A CRITICAL EDITION OF THE PERSONAL POETRY OF CLAUDE CHAPPUYS

ALINE MARY BEST

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ABSTRACT

The thesis consists of a critical edition of the personal poetry of Claude Chappuys, one of the minor poets of the court of François I. Chappuys' personal poetry consists of his non-political poems, namely his epistles and "poèmes", blasons and epigrams. These poems, which were unpublished for the most part in the sixteenth century, are found scattered throughout the manuscripts of the period.

The Introduction to the edition consists of a Biography of Chappuys, including a section on his relations with the other court poets of the period, a Literary Study of his personal poetry, and a chapter on the Text comprising sections on the authenticity of attributions, on the arrangement of the edition and on the establishment of the text. There follows a list of Sigla and a Bibliography.

The text of Chappuys' personal poetry is then given with full variants and footnotes.

After the text there follows a Glossary, an Index of Proper Names and an Index of First Lines.

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I. BIOGRAPHY

With Claude Chappuys, as with Clément Marot, Mellin de Saint-Gelays and other court poets of the reign of François I, biographical information is for the most part lacking; we may reconstruct the pattern of their lives only from chance references in the documents of the period, or from rare indications in the works of the poets themselves. In the case of Chappuys, even this second source of information is denied to us, since, with the exception of a few epistles[1] and certain passages of the Discours de la Court,[2] his work does little to enlighten us.

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1. cf. Epistre d'une Navigation, infra, p.256
   Also, Au Roy, infra, p.296
   A Monseigneur le Grant Maistre pour le mesme affaire, infra, p.302
   Encores au Roy pour ce mesme Fait, infra, p.304
   A Monseigneur le Cardinal de Lorraine pour ce mesme affaire, infra, p.306

2. Discours de la court, présenté au Roy par M^e^. Claude Chappuys son libraire, & Varlet de Chambre ordinaire. Avec privilege pour deux ans 1543. On les vend en la Rue neufve Nostre dame a l'enseigne du Faulcheur par André Roffet.

The biographical notices on Chappuys are uninformative and, in some cases, inaccurate.[1] After detailed researches in the

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1. P-F. ROCHE, Claude Chappuys (? - 1575), Poète de la Cour de François Ier, Paris, 1929, p.1., lists the following works containing biographical notices:

LA CROIX DU MAINE et DU VERDIER, Les Bibliothèques Françoises, Paris, 1772, t.I, p.132 and t.III, p.327.
COLLETET, G., Vies des poètes françois, B.N. ms. 3074 n. acq.fr., ff. 44-48.
CAILLE, J. de la, Histoire de l'Imprimerie et de la Librairie, Paris, 1689, p.117.
NICERON, P., Mémoires, Paris, 1729-1745, t.XX IX, p.85-88.
GOUJET, Bibliothèque Françoise, Paris, 1747, t.XI, p.12.
MORERI, Grand Dictionnaire Historique, 1759 edition, t.III p.474
JOLY, T.R., La Franche-Comté ancienne et moderne, Paris, 1779, p.56.
GUILBERT, Ph., Mémoires biographiques et littéraires..., Rouen, 1812, t.I, p.193.
CHALMEL, J-L., Histoire de Touraine, Paris, Tours, 1828, pp.94-96.
MICHAUD, Biographie Universelle, Paris, Leipzig, 1842-1865.
MELLER, Biographie Universelle, Paris, 1847-1850.
HARRISSE, H., Excerpta columbiniana, Paris, 1857, p.299.
FREVE, E., Manuel du Bibliographe Normand, Rouen, 1858, t.I, p.217.
CARRE DE BUSSEROLLE, Dictionnaire géographique, historique et biographique d'Indre-et-Loire, Tours, 1878-1884, t.II, p.214.
FIRMIN-DIDOT, Nouvelle Biographie Générale, Paris, 1885.
BEAUREPAIRE, Ch. de Robillard de, (editor), Le Trésor Immortel de Jacques Sireulde, Rouen, 1899, p.xxvi et seq.

Of these, the most helpful are those of Niceron and Ch. de Beaurepaire. Niceron's account is drawn primarily from the Histoire de l'Eglise Cathedrale de Rouen... by DOM POMMERAYE; that of Beaurepaire, from the Archives Départementales of Seine-Maritime.

Colletet makes of Claude Chappuys two separate persons, one a native of Amboise, the other of Rouen. La Croix du Maine likewise maintains that there were two Claude Chappuys, both natives of Rouen. La Croix du Maine and Colletet, and following them Jean de la Caille and Harrisse erroneously consider Chappuys a "libraire-imprimeur".

documents of the period, L-P. Roche in his monograph on Claude Chappuys,[1] has been able to bring much valuable information to light, and any subsequent account of Chappuys' life will inevitably owe much to his work. Certain documents, which were unknown to Dr. Roche, have, however, allowed me to amplify his account.[2]

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1. op.cit., supra, p. 9

2. In this chapter the references which I have given are taken from Dr. Roche's work, except where I have made a note to the contrary.

Little is known of the early life of Claude Chappuys. Even the year of his birth is unknown to us. It would appear that he was a "Tourangeau", born at Amboise[1], at the beginning of the sixteenth century. All that can be said with certainty is that Chappuys styles himself "clericus turonensis"[2]; Brodeau, moreover, in a poem addressed to him, calls upon him as a poet of the Loire.[3]

It is uncertain when Chappuys entered the service of François I. .

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1. Most of the Notices give Amboise as his place of birth. Carré de Busserolle, loc.cit. claims that Chappuys, like his nephew, Gabriel, the "Historiographe du Roi", was born at Amboise where one of his relations, one Héliot Chappuys, was "sommelier de l'échansonnerie du Dauphin". Héliot Chappuys figures twice in the communal archives of Amboise, in 1472 and again in 1481. (Cf. Abbé C. CHEVALIER, Inventaire analytique des Archives communales d'Amboise, Tours, 1874, p.71 and p.193.) There is, however, no mention in the communal archives of Claude Chappuys.
   The Conservateur of the Archives départementales of Indre-et-Loire was unable to give me any information on Chappuys.
   La Croix du Maine, Colletet and others, who take Rouen as Chappuys' place of birth, were doubtless misled by his long residence in that town.

2. Cf. the Marriage Contract of James V of Scotland, and of Madeleine of France, cit. DUMONT, Corps universel diplomatique du droit des gens, contenant un recueil des traitéz d'alliance de paix, de trêve ... depuis le règne de l'empereur Charlemagne jusques à présent. Amsterdam, 1726-1731. IV, II, p.149.

