believing that courtiers were any less ignorant or indifferent to letters, we have found such criticism in the work of only one writer, Jean Bouchet. The answer to the increasing hostility between the two in this period is not only to be attributed to the tendency of the courtier to ridicule what is beyond his comprehension, and the contempt of the parasitic and easy-living for those whose assiduity and continued effort is met with miserable recompense or complete rebuff, but also in part to the writer and poet himself. For it is noteworthy that this friction should come to a head during and immediately after the period in which the poets of the Fleiade had publicly proclaimed in their manifestos and their poems, their grandiose conceptions of the importance of the poet and his mission.

1) See above ch. VI, pp. 40-1.
Olivier de Magny, in 1557, before he made his peace with the court and was virtually accepted there before his death, drew this portrait of an empty-headed, frivolous ignorant courtier:

"Qui met tout le matin à se friser la teste,
A performer sa barbe avec de la civette
A frotter les dons, & se laver les yeux;
Qui rrisse moins que rien un homme studieux,
Et pousse jusqu'au ciel une ignoraante beste..."

at whose hands he himself had suffered.

The resentment which Jodelle felt towards those courtiers who had derided and humiliated him after the failure, caused by a technical hitch in the production, of an entertainment he had put on before the King and court in February of 1558, is described by Colletet in his *Vie de Jodelle*, thus:

"ses envieux ne manquèrent pas de mal parler de lui, et d'examiner ses vers et ses pensées avec toute la sévérité de la plus rigoureuse critique; et c'est à ceux-là principalement qu'il répond avec un esprit de colère, voire même de mépris et de menace. Il les appelle des "Escumeurs des œuvres vertueuses" et dit que l'excellent poète ne peut déplaire qu'à trois sortes de gens: à ceux qui sont si stupides, qu'ils ne peuvent rien sentir; à ceux qui sont si dégoustées qu'ils ne peuvent rien savourer; à ceux qui sont si malins qu'ils tacheront de faire perdre le goust et le sentiment aux autres."

But we do not have to rely entirely upon this second-hand account for evidence of Jodelle's resentment, and contempt of the ignorance of rank and file courtiers. His acrimony is


recorded in this Chanson, from which we have already had occasion to quote:

"Tout autant m'est n'avoir rien
Qu'user comme ils font du bien,
En leurs hauts rangs je les voy
Etre trop plus bas que moy:
He dédaigne tous les heurs,
Tous les moyens et faveurs
Naissans du hazard, et non
Du merite et du renom,
Si des vertus, qui aux cours
Ont maintenant plus de cours:
Comme de tout ignorer,
Et nonobstant s'asseurer
A donner effrontement
De tout un lourd jugement:
Qu bien par mine vouloir
Faire un silence valoir...
La cour est sans juste chois,
Juste raison, juste pois..."

It is, however, in the Regrets of Du Bellay that we find the classic example of hostility between poet and courtier. Dismayed, on his return from Italy, to find that a cynical materialism had ousted virtue and love of learning from the French court, he writes, with apparent dispassion:

"Tu t'abuses (Belleau) si pour estre savant,
Savant & vertueux, tu penses qu'on te prise.
Il faut (comme l'on dit) estre homme d'entreprise,
Si tu veux qu'a la cour on te pousse en avant...
La science à la table est des seigneurs prise;
Mais en chambre (Belleau), elle sert de risée."

It is in this sonnet that Du Bellay, with the morgue characteristics of a certain class of intellectual, equates the courtier in his ignorance with the commoner, referring to him and his kind as members of the 'populaire'.

3) ibid.v.12 "L'homme trop vertueux desplait au populaire".
A further sonnet in this series, speaks more particularly of the contempt and ridicule of the courtier for the poet. Du Bellay returns the contempt with admirable concision:

"Vous dites (Courtisans) les poètes sont fous, 
Et dites vérité. Mais aussi dire j'ose...
Nous sommes fous en rime, & vous l'estes en prose."¹

secure in the knowledge that the poet will always have the last word over his adversaries:

"Si vous riez de nous, nous faisons la pareille,
Mais cela qui se dit s'en voile par l'oreille, 
Et cela qui s'escript ne se perd pas ainsi."²

It is with controlled fury that Du Bellay attacks an unnamed, untutored detractor, a philistine courtier, for his insulting and ludicrous mockery of his verses. The attack had been intended and received as a personal affront — Du Bellay returns insult for insult:

"Je t' prie pas de lire mes escripts, 
Mais je t' prie bien qu'ayant fait bonne chere, 
Et joué toute nuit aux dez, à la première, 
Et au jeu que Venus t'a sur tous mieux appris, 
Tu ne viennes icy desfascher tes esprits, 
Pour te moquer des vers que je metz en lumière, 
Et que de mes escripts la leçon coutumiere, 
Par faute d'entretien, ne t' serve de riz."³

The final word on the ignorance and depraved tastes of the courtiers in this period, was yet to be written. A further indictment of the values of this society is contained,

1) op.cit. Sonnet CXLIX, pp.171-2, vv.1-2, 7.
2) ibid. p.172, vv.12-14.
3) op.cit. Sonnet CLI, vv.1-3.
by implication, in Du Bellay's *Poète Courtisan* and in the anonymous *Medecin Courtizan*. These two works have as their first target the unscrupulous charlatans who, posing as poets or doctors, seek to satisfy their social aspirations by pandering to the tastes, and profiting by the ignorance of the court, excrescences which thrive in an atmosphere of decay.

On two counts then, Du Bellay's poem *Le Poète Courtisan*, together with his verse translation *La Nouvelle Manière de Faire Son Profit des Lettres* of Turnèbe's Latin epistle *De Nova Captandae Utilitatis E Literis Ratione Epistola*, the


most immediate stimulus or inspiration of Du Bellay’s original composition, and Le Médecin Courtizan, are relevant to the anti-courtier trend. For although, in the three works under consideration, the victims of the attacks are members of the professions, the literary and medical professions, the three authors make it quite clear that they are courtiers as well. Not only is the court their principal theatre of operations - the Poête Courtisan says:—

"La court est mon autheur, mon exemple & ma guide... car qui veut s'avancer.
A la court, de bonne heure il convient commencer,"¹

and the advice given to the aspiring society doctor is:—

"entreprons hardiment
De te jeter en Court,"²

but their immediate interest is material gain and princely favour - demonstrated, in the advice given to their protégés thus:—

"Tu feras ton profit, & bravement en point,
De froid, comme tu fais, tu ne trembleras point..."³

by Turnèbe in the translation of Du Bellay, thus Du Bellay himself in his original composition:—

"Mais saige sois content du jugement de ceulx...
Qui peuvent t'avancer en estats & offices,
Qui te peuvent donner les riches benefices..."⁴

and thirdly by the anonymous author of the Médecin Courtizan thus:—

1) op. cit. p.130, v.10, 19-20.
2) op. cit. p.105.
3) op. cit. p.115, vv.29-30. 4) op. cit. p.137, vv.135+137.
"Ainsi donc, il te faut contrefaire
Du grand et du scévant, et toutesfois complaire,
A ceux desquels tu peux arracher du profit." 1)

and their lack of integrity, professional or otherwise,
which may be sufficiently observed in the tricks to which
they resort in order to achieve fame and fortune, hinted
at here in the French version of Turnèbe's poem:

"Veux-tu que je te montre un gentil artifice
Pour te faire valoir? pousse toy par service,
Par art Mercurien trompe les plus rusez,
Et pren à telz appas les hommes abusez." 2)

and fully described - the chief of them being to resort to
the mystique of mumbo-jumbo 3) - at greater length in all
three works, all these characteristics they have in common
with the regular courtier.

The very success of such charlatans at court, and the
methods by which such success is achieved, this fact alone
is an indictment of the society which supports them. There
has, in the past, been much critical comment on the subject
of the poems by Turnèbe and Du Bellay, less, it is true on
the Medecin Courtizan, but what has been often overlooked in
many of these accounts, or insufficiently stressed 4), is this
implicit, but nevertheless important, condemnation of the
ignorance, indifference and perverted values of the court.

1) op.cit. p.106. 2) op.cit. p.115,vv.25-28.

3) See below p.39/2.

4) There are of course three levels or aspects from which these
poems can be considered. As we are dealing in this study with
the anti-courtier trend first and foremost, we have consid-
Firstly, a point made by all the protagonists is that there is no need for knowledge where cunning will do just as well, since it is easy to outwit the ignorant:—

"Si le savoir te fault, & tu entens ces ruses,
Tu jouyras vainqueur de la palme des Muses." 1)

One of the easiest ways in which to capture the imagination and admiration of those more ignorant than oneself, the advice is, is to blind them with science, or mumbo-jumbo if you do not understand it yourself either, and to pander to their love of novelty — which they will applaud, if they see sufficient members of their fellows doing likewise — even if they do not understand it. Thus Turnèbe's man tells the aspiring litterateur to satisfy a current craze, and exploit the novelty which all things Italian have for courtiers:—

"Tu dois voir l'Italie, & les Alpes passer
Car c'est de là que vient la fine marchandise
Qu'en beant on admire, & que si haut on prise." 2)

while the mumbo-jumbo routine works even more efficiently for the society doctor, since, in this field the ignorance and credulity of the average courtier is far greater:—

4) continued:—dered two of these aspects — a) the poet and doctor as ordinary courtiers, b) the indirect criticism of court standards, rather than the third and most obvious and usual aspect, that is, the literary satire and the satire of doctors (although here we should note that Le Medecin Courtisan is far in advance of most sixteenth century anti-medical satire), by which these poems belong to other equally definite satirical trends.

2) op. cit. p. 115, vv. 34-36.
Another instance of this routine is to be seen in the reliance upon illegible prescriptions - a timeless touch this - to gain the awe of courtiers, who look upon these pieces of paper almost as a fetish -

"Encore fauldra-il tes receptes escrire
telles que le commun ne les puisse bien lire,
Affin qu'en admirant ce papier mal escript
Comme chose sacrée il prise ton esprit
Et tienne cher comme or toutes telles receptes."

The second point made by the protagonists is that knowledge is not only useless at court, since there is no one capable of appreciating it, but that it is even harmful, as it provokes almost universal scorn and contempt. For instance, Turnèbe's recruit is told:-

"...Si tu veux icy te morfondre à l'estude," 3)
Chacun t'estimera fol, ignorant & rude."

and Bu Bellay's Poète Courtisan is specifically warned of the dangers of study and conscientious effort:-

"Je ne veulx que long temps à l'estude il pallisse...
.....nostre courtisan est beaucoup plus gaillard.

1) op.cit. pp.102-3. 2) op.cit. p. 105. 3) op.cit. p.117, vv.59-60.
"Pour un vers allonger ses ongles il ne ronge,
Il ne frappe sa table, il ne resve, il ne songe,
Se brouillant le cerveau de pensemens divers,
Pour tirer de sa teste un miserable vers
Qui ne rapporte, ingrat, qu'une longue riée 1)
Par tout où l'ignorance est plus authorisée.

The aspiring poet will always conform, in his writings, to the pedestrian tastes of the court - described here by Du Bellay:

"...Un petit sonnet qui n'ha rien que le son,
Un dizain à propos, ou bien une chanson,
Un rondeau bien troussé, avec' une ballade
(Du temps qu'elle couroit) vaunt mieux qu'une Iliade...
La court te fournira d'arguments suffisants,
Et seras estimé entre les mieulx disants,
Non comme ces resveurs, qui rougissent de honte
Fors entre les sçavants, desqueils on ne fait compte..." 2)

and again in general conversation, when

"Il faut avoir tousjours le petit mot pour rire,
Il faut des lieux communs qu'à tous propoz on tire..." 3)

Again, any attempt to depart from the tried formula, to introduce some original reform into literature, will be laughed out of court, for the test is not literary merit, but whether it is pleasing to the unsophisticated ear-

"..........................mais garde toy d'user
De mots dur ou nouveaux, qui puissent amuser
Tant soit peu le lisant: car la douceur du stile
Fait que l'indocte vers aux oreilles distille:
Et ne faut s'enquerir s'il est bien ou mal fait,
Car le vers plus coulant est le vers plus parfaict." 4)

1) op.cit. p.131, vv.21, 28-34.
2) op.cit. pp.132-3, vv.51-4, 59-62.
3) op.cit. p.135, vv.101-2.
4) op.cit. p.134, vv.75-80.
The ultimate exposure of the values of the court, is made by Turnèbe, who comments, through his speaker, upon the fact that not only is the learned man despised, but that the impostor, who usurps his rightful place, is widely applauded, the charlatans

"...ausquelz la court venteuse
Donne d'hommes sçavants la louenge menteuse:
Qui au bout d'une table au disner des Seigneurs
Deplient tout cela, dont furent enseigneurs
Les Grecs & les Latins: qui de faulses merveilles
Empliissent ignorans, les plus grandes oreilles:
Et abusent celuy qui par nom de sçavant,
Desire, ambitieux, se pousser en avant."

The three works which we have just considered have one important common factor, their source. It has been proved conclusively\(^2\) that the source of Turnèbe's epistle, and via Turnèbe, of Du Bellay's Poete Courtisan, and independently, of the Médecin Courtiaan, is Lucian's pamphlet, the Rhetorum Praeceptor\(^3\). It is important to note that although Du Bellay knew this work of Lucian's through Turnèbe, he does not rely exclusively upon Turnèbe's epistle when imitating the Rhetorum Praeceptor, since there are developments in the Poete Courtisan not found in Turnèbe\(^4\), and which must lead us to the conclusion that Du Bellay was familiar with the Greek

\(^1\) op.cit. pp.118-9, vv.83-90.

\(^2\) By R.V. Merrill, art.cit. As there is no doubt on the matter, and very little one can add, it would seem superfluous to repeat the substance of this article. Merrill does not, however deal with Le Médecin Courtiaan. On this work as an imitation of Lucian's pamphlet see C.A.Mayer, loc.cit. pp.425

\(^3\) For a description, see above, ch.I, pp.38 99

\(^4\) This point is again covered by Merrill, loc.cit.
work from another source. Similarly, the anonymous author of the Medecin Courtisan has drawn upon the Greek writer but independently of either Turnebe or Du Bellay. The fact that these three sixteenth century works are imitations in no way diminishes the validity of their author's indirect comments on the ignorance of French courtiers. We have already spoken of the community of experience, the similarity of social conditions, which bring Lucian and sixteenth century French satirists closer together, which mean that both are combating the same abuses. Moreover, the French writers have been discriminating in their use of their source, choosing and adapting that which was most apt to their target and their times. One example will suffice to prove this point. Where Lucian's guide advises his pupil to captivate his audience with exoticism, with talk of far off events, Turnebe advocates Italianism.

The greatest advance made by these three authors, resulting from their imitation of Lucian, is in the matter of technique. All three works demonstrate the Lucianic device of

1) A Latin translation of the Greek satire, by Pirckheymer, published by Anselm at Haguenau in 1520, whose existence was unknown to Merrill, but which is mentioned by C.A. Mayer, op. cit. p.423, is the possible alternative source.

2) In these attempts to form a perfect poet, or doctor, perfect that is by the standards of the court, there is also perhaps a satirical echo of the Cortegiano.
giving a protagonist a thesis to propound, here advice on how to achieve success in one's career, the tenor of which is deplored by the author, and ridiculed by the way in which it is presented. By this means, as we have seen, the satirist is able to pursue, simultaneously, two lines of attack - against his victim, and the society which allows him to flourish - without unnecessary prolixity or diffusion, and with considerable point and subtlety.

The increasing Italian influence at the French court in this period is revealed by the vigorous attempts on the part of French satirists to combat it.

The first and most obvious target for them was the expatriate Italian at the French court. Jacques Grévin, perhaps more than any other French writer of this period, made this field his speciality, his comedy Les Esdahis, written in 1558 at the request of Henri II, and some of his satirical series Gelodacrye, being partly directed at just such a target.

1) This play was first performed on the 17th February 1560, in Paris at the College de Beauvais. It was first published in the following year - Le Theatre de Jacques Grévin, etc. Paris, 1561. On Grévin see L. Pinvert, Jacques Grévin, Paris, A. Fontemoing, 1899; for an analysis of the play in particular see Bourciez, op.cit. pp.292-298.

2) First published in 1560, although composed within this period - the privilege is dated 25th November 1559, in a volume intitled L'Olimpe de Jacques Grévin...Ensemble Les Autres Oeuvres Poetiques, R. Estienne, 1560.
Les Esbais contains in one of its subordinate characters, Messere Panthaleone, a caricature of the type of Italian courtier adventurer prominent in French society at the time, whose character, and defects of character, are thrown into sharp relief by the contrast between him and the valet Julien who typifies, one imagines, "le bon sens français", and with whom he is most frequently confronted during the course of the action.

Since this is more of a caricature than a portrait, there is no surprise to be occasioned by the author's choice of characteristics which are to be ridiculed. Firstly, the corrupt French, liberally sprinkled with Italian words and verbal forms. This, together with the Italian tendency to express oneself almost entirely by means of ejaculations and imprecations, is mimicked by Julien the valet, when he answers Panthaleone in these terms:

"Perfanti, Coioni, Poltroni,
Li compagnoni di Toni,
Le mau san Lazaro te vingue,
Et le mau de terre te tingué." 1)

He is ridiculed, likewise by Julien, for defects held to be characteristic of his race, for over-bearing arrogance and inflated self-esteem which barely conceals ingrained cowardice:

"Voyez-moy ce brave Messeme!
Il luy semble a voir que la terre
N'est pas digne de le porter."

"Vous le verrez tantost vanter,
Tantost elever ses beaux faicts
Et conter ceux qu'il a deffaiets
A la prise d'un poulalier,
Et comme il scroit bien batailler
Quand il fait rompre un huys ouvert,
Ou bien un pasté descouvert
Pour y plonger les mains dedans..." 1)

Panthaleone like Falstaff, believes that the better part of valour is discretion, but such a philosophy is not nearly as attractive in him as in Falstaff. The ease with which he passes from indiscret bravado, when aroused and taunted by Julien, to servile discretion when the situation, and the opposition becomes more menacing, can be seen in this extract of the opening scene of the last act:

Panthaleone

J'ay donné
Mille coups d'estoc et de taille
Au plus espais d'une bataille,
Et ce sot poltron parangonne
Sa couardise à ma personne.

Julien

Sçavez-vous bien que c'est, mastin,
Fantosme du mont Aventin,
Sepulchre à punaise, pendant,
Demourant de tout le cagnart;
Si vous ne me parlez plus doux,
Je vous assommeray de coups.
Regardez, je suis Julien;
Qui n'enten mot d'italien,
Mais si vous grongnez autre fois,
Je vous feray parler François,
Encor' que soyez bougrino.

Panthaleone

Non, non, messer Juliano;
Je pensoy que ce fust un autre:

1) op.cit. p.146.
Another shrewdly observed gesture - the Italian ostentatiously picking his teeth as if he had just dined sumptuously, when in fact the opposite is true - helps to fill out the overall impression of a person desperately caring about appearances, and trying to sustain his position.

The largest element of caricature enters into the representation of the Italian’s amorous exploits. He is shown, in his role of would-be seducer, prowling round the house of his beloved, a sigh in his heart, a lute in his hand, and a quotation from Ariosto always on his lips. Julien describes the performance thus:

"N'ay je pas entendu passer
Mon cocon qui, pour croacer
Sa belle rime poltronisque
Fait icy du brave rufisque?
C'est luymesme, mais, s'il n'accorde
Un peu mieux sa jazarde chordse,
Jamais il ne viendra au but
Par le moyen de ce vieil lut."

It would have been difficult to find any further details to add to the portrayal of the Italian courtier, after

1) op.cit. p.198.
2) op.cit. p.146. Julien: "Le voyez-vous cuürer ses dents?
Il a disné d'une salade,
Et au dessert d'une gambade,
Puis le voyälë, frische et gaillard."

This observation seems to occur first in Bonaventure des Periers’ Nouvelle, LXXII; is found in La Noue, Discours, p.166; in Ronsard’s Élegie XXV; in V.de la Fresnaye Satyre à J.A.de
Grévin's amusing sketch of Panthaleone. And, indeed, Grévin himself is reduced to reproducing, in the following sonnet from La Geladaerye which is likewise directed at the Italian, the same traits which he had first signalled out in his comedy:

"Pensez qu'il fait bon voir de nuit en une porte
Un poltron courtisan le Petrarque chanter,
Puis devant les vilains ses faits-d'armes vanter,
Comme il a l'ennemi repoussé à main forte,
Luy qui ha son esprit esmeu de telle sorte.
S'il oit de l'escarmouche un soldat raconter,
Qu'on le peut voir au son des mots s'espouvanter,
Et en tremblant jeter une voix demi-mort.
D'une salade il fait trois ou quatre repas,
Puis en curant ses dents il s'en va pas à pas
Sur le bord d'un ouvrir deviser de la France:
Il fait dans son cerveau mille et mille discours,
Il bastit en un mois ce qu'il rompt en trois jours;
Voylà le compagnon auquel on ha fiance." 1)

The second target of satirists concerned about growing Italian influence at the French court was the Italianate French courtier, Tahureau, in his Dialogues 2), written in 1555, some 10 years before they were eventually published,

continued from previous page:
2) Baif, see below, p543.
3) op.cit. pp.195-6.
1) op.cit. ed. Pinvert, p.321.
is especially concerned by the corruption of the French language, which indiscriminate French courtiers are hastening by their foolish desire to imitate all things Italian, even their language. Although at one point advocating a knowledge of foreign languages he adds this important qualification, directed one suspects, particularly at the court:

"Je veux bien soutenir qu'il ne faut point estre si profond admirateur des étrangers, que notre langue maternelle en soit pour cette curiosité amoindrie ou déprise,"

for the first Dialogue he had given this account of the language spoken at court, a queer amalgam of French and Italian:

"Et outre toutes les folies susdictes à celle fin d'estre estimé mieux parlant il ne cherchera autre chose qu'à trouver le moyen de faire venir à propos aucun de ces mots comme folâtre, fat, acoster, aborder, il n'y manque rien, escorte, endurer une bravade, aconche, galante, l'escarpe, accort, un fort bien à tous bouts de champ, disgrace, de grace, un poltron, un faquin, & ainsi avecques, je ne sais combien d'autres semblables mots apostés... Neantmoins tout cela ne vaudroit rien si le branslement de teste italiennize ne servit de sauce pour lui donner plus grand goust." 2)

1) op.cit. Second Dialogue du Democratic, p.237. This is the concern which inspired Henri Estienne, years later, in his campaign to establish the superiority of the French language, to maintain its purity, and to root out Italianisms, a campaign waged principally in three works, Traité de la Conformité du Langage François avec le Grec, Geneva, 1565; Les Deux Dialogues du Nouveau Langage François Italianizé, 1578; De la Frecellence du Langage François, Paris, 1579. See below ch.VIII, pp.519-60.

2) op.cit. p.50-51. Tahureau's comment on Italianisms in French is at least 23 years in advance of that made by Estienne in Deux Dialogues etc. For his possible influence on Estienne,
Such affectations of Italianism, which, since they are inspired by the desire of French courtiers to set themselves apart from non-courtiers, that is, inferiors, are a form of preciosity, are seen too in the exaggerated overtures of friendship and in the formula of salutation especially:

"Ils me sont venus ici aborder, & après force accollades, embrassemens, baie les mains de vostre seigneurie...pour ne me montrer point incivil, je les remercie de leur bon vouloir, les arousant de mon costé d'eau beniste de cour d'aussi bonne grace & autant honnestement pour le moins comme ilz m'en avoient adspérge du leur."}

Concern was also shown at the ultramontanism which was invading French literature. Turene, in the *Nouvelle Maniere De Faire son Profit des Lettres*, implicitly condemns the rabid italophiles at the French court when he gives this ironical advice to the trainee poet:

"Si le rusé marchand est menteur assuré, 
Et s'il sait pallier d'un fard bien coloré 
Mille bourdes, qu'il a en France rapportées 
Assoz pour en charger quatre grandes chartées: 
S'il sait, parlant de Rome, un chacun estonner, 
Si du nom de Pavie il fait tout resonner, 
Si des Venitiens que la mer environne, 
Si des champs de la Pouille il discourt & raisonne:

2) continued: see below. It is interesting to note that Tahureau comments upon an 'Italian' manner of delivery in speaking, i.e. nodding one's head as one speaks. Castiglione, commenting upon this same fashion, in the *Cortegiano*, describes it as a peculiarly French custom, and says it is to be avoided. Tahureau is here retaliating by ascribing it to the Italians, but more than this, by referring to such a gesture as a 'sauce', or necessary accompaniment to the courtier's eloquence, he is alluding, satirically, to Castiglione's idea of 'bona grata' as 'un condimento d'ogni cosa senza il quale tutte l'altrre proprietà e buone condizioni siano di poco valore.'op.cit.p.60. See Mayer, op.cit. p.15. n.4. on this point.

1) op.cit. p.214. See also below, ch.VIII,op.59 for
"Si vanteur il sçait bien son art authoriser,
Louer les estrangers, les françois menpriser,
Si les lettres l’honneur à luy seul il reserve,
Et desdaigne en crachant la Françoise Minerve...
Bref d’un Italien tu auras le pelage,
Afin qu'entre les tiens admirable tu sois:
Ce sont les vrayz appas pour prendre noz François.
Lors ta Muse sera de cestui-la prise;
Auquel au paravant tu servois de risée." 1)

Similarly, the author of the Médecin Courtizan was to allude acidly to current medical fashions at court, since ultramontanism had apparently burst into this field as well:

"Ainsi ont devant nous leur richesse augmentée,
Mille et mille Tuscanz, dont la grandeur vantée
Apporte la bravade à leurs Coyons nepveux,
Qui sçavent finement ensuyvre leurs ayeux
Et ont desja si bien endormi nos Syraines,
Et faict siller les yeux de nos raisons humaines,
Que nous n'estimons rien sinon qu'ils font." 2)

Court extravagance, which we have already listed as one of the criticisms made against courtiers in this period, is considered now, as earlier, in the Pre-Renaissance period, only more explicitly so, to be due to Italian influence. Du Bellay has this to say:

continued from previous page:

1) Estienne's criticisms of those affectations in the Deux Dialogues.

"Ceste folie despense entre nous incogneus
Du temps de noz ayeux, est en France venue,
Depuis que le Françoys fasché de son plaisir
A eu le point escoint d'un generex desir
De se borner plus loing, & franchir la barrière
Que nature opposait à sa vertue guerriere."\(^1\)

More seriously though, there is an increasing tendency
to attribute unpleasant or deplorable aspects in the
cracter and conduct of the French courtier to the contact
with Italian courtiers, and even to regard these trans-
gressions as Italianisms first and foremost, as if such
transgressions were exclusive to the Italian nation, and
completely unknown in France before their advent. This is
clearly the implication of Du Bellay's remark, again in the
Ample Discours au Roy sur Ses Quatre Estats, that the French,
like other conquering nations before them - he mentions the
Macedonians in Persia and the Romans in Greece - have been
conquered themselves by the vices of the people they have
subjugated. And since, in popular estimation at least, the
decline of the above civilisations was, correctly or
incorrectly, attributed to their indulgence in homosexual
practices, it is not unsafe to conclude that it is this
development among French courtiers, which Du Bellay here
deplores as a corruption far worse than anything which has yet
been seen:--

\(^{1}\) op.cit. pp.203-4.
"Que pleust à Dieu qu'il n'eust appris de l'étranger
Sinon à son langage ou sa robe changer,
Et qu'il n'eust imité le soldat d'Alexandre,
Qui le Perse vainquit, pour esclave se rendre
Des vices du vaincu, & le Roman aussi,
Qui du Gregeois donte fut donte tout ainsi." 1)  

Similarly, libertinism, atheism, religious indifference
among French courtiers, is attributed to the nefarious
influences of the Italians, not only to thinkers such as
Pomponazzi 2), but to his acolytes established at the French
court. Thus Guillaume Postel, in the first book of his De
Orbis Terrae Concordia 3), which appeared in 1542, speaking

1) op.cit. p.204, vv.191-96. He would not have been the first in
this period to believe, or pretend to believe, that in the
sixteenth century sexual perversion was the prerogative of
the Italians. In 1549, Gabriel du Puyherbault (l'enragé
Putherbè) shows the same prejudice in attacking Italians for
bringing effeminacy and perversion to the French court, in
the following passage from his Theotimus, Sive de Tollandis
et Expungendis Malis Libris, Paris, J.Roigny, D. Jacob, 1549:
"munquam desint illis sermones milesiaci, meliti verborum
globuli, & molles narratiunculae, quibus venerem provocent,
& ad nefarios amores, illicitasque voluptates inflamment...
Multa debemus Italicis ingenii: at multa etiam poenitet nos
illis debere. Sicut enim molle nescio quid, & parum virile
in corporibus, dum occurrunt tibi homines Itali, persent-
isse cogeris, aromata & odores dicas: ita in scribendo
praefectum quidpem & virilis maiestatis express agnoscas.
Atque nobis consultum esset bene, si suas merces, odores,
unguenta, si suos libellos in se continuisset, sibique tantum
habuisset Italia." pp.79-81.

2) On Pomponazzi, his doctrine, his followers, his influence in
France and the reaction against him, see Busson, Le Ration-
alisme dans la Littérature Française, 1533-1601, Paris, Vrin,
1957, passim.

3) De Orbis Terrae Concordia, s.l.n.d. o.1542. On Postel see
of the moral corruption at the French court, says that the Italian descendants of Pliny and Lucretius are looked upon almost as gods by the courtiers and humanists of his day. Their sole aim is that, by the diffusion of their doctrines, others should be converted to their way of thinking. A further passage in the same chapter lays stress on the positive part played by Italians in encouraging irreligion among courtiers, promising, the author tells us, impunity for the offence. In the same year, Antoine Fumée describes, in a letter to Calvin, the characteristics of the libertines, but without, it would seem, special reference to courtiers. Gabriel du Puyherbault lists irreligion, as well as sexual perversion, as one of the Italian legacies to French society, in his Theotimus.

1) op. cit. bk.1, ch. XX, p.112: "Quibus ipsis veluti diis hodie non pauci subscribunt aulici et nostrae tempestatis scioli, nilque prius in votis habent, quam ut multos in suum sententiam pertrahant, & autoritate, & ratione, &iudicio totius orbis aspreto."

2) op. cit. p.114: "0 Italia, etiam ea hominum monstra alis, qui non satys habent esse impii, nisi etiam virus suum omnibus cæteris propinent, & cum hac pernicie in aulas principum penetrent ibique impunitatem scelerum poeliceantur, ubi operibus quotidie praedicatur."

3) This letter is reproduced by Herminjard, Correspondance des Réformés, vol.VIII, no.1181, pp.223-233. There is a commentary on it by Henri Hauser, in Humanisme et Reforme, in Revue Historique, 1897 and by Busson, op. cit. pp.335-354.

4) op. cit. p.77:"Et nescio qua fati malignitate bonae literae haætemus paganissimum cluerunt, praesertim apud Italos, quibus solenne est in rebus profanis & a nostra pietate abhorrentibus ingeniis, quod tamen prope divinum nacti sunt, & ponerre & exercere: atque qui apud illos vixerunt, nusquam in eorum
Calvin, who had earlier, in 1545, attacked the libertinism in his treatise *Contre La Secte Phantastique et Furieuse des Libertins* \(^1\) confirms the presence of atheists at the French court in his *Traité des Scandales*, of 1550 \(^2\):—

"Il ne faut point que l'athéisme nous trouble, endores que nous le voyons regner par tout le monde, & singulièrement aux cours des rois et des princes." \(^3\)

The violence of this reaction against atheism is not a true indication of the strength of the movement towards atheism, among French courtiers under Italian influence: the authors quoted were fanatics. The concern of the religious leaders and controversyists is not generally reflected or shared by French satirists preoccupied by developments at the French court. True, there is a passage in Philibert de Vienne's *Philosophe de Court*, which presents, from the

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4) continued: metropoli dicunt invenire vaenales libris sanctorum patrum, qui faciunt ad pietatem: hodie que, messio quae librorum portenta, quibus nihil insulsius, deterius dici & esse queat, videmus in chalcographiis, in manibus & aedibus otiosorum, quos in Italia ipsa genitos nostrae Galliae homines...patrici sermone red cult... Multa debemus Italici ingenii: at multa etiam poenitet nos illis debere."


2) *Traité des Scandales*, etc. Geneva, 1550. The edition of this work, and the preceding one, which I have used, is contained in the *Recueil des Opuscules*. C'est-a-dire *Petit Traité de Jean Calvin*, Geneva, B.Mineur, 1566. On these two treatises see Busson, op.cit. p.354-356.

3) op.cit. p.1133.
courtier's point of view, the undesirability of bothering oneself too closely with religious and theological controversy, but in its context it is too closely related to the Cortegian to be of more general application.

Du Bellay, in the Regrets, comments tartly that at court, among courtiers

"Le trop parler de Dieu porte souvent dommage" but it is not until the period of the religious wars in fact that we find a full-blooded and more sustained attack on the lack of religious conviction among French courtiers, notably in Henri Estienne; Apologie Pour Herodote. However, in one passage of this work, Estienne comments retrospectively on the courtiers of this period. Speaking of atheists he says:-

"les courtisans qui disoyent du temps du roi Henri II de ce nom qu'ils croyoyent en Dieu, comme leur roý y croyoit, mais que s'il n'y croyoit point, ils s'efforceroyent de n'y croire point aussi, il est certain que par leur confession mesme ils doivent estre mis en ce renge..."

For both critics and admirers, the quintessence of

2) See below, loc.cit.
3) op.cit. Sonnet CXLI, v.7.
4) Apologie Pour Herodote, Geneva, 1565. On this work, and the trend towards atheism among courtiers in the period of the religious wars, see below ch. VIII, pp. 570-377.
5) op.cit. p.102. Cf. La Bruyère, "Un devot est celui qui sous un roi athée, serait athée." Caractères, (De La Mode, 21)
Italianism was to be found in Castiglione's *Cortegiano*, and one of the aspects of the anti-courtier trend in French literature of the sixteenth century most worthy of study, one which may be observed for the first time in this period, is the reaction which this work provoked.

The *Cortegiano*, as we have seen in an earlier chapter, enjoyed a very considerable success in French court circles during the latter half of the reign of François Ier. In an apologia of court life, presented to the king in 1543, the *Discours de la Cour*\(^1\), the author Claude Chappuys, echoes approvingly, confident no doubt of the approval of those for whom his work was intended, certain precepts laid down by Castiglione for the guidance of the would-be perfect courtier,\(^2\) while, during the reign of Henri II, a flourishing court society tended more and more to the ideal of social politeness - "l'honnêteté" in seventeenth century parlance - implicit in the *Cortegiano*.\(^3\) Thus it was in spite of, or


\(2\) Chappuys speaks of a fountain of civility at which one must drink before entering the court, to acquire the following qualities: "Puyser se peut parfait honnesteté Grace agreable, ung maintien assuré Ung attrait doux, discret & mesuré." similar to those prescribed by Castiglione. Again, like Castiglione Chappuys recommends that the courtier learn to be accommodating, to dissimulate out of prudence, and to be cautious in all one's enterprises—

"S'accomoder aux temps & aux personnes, Dissimuler par prudence, & se taire, Quant est besoing, bien mener son affaire, Se bien cognoistre & bien se mesurer."

\(3\) On this point see Bourciez, *op.cit.* p.13.
because of the success of this book, and the reverence
with which its tenets were regarded widely within the
court, that there was a reaction on the part of French
satirists concerned to safeguard the integrity of French
manners, morals and customs.

The dual nature of the Cortegiano, of its influence
and interest, is reflected in the satires which it
occasioned, which fall into two distinct classes, namely,
those directed against the fashionable neo-platonic ideas
on love which the second half of Castiglione's work had
done much to promote, and those which attack the fundamental
thesis expounded by Castiglione, the doctrine of social
politeness underlying the code of the perfect courtier.

Although subsidiary to the main subject of the work, it
was undoubtedly the section on love, and the conception of
the female counterpart of the courtier, which aroused the
most immediate interest in France. Indeed, manuscript
translations of these passages of the work were circulating
in France before the official translation was published in
1537.¹) Not surprisingly then, the first satires on the
Cortegiano were concerned with this aspect of the work.

¹) See Gohin, Œuvres Poétiques d'Héroet, Paris, 1909 - Intro-
duction p.xxxiii. One of the manuscript copies of this
early unauthorised is to be found in the B.N. ms.fr.2335.
In 1542 Bertrand de la Borderie published a poem intitled L'Amye de Court\(^1\), a satire on two levels. The first level on which this poem may be appreciated is that of literary satire, since, fundamental to the comprehension of the poem is the author's ironical observation of the influence exerted by literature on the postures, attitudes and languages of lovers. This was the level on which contemporaries interpreted the work; for it became the starting point of the controversy known as the Querelle des Amies,\(^2\) there being no shortage of champions in the ranks of the poets ready to rush to defend the new ideas which they had helped to circulate and which this poem threatened.

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2) The other works in this polemic are La Contr'Amye de Court by Charles Fontaine; La Parfaite Amye by Antoine Héroet; L'Experience De Maistre Paul Angier Carentennoys...Pour L'Amye de Court Contre La Contr'Amye, the first two replies to La Borderie's poem, the third a defence of it. These poems were first published collectively, together with De Measries de la Courte, in 1544 at Paris, first in an edition by Galliot du Pré and subsequently by G.Les Bret. For the complete bibliography of the Querelle see Gohin, loc.cit. On Fontaine see R.L.Hawkins, op.cit. On Héroet see J.Arnoux Un Précurseur de Ronsard, Antoine Héroet, Digne, 1912. On the polemic as a whole see in addition Gohin, op.cit. Lefranc,op.cit. Telle, op.cit. and M.A.Screech, The Querelle des Amies, A New Interpretation in Bibl. d'Hum. et Renaissance, 1959, vol.XXI, Part I, p.103 sqq.
The literary influences satirised by La Borderie in this poem are firstly, and very briefly, the recent spate of French works — similar to Saint-Gelais' Trophée d'Amour ou La Definition d'Amour¹), Héroet's Douleur et Volupté²) whose authors subscribed to the currently fashionable neo-platonic ideas on love. The preamble to the Amour de Court is a protestation against the whimsical way in which love is presented by these poets —

"Je m'esbahis de tant de folz esprits
Se complaignans d'amour estre surpris,
De tant de voix piteuses & dolentes
Qui plainte font des peines violentes
Qu'un Dieu d'aymer (comme ilz disent) leur cause...
Je croy le tout n'estre que poesie,
Ou pour mieux dire humaine irenaisie,
Qui la nature enchante soubz couleur
De Deité de frivole valeur.
Or donc, ce mal qu'on trouve tant amer,
Le nomme Dieu qui le vouf c'lera nommer
J'appelleray telle divinité
Plustost folie ou infelicité." ³)

Secondly, but most important of the literary influences on love to be satirised, is the second half of the Cortegiano. That the author intended to emphasize the relationship between his poem and this part of the Cortegiano, is first of all obvious from his choice of title. Like

1) See Gohin, op.cit. Introduction, p.xxv.

2) See Gohin, loc.cit.

3) The edition I have used is that contained in the volume called Oeuvres d'Amour, Par Héroet, La Borderie et Autres Divines Poétes, Lyons, J.de Tournes, 1547, pp.111-12.
Castiglione, who in the ensuing discussion on women at court, uses the term "donna di Palazzo", and like Jacques Colin, who translates "dame de Court", La Borderie was unable to use the corresponding feminine form of the noun courtier, since, both in Italian and French it has other connotations. La Borderie's poem follows very much the same pattern as the third book of the Cortegiano, in addition. For just as the discussion there moves from the consideration of the physical appearance and disposition required in the perfect gentlewoman to a consideration of how she should conduct herself in love, so Amye de Court describes first her personal attributes and goes on to give certain general principles for the conduct of love affairs, based on her own personal system, which itself is Castiglione's neo-platonism - with a difference!

Allusions to precise ideas contained in the Cortegiano, are frequent in L'Amye de Court. While it may not always be possible to state definitely that such and such a passage of La Borderie's poem, which alludes to a specific passage in the Cortegiano, considered by itself, is therefore a satire on the passage to which it alludes, considered collectively, and as statements made by L'Amye, then the author's satirical intention is beyond doubt. For the
portrait of L'Amye is La Borderie's answer to Castiglione's portrait of the donna di palazzo, the reality - as he conceived it - opposed to the ideal of perfect womenhood, and part of the reaction and satire lies in this implicit contrast. Moreover, nothing could more effectively discredit the ideals promoted by Castiglione, above all that of the civilising influence of the perfect woman, and the exaggerated respect, culminating in the idea of 'service', with which such a figure was to be surrounded, than to have them bandied about by a thoroughly disreputable person. An examination of her statements will leave the reader in no doubt that such a person was L'Amye de Court.

We have first L'Amye's description of her personal attributes. This is the first point of comparison between the two portraits. For example, Castiglione had required of the female counterpart of the courtier the same qualities more or less, but with the emphasis on beauty, grace, tenderness, sweetness and moderation, in short, all the qualities which would inspire pleasure and delight in those who beheld her. The portrait of L'Amye de Court is as follows:

"Je mettois peine à porter proprement
Mes blondz cheveux & mon accoutrement,
A posément conduire mes yeux verdz,
Pleins de douceur, ne peu ne trop couverts
A augmenter une grace assurée,
Une parole humaine & mesurée,
En devisant avecques mes semblables:....
Sur les quinze ans, le corps plaisant à voir
Fut consommé, à l'esprit de sçavoir."1)

1) op.cit. pp.114-5.
These two portraits are close enough to underline the intended comparison, but the difference is also there to be noticed; La Borderie is not reaffirming Castiglione's pious hopes, he is representing a reality, and all that is contrived, artificial, and deliberate in L' Amye's projection of herself. Confirmation of her disingenuousness is to be found in her statement that from an early age she had learnt that

"...l'honneur grand & digne authorité
Estoient en terre une félicité:
Et que des grands estre favorisée
Est une chose en ce monde prisée.
Je concevois dedans ma petitesse
Que pour attaindre à si grande hautesse
Beaucoup la grace &kbeauté faiscent."  

She accepts joyfully the notion of the power of feminine beauty but disregards all that was altruistic in Castiglione's conception. L' Amye moves on to the next point. In Castiglione's view the perfection he has described inspires in those who come into contact with the perfect gentlewoman, a desire to serve her, but he also stresses through Il Magnifico, that the perfect woman will not canvass for such admiration consciously, in order to satisfy her vanity. However, L' Amye de Court will have none of this. She accepts, and expects such admiration, as a tribute to her beauty:-

1) op. cit. pp. 113-4.
"...devint ma grand perfection
Le seul objet de mainte affection,
Gaignant les coeurs d'une grande multitude
De serviteurs, qui mettent leur estude
Chacun pour soy d'avoir ma bonne grace.
Je retiens tout & personne ne chasse
Fondant ma gloire & louange estimée
Sans aymer nul, esestre de tous aymée,
Qui est le point de mon enseignement..."1)

In addition, the fact that she glories in the hold which her perfect beauty gives her over her suitors, represents a further abuse of the ideal of service:-

"Ores sera le plaisir déclaré
Qu'ha le mien cœur de l'Amour separé,
En f'estant point de mes serviteurs serve,
L'autorité sur eux je me reserve:
Et me auroyce plus grand heur demander,
Qu'estre obeyé & toujours commander...
Je me sens Royne, ou quelque Imperatrice,
Ayant sur tous commandement & loy,
Faveur, puissance, & nul ne l'ha sur moy."2)

La Borderie's contempt for the formal declarations of undying devotion which were part of this same neo-platonic ritual of service is again transmitted through L'Amye3), for her reaction to these protestations, as described by herself, is one of unmitigated cynicism and even derision:-

"Divers Amans viennent un chacun jour,
En quelque endroit que je face sejour
Me presenter service, obeissance,
En m'assurant qu'il n'est en la puissance
Du firmament garder qu'ilz ne demeurent
Mes serviteurs jusques à ce qu'ilz meurent:

1) op.cit. p.115. 2) op.cit. p.136.
3) A slight inconsistency here. La Borderie has previously condemned Castiglione's neo-platonism by making L'Amye - whom he is attacking at the same time - the spokesman of these ideas. Now she becomes his personal spokesman - expressing a point of view in accordance with his own.
"Et que plustost sera la mer sans unde,
Sans clarté ciel, sans fruit terre fecunde,
Que l'amour soit non du tout desnueé,
Mais seulement de rien diminuée.
Si de furer l'assurance je nie,
Ilz me feront une querimonie,
En m'appellant incredule & cruelle....
Je ne sçaurois me garder d'esjoyr:
Car en oyant leurs plaintes & clameurs,
Aucunesfois de rire je me meurs,
Pour le plaisir de la diversité,
Que va comptant leur feinte adversité.
Tous les propos d'eux à moy recitez
S'ilz ne sont vrays, sont tant bien inventez,
Que si pestois sage & bien advertie, 1)
Je serois tost à leur Loy convertie."

A further indication of satirical intention is the parody of the hyperbolical and rhetorical language used in such declarations, which can be seen in the extract quoted above. At this point though an observation should be made. It is that, although Castiglione approved of such declarations if they were sincere, he makes it clear, through Il Magnifico, that he too is aware that some of them are pure ballyhoo. Indeed it is with this thought in mind that he next lays down some general principles for the guidance of court women in the conduct of their love affairs.

Principally, he proposes, that when faced with a declaration of love, the perfect gentlewoman should dissemble the true extent and nature of her feelings, in order that she may not herself be too readily deceived by a false declaration. This proposal is taken up at length by L'Amye

1) op. cit. pp. 136-47
de Court, and, of course, distorted in a way that Castiglione could never have intended. From a purely defensive measure it becomes in her strategy an all-purpose weapon which guarantees her independence and furthers her aggressive and acquisitive intentions. Here she extols the performance and capabilities of Dissimulation, the most formidable, reliable, effective — and truly independant — device in the female arsenal!