3. Cf. infra p. 353
"Tous fleuves doulx oubliez vostre gloire", and note.

Heulhard[1] states, without giving his authority, that in 1521 Chappuys was "clerc et sommelier de la chapelle royale". A roll of the "Maison du Roy" for 1523[2] contains a receipt, dated 28th March, 1524, for the sum of "neuf vingtz livres tournois", paid to "Maistre Claude Chappuys" for his services as "sommelier de la chappelle ordinaire durant l'annee de ce compte". Chappuys is again mentioned as "clerc et sommelier de la Chappelle royale" in an undated receipt, apparently of November or December, 1531[3].

We know nothing of these early years at the court of François I. . We may imagine that in the Discours de la Court[4], Chappuys is describing, in part, the experiences of his own youth at the French court, and his early resolve to make his way in the service of the King, as, for instance, in the following lines:

"J'ay apart moy songneusement pensé
Par quelz moyens pourroys estre poulsé
En quelque estat, dignité ou office
De vertueux & honneste exercice,
Pour n'estre point des aultres contemné,
Et pour monstrer au moins que je suis né:
Rendant raison du talent que je doibz..." [5]

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1. A. HEULHARD, Rabelais, ses voyages en Italie, son exil à Metz. Paris, 1891, pp.31-32.

2. Arch.Nat. KK 98, f.35, cit. GUIFFREY, Oeuvres de Marot, II, p.494. It is evident that the date, 28th March 1524, is new style since the preceding receipt in the roll KK 98 is dated 23rd March 1523 (O.S.) The payment is therefore for the year Easter 1523 - Easter 1524. It is impossible to find any earlier mention of Chappuys in the records of the Archives Nationales since the greater part of the "Etats et gages des Officiers de la Maison du Roi" were dispersed under the Revolution, and the Archives Nationales possess no records for the years 1499-1522.

3. P. MARICHAL, Catalogue des Actes de François 1er, Paris, 1887, etc. 10 vol. VII, 641, 27915, undated but occurring in the same Roll (Arch.Nat. J.960, n°.42) as Acts of November and December, 1531.

4. Discours de la Court, Paris, André Roffet, 1543.

5. ib. ll. 139-145.

In 153[illegible] we find Chappuys at Bordeaux with the court of François I on the occasion of the deliverance of the Royal Princes. In a letter[1] to Nicolas Berthereau, secretary of the Grand-Maître, Anne de Montmorency[2], Chappuys recommends to Berthereau the bearer of the letter, who is his cousin and "frere de Gabriele que cognoissez"; he recalls the good services of his cousin's mother, "tant en France que en Espaigne", and mentions that the Queen of Navarre has also written to the Grand Maître on the same subject[3]. This letter to Nicolas Berthereau establishes

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1. Bordeaux, 21st June, (1530), Musée Condé, Papiers Condé, Série L. t.XIV, Lettres de Montmorency (1526-1538), f.298, cit. L-P. ROCHE, op.cit. App.I.

2. Nicolas Berthereau was later to become "Secretaire du Roi", cf. Cat. des Actes, II, 441, 5944, etc.
Cf. also, F. DECRUE DE STOUTZ, Anne de Montmorency, grand maître et connétable de France, à la cour, aux armées et au conseil du roi François 1er, Paris, 1885, pp.100, 310, 335, 375.

3. I have been unable to identify this cousin of Chappuys. By no means all the correspondence of Marguerite de Navarre has been preserved. We do possess, however, certain letters written during the preceding months, in which she recommended to Montmorency Pierre Binet (February), Tristan Lambert (16th March), "le porteur" (April), "le porteur et sa femme, Jehanne la Raye" (14th June), and the "petit-fils de M. de Vilene" (21st June). It is impossible to say whether Chappuys' cousin was one of these persons. It is interesting to note, however, that in all these cases, Marguerite de Navarre requested for her "protégés" a position in the household of the Dauphin, and we may assume that Chappuys sought a similar position for his cousin.
Cf. MARGUERITE DE NAVARRE, Lettres, ed. GENIN, Paris, 1841, 2 vol.;
P. JOURDA, Répertoire analytique et chronologique de la correspondance de Marguerite d'Angoulême, Champion, Paris, 1930, pp.97 et seq.

that Chappuys was already a member of the household of Jean du Bellay, since he refers to him as "monseigneur mon bon maistre et evesque"[1].

In the course of 1532 Chappuys became "libraire du Roi" and "valet de chambre ordinaire". An Act of 21st March 1532 (O.S.)[2] is for the payment to "Claude Chappuis, libraire du roi" of "ses gages depuis le jour de ses provisions au lieu de feu Jean Verdier jusqu'au 31 janvier dernier".[3] From this time onwards Chappuys is almost invariably referred to as the "libraire du roi", or as "maistre Claude, le libraire". We do not know the exact nature and extent of Chappuys' duties as "libraire du roi", although the documents of the period have left us a record of certain of the services which he

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1. Jean du Bellay was at this time Bishop of Bayonne (1526). He was to become Bishop of Paris in 1532, and Cardinal in 1535.
   Cf. M. and G. DU BELLAY, Mémoires de Martin et Guillaume du Bellay, ed. V.L. BOURRILLY and F. VINDRY, Paris, 1908-1919, II, p.34.

2. Cf. Cat. des Actes, II, 360, 5575. (Arch.Nat., Acquits sur l'épargne, J.960c F.37v°), dated 21st March 1532 (O.S.).
   The date, 21st March 1532, is old style since a subsequent receipt of the same roll (Cat. des Actes, II, 382, 5676, Arch.Nat. J.960c F.49) is dated Meaux, 14th April 1533.
   Cf. also, Estats des Officiers de France ... B.N. ms. fr. 7853, F.349v°, and B.N. ms. fr. 7856, F.941.

3. The wording of the receipt makes it clear that Chappuys received the office of "Libraire du roi" in 1532, since payment is until the end of January 1533, and it is unlikely that payment would be made for so short a period as one month. The amount of the payment is not stated.
   Dr. ROCHE, op.cit. p.7, misled by the date of the receipt, maintains that Chappuys was "pourvu de sa charge" in 1533.

rendered the King in this capacity. In March 1533 the King authorised Chappuys to borrow several volumes from the Royal Library at Blois.[1] As these books had not been returned when the Catalogue was drawn up in 1544, we may suppose that they were borrowed for the King's personal use. An undated Act, probably of 1537 or 1538, refers to a similar service: the sum of "19 livres 15 sous" is to be paid to Chappuys "pour avoir fait porter plusieurs livres à la suite du roi au voyage de Dauphiné et de Forez, l'année dernière".[2] At about the same time,[3] Chappuys was reimbursed for the sum of "130 livres 10 sous" which he had paid "à un libraire de

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1. Cf. H. OMONT, La Librairie royale à Blois, Fontainebleau et Paris, Paris, 1908, p.xvii.

2. Cf. Cat. des Actes, VIII, 106, 30212, placed among undated acts attributed to 1537. It would seem more probable, however, that the "voyage de Dauphiné et de Forez" refers to a journey made by François I to Grenoble and Briançon in October and November 1537, cf. Cat. des Actes, Itinéraire, VIII, 498-499. The Act would therefore date from 1538.