"Si tost qu'ilz (ses prétendus serviteurs) font deliberation
Je le sçay par Dissimulation,
Femme de sens & de gentil sçavoir,
En temps & lieu il la faict bon avoir,
Jaçoit qu'aucuns la blasment grandement
En l'appellant fraude d'entendemement.
Si fault-il croire aux apparens indices
Qu'elle nous ha faict tant de benefices,
Que plusieurs sont, furent, seront par elle
Gardez de honte & de mort corporelle.
La blasme donc qui la vouha blasmer,
Je me sçauois me garder de l'aymer.
C'est celle-là de qui plus je me sers,
Dont plus suis libre, & plus gaigne de serfs.
Elle me sert en tous cas necessaires...
Voilà comment en bien menant ma guerre
Le mien je garde, & l'autrui sçay conquérer."

L'Amyle uses this weapon not out of modesty, timidity, or caution, as Castiglione intended it to be used, but shrewdly,

1) Il Magnifico is challenged by Fregoso as to the wisdom of his counsel to women that they should dissimulate. He sees the possibility of such advice being abused by the unsupervoluous, and says that Il Magnifico is teaching women cruel ways, as if they were not already cruel enough by nature!

2) op.cit. pp.119-21.
having correctly estimated that such a reaction on her part would bring a redoubling of effort and of his attentions from her suitor - she gives a vivid account of the ensuing dispute and endless tergiversations:

"....je faindray, selon mon asseurance,
Doubter en luy une perserverance:
Faisant semblant craindre qu'il me lairra,
Ayant en ce que jamais il n'aura,
Qui me sera une apparenre excuse,
Si le party qu'il pretend je refuse,
Luy sur ce point qui demy mort sera,
Par ses servans jamais me laissera;
Nous mentirons tous deus à bien jurer,
Moy de l'aymer luy de perseverer;
Car je me suis si legiere & si folle
D'aymer & croire une feinte parole." 1)

Still in the neo-platonic tradition of service, it was natural to Castiglione that an admirer should content himself with even the smallest token of affection, a look, a glance, from such a perfect creature. It is not surprising that L'Amye should have adapted this principle to her own advantage, should expect her admirers to be content with so little, for it is a rule with her to take all and give nothing:

"Et si veux bien que chacun de moy pense
Estre aymé miue qu'il n'ha de recompense
Et qu'il n'aura, car sa seule pensée,
Sera la paye à luy recompensée...
Et si quelqu'un icy me veult reprendre
Que je ne puis honnestement rien prendre,
Disant que femme en present recevant
Au sien donneur se donne, ou bien se vend:
Je luy responde que telle loy fut faict
Par quelque sotte amoureuse imparfaitte
Qui n'entendoit ou gist le fondement
Du vertueux & sage entendement." 2)

1) op.cit. p.123. 2) op.cit. pp.121-24-
Finally, the logical and ultimate stage of Castiglione's advocacy of the ideal of platonic service to a perfect creature, was the belief in the civilising influence of the perfect woman on her admirer, the belief that her almost divine perfection could be transmitted to her admirer, could inspire him with a desire to achieve a like perfection himself. This idea, too, is ridiculed by La Borderie, in two separate passages, and in two different ways. It seems to me that La Borderie is attacking this belief when, through L'Amye, he presents it in an inverted, and distorted form. In the following passages L'Amye claims that only by surrounding herself with droves of suitors can she be inspired with a desire to achieve and maintain perfection, both physically and spiritually; in other words, the stimulus comes from them to her, and not from her to them:

"Et la raison qui me donne l'envie
En n'ayant point, aymer d'estre servie,
C'est pour garder, que par un nonchaloi
Ne perde en moy tout ce qui peut valoir,
Et que si j'ay du Ciel quelque present,
Il soit tout tel au futur qu'a présent.
Car tout ainsi que la vigne fertile
En peu de temps devient seiche & sterile,
Quand elle n'est d'autun bois appuyee,
Se cognosant inculte & mise en friche
Perd fleur & fruit & toute beaute riche:
Ainsi la Dame à qui nul ne s'adresse....
S'anonchallit, & tant se laisse aller,
Qu'il ne luy chault de bien ou mal parler,
De decorer le corps & l'esprit,
Parquoy sa grace en peu de temps perit.
S'il est donc vray que ceux là qui me servent
En ma beaute eux mesmes me conservent,
Pour durer belle il m'est donques permis
De recouvrir infinité d'amys."

1) op. cit. p. 122.
These reasons with which L'Amye justifies her conduct of attracting hundreds of suitors when she has no intention of giving them satisfaction either in the near or distant future, have been described as specious pretexts — which of course they are, but it is important to realise that this is also another phase of the satire of the *Cortegiano*.

The second time in this poem in which the belief in the civilising influence of women on men, is satirised, is at the conclusion. There L'Amye de Court states that she will choose a rich man for her husband, even if he is from every other aspect completely unattractive, since she will be able to change him —

"Bien qu'il soit crud, & que ses moeurs perverses,
Dont tout je sente estré aux miennes diverses,
Si ay-je espoir toutesfojs le reduire,
Et peu à peu jusques-là le conduire
Que s'il est lourd, assez me sens subtile
Pour le changer, en peu de temps habile;
S'il est hautain, cruel & audacieux,
Ma douceur peult le rendre gracieux." 1)

The fact that the belief is here presented in its correct form, should not be taken to mean that La Borderie had become reconciled to it, since it is expounded here by L'Amye, not nobly, altruistically, but selfishly. Having chosen for herself a husband who is rich, but boorish, out of sheer avarice, it is in her interest to change him since she must put up with him. If she failed to do this, and her

1) *op. cit.* pp.140-142.
enjoyment of his wealth was threatened and spoilt, then
the object of the exercise would have been defeated. It
is certain that Castiglione never intended this ideal to
allow women of the type of L'Amye de Court to enjoy the
best of both worlds!

We have traced, point by point, La Borderie's satire
of Castiglione's neo-platonism\(^1\), a satire which is achieved
by putting the essential concepts of the doctrine into the
mouth of an unscrupulous person and observing the abuses
which it breeds. But, as we said earlier, this poem is
a satire on two counts. And it should not be thought that
La Borderie's Amye de Court was solely conceived as an
instrument with which to attack one of the most
fashionable literary works of the period. The portrait of
L'Amye is in its own right a satire, a satire of a certain
class of woman.

The question remains whether in this portrait La
Borderie was inspired by the long established anti-feminist
tradition of the perverseness of women in French literature,
or whether, forsaking prejudice, he has based his portrait
on knowledge and observation, even if this knowledge was

\(^1\) Although most critics accept that this poem is directed
against the Cortegian, none of those whose accounts I
have referred to has ventured to elucidate in any detail
upon the bland statement of fact, to correlate the two
works in significant passages, although most mention the
title chosen by La Borderie and its significance. This
will perhaps excuse our insistence upon this particular
aspect of the work.
obtained at second hand\(^1\), of a specific society and a specific milieu. It seems to me that the latter is more probably true, that L'Amye de Court is not merely representative of the perverseness of women in general, but of the unscrupulousness of women at the French court of this period in particular, and that consequently this poem is as much a satire of French court life as of the Cortegiano.

We can look first of all to the text of the poem itself, for evidence to substantiate the view that La Borderie was aiming at female members of the court in his portrait of L'Amye. First of all she refers to the liberality of a Prince —

"Quan\(e\) est à moy j'estime grand sagesse,
Ne refuser d'un Prince la largesse..."\(^2\)

secondly she speaks of.

"...mes habitz, & riches paremens,
De ma beauté honnestés ornemens,
Pour honneror une court excellente..."\(^3\)

and finally she is loud in her praises of court life —

"Certes je sçay par vraye experience,
Que si vertu & parfaicte science
Sont decorans si bas quelques endroits
Que c'est autour des Princes & des Roys."\(^4\)

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1) Telle, op.cit. pp.159, 207, suggests certain parallels between La Borderie’s poem and certain portraits in the Heptameron of Marguerite d'Angoulême.
2) op.cit. p.124.
3) op.cit. p.124.
4) op.cit. p.130.
But if this is not sufficient evidence that she was a member of the court we may observe similarities in her character and general portrayal with those of other portraits known to represent female courtiers of this period. Finally, it seems certain that contemporaries saw L'Amye as a court character, and this poem as another in the anti-court trend. For instance, in writing his refutation of the sentiments expressed by L'Amye de Court, Charles Fontaine in the Contr'Amye de Court, chooses from the ranks of the bourgeoisie a merchant's daughter to champion the neo-platonic cause, and to condemn L'Amye for her mercenary principles. His choice of adversary for L'Amye seems to indicate that he, and many others besides, conceived her as a member of the court and nobility, and a fairly typical representative at that. If this interpretation was not generally accepted, then much of the point and piquancy of his choice would have been lost, for the insinuation is clearly that a young lady of the aristocracy has much to learn about nobility of mind and character from a young lady of the bourgeoisie! In addition to the points already made, it should not be forgotten that La Borderie's Amye de Court was printed, from 1544 onwards, and together with the other works comprising the polemic of the Querelle

1) In the Heptameron, for example. On this point see below p. 425.

2) See below, Appendix II, pp. 78.
des Amies, in a volume in which the chief work was Guevara's attack on court life, the *Menosprecio de Corte*, as if a further interest of contemporaries in this collection of works, was as another episode in the anti-aulic tradition.

The women of whom *L'Amye de Court* is a typical representative are those who, impressed by the vogue of neo-platonism at court, reduced it to a system to be operated exclusively for profit - their profit. *L'Amye* is echoing their cynicism when she boasts

"J'ay sceu gaigner un grand Seigneur ou deux
Pour avoir tout ce dont j'ay besoing d'eux,
Accoustraemens, anneaux, shajnes, dorures,
Nouveaux habitz & nouvelles parures:
Chascun des deux faveur me portera.
Bieu sçait comment mon cœur les traitera,
Toutes lesfois que l'un j'entretiendray
Pour amy seul de bouche le tiendray,
Et non de cœur, car je resoulez ce point."

La Borderie was not the first to focus attention on this materialism among women at the French court, for does not Marguerite de Navarre criticise in the *Heptameron* those women who, like the wife of the procurator of Saint-Aignan, had three 'husbands' - one for honour, one for love, and one for money?  

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1) *op.cit.* p.122-3.

On Marguerite de Navarre see P. Jourda, *Marguerite d'Angoulême, duchesse d'Alençon, Reine de Navarre*, Paris, Champion, 1930, 2 vols. (Bibl. Littéraire de la Renaissance); *Telle*, *op.cit.*


Another aspect of the curious distortion of neo-platonic practices at the French court was observed and recorded by La Borderie in *L'Amye de Court*. It was normal for the beloved to test the affection of her suitor in some way or other, but, as Telle has observed:

"Il était certes très sage de soumettre un soupirant à l'épreuve du temps et même à celle de la peur, mais certaines femmes prenaient un plaisir malsain à jouer avec le feu. On sait que jusqu'au XVIIIᵉ siècle la mode permettait... aux dames de recevoir leurs visiteurs au lit. Voir la personne que l'on convoitait dans son lit aurait dû être une tentation suffisante: des dames y ajoutèrent pourtant de curieux raffinements. On se couchait en chemise à côté de son ami, sans demander rien davantage sinon la parole et le baiser."

La Borderie, like Marguerite de Navarre, has attacked this practice, as usual by seeming to condone it, for *L'Amye* is trying to make a virtue out of a vice:

"...quelquefois dedans mon lict couchée,
    Un survenant malgré moy m'a touchée
    En la partie en moy la plus parfaicte
    Au tetin ferme, ou la cuisse refaitte,
    Quoy? j'oy desja murmurer ce me semble
    Un faux scrupule en vos coeurs....
    Pourtant ne veux par ces dictz vos beautés
    (Dames) induire à telles privautés.
    Toutes n'avez (peult estre) la constance
    Si bien que moy, de faire resistance."

A word, in conclusion, about the satirical method and technique adopted by La Borderie in this poem, and about a possible third source of inspiration, since the two are closely connected. We may fairly assume that the unusual

1) Telle, op.cit. p.206. His quotation is from *Hept. nouv.18*, vol.1, p.293.
2) op.cit. pp.132-4.
depth and subtlety of La Borderie's satire is a result of the Lucianic influence, of the Lucianic satirical eulogy in particular, and of one work, the De Parasito\(^1\) especially. We know that from early on in the sixteenth century many neo-Latin writers had been inspired to write ironical panegyrics in the manner of Lucian\(^2\), foremost among them Erasmus, with his Encomium Moriae, and his colloquy Pseudochei et Philetymi. La Borderie's Amye de Court is close to the De Parasito in subject matter as well as technique. L'Amie, like Simon, is a parasitic charlatan, who, without the slightest compunction, cheerfully extols the merits of a system by which she effortlessly enjoys the best pickings of life, ruthlessly exploiting those who can supply her with them. Her frequent boast is

"Je me suis fort instruite & bien apprise
Pour prendre autrui & n'estre jamais prise.\(^3\)

La Borderie's seeming condonation of her attitude is, in the tradition of the satirical eulogy - which may be defined as the praise of an attitude etc. which the author considers reprehensible, in such a way that it is actually seen to be reprehensible -, a condemnation of this same attitude.

Noel du Fail is the next writer, who, having observed the influence which Castiglione's ideas were exerting upon

\(^1\) For an analysis of this work see above, ch.I, pp. 15-16


\(^3\) op. cit. p. 121.
contemporary French society life, set out to mock them. This he does, by way of a digression, in his *Propos Rustiques*, a work which appeared in 1547\(^1\), and particularly in the sixth chapter of the work.

The original inspiration of this chapter was that part of the *Cortegiano*, the second book in effect, in which Castiglione refutes the eternal cries of old men as to the corruption of the morals of the young, concluding by mocking the naivety of the old man who claims to have slept with his mothers and sisters until he was turned twenty, without knowing any different, whereas the youth of this day and age, he claims, are corrupted almost as soon as they are born.\(^2\) With this in mind Du Fail has called his chapter *La Difference du coucher de ce temps, et du passé*, and introduces a speaker, Maistre Lubin, who claims:

"quand il fut question de me marier à votre nièce, j'avais d'âge trente quatre ans, ou environ, auquel temps, me savois que c'étoit être amoureux...."\(^3\)

Since Du Fail arrives at a discussion of the fashionable neo-platonic concepts of loving by way of this transitional souvenir of a passage of the *Cortegiano*, there is little


doubt that Du Fail again had Castiglione in particular in mind, in his satire of these concepts. Indeed, close examination will confirm this.

Du Fail attacks the new fashion in several different ways; in the first place by an unfavourable comparison with the down to earth approach to love favoured by those Frenchmen brought up in the days before new fangled foreign fashions interfered with the normal pursuit of life:

"D'est qu'un bon lourd aud d'adonques, ne sentant rien du brave qui en aima dix, au buso accoutré, comme d'une saye sans manches, le beau pourpoint de migraine bordé de vert et coupé au coude, la bonnette rouge, le chapeau dessus, auquel pendait un beau bouquet bien mignonnement composé, la chaussé jusques aux genoux, et pour cause, les souliers découverts, la cœnture bigarrée, pendaute sur les souliers: le bachelier ainsi frisque, tabourdant des pieds sur un coffre, disoit le petit mot à la traverse à Janne, ou Margot, et soudain regardant s'on ne le voyoit l'empoignoit, et sans dire mot, la jetoit sur un banc, et le reste, je vous le laisse à songer. La besogne parfaicte, secouoit les oreilles, et vire, après toutefois avoir donné un brin de marjolaine à la done, qui était la plus grande récompense, et entretien d'amour, qu'on eut pour lors..."

By contrast, Maistre Huguet, Du Fail's spokesman, has nothing but scorn for the modern young things with their elaborate neo-platonic ritual. His enumeration of the whole gamut of fashionable practices, for example, sighs, sonnets and serenades, follows closely the description given in the third book of the Cortegiano by Il Magnifico of the

1) op.cit. p.48.
attentions addressed by suitors to the objects of their affections: 1)

"Regardez, ô muguets, qui sçavez que c'est, et qui en faîtes métier, si par tel moyen viendriez à ce but prétendu, que vous appelez le don de merci, le contentement, la récompense du travail, le cinquième point d'amours... Non certes... ainsi par longues et énormes protestations vous désespérez, vous mettez aux champs, parlez seuls comme lunatiques, envoyez rimes, êtes aux aubades, allez emmasqués, donnez de l'eau bénite à l'église, faites la cour, changez d'accoutrements, laissez belles signatures chez les marchands, entrezenez gens pour vous seconder...." 2)

Du Fail's second line of attack is ridicule. In a vividly dramatic sketch in which he portrays a suitor, his rival, and the beloved, he ridicules the whole performance, emphasizing the indignities and the exploitation to which the fashionable approach to love favoured by Castiglione and the French court, can expose the gullible male.

1) op.cit. pp.461-2. "A quel tempo affacciarmi mai si può alla finestra che sempre non si veda passar l'obstino amante con silencio di parole, ma con gli occhi che parlano, col viso afflitto & languido: con quegli accesi sospiri: spesso con abondantissime lacrime.

Quando mai si parte di casa per andar a chiesa, o ad altro loco che questo sempre non le sia innanzi ad ogni valltator di contra non se affronti con quella triste passion dipinta, ne gli occhi, che par che allhora aspetti la morte? Lasso tante attilature, inventioni, motti, imprese, feste, balli, giochi, maschere, giostré torniamenti: le quali cose essa conosce tutte esser fatte per se.

La notte poi mai risvegliarsi non sa, che non oda musica, o almen quello inquieto spirito intorno alle mura della casa gittar sospiri, e voci lamentevoli.

Se per ventura parlar vuole con una delle sue fanti; quella gia corrotta per denari, subito ha apparecchiato un presentuzzo, una lettera, un sonetto, o tal cosa, da darle per parte dello amante."

2) op.cit. p.48.
First we have the suitor, affecting belligerence, swearing his life away in her service, reciting a declaration composed in the approved style, providing the author with a glorious opportunity for parody, and then a forthright condemnation of such shilly-shallying, of this emasculated performance which is an affront to the dignity of man:—

"Hé, ma maistresse, voulez-vous que, pour votre amour conquérir, je me rompe le cou? mais pour que cela est un peu fâcheux, je combattrai, et fût le Turc, qui est grand terrien... Quoi? que voulez-vous que je vous offre, dites-vous, fors ma personne de laquelle tant y a qu'elle est à votre service que pouvez en disposer comme d'une chose toute votre, vous assurant que si me faites tant de bien de me recevoir des vôtres, et croire que le nombre de vos serviteurs, est cru, vous trouverez en moi non moins d'obéissance qu'en ceux qui couchent toutes les nuits avec vous... De toutes lesquelles belles prières et requêtes avez au bas d'icelles signées - Je ne vous connais point: qui est à dire que devez être serviteurs deux et trois ans, vous accommodant à toutes les inepties, sottises, bestries, niaisetés, chиaԁries, rêveries, mignardises, pusillanimités, impudicités, vertuevelleries, mannequins, lourderies, ignorances et aneries." 1)

Finally, Du Fail is no more enthusiastic about the cult of the perfect woman than was La Borderie. The lady in Du Fail's scene shows no more compassion for her rejected suitors than did L' Amye de Court,

"Néantmoins qu'après que vous êtes détourné de sa vue, elle tire la langue sur vous, et si elle vous fait la moue, elle se moque à tout le monde de vous, disant... que vous serez homme de bien, s'il

1) op. cit. p.49.
n'y a faute; si vous vivez vous aurez de l'âge; que vous avez bonne grâce, mais que vous la portez de travers."

Like La Borderie again, Du Fail is convinced that such women react only to money, and that money is consequently the main spring of any passion which may touch them. This is apparent in the answer which Maistre Huguet gives Lubin in reply to his question as to what conduct he would propose for a suitor:

"Je veux, répondit Maistre Huguet, qu'il laisse ces longues et fâcheuses harangues, qui, pour la vérité ne meuvent en rien la dame: car il aura plutôt conquis ce qu'il prétend, avec un mot bien couché, et de bonne grâce, si la dame est courtoise et débonnaire, joint un peu de ce que l'on met en la gibecière s'elle est avare, que par servir et faire le mignon long-temps.... quand notre amoureux produit un bracelet de perles grosses comme pois, les portes fermées lui sont ouvertes très-grandes, comme à passer une charretée de foins, qui est la souverain remède, la clef de la besogne." 2)

One is struck, in reading the Dialogues of Tahureau, by the similarity of the sentiment which inspires his attacks on neo-platonism at court, which is one of conservative distrust and contempt, with that of Noel du Fail.

Again, there can be no doubt that Tahureau was aiming particularly at Castiglione in these attacks, since Cosmophile, the second participant in the dialogue, puts

1) op.cit. p.50.
2) op.cit. pp.50-51.
up ideas drawn from the third book of the *Cortegiano* especially, almost as deliberate targets for Democritic to shoot down. Such passages as the following one, on the exalted status and slightly whimsical conception of woman which is seen as a result of the current vogue for neo-platonism, need very little commentary:—

"Les uns appellans leurs amies, deesses & non femmes, les autres les faisans vaguer & faire des gambades en l'air avec les esprits, les autres les situans avecques les etoilles aux cieux, aucuns les elevant avecques les anges pour leur vouer de belles offrandes tellement que je croy si on leur veut davantage prester l'oreille ils s'efforceront de les mettre au dessus des dieux, & tant est creue cette folie entre les hommes que le courtisan du jourd'hui ou autre tel faisant estat de servir les dames, ne sera estime bien appris s'il ne sçait en dechiffrant par le menu ses fadezes, songes & folies passions, se passionner à l'Italienne, soupirer à l'Espagnole, fraper à la Napolitaine, & prier à la mode de cour." 1)

although we may add, that such a suitor, the "Précieux"-to-be, would have pleased any sixteenth century Magdelon.

Like Du Fail, Tahureau ridicules, by vividly reproducing their words and actions, the suitors themselves in their execution of this ritual which is seen to be even more grotesque in the imitation than in the original. Here, as in Du Fail's scene, Tahureau parodies the declaration of devotion from the belligerent suitor:—

"Premièrement viendra l'homme de guerre & pour
le salut de la dame la chaussera de première
abordée, l'un avecques brave par le corps dieu,
par le sang-dieu, je renie dieu Madame, je ne
sache homme sous le ciel tant brave soit il que
s'estant avantage de faire tort au moindre point
de votre honneur que je ne fisse mourir ou
reconnostre sa folie..."

More than once, as in the portrait of the amorous courtier
below, whose every nervous twitch is recorded, Tahureau is
unable to contain his satirical vein:--

"Mais ce qui en est bien le plus excellent
Monsieur du Muguet courtisan ne penseroit pas
estre le bien venu, s'il ne contrefaisait sa
grace, remaschant bravement le petit fetu parmi
sa bouche tenant son bonnet d'une main sus le
genou, quelque fois des deux au derriere de soi
avecques une teste mal arrestée, & une voix
contrefaite. Et ainsi s'escarmouchant il
badinera plus de tours audavent de mademoiselle
que ne ferait un chien de bastelier pour son
maistre: je ne di pas que s'il se voulloit essuier
le front avecques le mouchouer ouvré, ou fraper
sa botine d'une petite baguette, que cela ne
lui aist fort à assurer sa grace, & qu'une
perruque, non pas tressée à la ludovique (car la
mode n'en est plus) mais bravement rehausée à
la fortune, & subtilement frisée avecques artifice
ne le fust trouver plus gaillard envers les dames,
joint aussi qu'elle ne fust point du xxij pseuam
de David, c'est adire confitte en huile d'olif."*

Again Tahureau is very close to Du Fail in his view of
neo-platonism as an affront to masculinity, and in his
stated preference for the established, frank approach to
love, favoured by the old school of thought in France:--

1) op. cit. p.44.

2) op. cit. pp. 48-9. It is interesting to compare the similari
ity of detail given by Tahureau in the second half of
this portrait with that given in the portrait of an
effeminate Italian courtier by Aretino in his play La
Cortegiana, Act I, scene XXII. See above.
"Devisant de cette sottise d'amour: entendu que de tous ses propos ne s'en trouve pas un qui ne tende à offrir son service, tant s'est abatardi l'esprit de l'homme, que celui qui le fera autrement, ne sera pas moins estimé incivil, ou mal appris, qu'estoit au temps passé ceutui-là, lequel en compagnie refusoit à jouer de l'instrument musical qui lui estoit présent... Ouvrez maintenant les yeux, & regardez si de toutes ces harengues qui tendent à une fin tant sotte & dé si peu de considération, s'en sauroit tirer aucun contentement à l'homme raisonnable & de bon esprit... Mais pauvre fol qu'il est comment se rompt il l'esprit s'amusant à tant de légères folies. Ne sauroit-il cognoistre à quoi peuvent servir tant de tapisseries, tant d'escaliers, tant de longues galaxies, tant de petits garderobes, tant d'hui de derrière, & de retraites égarées, veu que tout cela n'est inventé pour autre occasion que pour les commodités d'entrer de l'un en l'autre? 1)

In Tahureau's outbursts against the neo-platonism inspired by the Cortegiano, there is more than a community of viewpoint between him and Du Fail. There is on occasions, for instance, in the portrait of the military suitor, and in the passage quoted above, an affinity in his satire which suggests that Tahureau was familiar with Du Fail's work.

The reaction to Castiglione's primary ideal, the doctrine of social politeness which underlies the precepts for the formation of the perfect courtier, although not as immediate as the reaction to his neo-platonism, was nevertheless more lasting. The first and most sustained attack on this part of the Cortegiano is to be found in a satire by Philibert de Vienne, Le Philosophe de Court, which

1) op. cit. pp. 48-50.
was first published at Lyons in 1547. 1)

First of all, it may be convenient to consider the indications which the author gives of the relationship of his work to Castiglione and the Corteçiano, and whose significance contemporary readers would have recognised as such.

The first indication of this nature is surely Philibert's choice of title, Le Philosophe de Court. We remember that La Borderie had, in 1542, emphasized the relationship of his poem to Castiglione's work by calling it L'Amor de Court. It is not impossible that Philibert was inspired by La

1) Le philosophe de Court, Lyons, J. de Tournes, 1547. A second edition of the work was published in Paris in the following year. Some time later it was translated into English and published in London. The book is now extremely rare, only five copies of the first edition are known to be extant; one of these, together with a copy of the Paris edition, is to be found in the B.M.

Borderie in his choice of title. Apart from this fact though, the title clearly indicates the author's intention to treat of a philosophy connected with court life.

This intention is confirmed very early on in one of the introductory passages of the book:

"nous parlerons seulement de celle qui est la plus agrouvéee, & désirée, & plus générale... que l'on dit la mode de Court. La connoissance de laquelle nous pouvons appeler aujourd'hui Philosophie..." 1

Now, at this time in France, there was only one noticeably prevalent philosophy of court life, Castiglione's; so, from the very beginning, the attention of the reader is drawn to a possible connection between the present work and the popular Italian manual of the courtier.

But there is more evidence in the general outline of the two works. Castiglione had formulated certain principles and precepts for the guidance of the courtier, so does Philibert de Vienne. The only difference, as we shall see, is one of intention.

In addition, there is a remarkable similarity in the recommendations of the two authors. Castiglione is preoccupied with appearances, good appearances, which are often achieved only by an ability to dissimulate, and which establish the reputation and enhance the honour and standing

1) op.cit. p.27.
of the courtier. Philibert insists upon the element of appearance and artifice in court philosophy countless times.  

Again, certain passages of *Le Philosophe de Court* suggest that Philibert de Vienne had a close knowledge of the *Cortegiano*. For instance, it is hardly a coincidence that Castiglione's terminology should figure so prominently in *Le Philosophe de Court*. The words most often used by Castiglione, Prudenza, Temperanza, Magnanimità, Gratia, appear in Philibert's work as the headings of various sections - Prudence, Temperance, Magnanimité, and finally Bonne Grace when, as has been pointed out, the more usual French equivalents of the first three would have been Sagesse, Modestie and Generosité. No, the author's intention is clearly to emphasize his target by using the same terms.

Although it would be unwise to speak of direct imitation when considering the relationship between the *Cortegiano* and *Le Philosophe de Court*, there are two instances in which it would appear that Philibert was inspired by the memory of two distinct passages in Castiglione's work. Firstly, Philibert's enumeration of the subjects and arts in which the courtier should be proficient, and the reason he alleges for this desired proficiency has a parallel in the *Cortegiano*.  

2) Prudence- p. 40 sqq; Temperance- p. 90 sqq; Magnanimità- p. 78 sqq; Bonne Grace- p. 93 sqq. 
4) See above, ch. III, pp. 82-83.
But even more significant is the closeness of the passages on Bonne Grace in the two works. For Castiglione Bonne Grace was the necessary accompaniment to all the courtier's actions\(^1\), without which all other accomplishments were as nothing. In Philibert's work similarly, Bonne Grace is the supreme quality which results from the correct conjunction of the four cardinal virtues, the quality which makes the conduct of the perfect courtier so agreeable, and for which there is no adequate substitute:–

"Où sont maintenant noz jeunes gens mistes & braves, qui prennent si grand'peine à faire la pipée, parler mignardement, marcher délicatement, & se contrefaire du tout, cuydans par cela avoir ceste bonne grace: & ne congoissent pas quelles sont noz vertuz, desquelles elle naist? Donques ceste plaisante apparence, que l'on voit sortir des actes honnestes des courtisans, est la bonne grace."\(^2\)

Having demonstrated the relationship between Castiglione's _Cortegiano_ and Philibert de Vienne's _Philosophe de Court_, it is now incumbent upon us to provide evidence of the French writer's intention. It was thought at one time, mistakenly, that Philibert had set out seriously to imitate the _Cortegiano_ in the _Philosophe de Court_.\(^3\) It is difficult to see how such an impression could have arisen, since the author himself gives several indications of his intention to

1) _op.cit._ p.60. Quoted above, _loc.cit._
2) _op.cit._ p.94.
3) This was Toldo's interpretation, cf. _art.cit._
attack, to write a satire, and in fact, there is less cause for confusion and uncertainty of interpretation in this work than there was in the earlier anti-Cortegiano work by La Borderie.

There are three ways in which we can prove that Philibert de Vienne's intention was satirical. Firstly, he states in his Prologue A L'Amye de Vertu:

"Vous trouverez assez simplement...ce que je sens de ceste nouvelle Philosophie, qui est la mode de vivre de ce temps, en escrivant laquelle je n'ay peu que je n'aye fait le Democrite, & usé de faceties." 1)

Apart from such explicit declarations of this order, other evidence is afforded by contrasting the bona fide statements which the author makes in his prefatory remarks, with statements on the same theme, made in the body of the work. For instance, in the introduction Philibert declares himself to be averse to all hypocrisy:

"Il ne faut juger des œuvres selon ce qu'elles semblent de soi: mais selon la cause & l'intention de celui qui les fait...Et devons estre plus curieux de nous garder que la semblance du bien ne nous degoit, que le mal apparent: car un mal desguise est double mal, & n'est mal si dangereux, qu'un bien feint & simule, qu'on appelle hypocriste." 2)

With this as a standard of reference, it is impossible not to conclude that Philibert's continued insistence on appearance as the basis of court philosophy, as in the following extract, is anything but ironical, and therefore proof of the author's satirical intent:-

1) op.cit. pp.11-12. 2) op.cit. p.20.
"D'avantage nous, que ne nous arrestions pas beaucoup aux choses latentes & cachées, ains regardons la superficie, & la sembler extérieure des actes, voyons de telle magnificence se montrer un vouloir le plus liberal du monde, & ne nous amusons point à tresvoir l'utilité ou nécessité, qui est trop cachée & couverte là dessous: que saurions nous juger de telles gens sinon tout bien & tout honneur?" 1)

The third proof of the author's satirical intention is to be found in those passages of *Le Philosophe de Court* which are quite obviously ironical, and these are many. For instance, what author, if he was writing an apologia of courtiers, would seriously have committed himself to the following statement:-

"Il ne faut faire tort à personne: mais il s'entend si le tort n'est couvert & caché de quelque petite verisimilitude de raison (car nous n'avons pas accustomé regarder les choses de si près) comme, celuy est injuste qui prend, ou retient le bien d'autrui, mais en contractant, en faisant quelque marché, il est permis désavantage son homme tant que l'on peut, & est une chose fort louable...l'honneur serait-il pas bien de son pays, c'est-à-dire naïve & beste, qui ayant l'occasion de tromper honnêtement son compagnon, ne le trompe pas? cela ne sentiroit pas son Philosophe ne sa Court. Généralement, & c'est un grand point de ceste vertu, il est permis, tromper, brouiller, chiquer, faire du pis que l'on peut, moyennant que le juge n'y puisse mordre." 2)

Having established both the intention and the target of the author, we may now begin to examine the work itself. The substance of Philibert's book is briefly this. 3) Having

1) op.cit. p.71-2. 2) op.cit. p.55.
3) A full summary of the work is given by Mayer in his thesis, loc.cit. and art.cit.
stated his initial proposition that the true philosophy of today is court philosophy, and thus defined his field of study, he then examines the various concepts, virtue—which is here defined as that which is virtuous in the eyes of the court, Prudence, Justice, Magnanimity, Temperance and Bonne Grace, which collectively constitute the philosophy of the court. It is within this tight structure that the onslaught on Castiglione's recommendations is made.

Philibert de Vienne attacks the *Cortegiano* in its weakest points. Implicit in Castiglione's work is the proposal that the courtier should set out deliberately and consciously to win for himself a good reputation in the eyes of the court, and to enjoy its favour and esteem. Philibert attacks the end to which the *Cortegiano* tends in two ways. Firstly he calls into question, by his use of irony, Castiglione's tacit acceptance of the court—which he considered the centre of perfection—as the final and highest arbiter in matters of virtue and good reputation:

"nous trouvons bon & reputons estre le seul bien ce qu'il plait & est trouve bon au monde: & en ce plaisir des hommes nous constituons nostre vertu...Vertu est un vivre à la mode de Court! & est differente de celle 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 discent, que si nous suyvions Nature & ne feissions autre chose, sinon que nostre raison naturelle nous monstre, nous ne ferions jamais mal: aussi tant que nous suyvrons la maniere de faire de Court, nous ferons tousjours bien. Car qui seroit le fol qui voudroit dire une chose mal faite, qu'auroit faite un gentilhomme de Court bien appris? Appelons-nous pas bestes & piteaux ceux qui ignorant, ou ne trouvex pas bonne vertu Courtoisie." 1)

1) *op.cit.* pp. 26-32.
Secondly he attacks Castiglione's goal for the perfect courtier by his continued insistence upon the interested aim of court philosophy. Thus he proclaims:-

"La fin de nostre science & de nostre vertu c'est la gloire & la reputation d'un chacun." \(^1\)

and again, later in the work, he reaffirms:-

"La fin de toute nostre philosophie & de nostre vertu (c'est-à-dire de vivre à la mode de Court) est l'honneur & la bonne reputation." \(^2\)

Philibert's disapproval of the end envisaged by Castiglione is reinforced by his satire of the means by which the end is pursued. Castiglione puts a premium on good appearance and the ability to make a good impression. By his insistence on artifice and appearance as a necessary part of the philosophy of the court, Philibert attacks this aspect of Castiglione's work:-

"Vivre à la mode de Court ne gist qu'en petites civilitéz & mines extérieures," \(^3\)

and by his further insistence upon the necessity of some fore knowledge of what is considered good form and bad at court - a point reinforced by the amusing account of the reception which must await the unwary and completely spontaneous visitor to court - exposes all that is contrived and deliberate in the projection of a 'good appearance':-

"il est impossible à l'homme s'y bien gouverner, & faire les gestes, contenances & entregentz,

\(^1\) op.cit. p.53.
\(^2\) op.cit. pp.81-2.
\(^3\) op.cit. p.28.
"s'il n'ha la congnoissance des opinions de la Court... Un homme donc ne peut estre bon Courtisan s'il ne sçait ce qui plait & est trouvé bon à la Court & ne suffit pas qu'il sache baiser la main, donner l'accolade, faire bon visage, & autres telles choses: et de ce je m'en rapporterois bien à l'exemple de ce maistre-ès-artz. Il ha bouche pour baiser, bras pour accoler, face pour montrer, & peult bien faire tout cela. Je le voirois toutesfois volontiers vestu de sa vieile robe fourrée de blanc, ceint par dessus, avec ses pantoufles escorchées, & son bonnet de nuit de frise, se jetter au bal avec quelques Damoyeselles: comment il les mugueteroit! comment il les caresseroit, comment il ravoiront leurs coeurs! Il auroit beau oeillader, faire le petit, & accoler (encor qu'on le laissast faire) s'il estoit repute sage, & bien agris. Pourquoy cela? par ce que telles reverences ne sont pas bien faites, & ne viennent point d'un homme prudent & congnoissant ce qui plait en telle compagnie. S'il eust été tel, il se fuss accoutré d'une autre sorte, il eust composé sa chere, & l'eust fait sembler humaine modestes, & riante: preparé son esprit pour dire & entendre quelques propos joyeux: & en ceste sorte, ayant de suyte le petit lacquais troussé en lieu de son esclavoir déchiré, eust esté paraventure le bienvenu. Tenons donc cela, que pour nous gouverner à la mode de Court, il nous faut avoir la congnoissance des opinions de la Court, & des vertus d'icelle: laquelle congnoissance nous fera faire les actions honnestes & vertueuses, dont nous serons estimez sage, prudens & bien congnoissans."

Dissimulation, however, is as important in establishing the desired impression, as knowledge of form. Philibert de Vienne's satire of dissimulation as a means to social acceptability, and the importance he ironically attributes to it, is a reflection upon its importance, more often implied than stated, in Castiglione's doctrine.

1) op. cit. pp.28-9.
With considerable ingenuity Philibert affects to justify dissimulation and even give it a certain respectability by referring the reader to Socrates. On this subject Socrates had said that dissimulation was harmless as long as the person dissimulating did not intend to appear other than what he actually was. Now the courtier's aim in dissimulating, argues Philibert, is not to deceive, but indeed, to be a good courtier, for being a good courtier involves pleasing those around one, and the ability to dissimulate is essential with this aim in mind:

Even in the most extreme cases, cases which are not covered by the above piece of sophistry, Philibert affects to justify it:

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1) op.cit. pp.95-6.
"Et combien que souvent ès dissimulations on trouve un mauvais vouloir, comme de ceux qui sous leur beau visage, cachent une inimité: pour cela ne laissent-ilz pas estre gens de bien, & vertueux, moyennant que le mauvais vouloir n'apparisse point trop: car il suffit entre nous que la mine soit bonne sous laquelle celui qui le plus subtilement trompe son compagnon est le plus sage."

Dissimulation is a large part of Bonne Grace; Philibert explains how it should be practised, together with a certain amount of caution:—

"Voylà comment vivent les vray Courtisans, rompans leurs propres affections, pour suyvre nostre vertu, & plaire aux hommes: voylà la vraye fontaine dont sortira ceste bonne grace, qui gist principalement (comme nous voyons) en modestie & temperance. Ou sont maintenant ces sots, qui se glorifient en leurs imperfections...

Le gentilhomme Courtisan n'est point subject à s'il faut rire, il rit; s'il faut se contrister, il pleure: s'il faut menger, il mange: s'il faut jeuner, il jeune: bref, il est prest à tout faire, selon le plaisir des hommes, encore que son affection du tout n'y soit pas. Mais en toutes ces choses, il faut qu'il monstre une prudence qu'il ne face rien à la légère, ains qu'il y pense bien deux fois." 2)

Finally, Philibert points ironically to the example given by the Italians, who, he says, are distinguished by their expertise in this art, or rather science, which they have bestowed upon the world:—

"Regardons l'Italie tant cievile & courtisanne: l'antique Rome mere nourrisse certes de nostre philosophie (combien qu'ilz parlassent bien des autres) ha ense en tout le pais certaines contenance, & manieres de faire lesquelle on y pratique ordinairement, en sorte qu'ores que les uns n'ayant l'esprit encore instruit, si ont ilz

1) op.cit. p.97.
2) op.cit. pp.105-6. The recommendation of caution seems to be a distinct echo of Castiglione's "in ogni sue operatione sia
"leurs contenances tant polies, par une coutume d'ainsi faire, qu'ilz nous semblent les plus grands Courtisans du monde." 1)

The importance of this passage is capital, since it resumes Philibert's condemnation of one of the most salient defects of Castiglione's attitude. Philibert has realised that Castiglione's counsel of dissimulation was an admission of compromise, even an encouragement to compromise; for want of solid virtues Castiglione had substituted the carefully cultivated appearance of virtue, and eventually, as Philibert's words show or imply, it was the expertise in cultivating an apparent quality or virtue which was valued more highly than the idea of the virtue itself. The morality of Castiglione's work has been shown to be dubious.

Not only does Philibert challenge Castiglione's acceptance of simulated virtues and qualities. Another aspect of his satire is his continued insistence upon the utilitarian motives which inspire the Philosophe de Court in his pursuit of certain attributes and accomplishments, since Castiglione's recommendations were conspicuously dictated by interested motives.

Thus the Philosophe de Court is urged to pursue virtue, not from any noble and lofty love of virtue, but because, that way lies success, high esteem etc.:-

"La philosophie de laquelle nous traizons ne porte pas comme celle des Anciens, que sans aucune

2) continued: cauto e prudente", op.cit. p.166, which is repeated more fully on p.168 - see above ch.III, p.84 2).
1) op.cit. p.107.
"Esperance d'honneur on doit suyvre vertu pour l'amour d'elle: ains que l'on doit vertueusement vivre à fin d'acquerir honneur & reputation."  

Similarly justice is viewed as a quality which will help the Philosophe de Court on his way:—

"Nostre justice, moyennant laquelle nous pourrons parvenir à nostre vertu, c'est-à-dire, nous serons bien venuz par tout, reputez sages, bien vivans & à la mode de Court, est tout autre que celle, délaquelle (justice légale) nous avons parlé."  

Likewise liberality has its good points provided that certain rules are rigorously applied to the way it is used:—

"Estant donques honneur le but auquel nous devons tendre, y a-t-il moyen plus expédient pour avoir bonne reputation qu'estre liberal?...Les maxims qu'on y doit garder sont de n'user de liberalité, sinon envers ceux qui le meritent, & par le moyen desquelz nous pourrons estre reputés Philosophes de Court, & acquérir ceste reputation."  

The same utilitarianism is apparent in Philibert's advocation of magnanimity, which he defines as the cherishing of one's honour. Magnanimity is both inspired by the desire to gain reputation:—

"Qui le doit inciter à contemner ainsi toutes choses, & se rendre fort, & constant, pour endurer tout, sinon la cupidité & l'esperance de gloire, qui est la fin de notre philosophie?"  

and maintained, even preferred to the love of God, parents and friends by this same desire:—

"Estant donques honneur le but auquel les Sages pretendent parvenir, & la seule cause qui fait l'homme heureux, devons-nous pas contemner tout,  

1) op.cit. p.53.  
2) op.cit. p.54.  
3) op.cit. pp.60-1.  
4) op.cit. pp.86-7.
The irony is obvious here; the author's apparent attempt to mitigate the tenor of his statement, only reinforces the irony.

More than in any other respect, was utilitarianism apparent in Castiglione's elegant dilettantism. Accordingly, Philibert's satire is strongest when he urges that the true court philosopher should concentrate on those arts and accomplishments which are fashionable at court, which are considered as social assets and to master just so much, and so many of them as will enhance his standing and reputation. The following passage from Le Philosophe de Court simultaneously resumes and condemns the doctrine of dilettantism:-

"Il est impossible, que nous puissions ordinairement plaire par nos actes aux personnes, si nous ne congoignions, que c'est que nous faisons. De ceste congoissance yssent les artz, & les sciences, par lesquelles nous devenons vrays Courtisans, comme la Musique, le jeu de Luth, de Guytare, de Harpe, de Psalterion, d'Espinette, de Viole, de Lyre, de Flustes

1) op.cit. pp.82-3.
"& de plusieurs autres doux instruments: l'art de danser toutes dances, les bransles doubles, simples, coupéz, de Bourgogne, de Poitou, de Champaigne, & infinit animaux; la basse dance avec ses appartenances (combin qu'elle se fasse fort) l'alemande, la volte le tourdion le branlegue, le bal, la gaillerde, ou les cinq pas & autres: l'art de composer quelque Dixain, Rondeau, Ballade, Elegie, Chanson, Cantique ou Lamentation amoureuse en Rhythm tierce, en vers Alexandins, fort piteux & dignes de quelque Tragedie, comme d'un serviteur mal recompensé de sa maîtrise: la science de quelques lieux communs des artz liberaux meslez & fricassez ensemble, dont on puisse s'ayder en tous propos... à fin d'avoir matière pour rencontrer, & diviser de toutes choses, & non plus: force histoires pour les compter, & pour plus assurément entrelager quelque menterie aucunesfois. La connoissance de langues diverses, comme d'Espaigne, d'Italien, d'Allemand, & d'autres, à fin que l'on puisse en toutes ces langues: la saluer, exclamer, s'indigner, s'esjoyr, & s'esbahir: l'art d'escrimer, & voltiger, de jouer à la paulme, à la balle, & à autres jeux d'exercice: quelque peu de connoissance des estatz, comme du fait de guerre, de pratiques, de marchandise, & comment on y peult honnestement desrober, & faire son prédit: & autres petites sciences & trafiques, qui courent par le monde, esquelles chacun s'efforce d'estre excellent pour l'honnesteté qui en sort." 1)

Even within the passage some words and phrases stand alone by virtue of the force of the contempt they imply, and so should be particularly underlined. Such is the phrase

"quelques lieux communs des artz liberaux meslez & fricassez ensemble, dont on puisse s'ayder en tous propos... & diviser de toutes choses, & non plus."

Of particular significance also is the intimation that a smattering of foreign languages is to be conserved for ejaculations and curses, in other words, with the most frivolous ends in view.

1) op.cit. pp.40-42
Not content with this broadside, Philibert de Vienne reinforces his attack with a portrait of one who has unwisely indulged in formal education, and its inherent excesses, pedantry and such like, and who has consequently and deservedly, been rejected by polite society. Needless to say, the author’s irony makes us aware that the loss is to polite society, rather than to the 'curieux' with his disinterested love of knowledge:

"nous appellerons en nostre Philosophè Courtisanne le Curieux, celuy qui se rompt la teste ès artz, & sciences, qui ne servent de rien à l'instruction de nostre vie, selon vertu, c'est-à-dire selon la mode de Court...Vous les verriez à la Court plus mornes, plus tristes, plus melancholiques, ilz ne mangent que à leurs heures, ilz ne parlent sinon quand il leur plait, ilz ne rirent pas pour le Pape, ilz ne veulent estre subjets à Prince, ne seigneur, tant grand soit-il, ilz trouvent mauvais tout ce que les autres font: brief ilz ne plaisent à personne...De quoy leur sert ceste grand curiosité de se faire apeller foulz & servir de Triboulet? Qu'illz aient la reputation des gens honnestes, civilz, courtisans? Jamais. Que ne voit on là un Diogenes avec son baston...? Les pages le roulleroient. Les autres se fondent si avant en la sainte esoriture, ouyans que la vertu gise là, que plus tost mourir que les faire changer propos. Mais à quoy pensent telles gens? ou est leur esprit? qu'est il besoin s'enquerir si avant de Dieu? quelle curiosité est-ce de se rompre la teste en choses tant inutiles, qui ne servent de rien, mais plusost nuisent à leurs auteurs? que ne vivent ilz comme les autres?... Il suffit & savoir de tout cela pour en parler seulement quelque peu, & deviser compagnie. Le reste ne sert rien à nostre vertu ains muist, & empeche que ne puissions acquérer ceste honnesteté à laquelle devons tous tendre."

1) op.cit. pp.46-48.
Again some additional comment is called for on this passage, for besides attacking Castiglione's view that formal and profound study is unfashionable, and shows a lack of moderation and proper discretion, Philibert is also implicitly challenging the recommendation made in the Cortegiano that brilliance, academic or otherwise, should be played down, since the most serious defects, in the eyes of polite society, is the exaggeration of a good quality, or of ability. The mention of religion in this context is also interesting although its true significance is difficult to determine. It may be that Philibert is critical of the fact that any deep and firmly held personal conviction is irreconcilable with Castiglione's doctrine, and that Castiglione himself had made absolutely no reference to religion, or the attitude of the perfect courtier to religion, throughout the Cortegiano. At the same time, it is not impossible that this is the author's comment upon the religious indifference of the average French courtier.

An element of compromise and ambiguity had obscured whatever altruistic idealism might have inspired Castiglione in the writing of the Cortegiano. It is this aspect of the work, its ambiguity, which Philibert de Vienne exposes in his satire. He attacks both the end proposed by Castiglione and the means by which it is suggested such an end should be achieved.

1) op. cit. p. 246, "governarsi sempre con una certa honesta mediecrità." See above ch. III. p. 80.
Apart from the attack on the theories of Castiglione, however, although here lies the chief interest and value of the work of course, Philibert de Vienne's satire has considerable importance as a social document, although less obtrusively so than La Borderie's poem, where this aspect is often developed at the expense, or independently of, the satire of the Cortegiano. In the *Philosophe de Court* on the other hand, while still keeping within the strict limits he had defined in his introduction, Philibert's criticisms of specific aspects of Castiglione's theory, etc. extended to show how, in the author's observation, this theory was being implemented at the French court. Thus we have a moral portrait of the contemporary French courtier, and more particularly of a courtier who is a disciple of Castiglione. His servility is not merely an adjunct of old-fashioned flattery, but is deduced from the latest ideas on Bonne Grace, and he has stretched Castiglione's admission of appearances in lieu of an ideal, to the very limit. Thus loyalty and justice are reduced by French disciples to an appearance of loyalty and justice, necessary to remain on the right side of the law, as the following extracts will fully confirm:

"Encores diray-je ce mot avant de passer outre que la loyauté n'est point tant requise en nostre justice envers noz 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 peut contraindre: hors le danger de proces, ce n'est que braverie de bien promettre, tellement que on dit en communs proverbes!"
and again, the same abuse of the original principle of appearances:

"Il n'est bon ne decent faire ses presens au bien d'autrui: c'est ce qu'on dit, du cuyr d'autrui large courroye. En quoy nous devons considerer ce que nous avons dit parlans de justice, que de tenir le bien d'autrui n'est que galantise, moyennant que ceste detention soit couverte de quelque verisimilitude de raison: car (comme nous avons dit tant de fois) le dessus, les semblances, les apparences sont le principal de nostre Philosophie."

Servile, disloyal, treacherous, and judging by Philibert de Vienne's adaptation of Castiglione's list of desirable and fashionable accomplishments, pedestrian in his tastes and with a passion for superficial snippets of learning (a fact moreover, that the mass importation into the French language of Italian words, by courtiers, does much to confirm, as do also such subsequent poems as Le Poète Courtisan, Le Médecin Courtizan, and those sonnets of the Regrets to which we have already drawn attention), such is the French courtier exponent of the Italian born theory of 'honnesteté'.

The technical mastery and merit of Philibert de Vienne's satire is unquestionable, and rivals the actual subject matter as a source of the great interest of the work. Such literary skill as the author exhibits is intimately connected with his source. Although the immediate impetus for the composition of this satirical

1) op.cit. pp.57-8.
2) op.cit. p.62.
3) See above pp.367-368.
eulogy may have been provided by La Borderie's L'Amye de Court, it has been proved, and the text of Le Philosophe de Court supports this¹), that Philibert knew Lucian, and that the Philosophe de Court is a direct imitation of the De Parasito. Philibert's careful attempts to establish, in the opening stages of the work, that courtisanship is the most important of modern philosophies, and is more worthy of consideration, and study, as a philosophy, than anything dreamed up by the Ancient sages, are derived from Lucian's attempts to define Parasitic, the art of the Parasite, and to establish its supreme position among all the arts. And it is from this work that Philibert de Vienne has taken the genre of the satirical eulogy, and to this master he owes his fluent use of irony. Philibert has added an ingredient of his own however, for good measure, for his sustained and controlled irony is often relieved by more exuberant satire, in the form of the vivid portraits we have noted, which the author seems unable to repress but which further his intention by reinforcing his irony at a more obvious and unmistakable level.

Whereas the Philosophe de Court is a sustained onslaught on Castiglione's doctrine, we find in other, later writings of this first Renaissance period, only partial attacks, and intermittent hostility to the theory expressed in the Cortegiano.

One of the most interesting of these partial attacks is that contained in the second dialogue of Louis Le Caron's Dialogues. We shall consider this first since this author seems to have been particularly influenced by Philibert de Vienne's satire, in his condemnation of Castiglione. There are a number of points in Le Caron's dialogue at which it is possible to establish a rapprochement with Philibert's work. This we shall do.

This dialogue is between a courtier, and the author. The title is De La Vraie Sagesse, & des Louanges de la Philosophie. The courtier speaks first, against philosophy, and in favour of a system which he refers to as "la vraye sagesse."

"La vraye sagesse" is nothing more or less than the doctrine of 'honnêteté'! The courtier defends this theory with the same arguments that Philibert had previously put forward in ironical justification of it. Thus the first point made by the courtier in this dialogue is that true wisdom is not that of the Ancient philosophers, which is too abstract and recondite, but that of the courtier, which can be briefly condensed thus:
"la vraye sagesse est l'industrie d'avoir le contentement des choses plus estimées & désirées, de la multitude." 1)

Likewise the courtier insists that virtue, if it is suitable to the conditions of our society, will be found nowhere more than at the court implying almost that "vertu est une maniere de vivre à la mode de la court," 2) (as Philibert de Vienne had insisted), as can be seen here:

"Quelque vertu, que tes philosophes puissent imaginer, si elle est bien seule & commode à la société humaine tu ne la trouveras mieux enseignée, honorée & entretenue, que par ceux qui vivent louablement...au palais & court des Princes." 3)

In a passage which should be compared with Philibert's ironical condemnation of the 'curieux', Le Caron's courtier condemns those who cling obstinately to personal convictions and ideals, as unfashionable, arrogant, and indiscreet, echoing Philibert's "que ne vivent ilz comme les autres" in blank incomprehension that anyone could be so stupid as to endanger his reputation and his chance of glory and acclaim by such excessive individualism and integrity:

"Celui lequel induit d'une propre & singulière opinion & elongné du jugement commun songe par plusieurs nuits en son esprit je ne sçai quelle sagesse, que pourroit-il faire d'excellent? Quelle gloire lui apporteroit son invention, estant hors d'espoir d'estre secondé & imité? Chacun travaille

1) op.cit. dialogue II, fo. 49v.
2) op.cit. fo.31.
3) op.cit. fo.56 recto.
"& aspire à ce qu'il veoit plusieurs de proposer: il faut donc flechir & dresser tous ses estudes & conséilz au jugement du peuple: aussi est-il plus raisonnable qu'un seul obéisse aux sentences de plusieurs, que plusieurs à l'opinion d'un seul. De revoler contre le commun avis de la multitude c'est ou arrogance importable, ou légereté & insolence digne de moquerie. Nature nous a borné un court chemin de la vie, lequel elle nous a permis de croistre par l'estendue de la gloire. Mais ne seroit-il meilleur à l'homme de n'avoir jamais joui de cette lumiere que de s'aplamer de la faveur populaire de laquelle dépend sa vie."

The courtier's idea here, that the individual should conform to the wishes, standards etc of the majority, is very similar to that suggested ironically by Philibert de Vienne; in the philosophy of court the Philosophe has no difficulty, in a large assembly, in pleasing people of different persuasions, since harmony is achieved when everybody adopts the majority fashion, the manner of court, expresses the opinion of court and models himself on the fashion of court.

Like the Philosophe de Court, Le Caron's courtier is confident that prudence will determine how far the adoption of certain attitudes and convictions may be justified within the limits of the doctrine of accommodation and acceptability:-

"Les histoires sont enflées d'infinis exemples de plusieurs nobles & gentilz personnages, qui ont attaient le comble de souveraine autorité par la prudence, qu'ilz ont eue de temporiser à plaire au peuple, & d'autres qui pour leurs opinions trop elongnées du vulgaire n'ont peu gaigner aucune faveur."

1) op.cit. fo.53.
2) op.cit. fo.54.
In opposition, the author is quick to point out that this court philosophy has only an appearance of virtue, and is in reality very pernicious, involving as it must necessarily, the sacrifice of the personal integrity of the aspiring courtier:

"Combien que cette ambition se farde de quelque resemblance de vertu: toutesfois elle est grandement pernicieuse & à celui qui s'en pense braver & à la chose publique. Car l'ambitieux & civil adorateur des grands seigneurs, mendiant quelque favorable promesse pour attaindre à son but, corrompt & change ses propres moeurs pour les façonner aux passions de celui, lequel il se propose comme le Dieu de son esperance: & rien ne lui est vertu ne vice que ce qui plaist ou desplaisist à son maistre, il ne prise les choses à la verité ains seulement à son profit." 1)

whose aim it is to be the subject of great acclaim:

"Considéré son maintien tu ne verras que flatteries, applaudissements & caresses:...c'est merveille de sa bonne grace: & de sa part il ne demande moins d'honneur, comme il se repute à gloire d'adorer les plus nobles, ainsi grandement convoite d'estre salué, orné de reverences & regardé du vulgaire." 2)

just as Castiglione had described in the Cortegiano.

In the only study available on this little known writer which makes some reference to his prose works, namely a short article by Lucien Pinvert 3), the author writes, of the second dialogue:

"nous constatons l'influence de ce charmant Balthasar Castiglione, dont le Cortegiano faisait fureur alors." 4)

1) op.cit. fo. 71 v°.

2) op.cit. fo. 71 r°.


4)
It would seem from this, although the statement is not entirely free from ambiguity, that Pinvert would have us believe that Le Caron was another of the French apologists of the Cortegiano and its theories. We have tried to show that Le Caron's intention was, on the contrary, not to imitate and not to praise, but to bury Castiglione.

The remaining opposition to the Cortegiano in this period comes chiefly from Tahureau. Besides attacking the prudent policy of "dissimulation courtisanne"

"N'as-tu jamais oui dire que pour bien faire son profit à la cour des Rois & maisons des grans Seigneurs, il est necessaire de complaire à son maitre & s'accomoder à ses complexions?" 1)

he ridicules the idea of elegant dilettantism -

"Celui qui apprend à chanter ou toucher les instrumenst, non point pour se donner plaisir mais pour autruj esperant d'en recevoir par ce moyen quelque vaine louange à l'harmonidienne, se peut veritablement appeller sot ou mercenaire..." 2)

and more harshly even when the art which is attempted is dancing, and the end in mind is to please women particularly. 3)
"Il n'est rien plus certain que si l'esgard de plaire & principalement à ces belles deesses n'estoit la fin de la danse, il ne s'en trouveroit pas un qui en daignast déploier la jambe pour en essayer un passage, & moins encore de ceux qui vousissent en apprenant cette gentille singerie quelquefois tumber à la renverse, ou bien accoller une table ou un buffet si doucement qu'on dit le diable y ait part en la danse. Et par ce connois-tu aisement que l'on n'apprend pas à danser pour le plaisir qui y peut estre, mais seulement pour un fol esgard de plaire à celles qui prennent plus de plaisir à se moquer & rire de ces pauvres sots qui se travaillent en vain." 1)

Du Bellay's hostility to the maxims contained in the Cortegiano takes the form of occasional sniping in the often overlooked sonnets on the French court, composed shortly after the poet's return from Italy. It is not possible in this case to tell whether Du Bellay was more inspired by the actual teachings of the book or by his own observation of those French courtiers who modelled themselves on it. Like Philibert de Vienne, and with the same heavy irony, he advises, in sonnet CXLII

"Ne dy rien qui ne soit pour le moins vraysemblable. Si tu ments, que ce soit pour chose profitable...
L'artifice caché, c'est le vray artifice,
La souris bien souvent perit par son indice.
Et souvent par son art se trompe l'artisan." 2)

while sonnet CXLV warns of the dangers of exaggerated virtues and prowess:

"L'homme trop vertueux despait au populaire,
Et n'est-il pas bien fol, qui s'effortant de plaire,
Se mesle d'un mestier que tout le monde fuit?" 3)

1) op.cit. p.73.
2) op.cit. pp.166.7, vv. 6-7, 12-14.
3) op.cit. p. 169, vv. 12-14.
In our introductory passage we claimed that the anti-courtier trend in its first Renaissance period, from 1540-59, becomes increasingly diverse, complex, and interesting. We return to this statement in conclusion, in the hope of having justified it, and in order to reiterate it.

The contribution of the Cortegiano to the continued and very felicitous development and extension of the trend in this period can only with difficulty be exaggerated. For it provided French writers with renewed inspiration, and a rich reserve of hitherto unexploited satirical material. Anything which could divert their attentions and satirical impulse from the traditional shortcomings of the courtier was to be applauded. This the Cortegiano did, for the reaction against the work is directed not so much against the courtier, as against a doctrine of dubious morality, — against the state of mind which nourished it, which was held to be undermining the traditional values of French society. This reaction is already well-defined and established in this period.

Interest however in the anti-courtier writings of this period is not only stimulated by a wider range of criticism and implication, but by the increasing depth and sophistication of attack. We have shown that much of this advance in satirical technique may be attributed to the influence of Lucian.

Support for the claims we have made on behalf of both
Castiglione and Lucian, will be found in the fact that those works which may most justifiably be deemed masterpieces, both within the anti-courtier trend, and alone — by virtue of their intrinsic literary merit, are precisely those which owe most to their influence, separate or combined, namely Le Poète Courtisan, Le Médecin Courtisan and particularly Le Philosophe de Court.
Chapter VIII. The Anti-Courtier Trend in The Period of The Religious Wars, 1560-1600.

It was during the period of the Religious Wars, from 1560 to the close of the century, when France was torn by civil strife, that the chorus of criticism directed against the French court, a chorus which had been steadily increasing in volume throughout the century, finally reached a crescendo; it was under the influence of the events of those tumultuous years that the character of many of the anti-courtier utterances of the period was determined.

Certain factors in the development of the anti-courtier trend however, remain constant from one period to the next. These we shall consider now. The first of such invariables is that literary inspiration is again responsible for the vast majority of attacks on court life in general. Thus Horace, Claudian and Guevara continue to provoke imitations on the well-tried theme of court versus country. 1) In the more direct attacks on court life Piccolomini's De Curialium Miseriis Epistola is briefly resurrected, 2) the first signs of the influence of Hutten's dialogue, Misaulus, begin to appear, 3) Juvenal too is invoked, 4) and, for the first time, the Italian

1) See below pp. 432-6.
2) See below pp. 506-7.
3) See below pp. 506-10.
4) See below pp. 510-12.
satirists Alamanni and Sansovino - whose satirical works had appeared together in the *Sette Libri di Satire*, edited by Sansovino himself, and published at Venice in 1560, contribute to this theme.

Again, as in previous periods, attacks on the courtier and his profession, as opposed to attacks on court life in general, are very much less dependant upon literary sources. One notable exception, but one which involves no new departure from previous practice, is the objection to the courtier as a flatterer. Many times, writers who make this objection to the courtier, even when they may not initially have been inspired to do so by literary reminiscences, seek to confirm and elaborate their point by borrowing from earlier works on the subject. In this period Plutarch's treatise *De modo Adulator ab Amico Internoscatur* 1) is drawn upon for this purpose. Secondly, reaction against Castiglione's code and its French exponents continues to inspire some anti-courtier writers of this period.

As for the extent to which literary inspiration and precedent has determined the technique of anti-courtier satire from 1560-1600, this too remains constant. The techniques adapted from Lucian in the Renaissance period are more generally applied in this period; of earlier French satirists, Du Bellay's influence, as regards technique, particularly that

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1) For analysis of this work see above, ch. I, pp. 25-33. For details of its influence in this period see below pp. 526-89.
of satirical description is the most considerable. 1)

While there is thus no increase in the extent to which literary inspiration modified anti-courtier satire in this period, the influence exerted by political events, by economic and social change, cannot be exaggerated.

The prime factor in the increase of hostility towards the French court during the years from 1560 to the end of the century was without question the economic situation of the country. 2) The period of the Religious Wars was preceded, in the years 1557-9, by a grave financial crisis, 3) precipitated partly by the enormous loans necessitated by the Italian campaigns in the first half of the century, partly by the uncontrolled influx of precious metals from the New World one of the effects of which was a depreciation in the purchasing power of money, accompanied by a rise in the cost of living. The classes of French society most adversely affected by this crisis were, on the one hand, the peasants and artisans, on the other, the nobility, both of whom, the employed classes for lack of capital, the nobility who rank forbade them to undertake any gainful occupation, were unable to protect themselves or insure themselves against a sudden

1) For Lucian's influence in this period, see below pp. 529-41, 562.

2) Writing of the reign of Henri III, Mariéjol, in L'Histoire de France de Levisse, vol. 6, part I p. 237, says: - "C'est le malaise économique qui a rendu les peuples sensibles aux vices d'Henri III."

depreciation in the value of their earnings or fortunes, which stood at a fixed level, as the bourgeoisie had done by the investment of capital in commercial enterprises. In fact the situation is well summed up by Jean Correro, the Venetian ambassador to the French court, in his report of 1569. Commenting upon the impoverishment of peasantry and nobility alike, he adds:

"Il n'y a que les bourgeois et les hommes de robe longue, tels que présidents, conseillers, procureurs et autres gens semblables qui ont de l'or à foison et n'en savent que faire."

The situation was to deteriorate still further however, as the civil wars dragged on, and as Henri III succeeded Charles IX. The plight of the peasants was further aggravated by the endless battles which made cultivation difficult and all hope of harvests unrealistic. In addition, large sections of the population were hit by more and more new taxes exacted by an ailing administration. Pierre L'Estoile, writing in his Journal, in September 1581, tells of this period as one which was

"Fascheus et dur pour le peuple, mangé et rongé jusques aux os, en la campagne par les gens de guerre, et aux villes par nouveaux offices, imposts et subsides."

in one of several entries which he makes on the economic conditions of the time. 1) Evidence of the destitution of the nobility in particular. The fullest account is that of La Noue, in his Discours:—

"Il ne faut point beaucoup de langage pour faire connœstro combien les Gentils-hommes François sont decheus de ceste ancienne richesse, dont leurs maisons estoyent ornées sous les regnes de nos bons rois Louys douzieme & François Premier : veu que c'est une chose que peu ignorent. Car si on les veut considerer tant en general qu'en particulier, on les verra estre despourveus, à avoir disette de plusieurs choses necessaires". 2)

The most immediate reaction to the widespread economic distress was one of concern on the part of those who felt themselves equipped to play a responsible role and to intercede on behalf of less articulate fellow citizens. Thus Olivier de Magny, in some sonnets which he wrote in 1561 just before his death, but which he never published, and which he addressed to the young King Charles IX, expresses alarm at the high level of taxation and general hardship among the people. 3) Similarly Ronsard, in his Institution Pour l'Adolescence Du Roi, called for strong government tempered by justice and compassion, and makes this plea:—

1) See also vol.II, p.203, entry for July 1585.
2) La Noue, Discours Politiques et Militaires, Basle, François Forest, 1587. See also the similar account by the ambassadors Jean Michel, in Relations etc. p.408 for 1561, and by Michel Suriano, also for 1561, p.489. See also Romier, Le Royaume de Catherine de Médicis, ch.III, passim.
"Ne pillez vos sujets par ransonny par tailles,
Car pour vivre content vous en avez assez...
Tirez le peuple à vous d'une main liberale,
Et pensez que le mal le plus pernicieux
C'est un Prince sordide et avaricieux." 1)

A commonplace of humanitarian thought perhaps, but worthy of more serious consideration because it is one of a large number of such admonitions. Concern such as this however, as we shall see, rapidly gave place to a more widespread and vociferous discontent, 2) and it was this mood which provoked hostile scrutiny into the regime which was held responsible for the plight of the country; the search for scapegoats became a national preoccupation and vituperation a national pastime.

Close examination of the administration of France under Charles IX could not, and did not allay suspicions or dull a rankling sense of injustice. The power that Catherine de Médicis wielded through her sons gave her effective control of the government of the country. The increase in her personal power was inevitably accompanied by an increase in the numbers and influence of her fellow Italians at the French court. Whereas, in previous years, the Italians at the French

2) This transition, from concern to discontent, is very noticeable in two poems by Ronsard. The concern we have shown in his first poem to Charles IX, Towards the end of the reign, in 1573, Ronsard again addressed the King, but in very different mood. See Au Roy Charles IX, 1573 - ed. cit., vol. 6, 480-3.
court had been attacked for their social morality, and for
their 'corruption' of French manners and morals, they were
now indicted on a more serious charge, their political
morality was questioned. Under the lead of the Queen Mother
they were seen as dedicated Machiavellists. ¹) They, it was
observed, were responsible for the imposition of crippling
taxes, they who were observed to grow fat upon them. Against
the background of economic discontent, anti-Italian feeling
reached unparalleled proportions. From Jean Michel, the
Venetian ambassador in 1575, comes this succinct comment on
the standing of Catherine de Médicis in the country:-

"Elle est accusée de tous les malheurs qui ont
désolé ce royaume. Etrangère et italienne,
jusqu'ici elle était peu aimée; à présent elle
est haie." ²)

from Jean Correro, an earlier report, 1569 corroborates the
hatred of Frenchmen for her fellow countrymen :-

"A cause de ces impositions, ils ont en horreur les
Italiens, qui les ont inventées; et je peux certifier
à votre sérénité que pendant deux années les hommes
de cette nation ne marchaient pas sans danger dans
les rues de Paris." ³)

¹) On this subject see especially I. Gentillet, Discours Contre
Machiavel, s.l., 1576- Preface, and below pp. 573-4.
Pamphlets attacking the Queen Mother and her followers are almost too numerous to mention, but anti-Italian feeling seems to have crystallized between the years 1574 and 1578, when such pamphlets, especially virulent. 1) It is in the Journal of L’Etoile that we find the most extensive testimony to popular feeling on this subject, although the hundreds of verse libels recorded by him have little claim to distinction as literature. 2) The following, which appeared on the 23rd of September, 1578, is fairly typical. It is headed: A Messire Poltron, Scorpion, Sardini, Sarredenier & Ses Complices Les Messeres d’Italie, Des Enfers toute la lie.

"Italiens, inventeurs de subsides,
Pires cent fois que tous les parricides...
Italien doncque, qui que tu sois,
Qui t’enrichis aux despens du Francois,
Dont tu fais tant du muguet parfumé,
Un jour viendra que sera enfumé." 3)

1) Four of the most important include La France Turquie, Hotman’s Matago de Matagonibus, Gentillet’s Discours Contre Machiavel, and the Discours Merveilleux sur La Vie et Desportements de Catherine de Médicis, roynne mere, auquel sont recités les moyens qu’’elle a tenus pour usurper le gouvernement du Royaume de France et ruiner l’estat d’Iceluy, anonymous, but often attributed to Henri Estienne, 1575. On this literature see Barrère, Humanisme et Politique dans le Discours de la Servitude Volontaire, ch.VII. On anti-Italian feeling generally see J. Mathiex, Les Italiens Devant l’Opinion Francaise à la Fin du XVI Siècle, in Bulletin du Bibliophile. 1914 — an article which I have unfortunately been unable to consult.

2) In form, such compositions range from sonnets to stances, to quatrains and to irregular verse, in French and dog Latin. Principal entries are: — August 1574— Vers Semés à Paris Contre Les Italiens et La Royne Mere, vol.I pp.18-20. July 1575— Stances Contre Les Italiens, pp.70-2; Sonnets sur ce sujet, p.73; Autres Poésies Francoises et Latines Contre Ladite Dame et Ses Partizans, pp.74-90. Sept. 1576—quoted above.

3) op.cit. vol I, pp.266-7. I have abbreviated it.
Since the court was the centre of Italian influence, hatred of Italian domination as expressed in prose pamphlets and verse libels of the period, was obviously an important factor in the alienation of the court from public sympathy, especially as anti-Italian feeling, by extension, was also directed at French courtiers considered as sympathisers.

Against the economic background, an examination of the nature and organisation of court life under the last of the Valois will also contribute to the list of reasons for the increasing hostility towards courtiers in this period.

The most significant development in the nature of the court was not a profound transformation, but a constant evolution and a confirmation of a tendency which we have observed throughout the century, namely a continuing increase in the numerical strength of the royal entourage, especially noticeable during the reign of Henri III. The nobility, of right, and of necessity - many of them having been compelled to sell their lands, in order to escape complete destitution, to the newly enriched bourgeoisie, and having no other means of subsistence than the bounty of the monarch, were increasingly represented. Additional officers, in turn, were required

1) It is difficult to accept the view expressed by Romier, in his book Le Royaume de Catherine de Médicis, p. 74, that there was no court, and no "esprit de Cour" in France before 1560, and that this phenomenon was contemporary with, and related to, "une génération nouvelle, celle des fils de Catherine de Médicis, la génération des derniers Valois, élevée dans un luxe dissolvant et qui n'aura pas connu la guerre étrangère". Such a view ignores completely the success in France
to cope with the day to day organisation of the enlarged court. A record of this fact is provided once again by a Venetian ambassador, this time by Jean Lippomano, who writes in his report of 1575:

"Il y a maintenant plus d'employés qu'il n'y en a jamais eu... les gentilshommes de la chambre sont sans nombre, et il y en a d'autant plus aujourd'hui que cette charge est devenue très-estimée... Il y a ensuite douze pages d'honneur tirés des plus grandes familles de France... outre cela il y a tant d'huissiers, d'officiers de bouche et de garde-robe, tant de gardiens de chiens et d'autres bêtes, tant de gens salariés, que c'est un pêle-mêle sans ordre et sans règle aucun... Les Princes, les ducs, les barons, les prélat qui suivent la cour, les uns par devoir, les autres par ambition, sont si nombreux, qu'à chaque grand voyage le cortège est de huit mille chevaux et d'autant de personnes." 1)

The difference between the court of Henri III and, say, that of François Ier, was in other respects too, one of degree rather than kind. The luxury and brilliance deployed at the court of Henri III easily surpassed the not inconsiderable extravagance of his predecessor's entourage. Such luxury was evident not only in the appearance of the individual courtier - a contemporary account tells us that

"Les changements de costumes usités parmi les jeunes gens exigent des dépenses considérables en draps de laine, en draps d'or et de soie. Un homme de cour n'est pas estimé riche s'il n'a pas vingt-cinq à trente habillements de différentes façons, et il doit en changer tous les jours" 2)

but in the lavishly spectacular court entertainments and celebrations frequently mounted during this reign —

"La cour s'occupe tout l'hiver de fêtes et de tournois auxquels prit part le roi lui-même. Les spectacles furent superbes et d'une magnificence vraiment royale." 1)

and which were not always so warmly reviewed as in the above account! For example, Pierre L'Estoile, writing of such celebrations in his *Journal*, is more conscious of the expense involved, than the magnificence of the spectacle. Compare his account of the same tournaments held in the winter of 1577, with that of the Venetian ambassador which we have just quoted :-

"Ce pendant le roy faisait jouxtes, tournois, ballets et force masquarades... et estoit bruit que, sans le décès de messire Nicolas de Lorraine, comte de Vaudemont, son beau-père, peu auparavant advenu, il eust despendu au carnaval, en jeux et mascarades, cent ou deux cent mille francs. Tant estoit le luxe enraciné au coeur de ce Prince!" 2)

He is similarly preoccupied by financial details in his account of the extravagant celebrations given by the King and by his mother later in the same year :-

"Le mercredi, 15 mai, le Roy, au Plessis-les-Tours fit un festin à M. le duc son frère... auquel les dames, vestues de verd en habits d'hommes, firent le service, et y furent tous les assistans vestus de verd ; et à cest effait fut levé à Paris et ailleurs pour saixante mil francs de draps de

1) op.cit., vol. II p. 349.
soie verte. La Roine-Mère fîst après son banquet à Chenonceau, qui lui revenoit (à ce qu'on disoit) à peu pres de cent mil francs, qu'on leva comme par forme d'emprunt sur les plus aisés serviteurs du Roy, et mesme de quelques Italiens, qui s'en soucèrent bien rembourser au double.* 1)

The height of extravagance was reached in the festive entertainments arranged to celebrate the marriage of Anne de Joyeuse, one of the King's closest intimates:

"La despense y fut faite si grande, y compris les masquardes, combats à pied et à cheval, joustes tournois, musiques, danses d'hommes et femmes, et chevaux, présens et livrées, que le bruit estoit que le Roy n'en seroit point quitte pour douze cent mil escus. De fait, la toile d'or et d'argent, en toutes choses, jusques aux masques et chariots, et autres feintes, et aux accoustrements des pages et laquais, le velous et la broderie d'or et d'argent n'y furent non plus espargnés que si on les eust donnés pour l'amour de Dieu. Et estoit tout le monde esbahi d'un si grand luxe, et tant énorme et superflue despense qui se faisait par le Roy et par les autres de sa cour, de son ordonance et exprès commandement, en ung temps mesmement qui n'estoit des meilleurs du monde, ains fascheus et dur pour le peuple mangé et rongé jusques aux os." 2)

Such proceedings were not only lavish, they were publicly seen to be lavish. L'Etoile expresses the reaction of his fellows to such wanton and irresponsible prodigality 3), which against the background of resentment inspired by economic

1) op. cit. vol.I p. 188-9.
2) op. cit. vol.II Sept. 1581 pp.22-3.
3) The reaction of the bourgeoisie to such luxury is described by P. Champion, in Henri III et Les Ecritains de Son Temps, in Bibl. d'humanisme et Renaissance, vol.I, 1941, pp.43-172, as particularly violent - p.145. On the Joyeuse marriage and accompanying festivities, see also F. Yates, The Valois Tapestries, Studies of the Warburg Institute, no. 21, University of London, Printed at Leyden, 1957.
oppression, could only further exacerbate feeling against the court.

Henri's court was of course more notorious for its debauchery than for its prodigality even, and in this too, the monarch was personally implicated. An epigram of the period sums up thus:

"Le Roy Louis XI° vouloir que Charles, son fils, ne sçeuist qu'un mot de latin; toute la cour mesprisit les bonnes lettres.
Le Roy Francois Ier restabilit les études; toute la noblesse fit estudier ses enfants.
Le Roy Henri III° aime les desbauches et le luxe; toute la cour fond en dissolutions." 1)

Reports of such debauchery and of public reaction to it, make up a large part of the Journal of L'Etoile. 2) The relationship of the King and his mignons in particular, the extent of his sympathies for them, and their influence upon him, earned them at once the hatred of the populace, according to L'Etoile:

"Le nom de Mignons commença, en ce temps à trotter par la bouche du peuple, auquel ils estoient fort odieux, tant par leurs façons de faire, qui estoient bâdines et hautaines que par leurs fards et accoutrements effeminiés et impudiques, mais surtout pour les dons immenses et liberalités que leur faisoit le Roy,

and their derision. 2) Inevitably also, some sections of the
court reacted hostilely to the favour shown by the King to
his small band of intimates. 3) Reports of the King’s conduct
on the death of two of the mignons in particular, of Quélus
and Saint-Mesgrin, following a duel 4) were a subject of
scandal, while the penitential processions of flagellants,
in which the chief actors were again the King and the members
of his court, were widely recognised as a hypocritical cover
for less holy activities. 5)

Another important factor in the estrangement of the
court was the lawlessness and inhumanity of some of its
leading members. L’Estoile records crimes committed, more
often than not, with the sanction of the King. The murder

1) op.cit. vol.I p.142.
2) See vol.I p.309 Escoliers contrefaisans le Roy et ses
mignons : “Et ledit jour (fiv.1577) fist constituer
prisonniers quelques escoliers, qui se promen oient dans
la foire, portans de longues fraises de chemises de
papier blanc, en dérision (comme le Roy prêsuma et comme
on pense que c’estoient la vérité) de Sa Majesté et de
ses mignons, courtizans si bien fraizés et goldronnés ;
et comme ils sont d’insolente nature, cri oient en plaine
foire : A la fraize on cognoist le veau !”
3) See Mariéjol, op.cit. p.218 and below p.
4) See L’Estoile, op.cit. vol.I, p.244 April-1578
5) See L’Estoile, op.cit. vol.II, pp.114-121 for reports and
the epigrams on the subject.
of La Villequier by her husband, at court,¹) is a case in point, but more important, since the lawlessness was perpetrated against number of innocent people, and with witnesses to the effect, are the pillaging campaigns of Bussy d'Amboise, of whom we are told:

"(il) se sçait si bien excuser de cette hostilité publique et tirannie, exécutée sur ses sujets, témoinnée et avérée par une infinité de personnes, qu'il est retenu de Sa Majesté comme l'un de ses plus fidèles serviteurs, et continué en ses charges et pensions, dont tout le peuple murmura fort ."²)

The influence of the contemporary political situation on the development of hostility towards the court and on the corresponding increase in the volume of anti-courtier satire in this period, remains to be discussed. The two religious groups in the country, Catholics and Protestants, owed the support of leading members of the court not to their conscientious concern over religious practices or theological doctrine, but rather to scruples of personal

²) Op. cit. vol. I p. 188 May 1577. These were by no means isolated incidents.
interest. The influence of the internal struggle between the warring factions of Catholics and Protestants, which at time wore on, became increasingly a political rather than a religious one, seen in the literature of the period, not least in the anti-courtier trend. Anti-courtier satire was used for the purpose of party polemics. Both sides, in order to gain support for their cause, were active in exploiting and increasing popular antipathy to Henri III and his courtiers, by retailing in pamphlets and libels, details of their activities.

1) On this subject the account of La Noue, op. cit. Discours 26- Observations Sur Plusieurs Choses Advenues Aux Trois Premiers Troubles, p. 552, is interesting: "À ceste heure voyons la disposition de la cour. Il est notoire qu'au temps du Colloque de Poissy la doctrine Evangélique y fut proposée en liberté : ce qui causa que plusieurs tant grands que petits, prindrent goust à icelle. Mais tout ainsi qu'un feu de paille fait grand'flamme, & puis s'esteint incontinent, d'autant que la matiere defaut, aussi apres que ce qu'ils avoyent reçeu comme une nouveauté se fust un peu enveilli en leur coeur, les affections s'amoirtirent, à la plupart retourna à l'ancienne cabale de la Cour qui est bien plus propre pour faire rire & plâffer, & pour s'enrichir... Il faut estimer que la cour en general est l'image du Prince : car tel qu'il est, telle aussi est sa suite... Voilà pourquoi les courtisans voyons que le Roy, Messieurs ses frères, et la Roynne leur mere estoient plus inclines à la religion Catholique, à le Roy de Navarre s'estoit revolté, taschoyent aussi de se conformer à eux."

2) See L'Estoile, op. cit. vol. I, p. 264: "le mal qu'on vouloit à ses mignons qui le possedoient (donna) un grand avantage à ceux de Lorraine pour corrompre le peuple et, dans le Tiers-Estat, créer et former peu à peu entièrement leur parti, qui estoit la Ligue." See also P. Champion, La Légende des Mignons, in Humanisme et Renaissance, vol. 6, 1939 pp. 494-528 who asks, of the mignons: "Quel étaient-ils pour avoir mérité ... la rancune des huguenots de Monsieur demeuré un conspirateur, celle des Guise cherchant leur chemin par la calomnie et l'ordure, le mauvais vouloir du clergé de France, qui ne désirait pas contribuer aux frais de la guerre...?" p. 500
The characteristics of much of the anti-courtier literature of this period, too, were determined by the historical background and the temper of the times. Whether inspired by a desire to make political capital, or simply by patriotic indignation, the tone of many of the attacks is generally polemical, vituperative and acrimonious. And whereas, previously, courtiers had been satirised as a class rather than individuals, there is an increasing tendency in this period towards vindictive personal detraction, especially noticeable in the many anonymous attacks on the 'mignons' which have been recorded by L'Estoile. To a greater extent than ever before in the century, the character of the anti-courtier literature of this period, with its record of individuals, of dress and speech, of manners, morals and events, is documentary.

A considerable increase in the number of poems built upon the contrast of court and country life may be observed after 1560. The sources of these indirect attacks on court life are identical to those of the previous period. It is

1) It would be impossible to mention, or to analyse individually all of these poems, since there are so many, and since they are often uninteresting, but in illustration of the above point see especially op. cit., vol.I, p.168 Sonnets against Versoris, l'Huiler and p.220 Sonnet sur Les Mignons de l'an 1577.
perhaps not unreasonable to suggest that the additional vogue which this theme now enjoyed may have been inspired in some cases by its aptness to the times and to the mood of the times, when nostalgia for an untroubled rural existence, and the strains of public life, especially court life during the civil wars, when sympathies were uncertain, were increasing proportionately. 1)

Indirect attacks on court life built around the contrast of court and country in this period fall into four groups. Firstly, those inspired by the general horatian contrast between contentment and ambition ; 2) secondly, those inspired particularly by Horace’s epode Beatus Ille, and by Claudian’s De Sene Veronense ; 3) thirdly, those in which the influence of Guevara’s Menosprecio is combined with that of Horace and Claudian ; 4) finally, those which are inspired solely by Guevara. 5)

The attack on court life contained in Ronsard’s poem La Salade, is inspired by the theme, to be found in many of Horace’s poems, 6) of modest contentment opposed to insatiable ambition. Ronsard rejects the strain imposed by court life —

1) C.f. Le Courtisan Retiré, by Jean de la Taille below, pp. 495–98.
2) See below, pp. 491–92.
3) See below, pp. 491–92.
4) See below, pp. 491–92.
5) See below, pp. 494–96.
6) See above, ch. 1, pp. 11 note 3.
"je ne le veux faire:
Car telle vie à la miene est contraire.
Il faut mentir, flater et courtiser,
Rire sans ris, sa face desguiser
Au front d'autrui, et ne le veux faire...

au reste je demande
Un doux repos, et ne veux plus qu'on pende,
Comme un poignard, les soucis sur mon front.
En peu de temps les courtizans s'en vont
En chef grison, ou meurent sur un coffre." 1)

In many poems on the court versus country theme, the
inspiration can be more directly pin-pointed, either to one
particular poem of Horace, his epode Beatus Ille, or more
often, to Claudian's De Sene Veronense. Thus, in his
Discours à Odet de Coligny2) of 1560, Ronsard's close
imitation of Claudian's praise of country life -

"O bien-heureux celuy qui peut user son âge
En repos, laburant son petit heritage !
Qui loin de ses enfans charitable ne part,
Qu'une mesme maison a veu jeune et vieillart :
Et qui par les moissons au Printemps retournées,
Et non par les Rois va contant les années :
Qui se soutient les bras d'un baston appuye,
Parmi les champs où jeune alloit à quatre piez
Qui voit les grands forests qu'il plantoit en jeunesse,
D'un mesme âge que luy parvenir à vieillesse..."3)

1) La Salade, first published in 1569, Sixième Livre des
Poemes, ed.cit. vol.V, pp.76-30 - p.78. On Ronsard's anti-
courtier writings see I.Silver, Ronsard, Panegyrist,
Pensioner and Satirist of the French Court in Romanic
2) First appeared under title Elegie, in Deuxième Livre des
3) ibid. G.F. Claudian, De Sene Veronense, ed.cit.vol.II, p.330:
"Felix, qui propriis aevum transegit in arvis,
Ipsa domus puerum quem videt, ipsa senem,
Qui baculo nitens, in qua reptavit arena,
Unius numerat saecula longa casae..."
Frugibus alternis, non consule, computat annum ;
Autumnum pomis, ver sibi flore rotat..."
Ingentem meminit parvo qui germine quercum."
leads him eventually to make this comparison with court life:

"Heureux doncques, heureux qui de son toict ne bouge,
Qui ne voit ....

.............. les Princes, ny le Roy,
Ny sa trompeuse court, qui ne tient point de foy,
Si dës le point du jour quelqu'un ne le salue,
S'il n'est comme un grand Prince honnéré par la rue,
Il vit loin de la guerre et des querelles feintes
Dont ces grands courtizans ont les âmes atteintes,
Brûlant à petit feu sans intermission,
D'une secrete envie et d'une ambition...
Miserables valets, vendans leur liberté
Pour un petit d'honneur servement acheté !" 1)

2)

Philippe Desportes likewise was tempted to write upon this theme, borrowing from Horace and Claudian in equal proportions, giving ample development to the portrayal of the rustic scene, but adding very little to our knowledge of court life:

"O bienheureux qui peut passer sa vie
Entre les siens franc de haine & d'envie,
Parmi les champs les forestes & les bois
Loing du tumulte & du bruit populaire,
Et qui ne vend sa liberté pour plaire
Aux volontez des Princes & des Roys.
Il n'a souci d'une chose incertaine
Il ne sa paist d'une esperance vaine,
Une faveur ne le va decevant :
De cent fureurs il n'a l'ame embrasée
Et ne maudit sa jeunesse abusée,
Quand il ne trouve à la fin que du vant...
L'ambition son courage n'attise,
D'un fard trompeur son ame il ne desguise,
Il ne plaist à violer sa foy,
Les grands Seigneurs sans cesse il n'importune
Mais en vivant contant de sa fortune,
Il est sa court, sa faveur & son Roy.

1) op.cit. p.429. C.f also J.A. de Baif, Contre l'Amblition, in Mimes, Enseignements et Proverbes, Paris, M.Patission, 1597 fo.23 r°.
2) Les Premierea Oeuvres de Desportes, Paris, Rob.Estienne,1573
"Il est tout franc d'esperance & de crainte,
Bourreaux cruels des tristes courtisans ;
Car la frayeur l'ame & le coeur leur gelle,
Et l'espoir vain si fort les ensorcelle,
Qu'ils ne font cas de voir perdre leurs ans." 1)

In the Second Livre des Jeunesses, of Jean de la Jessée, 2) we find two sonnets on this theme, which show unmistakably that its possibilities were rapidly being exhausted! We shall quote only the first :

"Heureux cent fois qui peut user sa vie
Loing de la cour des Princes, & Seigneurs ;
Qui soucieus n'aspire aux grandz honours,
Et qui ne craint la Fortune, & l'Envie !
Il ne vend point sa franchise asservie,
Il fuit l'affront d'un tas de flagorneurs
Qui prez des Roys, des Roys les ruineurs,
Meurent en fin d'une mort desservie.
Son toit de chaume, esloigné des cités,
Humble ne cede aux Palais habitez :
Son petit champ luy sert encore; de Ville,
Qui d'autres biens n'est jamais desireus,
Et rend non plus sa liberté serville :
Celuy Vrayement n'est moins sage, qu'heureux.3)"

1) op.cit. p.68 (a).
V. Lednicki, Les Sonnets de J. de La Jessée Sur la Pologne et Son Roi, Henri de Valois, in Archivum Neophilologique, 1930, p.107-26;Bregaic, J.de la Jessée, poëte gascon, in Bulletin de la Société Gersoise, no.38, 1932, p.20-7. I have unfortunately been unable to consult the last two articles.
3) op.cit. p.68 (a); the second sonnet, p.76 (b). These poems were written a considerable time before their first publication in 1583."
Much more interesting, and significantly, less close to the Latin models, is the indirect attack on court life contained in the poem by Guy du Faur, Sieur de Pibrac, called *Les Plaisirs de La Vie Rustique*, which first appeared in 1573.  