3. Cf. Cat. des Actes, VIII, 104, 30199. QUENTIN-BAUCHARD, La Bibliothèque de Fontainebleau et les livres des derniers Valois (1515-1559) à la Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, 1891, dates this piece from about 1538.

Paris, nommé Le Faucheur[1], qui avait par ordre du roi restauré, relié et doré plusieurs livres de sa bibliothèque ..." Chappuys was given charge of the "garniture" and conveyance to Fontainebleau, Paris and Saint-Germain-en-Laye of books which the King had had brought from Turin[2], and in 1544, together with Pierre Du Chastel and Mellin de Saint-Gelays, was responsible for the transfer to Fontainebleau of the Library of Blois.[3]

It would seem that Chappuys retained the office of "libraire du roi" until almost the end of his life. We find receipts for the years 1536[4] and 1543.[5] In 1547, as "Chantre de la Chambre"[6],

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1. Most probably Estienne Roffet, dit le Faulcheur, "libraire - relieur du Roi". Cf. RENOUARD, Imprimeurs Parisiens, Paris, 1898, p.327. Dr. Roche, op.cit. pp.8 & 192 (Index) assumes that the person in question is André Roffet, Estienne Roffet's brother, also known as "le Faulcheur" (cf. RENOUARD, loc.cit.), who was later to publish almost all of Chappuys' political poems: his Panegyrique ... in 1538, the Complaincte de Mars in 1539, the Discours de la Court in 1543, L'Aigle qui a faict la poulle devant le Coq à Landrecy in 1544, and the Sacre et Couronnement du Roy Henry II in 1549.

2. Cf. Cat. des Actes, VIII, 171, 30840.
The Act is again undated, but probably dates from 1538-1539.

3. Cf. H. OMONT, op.cit. p.xviii.

4. B.N. Pièces Originales, 677, dated 9th February 1537.

5. Receipt, dated 6th January 1543, (O.S.). The original document was destroyed in the fire of the Bibliothèque du Louvre. It is reproduced in the Cabinet Historique, V, 1859, p.112, and the Bulletin du Bibliophile, 1868, p.448.

6. We know of no other instance when Chappuys is styled "Chantre de la Chambre".

"Maistre Claude Chapuis, Libraire", received "vii aulnes et demie de drap noir" for the funeral of François I.[1] In the Roll for the reign of Henri II[2] the names of the Librarians are not given; for the reign of François II, 1559-1560, "M. Claude Chapuis, M. Pierre de Montdoré, seigneur de Rondeau, Conseiller au grand Conseil, M. Mathieu Lavisse, garde de la librairie de Fontainebleau" are named as "Libraires à divers gages".[3] The Roll for the reign of Charles IX again does not give the names of the Librarians. It would appear, however, that Chappuys continued to hold the office for some years. In a letter to the Rouen Chapter, dated 3rd June 1563, Charles IX refers to Chappuys as "notre libraire ordinaire"[4], and in the Privilege of the Reduction du Havre de

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1. Cf. B.N. ms.fr. 7856: Roolle et Estat des Seigneurs Cardinaux, Archevesques, Evesques, Princes, Chevaliers, Pairs de France, Officiers domestiques du feu Roy François 1er et de feu Monseigneur le Duc d'Orleans, Et autres Officiers, Auxquels a esté faite delivrance de draps de dueil aux funerailles dudit Roy François 1er, f.958.
   Cf. also, B.N. ms.fr. 7853, f.437v°.

2. Cf. B.N. ms.fr. 7854, f.10v°; B.N. ms.fr. 7856, f.1120.

3. Cf. B.N. ms.fr. 7854, f.107; B.N. ms.fr. 7856, f.1275.

4. Archives départementales de la Seine-Maritime, G.4557, cit. L-P. ROCHE, op.cit. Appendix I, pp.150-151.

Grace,[1] published in the same year, Chappuys is styled "Libraire du Roy & Chanoyne de Rouen". It is probable that after 1565 Chappuys no longer held the office of "libraire du Roy": up till 1565 the Roll for the reign of Charles IX gives three "libraires"; from 1566 onwards there is only one "libraire", and we may suppose that at this point the ageing Chappuys relinquished his office.[2]

In 1530, as we have seen[3], Chappuys was already attached to the household of Jean du Bellay. In the early part of 1534 Chappuys accompanied Jean du Bellay on a diplomatic mission to Rome, where the Bishop of Paris was to seek to persuade Clement VII to withdraw his bull of excommunication against Henry VIII of England[4]. Jean du Bellay left Piépape in Haute-Marne towards the

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1. La Reduction du Havre de Grace par le Roy Charles, neufiesme de ce nom. A Rouen. Chez Martin le Mesgissier, Libraire & Imprimeur, tenant sa boutique au hault des degrez du Palais. M.D. LXIII.

2. Cf. B.N. ms.fr. 7854, f.129. Dr. ROCHE, op.cit. p.7, merely states that Chappuys retained the office "jusque vers la fin de sa vie".

3. Cf. supra, p.14

4. Cf. V.L. BOURRILLY, Le Cardinal Jean du Bellay en Italie, (juin 1535 - mars 1536). R.E.R. V.1907, p.233.

middle of January[1], and at Lyons he engaged the services of François Rabelais. The party reached Rome on 2nd February, and stayed at the house of the Bishop of Faenza[2].

During his stay at Rome, Rabelais prepared a work on the topography of ancient Rome. He was aided in his researches by two young secretaries of Du Bellay's household, Nicolas le Roy[3] and Claude Chappuys, as he himself declared in a letter of dedication of Jean du Bellay:

> "Cum itaque manendum nobis illic esset diutius quam sperabas & ut mihi studiorum meorum fructus aliquis constaret, ad Urbis topographiam aggrederer, ascitis mecum Nicolao Regio, Claudioque Cappuisio, domesticis tuis iuvenibus honestissimis, antiquitatisque studiosissimis".[4]

Rabelais' work was not destined to be completed: a Milanese, Bartolomeo Marliani, published in Rome a Topographia antiquae

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1. Cf. V.L. BOURRILLY, Le Cardinal Jean du Bellay ..., p.233, and J. PLATTARD, Vie de François Rabelais, Paris et Bruxelles, 1928, pp.119 et seq.

2. Cf. Letter of Jean du Bellay to Montmorency, 15th March 1534, cit. V.L. BOURRILLY, loc.cit.

3. Nicolas le Roy was a young "jurisconsulte" of Bourges, already known for his sympathy towards the Reform, cf. HEULHARD, op.cit. p.32.

4. Oeuvres de Rabelais, ed. MARTY-LAVEAUX, t.III, p.333. Cf. also HEULHARD, op.cit. pp.31-32; J. PLATTARD, Les Publications savantes de Rabelais, R.E.R. II. p.75.