After the familiar apostrophe:

"O bienheureux celuy, qui loin des Courtisans,  
Et des palais dorez pleins de soucis cuisans,  
Sous quelque pauvre toict, delivré de l'envie  
Jouit des doux plaisirs de la rustique vie..."  

we are introduced to a country couple, to the story of their day’s activities, and to the hospitality which they extend to their friends on a holiday. Within this framework, and by enumerating the bad practices of which the chosen couple are completely ignorant, and which, by implication, we are led to understand are commonly adopted at court, especially interesting, because of its concrete details, is the portrayal of Marion, as the unspoilt country wench, who resorts to none of the tricks Pibrac associates, and intends us to associate, with women at court. Marion

"Se coiffe promptement, ne luy chaut se parer  
Ne par art les laideurs de son corps reparer;  
L'Arse nie calcine, le Talc, & la Ceruse,  
Et ce dont l'Espagnol en ses pommes use;  
Que les Dames d'icy ont si bien retenu;  
Pour desguiser leur taint & leur poil ja chenu  
Est par elle ignoré: & ne vouloit pas estre  
Que telle qu'il a pleu à Dieu la faire naistre.

1) *Les Plaisirs de La Vie Rustique*, Paris, 1573—according to Brunet who adds that this edition, of which only a few copies were printed, was never circulated commercially.  

"Frisotter ses cheveux en mille tortillons,
De son front labouré appainir les sillons,
Rehausser les tétons, à ses mains tavelées
Les faire devenir blanches à potelées,
N'a cure ne souci ; ny de bien deviser,
Ny de lire Amadis, ou de Petraqueris :
Des humides Baisers ne sait les mignardises
Ny des muguetis transis les ruses & feintises."\(^1\)

Vauquelin de La Fresnaye's Satire à Repichon,\(^2\) of 1590, may possibly have been written with Pibrac's poem in mind, for, after a typically Horatian "entrée en matière"—

"Bienheureux est celuy qui, bien loin du vulgaire
Vit en quelque rivage éloigné solitaire,
Hors des grandes cités, sans bruit, sans procès,
Et qui content du sien ne fait aucun excès...

leading to an enumeration of the agonies which the contriver avoids, but which the courtier must suffer—

"Il n'est point aleché des trompeurs Syrenes,
Dont les cours de nos Rois & des Princes sont pleines,
Et d'aucune Harpie il n'est épouvanté,
Qui de puante odeur ait son manger gâté..."\(^3\)

he too goes on to portray the rustic's wife. Although, in this case the portrait is a much reduced one, the idea behind it is the same as Pibrac's. Vauquelin imagines :-

"... (La) dame bienheureuse au ménage empêchée,
Qui d'une amour de Court n'est jamais desbauchée."\(^4\)

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\(^1\) op.cit. fo.4 r0
\(^3\) op.cit.p.239.
\(^4\) op.cit.p.239.
Three other poems of this period, based on the contrast of court and country life, which would appear to be inspired entirely by the two poems of Horace and Claudian, show also the influence of Guevara's *Menosprecio*. The first of these is a poem by Estienne Du Tronchet, which appeared in 1568, and which is primarily a lengthy and free paraphrase of the *De Sene Veronense*. It is the title of Du Tronchet's, *Discours Du Contentement d'Un Homme de Village... Au Mespris de Ceux des Villes*, recalling the title of the French translation of the *Menosprecio*, *Du Mespris de Court & De La Louange de Vie Rustique*, which first invites a closer comparison of the two works. Secondly, the portrayal of Sire Mathieu Breon, the countryman in Du Tronchet's poem, as a patriarchal figure full of bonhomie, recalls Guevara's ideal countryman. Another trait of character—we are told that Sire Mathieu

"... ne parle que peu des choses de la court,"  


2) This is the title of the first Lyons edition of 1542, but there were only very slight alterations made to the title in subsequent ones. See below, Appendix II, pp.637-642.

3) *op.cit.* p.122.
seems to provide another link between the two works, since one of Guevara's most frequent injunctions to the courtier who has retired to make a new life for himself in the country, is that he should forget his former life, and certainly not try to impress those around him by constantly referring to it. ¹) The advantages which Du Tronchet sees in country life, fresh air, freedom from infection, from expense and from convention —

"Et si tant de Palais ne luy contentent l'oeil,
Tant de maisons aussi n'offusquent son soleil;
Tant de retraits quants ne luy sont helenez,
Ny tant de ventz infectz ne luy persent le nez... Il ne voit tant de grandz, ni tant de bonnets rondz,
Aussi est-il plus loing de la main des larrons;
Et s'il ne veoit chés-luy tant de magnificences
Aussi n'est-il subject à tant d'obeissances..." ²)

are the practical and obvious ones, but these are precisely the points which, tacitly ignored by other writers, perhaps because they are so prosaical, seem to have inspired Guevara alone, before Du Tronchet. ³)

¹) Op. cit. ch. IV passim. and ch. XIV.
³) Op. cit. ch. VI and passim—Guevara's insistence on these obvious points being often almost laboured! Compare Du Tronchet's passage quoted above with the following from the French translation of the *Menosprecio* (ed. Lyons, J. de Tournes, 1551 p. 46): "ceux qui demeurent sont sans comparaison plus sains & moins malades, que aux citez a Court : pource que es villes les maisons sont haultes... qui estoit cause que l'air se corrompt. Au village... l'air (est) meilleur, le soleil plus clair, la terre plus essuie..."
Nicolas Rapin is the author of yet another poem celebrating the delights of country life as compared with life at court. This work, addressed to Guy du Faur, is simply called *Les Plaisirs du Gentilhomme Champêtre*, and it was first published in Paris in 1583 in a volume which also contained Pibrac’s earlier composition on this same theme. Rapin’s theme is expressed very generally in the opening stanzas of the work:—

"O trois fois heureux noblesse,
Qui mesprisant les grands honneurs,
Par la vertu qui nous adresse,
Avez connu quelle desse.
Se trouve à la cour des seigneurs,
Qui ne portant jamais envie
Sur une autre condition,
Libres n’avez point asservie
La franchise de vostre vie
Aux griffes de l’ambition."

A literal translation of the first two lines of Horace’s epode

"Heureux celui qui loin d’affaires
Comme les gens du temps passé..."

leads to an attempt to expand upon the theme

"... n’a point en son voisinage
De Prince ni de grand seigneur ;
Mais seul commande en son village,
Sans s’obliger à davantage
Qu’à vivre selon son humeur"


2) The text I have used is that edited by B. Fillon, Paris, 1853 *op.cit.* p. 43.

3) *ibid.*
"Qui n'estant embrouillé d'usure.
Ni de ventes à prix d'argent.
Sa despense à son bien mesure. 1)

After a lengthy but very pleasant description of the
delights of the countryside, during which court life is
obviously forgotten, Rapin returns to the business of
comparing the two. His point that the country man, unlike
the courtier, has no fees to doctor or chemist to worry
about -

"Aussi ne leur faut-il point faire
Tant de despens au médecin,
Ny de drogues d'apothicaire." 2)

seems to have been inspired by the remark which Guevara made,
at the beginning of the Menesprecio, to the effect that a
courtier's income could be divided into four parts, one of
each of these going to flatterers, lawyers, doctors and
chemists. 3) The poem is brought to a conclusion with the
enumeration of the now familiar disadvantages of court life-

"Vous n'estes point en une salle
A vous mocquer d'un estranger ;
Et, par trahison desloyalle,
D'un compagnon qui vous esgale
Ne tassez point à vous venger.

Aussi n'avez-vous point la peine
De vous friser tout le matin

1) op.cit. p.44.
2) op.cit. p.50.
3) op.cit. ch.VI p.46, "à ceste Court à partir le bien du
Courtisan en quatre parties, vezrrez que l'une est aux
flaëurs, l'autre aux advocats, l'autre aux apotichtaire,
à l'autre aux medecins."
"De faire bien sentir l'haleine
Et chacun jour de la semaine
Changer de veloux en satin.." 1)

which a countryman escapes completely.

The edition of Isaac Habert's Les Trois Livres de
Meteores & Autres Oeuvres Poétiques, which appeared in Paris
in 15852), contains another example of an indirect attack on
court life which sets out in imitation of Horace and Claudian
and finishes very much in imitation of Guevara. A vigorous
paraphrase introduces the contrast between contentment and
tranquillity, and ambition and anxiety:–

"O qu'heureux est celuy qui vit entre les bois,
Les vallons, les rochers, & les autres plus cois,
Loing des citez, des courts, des pompes & des vices,
Des noises, & du bruit, des fraudes, des malices,
Seul il vit en repos, & en tranquillité;
Seul Roy de son vouloir & de sa liberté,
En soulas, en lissas il escoule sa vie,
L'ambition, l'orgueil, le gain, la pasle envie,
La crainte, les souspçons, & les desirs ardens
N'empoissonnent son coeur, à mal faire il ne pense,
Dieu, son prochain, nature, & moymesme il n'offence."3)

Habert illustrates this thesis by studying the condition
of the courtier in particular:–

"Qu'est-ce des Courtisans, qui masquez de feintise,
Embrasant leurs esprits au feu de convoitise ?
Mensonge, vanité, dissimulation,

1) op.cit, p.51.
2) Les Trois Livres de Meteores & Autres Oeuvres Poétiques,
Paris, Jean Richer, 1585.
On Habert see Viollet-le-Duc, op.cit. pp.286-8; Raymond,
3) ed.cit., Bergeries, Louange de La Vie Rustique, fo.2v0.
The imitation of Claudian is more obvious on fo. 3v-4r0,
when Habert passes in review the condition of the soldier
frightened by war's alarm and the merchant in peril on the
sea.
"Hypocrisie, envie, orgueil, deception
Accompagnent leurs jours, jusqu'à tant que leur vie
Pour finir leurs travaux par la mort soit ravie.
Au service des grands, des Princes, & des Rois
Ils dispensent leurs ans sans règles & sans lois." ¹)

The apparent echoes of Guevara's thought which may be
observed in Habert's remarks on the dissoluteness of
courtiers :-

"A tout mal, à tout vice ils sont tous addommés,
Du jeu, des voluptez ils sont empoisonnez." ²)

on their miserable and useless existence :-

"Leurs misérables ans en misère finissent,
Leur jeunesse est un songe, & leur vie une mort." ³)

on their sleepless nights and tortured minds :-

"Las ! qui pourroit dormir au milieu de la peine ?
L'un tout mangé d'envie & de rage forcée,
S'il voit de ses amis mieux prospérer que lui,
L'autre maudit ses jours, prêt de desespoirer
N'estant point avancé ; l'un descend à l'autre monte,
Et n'emportent en fin que vieillesse & honte." ⁴)

are confirmed finally by the following passage, which is a
textual imitation by Habert of part of Guevara's last

¹) op.cit. fo. 5v²
²) ibid. Cf. Mespris, "S'il veut s'addonner à toutes sortes de
mal faire, en la court en sont les parfaicts exemplaires." p.54.
³) op.cit. fo.5v² Cf. Guevara, Mespris, "N'est pas à plaindre le
Courtisan,... son meilleur age ce pendant s'en va en fumée,
en songes." p.38.
50-51 "Qui est celuy en la court qui aime tant un autre pour
proche parent ou cordial amie qu'il luy soit, que le voyant
plus favory et avantage que luy, ne luy desire la mort...
la grande pâtië que c'est de voir un malheureux & ravélé
courtisan. Il s'esvelle mille & mille fois la nuit...
se complaignant de son infâlible fortune."
tirade, his formal leave taking from the court. Habert has copied the style of his model, the rhetorical antithesis, as well as the sense:

"Le vertueus en Court est nommé vicieux,
Le sagace ignorant, le bon malicieux,
Le modeste poltron, vaillant le temeraire,
Propre leur est tout mal, tout bien leur est contraire."

Other writers continue to find inspiration in this theme. In these works which are yet to be discussed, Guevara's authority is not supplementary but predominant.

Etienne du Tronchet returns to a discussion of the respective merits of court and country in his *Lettres Missives et Familieres.* Here he is particularly interested in the plight of the peripatetic courtier, an aspect of the subject which he had not touched upon in his earlier poem. Guevara had considered this problem, not in the *Menosprecio,* but in

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1) *op. cit. fo. 6r* Cf. Mespris, "Brief, on y fait une partie au rebours de ce qu'on voulait... on y appelle le temeraire vaillant, le couard froid, l'importun diligent, le triste pacifique, le prodigue magnifique... etc..." p. 118.

2) The earliest edition of this work, and the one which I have used, is dated tentatively, (there is no title page) 1567. The privilege is dated 27th Oct., 1567. *Lettres Missives et Familieres,* Paris, N. Chemin and L. Breyer, 1567.
the opening chapters of the Aviso de Privados; here too is the source of Du Tronchet’s charitable preoccupation for the courtier in his lack of creature comforts:

" Je sçais bien que mourir icy de faim est un bon traittement des serviteurs d’une court & may semble plus heureux un paissant, qu’un grand Seigneur de par delà. Et à Dieu favours deça, esperances delà, à grandesses de tous costés. Je baise les fesses de votre vanité. Je considère de mon lict un pauvre serviteur martyrisé du froid ou devoré de la chaleur; voir du bois verd pour le chausser, à du vin chaud pour le refraîchir; à s’il devient malade, peu de commodité pour son repos: je voy la pluie, je voy la neige & les boues qui l’assassinent & peu de moyens pour l’accommoder... Et comme il n’y a passion qui puisse approcher celle du povre courtisan serviteur, qui est las, & ne se peut asseoir, qui a faim & ne peut manger, qui a soif & ne trouve à boire; & qui a envie de dormir & fait qu’il veille. Ainsi je ne sçay consolation qui arrive à la mienne, qui mange quand j’ay appetit, qui me repose quand je suis las, & qui dors quand j’en ay envie...'' 2)"

1) Compare these passages from the French translation, Le Favory de Court, Lyons, 1556 with the passage of Du Tronchet we quoted above. P.56 "Par fois leur convient aussi chevaucher en plain mignon, à au plus fort du chaut, & quelquesfois par pluyes, greles & tempestes... P.57 Il y a encore un autre grand travail & peine en la Court, lors qu’elle marche: car si le Courtisan est povre il s’en va seul n’ayant qui l’accompagne... P.63 Incontinent qu’un Courtisan se sent malade & se trouve seul à abandonné d’amis en la Court, il se rend si, triste & desesperé... P.64 -Et pour ne laisser encore en arriere le dormir du Courtisan. Je vous demande... s’il dort toutesfois qu’il a sommeil ? Certes non; ains seulement quant il peut. Et quant à son manger, a’il toutesfois ce que luy vient en appetite ? Certes non : ains est contraint se contenter de ce qu’il a."

2) op.cit. fo.163r° - 164r°.
No sixteenth century French satire on court life, based upon the contrast of court and country, owed its existence more obviously to Guevara than Jean de La Taille's poem, *Le Courtisan Retiré*, which was first published in 1573. Yet this is the poem which, admittedly before the publication of Clément's article pointing to the Spanish source of the poem, was described as having been inspired by Du Bellay's *Poète Courtisan*, and which, even subsequently, has been acclaimed as Jean de La Taille's most original work.

True, some measure of originality may be claimed for the French poet, not, as has been suggested, in the nature of his criticisms of the court, but in his adaptation of Guevara's! Clément sees evidence of La Taille's originality in adapting Guevara in the 'point de départ' of *Le Courtisan*

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1) *In La Famine ou Les Gabaonites... Ensemble plusieurs autres œuvres Poétiques de Jehan de La Taille et de Feu Jacques de La Taille, Paris, 1573*. The edition I have used is that of R. de Maulde La Clavière, *Oeuvres de Jean de La Taille, Paris, 1882*.


Retiré\(^1\), although even this may be doubtful. La Taille affects to relate the hypothetical situation of the retiring courtier described in the Menosprecio to himself, claiming that he has retired from the court of France after the death of Henri II since, under the new King he has lost the influence he formerly enjoyed.

"Et furent avec luy, d'un mesme coup de lance, Renversez mon credit et le bon temps de France... Que je pleuray ce Roy, à cause qu'à sa mort Je perdoy derechef ma force & mon support!" 2) Even this may have been, indeed, quite probably was inspired by a passage of the author's prologue in the Menosprecio, in which Guevara tells us that he himself had retired from court at the start of a new reign, after the death of King John and Queen Isabella. 3) No, the originality of Jean de La Taille lies not so much in his putting himself forward as the retired courtier, but in seeking to relate such a decision to retire to the troubled background of the times:

"N'auront point quelque fin un tas de factions, De scismes, de discors, & de seditions... Est-ce icy la concorde, o Dieu ! par toy promise, Quand on ne verra plus en toute region Qu'une foy, qu'une loy, qu'une Religion ?

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1) Clément, art. cit. p.596- "La Taille a tres habilement changé le cadre du tableau... il s'est mis lui-même au premier plan : la cour dont il sort, c'est dit-il, celle de France."

2) op. cit. p.29, p.31.

3) See above, ch.IV p. 112.
Mais pourquoi seul en vain me rompe-je la teste,
Puis-que seul je ne puis appaiser la tempeste ?
Il faut que maugré moy je cede à la fureur;
Ne pouvant donner ordre à la commune erreur ;
Il faut caler la voile; aussi je me retire
De la cour, vray sejour d'ennuis & de martire,
Pour me resoudre icy." 1)

in recognising that the problem posed by Guevara's *Menosprecio*,
the problem of if and when to retire, was one which faced
many courtiers under the new King, especially if they were
out of step with prevailing sympathies. La Taille's adapt-
ation of Guevara's discussion of the merits of country
versus court acquires thus a more profound significance
and a special relevance. We know for example from the
account of La Nue2) that many members of the French court,
at the time of Poissy, did what La Taille professes to have
done —

" Donc, apres telle mort, voyant un change estrange;
Un Roy plus jeune encor, de robbe aussi je change,
M'appuyant des plus grands, et pour servir au temps,
Rusé, je pris l'habit mesmes des Protestans." 3)

until the outbreak of war made the further postponement of
the decision to leave the court impossible ; —

....." et puis voicy la guerre
..... qui en diverse terre
M'eslongna de la Cour." 4)

1) op.cit. pp. 23-24.
2) See above, p. 479, n. 1.
3) op.cit. p. 31.
4) op.cit. p. 32.
Thus much, but no more, can be said of La Taille's originality in any attempt to meet the extravagant claims made by some critics on his behalf.

Apart from this, La Taille's dependence upon Guevara is complete. He draws freely upon the initial chapters of the Aviso de Privados as well as upon the Menosprecio. In every respect, in ideas and technique, Guevara is followed so closely that the result might more justly be described as a versified translation than an original composition. So extensive, and so concentrated is Jean de La Taille's imitation that it is even possible to state with absolute certainty that he was using Antoine Allègre's French translation of the Menosprecio, and not the Spanish original. For instance, in the following passage:

"... ne chault du lever de Monsieur, ny de faire Aucun inclinabò à quelque secretaire, D'idolaterer les grands, ny d'aller au palais..." 1)

La Taille uses a phrase "faire aucun inclinabò", which is nowhere to be found in the text of the Spanish editions, and which had been added by the translator Allègre:

"aller à dix heures au palais, mendier conseil solliciter l'hùssier,... faire l'inclinabò à l'avocat." 2)

A similar observation can be made concerning the preceding

1) op. cit. p.37.
2) ed. cit. p.51.
passage of La Taille's poem—

"Ou ne faut courtiser mareschaux ny fourriers,
Prendre son bulletin, ny gaigner tresoriers,
Ny despaver maisons, brusler menuiserie,
Battre ou fascher son hoste, user de braverie,
Tenir rang ny grandeur, arriver tard les nuits,
Ny faire aucun debritz, ny moins rompre aucun huis."

except that on this occasion the French translation
followed by the poet omits much of the corresponding
passage of the Spanish text and substantially alters the
remainder.

La Taille's method of indirectly criticising court
by praising the country, is one which is familiar to us
from the Menosprecio, as also are the grounds on which
country life is preferred here:

"O Demi-dieu qui vit en son champ retiré,
Où l'on dit librement tout ce qui vient à gré,
Où, avec ses voisins, sans que l'on diminue
En rien d'auctorité, on devise à la rue,

1) op.cit. p.36-7.
2) The Spanish text is as follows:—"allí les toman las
   casas, parten los aposentos, dividen la ropa, escogen
   los huespedes, hazen atajos, hurtan la lena, talan huerta,
   quiebran las puertas, derruecan los pesebres, levantan los
   suelos, ensuzian el pozo quiebran las pilas, pierdan los
   llaves, pintan las paredes y aun les soffocan las hijas."
   etc. fo.7v. The French translation has "il faut à monsieur
du Courtisan gaigner le Mareschal des Logis, avoir son
bulletin, arriver bien tard, fascher son hoste, rompre les
portes, abbatre murailles, despaver maisons, brusler
menuiserie & quelquefois battre l'hoste à violer sa
femme." p.41.
Similarly, the philanthropic works of the retired courtier are made to contrast implicitly with his former idleness and indifference, in Le Courtisan Retiré as well as in the Menosprecio:

"Retirons-nous ensemble, à fin que, charitables Aux pauvres, nous soyons à chacun secourables, Car d'appaiser mutins, défendre l'oppressé, D'appointer mil procès, consoler l'offensé, Visiter prisonniers, faire garder Justice, Soutenir l'orphelin, sera nostre exercice." 2)

As for direct criticisms of court life, La Taille shows compassion for the lot of the courtier in his thankless task, as Guevara had done in his Aviso de Privados, likening his restless career to that of Cain, and adding:

".... est... besoin d'un plus grand coeur pour vivre À la cour, qu'au soldat qui veut les armes suivre." 3)

We recognise from the same source La Taille's picture of the anguished sleepless courtier:

"Mais, c'est la pitié lors de voir un gentilhomme, Qui, deffavorisé, rompt mille fois son somme; De le voir tourmenté, comme s'il fust couché Dessus un lict qu'on eust d'orties enjonché;"

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1) op. cit. p.38. Cf. Mespris, "O demy dieu qui habite au village... où l'on jase à toute heure avec les voisins devant la porte, à la place, par la fenestre. Et sans jamais perdre rien de mesure autorité." p.45,46.


3) op. cit. p.23. Cf. Favory de Court, ch.1 rubric "Qu'il est besoin d'un plus grand coeur & hardiesse à celuy qui veut suivre la cour, qu'à celuy qui s'en va à la guerre."
"De voir comme il tient hault son chevet, et se veautre
Tantost sur un costé, et tantost dessus l'autre;
De voir comme il ne fait que resolver, murmurer,
Regretter sa maison, maudire et soupirer,
Qu'accuser son malheur..." 1)

These details of the servitude of the courtier are, however,
taken from the text of the Menosprecio:

"........................ que j'ay de creve-cœur
De cherir mes haineux, de servir l'inconnu...
D'espier le loisir d'un fascheux secretaire,
D'attendre à une porte, et parler par se taire,
D'honorer un villain, d'appeler courtisans
Ceux qu'on debvrot nommer bourreaux ou paysans !" 2)

From the Menosprecio again, Guevara's tirade on the inst-
ability and corrupting influence of court life, is repeated
by Le Taille:

"Tout y est inconstant, tout y est imparfait ;
L'un monte et l'autre chet, et nul n'est satisfait;
L'esprit bon s'y fait lourd, la femme s'y diffame,
La fille y perd sa honté, la veuve y acquiert blamme,

1) op. cit. p.31. Cf. Favory de Court, "O la grandé pitié
que c'est de voir un malheureux â meule courtisan ! Il
s'esveille mille à mille fois la nuit. Et tenant le
chevet de son lict haut, se tourne tantost d'un costé,
tantost de l'autre, se compaignant de son infelice
fortune, regretant ores son pais .. de maniere qu'il
passe des nuits sans dormir, les consumant à veiller,
resver à penser en soymesme." p.51.

2) op. cit. p.32. Cf. Mespris. "O creve-coeur au povre
Courtisan, qui fault qu'il serve avant qu'il connoisse,
faul qu'il faqse la reverence à qui ne merite, ëje à
monsieur l'officier cent fois le jour, 'S'il vous plait',
regarde quand le secretaire sera de loysir, attende à
la porte, appele monsieur à chacun mot qui merite nom
de bourreau, & condescendre à l'opinion de tous." p.62.
"Les savants s'y font sots, les hardis esperdus,
Le jeune homme s'y perd, les vieux y sont perdus." 1)

La Taille even goes as far, in his imitation of the Spanish
treatise as to reproduce Guevara's repetitious attempts to
underline the contradictions and contrary values of the
court, for we are told -

"......... car s'il est gracieux
On le nomme flatteur ; si grave, glorieux ;
Si gaillard, éventé ; s'il parle peu, ignorant ;
Si vaillant estourdy ; si menager avarèce ..." 2)

and shortly afterwards we read :-

"A la cour, le flatteur on surnomme amiable,
Le folastre gentil, le superbe honorable,
Le ruisseau amoureux, l'outrécuidé vaillant,
Le babillard eloquent, sage le peu parlant.
Bref, pour tel que tu es jamais on ne te nomme..." 3)

To avoid needlessly prolonging the study of passages
of textual imitation in Le Courtisan Retiré, we may more

1) op. cit. p.35, cf. Mespris. "Tout y est mutable et inconstant :
les estats muent, les petits montent, les grands chient, les
vesves s'y gastent, les mariés s'y diffament, les filles y
perdent honte, les bons esprits s'y hebetent, les vaillants
y deviennent couards... les jeunes s'y perdent, à les
vieux y sont perdus." ^p.60-61.

2) op. cit. p.34, cf. Mespris. "car on appelle le glorieux
honnorable, le prodigue magnifique, le couard sage, le
vaillant outrecuidé, le fol joyeux, le sage hypocrite,
le malicieux subtil, le desgorge eloquent, l'adultère
amoureux, l'avaricieux temerair, le peu parlant sot et
ignare." p.57.

3) op. cit. p.35, cf. Mespris. "en ton plaisir personne ne se
nomme par son nom propre. Car on appelle le temeraire
vaillant, le couard froid, l'importun diligent, ... le
babillard eloquent, l'ignare peu parlant, le dissolu
briefly comment on certain other features which are
common to the French satire and the Spanish model. For
instance, La Taille has very noticeably copied Guevara's
mannered rhetoric, the balanced phrases especially, which
may be seen in the last two extracts of the Courtisan
Retiré we have just quoted above, his use of antithesis
similarly -

"............... ma cour, où j'allay gracieux,
Veritable, innocent, &t sobre, &b vertueux ;
Mais j'en revien hautain, menteur, plain de malice."¹)

Guevara's fondness for classical allusions which shows
itself in his chapter on Greek and Roman dignitaries who
retired from public life, is another element of the
Menosprecio to be transferred by La Taille to his satire.²)
The final and most convincing evidence of the origins of
La Taille's poem, is surely his wholesale incorporation
into his work of Guevara's lengthy and elaborate formal
leave-taking of the court and worldly society; such an
obvious debt is this, that we quote only a very short
extract:—

¹) op.cit. p.33, of. Mespris, "J'allay à la court ses
innocenta, & en reviens malicieux, j'y allay veritable
& retournay menteur, j'y allay humble & en revins
presumptueux .." etc p.109.

²) op.cit. p.41-2.
"Adieu Cour, puis qu'en toy aucun ne peut jouir
Sans trouble d'aucun bien, de grandeur sans offense,
Sans reproche d'honneurs, de biens sans conscience,
Ny de repos sans peur, ny de paix sans discord."

It would be difficult, in the face of the evidence, and there is more than we can possibly quote here, to minimise the extent of La Taille's indebtedness in Le Courtisan Retiré, to Guevara.

Other writers continued to draw inspiration from the Menosprecio, although none so extensively as Jean de La Taille. The Contes d'Eutrénéle, which Noël du Fail published in 1585, contain one—La Retraite d'Eutrénéle—in which the author applies the hypothetical situation of the retiring courtier in the Menosprecio, to his main character. Eutrénéle has decided to retire since he feels himself to have been corrupted by court society. The house in which he proposes to undergo his course of moral recuperation, bears over the lintel the inscription

"Inveni portum, Spes et Fortuna valete."

1) op. cit. p. 48, cf. Mespris, "Adieu monde puis qu'en toy n'est joye sans trouble, paix sans discorde, amour sans soupçon, repos sans peur, abondance sans fautes, honneur sans macule, richesse sans conscience ... etc" p. 117-8.

2) One critic however, has accomplished this 'tour de force', incredible as it may seem, Mr Tatham Ambersley Daley, op. cit. cheerfully repudiates the large body of evidence amassed by Clément, art. cit. and dismisses the judgement of Lebégue, La Tragédie Religieuse en France, p. 404, with the words—"Somme toute, Le Courtisan Retiré ne doit pas grand chose au Menosprecio et à l'Aviso." p. 220.

3) Contes et Discours d'Eutrénéle, Rennes, 1585.

The second half of this inscription is the device adopted by Guevara, and found at the end of all his printed works, but, in addition, the complete inscription appears in the text of the Menosprecio, in Guevara's description of the house to which Pericles retired, for there too it was inscribed over the lintel. 1) In addition, the list of precedents given by Du Fail for Butrapel's proposed retirement, is remarkably similar to that of Guevara. Finally we should notice the closeness of the planned activities and pastimes of Butrapel and Guevara's countryman. 2)

Many of the direct attacks on court life in general are likewise inspired by literary models. Of these Gabriel Chappuis' attack in Le Missaule ou Haineux de Court, is the most closely dependent on literary sources. The Missaule was first published in Paris in 1585. 3) With this work Chappuis published his translation of Hutten's anti-court dialogue, Aula Sive Missaule. This was the first time that this Aca-

2) We have passed rapidly over this imitation since it is fully dealt with by Philipot, op. cit. p.117-123.
Latin satire had been translated into French.  

Chappuis's own composition, Le Misaule, takes its form, its setting and 'point de départ' from Hutten's work. Le Misaule is a dialogue between two friends who had known each other since childhood and until they took up two different professions. One became a courtier, the other a scholar, exactly as did Hutten's Missaulus and Castus. They meet one day and a discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of court life ensues. At this point however, Chappuis departs from Hutten's dialogue. In the neo-Latin work it is the courtier himself who sought to dissuade, by his criticisms of the court, his friend from the folly of giving up his studious life for that of a courtier. In Chappuis' work, on the other hand, the scholar attacks the court which is praised by the courtier.

The substance of Chappuis' criticisms of court life is taken not from Hutten but from Piccolomini's De Curialium Miseriis Epistola. The author himself refers to Piccolomini as his authority several times during the course of the work:

"Quant à moy ... je me rapporte à cet excellent personnage Aeneas Silvius, lequel a longtemps suivi la court, & depuis a esté Pape (des écrits duquel pour la pluspart ce dialogue est composé)."  

1) For an account of this work see above ch. II p. 47-71  
2) op. cit. Preface. Cf. also fo. 2r°, 3v°, 62v°, fo. 37r°.
His estimate of the extent to which he has borrowed from Piccolomini in this dialogue however, shows a considerable degree of understatement. The speeches of Le Particulier who attacks the court are no more and no less than translations of Piccolomini's own criticisms. Only the speeches of the courtier show some deviation from Piccolomini's Latin text but, even here, Chappuis has taken advantage of those passages of the De Curialium Miserrim in which Piccolomini puts up hypothetical arguments in favour of court life before demolishing them. We have seen in fact, that this was the way in which Jean Du Pontalais adapted Piccolomini's treatise to the dialogue form in his Contredictz de Songegeux. 1) Chappuis follows Piccolomini's plan as well. His criticisms on court life are made in four parts under the same headings, honour at court, power at court, wealth at court, and finally, pleasure, this last being further subdivided to include the different pleasures which result from the five senses. 2) In fact, it will be easier to mention those elements of Chappuis' work which are not inspired by Piccolomini, than to correlate the respective texts. Such elements include a lengthy digression on love,

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1) See above, ch.VI p.296-300.

2) op.cit. fo.21 sqq-honour ; fo 22sqq-power; fo.29-wealth; fo.36-pleasures; fo.37-sight; fo.39- hearing ; fo.40-touch ; fo.61sqq-taste, smell.
mainly composed of quotations, 1) and a passage on the code of
the true courtier, which is taken from the Cortegiano.

The part played by literary inspiration in other
general attacks on court life in this period, is less
extensive. Of the Neo-Latin writers Hutten's influence alone
is again discernible. It seems probable that Henri Estienne
was inspired by Hutten's extended metaphor— in which the
courtier's passage through court is likened to Ulysses'
perilous journey— 2) when, in the first of the Deux Dialogues
Du Nouveau Langage Francois Italianisé, 3) Philausone
advances a similar view, with the same sustained metaphor :

"Philausone : Quels maux pourrez-vous dire qu'Ulysse
a enduré, que je ne vous monstre les courtisans
en endurer d'aussi grands, et qu'aucuns qui le font
beaucoup d'avantage ? Ulysse peregrinat d'un pays
en un autre : mais encore arrestet-il quelquefois
en une place : mais nos courtisans ordinairement
n'y arrestent non plus que les Nomades ; tellement
que leur vie peut bien estre appelée Nomadica Vita
quant à cet egard. Et quant aux mauvaises rencontres
qu'a eues Ulysse, nos courtisans sont-ils pas
environnez de Serenes beaucoup plus dangereuses
que ces trois dont Ulysse craignet si fort le chant ?
Pour une Circe, pour une Calypso, desquelles il
falet qu'Ulysse se donnast garde, n'ont ils pas
une infinité de Circes, un nombre infini de Calypses,
contre lesquelles il leur faut combatre ordinairement ?
... Quant aux deux monstres Scylle et Charinde, doutez-vous
que les monstres de notre cour... ne facent un

1) op. cit. fo.41-61. Moeurs du Vray Courtisan, prinses de
Baltazar Castillanois, fo.68 sqq.


3) Deux Dialogues du Nouveau Langage Francois Italianisé, 1578.
On Estienne see L. Clément, Henri Estienne et Son Oeuvre
Française, Paris, 1899 ; G. Tracconaglia, Henri Estienne
E Gli Italianismi, 1907.
"plus grand ravage ? Et outre ceste sorte de monstres n'y en a-t-il pas encore une autre ? Quel monstre pensez-vous que leur soit Madame Ambition ? quel tourment pensez-vous que leur baille Madame Envie ?

... Faut-il parler des Cyclopes, et des Laestrigones ? Ulysse a eu meilleur marché de la barbarie de ceux-là, que quelques courtisans n'ont de la barbarie d'aucuns de leurs pirates." 1)

There are echoes of Hutten's work likewise in Amadis Jamyn's longest anti-courtier satire, Des Courtisans, which was published in the Second Volume des Œuvres Poétiques, in 1584. 2) Here too, the starting point of the attack is the meeting of two friends, one a courtier, his friend Pericles, anxious to become one. Again as in the Misaulus of Hutten, it is left to the courtier-

"Tu prendras du Plaisir
Et de venir en court se perdra ton envie.
Si tu entens de moy des courtisans la vie." 3)

to enlighten his friend on the servitude of court life. His comments, like Hutten's, are often illustrated, not only by reference to the sufferings of Tantalus and the ineffectual labours of Sisyphus, but by vividly dramatic sketches and scenes, like the following :-


2) Le Second Volume des Œuvres Poétiques d'Amadis Jamyn, Paris, 1584. Other anti-courtier writings in this volume are Des Grands Qui Sont de Bas Coeur, fo.38; D'Un Courtisan Chassé, fo.37; De La Finition Divine, fo.39v°; A l'impu-
dence, fo.53v°. The poem which we are now considering is from fo.99v°. None of these poems is other than banal. On Jamyn see Fleuret et Perceau, op.cit. II, p.95; T. Graur, Un Disciple de Ronsard, Amadis Jamyn, (Bibl. Litt. de La Renaissance, nouv. série, t.XVIII)Paris, Champion, 1929.

3) Quoted by Graur, op.cit. p.288. I have unfortunately been unable to consult this rare edition.
"Quand l'aube ensaffrânée a redoré ce monde
La royalle maison de courtisans abonde.
Chacun d'eux y accourt et, soit temps pluvieux,
Soit que le blond soleil rayonne dans les Cieux,
Ils se bougent, oysifs, que le Prince ne sorte.
Enfin, il sort dehors et nul n'est qui ne porte
Reverence à son Roy de teste et de genoux.
Pour estre veuz de luy lors ils s'avancent tous,
Se poussent, se font presse, et de coude et d'audace
Pour n'estre les derniers taschest d'ouvrir la place."1

Further inspiration for attacks on court life, with
special reference to the hypocrisy which was such an obvious
feature of it, was found either directly in Juvenal's
third satire, and particularly in the lines of his friend's
parting speech, "Quid Romae faciam..."2) or indirectly,
through Alamanni's interpretation of them, and his adapt-
ation of them to the situation of the reluctant courtier-
himself that is, or so he would have us believe- in his
tenth satire.3)

Thus Ronsard, addressing himself to the new King,
Henri III, protests, as did Uebiricius, that he cannot lie
or flatter :-

1) ibid. p. For similar dramatic sketches in Hutten's
dialogue, see above ch.II, pp.67-70.

Ed. cit. p.34 "Quid Romae faciam ? mentiri nescio;librum,
Si malus est, nequeo laudare et poscere; motus
astrorum ignoro; funus promittere patris
nec volo nec possum...
quid nunc diligatur nisi conscius et cuifervens
se-mens aestuat occultis animus semperque
tacendis?" vv. 41-50.

3) See above, ch.III, p. 103.
La terre est presque vostre, et dans le ciel vous mettre
Je ne suis pas un Dieu, je ne le puis promettre,
C'est à faire au flateur ; je vous puis mon mestier
Promettre, seulement de l'encre et du papier.
Je ne suis Courtizan, ny vendeur de fumées,
Je n'ay d'ambition les veines allumées,
Je ne saurois mentir, je ne puis embrasser
Genoux, ny baiser mains, ny suivre, ny presser,
Adorer, bonneter ; je suis trop fantastique ;
Mon hameur d'escolier, ma liberté rustique
Me devroyent excuser, si la simplicité
Trouvoit aujourd'hui place entre la vanité." 1)

Part of Regnier's third satire, *Au Marquis de Goeuvres*,
would appear to be directly inspired by Umbricius' speech
as well. For although these lines, which precede the
familiar protestations of sincerity, integrity, in Regnier's
satire

"Or, quant à ton conseil qu'à la cour je m'engage,
Je n'en ay pas l'esprit non plus que le courage,
Il faut trop de savoir, et de civilité,
Et, si j'ose en parler, trop de subtilité.
Ce n'est pas mon humeur : je suis melancolique ;
Je ne suis point entrant ; ma façon est rustique... 2)

may remind us more particularly of Ronsard's plea of rustic
naïveté in the poem addressed to Henri III which we have
just quoted, the amplification of the theme contains reminiscences of Juvenal's third satire which are not in any

1) Bocage Royal, (Iere Partie) A Henri III, ed.;cit., vol.III, p.204. First published in 1575 with the title Estrennes au Roy Henri III, the poem was written in 1574, and delivered to the King in the December of that year. See also below pp.538-2.
previous French or Italian imitation:

"..... je ne sçaurois me forcer ny me faïndre;
Trop libre en volonté, je ne me puis contraindre;
Je ne sçaurois flatter, et ne sçay point comment
Il faut se taire, accort, ou parler faussement ...;
Je n'ay point tant d'esprit pour tant de menterie;
Je ne puis m'addonner à la cageollerie;
Selon les accidents, les humeurs ou les jours,
Changer comme d'habits tous les mois de discours,
Suivant mon naturel, je hay tout artifice:
Je ne puis desguiser la vertu ni le vice,
Offrir tout de la bouche, et d'un propos menteur,
Dire: 'Pardieu, Monsieur, je vous sui serviteur;
Pour cent bonadies s'arréster en la rue,
Faire sus l'un des pies en la sale la grue ...;
Je n'entends point le cours du Ciel ny des planetes.'"

Vauquelin de La Fresnayye expresses the same reluctance to compromise with himself, and therefore prefers to shun the court where such compromise is unavoidable. In this passage from his Satire à Ph. de Noient, the imitation of Juvenal is indirect; the French poet's immediate source is Alamanni's tenth satire, which he has quite unashamedly plundered:

"Je ne sçauroy; d'une cautelle exquise,
Laisser le vray pour cherir la feintise,
Ni lour ceux qui, la Vertu laissants,
A nos despens se vont agrandissants ...;
Je ne sçauroy; d'une parole fine,
De feintes fleurs embllir une espine,

1) op.cit. pp.28-9. The last line of this quotation is a reminiscence of Juvenal's "motus astrarum ignoro..." III, vv. 42-3, but it was singularly appropriate to the times in which Regnier too, lived. The French court at the turn of the century was infested with astrologers and such like.

2) This has been conclusively demonstrated by Vianey, art.cit. p.391 sqq, and letterly by Trtnik-Rossetti, op.cit. p.239. Cf. also this poet's Satire à D'Aubervill, in which he expresses similar reluctance for court life. On this occasion his source is Ariosto's Satira Quarta A Maleguccio. See above ch.III, pp.100-102.
"Ni l'œuvre ayant du sucre à la tâter
Puis à la fin de l'absinthe au goûter.
Je ne sauray, quand je saçay le contraire,
Suivre le mal & laisser à bien faire,
A l'honneur vrai l'utile préférant...
Je ne sauray bien faire le Polype
Et me changer à tous coup pour la tripe ;
Representant maint personnage à puis
Me faire voir autre que je ne suis.
Je ne sauray ma nature contraindre
Sans passion à me rire ou me plaindre
Au gré d'autrui, montrant grande amitié
Par une ainsi contrefaite pitié.
Je ne sauray penser ce qu'il faut dire
Pour plaire au Prince en tout ce qu'il desire..." ¹)

A similar development of this theme appears in a poem by the little known writer Claude de Trellon, in his Discours à Monsieur de La Broue, ²) although in this case it would be impossible to say with certainty whether the poet had Juvenal's satire in mind, or Alamanni's imitation, or indeed Ronsard's :

"Je ne suis pas de ceux qui aiment à mesdire ;
Je ne puiç, sans sujet, de personne me rire ;
Je ne desire rien que je ne puisse avoir ;
Je ne suis pas de ceux qui se paissent d'espoir ;
Je ne suis pas de ceux qui veulent qu'on les croye ;
Je meus par les effets que le monde me voye
Tous jours ferme & constant en mon affection...
Je ne suis pas de ceux qui monstrent au visage
Tout autrement qu'ils n'ont au dedans du courage.
Je ne saurais aimer une personne ingrate ;

¹) op.cit. III.3, pp.266-68.

"Je ne sçaurois aimer un ami qui me flatte ;
J'aime fort un ami qui parle franchement
Et de qui l'on peut se fier entièrement,
Tel vous fera cent fois une grande reverence,
Vous offrira son corps, son bien, et sa puissance,
Que si vous lisiez bien, puis après dans son cœur,
Il n'est ny vostre ami, ny vostre serviteur ;
Je ne suis pas de ceux, quand j'offre mon service,
Je l'offre de bon coeur, non avecques malice."

Observations on court life in general which echo Guevara's reservations on the subject are few, (most of the French imitations of the Menosprecio having taken the form of indirect attacks on the court versus country theme, as we have seen).

The conversation reported by Noel du Fail at the beginning of his account of Eutrapel's visit to court, Eutrapel et Un Vieilleur²) contains some reminiscences of Guevara's principal anti-court satire, chiefly the idea that, although it might be a good idea to go to court for the experience, it was certainly not a good idea to grow old there,³) and with the admission that this was sometimes difficult, even impossible to avoid, so strong is the hold of court life.⁴)

1) The text I have used is that found in Les Œuvres du Sieur De Trelon, Lyons, Thibaud Ancelin, 1595, 4 vols. Vol.III, Meslanges, fo.162-163.
2) op.cit. XVIII.
3) See above ch.IV, passim and Menosprecio, passim.
4) Cf. Menpris, p.28 "La Court, qui les tient engluex..."
"L'on parloit de la cour, de la suite d'icelle ; des beautés, laideurs, plaisirs, et mécontents qu'on y reçoit. Les uns soutenoient qu'il y faut avoir été, non pas y vieillir ; les autres au contraire, et que depuis qu'on en a accoutumé et humé l'air, être impossible de toute impossibilité s'en pouvoir retirer et dépêtrer : le mal être, qu'il ne s'en faut jamais absenter si faire se peut."

The description which follows of Eutrapel's visit shows however, more pronounced signs of the influence of the Menosprecio:

"Eutrapel donc alla à la cour... il y en avoient une douzaine de contents et bien à leur aise, le reste attendant le gland qui tombe ; tous débauchés et disgraciés, faisant néanmoins bonne mine ; et tel portoit le velours sur les épaules, vendant en détail, disoit-il, les faveurs et fumées de la cour, qu'on trouvoit au matin en une méchante chambre, rhabillant ses chausses ; tel avoit une longue file d'hommes après soi, lesquels aboyant quelque lippée franche, s'en alloient, la porte leur étant fermée au nez ; ... et la plupart vivaient de la gabelle imposée sur les nouveaux et derniers venus, qui se lève par un laquais, lequel de grand matin vous vient saluer et ajourner d'une petite lettre contenant : Monsieur, je vous prie de m'accomoder de dix écus, attendant mes coffres qui sont encore sur le Rhin...."

But Eutrapel himself is reminded of Guevara's criticisms of obsequious court manners, particularly of the salutation

1) op.cit. p.246.
2) op.cit. p.247. An important point which Philipot seems to have missed- the attempted confidence trick, and the description of dinner hunting parasites, in Du Fail's story is almost certainly inspired by Guevara's account of various "affronteurs de court" Mesnris, ch.XI pp.69-71. This covers dinner-hunters and bogus appeals for money to new-comers from 'needy courtiers'.
I kiss your hand and the action itself, described in the *Epistolae Familiaris*:

"Je prends, dit Eutrapel, la condition, le remerciant, non en baisant le doigt, comme il se fait à la mode d'Espagne, ayant rampé jusque ici, oubliant la vieille gravité française, ce qui déplait même au plus habile homme des leurs, Antoine de Guevara, blasmant ces baise-mains et telles idolâtres façons."[1]

It is tempting to consider Claude de Trellon's Discours, apart from the aspect which we have already examined, as in some ways a descendant of Jean de La Taille's *Courtisan Retiré*. Although Trellon is not concerned in his Discours to attack court by praising country to the extent which Guevara and La Taille had done, he does attack court life directly, and his criticisms of the thankless lot of the courtier are precisely those which Guevara had made in his apostrophe "o creve-coeur au pource courtisan", and which La Taille had repeated.[2] Impossible to decide though, whether these lines—

"Il faut qu'un petrinal soit patient et doux,
Quand il parle à un grand parler à deux genoux,
Avoir la teste nue, attendre à une porte
Son maistre, tout un jour, jusques à tant qu'il sorte,
Et au partir de là n'avoir rien que du vent.
0 le piteux estat qu'est celuy d'un suyvant
Le paisant mille fois, qui laboure la terre,
S'estime plus heureux....
Au lieu qu'un petrinal, puis qu'ainsi on l'appelle,
Il faut qu'il ait tousjours le cul dessus la selle;"

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2) For the text of the passage of Guevara and of La Taille see above p. 508.
"Il n'ose dire mot quand on dit : Monsieur dort ;
Cent fois le jour il voudroit être mort.
Bref, ce mot de Monsieur est tant insupportable
Que j'aime beaucoup mieux ne manger à ma table...
Qu'estre en court esclave, & consommer mon temps.
Il faut estre toujours attachés à leur queue,
Et basteler ainsi tout le jour par la rue,
Attendre à l'antichambre, et faire le valet..." 1)

which the poet has endowed with movement and vigour, or these-

"Je ne pourrais jamais avoir la patience
D'aller à ces messieurs faire la reverence,
Les attendre à la porte une heure, voire deux...
Manier leur faveur, leur offrir mon service..." 2)

were directly inspired by the Menosprecio, or by Jean de
La Taille's imitation. Like Guevara, Claude de Trellon
resents the fact that mere court fools, entertainers,
flatterers, are more highly esteemed than honest men:

"Je blasme infiniment un Prince, un grand seigneur,
De ce que bien souvent il fait beaucoup d'honneur
À des sots, des bouffons qui ne sont rien au monde,
Et de ceux dont la langue est diserte & façonde :
De ceux qui sont vaillants & qui ont du savoir,
Il n'en fait point de cas à ne les daigne voir." 3)

1) op. cit. fo. 161v°-162r°
2) op. cit. fo. 164r°. Cf. Mespris, p. 51 "aller à dix heures au
palais mendier conseil, solliciter l'huissier... faire
l'inclinabo à l'avocat."
3) op. cit. fo. 163v°. Cf. Mespris, p. 67 "n'est-ce pas grand
regret qu'on donne plus tout au flateur pour dire louanges
feintes, au plaisant pour faire rire, & au bien disant
pour farder un mensonge, ou à un inventeur de nouvelles,
qu'à un fidele serviteur qui aura merité guerdon toute
sa vie."
Finally, mention may be made of the verse fable, *Le Festin Du Lion*, by Jean de La Taille, which demonstrates the harsh realities of court life. This fable was inspired by what was, ostensibly, a letter by Guevara, appearing in the French translation of the third volume of his *Epistolas* - a letter which had in fact been written and added to the collection by the translator of the Italian edition, Alfonse d'Ulloa.  

La Taille has simply retold the fable of the lion, the ass, and the fox - which is included in the letter purporting to be intended for Guevara's niece - substituting for the ass who was tempted to court a stag (which allows him to play on the word Cerf), and considerably abridging the narrative. The fable is brought to a conclusion with the Fox' words to the King, and the moral:—

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"Hélas, je suis, dit le Regnard adonquies, 
A tort battu ! le Cerf de cœur n'eut oncques ;
S'il en eust eu, jamais de son honn̈e
Ne fust venu pour estre massacr̈e."

Ainsi quelqu'un, se defiant des festes,
Par ce discours qu'il feinct du Roy des bestes,
Vouloit l'esprit à quelques Cerfs ouvrir
Bien dextremment n'osant se decouvrir."
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Very many of the direct attacks on the dangers and disadvantages of court life in this period are thus purely

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1) For details of this fraud see above ch.IV, pp.146-7 and Appendix II, p.668.

2) Ed.cit, vol.III, p.175-"C'est une exhortation à sa niece à vivre saintement, & selon la profession dont elle est. Les dames religieuses trouveront icy de quoy contenter leur esprit, aussi feront les Courtisans : car ilz y verront leur court dechiffrée, & le monde."
p.180- "Icy commence la fable du Regnard & de l'Asme."

literary in inspiration. More interesting are those which have often no other apparent source or inspiration than that of disillusionment, despair, personal resentment and a sense of injustice, any, or all of which are particularly evident in the works of disgruntled poets who misguided thought to seek recognition for themselves and their art at court. Even so, the criticisms dictated by these sentiments are by no means new, ¹) although they may appear to be renewed by a degree of sincerity and intensity of feeling which often lends to such protests a quality and tone more elegiac than purely satirical.

Ronsard's allegorical Discours Contre Fortune²) is probably the most honest attempt of this period to trace the progress of the poet's social aspirations from their awakening to their final extinction; from the dissipation of the poet's mood of contentment in an environment of pastoral solitude favourable to his muse:

"Avant qu'allier chez vous je vivois sans esmoy,
Maintenant par les bois, maintenant à par moy
J'errois près des ruisseaux, maintenant par les prées
J'allois le nourrisson des neuf Muses sacrées...
Et alors, mon Odet, tout pur d'ambition,
Falonqne de la court, sans nulle affection
De parvenir aux biens, je vivois en franchise,
Sain, dispo et gaillard, bien loin de convoitise..."³)

¹) See above ch. VII, pp. 36 & 37.
³) op. cit. p. 146-7.
to the quickening of his ambition—

"Credule je conceu la Royale grandeur
Je conceu Eveschez, Prieurez, Abbayes.." ¹)

and the transformation, in character as well as occupation

"d'un escolier contant
En nouveau courtizan demandeur inconstant." ²)

his initiation into the practices of the court—

"J'apris à desguiser le naif de ma face,
Espier, escouter, aller de place en place,
Cherchant la mort d'autrui..." ³)

his initial successes followed, inevitably, by gradual and persistent reverses of fortune. More honest than most variations upon this theme perhaps, and less poignant, since the poet admits to having abused his good fortune and the favour shown him in the first instance by his protector :

"Mais sur tous le poete est le plus eshonté ;
Car, ainsi qu'une mousse, après qu'elle a goûté,
Ou du miel, ou du lait, quelque chose qu'on face
Et qu'est-elle mourir, n'abandonne la place...
J'ay de vostre faveur en telle sorte usé,
Pardonnez moy, Prelat, j'en ay trop abuse." ⁴)

Moving in its simplicity and self-knowledge, and philosophical acceptance born of disillusionment is Baif's conclusion on this theme in Les Mimes, Enseignements &

¹) op. cit. p.148.
²) op. cit. p.148.
³) ibid.
⁴) op. cit. p.156.
although pondering on his lack of success at court in a subsequent passage, his mood is distinctly less philosophical.

"Car je n'eusse onques parentele
En court, ny alliance telle
Qu'elle m'ait en rien avancé.
C'est ce qui plus mon fiel irrité,
dequoy paroisissant mon merite,
Si mal je suis recompense." 3)

Claude de Trellon confides his own disillusionment with court life and the opportunities for advancement which

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2) op.cit. bk.III, fo.11v°-12r°

3) op.cit. bk.IV, fo.32.
it is supposed to afford on several occasions, but notably in his Stances and Lamentations. In the former he complains

"Soyez plein de vertu, soyez accord, habile,
Si vous suyez quelqu'un vous estes inutile,
Je veux dire inutile, on ne fait cas de vous :
Ce mot de serviteur descrobe vostre grace,
Toute vostre vertu par ce seul mot s'efface,
Les valets de tout temps sont mesprisez de tous.." 1)

and in the latter he explains his wish to abandon his court career, convinced, as Baif was, that his efforts would never be rewarded :-

"Je veux quitter la court, aussi je cognoy bien
Que j'y pers ma jeunesse, & n'y profite rien,
Car j'ay faict ce qu'on doit pour bien servir un Maistre
Et toutesfois mes yeux maintes fois ont veu mettre
Des gens en grand honneur, en grande autorité,
Qui n'avoient ni mon coeur, ni ma fidelité,
Et qui, pour esgaller tant soit peu mon merite,
N'avoient point de vertu qui ne fust trop petite.." 2)

Jean Vatel appears to be inspired by more than disillusionment on many occasions in his Premier Livre des Meslages 3) in his treatment of this theme. Consternation and despair are his reactions, expressed in this sonnet, to the realisation that not only are his aspirations still unfulfilled, but that his pursuit of them and his continued presence at court are incompatible with his desire to write.

1) op.cit. bk.III, p.143 p°.
2) op.cit. bk.IV, p.194 r°.
3) Le Premier Livre des Meslages de Jehan Vatel, Paris, Mamert Patisson, M.D. Ci. The poems in this volume were all composed between 1569 and 1573. On Vatel see Ph. de Fleur et Perceau, op.cit. i, pp.125-7.
poetry. The sonnet is addressed to Monsieur de Cheverny -
an important official at the French court : - 1)

" Seize ans sont escoulez, à la court des François
Par trois fois a ploré le trespas de ses Rois,
Qu'aux flots abandonné d'une traître esperance
Je la courtise, helas, sans avoir recompense

De mes beaux ans perdus ! Mais quoy ? tousjours son heal
Cherist celluy qu'elle aime, & non pas le meilleur,
Celluy qui de son front a despouille la honte,
De qui l'oeil impudent l'impudence surmonte,

Qui est feint & couvert, à plein de lasccheté
Cestuy sent sa faveur sans l'avoir merité :
Ce pendant que plongé au gouffre de monere
Je me trompe en trompant ceux à qui je peu plaire,
Me banissant (gisné de ces tourments divers)
Du paisible repos que demandent les vers." 2)

Intense resentment and a profound sense of injustice
seem to inspire his protests on the humiliating position of poets in his Response au Vers Latins du Seigneur Holster.

He contrasts the lack of recognition and poverty with the affluence of foreigners, that is Italians, courtiers and other parasites : -


2) loc. cit. p.16 vº. Cf. Sonnet à Trapin, fo. 36vº.

3) This poem is published by Fleuret et Perceau, loc. cit. under the title Discours Sur les Corruptions de Ce Temps, from the Duc D'Aumale's reproduction of La Suite des Oeuvres Poétiques Chantilly, 1881. There is very little difference between this volume and the Premier Livre, to which we refer.
He regrets that his father had not the foresight to encourage him in some more lucrative study, that of flattery for instance:

"Si, subtil, j'eusse appris à masquer mon visage, 
À retenir ma langue, à feindre mon courage,
Forcer mon naturel, trahir ma liberté,
Faire d'un Apollon un Protée enchanté,
Un flateur bigarré, couvrant d'une feintise
Ce qui blesse l'honneur d'une âme bien apprise... 
Je me fusse en crédit auprès des grands poussé," 2)

Other poets of this period inevitably echo Watel's words, but with less bitterness and intensity. La Jessée for example, in his poem Le Courtisan,3) and Du Buys, in passing, in his treatise De L'Excellence Des Lettres.4)

1) op.cit. fo. 28v°-29r°.
2) ibid. In this passage the text of the edition we reproduce diverges slightly from that printed by Pleuret et Perceau, loc.cit.
So much for the grievances, real or imaginary, expressed on the subject of court life in general.

Criticisms of the activities of court flatterers in this period are variously inspired by humanistic concern, literary reminiscence and party polemic.

Both Olivier de Magny and Ronsard issue in their respective instructions for the young sovereign Charles IX in the conduct of the realm, warnings of the menace which flatterers constitute to a king. Olivier de Magny devotes one sonnet especially to the problem. It is worth quoting partially:

"De ces flateurs de Cour qui ne font que farder, D'eulx & de leurs propos donnez-vous garde, Sire, Bannissez-les bien loing, car il n'est rien de pire Ny de quoy un grand Roy se doibve plus garder. Ilz ne vouldroient jamais d'avec vous discorder, Mais il fault en leur lieu d'autres amys eslire Les quels ayant de vous liberté de tout dire, Sachent mieulx au prouffict qu'au plaisir regarder." 2)

Ronsard's warning is brief:--

"Malheureux sont les Rois qui fondent leur appuy Sur l'aide d'un commis, qui par les yeux d'autruy Voyent l'estat du peuple, et oyent par l'oreille d'un flateur mensonger qui leur conte merveille." 3)

1) We will deal with criticisms of courtiers themselves under various headings - flattery, hypocrisy, extravagance, and so on, one after another. Unavoidably some longer works will be used more than once under different headings.

2) Dernières Poesies, ed.cit. p.75, VII.
3) op.cit. p.352 cf. Baif, op.cit. bk.4, 40-41.
Guillaume Du Buys, in his long poem, L'Oreille du Prince, shows a concern, perhaps based on observation of the contemporary scene, for the power, as well as the wealth, acquired by flatterers:—

"Et si de ceux qui sont à leurs trouses royales... Ces rois suivent l'advis: c'est encore le pire, D'autant qu'à tout malheur leur profit les attire; Car ayant de ces Rois l'oreille à tout propos, Leurs chasteaux sont dorez aux despens des imposts, Ils donnent les estats à ceux qu'ils favorisent; Et des villes les chefs ostent, ou autorisent." 2)

Many writers are drawn to elaborate upon a statement critical of the influence of flatterers by a theoretical analysis of their manoeuvres and machinations. It is here that literary reminiscences play a part. Sometimes it is very slight. Thus Henri Estienne, having observed from experience that the imitation by courtiers of their monarch's errors of speech was inspired by a desire to flatter, illustrates his point with an anecdote about the flatterers of Dionysius which Plutarch had used in the same way in his treatise on flatterers. 3)

Louis Le Caron, after discussing flexibility and adaptability of character as desirable assets in some cases, makes an important reservation directed at the practices of the courtiers of his day. 4) This reservation is more than an

2) op. cit. fo. 127, 290.
4) Les Questions Diverses, Paris, V. Norment, 1579. Question IX-Si celuy qui scait se bien accomoder aux moeurs & conditions diverses des hommes merite le nom & titre de vertueux, fo. 144 sqq.
attack on flattery as such, but in bringing his arguments to a conclusion, Le Caron is reminded of Plutarch's treatise, which he mentions, before himself considering the difference between true friendship and base flattery:

"Plutarch en a écrit amplement : mais seulement je diray, que l'amie ne se propose de dire choses delectables, à se changer aux affections de son amy, (car amitié est vertu) ains de luy conseiller choses homestes, à vivre avec luy vertueusement, mais l'adulateur ne regarde qu'à complaire pour en tirer quelque utilité, à se rendant variable en ses actions, imite les vices mèmes de celui qu'il feint aymer : d'autant que l'adulation a grand'apparence de l'amitié, à par ses blandices facilement s'insinue aux Courts des Seigneurs : combien qu'elle soit tres pernicieuse, il convient prudemment la descouvrir, à devant qu'elle ayt pris force & auctorité la bannir, par ce qu'elle est la corruption des bonnes mœurs."  

This process is best illustrated by Du Buys' poem *L'Oreille Du Prince*. His concern for those likely to be oppressed by the tyranny of flatterers gives place to a lengthy development in which simile is heaped upon simile in order that we may better understand and recognise the characteristics of the flatterer. In this part of the poem Du Buys is clearly imitating Plutarch, a fact which seems to have escaped Bergounioux who does not dispute Goujet's

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1) Le Caron, in fact, makes very strong objections to Castiglione's doctrine, as the rubric indicates. We will discuss this work more fully when considering anti-Cortegiano literature in this period. See below, pp. 574-5.
2) *op.cit.* fo. 49 vo.
3) Published in *Oeuvres*, Paris 1583. One of the *Discours*.
judgment that this poem is an original composition, and for that matter Madame Trtnik-Rossettini as well.

All of the comparisons which Du Buys has clumsily strung together in the following passage are to be found in Plutarch's work, although needless to say, they are more discriminately distributed there:

"Car comme le tahan, quand le taureau surprend,
Et la tique le chien aux oreilles se prend,
Aussi bien le flateur, playée & vicieuse,
Rend trop heureusement l'oreille ambitieuse, 2) Et semblable au miroir les images reçoit
De tous les mouvements de ceux-la qu'il deçoit,
Vies & passions, affections, & celles 3) Qui perdent de raison les vives esmêlles
Comme on void l'animal qui si diversement
Se bigarre en couleurs, ne pouvant seulement 4) Oncques représenter le blanc qu'on luy oppose,
Ne dedaignant pourtant l'objet d'une autre chose :
Aussi bien le flateur tout ce qui est mauvais
Ne laisse à imiter, & si ne peut jamais
En rien s'accommoder que l'on juge louable,
Ains embrasse toujours ce qui est reprochable ;
Mais comme en fin les poux abandonnant les corps,
Dont le sang est gelé pour estre desja mors : 5)"

1) op.cit. p.129 and 162 sqq. Bergounioux compares this poem to Meschinot's Lanettes des Princes.

2) Cf. Plutarch op.cit. p.299 - "They say that the gad-fly finds lodgement with cattle close by the ear, as does the tick with dogs; so also flatterer takes hold of ambitious men's ears with his words of praise."

3) Cf. Plutarch, op.cit. p.285 - "like a mirror he (the flatterer) only catches the images of alien feelings, lives and movements."

4) Cf. Plutarch, op.cit. p.267 - "the flatterer's case is exactly the same as that of the chameleon. For the chameleon can make himself like to every colour except white."

5) Cf. Plutarch, op.cit. p.267 - "Vermin depart from dying persons, and forsake their bodies, as the blood, from which the vermin derive their sustenance, loses its vitality."
In addition to the comparison developed in the extract quoted above, Du Buys also likens the flatterer to the cook, who does his best to titillate the palate of his master, and the friend to the doctor who prescribes unpleasant remedies in the interests not of his own advancement but of the health of the patient.  

In considering the literature against flatterers which is more profoundly marked by party polemics, it is important to recall that it was in this period, in 1576 to be exact, that Estienne de La Boetie's *Discours de La Servitude Volontaire,* was first published, by the Protestants, who saw in its indictment of tyranny, a powerful weapon with which to further their cause. An important part of this work was, as we have seen, the lucid analysis of the way in which a tyrannical regime is maintained by flatterers and courtiers who have an interest in its continued survival.

Within two years of the publication of La Boetie's work, D'Aubigné was composing an indictment against such sycophantic agents of tyranny which was obviously inspired by his Protestant loyalties, and which had it been openly

1) Du Buys, *op. cit.* fo. 139 r°.
published at the time, might have been equally important in the furtherance of his party's cause. Early in the second canto of Les Tragiques, he declaims

"Flateurs, je vous en veux, je commence par vous...
Tirez de pauvreté, eslevez des ordures
Dans le sein des plus grands... 1)

The interest and significance of D'Aubigné's violent attack is that he castigates not rank and file courtiers for their flattery, but the Catholic priests who exercised such sway in the last years of the reign of Charles IX and during that of Henri III

".................... en chaire les flateurs
Portent le front, la grace, à le nom de prescheurs..." 2)

and one of them in particular, Armand Sorbin de Sainte-Foy, in the following passage:—

"Un prescheur mercenaire, hypocrite effronté,
De qui Satan avoit le savoir acheté,
A-il pas tant cherché fleurs & couleurs nouvelles
Qu'il habille en martyr le bourreau des fideles !
Il nomme bal exemple une tragique horreur,
Le massacre justice, un zele la fureur ;
Il plaint un Roy sanglant, sur tout il le veut plaindre
Qu'il ne pût en vivant assez d'ames estendre ;
Il fait vaillant celui qui n'a vus les hazards,
Studieux l'ennemi des lettres & des arts;
Chaste le malheureux au nom duquel je tremble
S'il lui faut reprocher les deux amours ensemble,
Voila comment le Diable est fait par eux un ange,
Au chantre à au chanté vergonngneuse louange !" 3)

2) Les Princes, p.11, vv.103-4, On D'Aubigné see A. Garnier,
Agrippa D'Aubigné et Le Parti Protestant, Paris, 1928 2 vols.;
Plattard, Agrrippa D'Aubigné, Paris, Bolvin, 1931; Weber,
La Création Poétique en France au XVIe Siècle, vol.II.
3) op.cit. pp.13-14, vv.135-146, 149-50.
While pernicious and systematic flattery was duly exposed, the traditional reproach of hypocrisy and duplicity was levelled at the rank and file courtier. Jean de La Jesse is especially conscious of this aspect of the courtier mentality. He attacks it in satirical sonnets:

"Lescallees, d'ou vient-il que ceus qui tant courtisent, ......... es maisons des grandz Roys & Seigneurs, Soyent larges de caresses & prodigues d'honneurs Vers ceus que bien souvent par derriere ilz degprisent? D'où vient que peu à peu (ruses) ilz s'autorisent, Compaignons de leur maistre, amys, & gouverneurs !.... Qu'en gestes, & propos, leur nature ilz deguisent?"

in longer poems, in Le Courtisan, for instance:

"Mon courtisan je te presente, Peint de ses couleurs & façons, Il est de ceus qui par caresses, Baise-mains, sousriz, & promesses, Baillent des canes à moitié : En bouche ilz ont un beau langage, Mais ilz sont Tygres de courage, De courage & d'animosité, Dous à l'abord, au parler grave..."

One of the teachings of Fortune to the uninitiated new-comer to court, in Les Tragiques, is again that of duplicity. One must, as others have learnt to,

"Louer tout froidement si ce n'est pour du pain, Renier son salut quand il y va du gain ; Barbets des favoris, premiers à les conoistre, Singes des estimez, bons echos de leur maistre : Voila à quel sçavoir il te faut limiter."

1) op.cit. Bk.I, Les Jeunesse, p.78 (b); cf.also p.19,p.35
2) op.cit. Bk.III, Meslanges (vol.III) p.335
3) op.cit. p.92, vv.1273-77.
Jean Le Masle draws attention to this same lack of firmness, of moral rectitude among courtiers when he comments, in a sonnet addressed to M. de La Mauvisure, in his *Nouvelles Recreations Poétiques*:

"C'est une chose rare & presque incroyable,
De voir un courtisan sans fard & sans trahison
Qui d'avarice pur, selon droit & raison,
De sa vocation fait la charge honorable." 2)

A traditional criticism of the courtier, that of duplicity, but in some of the attacks of this period it is doubly traditional, for the influence sometimes of Marot, more often and more directly of Du Bellay, is clearly visible in the manner in which the attack is made. Further examples will illustrate this clearly. Ronsard for instance, in his *Elegie en Forme D'Invective*, indicates the duplicity of a courtier against whom he has a grievance without mentioning the word itself, but by selecting the significant and revealing gesture. Is it by coincidence alone that both the technique employed, and the gesture described

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2) *op.cit.* Sonnet IX, p.32. For further anti-courtier utterances in this work of Jean Le Masle see *Discours de La Noblesse*, fo.15r; *Odes, à M.Le Comte de Vertus*, fo.69r; *De L'Excellence de La Theologie*, fo.85v; *De L'Excellence des Poetes*, fo.54.
"Et toutefois tu fais de l'habile homme,
Comme nourri à Naples ou à Rome,
Poisant tes mots en balançant le chef,
Feignant de craindre un dangereux mechef... 1)

should call to mind Marot's anti-Italian remarks in the
Epistre Au Tresvertueux Prince, Francois, Dauphin de
France, 2) and subsequently those of Du Bellay in certain
sonnets of the Regrets. 3) Similarly La Jessée's portrait
of the courtier whose studied reaction mask his true
feelings, owes not a little to Du Bellay:

"D'un ris, & baise-main à chacun faire feste,
Se trouver au repas des Princes, & du Roy :
Ne rougir point de honte, & ne pallir d'effroy,
Pour un mauvais recueil, ou quelque embuche preste." 4)

Frequent attacks are made in this period on the
morgue, the exaggerated self-esteem, the loudly proclaimed
and rarely demonstrated bravery of the courtier. Here again
the influence of Du Bellay's satirical technique of suggest-
ing an attitude of mind by reproducing the outward and
physical manifestations of it, is apparent in varying
degrees. Sometimes the self-satisfied air and haughty

1) op. cit. vol. IV, p. 143 Sixième Livre des Poèmes, 1569.
2) ed. cit. p. 242- "Depuis ung peu je parle sagement,
Car ces Lombars avec qui je chemine
M'ont fort apris à faire bonne myne,
Dessus ung mot une heure je m'arrestez,
S'ont parle à moy, je respondez de la teste."
3) Regrets, LXXXVI "Balancer tous ses mots, respondre de la
teste..." and LXXV "Pour respondre un mot, un quart d'heure
y songer."
demeanour is portrayed at length, as in this sonnet of
La Jessée :

" Ce Mignon agrafé, qui fait le suffisant,
Et montre à mauvais jeu (comme on dit) bonne mine
Ayme fort qu'aprez luy volontiers on chemine,
Que chacun le bonette, & l'aillle courtisant.

Vous diriez à l'ouyr que c'est le mieux disant,
Il cheriit les vertus, le vice il abomine :
Et plus que peste hait ceste infame vermine
De Muguetz acrestez, & les va mégrisant.

Or, soy-mesme il s'esgaye, or, soy-mesme il se fache
Et frisant de ses doigz l'une à l'autre moustache
Ou ses levres mordant, tesmoigne son ennuy... 1)

at others it may be more briefly and succintly indicated,
as in the following lines from a satire of Jean Vauquelin de
La Fresnaye

" saluer de la nuque,
" Retrousser leur moustache, & hausser la perruque..")2)

by an enumeration of significant gestures.

The character described by Claude de Trellon in
one of his best poems, the Elegie de La Cour, might almost
be described as a blood relation of the Baron de Poeneste,
so exactly do their characteristics match each other :

" Pour porter du clinquant engager une terre,
Se battre en estocade à celle fin d'acquerrer
Entre ses compagnons le renom de vaillant,
Despendre en vanité tout ce qu'on a de vaillant,
Faire du Rodomont, porter haute l'espée,
Penser estre un Cesar, penseur estre un Pompée,

2) Satyre à Fr. Vauquelin, bk.4, p.324.
Et n'avoir jamais eu batailles ni combats,
Que ceux-là qui se font aux amoureux esbats.
Faire le désdaigneux, contrefaire le louche.
Avoir tousjours ce mot, Dieu te gard, dans la bouche;
Faire le compagnon avecques les plus grands,
Ne se mesurer point à faire en tout les savans,
Et au partir de là n'avoir autre science
Que de savoir un peu discouvrir d'une dance.
Encore bien souvent ne savoir pas comment
Un homme doit danser pour danser galamment :
Porter sur une epaule une cappe pendante,
Penser valoir tout seul plus que ne font cinquante."  

Much was made, in the Sonnets d'Estât, which were
first circulated anonymously in Paris between 1575 and
1577, were recorded by L'Estoile, and attributed to Pasquier,
who subsequently published two of them - one each in the
Oeuvres Meslées and the Recherches de La France, 2), of the
King's Mignons who were so often brave in word, but never
in deed :-

" Je me ry quand je voy de ces jeunes goriéres
Marchans au petit pas, la façon effrontée,
Qui, d'un brave discours & d'une voix fardée
Defont un escadron de mille pistoliers.

Je me ry quand je voy ces nouveaux Chevaliers
Et tous les Adonis de la belle Chambrée
Se promettre l'honneur de conduire l'armée,
Ou bien un régiment, ou des chevaux-légers.

1) op. cit. bk.IV fo.202 v°. For the characteristics of Foeneste
see below, Conclusion, pp. 599-600.
2) On the problem of the attribution of these sonnets and the
text, with variants, see G.Charlier, Les Sonnets D'Estât,
in Mélanges Paul Lamonier, Paris, Droz,1935. In the Journal
de l'Estoille, sonnets 1,2,4 in the sequence will be found in
vol.1, under Dec, 1575 and 5-9 inclusive under Sept. 1579 -
with the note that they first appeared in 1577. Sonnets 3
and 10 were not published before the time of Blanchemain,
who includes nos. 1-9 in his edition of Ronsard and Charlier,
loc.cit. who publishes the tenth for the first time. Pasquier
published the first sonnet in Bk.VIII, ch.V of the Recherches
de La France, and no.8 in his Oeuvres Meslées, under the
section Sonnets Divers Selon La Diversité du Temps.
Mais je riray bien plus, quand, venant aux effets
Je les verray souvent ou battus, ou defeaits,
Revenans au logis plus doux que des pucelles.

Alors je leur diray : Mes mignons de la Cour,
Retournez a Paris, qu'on vous face l'amour,
Frizans vous beaux cheveux comme des Demoiselles."

Such bumptiousness usually accompanies empty-headed ignorance and an impoverished intellect. If we may believe various satires of the period, courtiers were no exception, giving proof of one as often as the other, as this portrait of a courtier by La Jessée shows:

"Frisoter ses chevez haussez à la Fortune,
Se peignez, s'atifier en jeune Damoyseau :
Surpasser inconstant le flot, à le roseau,
Et suivre un fol Chorebe en sa rage commune

Estre fascheus à tous, à tenir de la lune,
Avoir transi le coeur, à vuide le cerveau.

S'exalter de parolles, à d'effait estre bas..."

There is often present an element of personal animosity in those which are made concerning ignorance and philistinism among courtiers. The hostility between poet and courtier is by now traditional. Satire was probably the only effective means of retaliation for those whose works had been greeted with derision and scorn. Ronsard's Elegies en Forme d'Invective, of 1569 takes up the theme in this period at the point where Du Bellay had left it in the

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1) Charlier, loc. cit. Sonnet IX. Cf. also Claude de Trellon, Messanges Fe. 1567, LXV.
3) See above ch. VII, pp. 324-327.
Regrets. The situation which inspired Ronsard to launch into insults and personal detraction in this Elegie is similar to that which inspired Du Bellay in Sonnet CXLV of the Regrets, 1) as too is the substance of the insults:

"Pource, mignon, que tu es jeune et beau,
Un Adonis, un Amour en tableau,
Frisé, fardé, qui es yssu d'un pere
Aussi douillet et peigné que ta mere;
Qui n'as jamais suë ny travaillé,
A qui le pain en la main est baillé
Dès ton enfance, et qui n'as autre gloire
Qu'avoir au flanc une belle escritoire.
Pointe, houpée, et qui n'as le sçavoir
De lire, escrire, et faire ton devoir,
Ny d'exercer ta charge, qui demande
Une cervelle et plus saine et plus grande:
Tu as bien, au milieu des repas,
Ayant les mains le premier dans les plats,
Gorgé de mets et de riches viandes,
De vins fumeux et de saulles friandes,
Tu as bien te moquer de mes vers,
Et, te gauchant, les lire de travers,
A chaque point disant le mot pour rire!" 2)

Ronsard's attack has neither the concision nor the cool incisiveness of Du Bellay's however, and unable to restrain his fury, he relieves his injured feelings with curses and imprecations worthy of Panurge, but which, coming from one who claims to be divinely inspired, a devotee of the Muses, are merely mirth-provoking: 3)

1) See above, p. 127. 2) op.cit. vol. IV, p. 146. 3) Consider for instance—"Et si ta langue en ton palais n'est coy
Les chiens, les chats pisseront dessus toy.
and, further on, "... Je te souhaite une femme punaise,
Je te souhaite un coq bien cornu...
followed by "... Hé! qu'est-il rien plus divin qu'un poete,
Esprit sacré, qui tantost est prophete...
Enfant du Ciel et non pas de la terre."
op.cit. vol. IV, p. 147.

Obviously a case of divine misguidance.
Another indication of the hostility of the ignorant for the poet at court, is to be found in *Les Tragiques*. D'Aubigné, describing the arrival of a new-comer to the court in *Les Princes*, possibly with the memory of his own reception in mind, writes:

"Il ne trouve auditeurs qu'ignorans envieux,
Diffamans le scavoir de noms ingénieux :
S'il trouve l'epigramme ou la stance bien faites,
Le voilà découvert, c'est fait, c'est un poete;..."

Attacks upon the insensitive philistinism at court are also made less directly in two works which continue the theme of Du Bellay's *Poète Courtisan*.2)

The first of these is Ronsard's poem *La Promesse*, first published in 1563.3) Although Ronsard has not followed Du Bellay closely or extensively in this work, there is one passage in which Promesse, an allegorical personage, instructs Ronsard (and the instruction, like that in Lucian's *Rhetor*, and in Du Bellay's *Poète Courtisan*, is ironical) in how to be successful at court, - which of course involves renouncing poetry-scorned by all aspiring courtiers:


3) *La Promesse*, s.l., 1563 (plaquette).
"Il faut, ce me disoit, corrompre ton destin, 
Changer ton naturel, te lever au matin, 
Te coucher à mi-nuit et apprendre à têtaire, 
Et qui plus est, Ronsard, à n'estre volontaire. 
Il faut les grands seigneurs courtizer et chercher, 
Venir à leur lever, venir à leur coucher, 
Se trouver à leur table, et discouvrir un conte, 
Estre bon importun, et n'avoir point de honte; 
Voilà le vray chemin que tu dois retenir, 
Si tu veux promptement aux honneurs parvenir, 
Et non faire des vers ou jouer de la lyre, 
Ce sont pauvres mestiers, dont on ne fait que rire."

Following Ronsard, a further attempt on this theme 
was made by Jean de La Jessée in his poem Le Poète Courtisan.
This combines some of the elements of La Promesse, but shows
more directly and to a greater degree, the influence of
Du Bellay's satire, and consequently of Lucian's too.

It would seem that in introducing, as the poet's
guide to riches, a female allegorical personage, and in
the details of her portrayal, La Jessée was inspired by
Ronsard in La Promesse. The generalities with which she
prefaces her instruction are similar too:

"Nous vivons en un tempz qui ne void d'un bon oeil
Ceus qui sont sans appuy, sans ayde, & sans recueil:
Estre cherz des grandz, avoir belle apparence

1) op.cit. vol.IV, p.124.
2) In fact the whole of La Jessée's introductory passage
has strong Ronsardian echoes. Compare these lines in fact-
"J'aymay tousjours l'estude, & Calliope aussi
M'avoit de son ardeur si vivement saisi,
Que jeusse mieux aîné passer toute ma vie
Par les champs, & deserts, que la voir asservie
Auprez des grandz seigneurs, où sans avoir vesu
Meurt le vieil Courtisan, d'ambition vaincu."

op.cit. p.1428

and the passage we quoted above, p.587, from the Discours
Contre Fortune.
"Parler, braver, marcher d'une grave assurance,
Changer souvent de moeurs, d'habitz, & de façons,
De nostre école sont les communes leçons..." 1)

Here however the similarities between Ronsard's poem and this one, end.

In all essentials, the advice given to La J esse é e's 'Poète Courtisan' is the same as that which was given to Du Bellay's. Here again, material gain is the object of the exercise, and the first lesson is to fasten on to some one who will serve as a stepping-stone to riches -

"Il faut qu'au lieu d'ouyr tousjours les melodies
De tes chantz enchanteurs, mesvys tu t'estudies
A pratiquer les uns, pour te faire avancer,
Et les autres servir, pour te recomponer.
La Science n'est rien, au prix de la Richesse
Elle s'en sert parfois, mais c'est comme Maistresse..." 2

Once again work and study are discouraged, firstly because compositions born of arduous labour are hardly understood, much less appreciated by the generally unintelligent court audiences who prefer something facile which makes no demand upon them -

"Puis on n'oyt volontiers dans ces superbes Cours
Une longue Aeneide, ou quelques hautz discours ;
Une rime facile, une Chanson petite,

1) op. cit. vol.IV, Discours, I - Le Poète Courtisan, p.1437.
2) op. cit. p.1439. Cf. Du Bellay, op. cit. vv.135-8
   (quoted above p. 389 ).
"Fait plus à nostre goust, voire à vostre merite... Ne te rompz donc la teste à travailler si fort." 1) The injunction not to work is repeated again, with the recommendation that the easiest way to make progress through poetry is to concentrate on the official kind, that which commemorates dignitaries and celebrities of the court:

"Ne t'acoquine donc à l'estude à au livre Toy qui sans t'asservir à l'aise pourra vivre : Un prince, un grand Seigneur, honoré se tiendra Quand ta muse parfois de luy se souviendra." 2)

This advice too has its parallel in the earlier Poète Courtisan. La Jessée does not pursue his imitation, or indeed any independent variation, much after this juncture. A eulogy of the Duke, his patron, brings the work to a close.

Another French satirist, Jean Vauquelin de La Fresnaye, was inspired to write a satire on the 'poète Courtisan' theme. This is his Satyre à J.A. de Baif. Although the prototype of this work is again quite clearly Lucian's Rhetor, the intermediary source on this occasion

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1) op.cit. p.143. Cf. Du Bellay, op.cit.

"... un petit sonnet qui n'a rien que le son,
Un dizain à propos, ou bien une chanson,
Un rondeau bien tressé, avec une ballade
(Du temps qu'elle couroit) vaut mieux qu'une Iliade."

2) op.cit. p.144. Cf. Du Bellay, op.cit.

"Or si les grands seigneurs tu veux gratifier
Argumens à propos il te faut espier :
Comme quelque victoire ou quelque ville prise
Quelque noce, ou festin..."
is not Du Bellay's satire but one by the Italian poet Francisco Sansovino. His second satire, published in 1560 in the Sette Libri di Satire which he himself edited, was very much in Vauquelin's mind when he addressed himself to Baif on this occasion. The French writer begins by chiding his friend on his naivete:

"Si pour avoir tu suis la poesie,
Et si tu l'as pour le profit choisie
Docte Baif, à vivre tu n'entens :
Et si ferois juger, avec le tems,
L'opinion dont la Muse te lie
N'estre à la fin qu'une pure folie.." 2)

adding that he should put away such childish beliefs, and dedicate himself to the pursuit of higher things:

"Pourtant, Baif, il faut que tu sois homme :
Car maintenant, ou jamais, je te somme
D'abandonner les Muses & Phoebus,
Qui ne sont rien que souffreteux abus :
Et plus priser (si tu me voulois croire)
L'or & l'argent ....
Et t'adonner à tout ce qui profite,
Sans mettre en jeu tes vers ni leur merite
Ains pense à toy : du tien sois defendeur,
Et de l'autruy prodigue dependeur ..." 3)

We are told, indirectly, in this ironic appraisal, that success is to be found in cultivating an acceptable

1) On this work see above, ch.III, p. 104
2) op.cit. bk.III, 6. p.288
3) op.cit. p.299 Compare the last two lines above with these of Sansovino: "Vo che tu faccia sempre il buon compagno
Di quel d'altri e ch'al tuo metta riguardo."

For a detailed comparison of the two works see Vianey, art.cit.
appearance and attributes

"Parle toujours de ce que moins tu sçais:
Fais semblant d'être un Barthole en procès:
Et fais aussi profession de riche,
De grand, de noble, à non d'avare & chiche...
.... après de la richesse
Discours subtil, avec telle finesse,
Que riche à noble enfin tu sois tenu,
Encore que soit petit ton revenu.
Et bien que peu de dépense tu face,
Et que de soir le reste tu gardasses
Pour le matin : pourtant feindre il te faut
Que tu mengeas & perdris à levrau
Et que souvent tu changes de viande,
Estant un peu de nature friande :
L'Italien & l'Espagnol fendant
Souvent à Jun s'en va curant sa dent...
Je veux encor qu'austere tu ne blames
Ceux-là qui sont un peu sujets aux femmes,
Ains que plus tu y tiennes la main,
Comme n'ayant rien en toy d'inhumain.
C'est façon de beaucoup est prisée,
Et des plus grands la plus autorisée." 1)

Such also was the advice given by Sansovino to the poet aspiring to be a successful courtier.

Flattery, hypocrisy, duplicity, morgue, bumptiousness and ignorance do not distinguish the courtiers of this period from their predecessors. However, the courtier of the late sixteenth century is distinguishable by certain characteristics, or rather by an aggravation of certain characteristics, since there are few which are peculiar

1) op.cit. pp.301-2 Cf. Sansovino, op.cit.
"Se tu mangi per sorte rape o ghiande
Di che tu sguazzi sempre a quaglio o starne,
È che tu vuoi mutar spesso vivande.
Vo che ne ruffianesmi anco tu tegni
Le man, che questa parte assai s'apprezza
E di piacer altrui sempre disegni."
to one particular moment, and these we shall now discuss.

Extravagance among courtiers reached unparalleled proportions in this period when the circumstances of the great majority of the population were so reduced that such prodigality must be seen as particularly reprehensible.

Economic condemnations of the courtier are commonplace almost in this period. Some idea of the seriousness of the problem may be gained from the fact that Ronsard ceases to attribute the ruin of France to the disruptive Protestants alone, and is increasingly preoccupied - in 1573 he wrote two works, one addressed to Charles IX, the other to Moreau, both published posthumously,\(^1\) which reflect his concern - by the disastrous state of the economy, for which he holds the Italians and other courtiers responsible. Doubtless his patriotism prompted him to ask the King:

``
De vostre Cour le train
Rongnez et les bombances,
Et serrez bien le frain
A vos courtes finances...
Chassez moy tant de chiens
Qui sans profit dependent,
Et ces Italiens
Qui la France gourmandent...''\(^2\)
``

The most forceful and eloquent denunciations, in which humanitarian concern, as well as that of national

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\(^1\) Au Roy, Charles IX, published for the first time by Blanchemain in 1655; Au Tresorier de l'Epargne, published in the Oeuvres of 1604. Cf. Laumonier, thes.cit. p.245.

\(^2\) op.cit. p.157, p.482.
interest, displaces mere party polemic, are those in which the prodigality of the few is contrasted with the poverty and misery of the majority. ¹) Such a contrast occurs in Ronsard’s *Au Tresorier de L’Epargne*:

"J’oy d’autre-part la Province affligée
D’impôts, tributs, et de tailles mangée,
Qui donne sang et entrailles au Roy,
A longs soupirs se lamentant de doux
Rien n’est payé, sans que pourtant on laisse
De la charger d’uneangoisseuse presse :
Comme le fleuve en la marine court,
Tout c’est argent tire devers la Court,
La Cour qui est comme un homme hydropique,
Que plus il boit, plus la soif domestique
Le fait reboire, et si n’en est nourry ;
Car son foye est ulcereux et pourry,
Qui ne saurait digérer son breuvage,
Mais le tournant en tres-mauvais usage,
Bouffit le corps, qui toutes fois n’est pas,
Estant enflé, ou plus sain, ou plus gras ;
Ainsi, pour voir les esponges ventreuses
De nostre Cour, en argent plantureuses,
Grosses de biens, il ne faut pas penser
Que pour cela leur soif ne cessser :
Plus ils en ont, plus se plaignent et deulent;
Plus sont enflés, plus d’enflures ils veulent.
Il faut chasser quelques Italiens,
Les vray corbeaux ravisseurs de nos biens... ²)

The contrast occurs again in an anonymous poem, *Les Vertus & Propriétés Des Mignons*, which was first circulated, according to *L’Estoile*, in 1576 ³) and which was subsequently

¹) In *Les Tragiques*, D’Aubigné powerfully exploits a similar contrast— not between the financial extravagance of the few, but between their extravagant indulgence of their instincts in debauchery, and the wretchedness of the people—

"En autant de malheurs qu’un peuple miserable
Traïne une triste vie en un temps lamentable,
En autant de plaisirs les Rois voluptueux,
Yvres d’ire & de sang, nagent luxurieux
Sur le sein des putains, ..."Princes, vv. 689-693.


published by Nicolas Barnaud who included it in his virulent work *Le Cabinet du Roy de France*, in 1582.  

The Mignons, in a comparison which is developed at some length, are first likened to caterpillars and locusts, which, with their voracious appetites, spread waste and desolation over whole countries, leaving famine and hardship in their wake. In just the same way, the prodigality of the Mignons dissipates the hard-won rewards of honest labour, since it is subsidised by the imposition of crippling taxes:—

"Et pour pouvoir mieux contenter  
Leur pompe, leur jeu, leur bombance,  
Et leur trop prodigue despence,  
Il faut tous les jours inventer  
Nouveaux estats, nouvelles tailles,  
Qu'il faut du profond des entrailles  
Des povres sujets arracher,  
Qui traînent leurs chétives vies  
Sous les griffes de ces harpies  
Qui avalent tout sans mascher.  
Ouvrez les yeux, peuples français ..."  

1) *Le Cabinet du Roy de France*, Dans Lequel il y a trois Perles Precieuses d'inestimable valeur; Par Le Moyen desquelles sa Majesté s'en va le Premier Monarque du Monde, à ses subjectz du tout soulagez, s.l., 1582. On Nicolas Barnaud see Haag, La France Protestante, p.250-6; P. Champion, Henri III et Les Ecrivains de Son Temps, loc. cit. This Protestant polemic is composed around the allegory of the three pearls which represent the Catholic church and its members, the nobility, and the lower orders. In his attack on the nobility Barnaud includes hardly any satire of courtiers of his own invention but refers the reader instead to various anonymous pamphlets - two of which, the one above and the *Blasons de La Cour*, he quotes in their entirety.

2) Barnaud, on. cit. p.300.
François de La Noue\(^1\) is particularly severe in his condemnation of extravagant courtiers and nobles, and it is in his *Discours Politiques et Militaires*, that we find an account of the various forms which this extravagance took. He first condemns the false premise and the feeling of vanity which inspires such expenditure:

"Quant aux pompes & superfluities, l'origine en vient des Cours, où la vanité est telle, qu'il faut se transfigurer en plusieurs façons & diverses couleurs si l'on veut estre prisé. Car les choses extérieures sont là si recommandables, que souvent on juge la personne par l'habit & semble qu'on vueille dire qu'il y a de grandes perfections sous riches paremns."

He also condemns forthrightly the consequences of such luxury:

"Si les pompes, despenses superflues, & dons immenses ont incité les princes, pour y satisfaire, de mettre sur leurs sujets des tributs excessifs & insupportables, il convient moderer ces affections, à fin que les concussions cessent."