Romae[1], and Rabelais contented himself with publishing at Lyons a second edition of Marliani's Topographia, containing a Dedicatory Letter to Jean du Bellay[2].

Jean du Bellay left Rome in early April, having failed to obtain, in a Consistory of 23rd March, the Papal consent to the divorce of Henry VIII[3]. We may assume that Claude Chappuys returned to France with his master, arriving in Paris on 18th May[4].

Chappuys was to return to Rome later in the same year, when he accompanied the French Cardinals to the Holy See for the election of a new Pope. Jean du Bellay remained at the French court, and it was evidently Chappuys' duty to keep his master informed of the course of events at Rome, and to strive to further his interests at the court of Rome. Chappuys himself has left us two accounts of this journey to Rome: his long narrative poem, the Epistre d'une Navigation[5], and a letter

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1. Antiquae Romae Topographia ... per Antonium Bladum de Asula in Campo Florae, in Aedibus D. Joan. Bap. de Maximis. Anno Domini MDXXXIIII.

2. Topographia antiquae Romae ... apud S. Gryphium: Lugduni, 1534.
On the Dedicatory Letter, cf. supra, p. 19

3. Cf. V.L. BOURRILLY, Le Cardinal Jean du Bellay ..., p.234.

4. Cf. PLATTARD, Vie de François Rabelais, p.125. Plattard does not, however, state his authority for this date.

5. Cf. infra, p.256 et seq.

written to Jean du Bellay from Rome on 7th October 1534.[1]

The French Cardinals sailed from Marseilles in early September. At Cannes Chappuys took the opportunity of seeing one of Jean du Bellay's "fermiers", from whom he extracted a promise that he would go to Marseilles "vers Monsieur de Villiers pour faire ce que luy (avoit) mandé"[2]. Chappuys regretted that he had not had more time to look into Jean du Bellay's affairs. After a voyage marred by violent storms, the Cardinals reached Civitá Vecchia, where they were met by the Cardinals Pisani, Trivulzio, Cibo and Gaddi; they travelled thence by land, arriving in Rome on 5th October.[3] In Rome, great disorder prevailed since the Pope's death. In the days preceding the Conclave the French Cardinals

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1. B.N. Dupuy, 264, ff.183-184. F.181 of the same manuscript, which is in cipher, may also form part of this letter, cf. Catalogue de la Collection Dupuy (ed. L.Dorez), Paris, 1899, 1928, I, p.268.

2. Cf. Letter to Jean du Bellay, cited supra. Jean du Bellay held the Abbey of Saint-Honorat at Cannes, cf. letter of Guillaume du Bellay to Jean du Bellay, Turin, 9th May 1538, B.N. ms.fr. 19751, f.99.

3. For an account of the journey, cf. Letter, and Epistre, ll. 27-316 and notes.

intrigued continually with the other Cardinals and with the agents of the various foreign powers in an attempt to secure the election of a candidate who would be well-disposed towards France. In his letter of 7th October, Chappuys enclosed a copy of a speech made by the Cardinal de Lorraine before the assembled Cardinals, with the request that Jean du Bellay should transmit it to the King.[1] The Cardinals entered Conclave on 11th October, and on the following day elected as Pope the Cardinal Farnese. On his elevation the Cardinal Farnese assumed the name of Paul III.[2] The French Cardinals stayed on in Rome until after the Coronation of Paul III on 3rd November, seeking to win the favour of the new Pope, and doubtless pressing him to bestow the Cardinal's Hat upon Jean du Bellay. We may imagine that during this period Chappuys worked zealously to secure his master's promotion to the dignity of Cardinal. Nicolas Raince[3], in a letter to Jean du Bellay,[4]

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1. Cf. Letter, loc.cit., and Epistre, ll.363 372 and notes.

2. Cf. Epistre, ll. 385-386 and notes.

3. Nicolas Raince had been Secretary at Rome since the early 1520's, and was consequently well-informed on all questions. Cf. E. PICOT, Les Français italianisants au 16e siècle. Paris, 1906-7, 2 vols. Vol.I. pp.79-84.

4. Rome, 23rd October, Dupuy 265, F.308. This letter is unknown to Dr. Roche.

assured the Bishop of Paris that the new Pope was kindly disposed towards him; "monseigneur le libraire vostre secretaire", he wrote, "vous aura escript de ma responce et deliberation à ce que ledict seigneur libraire me dict de vostre part". In a letter to "M. de St Caletz"[1], Jean du Bellay[2] thanked him for "ce que m'avez escript par Maistre Claude"[3]; he was relieved to learn of the Pope's good-will towards the French King, and not a little flattered at the prospect of his "promotion à la dignité cardinale".

Chappuys left Rome with the French Cardinals on 9th November[4]; they returned by land, by way of Ferrara and Venice[5]. It is probable

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1. Nicolas Raince received the abbey of St. Caletz in 1533, cf. PICOT, op.cit. I. p.81.

2. B.N. ms.fr. 5499. f.199. The letter, a copy, is unsigned and undated. There can be no doubt, however, that the letter is from Jean du Bellay, (cf. f.199v°, "ma promotion à la dignité cardinale ... depuys mon retour de Rome...", etc.). It is impossible to date the letter with any degree of exactitude. It is evident, however, that it was written after the news of Paul III's election had reached France.

3. Jean du Bellay cannot here refer to the letter of 7th October, written before the election of the new Pope. This second letter from Chappuys has unfortunately been lost.

4. Cf. Letter from the Bishop of Mâcon, Charles Hemart de Denonville, the French Ambassador at Rome, to Jean du Bellay, Rome, 9th November 1534; Dupuy, 265, f.182: "... quant au faict et l'election du pape, vous sçaurez par maistre Claude, present porteur, comme le tout a passé..." cf. V.L. BOURRILLY, Le Cardinal Jean du Bellay ..., p.238. Dr. ROCHE does not mention this letter.