The whole of the eighth *Discours* is given over to a discussion of this subject, to an examination of expenditure on sumptuous building projects,\(^4\) on luxurious furnishings,\(^5\)

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1) On La Noue see H. Hauser, *François de La Noue (1531-95)*, Paris, 1892.
2) *op.cit.* Discours I, p.15.
3) *ibid.* p.32.
4) *op.cit.* Discours VIII, pp.164-5.
5) *ibid.* p.167.
and more generally of "despence de trop grand train". ¹)

But his principal concern is for the far greater amount spent on clothes:

"Or, une des principales choses en quoy ils se desbordent, c'est en habillements, n'y ayant regle ni mesure en ceux : a la coutume tant gaingé, qu'on n'aseroit quasi comparestroire en bonne compagnie, qu'on ne soit doré comme un calice, plusieurs se persuadans qu'ils en seront davantage honnores, Ceux qui ont amené ces inventions sont les courtisans qui en portent cependant, une dure penitence, n'y ayant année que telles despenses redoublées n'en envoyant une douzaine à la littiere, lesquels, pour avoir eu le plaisir quelques jours de se voir tous couvertes de soye à d'argent, ont aprés le desplaisir plusieurs mois de se voir sans maison... Outre la richesse des habits, deux choses y a qui accroissent beaucoup telles despenses : l'une, qu'on veut avoir diversité, l'autre que de deux ans en deux ans les façons changent, & les faut renouveler... Ceste coutume-ci print origine sous le roy François Ier, & s'est merveilleusement accrue sous le roy Henri second. Mais depuis la depravation a esté telle, qu'on a fait porter aux pages & aux laquais la toile d'argent." ²)

The uninhibited fashions of the courtiers of the late sixteenth century were not merely criticised on economic grounds. Excessive preoccupation with fashionable elegance was without exception regarded as an indication of the moral disposition of the individual. The mildest imputation made is that of La Noue, who regards this as an unworthy preoccupation symptomatic of moral weakness and inconsistency, one which, moreover, has the disadvantage

¹) ibid. p.168. Cf. Estienne, Deux Dialogues, II, 26-29, on this "folie de grandeur" and "pompes superflues".

of attracting ridicule from some quarters for the exponent of more exaggerated modes:

"À présent, quand on voit quelqu'un à la Cour, avec l'habillement de l'année précédent, on lui dit, 'Nous le conoissons bien : il ne nous mordra pas. C'est un fruit suranné' ; & par telles mocqueries il est contraint de le quitter. Et peut-on dire que l'âge d'un vêtement ordinaire entre les Courtisans, est de trois mois ; & d'un extraordinaire, six... Cette inconstance en habits dénote une grande lèreté d'esprit, dont s'ensuit la purgation des bourses, & matière de risée aux étrangers. Car quand nous allons en leur pays, & qu'ils aperçoivent ces grandes fraises & verdugades des femmes, & les longs cheveux des hommes, & leurs espées qu'ils portent derrière le dos, ils courent après... Cela est fascheux de s'appauvrir par ces extravagantes folies, & puis encor être mocqué." 1)

Reaction in general was far more violent than that of La Noue, descriptions more detailed and imputations more damaging than those of mere frivolity and inconsistency.

The changes of costume at the French court are most minutely noted by Henri Estienne in the Deux Dialogues, the "gentilhomme bien godronné, bien fraisé, bien frisé, ou frisoté, bien crespilloné, bien passefillonné..." 2) providing ample matter for discussion between the two friends Celtophile and Philausone. The bizarre elegances described by Philausone are ridiculed by the simulated incredulity, the naivete of the response of Celtophile in questions appended to the descriptions of his friend — for instance:

1) op. cit. pp.163-4.

2) op. cit. I, p.215.
More important than the substance of the descriptions which in themselves are purely factual, is the implication of effeminacy resulting from the repeated insistence on the similarity of fashions worn by men and women, on the fact that men have adopted modes which were formerly confined to the opposite sex, that they outstrip their female counterparts often in the richness of their attire. Thus Celtophile infers that the epithets 'godronnes', 'frises', 'fraises', 'passefillones' are relevant to courtiers.

"pour avoir emprunté des dames quelque façon de se parer. Car j'ay bien souvenance de ce mot Bassefillons qui estoit propre à elles. Tellement que je me doute que tous ces quatre épithètes appartiennent à une même chose, & qu'ils contiennent la description des gentilshommes qui sont bien damereets ou demoiseaux." 3)

Philausone declares that, in the freshness of their complexions and in other respects too, there is often little to choose between the two sexes —

"pource qu'ils estoient aussi mignons à poupins en leur endret qu'elles estoient mignonnes à poupines, & monstruyent un visage aussi delicat, aussi frais, aussi vermeil : â (ce qu'il faut noter) portoyent les cheveux longs. Et puis quelquesfois les

1) ibid. On this work see also below, pp. 579-578.
2) op. cit. I, p.211.
3) op. cit. I, p.212.
"habillemens aussi s'accordoyent font." 1)

It was not unusual for a courtier to be seen carrying a mirror attached to his belt, so great was the preoccupation with appearance -

"aucuns portent des miroirs, aucuns des petis ciseaux, aucuns aussi de ces manchons. Mais quant aux miroirs, ceux qui n'en portent point (si neantmoins ils sont du nombre de ceux qui font profession de s'accoustrer proprement, fadement, gentiment, galamment, joliment, mistement, cointement, mignardement, poupinement...) pour le moins se gardent bien de sortir de la case qu'ils n'ayent faict consultation avec deux ou trois miroirs..." 2)

Finally it is confirmed by Philausone that:

"quand on aura bien regardé plusieurs gentilshommes et plusieurs dames, tout reluit si fort, tout est tant brodé, tant recamé, tant perlé, tant diapré, aussi bien d'une part que d'autre, qu'on ne sçait qui emporte le pris." 3)

More obviously violent is the reaction of Ronsard to these effeminate creatures, in the poem addressed to Henri III towards the end of 1574. Constructed much upon the pattern of Juvenal's first satire, it is with an outburst of indignation and scorn worthy of the Roman writer that he threatens them with the vehemence of his satire -

1) op.cit. I, p.240.  
2) op.cit. I, p.246.  
3) op.cit. II, p.62.
The spectacle of such decadence prompts Guillaume Du Buys likewise, in his Discours de La Noblesse, to interrupt his imitation of Juvenal's eighth satire with this portrait of one who has no occupation but to

"Embusmer de senteurs la trace de ses pas,
Les esperons dorez, à d'anneaux à grands tas
Avoir cerclé les doigts, de soye à d'escarlate,
Estre toujours vestu tant qu'une rue esclatée
D'un air tout flamboyant..." 2)

A similar digression occurs at the beginning of Vauquelin's Satyre A J.A. de Baif, which is primarily again an imitation as we have seen, of Sansovino's second satire. But the following lines are surely inspired by the poet's knowledge or observation of the contemporary scene :-

"Les damerets aux moustaches Turquesques,
Nourris en l'art des façons putanesques,
Fardez, frisez, comme femmes coiffez,
Emmanchonnez, empesez, attiffez,
Goderonnez d'une fraise poupine,
Musquez, lavez sous grace femene,
Aux dames font, dit-on, de mauvais tours,
Les surpassans en leurs mignards atours..." 3)

1) ed.cit. vol.VII, p. 357 sqq. These lines are not included in the text of the body of the poem which is given in vol.III, pp.204-9. They are given in the notes. They were included by Ronsard in the original text.
2) op.cit. fo.3r0.
3) op.cit. pp.294-5.
The description of the Mignons which we find in
the *Vertus et Propriétés des Mignons* goes considerably
further, in its suggestion of unnatural inclinations,
rather than mere effeminacy, than anything we have quoted
so far:—

"Leur col ne se tourne à leur aise
Dans le long reply de leur fraise,
Desja le froment n'est pas bon
Pour l'empoix blanc de leurs chemises :
Il faut pour façon plus exquise
Faire de ris leur amidon,
Leur poil est tendu par compas,
Mais non d'une façon pareille :
Car en avant depuis l'auricule
Il est long, à derriere bas :
Il se tient droit par artifice
Car une gomme le herisse,
Ou retarth ses plis refrisés ;
Et dessus leur teste legere
Un petit bonnet par derriere
Les monstre encore plus desguisez,
Je n'ose dire que le fard
Leur soit plus commun qu'à la femme ;
J'aurois peur de leur donner blasme,
Qu'entre eux ils pratiquassent l'art
De l'impudique Ganime." 1)

The same is true of another piece of party polemic,
Nicolas Montand's *Le Miroir des Français*. 2) In the
first dialogue Nimrod, a courtier himself, acquaints his
distant relatives— the children of Noah who are hoping to
settle in France and wish to know whether they will be
well-received at court— with the behaviour of his fellow
courtiers:—


2) *Le Miroir des Français*, s.l., 1582. On the author and the
"quand on s'adresse maintenant à nous, nous avons les
crestes levées, les sourcils entortillez, le front
ride, les ratepenades en nos testes, un maintien
fardé avec l'ostentation de mesmes, pignés, diaprê
& pulverisè de pouldres violettes & senteurs odorif-
antes, qui aromatisent les rues places & maisons
où nous frequentons. Nous jàuons, nous paillardons
... & menons une vie Sardanapalite." 1)

It was left to D'Aubigné, in Les Tragiques, to portray
the arch-effeminate, the model followed by his courtiers,
the king himself, Henri III, as he appeared at a ball-

"De cordons emperlez sa chevelure pleine,
Sous un bonnet sans bord fait à l'italienne,
Paisoit deux arcs voutes ; son menton pinceté,
Son visage de blanc & de rouge empasté,
Son chef tout empause nous monstrerent ridee,
En la place d'un Roy, une putaine fardée...
Pour nouveau parement il porta tout ce jour
(Un) habit monstrueux, pareil à son amour :
Si qu'au premier abord chacun estoit en peine
S'il voyait un Roy femme ou bien un homme Reyne." 2)

1) op.cit. p.17. This passage should be closely compared
with L'Estoile's description of the Mignons on their
arrival at Cinnville, with the King, in October 1577.
op.cit. p.219." ses jeunes mignons, fraisés & frisés
avec les crestes levées, les ratepenades en leurs
testes, un maintien fardé, avec l'ostentation de mesmes,
pignés, diaprê et pulverisè de pouldres violettes et
senteurs odorifantes, qui aromatizoient les rues,
places et maisons où ils frequentoient ... Apart from
the fact that L'Estoile's account speaks of them in
the third person and Montand's the first, the two
extracts are, word for word almost, identical. Since
the authorship of Le Miroir des Francois has never been
satisfactorily settled, and since there is another
instance in which the text of L'Estoile's Journal is
textually reproduced in this Protestant pamphlet, the
matter is deserving of comment, although we need not
necessarily infer that L'Estoile and the author of this
dialogue are one and the same person.

2) op.cit. Princes, pp.54-6, vv.779-794, Cf. L'Estoile,1,p.180.
This complete disregard for propriety in dress was not confined to the King and his courtiers. The ladies of the court were apparently as lascivious. Philausone acquaints Celtophile with the situation in the Deux Dialogues, when the latter asks for an explanation of the term "l'espoitrinement des dames et damoiselles"—

Phil:... "elles vont espoitrinées; c'est-à-dire... ayant la poitrine toute découverte.
Celt: Vrayement c'est bien à la façon de Venise... et de ma part, quand je verray cela à la cour, il me souviendra toujours des courtisanes. Et peut-estre qu'il y en a bien quelques unes qui sont douplement courtisanes... J'enten que ces dames de la cour sont desja courtisanes, à la façon que les gentils-hommes de la cour sont courtisans : mais de celles qui font ainsi leurs monstres à la Venitienne, il-y-auroit bien danger que quelques unes ne fussent aussi courtisanes d'autre sorte; c'est assavoir à la Venitienne." 1)

Montand is even more emphatic, and less delicate even, on this subject

" Quant à nos femmes, elles ont appris la maniere des soldats du temps present, qui font parade de montrer leurs Poitrinals dorés & reluisans quand ils vont faire leurs monstres, car... elles font leurs monstres de leurs poitrines ouvertes, monstrant leurs ceint, diaphragmes, le coeur, les poulmons & autres parties pectorales qui ont un perpetuel movement, que ces bonnes dames font aller par compas, ou mesure, comme un homloge... lesquelles allument le feu du coeur des Heliogabalistes de nostre Cour, lesquels ne sont desja que par trop effemines, à eschauffez en leurs concupiscences, mais pour les mieux émflammer ou brusler du tout, nos Medées de Cour inventent tous les artifices..." 2)

1) op.cit. I, p.274.
2) op.cit. pp.17-8. This passage is almost identical to another in L'Estoile, op.cit. I, pp.192-3, June 1577.
If the fashions adopted by courtiers of the period indicated their ambiguous proclivities, their peculiar mannerisms and general deportment must have done much to reinforce this impression. D'Aubigné has left us two portraits of these languid, puppet-like effeminate. The first occurs in Les Tragiques: Fortune's instructions are:

"Il reste que le corps comme l'accoutrement
Soit aux lois de la cour: marcher mignonnement,
trainer les pieds, mener les bras, hocher la teste,
Pour bransler à propos d'un pennache la creste,
Garnir à bas & haut de roses & de noeuds,
Les dents de muscadins...
Couvre d'un parasol en esté ton visage;
Jette, comme effrayé, en femme quelques cris,
Mespris ton effroy par un traistre sousris,
Pais le begue, le las d'une voix molle & claire,
Ouvre ta languissante & pesante paupiere;
Sois pensif, retenu, froid, secret & finet:
Voilà pour devenir garce du Cabinet,
A la porte duquel laisse Dieu, coeur à honte..." 1) 

The second occurs in the Confession de Sancy2): the speaker is recounting the help and advice given to an uninitiated person:

"Je lui appris à tourner les talons en dedans, à cheminer en oye et de pareille gravité, à escrimer des deux bras, à s'émonceler le ventre, à reculer la teste, à la dodeliner de bonne grace, à faire les reverences en quarts et en revers, à rire du coing des dents ou comme un chien à qui on présente de l'ail, à parler de la gorge, à peigner ses cheveux, au moins aux pauzes des discours..." 3) 

1) op. cit. Princes, pp.92-3, vv.1281-86, See below, pp.558-561. For similar observations in L'Isle des Hermaphrodites

2) La Confession Catholique du Sieur de Sancy, Cologne, F. Marteau, 1650. According to Pierre Villey, La Confession de Sancy, in Rev. d'hist.litt., 1915, the work is the first of D'Aubigné's pamphlets, being written between 1599 and 1604.

At this point it may be convenient to examine an extremely clever and effective satire, *L'Isle des Hermaphrodites*, which resumes and combines the substance of the criticisms which we have found widely distributed in a variety of works. *L'Isle des Hermaphrodites*,¹ was presumably written by Artus Thomas, Sieur d'Embry; although not published until 1605, it is unmistakably an account of the court of Henri III.²

The work is conceived as an allegory. A group of people, the narrator included, have been buffeted at sea by a terrible storm of some days' duration. The storm over, they find themselves in the proximity of an unknown island upon which they are able to land at last; a strange island which, we are told, was floating, unanchored to the sea-bed, across the ocean.

On landing the advance party is greeted by the sight of the most beautiful and splendid palace. Driven on by curiosity they make their way across a slippery court-yard to the main staircase. From this point we follow the hesitant, discreet and wondering progress of the author through the heavily curtained, richly perfumed rooms of the palace.

¹ *L'Isle des Hermaphrodites, nouvellement descouverte, s.l.n.d.*
² We know from L'Estoile's account vol.2, p.130, that this work was published and printed in Paris for the first time in 1605, and that it was received as a satire of the former reign. The book is reported to have had a "succès de scandale", and something like a black market for copies of it developed. There is a summary of the work in Lenient's *La Satire en France au XVI Siècle*, vol.II, p.55-59, but I know of no other account of it.
His first steps take him to a room richly appointed, its ceilings covered with frescoes, the walls with tapestries depicting both erotic scenes, the principal motif being the love of Hadrian for Antinous. The atmosphere of the room is heavy with incense, and in the centre may be seen the recumbent figure of a masked and gloved individual, the chief hermaphrodite, whose awakening is awaited by an army of acolytes, poised to wash, anoint, feed and dress him. Towards midday, he stirs, the ceremony is carried out, he returns to slumber.

The bewilderment of the visitor increases as he passes to another room, and is apparent in his description of the strange ceremony which he witnesses:

"Je vey trois hommes que l'on tenoit aux cheveux avec de petites tenailles que l'on tireit de certaines petites chauffrettes de sorte que l'on voyoit leurs cheveux tous fumeux. Cela m'effroya du commencement à eu toutes les peines du monde à m'empecher de crier, pensant qu'on leur faisait quelque outrage, mais quand je les eus considérez de plus prés je reconnue qu'on ne leur faisait point de mal... quand toute cette cérémonie estoit achevée, leur teste ressembloit à un temps pommelé." 2)

1) A poem on this subject is attributed to Ronsard, and the introduction to the poem in the manuscript which Laumonier reproduces, op. cit. Vol.VI. p.484-6, Sur Une Medaille d'Antinous, confirms that such a motif was associated with Henri III and his Mignons: "L'an 1580, un certain personnage ami de Ronsard lui donna une medaille d'Antinous, mignon d'Adrian, à l'exemple duquel le Roi avait fait eslever des statues à ses Mignons. Sur quoi Ronsard prit argument de composer le discours qui s'ensuit..."

2) op. cit. (ed.1605) p.14.
His wonderment increases as he watches the elaborate preparation of the person of the hermaphrodite, the application of various powders and pigments to the face, hair and beard, the plucking of the eye-brows, the anointing of the hands. Greater still is his amazement at the costume of this creature, and particularly at his attempt to force his feet into a diminutive pair of shoes. The comedy of the situation does not escape the narrator:

"Je me mocquois em moymesme de voir si petite chaussure & ne pouvois comprendre à la verité comme un grand & gros pied pouvoit entrer dans un si petit soulier puis que la reigle naturelle veut que le contenant soit plus grand que le contenu, & toutesfois c'estoit icy le contraire: Vous luy eumsiez veu frapper de grands coups contre terre...puis on luy baille de grands coups contre le bout du pied. Cela me faisoit ressouvenir de ceux qui veulent representer quelque chose en une comedie. Car je voyois un homme le genouil en terre & l'autre en l'air, sur lequel il avait mis une jambe, & frapper de la main, tantost le bout du pied, tantost le talon, puis avec une certaine peau faire entrer justement la chaussure jusques au lieu ou elle debvoit aller." 1)

The costume of this "demgt-femme", who appears with his shirt unbuttoned to reveal the whiteness of his skin, a monstrous stiff collar, and a small hat perched upon the crown of his head so as not to disturb his ruffle, is completed by certain accessories. His fingers are covered.

1) op.cit. pp.18-19.
with rings, his person adorned with necklaces, bracelets and ear-rings, he carries gloves and a fan; in his pocket he carries, among other things, a mirror, sachets of perfume and phials of pigment and powder with which to renew his make-up, small receptacles containing delicate confections with which to stimulate the appetite.

One episode the visitor finds particularly amusing: an hermaphrodite, with whom he has made contact, explains it to him:

"Il vint un page luy dire qu'il meist un linge à la fenêtre pour voir s'il ne faisoit point de vent. Je luy demanday pourquoi s'observoit ceste ceremonie; il me dit que c'estoit de peur que le hasle ne gastast la delicatess de teint. Je me pris à rire à bon escient de leur effemination." 2)

The visitor's description of the puppet-like movements of the individual whose toilet he has just attended, captures admirably the element of the grotesque which such a spectacle must suggest:

"Lors il commença à se remuer de luy-mesme, car jusques alors il n'avoyt eu mouvement que par l'ayde d'autrui; mais il bransloit tellement le corps, la testé, à les jambes que je croyois à tous propos qu'il deust tomber de son long. J'avoyt opinion que cela leur arrivoit à cause de l'instabilité de l'isle, mais j'ay appris depuis que c'est à cause qu'ils trouvent ceste façon-là plus belle que pas une autre." 3)

1) op.cit. pp.24-5.
2) op.cit. p.176.
3) op.cit. pp.27-8.
The spectacle of three hermaphrodites walking along together is even more intriguing:

"il en print un par la main, & aussi tost s'appuyant nonchalamment sur son espaule, sortirent de la chambre... ils entrerent en la mesma posture quil estoient sortis de l'autre chambre, c'est homme s'appuyant, & se soutenant, tout branslant sur l'espaule de l'autre, & le troisieme entrant tout sautelant : vous eussiez dit que c estoit quelque mascarade." 1)

The reaction of the stranger to the audience which the three hermaphrodites have of their master passes from incomprehension, to astonishment and horror. He is at pains to describe adequately the ambiguous language of salutation which is uttered:

"commencerent à invoquer ceste idole par des noms qui ne se peuvent pas bien représenter en nostre langue, à tous les termes des hermaphrodites sont de mesmes ceux que les Grammairiens appellent du genre commun, à tiennent autant du masle que de la femelle." 2)

and is an unwilling witness of the events that follow. The king replies to the attentions of one of the hermaphrodites:

"d'une parole toute effeminée, & toutesfois avec desdain & mespris... ha que vous estes importun, vous me gastez ma fraize : l'autre incontinent avec toute l'humilité & la submission qui se pouvoit, le supplia de luy pardonner avec beaucoup de persuasions que je ne peux achever d'entendre, d'autant qu'ils y mesloient plusieurs mots de charité & de fraternité que mes oreilles eurent en horreur : aussi ne voulant point interrompre leurs mysteres, & n'estre point polu de la veue de tels sacrifices, je me retiray de cette chambre." 3)

1) op.cit. pp.28-30.  
2) op.cit. pp.31-3.  
3) op.cit. pp.33-4.
The conception of the allegorical journey as a vehicle for satire was not a new one. It is found in Lucian. In fact, the detail of the island, floating and unstable, calls to mind several of those described by the Greek writer in his *De Veris Narrationibus*, and if any more recent precedent was needed to encourage the author of the suitability of this concept to his own purpose, he had only to look to Rabelais, to the *Quart Livre* in particular, where the inhabitants of fantastic lands, the Papefigues and the Papimanes for example, are the recognisable counterparts of two sections of sixteenth century French society.

Thomas has exploited the possibilities of this simple satirical procedure to the full. The effeminacy and unnatural practices of the Hermaphrodites are presented to the reader through the eyes of an observer to whom such customs are presumed to be completely foreign, whose reactions to them will consequently be more sensitive. The incredulous accounts of this alternately amused, bemused and shocked observer implicitly question, ridicule and condemn; accentuate the comic, the grotesque and the macabre elements of a society recognisable as that of the French court under Henri III. The author is particularly successful, and the deftness of his touch in exploiting the advantages of his chosen procedure most to be admired in the account of the visit of the Hermaphrodites to their King. Here much is suggested,
with a discretion and a restraint which is however no less effective, no less powerful a weapon of censure.

The analysis of this anti-courtier satire is not yet completed, for the work falls into two sections, different by the treatment of the subject. In the second part of the work, and still within the limits of the original allegory, the visitor is invited by his guide to study the laws, which are set out in a large book kept in a special room, according to which the island society of Hermaphrodites is conducted. At this point the narrative of the visit is suspended, the visitor disappears temporarily from the scene. The tone of the work becomes more heavily ironical as it is obviously the author, as himself, and no longer as a stranger in an imaginary island society, who is reviewing the laws. The enumeration of the principles of true Hermaphrodites is complementary and supplementary to the earlier narrative in that it confirms a morality which actions already described have suggested, and allows the writer to enlarge upon other aspects of it which would not easily have been introduced into the framework of the narration of the day's procedure in the palace, the cynicism, materialism and atheism of the Hermaphrodites for instance. These points will be dealt with in a later context.  

1) See below, pp. 575 ff.
Other satirists of this period when exposing the relationship of the King and his Mignons were scarcely satisfied with innuendo and suggestion. The subject is more often treated in the crudest terms and with the bluntest obscenity. Ronsard, inspired doubtless by a fierce indignation, left three particularly virulent sonnets on this subject, which were not published during his lifetime. The first of these is the least crude:

"Il me despiais beaucoup qu'une nouvelle mesche
Offusque le flambeau du naturel amour.
Il m'attriste d'ouir ce qu'on dit de la cour,
Mon visage d'ennui s'enjaunit & se desseche.

Le Roi, comme l'on dit, accole, baise & lesche
De ses poupins Mignons le teint frais nuit à jour.
Eux pour avoir argent, lui presten tour à tour
Leurs fessiers rebondis & endurent la bresche.

Ces lues devenus no& engouffrent plus de biens
Que le goulfre de Scylle hait des anciens,
Et aurait mieux valu pour le bien de la France

Qu'Henri second du nom à qui je fus donne,
Bien qu'il despleaise aux Dieux, eut les lues bouquinés,
Que de faire un Neron de sa propre semence." 1)

Any objection to this language must be countered by the thought that, in invoking the national interest - more visibly in the second sonnet of the series - 2) on this occasion, as he had done previously in his *Discours*, Ronsard

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1) *op. cit.* vol. VI, p. 487. These sonnets are in direct contrast to the obsequious epitaphs which Ronsard composed as late as 1578, in honour of two of the Mignons, Quelus and Maugiron (*vol. V*, p. 3).

was fulfilling his exalted role more worthily than by pouring out sterile official panegyrics.

The author of one of the Sonnets d'Estat is particularly concerned that high office should be the reward of those favourites who have satisfied the King's desires:

"Ganimèdes affrontés, impudique canaille,
Cermèaux ambitieux, d'ignorance comblés,
C'est l'injure du temps et les gens mal zelés
Qui vous font prosperer sous un Roy fait de paille.

Ce n'est ny par assaut, ny par grande bataille
Qu'avez eu la faveur, mais pour estre aliés
D'un corrompu esprit, l'un à l'autre enfilés,
Guidés de vostre Chef, qui les honneurs vous baille,

Qui vos teints damoiseaux, vos perruques tressées
Aime autant comme escus et lances et espées,
Puisque les grands Estas, qui vous rendent infames (sic)

Sont du vice loier aux jeunes impudens,
Gardez les à tousjours, car les hommes vaillans
N'en veulent après vous, qui estes moins que femmes."

The criticism of advancement by prostitution is frequently met with in the hundreds of anonymous and abusive libels of the time. We quote, as a specimen of its kind, the first lines of the sonnet against the Mignons, recorded by L'Estoile:

"Saint-Luc, petit qu'il est, commande bravement
À la troupe Haultefort, que sa bourse a conquise,
Mais Quelus, desdaignant si pauvre marchandise
Ne trouve qu'en son luc tout son advancement."

1) Sonnet VII, loc.cit. Also L'Estoile, vol.I, p.333. Appeared 1577. *Same reading in L'Estoile loc.cit. although one might have expected to read "que vous rendez infames."

2) op.cit. I, 220-Oct.1577 (Sonnet vilain montrant la corruption du siècle et de la cour)
D'Aubigné notes in *Les Tragiques* that those whose age has now disqualified from this kind of personal service, have not left the field altogether, although they are reduced to pimping for younger courtiers -

"Pipent les jeunes gens, les gagnent, les courtisant ;
Eux, autrefois produits, à la fin les produisent,
Paisans, plus advisez, moins glorieux que toy,
Par le cul d'un coquin chemin au coeur d'un Roy." 1)

It is in the attacks on homosexuality at the French court that the influence of Juvenal, given the community of experience which existed between the observer of Roman society under Domitian and the observer of court society in French during the reign of the last of the Valois, may most reasonably be sought with the most inconclusive results however. Undoubtedly the reaction, the sense of outrage is identical, the tone of attack similar, but this is one instance in which direct observation is the source of satire, rather than imitation. 2)

D'Aubigné's account of the debauchery of the female members of the French court, both princesses and ladies of

1) *op. cit.* Princes, p.94, vv.1315-8.

2) The only possible reminiscences of Juvenal which have been noted in this context, in D'Aubigné's satire of such practices in *Princes*, for instance, are confined to vv.706-
"commettre double inceste"—cf. Juvenal, II.50 "Hispo subit juvenes, et morbo pallet utroque", and vv.825-6 "On nous fait voir encor un contrat tout nouveau Signé du sang de d'O, son privé macquereau", an allusion to a marriage contract between the King and one of his Mignons to be compared with Juvenal, II, 117 sqq.
their entourage, may, on the other hand, have been partly inspired by reminiscences of Juvenal's second and sixth satires. For instance, the conduct he attributes to the French princesses

"Nos princesses, non moins ardentex que rusées,
Osent dans les bordeaux s'exposer desguisées...
............................ & portent aux mariés
Sur le chevet sacré de leur saint mariâge
La senteur du bordeau & quelque pire gage..." 1)

is precisely that with which Juvenal credited Messalina in his sixth satire. 2) And the observation regarding court women, that

"Nos filles ont bien sceu quelles receptes font
Massacre dans leur flanc des enfans qu'elles ont..." 3)

had previously been made by Juvenal of Julia, niece and mistress of the emperor Domitian. 4)

There was much disquiet the observer of the French court in the religious deviations of its members. Included as such is the preoccupation with sorcery, necromancy and other occult practices which had gained an increasing hold on courtiers since they were first attacked by Tahureau

1) op. cit. Princes, p. 74 vv. 101-104 4-16.
2) Cf. Juvenal, VI, vv. 115-132
3) op. cit. Princes, vv. 1025-6
4) Cf. Juvenal, II, 32-33 "Cum tot abortivis fecundam Julia vulvam
Solveret, et patruo similes effunderet offas."
in his Dialogues. Of this preoccupation Francois de La Noue commented, in his Discours Politiques et Militaires:

"Qui voudra à ceste heure rechercher où ces maudites vanitez se pratiquent, qu'il aille es courts, où il en verra de toutes qualitez & sexes, qui ne sont pas seulement affectionnez ains enragez après les devins."

Protests about blasphemy among courtiers of this period are numerous, and are to be found predominantly in the works of writers of Protestant or at least anti-Catholic inclinations. Henri Estienne deals with this subject primarily in the Apologie Pour Herodote. His comment here is that blasphemy is now regarded among courtiers as an essential elegance:

"Et toutesfois il n'y a aujourd'hui gens mieux venus parmi la pluspart des courtisans que ceux qui ont ordinairement en la bouche tels propos. Et meumes s'apprement songneusement par quelques-uns, comme leur estans necessaires pour estre reputez spavoir bien leur cour, & comme si pour gosser bravement il falloit s'attaquer à Dieu."

a view which he expresses almost unchanged over ten years later in the Deux Dialogues:

"quant aux juremens et blasphemes, aucuns, et principalement des gentilshommes, usent maintenant de juremens et blasphemes, dont autrefois ils eussent eu horreur : de sorte qu'au lieu de dire, 'Il jure comme un chartier,' il faudra dire, 'Il jure comme un gentilhomme. Voire (qui est la pitié)"

4) See above ch. VIII, p.
5) op. cit. p. 11. See also L. Romier, Le Royaume de Catherine de Medicis, vol. I, pp. 72-3.
His concluding remarks on this topic in the Apologie emphasize that blasphemy in its most virulent form is found at court, but he awards the palm of proficiency to the Italians:

"comme nostre siecle est superlatif par-dessus tous les precedens en toutes meschancetes, ainsi les cours des Princes sont superlatives en icelles par-dessus tous autres lieux : & toutefois(pour ne supprimer l'honneur des Italiens) moins en France & autres pays de la chrestienté, qu'en Italie." 2)

La Noue, in his first Discours, notes similarly that the worst oaths heard in France were in fact imported from Italy by Frenchmen returning from the campaigns. 3)

Another comment on this subject, again from a Protestant writer, is to be found in the Miroir des Francois, of Nicolas de Montand:

"Vous serez les biens venus en ceste Cour, pourveu que vous n'y parliez point de Dieu. Bien est vray qu'on permet bien de le jurer avec les plus exe­crables & abominables serments qu'on puisse inventer, à tant plus on met son nom pretieux en pieces & loppins, pour le bien decouper, & tailler menu, tant mieux trouvons nous, j'entens nous autres Courtisans, que nous ornons & diaprons notre langage ; & ne acaurions mieux ²indariser qu'alo
"qu'il nous passe, une mort, un ventre, une teste, chaire, sang, pieds, mains à toutes les parties du corps de Dieu par la bouche." 1)

Finally, we may note this comment from the Discours de La Noblesse of Guillaume du Buys:

"Ne craindre pas beaucoup ny Dieu, ny son eglise, Mespriser â ses loix, â ses commandemens, L'irriter à tout coup par de reniemens Blaspemes & jurons tant â tant execrables Qu'un Turc n'en vomiroit, à peine, de semblables : C'est où gist bien souvent la noblesse â valeur D'aucuns deschiquetes..." 2)

The ultimate aberration was of course atheism. In attacks on courtier atheists of this period a distinction is observed between "practising" atheists, whose code appears to have been one of corrupt epicureanism, and who were described as epicureans, and those courtiers for whom atheism was a means to an end, a posture prescribed by considerations of self-interest and expediency, and adopted in accordance with the tenets of doctrines which were condemned in themselves. 3)

According to La Noue, the diffusion of atheism, the practice of magic and the habit of blasphemy were together responsible for the ruin of France. In his account of epicureans at the French court La Noue describes them as pleasant in their manner, their persuasions 4) as no

1) op.cit. p.17
2) op.cit. fo. 3r°.
3) On atheism as a consequence of machiavellism and of Castiglione's social politeness see below, p. 573-4, 586-7.
4) Discours XXIV : Contre ceux qui pensent que la piété prive l'homme de tous plaisirs. Des Epicuriens de Cour.
less attractive superficially, but in reality profoundly imperfect, corrupting those who profess them and those whom they attempt to convert: they must consequently be exposed:

"Ceux de la cour sont merveilleusement delicats en paroles, & en plaisantes rencontres, faisans couler si doucement leurs raisons, & avec telle facilite, qu'on se trouve surpris avant qu'y avoir pense. Leurs contenances & courtoisies ne sont pas moins agreables, choses qui aident à la persuasion. Et ainsi avec ces belles apparences, ils couvrent ce qu'il y a d'imparfait en leurs opinions, non pas qu'ils les tiennent pour imparfaites, car ils les suyvent, & les veulent faire embrasser aux autres. La vie qu'on meine ordinairement aux Cours qui ont degeneré de la vertu est en partie cause d'accroistre la corruption de ceux-ci: car quand ils voyent que les delices sont là en si grande recommandation, ils s'enflamment davantage pour en avoir la jouissance, & par une longue coutume à les desirer & se plonger en icelles, ils ne celebrent autre chose & rapportent toutes leurs actions à ceste fin-là. En ceste sorte, peu à peu, de disciples ils deviennent maistres, en un art qui traine en perdition ceux qui l'exercent." 1)

The doctrine of these hedonistic atheists is both summarised and condemned simultaneously by Artus Thomas in L'Isle Des Hermaphrodites. This is achieved by the fiction of consulting the statutes of the society of Hermaphrodites, which are so presented as to appear reprehensible - a variation in fact on the technique of ironical advice and instruction. The relevant documents are labelled Ordonnance Sur Le Faict de La Religion, and Articles de Foy des Hermaphrodites. The first begins:

1) op. cit. p.492.
Les ceremonies de Bacchus, de Cupidon, & de Venus soient icy continuellement & religieusement observes, toute autre religion en soit bannie à perpetuité, si ce n'est pour plus grande volupté... la plus grande volupté soit tenue par tout cest Empire pour la plus grande Saincteté...  1)

The Articles confirm the rejection of all other cults and divinites other than those concerned with the fulfillment of human desires. They likewise reject any belief which could jeopardise the enjoyment of temporal pleasures:

"Nous ignorons la creation, redemption, justification & damnation... Nous ignorons s'il y a aucune temporalité ou éternité au monde, ny s'il dait avoir un jour quelque fin, de crainte que cela ne nous trouble l'esprit, & nous cause de la frayeur... Nous ignorons toute autre vie que la presente... c'est pourquoi nous nous efforçons à nous donner tout le plaisir que nous nous pouvons imaginer."  2)

The extravagance, efféminacy, sexual and religious aberrations with which courtiers were charged were reprehensible not only in themselves but also as manifestations of Italianism. In fact, in this period there is almost no transgression of which the Italians were not thought capable. 3) But satirists actuated by anti-Italianism reserved their severest strictures for courtiers, Italian

1) op.cit. p.47.
2) op.cit. p.60.
3) See Estienne, Apologie, passim. All-embracing condemnations of Italians in France, especially at court, are frequent. Cf. Gentillet, op.cit. p.10 "Devez-vous permettre qu'ils sement l'Atheisme & l'impiété en votre pays, & qu'ils y dressent escolles ?...mespris de dieu, perfidie, Sodémie, tyrannie, cruauté, pilleries, usures estranges & autres vices detestables." Montand, op.cit. expresses the view that corruption and dissolution of all kinds would disappear from France if the Italians left. See also above, p.47/ and L'Estoile, loc.cit.
and Italianate, Frenchmen, whose political morality was based upon Machiavellian precepts, and for those whose code of social conduct and social values was derived from Castiglione.

The principal opponent of courtier disciples of Machiavelli in this period is Gentillet, author of the Discours Contre Machiavel. Gentillet deplores the fact that this pernicious doctrine which has unhappily replaced the French tradition of government, should be held in such esteem by courtiers:

"auparavant on s'estoit tousjours gouverné à la Françoise, c'est-à-dire, en suyvant les traces & enseignements de nos ancêtres français ; mais depuis on s'est gouverné à l'Italienne ou à la Florentine, comme nous verrons ci après. Tellement que depuis ce temps-là jusques à présent le nom de Machiavel a esté à est celebré & estimé comme du plus sage personnage du monde, à mieux entendu en affaires d'estat & ses livres tenus chers & précieux par les courtisans Italiens & Italianisez, comme si c'estoyent livres des Sibilles, ou les Pauens avoyent leur recours, quand ils vouloyent deliberer de quelque grand afaire concernant la chose publique, ou comme les Turcs tiennent cher & précieux l'Alcoran de leur Mahomet..." 2)

and infers that it is due to their familiarity with Machiavellian principles that many have been able to gain influential positions, and to hold on to these positions:


2) op. cit. p. 8.
"Ne sont-ce pas Machiavelistes (Italiens ou Italienisez) qui manient les seaux de la France, dictent les edits, font les despeches dedans & dehors le Royaume, qui tiennent les plus beaux gouvernemens, à les fermes du Domaine? Et mesmes si l'on veut aujourd'hui obtenir quelque chose en Cour, à avoir bonne & soudaine despeche, il fault savoir parler le langage Messereaques : parce que ces Messers oyent volontiers ceux qui savent parler leur gergon, à n'entendent pas bien les Françoys.... D'avantage, il est tout nostre que les livres de Machiavel sont depuis quinze ans en ceux aussi familiers à ordinaires és mains des Courtisans, comme le breviaire és mains d'un Cure de village." 1)

Opposition to Castiglione's social code for courtiers, and to those who modelled their conduct according to these precepts, continues in this period. One of the first examples at this time is to be found in Jean de La Taille's Courtisan Retiré. The confession of the courtier in this work includes the lines :

"Je sceus dissimuler, et sceus bien mettre en ouvre Tout ce que Baltazar de Chastillon descouvre En son Courtisan feint, tant j'eus bonne façon De cunnoistre mon Prince et sa complexion." 2)

Louis le Caron, who expressed his disapproval of Castiglione's doctrine as early as 1556 in his Dialogues 3), remains constant in his disapproval in his later work, Les Questions Diverses :

"La vraye fin de la sagesse humaine, selon que les courtisans qui seulz commandent aujourd'hui, l'entendent & l'observent, c'est de s'accommoder aux choses plus estimées entre les grands & exceller en icelles. Tous ces arguments sont de

1) op.cit. p.11.
2) op.cit. pr.27-8.
3) See above, ch.VII, pp. 436 sqq.
"belle apparence, & se font haut sonner entre les Courtisans; mais la vérité semble estre au contraire: car puis que la parole est donnée à l'homme pour exprimer ses pensées & conceptions, quand il parle autrement qu'il ne pense, il abuse de son esprit & de sa parole." 1)

In a later discussion in the same work, Le Caron repeats his objections to this theory of social accommodation, and goes further, pointing to this foreign doctrine as the cause of the decline of France:

"Il ne s'ensuit qu'il soit honneste & louable à l'homme de se changer comme Pyrroke en toutes formes, se faindre & desguiser en diverses sortes, pour complaire à chacun & se rendre serf & esclave des volontez, ou plus-tost passions de tous ceux avec lesquels il se trouve : car c'est prostituer (qu'il me soit permis de user de ce terme) sa liberté, & mettre une confusion en soymeame. Je ne trouve qu'autres se soient abaissez à telle servitude que le mignon & marmaset de court, lequel pour parvenir aux honneurs & richesses adore ceux auxquels il espere, à s'assujettit entierement à leurs desires...Cette forme dissimulée de vivre a esté apportée par les estrangers en la France laquelle par eux corrompue ne retient à grand'peine l'ombre de son anciennes splendeur & noblesse." 2)

The laws of the society of Hermaphrodites examined by Thomas in his satire are curiously close to the principles laid down in the Cortegiano. But, as we know, Thomas' aim is not to condone these laws, or, by extension, the principles of Castiglione, but instead to condemn by force of irony.

1) op. cit. Question III, fo. 14 r°.
2) op. cit., fo. 45v°-46v° Question IX.
Common to Castiglione's manual and the laws of the Hermaphrodites is the proposal that one should deliberately set out to win favour, common to the means by which this objective is to be achieved:

"Ceux qui sçauront le mieux leur entreget s'accomoderont toujours aux pensées, aux passions, & aux affections de ceux de qui ils pensent tirer de l'utilité & de l'avancement, ne parleront que par leur bouche." 1)

Hence the importance attached to appearances and "bonne mine", a cardinal virtue for all Hermaphrodites:

"Nous reputons la bonne mine & l'apparence en toutes choses que ce soit, beaucoup plus que l'action, d'autant qu'elle cache beaucoup d'effets avec moins de peine. C'est pourquoi nous exhortons tous nos subjects, de quelque estat, qualité ou condition de l'acquérir, autant dissimulée que faire se pourra, à de la préférer à toute autre vertu." 2)

A point which is stressed many times by Philibert de Vienne in his anti-Cortegiano satire Le Philosophe de Court, and with similar irony. 3) In order to project a favourable impression, dissimulation is as important for the Hermaphrodite as for the "philosophe de court", and indeed is singularly abused, being employed not only as a means of pleasing people, but with the most cynical intentions:

1) op.cit. p.119.
2) op.cit. p.149.
3) Cf. op.cit. p.28 "Vivre à la mode de court ne gist qu'en petites civilités & mines extérieures"; and p.62- "le dessus, les semblances, les apparences, sont le principal de nostre philosophie."
"Chacun d'eux taschera de faire le beau l'agreeable & le discret, encore qu'ils ne soient rien de tout cela, auront beaucoup de submission & d'humilité en leurs paroles à la bien-venue ou en la separation, & aux occasion où il faudra user de supercherie pour attraper son compagnon..." 1)

Just as Philibert was most concerned with the interested motives which seemed to lie behind the recommendations of Castiglione, so Artus Thomas attacks the utilitarianism of the code of Hermaphrodites; friendships are made only for the useful contacts they provide:

"Les amitiez ne seront seulement qu'en bonne mine, à seulement pour passer le temps ou pour l'utilité" 2)

The two writers are even more united in their opposition to the utilitarianism underlying Castiglione's elegant dilettantism. One of the statues of the Hermaphrodites runs as follows:

"Et d'autant que nous voulons que nos dict subjects servent de lumiere, & d'exemple à tous les autres, nous entendons aussi qu'ils soient meslez parmi les sciences, afin d'en pouvoir discouvrir avec ceux qui n'y entendent gueres, & seulement pour les faire admirer. Car nous ne leur conseillons pas d'y employer du temps, des veilles, & de la peine ; mais qu'ils en prennent quelque superficie, comme de savoir les termes de l'art, avoir en main quelque exemple, ou quelque comparaison, encore ne voulons nous pas qu'ils se travaillent en cecy..." 3)

1) op.cit. p. 100. Cf. Philosophe de Court, p. 97- "Et combien que souvent à des dissimulations on trouve un mauvais vouloir, comme de ceux qui sous leur beau visage cachent une inimitié; pour cela ne laissent ils pas estre gens de bien, & vertueux, moyennant que le mauvais vouloir n'apparaisse point trop ; car il suffit entre nous que la mine soit bonne soubs laquelle celuy qui le plus subtilement trompe son compagnon est le plus sage."

2) op.cit.p.107. Cf. Philosophe de Court, p. 63- the author points out that there is nothing so useful as "une amitié hone... n'est ja besoin de regarder le fond de telles amitiez."

3) op.cit. pp. 107-8 See also above ch. VII, p. 449.
the expression "meslez parmi les sciences", reflecting the author's contempt in this instance as Philibert de Vienne's phrase

"la science de quelques lieux communs des arts libéraux fricassez à meslez ensemble." 1)

had in the earlier work.

Finally, in a passage which is inspired more by the spectacle of the cynical exploitation of the fundamental defects and ambiguities of Castiglione's code, than by these aspects of the code itself, Thomas attacks the morality in which loyalty, truthfulness, reliability are qualities summoned up only by formal constraint or necessity, at other times an appearance of these same qualities being all that is required:

"il n'y aura point d'autre lustration, ny d'autre eau beniste... que de belles paroles, des courtoisies, à de belles promesses qu'on se fera les uns aux autres, sans toutefois qu'on soit obligé de dire, ou de faire paraître ce qu'on a dans l'ame, ny d'accomplir ce qu'on aura promis, si la force ou la nécessité ny contraint." 2)

Here too we may note that a parallel exists in Le Philosophe de Court. Although we need not assume from the similarities observed in the two works that Thomas was familiar with

1) op.cit. p.41.
2) op.cit. pp.52-3. Cf. Philosophe de Court, p.53- "il suffit tenir sa parole en tant que le juge nous y peut contraindre; hors le danger de proces, ce n'est que braveries de bien promettre, tellement que on dit en communs proverbes: 'Promesse de Gentilhomme, Haueniste de Court.'"
Philibert's satire, since such points of contact may be due to the common intention and target of the two writers, and the attack on actual exponents may have been occasioned by independent observation in both cases, it remains nevertheless an interesting possibility.