5. For the Cardinal de Lorraine's intention to return by way of Venice, cf. Letter of Sir Gregory CASALE to Cromwell, Rome, 9th November 1534. R.O. St.P. VII, 581, resumed J. GAIRDNER, Letters and papers, foreign and domestic of the reign of Henry VIII, preserved in the Public Record Office, t.VII, London, 1883, n° 1406.
The Cardinal de Lorraine had requested Sir Gregory's brother, the protonotary John Casale, , Henry VIII's ambassador at Venice, to delay his departure from Rome, so that he might travel with him as far as Venice.

that Chappuys had returned to Paris by 31st January of the following year, when François I and his court took part in the solemn procession in expiation of the outrages of the "Affaire des Placards".[1]

On 21st May 1535, Jean du Bellay was promoted Cardinal, and in late June left for Rome, ostensibly to receive the Cardinal's Hat, but, in fact, charged with a diplomatic mission.[2] Chappuys did not accompany his master on this occasion, but remained with the French court, to transmit to the King and his ministers the Cardinal's letters, and to keep the new Cardinal informed of events in France.[3]

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1. A dizain of the Soissons ms. 200, "Puisque voyons, ô Françoys, nostre Roy...", would appear to describe the occasion. (cf. infra, p.347 and note.)
   On the "Affaire des Placards", cf.:
   V.L. BOURRILLY & N. WEISS, Jean du Bellay, les Protestants et la Sorbonne, B.S.H.P.F. t.LIII, 1904;
   L. FEBVRE, L'origine des Placards de 1534, B.H.R. t.VII (1945), p.62;
   R. GARI, Les Placards de 1534, in Aspects de la Propagande religieuse, Geneva, Droz, 1957, pp.79-142.
   For a description of the procession and service of expiation, cf. Cronique du Roy Françoys Premier de ce Nom, ed. G. GUIFFREY, Paris, 1860, p.114 et seq.;
   Registres des Déliberations du Bureau de la Ville de Paris, Paris, 1883-90, II, p.198.

2. On this mission, cf. V.L. BOURRILLY, Le Cardinal Jean du Bellay..., pp.244 et seq.; cf. also Cat. des Actes, Ambassades en Italie, IX, pp.63-64.

3. Cf. V.L. BOURRILLY, Lettres écrites d'Italie par François Rabelais, (Dec.1535 - Feb.1536), Paris, Champion. 1910, p.12.

In a letter to the Cardinal du Bellay from Mâcon, on 9th January 1536[1], the Cardinal de Tournon thanked du Bellay for his letters[2] which had only just reached him; "aujord'huy", the Cardinal de Tournon wrote, "mestre Claude m'a monstré ce que avés dit en consistoire que est trop mieulx que nostre jugement ne le porte"[3]. It would seem therefore that during the Cardinal du Bellay's absence, Chappuys remained with the French court, following it in its journeying through the kingdom.

Chappuys rendered similar services to Guillaume du Bellay, Seigneur de Langey and elder brother of the Cardinal du Bellay[4].

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1. Dupuy, 263, f.46; cf. M. FRANÇOIS, Correspondance du Cardinal François de Tournon, Paris, 1946, no.100. This letter is unknown to Dr. Roche.

2. Jean du Bellay to the Cardinals de Lorraine and Tournon, Rome, 22nd December 1535, B.N. ms.fr. 5499, f.275v°;
Jean du Bellay to François I, Rome, 22nd December 1535, 66. ib. f.267v°.

3. The letter most probably refers to the Consistory of 20th December, in which Jean du Bellay had spoken at length in support of François I's claim to the duchy of Milan; cf. V.L. BOURRILLY, Le Cardinal Jean du Bellay..., p.344.

4. On Guillaume du Bellay, cf. V.L. BOURRILLY, Guillaume du Bellay, Seigneur de Langey, (1491-1543), Paris, 1905.

In a letter[1] to François I, Guillaume du Bellay asks for provisions of money "pour un voyage qu'il ne peut faire seurement et sans grands frais à cause du guet qu'on a tousjours sur luy"; he requests that the money be paid to "maistre Claude, libraire dudit seigneur ... lequel maistre Claude fournira ses quittances"[2].

With the outbreak of hostilities between France and Spain in the summer of 1536[3], the Cardinal du Bellay, who had returned from Rome in mid-March[4], was appointed "Lieutenant-Général du Roy au gouvernement

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1. B.N. ms.fr. 19751, F.39v°(copy). The passage containing the reference to Chappuys forms part of a "résumé" of a letter, probably dating from Guillaume du Bellay's secret mission to the German states from May to August 1536, which the copyist has erroneously inserted at the end of a letter from Guillaume du Bellay to the King, dated Murello, 21st October 1538. (F.38-F.38v°). (HEULHARD, op.cit. p.98, and Dr. ROCHE, op.cit. p.18, state that the copyist has erroneously dated the letter "Munich (copyist's correction from "Murel(lo)") 21e octobre 1538"; they fail to realise that the opening sections of the letter (ff.38-38v°) do in fact date from 1538, the period of Guillaume du Bellay's Lieutenancy at Turin.)
   On this mission, cf. Cat.des Actes, IX, p.12; V.L. BOURRILLY, Guillaume du Bellay..., pp.217-226; Memoires de Martin et Guillaume du Bellay, III, pp.45-64.

2. In the Cat.des Actes, there is, however, no record of any such payment being made to Chappuys.

3. The Imperial Ambassador was expelled from France on 2nd June 1536; cf. LAVISSE & RAMBAUD, Histoire générale du IVe siècle à nos jours, Paris, 1893-1901, V, (ii), p.88.

4. The Cardinal du Bellay had left Rome at the end of February, rejoining the court at Lyons on 10th March, cf. V.L. BOURRILLY, Le Cardinal Jean du Bellay..., p.360.

de Paris et de l'Isle de France"[1], and was thus made responsible for the defence of the capital in the face of an invasion of Champagne and Picardy by German forces under the Count of Nassau. The Cardinal du Bellay travelled to Paris, accompanied by Chappuys as his secretary[2], and on 26th July he presented his letters of credence before an Assembly of the officers of the city and of representatives of the Clergy of Paris[3]. He turned immediately to the task of strengthening the city's fortifications[4], repairing the city ramparts,

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1. Lyons, 21st July 1536, cf. Cat.des Actes, III, 229, 8577. A few days previously, on 14th July, Montmorency had been named "Lieutenant-Général du Roy tant de ça que delà des monts" (Cf. Cat.des Actes, III, 227, 8563), and was thus charged with the defence of the southern half of the kingdom in the face of an Imperial invasion of Provence.

2. Dr. ROCHE has failed to observe that Chappuys accompanied the Cardinal du Bellay to Paris on this occasion; he is consequently unaware of the important part played by Chappuys as the Cardinal's secretary during the following months; cf. infra, pp.28-29

3. Cf. Registres des Délibérations..., II, pp.235-239.

4. For accounts of the fortification of Paris under the direction of Cardinal du Bellay, cf.:
   Registres..., pp.238 et seq.;
   Cronique du Roy François 1er ..., pp.174-176;
   Mémoires..., III, pp.301-303;
   H. LEMMONIER, Paris Menacé (Juillet-Septembre, 1536), Revue de Paris, Jan. 1915, pp.96-103;
   The strengthening of the city's fortifications had already been begun before the Cardinal du Bellay's arrival, under the direction of the Prévôt des Marchands and the Echevins of the City; cf. Registres..., II, p.223.

and constructing ditches outside the city walls[1]. The Cardinal's schemes met with no little opposition from the citizens of Paris, who were loathe to see their property destroyed, and were even more reluctant to meet the cost of the fortifications[2]; his difficulties were further increased by the unruliness of the "pionniers" at work on the fortifications[3].