The work which above all others in this period, continues the opposition which previous satirists had shown to Italian-inspired affectations, and the opposition of Philibert de Vienne to Castiglione's recommendations especially, is Henri Estienne's Deux Dialogues Du Nouveau Langage François Italianisé, published in 1578.

As the title suggests, the author's most immediate concern was with the affectation prevalent among courtiers of speaking a jargon half French, half Italian and debasing both in the process. The full extent of the process of contamination is conveyed and condemned by Estienne rather in the manner in which Rabelais had mocked the latinised speech of the students of Paris, that is, by creating a character representative of the group complete with jargon. Such a person is Philausone, who addresses himself to the reader in these terms:

"Messieurs, il n'y a pas longtemps qu'ayant quelque martel en teste (ce qui m'advient souvent pendant que je fay ma stances en la cour) et à cause de ce estant sorti apres le past pour aller un peu spacerger, je trouvai par la strade un miem ami, nommé Celtophile. Or voyant qu'il se monstret estre tout sbigotit de mon langage (qui est toutesfois
"le langage courtisanesque, dont usent aujourd'hui les gentils-hommes Francais qui ont quelque garbe, et aussi desirant ne parler point sgarbatement) je me mis à ragionner avec luy touchant iceluy, en le soutenant le mieux qu'il m'este possible. Et voyant que nonobstant tout ce que je luy pouvès alleguer, ce langage italianizé luy semblet fort strane, voire de la gofferie et balourderie, je pris beaucoup de fatigue pour luy caver cela de la fantaisie." 1)

Apart from the fact that the mere reproduction of speech and language which deviates so obtrusively from the desired standard pattern is sufficient to discredit it, Philausone himself has no convincing reasons to support the adoption of such jargon; he has no defence to offer against Celtophile's reasoned objections to this "langage faragineux". 2) Celtophile himself will permit the use of Italian words in French only to describe those things, or characteristics which are essentially and exclusively Italian, and for which there was consequently no French equivalent. No other excuse is needed for quoting the passage in which he specifies as permissible the word "charlatan", than that it reveals the exquisite irony of the author who is skilfully reediting a traditional jibe at the expense of the Italian character:

1) op.cit. I, pp.3-4.
2) op.cit. I, p.54.
Celt: "je di qu'il y a certains cas esquels il est permis d'italianizer; sçavoir est quand on parle des choses qui ne se voyent qu'en Italie; ou pour le moins ont leur origine de là, et mesmo; y sont plus fréquentes, ou plus célèbres, et y ont la vogue plus qu'en aucun autre pays; soit pour quelque perfection plus grande ou autrement. 1) Or spécialement quant à ceux qu'ils nomment charlatans, il ne se faut esbahir si nous pourrions trouver un mot Français signifiant telles gens; veu que le mestier duquel ils se meslent, est tel, qu'à grand peine le pourroit-on descrire à un Français, si non en les contrefaisant."

The Italianate courtiers who emerge from the Deux Dialogues were not only apt at sprinkling their language with Italian words, at coining French words on an Italian pattern, and at modifying the pronunciation of existing ones. It is interesting to note that this mania for improvisation led to affectations in other respects, to the use of ingenious, recherche and ludicrous metaphors which are ridiculed by Estienne in the person of Celtophile. Philausone asks Celtophile's opinion of some of the best efforts, such as:

1) In just such a way Philibert de Vienne ironically praised the Italians for being born courtiers, having all those qualities (other people would call them vices) such as hypocrisy, duplicity etc. needed for this profession, and in which they lead the world. Cf. op.cit. pp.107-8

"Regardons l'Italie tant civile & courtisane; l'antique Rome mere nourrisse certes de nostre philosophie... a semé en tout le pais certaines contenances & manières de faire... ils nous semble les plus grans courtisans du monde. L'Italien en ses actes ne semble point precipitant, mais froide-ment & atrempe-ment sembler considerer toutes les circons-tances... Ils ne s'esbahissent de rien: cuydez les espouvanter, ils feront bonne mine: cuydez les faire rire, ilz ne change-ment de chere. Au reste il n'est ja besoin de dire,comment ilz cachent, celent & repriment leurs affections, de leur patience & dissimulation. Brief, ilz naissent au pais Courtisans. "On this traditional anti-Italianism, see. C.A. Mayer, op.cit. pp.13 -14.

2) op.cit. I, 83.
Phil: "Estant emporté en poste par le vent de son ambition." Orça, qu'en diriez vous ?
Celt: Je dirais que ceste métaphore est belle ; mais qu'il ne faisoit pas adjoyster En poste : d'autant qu'on n'a pas besoin d'avoir bon vent pour courir la poste, mais d'avoir un bon cheval...
Phil: ... Toutesfois je vous veux essayer devant en quelques autres : commençant par cestuy-ci, 'Je me pris à fantasier en mon lict, et mouvoir la roue de ma memoire.'
Celt: Un autre, je vous prie : car vous pouvez bien desja penser que je diray de cestuy-ci." 1)

Philausone has yet to deliver his 'pièce de résistance' though:

Phil: "Puis donc que vous voulez que reprenions le propos sur lequel j'estes, des beaux traits nouveaux, veci encore un exemple, 'Je n'ay pas voulu souffrir passer devant mes yeux une si propé occasion sans l'empoigner aux crins.'
Celt: J'eusse volontiers demandé à celuy qui parloit ains: Que sçavez-vous si Occasion porte des crins, ou si elle est tondue ?
Phil: Il vous eust respondu qu'estant une femme, il est vraysemblable qu'elle n'est pas tondue.
Celt: Pensez-vous que ce soit par devant ou par derriere qu'elle porte des crins ?
Phil: Vela une belle question.
Celt: Ouy, c'est une belle question...
Phil: Vous voulez rire, mais à bon escient, que vous semble-il de ceste façon de parler ? Empoigner l'occasion aux crins.
Celt: Il me semble qu'il ne faisoit point adjoyster ces deux mots, Aux crins, si on n'avait envie de faire rire."

Estienne is also critical of the affectation of using indiscriminately adverbs such as 'infiniment', 'extrêmement', but especially 'divinemment':

1) op.cit. II, 126-7.
2) op.cit. II, 163-5.
Celt: ... pour le moins faudroit-il qu'on nous confessassent que c'est contre raison et contre le sens naturel d'attribuer de la divinité au jeu et aux danses : comme font ceux qui disent, Il joue divinement bien, Il danse divinement bien. Et quelques-uns disent aussi Il jase divinement bien, Il cause divinement bien... Il savait flatter divinement bien, Il savait dissimuler divinement bien, Il savait mentir divinement bien, Il savait se moquer divinement bien. Pourquoi dira-on ici Divinement bien plutost que Diaboliquement bien? " 1) 

Italian-inspired affectations are particularly noticeable in the hyperbolical form and language of salutation of courtiers. This too is deplored :-

Phil: au lieu qu'on eust trouvé estrange et de mauvaise grace, de faire des reverences les uns aux autres, approchantes d'une adoration, maintenant cela est ordinaire et trouvé de bonne grace; voire jusqu'à baiser la cuisse, et le genou, tellement que je croý qu'à la fin il ne faudra plus aller jusques à Romme pour baiser la pantoufle, ou le soulier, mais que cela se pourra faire sans bouger de France. Que di-je ? desja on ne parle d'autre chose que de se vouloir entrebaiser la scarpe l'un à l'autre." 2)

Phrases of the type "Schiave des schiaves de vostre seigneurie", 3) and a further example, "Je desireres infiniment avoir un petit coin au cabinet de vos bonnes graces" 4) are qualified by Celtophile as "hyperboliquement hyperbolique(s) en flatterie : et ne (sont) guere moins hyperbolique(s) en sottise." 5)

1) op. cit. II, 134.
2) op. cit. I, 257.
3) op. cit. II, 122.
4) op. cit. II, 125.
5) op. cit. II, 122.
In his criticisms of fundamental aspects of the profession and characteristics of the courtier, Estienne seems to be moved not merely by anti-Italianism but more particularly by opposition to Castiglione's recommendations to the courtier. Although Estienne never mentions either Castiglione or the Cortegiano by name, there are certain passages in the Deux Dialogues which suggest that this was indeed the case. For instance, in reply to Celtophile's request for information and advice on how to be a good courtier, Philausone replies with the following recipe, which could very well be an elementary skit on the Cortegiano:

**Phil.** Je sçay bien une bonne recepce pour devenir vray courtisan si vous en voulez user.

**Celt.** En avez-vous usé?

**Phil.** Non : pourrce qu'il y entre des drogues ausquelles mon coeur resiste : mais aucuns de mes compagnons qui ont eu meilleur courage, en ont usé, et maintenant ce sont les plus grands courtisans du monde.

**Celt.** Je vous prie me la dire.

**Phil.** Volontiers. Escoutez donc. Recipe trois livres d'Impudence (mais de la plus fine, qui croyt en un rocher, qu'on appelle front d'airain) Deux livres d'hypocrisie, Une livre de Dissimulation, Trois livres de la science de flatter, Deux livres de Bonne mine, Le tout cuicte au jus de Bonne grace par l'espace d'un jour et d'une nuict... Apres il faut passer ceste decoction par une estamine de Large conscience... Vela un breuvage souverain, pour devenir courtisan en toute perfection de courtisanisme.  

In addition, there is a very significant passage in which Philausone discusses the word courtier, and its implications.

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1) *op. cit.* I, 290-1.
Implicit in this passage is a condemnation of the professional courtier, of his interested motives, a condemnation in fact of the person and the profession in the sense which Castiglione conceived them in the Cortegiano, when creating the perfect, that is, successful, courtier:

Phili: Ce mot se prend en deux sortes: car tous ceux qui suivent la cour ordinairement (j'enten quant aux gentils-hommes, et autres personnes de qualité, ou pour le moins qui sont en quelque reputation) sont appelez Courtisans, en parlant generalement. On en use aussi autrement, pour signifier ceux qui savent leur cour. Car Savoir sa cour c'est savoir le mestier de faire la cour aux personnes auxquelles il est besoing de la faire: c'est savoir quel est le train de la cour et s'accommoder à iceluy. Suivant laquelle signification on pourra bien dire de quelcun qui suit la cour, et l'auro suivie des sa jeunesse, Il n'est pas courtisan. C'est à dire, Il ne sçait pas sa cour, Il n'entend pas l'escrime de la cour. Or suivant ceste signification, j'ay diet que pour estre bon courtisan il faict et user de la recepice que je vous ay enseignée." 1)

Significantly, moreover, the courtiers whom Estienne observes and condemns are those who practise what Castiglione preached. The key word of their code too is "s'accommoder". Estienne shows that this means not only adapting one's speech, clothes, mannerisms, conventions to those of the majority, but one's convictions as well, and such courtiers are aptly termed "gens de service":

Celt: Qu'appelez-vous gens de service ?
Phil : Qui peuvent passer par tout, d'autant que leur conscience aussi passe par tout.
Celt: Comment entendez-vous cela ?

1) op. cit. I, 294.
Phèdre : C'est qu'ils s'accommodent tellement qu'en un besoin ils feront en sorte qu'on les prendra plustost pour des Turcs que des Chrestiens.
Celt : Voylà une horriblement estrange accommodation.  

This doctrine of accommodation pursued logically to its conclusion in fact leads to atheism among courtiers :-

Phèdre : il se faut aussi accommoder quant à ce qui touche la conscience, non seulement à l'endret des hommes, mais aussi à l'endret de Dieu : sans avoir esgard à ce dictèn ancien, Amicus usque ad aras.
Celt : Comment entendez-vous cela ?
Phèdre : Si vous avez souvenance de ce que je vous ay diet tantost... vous pouvez bien juger qu'il ne faut point tellement faire profession d'une religion, qu'on ne soit prest de la changer incontinent selon les occurrences... Voire y a bien d'avantage ; c'est qu'en un besoin il n'en faut point avoir du tout, ou pour le moins faire semblant que vous n'en avez point.
Celt : Et comment ? chacun m'appelleroit-il pas Athée ou Athéiste ? Et comme tel ne serois-je pas dechassé ?
Phèdre : Au contraire, quelcim paravanture le trouveret qui diret que vous estes de ce bois qu'on cerche en ce temps ; duquel sont ceux qu'aujourd'hui on appelle Hommes de service, ou Gens de service ; desquels parcidevant aussi je vous ay fait la description.
Celt : Voulez-vous que je vous die la vérité, monsieur Phèdrausone ? vous me faites dresser les cheveux en la teste en me tenant tels propos. 2)

It is interesting to note that in an earlier passage in which the subject of religious indifference was discussed, Celtophile was inclined to attribute it to Machiavellism. Philausone, while agreeing that it would be difficult for

1) op. cit. II, 151.
2) op. cit. II, 227-8. Compare with Philibert de Vienne's passage in which it is ironically suggested that for the Philosophe de Court considerations of honour, reputation and advancement should override ties of blood, friendship and religion. See above ch.VII, p. 4.49.
a disciple of Machiavelli to avoid atheism, leaves the
question open, but in a way which suggests that he would
attribute the indifference among courtiers to an authority
more specifically concerned with courtiers than with
Princes. 1)

It appears from the Deux Dialogues that the lesson
of elegant dilettantism had been no less well learnt by
the courtiers whom Estienne observed, than that of being
accommodating. Those who are knowledgeable take pains to
dissimulate the extent of their knowledge following
Castiglione's recommendation, in order to appear gifted
by nature rather than by application, while others have
distressingly utilitarian motives for dipping into books,
whose treasures, witticisms etc. they plunder in order
to stock up their ordinarily impoverished minds and to
garnish their conversations (again as suggested by
Castiglione)

Phil: je veux bien que vous gachiez qu'il y a des
courtisans qui ont du savoir plus qu'on ne pense, et
plus qu'ils n'en font le semblant; et aucuns qui
estudient ordinairement, (mais en secret, de peur
d'etre moquez) la plus grand'part desquels n'a autre
but de ses estudes, sinon se garnir tellement de
responses que pour le moins ils ne soyent contrains
de se rendre du premier coup. Vela qui les fait
courir par dessus plusieurs sortes de livres..." 2)

1) op. cit. II, 146.
2) op. cit. II, 130.
Philausone himself, by his concern to avoid any suspicion of pedantry, is a dilettanté. He refuses the compliment of his friend, who refers to him as learned, with the words:

\[\text{Phil} : \text{Qui vous a dit que je suis un homme docte ? il s'en faut beaucoup que je merite ce titre : et quand je le meriteres, j'aime mieux avoir perdu cent escus, qu'il m'eust esté donne en la cour en maintes compagnies que je sçay bien : car ce mot de docte, seret en leur endret un equivalent ou equipollent de pedant.} \]

His reply to Celtophile's request to know what was the most suitable and most desirable compliment to bestow upon a courtier:

\[\text{Phil} : \text{Il faut dire, C'est un brave homme : ou, C'est un galant homme : ou C'est un homme accort : ou, C'est un bon cerveau ...} \]

shows this same tendency to play down ability, to prefer the "decent chap" appellation sanctioned and conferred by mediocrities upon fellow mediocrities, and to avoid the stigma of being too clever by half, which would make one socially unacceptable.

We may note that the mania for improvisation in language is also a manifestation of the spirit of dilettantism, a desire to avoid pedantry. Philausone is almost indignant at the suggestion that there should be any réjme or reason

1) \text{op.cit. II, 179.}
2) \text{op.cit. II, 179-80.}
in the language fashions adopted by courtiers:

Phil: Il semble que vous imaginiez une cour telle que
pourroit estre une cour de parlement, ou à la vérité
on prend un peu garde à telle chose. Mais pensez-vous
qu'en la cour du roy quant au langage on se regle sur
ceux qui gardent quelques regles ? pensez-vous qu'on
suivent volontiers ceux qui tiennent le droit chemin ?
Au contraire on prend plaisir d'aller à travers les
chems à l'esgarée : et principalement quand on sçait
que quelque grand, ou pour le moins quelque mignon a
passé par-là : encore qu'il n'y soit passé sans tres-
buscher plusieurs fois.
Celt: Et de ceux qui ne parlent point ainsi à l'avен-
ture, mais veulent laisser gouverner leur langage par
la raison, qu'en disent-ils ?
Phil: Qu'ils sont des pedans (comme ils usent de ce mot
par derisbnc) qu'ils sont des scholarés, qu'ils sont des
clericus."

In the same spirit Philausone advises Celtophilie against
using words "qui sentent le barreau" and which are
jarring to the delicate ears of the court.

In this connection too, it is interesting to note
that although Estienne's primary concern in attacking the
incorporation into French of Italian words, and Italianisms,
and the flowering of grotesque metaphors and the indiscrimin-
ate use of inappropriate adverbs, was to preserve the
French language, he was at the same time rejecting
Castiglione's recommendation to the courtier to embellish
his language with foreign words and phrases, to coin new
words on the pattern of foreign ones, to give new meanings

1) op. cit. 1, 65-6
2) op. cit. II, 195. See also below p. 598.
to old words and the view that all innovations inspired by the courtier's desire to cultivate elegance and to eschew pedantry are welcome. The *Deux Dialogues* expose the weakness of this theory, for when the ability to improvise becomes a criterion in furthering a man's reputation, and this was plainly what Castiglione had in mind, this being one of the ways in which the courtier was to set himself apart from his fellows and to provoke their admiration, the courtier, as Estienne has shown, accepts no limits of reason or common sense in his efforts to out-do his fellow courtiers.

The same preoccupation to advance oneself and one's reputation is apparent among those Italianate French courtiers whose elaborate attempts to keep up appearances are described by Estienne. When Philausone proposes certain general rules for Celtophile's guidance during his stay at court, and comments

"Phil : La première sera qu'entre les mots et les façons de parler vous choisissiez tousjours ceux et celles qui sont plus propres pour trencher du gros, et sentent mieux leur grandeur, ou pour le moins leur magnificence. Car notez qu'en la cour maintenant encore plus que de vostre temps, un homme ne vaut que ce qu'il se fait valoir..." 1)

he is doing nothing more than openly acknowledge the principle which explains many of Castiglione's recommend-

1) *op. cit.* II, 213.
The only difference is in the manner in which the principle is put into practice. Philausone proceeds to give some examples:

Phil: ... au lieu de dire, J'ay reçu une lettre, il est plus seigneurial de dire, J'ay reçu un paquet. Celt : Mais s'il n'y a qu'une seule lettre de demi-faîille de papier, faudra-il aussi dire Un paquet? Phil : Pourquoi non, si d'aventure vous n'aviez à faire à personnes qui examinassent les choses de pres. Celt : Encore faites-vous bien de m'adjouster ceste exception? Phil : Et puis il vous faudra dire souvent que vous avez des advertiseissements venans de bon lieu. Encore n'est ce pas tout. Car il faut adjouster que le courrier qui vous les a apportez à fait une extreme diligence : quand bien le porteur n'aurat couru la poste que sur une charrette à bœufs. Que s'il advenet qu'on vous dict que vous n'avez rien de nouveau et qu'il n'y a laquais en la cour qui ne sache cela : alors il vous faut dire, Je vois bien que c'est : vous tireriez volontiers de moi les particularitez qui m'ont esté escrites : mais vous me pardonnerez : car il me les faut encore tenir secrètes jusques à ce qu'on les ait mandées à sa majesté. Celt : Mais s'il n'estoit rien de tout cela, ne faudroit-il pas lasser de le dire? Phil : Il s'entend bien qu'il ne faudret pas lasser de le dire, pour vous faire valoir." 2)

Another excellent pretence is that of being a landed aristocrat with a household of appropriate magnificence. Celtophile foresees difficulties in maintaining such a pretence, but Philausone expounds at great length upon the means of doing this. Every contingency is prepared for:

1) See above, ch. III. part 1 p99n
2) op. cit. II, 213-4
Phil : Et quand il se trouvera en lieu où les autres seront accompagnés, luy non, il pourra dire qu'il a envoyé tous ces gens, l'un deçà, l'autre delà : et faire bien du fascié de ce qu'aucun d'eux ne retourne, et montrer qu'il a grande envie de descharger sa cholerse sur quelqu'un d'eux. Ou bien il pourra dire que ses valets l'ont quitté depuis quelques jours, et qu'il est après à en chercher.

Celt : Et quant à la maison ?

Phil : L'excuse est encore plus facile, car il pourra dire qu'il a une maison fort commode et plaisante, mais un peu esloignée du chasteau.

Celt : Quant à ce qu'on le verroit aller à pied où il seroit reçu d'aller à cheval, qu'alleguerait-il ?

Phil : Si ce n'estet pas loing, il dirait qu'il fait c'est exercice par le conseil des médecins : si c'estet un peu loing, il faudrait, pour faire bien la mine cheminer tout botté et esperonné, et dire qu'en la fin il rencontrera ses gens, qui amènent ses montures, et le cherchent par tout. Ou bien que quand il a pensé monter, tous ces chevaux se sont trouvés blessés : mais il a mandé ses gens en diligence en un lieu qui n'est pas loing, d'où on lui doit venir au devant avec deux ou trois bonnes montures.

Celt : Vous avez beau dire : il est impossible qu'on puisse long temps jouer une telle farce, sans qu'on s'en aperçoive." ¹)

Even the Baron de Foeneste could not surpass such subtle entreprise !

The same technique of appearances applies in cases where it is necessary to make one's mark in conversation, even to the point of talking upon a subject of which one is completely ignorant :-

Phil : (Il faut) vous mesler quelquesfois de discouir des choses mesmement où vous n'entendez rien : pourveu que ce soit devant gens qui n'y peuvent entendre guère d'avantage : et jamais ne demeurer court de réponse, encore que vous açachiez bien qu'il n'y a ny rime ny raison en ce que vous respondez. Car

¹) op.cit. II, 217-18.
Philausone explains that there are a number of face-saving gambits which are available, if it seems likely that one's ignorance will be exposed, or if one is directly challenged to answer, or prefer an opinion, such as 'so-and-so would have us believe that... but I can't agree with his judgement' (without giving one's own view) or, alternatively something like, 'let me answer you with a paradox', knowing full well that any reply given would appear to be rubbish anyway and thus attempting to forestall critical reaction.

There is one supreme posture which we are told, never fails to conceal ignorance, and is doubly useful since it also aids one's reputation – this is to play the great organiser:

"Phil: ... il faudra tousjours faire de l'empesché voire de l'enhazé... afin qu'on ne vous vienne jamais aborder pour entrer en quelque discours, ou dispute. Et si vous voulez ceci servira aussi à vostre reputatio : et principalement si vous faitez en sorte qu'on estime que vous estes employé aux grandes affaires. Et afin qu'on croye cela plus aisément il faudra tousjours dire que vous venez du lever, maintenant de quelque Prince, maintenant du Roy,"

1) op. cit. II, 219-20.
maintenant de la Roine ; pareillement du diner, du souper ; dire que vous estes charge de tant d'affaires importantes par les uns et par les autres que vous ne sçavez de quel costé devez vous tourner, ne par où devez commencer, et là-dessus prendre quelquesfois occasion de vous lamenter de ce que vous n'avez un seul quart d'heure de repos, non pas worse le loisir de prendre vostre repos.

Celt. : Encore que je n'en vienne pas et que je n'aye que faire, faudra-il dire que j'en viens ?

Phil. : Et quoy donc ? pourquoi feriez vous conscience de mentir en ceci aussi bien qu'es choses susdictes ? veu mesmement que ceci sert beaucoup à vostre reputation ? Mais notez que vous ferez bien d'y aller ordinairement (si vous pouvez avoir le credit d'y entrer) encore que vous n'y eussiez point à faire, et qu'auzsi on n'y est à faire de vous non plus que d'un des faquins de Venise. Voire quelquefois fera bon de sortir et puis rentrer incontinent, marchant fort viste, comme ayant grand haste de retourner dire quelque réponse.\1

One is reminded in this passage of La Bruyère's portrait of Cimon and Clitandre,\2 or of the two marquis described in L'Impromptu de Versailles\3.

So much for Estienne's observations on the Italianate courtiers of this period. Further interest is provided by a study of the literary sources of the Deux Dialogues. In the choice of genre Estienne's model was certainly Lucian, and one Licianic dialogue in particular. The pretext for the discussion of court life in the Deux Dialogues is given by Celtophile who, having been absent from the court for some considerable time, and having heard, on his return,

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1) op.cit. II, 222-4.
2) Caractères, VIII (De La Cour), 19.
that sweeping changes have taken place, asks Philausone, whose acquaintance he had fortuitously renewed at the start of the work, that he should accompany him on his first journey back to the new world of the court, and should give him instruction to prepare him for this moment. Such was the starting point of Lucian's examination of human affairs in the dialogue in which Charon, on holiday from the underworld, is taken on a conducted tour of the earth by Mercury. That this was the dialogue which Estienne had in mind we may be certain - Celtophile himself confirms this:

Celt : Mais à propos de ce que je vous demande... de me mener avec vous en ce nouveau monde de la cour, il m'est souvenu de ce dialogue de Lucian ou Mercure mène Charon du monde bas au monde du haut : et des belles questions et grandes admirations que fait Charon : j'ay grand peur que je vous face le même." 1)

It is remarkable that this fact has so far escaped the notice of critics. Clément does not to my knowledge mention Lucian in connection with Estienne in his thesis, 2) while Besch, in his article on Tahureau, sees in his Dialogues the model for the form of the Deux Dialogues, not unnaturally since Tahureau's work had attracted much attention in the period immediately preceding the composition of Estienne's. 3)

1) op. cit. I, 49.
2) Henri Estienne et Son Oeuvre Française, 1899.
3) Between 1565 and 1585 it ran into twenty editions. See above, ch.VII p. 206.
But a comparison of the two French works with that of Lucian will show that the Deux Dialogues is, in conception and execution, much closer to the Lucianic dialogue than the Dialogues of Tahureau. Estienne's work is firstly more dramatic, in that the characters are more fully defined and differentiated (Clément in fact, has compared Celtophile and Philausone to Alceste and Philinte) than those of Tahureau, and the participation of the interlocutors is more equal; while Celtophile is certainly Estienne's mouthpiece, as the Democritic was Tahureau's, Philausone's role in the Deux Dialogues is greater than that of Cosmophile and he is never completely antipathetic to Estienne's viewpoint, since in all matters except those of language, he is often inclined to criticise courtiers himself. Secondly, Estienne has managed to capture in the exchanges of his interlocutors some of Lucian's comic spirit, an element almost entirely absent from Tahureau's Dialogues, if we except the description of the dancing courtier.

In subject matter however, the importance of Tahureau's Dialogues in relation to Estienne's Deux Dialogues, cannot be overlooked, as Besch has shown. Tahureau was one of the most important critics of Italianism among courtiers, in the Renaissance period, and there are many points on which he foreshadows Estienne, principally in his criticisms of the Italianised French of courtiers, and in the grotesquely
exaggerated salutations and formulae of politeness. 1)

The other important predecessor of Estienne, in the rejection of Castiglione's doctrine of social accommodation, and more especially of elegant dilettantism, is of course Philibert de Vienne in *Le Philosophe de Court*. Clément, who had no knowledge of this work, and passes quickly over Tahureau's influence, seems to have greatly exaggerated the importance of Du Bellay as the model or precedent for much of the anti-Italianism in Estienne's satire of courtiers. 2)

Although, as we have seen, Estienne's satire of courtiers is rooted in the traditions of the previous period and continues these traditions, his work, like that of Philibert and Tahureau only more so, foreshadows later developments. For Estienne has left us a testimony 3) in his criticisms of outrageous metaphors, and of overworked adverbs, which were seen almost as a badge of office, a status symbol, and were inspired in the first place by mistaken ideas of elegance - to the spirit of "Préciosité" at the French court; and in his observations on elegant dilettantism, on the distaste for pedantry and the objections

1) On all these points see Besch, loc. cit. and above, ch. VII, pp. 400, 499.
2) op. cit. pp. 109-110.
in particular to expressions "qui sentent le barreau" among courtiers there emerges a portrait of a sixteenth century "Honnête Homme".

It would be wrong to conclude this survey of the anti-courtier trend in sixteenth century French literature without some mention of a work which resumes many of the tendencies we have noted so far, in fact a relic of sixteenth century anti-courtier satire which was not written until the early seventeenth century. We refer, of course, to D'Aubigné's pamphlet, *Les Aventures du Baron de Foeneste.*

By his use of a dialogue form, which by the confrontation of two well-defined and quite different characters is both dramatic and often richly comic, D'Aubigné in the *Baron de Foeneste* invites

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"Dis-moi, me trouves-tu bien fait en cavalier?
Ne vois-tu rien en moi qui sent l'écolier?
Comme il est malaise qu'aux royaumes du Code
On apprenne a se faire un visage a la mode".

2) It is generally assumed that *Les Aventures du Baron de Foeneste*, the first two parts of which were published in 1617, s.l.; the third in 1619, s.l.; and the fourth in 1630, describes the French court in the Regency of Marie de Médicis. At the same time, however, we find in the *Confession de Sancy*, composed according to Villey, art.cit., between 1599-1604, a reference to Foeneste, cf. *ed.cit.* vol.II, p. 310-"Il a bien appris a dire toutes les admirations comme, 'Jesus, le plus du monde, oh, oh, oh, il y a de l'exces,
c'est pour en mourir. Quand il rencontre un des fardez de la Cour:
'Oh! que vous etes bien aujourd'hui espanouy comme une rose,' &
la-dessus parler des couleurs selon la nouveauté, & comme elles sont deduites dans ce meschant Foeneste." It may well be that this pamphlet was written earlier than is generally assumed, and was touched up, contemporary allusions added, etc., at a date much nearer its eventual publication.
comparison with Estienne in the Deux Dialogues; the only reservation being that Celtophile and Philausone are never quite so widely different in disposition and viewpoint as D'Aubigné's interlocutors, and Philausone in particular never so fatuous as Foeneste.

The theme of the series of dialogues which make up this pamphlet, of reality and substance versus appearance, expressed in the opposition of the two main characters, Enay and Foeneste, whose names signify respectively, to be and to appear,¹ and also the theme of country versus court, since Enay is a countryman and Foeneste "demi Courtisan, demi soldat", are themes familiar to us from numerous sixteenth century works which we have examined, from Robertet's Debat du Boucanier et du Corrier,² and Peletier's Louanges de La Vie de Court Contre La Vie de Repos,³ to name only two.

As for the portrait of Foeneste the courtier, here too there is nothing for which previous writings have not prepared us in some degree, the extravagant attention to personal appearance, "pour parestre"—

"Premièrement faut estre venu vestu à la mode de trois ou quatre Messurs qui ont l'autorité: il faut un perpunt de quatre ou cinq tafetas, l'un sur l'autre, des chausses comme celles que nous boyez, dans lesquelles tant frise

2) See above, ch.VI, p.323 sqq.
3) See above, ch.VII, p.357 sqq.
"qu'escarlatte, je bous puis assurer de hooti haultes destoffe pour le mens... (des roses) sur les dux pieds traînantes à terre, aux dux jarretes pendantes à mi-jamves, au vus de perpunt..."1) 

the affectation of gesture and greeting-

"bous commencez à rire au premier que bous rencontrez; bous saluez l'un, bous dites le mot à l'autre, 'fraise que tu es vraye, espanouy comme une rose, tu es vraye traitté de ta maistresse, 'ette cruelle, 'ette reveille, renne'elle point les armes à ce beau front, a ceste moustache vien troussée, & puis ceste véllegreve, c'est pour en mourir. Il faut dire cela en demenant les vras, vranlant la teste, changeant de pied, peignant d'une men la moustache, & d'aucunefois les chebus..." 2)

the loquaciou_s superficiality-

"Abez bous gagné l'antichamvre, bous accoustez quelque galant home & discourez de la bertu. Enay: Vraiment Monsieur, vous me ravissez...mais encore les vertus desquelles vous discourez, sont-elles morales ou intellectuelles? Foenixte: J'ai vien ouy dire ces mots-la, bous boulez savoir de quoi sont nos discours, ils sont des duel... puis des vonnes fortunes enbres les Dames, & boila le compagnon qui n'en est pas despourt... & puis nous causons de l'abancement en Cour... ou si bous ne boulez point discouvir de chausse si hautes, bous philosophez sur les vas de chausse de la cour..." 3) 

the sham valour of the braggard who is quick to provoke and quick to retire, who is never willingly parted from the insignia of his rank, the sword and spurs, even when the first is caught up in his unmilitary attire, and the second serve only to impede his headlong

2) op.cit. Bk.I, pp.16-17.
3) ibid.
flight from the field of battle by trapping him in a hedge.\textsuperscript{1)}

Finally, there can be no doubt that Foeneste, like his predecessors, was imbued with the spirit of the Précieux-to-be.\textsuperscript{2)}

The general conclusions to be reached from the study of the anti-courtier trend in this period are firstly, that the satirical techniques developed by writers in the Renaissance period, more particularly the use of irony which Philibert de Vienne and Du Bellay learnt from Lucian, and the art of satirical description perfected again by Du Bellay, these techniques are now more widely and generally applied by satirists in this period as we have shown. Finally, the criticisms of courtiers in this period differ only in degree from those of the previous period, the violence of the reaction being intensified by the particular circumstances, political, economic, social and religious of the times.

\textsuperscript{1) op. cit.} Bk. IV, p.206.

\textsuperscript{2) If this is not already apparent from the greeting extended by him to fellow-courtiers, it is fully revealed by the terms of his letter to his lady, Cf. Bk.II, ch.X, pp.81-82: "Madamiselle, enfin les astres & les éléments m'ont tant indigagé de boste délue absence & douce memoire d'estre separé de bos veaux yeux semlavles à une aurore plusbiuse, que y abois fai de priber des champs Elisses: toutefois il seroit une grande indiscurtaisie a bous de descuvelier boste praube esolabe."
Chapter IX. Conclusion.

It remains, in conclusion, to resume the salient features of the anti-courtier trend in sixteenth century French literature.

We have observed in the development of this trend three distinct phases or periods. The first, the Pre-Renaissance period extending from 1498-1539, is dominated by the Rhetoriqueurs. The literary influences acting upon the trend in this period are limited. Attacks on court life are inspired by, or continue similar attacks in Neo-Latin and Medieval literature. Attacks on court flatterers continue the abstract moralising medieval tradition. Attacks on the courtier himself
courtier himself are inspired by direct observation and personal experience, and reflect increasingly the changing social conditions and attitudes. The second phase in the evolution of the trend, represented by the First Renaissance period, is marked by the disappearance of the Rhetoriqueurs and of Medieval influences. Latin, Spanish, and to a lesser degree, Italian influences inspire many of the attacks on court life in general. Also new to this period are attacks inspired by a reaction to Castiglione's increasingly accepted ideal of the perfect courtier and of polite society life. Finally in this period, added impetus and sophistication of technique in anti-courtier satire are derived from the influence of Lucian. The third and final phase in the development of the trend is covered by the period of the Religious Wars. Although literary sources in this period are at their most varied and diverse, their combined influence on the evolution of the trend remains constant, - they inspire no new themes, and no new techniques, those perfected in the previous period being more generally applied in this. The evolution of the trend in this period is, in fact, most directly modified and determined by contemporary events, and the reaction against courtiers greatly intensified by the political, economic and religious circumstances of the period.
One important observation, albeit negative, should be made. It has been customary for critics to stress the influence which Italian satire exerted on French satirists in the sixteenth century. Even in the period of the Religious Wars when the influence of Italian anti-court satire is at its maximum, its influence on the trend in France is never very great. If we have noted some few examples of imitation of the regular satirists, of Ariosto, of Alamanni, of Sansovino, those satirists representative of the Bernesque and burlesque tradition have no influence on French anti-courtier satire until the early years of the seventeenth century, when French imitations of this genre appear in the satirical anthologies.1)

What conclusions may we finally draw concerning the anti-courtier trend in sixteenth century French literature? Although some aspects of the trend do not long survive the passing of the century, the court versus country theme for instance, with the bias in favour of country life directly contrary to the ideal of seventeenth century French society, there are others which offer valuable pointers to future

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anti-courtier satire. Undoubtedly the most important and the most interesting fact to emerge from this survey is the reaction established in the sixteenth century against the excesses and abuses of the cult of the "Honnête homme" and of "Préciosité". In this light it becomes possible to dismiss the theory, based on ignorance of sixteenth century anti-Cortegiano satires, that Molière does not satirise the "Honnête homme" since protests against this prevailing fashion were unheard of and unthinkable. On the contrary, much of Molière appears as a continuation of the trend established since the middle of the sixteenth century and continuing through to the seventeenth. His Marquis de Mascarille, a caricature of the précieux and dilettante "Honnête homme" if ever there was, and to a lesser extent, his court poetasters and society doctors, had already appeared in the pages of Philibert de Vienne, of Tahureau, of Henri Estienne, of Du Bellay and of the anonymous Medecin Courtizan.
Appendix I. A Chronological List Of Works Comprising The Anti-Courtier Trend In Sixteenth Century French Literature. 1)


*1500. Anon. La Farce Nouvelle de Folle Bombance.
*1504 ? Jean D'Auton, Chroniques, for 1504.
*1504. Guillaume Cretin, Epistre à Maistre François Robertet.
*1504. François Robertet, Responce audit Cretin.
François Robertet, Debat du Boucanier et du Gorrier.
1508. Eloi D'Amerval, Le Livre de La Grant Dyablerie.
1510. P.de La Vacherie, Le Gouvernement des Trois Estatz Du Temps qui Court.


1) Where the date of composition is known, and is more than a year previous to the date of publication, this is the date we have given.
In all cases when the date of composition is given, it is preceded by an *. Where dates are tentative they are followed by a ?.
In the case of a dramatic work, the date of performance is preceded by **.
1530. Jean du Pontalais, Contredictz de Songecreux.

1530. Jean Bouchet, Epistres Morales et Familieres.

1531. Clément Marot, Epistle Au Roy. (Pour Avoir Esté Desrobé.)


1536. Guillaume de La Perrière, Theatre de Bons Engins.


1540. Anon. Dialogue de Placebo Pour Un homme seul.

1542. Bertrand de La Borderie, L'Amie de Court.

1543. Gilles Corrozet, Hecatographie.

1543. Clément Marot, Epistre, A Un Siem Amy, 1543.

1547. Jacques Peletier, Louanges de La Vie de Court Contre La Vie de Repos.

1547. Noël du Fail, Discours d'Aucuns Propos Rustiques, Facetieux et de Singuliere Recreation.

1547. Philibert de Vienne, Le Philosophe de Court.

1548. Estienne de La Boëtie, Discours de La Servitude Volontaire.

1550. Jean Calvin, Traité des Scandales.


1552. Barthélemy Aneau, Imagination Poétique.


1556. Louis Le Caron, Les Dialogues.


1557. Olivier de Magny, Les Soupirs.


*1558. Estienne Jodelle, Chanson.*


1560. Jacques Grévin, L'Olimpe...Ensemble Les Autres Oeuvres Poétiques

1560. Pierre de Ronsard, Discours à Odet de Coligny.

1560. Pierre de Ronsard, Discours Contre Fortune, À Odet de Coligny.

*1560-1. Olivier de Magny, Sonnets, (addressed to Charles IX).*

1562. Pierre de Ronsard, Institution Pour L'Adolescence du Foi Charles IX.

1563. Pierre de Ronsard, La Promesse.
1565. Henri Estienne, L'Apologie Pour Herodote.
1567. Estienne du Tronchet, Lettres Missives et Familieres.
1568. Estienne du Tronchet, Discours du Contentement d'un Homme de Village...Au Mespris de Ceux des Villes.
1569. Pierre de Ronsard, La Salade.
1569-73. Jean Vatel, Premier Livre des Mezlanges.
1572-5. Vauquelin de La Fresnaye, Satyre A J.A.de Baif.
1573. Pierre de Ronsard, Au Roy Charles IX.
1573. Pierre de Ronsard, Au Tresorier de L’Espargne.
1573. Jean de La Taille, Le Courtisan Retiré, and Le Festin du Lion, in La Famine ou Les Gabazonites etc.
1574. Vauquelin de La Fresnaye, Satyre A Ph.de Nolent.
1575. Pierre de Ronsard, Estrennes Au Roy Henri III.
1576. Ignatius Gentillet, Discours...Contre Machiavel.
1577. Anon. Les Mignons de L’An 1577- (Sonnet villain montrant la corruption du siècle et de la Cour.)
1577-83. Agrippa d'Aubigné, Les Tragiques, (Princes.)


1579. Louis Le Caron, Les Questions Diverses.

1581. Vauquelin de La Fresnaye, Satyre à Claude d'Auberville.


1583. Guillaume du Buys, Oeuvres.


1585. Isaac Habert, Louange de La Vie Rustique, in Les Trois Livres de Méteores etc.

1585. Gabriel Chappuis, Le Misaule ou Haineux de Court.

1585. Noël du Fail, Contes et Discours d'Entrapel.

1585. Pierre de Ronsard, Trois Sonnets (terminus ad quem)


1587. Claude de Trellon, Discours A M. de La Broue.

1587. François de La Noue, Discours Politiques et Militaires.

1590. Vauquelin de La Fresnaye, Satyre à Repichon.


1594. Claude de Trellon, Oeuvres Poétiques.


1604-1604. Agrippa d'Aubigné, La Confession Catholique du Sieur de Sancy

1604. Vauquelin de La Fresnaye, Satyre A Fr. Vauquelin, (probably earlier, terminus ad quem.)

Appendix II

A Bibliography of The French Translations of The Works of Antonio De Guevara Published Between 1531-1605.

A bibliography of his printed works is one of the first and most reliable indications by which the influence of a given writer, at a given time, may be established. Therefore, as a complement to Chapter IV, in which we discussed the influence of Guevara on French anti-courtier writings in the sixteenth century, and with the hope of providing a useful foundation for any further study on the influence which Guevara may have had on the wider front of French literature in general in the sixteenth century, we have compiled this bibliography of the French translations of Guevara's works between the years 1531-1605.

Apart from the information to be found in the usual French bibliographical works, in Brunet's Manuel du Libraire et du Bibliophile, in Baudrier's Bibliographie Lyonnaise, and in Cartier's Bibliographie des Impressions des De Tournes, three more specialised works giving details of French translations of Guevara, should be mentioned.

Firstly, a partial bibliography, which gives details of certain special editions of only one of Guevara's works. This is to be found in the introduction to Ferdinand Gohin's critical edition of the Oeuvres Poétiques d'Héroest, published in Paris, 1909. Here Gohin deals with translations of the
Menoaprecio de Corte which were printed together with those French works comprising the Querelle des Amies. 1)

The first attempt to include translations of each of Guevara's works was made by R. Foulchê-Delbosc, in his Bibliographie hispano-Française, a publication of the Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1912, which deals with all Spanish works translated into French during the sixteenth century. The author does not claim to give a complete list, and indeed, some omissions in the entries on Guevara, notably of some of the Lyons editions of De Tournes, are to be found.

The most recent bibliographer of Guevara, Liño Gomez Cañedo, in his Ensayo de Un Catálogo Completo de Las Obras de Guevara, published in 1946 in the Archivo ibero-americano, for the fourth centenary of Guevara's death, leans heavily, in his section on the French translations, on the earlier work of Foulchê-Delbosc, and consequently, and in spite of the time lapse, his list has many of the same omissions. He seems to have been unaware of Cartier's Bibliographie des Impressions des De Tournes, and, occasionally, unaware of extant copies (see below, nos. 16, 39, 51). In addition, he very rarely gives catalogue numbers when recording library copies.

We hope therefore, in this attempt, to fill some gaps,

1) See above, ch. VII, p. 41(1).
and to give a more complete list than has hitherto been possible. Our plan has been to deal with each work separately, and in the chronological order in which it appeared.

Wherever possible, we have given for the various editions, details of the main libraries which possess copies, together with catalogue numbers when known. Where there is no record of an extant copy we have simply referred to the standard bibliographies.

We have not included in this bibliography details of the translation of Guevara's religious tracts, which are outside of the scope of the present work.

**List of Abbreviations**

- **Baudrier:** Bibliographie Lyonnaise, I-XII, 1895-1921, 1950.
- **Brunet:** Le Manuel du libraire et du bibliophile, t. II, 1860.
- **Cañedo:** Ensayo de un catálogo completo de las obras de Guevara, in Archivo ibero-americano, segunda época, ano. 6. no. 22, 23, 1946.
- **Cartier:** Bibliographie des impressions des De Tournes, imprimeurs lyonnais, Paris, 1937.
- **Fouché-Delbosc:** Bibliographie hispano-française, New York, 1912- this work forms part of the author's Bibliographie hispanique, published by the Hispanic Society of America, New York, over the years 1909-1913.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tr>
<td>La Bouralière</td>
<td>Histoire de l'imprimerie et de la librairie à Poitiers pendant le XVIe siècle, Paris, 1920.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peeters-Fontaines</td>
<td>Bibliographie des impressions espagnoles des Pays-Bas, Louvain-Amsterdam, 1933.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanchez</td>
<td>Bibliografía aragonesa del siglo XVI, Madrid, 1913-14, 2 vols.</td>
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</table>
I. Libro Aureo de Marco Aurelio

This was the first of Guevara's works. In the prologue he tells us that he started to write it in 1518, but did not finish it until 1524. The work was first printed surreptitiously, without the author's name or permission, at Seville, in 1520, by J. Cromberger. 1) Guevara's own version of the surreptitiously issued Libro Aureo, much enlarged and revised, was to be published for the first time in 1529, at Valladolid, under the title Reloj de Principes. 2) The remarkable thing is that, even

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1) Seville, 1520.