As the Cardinal du Bellay's secretary, Chappuys doubtless accompanied the Cardinal to the various municipal Assemblies and was present when the Cardinal received deputations of the civic authorities at the Episcopal Palace. We may imagine that Chappuys often hastened to and fro between the Episcopal Palace and the Hôtel de Ville on his master's business. An ordonnance of 18th August[4] from the Cardinal du Bellay to the Greffier of Paris, Pierre Perdrier, is signed by Chappuys as the Cardinal's secretary. On 30th August, in the Great Hall of the Hôtel de Ville, "maistre Claude Chapuis" presented to the

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1. Cf. Cronique..., p.174, "Pandant ce temps, monsieur le cardinal du Beslay, evesque de Paris ... feist dilligence de faire rampars, foussez et bastillons et autres fortifficacions, et mesmes feist faire de grands fossez hors les murailles de Paris de bien ung traict d'arbaleste..." No less than 16,000 men were to be levied for this task, cf. Registres..., 29th July, II, p.245.

2. Cf. Cronique..., loc.cit.

3. For measures taken against the "maneuvriers", cf. Registres..., II, p.271, 12th August, and p.295, 9th September.

4. Cf. Registres..., II, p.277, Exemption pour les Archers de la Ville, subjectz au Guet, d'aller aux rampars.

Greffier Missive Letters from François I, which were duly opened and read in his presence.[1]

The Cardinal du Bellay was also charged with the raising of money and forces for the Duke of Vendôme's campaign in Champagne and Picardy, where the Count of Nassau had made considerable advances, and on 5th August had laid siege to Péronne[2]. The Duke of Vendôme and François I himself considered that the money and manpower directed towards the fortification of Paris might be used more profitably for the Picardy campaign[3]; the Cardinal, understandably, felt some indignation at being requested to persuade the citizens of Paris to divert these resources to another end.[4] At the Hôtel de Ville the deliberations on the question of aid for the Duke of Vendôme were long and stormy. As early as 15th July[5], the Assembly had accorded 40,000 livres tournois

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1. Cf. Registres..., II, pp.283-284.

2. Cf. H. LEMONNIER, loc.cit.

3. Duke of Vendosme to the Cardinal du Bellay, Assy, 29th July 1536; Dupuy, 263, F.20, and Assy, 30th July 1536, Dupuy, 263, F.12.
   Cf. also, a later letter from François I to the Cardinal du Bellay, Valence, 16th August 1536, Dupuy, 265, F.254.

4. Cf. Letter of the Cardinal du Bellay to the Duke of Vendôme, Paris, 3rd August 1536, Dupuy, 269, F.15; B.N. ms.fr. 19751, F.7v°(copy).

5. Cf. Registres..., II, pp.235-236.

to the Duke of Vendôsme, but this sum was only dispatched after considerable delay.[1] On 20th August, the Cardinal du Bellay gained the consent of the municipal Assembly to the raising of a loan of a further 100,000 l.t.[2] and on 6th September the Assembly agreed to the levying of 6,000 foot soldiers at the City's expense.[3] These troops were to cause no little embarrassment to the Cardinal du Bellay. With the raising of the siege of Péronne on 11th September,[4] the troops returned to Paris, mutinying and clamouring for payment. There was great disorder in the city, and the Cardinal was forced to barricade himself in his Episcopal Palace and take strong measures against the "adventuriers".[5]

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1. The first 20,000 l.t. were dispatched on 29th July, cf. Registres.., II, p.246; the second 20,000 l.t. not until 10th August, cf. ib. II, p.265.
2. Cf. ib. II, p.280.
3. Cf. ib. II, pp.290 et seq.
4. Cf. ib. II, p.295, Lettres missives de mons^{r} le mareschal de la Marche à la ville de Paris.
5. Cf. Cronique..., p.175, "... et furent lesdictz advanturiers un long temps dedans Paris et ès environs attendant tousjours leur payement, pandant lequel temps y eut quelque peu de mutinerie devant la maison de monsieur de Paris et émotion du peuple. Au moyen de quoy mon dict sieur du Bellay se fortiffia en sa maison, tant de gens armez que d'artillerie, et en fut tiré hors quelques pièces qui tuèrent et mirent en pièces quelques enfans estans illec près. Et après ladicte émotion appaisée et iceulx retirez, ledict seigneur de Paris en fist pendre trois desdictz adventuriers devant la grand'porte de Nostre Dame de Paris à une roue...; de laquelle exécution ne furent guères contans les Parrisiens".
   For measures against the "adventuriers", cf. also Registres..., II, p.297.

The Cardinal du Bellay left Paris on 26th September[1], and presumably rejoined the King at Lyons;[2] he did not return to Paris but remained with the court[3]. It would seem that Chappuys remained in Paris after the Cardinal's departure. In a letter to the Cardinal du Bellay of 4th October[4], Tronson, the Prévost des Marchands, writes that the Cardinal will have heard from "monsieur le libraire ce qui a esté faict du contenu es lettres" which the Cardinal had written to him on 26th September.

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1. The Cardinal was still in Paris on 26th September since Tronson, the Prévôt des Marchands, in a letter to the Cardinal dated 28th September (Dupuy, 264, F.169), mentioned having seen him "mardi dernier" (26th September). The Cardinal must, however, have left Paris later in the same day since another city official, one Thibault, wrote to the Cardinal: "Monseigneur je suis desplaisant que je n'ay esté adverty de vostre partement de cette ville, car ce n'eust esté sans me mettre en mon devoir envers vous et sçavoir et entendre s'il vous eust pleu me commander aucune chose..." Paris, 26th September, 1536. (Dupuy, 264, F.176; B.N. ms.fr. 19751, F.204v°(copy).)

2. François I was at Lyons from 2nd to 12th October, cf. Cat.des Actes, Itinéraire, VIII, p.494.

3. Cf. Cardinal du Bellay to "Messrs de la Ville de Paris", Roanne, 15th October (Registres..., II, p.300), and Amboise, 18th November (ib., II, p.302); Cardinal du Bellay to Tronson, Prévôt des Marchands, Amboise, 18th November (ib., II, p.303).

4. Dupuy, 264, F.170, cf. supra, n. 1.

We do not know when Chappuys left Paris. On 26th November he was with the court at Blois for the ~~marriage~~ signing of the Marriage Contract of James V of Scotland and of Madelaine of France, the elder daughter of François I, and signed the Marriage Contract (together with Guillaume Bochetel[1]) - surely an unmistakable sign of François I's high regard for his "libraire"[2]!

Chappuys doubtless accompanied the court from Blois to Fontainebleau at the beginning of December[3]. On 21st December, however, we find him at Lyons. François I had written to the Cardinal de Tournon on 13th and 16th December[4], and we may suppose that Chappuys had travelled to Lyons as bearer of one or other of

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1. Guillaume Bochetel was "secretaire des finances" under François I, cf. Cat. des Actes, I, 720, 3762, etc.
   Cf. also Dizain: "J'avoys osé m'ordonner pour maistresse", infra, p.389, and note.

2. The Marriage Contract is reproduced in DUMONT, Corps universel diplomatique..., IV, II, pp.148-9:
   "...Et quia Ego Claudius Chapuis Clericus Turonensis Dioecesis, publicus autoritate Apostolica Notarius, his omnibus dum agerentur, una cum Regio Secretario (Bochetel) interfui, signum meum manuale huic publico Instrumento, manu aliena descripto, in Testimonium fidei apposui requisitus & rogatus". Chapuis.
   A copy of the marriage contract is also found in B.N. ms.fr.17330, F.29. In this copy, however, Chappuys' declaration has been omitted.

3. Cf. Cat.des Actes, Itineraire, for 1536, VIII, pp.494 and 543:
   27 Nov. Blois,
   3 Dec. Chamerolles,
   4 Dec. Malesherbes.
   5-27 Dec. Fontainebleau.

4. B.N. ms.fr.5125, F.168v° and 174v°, cf. J. ISAAC, Le Cardinal de Tournon, lieutenant général du roi (Oct.1536 - Oct.1537), Revue d'histoire de Lyon, 1913, pp.333 and 334.

those letters. In his reply to François I[1], the Cardinal de Tournon, who was at that time Lieutenant General of the King at Lyons[2], warned the King of the urgent need to pay the forces of Turin; "faulte de poyement", he wrote, "il en porroit venir inconvenient comme mesmes vous dira ce porteur maistre Claude vostre libraire".[3]

Although retaining his official position as "libraire du roi"[4], from 1537 onwards Chappuys would appear to have played a considerably less active role at the court of François I[5]. At

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1. Lyons, 21st December 1536, B.N. ms.fr.5125, F.176v°, cf. M. FRANÇOIS, Correspondance..., no.223.

2. By letters patent of 10th October 1536, the Cardinal de Tournon had been named "Lieutenant-Général du Roy dans les provinces du Lyonnais, Forez, Auvergne, Beaujolais, Bresse, Bugey, Valionnais, Daupniné, Provence, et aux frontières de Languedoc, Bourgogne, Savoie, Marquisat de Saluces et Piémont", cf. Cat.des Actes, III, p.248, #6665, and M. FRANÇOIS, Le Cardinal de Tournon, homme d'état, diplomate, mécène et humaniste, Paris, 1951, p.133.

3. This journey to Lyons in December 1536 has escaped the notice of Dr. Roche.

4. Cf. supra, p. 16 . et seq.

5. With the exception of letters relating to the gift of benefices (cf. infra, p.40), I have been unable to find any further references to Chappuys in the correspondence of the period.

this time Chappuys had other preoccupations and was bent on securing for himself a lucrative benefice; indeed we may suppose that his Epistles to the King, the Grand-Maître Anne de Montmorency and the Cardinal de Lorraine, in which he seeks the gift of a "prebende", were written about this period[1].

During the autumn of 1536 and the early part of 1537 Chappuys was engaged in a bitter struggle for the office of Dean of the Cathedral Church of Notre-Dame of Rouen. On 11th September 1536, Jean Le Lieur, Dean of Rouen, died[2]. Five days later, François I, from his camp near Avignon, addressed missive letters to the Chapter of Rouen, informing the Brethren that on learning of the death of Jean Le Lieur he had written to the Pope nominating as Dean his "libraire ordinaire ... maistre Claude Chappuys"; he formally forbade the Chapter to oppose his nomination[3]. The Cardinal du Bellay likewise wrote to the Chapter of Rouen, recommending to them "maistre Claude Chappuys, (son) secretaire, personnage pourveu de

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1. Cf. Au Roy: "Ce ne seroit, o majesté royalle", p.296.
   A Monseigneur le Grant Maistre pour le mesme affaire: "Il est venu le bon prelat de Tulle", p.302.
   Encores au Roy pour ce mesme fait: "Il est abbé ce bon pasteur de Tulle", p.304.
   A Monseigneur le Cardinal de Lorraine pour ce mesme affaire: "Le Roy le veult, il l'entend, c'est assez", p.306.
   For the dating of these pieces, cf. p.296 n.1 .

2. Cf. DOM POMMERAYE, Histoire de l'Eglise Cathédrale de Rouen..., Rouen, 1686. L.III, p.324.

3. Archives de la Seine-Maritime, G.3668 (original), and G.2155, f.13v° (copy inserted in the Plumitifs du Chapitre), cit. L-P. ROCHE, op.cit., Appendix I, p.146.

telles et si bonnes qualitez (qu'eux-mêmes) apres l'avoir bien congneu, le (jugeraient) digne de ce lieu"[1]. When on 2nd October these letters were conveyed to the Chapter by Charles de Milleraye, Governor of Normandy and Claude Cotereau, a protonotary of the Cardinal du Bellay, the Chapter received them with due reverence, but, while offering assurances of its loyalty to the King, declared that it would await the return of absent brethren before reaching a decision[2]. The matter was deliberated again on 12th October and then referred until 25th November[3]. On 13th November, the Chapter received further letters from the King, urging it not to oppose his nomination[4]. When the Chapter assembled on 25th November, it agreed to write to the King pledging the Chapter's loyalty, but maintaining its right to elect a Dean[5]. On 25th January 1537, Pierre

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1. Paris, 25th September 1536.
   Archives de la Seine-Maritime, G.2155, F.13v°-14 (copy), cit.
   L-P. ROCHE, op.cit. Appendix I, pp.146-147.
2. Arch. Seine-Mar., G.2155, ff.13-13v°.
3. ib. G.2155, F.18.
4. Moulins, 23rd October 1536.
   Arch. Seine-Mar., G.3668 (original), G.2155, F.24v° (copy), cit.
   L-P. ROCHE, op.cit. Appendix I, pp.147-148.
5. Arch. Seine-Mar., G.2155, F.28.

du Buysson presented further missive letters from the King forbidding the Chapter to hold an election; the King's nomination had been approved by the Pope and Chappuys was merely awaiting the arrival of the apostolic provisions before presenting himself to the Rouen Chapter[1]. The Grand-Maître, Anne de Montmorency, wrote at the same time to the Chapter recommending Chappuys and assuring the Chapter of his protection, provided it did not oppose the King's nomination![2]

Meanwhile, one Bertrand de Marcillac, the Precentor of the Cathedral, had emerged as a rival candidate for the office of Dean. In a letter of 1st February, François I, having heard of the "pratiques et menées" of one of the brethren, severely reprimanded the Chapter for opposing his wishes[3]. On 16th April, Chappuys presented himself before the Rouen Chapter, furnished with letters from François I[4] and papal bulls and provisions dated 18th October 1536. Marcillac formally opposed his reception, and the matter

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1. Paris, 22nd January 1537.
Arch. Seine-Mar., G.2155, ff.39v°-40 (copy), cit. L-P. ROCHE, op.cit., p.148.