2) There were, in a sense, two first editions in 1529, purporting to originate from the same printer, in the same town, on the same day. They differ firstly in the arrangement of the type, the second of the two, as described by Cañedo, having the text printed in two columns side by side on the same page, with 46 lines to the page, while the first is printed straight across the page, with 46 lines per page, secondly in the characters used. Finally, slight divergencies in the text have been noted.
Valladolid, 1529.
Libro llamado Reloj de Principes en el qual va incorporado el muy famoso libro de Marco Aurelio...por que el autor es todo uno. -Acabose en la muy noble villa de Valladolid: por maestre nícolas tierri. A ocho dias de abril de mill y quinientos y veynte y nueve anos.
B.N. Madrid, R/4768 and R/10873; Cañedo, nos. 103, 104.
after the publication of the authenticated and definitive version, the _Libro Aureo_, in its primitive form, continued to be much in demand, and was reprinted countless times, usually without the author’s name.

The _Libro Aureo_ first appeared in France in the original Spanish. It was published at Paris in 1529 by Galliot du Pré.  

The first French translation appeared in Paris in 1531. The translator was René Berthaut de La Grise, a secretary to the Cardinal de Grammont. While accompanying his master on a diplomatic mission in Spain, in 1526, the object of which was to negotiate the release of François Ier, La Grise came upon a pirated manuscript of Guevara’s work, which he was sufficiently interested in to translate.

In 1550 in the Lyons edition of De Tournes, and in subsequent editions, the text was revised by Antoine du Moulin, valet de chambre to Marguerite of Navarre and a friend of Marot. Within a short time, translations of this work appeared in Dutch, English, Italian and Latin. It was also widely read in Portugal.


3) On Antoine du Moulin, in addition to La Croix du Maine’s notice which we give below on p. 169, see A. Jeandet, _Antoine du Moulin, in Mâcon au seizième siècle_, Mâcon, 1893, pp. 27-34 and 214-26; A. Cartier & A. Chenevière, _Antoine du Moulin, Valet de Chambre de la Reine de Navarre_, Paris 1898 (also in
1) Paris, 1551.

Livre doré de Marc Aurele empeure et eloquent orateur
Traduit du vulgaire Castillan en François par R.B. de
La Grise Secrétaire de monseigneure le reverendissime
Cardinal de Granmont. Nouvellement imprimé à Paris Avec
Privilege. On les vend à Paris en la grand salle du
Palais en la boutique de Galliot du Pré, libraire juré
de l'Université de Paris. Mil V.C.xxxi. Par Nicolas
Cousteau Imprimeur pour Galliot du Pré.

The date on the colophon is 1550, but the privilege is
dated 24th April, 1531.

B.N. Rés. J., 1761 bis; Brit. Mus. C. 39 g.6; Brunet, II,
1797; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 31; Canedo, no. 35.

2) Paris 1534.

Livre doré de Marc Aurele...nouvellement revue et corrigé.

This edition is identical to the previous one, same
format and pagination.

B.N. Rés. p.R. 361; Brunet, II, 1797; Foulché-Delbosc,
no. 35; Canedo, no. 36.

3) Paris, 1537.

Livre doré de Marc Aurele...nouvellement revu & corrigé.
On les vend à Paris en la rue neuve nostre Dame à
l'enseigne saint Jehan baptiste Mil. V.C.xxxvii.

Foulché-Delbosc, no. 38; Canedo, no. 37.

4) Paris, 1537.

Title as above. Paris, en la boutique de Jehan Andre, 1537.

B.N. Rés. R. 2543; Brunet, II, 1797; Foulché-Delbosc, no.39;
Canedo, no. 38.

469-90; III, 1896, pp. 90-106, 219-44.)

1) For 'above' read 'last' here and elsewhere.
5) Paris, 1537.
Title as above. Paris en la rue Neuve-Nostre Dame à l'enseigne de l'escu de France, 1537.
Foulché-Delbosc, no. 40; Cañedo, no. 39.

6) Paris, 1538.
Livre doré de Marc Aurele...Nouvellement revu & corrigé.
Par Estienne Caveiller imprimeur.
Brunet, II, 1797; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 41; Cañedo, no. 40.

7) Paris, 1538.
Title as above. Paris, Ambroise Girault.
Brunet, II, 1797; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 42; Cañedo, no. 41.

8) Paris, 1542.
Livre doré de Marc Aurele...revu & corrigé oultre les precedentes impressions Mil.d.xlii. On les vend au Palais en la galerie par où on va en la chancellerie, en la boutique de Vincent Sertenes. Par Estienne Caveiller.
Collection H. Vaganay, Lyons; Brunet, II, 1797; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 61; Cañedo, no. 42.

9) Lyons, 1544.
Le livre de Marc Aurele Empereur, & eloquent orateur.
Traduit de vulgaire Castillan en François, par H.B. de La Crise, Secrétaire de Monseigneur le Reverend Cardinal de Gramont. Fidelement revu & vérifié sus les exemplaires Latins, & Castillans, dont ha esté extraict le dicit livre.
A Lyon, par Jean de Tournes, 1544.

Jean de Tournes himself revised and corrected the text of this new edition, as he tells us in an introductory dizain, which we reproduce -
Jean de Tournes, Au Lecteur

Renvu avons bien & fidelement,
Ces present Oeuvre, aussi verifie
Au Castillan, au Latin proprement,
Donc tu en peux ostre certifie,
Amy Lecteur. Le sens vivifie
Est, pour certain, & plus intelligible
Qu'au paravant, & non tant corruptible,
Parquoy content en le lisant seras.
Lys donc, Amy, cest Oeuvre tant duysible;
Plus y liras & moins las en seras.

Brit. Mus. C.71.a.25; Brunet, II, 1798; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 76; Cartier, no. 25; Cañedo, no. 43.

10) Lyons, 1546.

Le livre de Marc Aurele. A Lyon par Jean de Tournes, 1546.

This is the edition of 1544 with a minor adjustment to the title.

Foulché-Delbosc, no. 34; Cartier, no. 34; Cañedo, no. 44.

11) Paris, 1546.


Foulché-Delbosc, no. 96; Cañedo, no. 45.

12) Paris, 1549.

The title is the same as that of the 1545 edition by Jean de Tournes. A Paris, chez Jean Ruelle. Imprimé à Paris par Maurice Menier.

Brit. Mus. 526.a.34; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 117; Cañedo, no.46.

13) Lyons, 1550.

Le livre doré de Marc Aurele...Fidelment revue & verifie
sur les exemplaires Latins, & Castillanis) par Antoine du Moulin, Masconais. A Lyon par Jean de Tournes, M.D.L.

La Croix du Maine's note on Antoine du Moulin, vol. I p.45, runs as follows: "Antoine du Moulin, Masconais, valet de chambre de la Royne de Navarre, soeur du Roy Francois Ier. Il a revu & corrigé M. Aurelle, traduit
par R.B. de La Grise, imprimé à Lyon par de Tournes."

Foulché-Delbosc, no. 139; Cartier, no. 171; Cañedo, no. 47.

14) Lyons, 1557.

Imp. Jean de Tournes. Identical in every respect to the edition of 1550 by De Tournes.

Foulché-Delbosc, no. 231; Cartier, no. 372; Cañedo, no. 48.

15) Paris, 1561.

Title as before. A Paris, Pour Guillaume Cavellat, à l'enseigne de la Poule grasse, devant le college de Combray.

Foulché-Delbosc, no. 292; Cañedo, no. 49.


Le livre doré de Marc Aurele... Traduit en François par R.B. de La Grise... Fidèlement revu & vérifié... par Antoine du Moulin, Masconnois. Pour Janne Richard, veuve du feu Jan Caveiller. A Paris, 1561.

There is no reference to this edition in any of the bibliographies I have consulted.


17) Lyons, 1570.

Le livre doré de Marc Aurele... A Lyon, par Jean de Tournes, M.D.LXX.

It is worthy of note that this edition is not recorded by Cartier, the authority on the editions of De Tournes.

Foulché-Delbosc, no. 356; Cañedo, no. 50.

18) Lyons, 1577.

Le livre doré de Marc Aurele... A Lyon, par Jean de Tournes, Imprimeur du Roy, M.D.LXXVII.

A new edition with text again revised and corrected.

B.N.Rés.J.2205 and J.12528; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 468; Cartier, no. 581; Cañedo, no. 51.
20) Antwerp, 1593.

Le livre doré de Marc Aurele... En Anvers, Martin Nutius, 1593.

Foulé-Chê-Delbosc, no. 642; Cañedo, no. 52.

II. El Relox de Principes

This work is the definitive version of the Libro Aureo, revised and greatly augmented by anecdotes from antiquity and by the personal reflections of the author, and it was first published, as we have said, in 1529.\(^1\) It is important to establish, and to emphasize, however, that the Libro Aureo and the Relox de Principes, are really two distinct works (in fact we have just seen that the Libro Aureo was published as a distinct work, separately from the Relox de Principes) even although the greater part of the first had been effectively incorporated into the second.

The title of the Spanish editions and of many of the

\(^1\) See above p.45, n.2.
French translations, bears witness to this reshaping and amalgamation carried out by the author.\(^1\)

El Relox de Príncipes was first published in a French translation, in Paris, in 1540 and 1542, but without the name of the author which did not appear until 1550 in the Paris edition of Gilles Corrozet, and in that of Charles l'Angelier.\(^2\)

The first translation was that which R.B. de La Grise had made of the Libro Aureo, and this was revised with the aid of a Spanish copy of the Relox de Príncipes.

Nicolas de Herberay, Sieur des Essarts, well known as the translator\(^3\) of the greater part of the Amadís de Gaule, also undertook the translation of Guevara's Relox, but he finished only a part of the first book. This version,

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1) See above, loc. cit. Libro llamado Relox de Príncipes en el qual va incorporado el muy famoso libro de Marco Aurelio...etc.

2) See below, nos. 23, 24.

completed by the old translation of R. B. de La Grise, and partially corrected, first appeared in Paris, in 1555, printed by Guillaume Le Noir, under the title of *L'Horloge des Princes, Avec Le Tresrenommé Livre De Marc Aurele.* ¹)

Finally, a third translation, by J. Lambert, the abbot of Cluny, was published at the end of the century. ²)

The many editions of this work lend substance to the claim that Guevara was the most widely read of all Spanish authors of the sixteenth century. In fact, in France, the popularity of this work remained undiminished long into the seventeenth century, abating only with the publication of Fénelon's *Télémaque.*

The *Relox de Príncipes* was translated into almost all the European languages - Latin, English, Italian, German, Armenian, Dutch (1610), Hungarian (1623), and Polish (1773).

¹) See below, no. 26.
²) See below, no. 54.
21) Paris, 1540


B.N.Rés.R.327 and Rés.E.107; Bibl. Mazarine, 3716 E. Réserve; Brit. Mus.C.39.h.11; Brunet, II, 1797; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 47; Cañedo, no. 133; Penney p.117.

22) Paris, 1542.

L'orloge des Princes... On les vend à Paris en la grande salle du Palais par Galliot du Pré libraire, M.Vxlii.

Foulché-Delbosc, no. 64; Cañedo, no. 134.


L'orloge des Princes... Oeuvre de tres excellente & admirable doctrine, pour les graves sentences, & rares histoires qui y sont contenues, composé en espaignol, par tresillustre seigneur Don Antonio de Guevara, eveque de Mondognetto, conseiller & croniqueur de l'empereur Charles cinquiem. Traduit en Francoys, & dedi au Roy tres chretien Henry deuxieme de ce nom. A Paris en la boutique de Charles L'Angelie, 1550.

Brunet, II, 1798; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 137; Cañedo, no. 135.


Title as above, with Guevara's name and dedication to Henry II. Paris, en la boutique de Gilles Corrozet, 1550.

B.N.E.3542; Bibl. Univ. de Paris, R.XVI.1403; Brit. Mus. 521.b.14; Foulché-Delbosc, no.138; Cañedo, no.136.


L'orloge des Princes... etc as in two previous editions. A Paris, chez Arnould L'Angelier, 1552.
Brit. Mus. 8005.bbb.6; Foulché-Delbosc, no.154; Cañedo, no. 137.

26) Paris, 1555.

L'Horloge des Princes, avec le tresrenommé livre de Marc Aurele... Traduit en partie de Castillan en Francois par feu N. de Herberay seigneur des Essarts, et en partie revu et corrigé nouvellement outre les precedentes impressions... A Paris de l'imprimerie de Guillaume Le Noir, 1555.

B.N.Rés. "E.143; Brunet, II, 1798; Foulché-Delbosc, no.192; Cañedo, no.138.

27) Paris, 1556.

As above. A Paris, Charles L'Angelier, libraire, 1556.

Bibl. Univ. de Paris, R.ra.45; Foulché-Delbosc, no.193; Cañedo, no.139.

28) Paris, 1556.

L'orloge des Princes... Colophon: imprimé a Paris par Benoist Provost, rue Frementel, a l'enseigne de l'estoille, 1556.

Library of Congress, Washington; Cañedo, no.140.


L'orloge des Princes... continues as in edition of 1555. A Paris, pour Charles L'Angelier... 1561.

Foulché-Delbosc, no. 289; Cañedo, no. 141.


Foulché-Delbosc, no. 290; Cañedo, no. 142.

31) Poitiers, 1561.

Relox de Principes. Traduccion Francesa.

Edition recorded by Cañedo, after the manuscript notes of P. Anastasio Lopez, who gave no further information as to sources etc. This edition is not recorded by
La Bovarière, the authority on printing in Poitiers in this period.
Canedo, no. 144.

Par Estienne Groulleau, à Paris, 1561.
Foulché-Delbosc, no. 291; Canedo, no. 143.

33) Paris, 1564.
Foulché-Delbosc, no. 303; Canedo, no. 145.

34) Paris, 1564.
As above, Paris, chez Guillaume Julien, 1564.
Foulché-Delbosc, no. 304; Canedo, no. 146.

Bibl. Mazarine, 5629 A; Brunet, II, 1798; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 517; Canedo, no. 147.

36) Paris, 1565.
L'horloge des Princes, avec le tresrenomme livre de Marc Aurele...Traduit en partie de Castilian en Francois par feu N. de Herberay, Seigneur des Essarts, et depuis reveu & corrigé outre les precedentes impressions par ce devant imprimées. A Paris, pour Robert Le Mangier...1565.
Brunet, II, 1798; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 319; Canedo, no. 149.

37) Paris, 1565.
Title page as above. A Paris, chez Guillaume Julien, 1565.
Foulché-Delbosc, no. 319; Canedo, no. 149.

38) Paris, 1565.
Title as above. A Paris, chez Gilles Courbin, 1565.
Foulché-Delbosc, no. 320; Canedo, no. 150.


The privilege was granted on July 30th, 1555 for nine years, to take effect from the date of the first impression.

The dedication is to Monseigneur le Reverendissime Cardinal de Givry, Pair de France, & duc de Langres.
The edition also has an introductory epigram, by Jean Corrozet, to the reader.

Jean Corrozet, Au Lecteur

Icy lecteur, tu oys bruire la grand merveille
Du ciel, de l'Air, de l'Eau, & de la terre ronde,
Icy lecteur tu vois les traverses du monde.
Pourquoy donç ne lis tu? L'Horloge te reveille.

Colophon: Achevé d'imprimer le vingt neufieme jour d'octobre, mil cinq cens soixante quatre.

This edition is not mentioned in any of the bibliographies I have consulted.

Brit. Mus. 8010 a.57.
40) Paris, 1566.
L'Horloge des Princes...tr. de Herberay. A Paris, Claude Gautier, 1566.
Brunet, II, 1798; Cañedo, no. 151.

41) Paris, 1566.
L'Horloge des princes, avec le tresrenommed livre de Marc Aurele... continues as in 1565 editions. A Paris, pour Jean Corrozet, 1566.
Foulché-Delbosc, no. 325; Cañedo, no. 152.

42) Paris, 1566.
Title as above. A Paris, par Jacques Macé, libraire, 1566.
Bibl. Univ. de Paris, S.G.p.76; Brit. Mus. 1154.b.41; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 326; Cañedo, no. 153; Penney, p.116.

43) Paris, 1569.
L'Horloge des Princes, avec le tresrenommed livre de Marc Aurele... Paris, Jean Huelle, 1569.
Brunet, II, 1798; Foulché-Delbosc, no.345; Cañedo, no.154.

44) Paris, 1572.
Foulché-Delbosc, no. 376; Cañedo, no. 155.

45) Paris, 1576.
L'Horloge des Princes, avec le tresrenommed livre de Marc Aurele etc...as in editions of 1565... A Paris, chez Michel Sonnus M.D.LXXVI.
Bibl. Univ. de Paris, S.G.p.77; Foulché-Delbosc, no.434; Cañedo, no. 156.
46) Paris, 1576.

As above. A Paris, chez Jean de Bordeaux, M.D.LXXVI.

Brit. Mus. 1248 c.22; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 435; Cañedo, no. 157.

47) Paris, 1576.

Title page as above. A Paris, chez Nicolas Chesneau & Jean Poupy, M. D. LXXVI.

Foulché-Delbosc, no. 436; Cañedo, no. 158.

48) Rouen, 1576.

L’horloge des Princes, avec l’histoire de Marc Aurele... traduit de Castilian en François par R.B. de La Grise; revu & corrigé par N. de Herboray, Rouen, 1576.

Foulché-Delbosc, no. 437; Cañedo, no. 159.

49) Paris, 1577.

L’horloge des Princes... tr. R.B. de La Grise.

Bibl. Municipale de Toulouse; Cañedo, no. 160.

50) Paris, 1578.

L’horloge des Princes etc... A Paris, chez Jean Poupy M.D.LXXVIII.

Foulché-Delbosc, no. 438; Cañedo, no. 161.

51) Paris, 1578.

L’Horloge des Princes, revu De Herboray, Paris, G. Beys, 1578.

There is no reference to this edition in any of the works I have consulted.

B.N°E. 1123.

52) Paris, 1580.

L’Horloge des Princes avec le tresrenomme livre de Marc Aurele... continues as in previous edition. A Paris, par Nicolas Bonfons, 1580.
Title page as above. A Paris, chez Thomas Perier, M.D.LXXX.
Foulché-Delbosc, no. 512; Cañedo, no. 165.

56) Paris, 1583.

L'Horloge des princes, contenant la vie, moeurs, & graves discours de Marc Antonin, recueilli de divers authours, & traduit en francais par J. Lambert, religieux de l'ordre de Cluny. A Paris, pour Jean Houze, M.D.LXXXIII.
Collection H. Vaganay, Lyons; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 547; Cañedo, no. 166.

57) Paris, 1588.

L'Horloge des princes avec les tresrenommé livre de Marc Aurele, recueilli par Don Antoine de Guevare, Evêque de Guadix & de Mondonedo. Traduit en partie de Castillan en Françoís par feu N. de Herberay, seigneur des Bessarga, & depuis revu & corrigé nouvellement...Paris, Gabriel Buon, 1588.

Brunet, II, 1798; Maggs Bros. Spanish Books No. 441; Cañedo, no. 167.
56) Paris, 1588.

L'horloge des princes avec le tresrenommé livre de Marc Aurele, etc... à Paris, chez Jean Le Bouc libraire, 1588. Colophon: de l'imprimerie de Denis Cotinet.

Collection H. Vaganay, Lyons; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 608; Cañedo, no. 168.

57) Paris, 1588.

As above. Paris, D. Cotinnet, imprimeur, 1588.

Foulché-Delbosc, no. 609; Cañedo, no. 169.

58) Paris, 1588.


B.N. 3344; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 610; Cañedo, no. 170.

59) Paris, 1588.

As above, Paris, J. Mace, 1588.

Foulché-Delbosc, no. 611; Cañedo, no. 171.

60) Antwerp, 1592.

L'horloge des princes, avec le tresrenommé livre de Marc Aurele... à Anvers, chez Jean Keerbergh, l'an M.D.XCII. Avec Privilege du Roy pour six ans.

Brit. Mus. C.73.a.19; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 635; Cañedo, no. 172.

61) Lyons, 1592.


Baudrier, VI, p.28; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 636; Cañedo, no. 173.
64) Rouen, 1594.

*La Nouvelle Horloge des princes, contenant la vie, moeurs, extrait (sic) en partie de Antoine de Guevara & de divers autres autheurs, par Jean Lambert, Rouen, 1594.*

Foulché-Delbosc, no. 651; Canedo, no. 174.

### III. Una Década de Césares

An interval of ten years elapsed between the publication of the *Relox de Príncipes*, and the publication, in 1539\(^1\), of this work. The French translator was Antoine Allègre.\(^2\) There were only two editions of the French translation published in the sixteenth century.

Guevara seems to have intended this work as a sequel to Plutarch's *Lives*. The second edition of the French translation was in fact printed together with Amyot's translation of the *Lives*.

65) Paris, 1556.


B.N. Inv.J.3786 and J,3786; Foulché-Delbosc, no.194; Canedo, no.223.


*Décade contenant la vie des empeureurs, Traian, Adrien etc... où sont contenues, outre l'histoire, plusieurs*  

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2) Also the translator of the *Menosprecio*. See below, p. 636.
IV.  L’Aviso de Privados

This work, the first of Guevara’s two treatises on court life, was first published in Spain, in 1539, in the edition of the Obras which Villaquirán produced. 1)

It was first published in French in 1556, under the title of Le Favoírv de Court, but was subsequently published only twice more in French in the sixteenth century. Its translator was Jacques de Rochemore, “lieutenant particulier en la Senchaussée & siege presidial de Beaucaire & Nismes en Languedoc.” 2)

The most interesting aspect of the bibliographical history of this work is the incredible confusion which surrounded it from the sixteenth century to more recent times. It is described by most bibliographers as just another translation of the Menosprecio. Thus Brunet, recording the first edition of Le Favoírv de Court, by

1) See above, p. 63, n.1. This edition contained the Década. Aviso and Menosprecio.

2) On Jacques de Rochemore, in addition to the short notice in La Croix du Maine et Du Verdier, see M. Nicolas, Histoire Littéraire de Nîmes, Nîmes and Paris, 1854 vol.I, pp. 204-5.
Guillaume Roville at Lyons, adds, "autre traduction du Mènesprecio". And Baudrier, in his Bibliographie Lyonnaise, having described the same first edition, writes "une traduction du Mènesprecio de La Corte d'Ant. de Guevara différente des traductions faites par Antoine d'Alaigre et par Louis Turquet." Cartier, makes the same mistake of thinking that Rochemore's translation of the Favory de Court was a third translation of the Mènesprecio. He says, "à côté de la traduction d'Antoine Alaigre, il en a été publié deux autres du Mènesprecio, celles de Jacques de Rochemore, Lyon, Guillaume Roville, 1556, et celle de Louis Turquet. The reason for such confusion is perhaps not too difficult to find. Copies of the Favory de Court were hard to come by even in the sixteenth century. It is therefore quite probable that some authorities reached their conclusions without ever having seen a copy of the book, and even those who may have seen the work, if they gave only the initial chapters a cursory perusal would have been misled by the

1) op. cit. Vol. II, col. 1799.
2) op. cit. vol. IX, p. 231.
3) op. cit. I, 8.
condemnation of court life which is to be found there. 1)

The Aviso de privados was also translated into Dutch, English, German, Italian and Swedish.

67) Lyons, 1556.

Le Favory de Court, Contenant plusieurs adversissements & bonnes doctrines, pour les favoris des Princes & autres Seigneurs & Gentilshommes, qui hantent la court: nouvellement traduit d'Espaignol en Françoys, par maistre Jaques de Rochemore. A Lyon, par Guillaume Roville, à l'escu de Venise.

Brit. Mus. 1050 .c.16; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 206; Cañedo, no. 249; Brunet, II, 1799.

68) Lyons, 1556.

As above.

Foulché-Delbosc, no. 209; Cañedo, no. 250.

69) Antwerp, 1557.

Le Favory de Court etc.. nouvellement traduit d'Espaignol en Français, par maistre Jaques de Rochemore, en Anvers Chez Christofle Plantin, 1557, à la Licorne d'Or.

B.N. *E 3507; Brit. Mus. 878 .c.15; Brunet, II, 1800; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 229; Cañedo, no. 251.

1) However, had they read Rochemore's own dedication of his translation, to Montmorency, they would have had no grounds for confusion at all. In the following sentence Rochemore makes it clear that the Memosprego was a distinctly different work. "Bien me desplaisit qu'il n'ayt tel langage coulant & propre que l'auteur meriteroit estant ja de vous & autres seigneurs assès connu par son Marc Aurele, dit L'Horloge des Princes, & Mespris de la Court, traduits aussi en nostre langue par plus suffisans que moy."
V. Menosprecio de Corte y Alabanza de Aldea

Like the Década and the Aviso, the Menosprecio was first published by Villaquirán at Valladolid in 1539 in the edition of the Obras.¹ Always one of Guevara’s most popular works, it has been republished continuously up to the present day.

Three years after its first edition in Spain, the Menosprecio was published in a French translation at Lyons, by Estienne Dolet, under the title of Du Mepris de court et de la louange de vie rustique. Its success was immediate. Dolet’s edition was followed in the same year by one from Pierre de Tours, at Lyons, while in the course of the next year three new editions, and a reimpersion are recorded. In the 27 years from 1542-69, it was given no fewer than 26 times!

In 1591, and in 1605, multi-lingual editions were published with the Spanish text, and the French and Italian translation (in 1605 Germañ was also added), on the same page.

The first French translator of the Menosprecio was Antoine Allègre who, according to the account of La Croix Du Maine et Du Verdier, was from La Tour in Auvergne, and held the position of “chanoine of Clermont”.² It is not surprising therefore to find that he dedicates his translation to

¹ Ed. cit. See above p.432, n.1.
² op. cit. vol. I, p.28 and vol. III, p.91. Allègre, in translating the Menosprecio, did not always respect Guevara’s text.
Guillaume Du Prat who was himself bishop of Clermont and later Cardinal. Allègre was also, we remember, responsible for the French translation, in 1556, of the Década.

A new French translation of this work did not appear until 1591, in the Geneva edition of Jean de Tournes. It was by one Léon Turquet, Lyonnais, about whom little is known, apart from the fact that he had previously translated some of the writings of the Spanish humanist Vives, and the treatise of Cornelius Agrippa, De Vanitate Scientiarum, from the Latin.

Like Guevara's other works, the success of the Menosprecio was European-wide. It was frequently translated into German, English, Dutch, Latin, Italian and Swedish.

70) Lyons, 1542.
B.N.Rés.R.2732; Foulché-Delbosc, no.62; Cañedo, no.293.

71) Lyons, 1542.
As above. Pierre de Tours, a Lyon, 1542.
Brunet, II, 1739; Foulché-Delbosc, no.63; Cañedo, no.294.

2) Continued. In fact he pruned quite considerably, especially in the long, and sometimes tedious passages of enumeration, and antithesis, where Guevara unashamedly gives way to rhetorical exuberance. These differences, between the translation and the original, which have often allowed us to determine when a French imitator was actually relying on the translation, have been indicated in the text of the thesis. See above, p. 498.

1) op. cit. vol. IV, p. 629.
72) Paris, 1542.

No details known. The existence of such an edition is very doubtful since it is quoted only by Sanchez, vol. I, art. Guevara, p. 219 sqq.

73) Paris, 1543.

Du Mespris de la court et de la louange de la vie rustique. Imprime a Paris, par Adam Saulnier, 1543.

Brunet, II, 1799; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 68; Cañedo, no. 296.

74) Lyons, 1545.

Du Mespris de la court... Lyon, Fr. Juste, 1545.

Brunet, II, 1799; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 69; Cañedo, no. 296.

75) Lyons, 1543.

De Mespris de la court, et de la louange de la vie rustique. Nouvellement traduit d'Espagnol, en Français. A Lyon, par Jean de Tournes, 1543.


76) Lyons, 1543.

Du Mespris de Court... A Lyon, par Estienne Dolet, 1543.

A reprint of the first Lyon edition of Dolet. The only reference to this edition is that of Cartier, loc. cit., who mentions it as one of the four 1543 editions.

77) Paris, 1544.

Le Mespris de la Court, avec la vie rustique. Nouvellement traduit despaignol en françois. On les vend a Paris au clos bruneau, à l'enseigne de la corne de cerf, par Guillaume Le bret.

Library of Congress, Washington; Brunet, II, 1799; Cañedo, no. 297.

78) Paris, 1544.

Le Mespris de la Court, Avec la vie Rustique. Nouvellement traduit d'espagnol en François. L'Amie de Court. La parfaicte amye. La contr'amye. L'androzyne

This is the first edition in which Guevara's work was printed with the poems comprising the polemic of the Querelle des Amies.

B.N.Rés.p.R.398 (1); Chantilly, cat. III, 370; Brunet, II, 1799; Gohin; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 74; Cañedo, no. 298.


As above, with appendages. Paris, Guillaume Thibault, 1544.

Brit. Mus. 1477. cc. 86; Brunet, II, 1799; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 75; Cañedo, no. 299.

80) Paris, 1545.

As above. A Paris, ches Jean Ruelle, 1545.

The title Androgyne of the 1544 edition has been corrected to Androgyne.

Bibl. Mazarine, Rés.36582; Gohin; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 95; Cañedo, no. 300.

81) Paris, 1546.

As above, with appendages. Vendue par Abel l'Angelier.

Lyons, Collection M. Vaganay; Gohin; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 94; Cañedo, no. 301.

82) Paris, 1546.

Le Mespris de Court, avec la vie Rustique. Paris, à l'enseigne Saint Nicolas.

Foulché-Delbosc, no. 93; Cañedo, no. 302.

83) Paris, 1546.


Maggs Bros. Spanish Books, no. 446; Cañedo, no. 303.
84) Paris, 1549.

Le Mespris de la Court avec la vie rustique nouvellement traduit d'espagnol en françois. L'Ame de court par le seigneur de Friderie (sic), la parfaite amye de court par Antoine Hercoet dit la Maison Neuve; la Contre-amye de Court par Ch. Fontaine; l'Androgynie de Platon par Antoine Héroet; l'Experience de l'amye de court contre la contre-amye par Paul Angier carentennois; le nouvel amour inventé par le Seigneur Papillon. Paris, au clos Bruneau, par Guillaume Le Bret, ou Maurice de La Porte, 1549.

Chantilly, cat. III, 971; Brunet, II, 1799; Gohin; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 115; Cañedo, no. 304.

85) Paris, 1549.

Le Mespris de la Court, avec la vie rustique à Paris, chez Guillaume Thibout, 1549.

Foulché-Delbosc, no. 116; Cañedo, no. 305.

86) Paris, 1550.

Le Mespris de la Court, avec la vie rustique etc. With appendages. A Paris, Jean Ruelle, 1550.

Bibl. de l'Arsenal, S.A. 3245; Gohin; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 136; Cañedo, no. 306.

87) Paris, 1551.


Munich, Ph. Fr. 607; Gohin; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 143; Cañedo, no. 307.

88) Paris, 1551.

Le Mespris de la Court, avec la vie Rustique, pas E. Grouilleau, à Paris, 1551.

Cartier, I, 8— after La Croix du Maino et Du Verdier.
89) Paris, 1551.

As above. Chez Guillaume Thiboult, 1551.

Foulché-Delbosc, no. 144; Canedo, no. 308.

90) Lyons, 1551.

As above. Lyon par Jean de Tournes, 1551.

The preparation of the text for this edition was due, according to Cartier, to Antoine Du Moulin, who also prepared the text for De Tournes' 1550 edition of the Libro Aureo.

Brit. Mus. 525,a.40; Brunet, II, 1799; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 145; Canedo, no. 309.

91) Paris, 1556.

Le Mespris de la Court... with appendages. A Paris, par Anet Briere, 1556.

Bibl. de l'Arsenal, S.A 3246; Munich, Ph.Pr.608; Brit. Mus. 11474.a.25; Cohin; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 145; Canedo, no. 310.

92) Paris, 1556.

Le Mespris de la court, avec la vie rustique. A Paris, par Jean Longis, 1556.

Brit. Mus. 11474.de.18; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 209; Canedo, no. 311.

93) Antwerp, 1557.

Menosprecio (sic) de la Corte. Traducción francesa de Santiago de Rochemore. En Anvers, Plantin.

This hybrid edition is thus recorded by Canedo, after Pesters-Fontainas. It seems to be the result of the confusion which arose between the Menosprecio and the Aviso, a confusion perpetuated by generations of bibliographers.1) In all probability, the edition here referred to as an edition of the Menosprecio, is simply the third edition of the sixteenth French translation by Jacques (in Spanish Santiago) de Rochemore of the

1) See above, pp. 633-4.
Favory de Court, which C. Plantin is known to have printed in 1557. At no time is Plantin recorded as having given any edition in French of the "Menosprecio."

Cañedo, no. 312.

94) Paris, 1568.

Le Mespris de la Court, avec la vie rustique etc...

B.N.Z. 32449; Gohin; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 335; Cañedo, no. 312.

95) Paris, 1568.

Le Mespris de la Court, ... with appendages as above.
A Paris, Robert le Mangier, 1568.

Bibl. de l'Arsenal, S.A.2347; Gohin; Cañedo, no. 314.

Multi-lingual Editions of "Menosprecio"

96) Geneva, 1591.

Libro llamado "Menosprecio de Corte y Alabanza de áldea", Compuesto por el ilustre senor don Antonio de Guevara, Obispo de Mondenedo, predicador, y cronista, y del consejo de su Majestad. De nuevo mis en François par L.T.L. (Louis Turquet Lyonnaig), auquel avons adjousté l'Italien, pour l'utilité & soulagement de ceux qui prennent plaisir aux vulgarisés qui son aujourd'hui les plus cy estimés. Pour plus grand enrichissement de cest ouvrage y ont esté adjousté les vers francois des Moines de Meaux & de Cambray & les latins de N. de Clemaiges Docteur en Theologie, sur la grande disparité de la vie rustique avec celle de cour. M.D.XCI. Par Jean de Tournes, Avec Privilege du Roy.

1) See above, p. 635.
The Spanish text and the French translation are printed in two columns side by side, with the Italian at the bottom, all on the same page.

The edition is dedicated by Jean de Tournes to M. de Langes, (president en la Seneschauzée et siege presidial à Lyon). The letter of dedication contains many interesting details about the present edition. De Tournes tells us that M. de Langes had repeatedly asked him, by word of mouth and in several letters which he had written to De Tournes after his move to Geneva, to produce an edition of the Menosprecio. The Spanish text, we are told, is taken from the original Spanish edition printed at Antwerp, (M. Mutius, s.d.), and the Italian from the Venice edition of 1562.

Speaking of the new French translation, given here for the first time, Jean de Tournes says, "un mien amy & patriote, qui vous aime & honnore, m'a fait ce plaisir de me le traduire de l'Espagnol, auquel je ne suis encore guère bien versé ..." In the opinion of La Monnaye (note, La Croix Du Maine, I. 229, art. Jacques de Rochemore) and also probably of De Tournes himself, the translation by Louis Turquet was superior to that of Antoine Allègre.

The text of the Menosprecio is followed, on pp. 544-545 by the poem, of 32 decasyllables, by Philippe de Vitriac, Bishop of Meaux, called "Combien est heureuse la vie de celuy qui fait sa demeure aux champs."

pp. 545-547 Idem Latine per N. de Clemangis.

pp. 547-548 Combien est miserable la vie du Tyran: per Pierre d'Ailliac, Bishop of Cambrai.


Philippe de Vitriac, bishop of Meaux, was elevated to that position in 1351, and he died in June, 1361. The poem described above was known as Les Dits de Franc Gentier, from the name of the countryman whom the poet introduces to demonstrate that country life is superior to that of court life.

Pierre d'Ailliac, or Ailly, born at Compiègne in 1350, was first Chancellor of the University of Paris before becoming bishop of Cambrai, and finally Cardinal and Papal legate. He died in 1420 or 1425. His poem, likewise of 32 lines, written at the beginning of the 15th century and describing
the pomp and splendour of the life of a great nobleman, was known as the Contredits de Franc Contier.

Nicolas de Cléanges, 1360-1440, who was the author of the Latin translation of both these poems, was a doctor of theology and arch-deacon of Bayeux.

The date of the Privilege is 21st January, 1574, but its duration was expressly stipulated to take effect on the date of the first impression.

Colophon: Achevé d'Imprimer le 20 may, 1591.

B.N. de Madrid, R/15622; Brit. Mus. 3404.a.27; Brunet, II, 1799; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 625; Cañedo, no. 330.


Mespris de la Court, Et Louange de la vie rustique, composé premièremenent en Espagnol par dom Antoine de Guevarro, évêque de Mondongedo, Prédicateur, Historiographe, & Conseiller de l'Empereur: & depuis traduit en Italien, Françoïs, & Allemand. Toutes lesquelles langues nous avons jointes ensemble en este seconde edition etc. A la fin du livre se voyent les vers françois des Evêques de Meaux & de Cambray, & les latins de N. de Cléamanges docteur en théologie, sur la grande disparité de la vie rustique avec celle de cour. Par Jean de Tournes, M.DCV.

This edition also includes Horace's Beatus Ille etc., and from Seneca's Hippolytus the lines Non alia magis etc.

Speaking of this edition, Cañedo says that he had heard of another Geneva edition, of 1602, and adds that he had been unable to obtain confirmation of the existence of such an edition. In fact, the catalogue of the British Museum lists a Geneva edition of 1602, by de Tournes, which, however, on examination, proved to be the 1605 edition which we have just quoted.

B.N.Rés. R.2455; B.N. de Madrid R/7080; Brit. Mus. 3408.a.2; Brunet, II, 1799; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 761; Cañedo, no. 331.

VI. Epistolae Familiares

The success of the Epistolae Familiares was, biblio-
graphically, comparable to that of the *Relox de principes*. The first part of the *Epistolas* was published for the first time in 1539;\(^1\) the second volume followed two years later in 1541.\(^2\)

Once again, this is another of Guevara's works the success of which seems to have been greater abroad, particularly in France and Italy, than at home. The first French edition was published at Lyons by Mace Bonhomme, and it was followed by 34 more before the end of the century. Du Verdier, in the *Bibliothèques Françaises*,\(^3\) gives a lengthy and eulogistic assessment of the *Epistolas*, while another contemporary, Montaigne expresses a very different, even acid judgement of the literary merits of this work which did not however prevent him from borrowing from it.\(^4\)

The first French translation was that of J. de Guterry,\(^5\) doctor to the Cardinal of Lorraine, and himself of Spanish origin. Guterry translated the first two books of the *Epistolas*.

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1) By Villaquirán, at Valladolid. Foulché-Delbosc, no. 19; Cañedo, no. 345.

2) By the same printer. There is still some controversy as to the exact date of the first edition of the second volume. On this point see Cañedo, nos. 346, 347, 349.


4) *Essais*, liv. I, ch. 48. Montaigne writes of them "desquelles ceux qui les appelle dorées, faisoient jugement bien autre que celuy que j'en fay." On Montaigne's debt to Guevara see Clement, *loc. cit.*

5) On Guterry see La Croix du Maine, *op. cit.*
In 1560, a French translation of a third book of letters, together with an account of the Guerra de Comunidades, and the short treatise the Arte de Marear, was published at Lyons. This French translation, made from the Italian translation of Alfonse d'Ulloa, was by Antoine du Finet - "Sieur du Norroy, natif de Besançon en la Franche Comté." The contents of this volume, apart from those letters relating to the revolt, which had been included in the first book in Spanish editions of the letters, and the Arte de Marear, are spurious additions from the pen of the Italian translator Ulloa. The contents of a fourth book of letters which first appeared in Paris in 1584, are again the work of Ulloa.

98) Lyons, 1556.


This edition contains only the first book of the letters. Although the British Museum catalogue lists an edition of this year, 1556, the copy in question is clearly dated 1558 on the title page.

Brunet, II, 1801; Baudrier, X, 248; Pouliche-Delbosc, no. 210; Cañedo, no. 408.

99) Lyons, 1557.

Epistres Dorées Morales & Familieres etc. as above. A Lyon, Par Macé Bonhomme, 1557. Avec Privilège pour 10 ans.

Second impression of the first edition.
Baudrier, X, 253; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 230; Cañedo, no. 409.

100) Lyons, 1558.

Epistres Dorées Morales et Familieres de Don Antoine de Guevara etc...as above. Tome Premier. A Lyon, par Macé Bonhomme à la Masse d'Or. M.D.LVIII.
Avec Privilège du Roy pour dix ans.


The British Museum copy of this edition is bound together with the first edition of the second book of the letters, 1559 (see below no. 101) and with the 1560 edition of the third book of the letters (see below no. 103).

B.N.Z.3398 and Rés.Z.227; Brit. Mus. 88.k.14; Brunet,II, 1801; Baudrier, X.256; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 254; Cañedo, no. 410.

101) Lyons, 1559.

Par Macé Bonhomme, à la Masse d'Or, 1559.

Privilege granted 2nd June, 1559.
Lesdites Epistres Dorées furent achevées d'imprimer le 4 mars 1559.


Brit. Mus. 88.k.14; Baudrier X, 260; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 244; Cañedo, no. 411.

102) Lyons, 1560.


B.N. 4.Z.1881; Baudrier X.263; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 267; Cañedo, no. 412.
103) Lyons, 1560.


Brit. Mus. 88.k.14; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 268; Cañedo, no. 415.

104) Paris, 1563.

Les Epistres etc...tr. Guterry. La Revolte etc...tr.de l'Italien (par du Pinet) Paris, Jacques Kerver, en la rue Saint Jacques à la Licorne.

It would appear, from the title, that this was the first edition to give all three books in one volume.

Foulché-Delbosc, no. 300; Cañedo, no. 414.


As above. Par Jean Ruelle, libraire, 1563.

Bibl. de l'Arsenal, B.L. 19239A - 8°; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 301; Cañedo, no. 415.


B.N. Z. 16263 and 16364; Brunet, II, 1801; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 315; Cañedo, no. 416.


As above. Par Pierre & Galiot du Pré, imprimé à Paris par Jean Le Blanc pour J. Kerver & Galiot du Pré, 1565.
Bibl. de l’Arsenal, B.L. 19299A2-80; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 316; Cañedo, no. 417.


As above. Paris, Jacques Macé, 1566.
Foulché-Delbosc, no. 324; Cañedo, no. 418.


As edition of 1563. Par Jean Ruelle, libraire.
Bibl. de l’Arsenal, B.L 19299 B-80; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 353; Cañedo, no. 419.


As above. Par Jean Ruelle le Jeune.
Brunet, II. 1801; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 354; Cañedo, no. 420.


As above. Par Galiot du Pré, 1570.
Foulché-Delbosc, no. 355; Cañedo, no. 421.


Les Epistres Dorées... tr. Guterry etc. Paris, Olivier de Harsy.

I am unable to say whether this edition contains all three books in one volume, as the previous ones, from 1563, have. This edition is quoted only by Sanchez, who gives no details.
Sanchez, I. 221.

113) Paris, 1573.

Galiot du Pré, pour Gabriel Buon.

Same format and pagination as the 1570 Galiot du Pré edition.

Brunet, II. 1801; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 394; Cañedo, no. 432; Penney, p. 116.
114) Paris, 1573.


Foulché-Delbosc, no. 395; Cañedo, no. 423.

115) Paris, 1573.

As above. De l’Imprimerie d’Olivier de Harsy.

Foulché-Delbosc, no. 396; Cañedo, no. 424.


As above. A Paris, chez Claude Gautier, 1573.

B.N.Z. 16265; Bibl. Mazarine, 25105; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 397; Cañedo, no. 425.

117) Lyons, 1575.


B.N.Z. 19671 (incomplete); Collection H. Vaganay, Lyons; Baudrier IV, 49; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 423; Cañedo, no. 426.

118) Paris, 1577.

Pour Claude Gautier, libraire.

Bibl. de l’Univ. de Paris, T.T.a.34; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 465; Cañedo, no. 427.


As above. Jean Bordeaux à Paris, 1577.

B.N.Z. 16266; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 467; Cañedo, no. 428.
120) Paris, 1577.
Cañedo, no. 429.

121) Lyons, 1578.
Edition identical with previous. Par Estienne Michel.
B. N. Z. 16267; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 481; Cañedo, no. 430.

Title same as in previous editions with slight orthographical variations. A Paris, chez Guillaume de la Noue, M.D.LXXIX.
Bibl. de l'Arsenal, B.L. 19300 bis 8°; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 495; Cañedo, no. 431.

As above. Chez Gilles Beys, M.D.LXXIX.
Bibl. de l'Arsenal, B.L. 19300 bis 8°; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 496; Cañedo, no. 432.

124) Paris, 1580.
Pour Abel L'Angelier, M.D.LXXX.
Bibl. Municipale de Bordeaux; Cañedo, no. 433.

125) Paris, 1584.
Le quatrième et dernier livre des epistres dorées.
Tr. en Français de l'Italien de Alfonso d'Ulloa par F. Jean de Barraud, Bourdeois, Religieux de l'ordre de l'Observance, etudiant en Theologie. Chez Robert le Fizelier, 1584.
A spurious addition to Guevara's work.
B. N. Z. 16271; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 555; Cañedo, no. 434.

126) Paris, 1585.
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Tr. de Guterry. De l'Imprimerie de Nicolas Bonfons.
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127) Lyons, 1588.
B.N.Z.16270; Brit. Mus. 850.c.2; Baudrier, III. 408; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 612; Cañedo, no. 436; Penney, p.116.

128) Paris, 1588.
As above. Chez Gabriel Buon.
B.N.Z.16268; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 613; Cañedo, no. 437.

129) Paris, 1588.
As above. Par Charles Roger, Imprimeur.
B.N.Z. 16269; Foulché-Delbosc, no. 614; Cañedo, no. 438.

130) Paris, 1588.
Foulché-Delbosc, no. 615; Cañedo, no. 439.

131) Antwerp, 1591.
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132) Paris, 1596.
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III. Medieval and Early Renaissance Works.
IV. Sixteenth Century Works.
   a) Neo-Latin.
   b) Italian.
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   d) French.
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