2. Paris, 23rd January 1537.
Arch. Seine-Mar., G.2155, F.40 (copy), cit. L-P. ROCHE, op.cit. pp.148-149.

3. St.-Germain-en-Laye, 1st February 1537.
Arch. Seine-Mar., G.2155, F.42v° (copy) cit. L-P. ROCHE, op.cit. p.149.

4. Amiens, 17th March 1537.
Arch. Seine-Mar., G.2155, F.58v° (copy), G.3668 (original), cit. L-P. ROCHE, op.cit., pp.149-150.

was referred.[1] When the Chapter reassembled on 13th April, Chappuys and Marcillac were called upon to present their cases, and the Chapter decided to write again to the King maintaining its right to elect a Dean[2]. On 4th May, Chappuys communicated to the Chapter a further letter from François I[3], and on 9th May the Chapter announced that it had definitely decided to hold an election; it would send two representatives to François I to give an account of its actions[4]. At this point, however, Chappuys decided to withdraw his candidature. On 24th May, Marcillac announced to the Chapter that Chappuys had agreed to cede to him the office of Dean in return for that of Precentor[5]. In an assembly of 11th June, the Chapter maintained its right to hold an election[6] and on 15th June it elected as Dean Bertrand de Marcillac[7].

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1. Arch. Seine-Mar., G.2155, ff.58v°-59v°.
2. Arch. Seine-Mar., G.2155, F.59v°.
3. Camp de Pernes, 29th April 1537.
   Arch. Seine-Mar. G.2155, F.64 (copy), cit. L.P. ROCHE, op.cit. p.150.
4. Arch. Seine-Mar., G.2155, F.66.
5. ib. F.70.
6. ib. F.73.
7. ib. ff.74v°-76. Cf. DOM POMMERAYE, op.cit. p.325.

By Papal Bulls of July 1537, Pope Paul III approved the "convention" between the two candidates, and named Chappuys as Precentor. On 10th September, Chappuys presented himself to the Chapter and was received "in confratrem et concanonicum" and duly installed in the Choir of the Cathedral[1].

Thus the long dispute between François I and the Chapter of Rouen Cathedral came to an end. The Chapter had maintained its right to elect a new Dean, and Chappuys had compromised and accepted a lesser dignity. As the new Precentor, Chappuys faced the hostility of his "confrères" and had yet to establish himself as a personage of note in the affairs of the Cathedral and City of Rouen.

During his early years as Precentor Chappuys spent little time at Rouen. On 25th September 1537, almost immediately after his installation, he absented himself from Rouen on the Cardinal du Bellay's business; as he had recently been ordained subdeacon and was required to complete a three months' period of residence, he was severely reprimanded by the Chapter on his return![2] It would appear, however, that he came to some arrangement with the Chapter,

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1. Arch. Seine Mar., G.2155, F.92, Trésor Immortel..., p.xxvi, NICERON, op.cit. p.67, DOM POMMERAYE, op.cit. L.III, p.339.

2. Arch. Seine-Mar., G.2155, F.95, Trésor Immortel, p.xxvi.

since, after 15th October 1537, he does not figure in the Chapter Deliberations for some time to come. We may assume that at this period he was more frequently at Court than at Rouen. It is probable that Chappuys accompanied the Court to Nice in June 1538, for the meeting between François I and Charles V[1], since a poem of the Soissons manuscript[2] refers to an incident on this occasion. Chappuys celebrated the Peace which followed the "Entrevues" of Nice and Aiguesmortes in a long political poem, the Panegyrique recité au tresillustre ... et treschrestien roy Françoys premier de ce nom...[3]. It is likely that he was also with the court at the time of Charles V's triumphal journey across France in 1539, since he celebrated this journey in his Complaincte de Mars sur la Venue de l'Empereur en France[4].

Meanwhile Chappuys continued to seek to procure benefices. In missive letters to Pope Paul III[5], François I, desiring the

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1. On the "Entrevue de Nice", cf. DU BELLAY, Mémoires, III, p.444 - 445 and LAVISSE, V, ii, p.93.
2. Cf. "Lorsque Neptune eut receu cest honneur", infra, p.348.
3. Paris, A. Roffet, s.d. (1538).
4. Paris, A. Roffet, 1539.
5. B.N. ms.fr. 5503, F.157 (copy). Paris, undated.

"bien promotion & advancement en l'eglise de (son) bien amé libraire ordinaire, maistre Claude Chappuys, tant pour les bonnes meurs, qualitez et vertuz qui sont en sa personne, que en faveur & consideration des bons & agreables services qu'il (lui) a cy-devant faictz, faict encores & continue chascun jour", requested the Pope to bestow upon Chappuys the "prieuré de Sainct Lô du Bourcachart de l'ordre de Sainct Augustin, situé & assis ou diocese de Rouen".[1] At the same time the King addressed letters to the Cardinal Trivulzio, "protecteur de (ses) affaires en court de Rome"[2] and to the Bishop of Limoges[3] requesting them to support his nomination.

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1. On the Priory of St.Lô de Bourg-Achard - or Bourcachart - Cant. Routot, arr. Pont-Audemer, Eure, cf. J. BEAUNIER, Recueil Historique des Archevêchés, Evêchés, Abbayes et Prieurés de France, ed. J.M. BRESSE, Paris, 1905-1933, t.VII, p.71; P. DUCHEMIN, Histoire de Bourg-Achard, Pont-Audemer, 1890; CHARPILLON, Dictionnaire historique de toutes les communes du département de l'Eure..., 2 vols. Les Andelys, 1868, 1879. I, pp.502-513.

2. B.N. ms.fr.5503, ff.157-157v°. Paris, undated.
The Cardinal Augustino Trivulzio was known for his marked sympathy towards France; cf. Cat. des Actes, III, 387,9292, (4th September 1537), and VIII, 705, 32967-8 (25th, 28th June 1541), where the Cardinal is styled respectively "protecteur du royaume près la cour de Rome", and "protecteur des affaires du roi en cour de Rome".
Dr. Roche does not appear to have known of Chappuys' attempt to procure this benefice.

3. B.N. ms.fr.5503, f.157v°(copy), Paris, undated.
Jean de Langeac, Bishop of Limoges, was French ambassador at Rome from September 1539 to June 1540, cf. Cat. des Actes, IX, p.57.
Between September 1539 and June 1540, the French court was at Paris on 12th November, and again from 1st to 7th January, for the ceremonial Entry of Charles-V, cf. Cat. des Actes, Itinéraire, VIII, pp.507 and 545.
We may suppose therefore that these letters were written in mid-November 1539 or early January 1540.

We do not know whether Chappuys did in fact procure the Priory of St.Lô de Bourg-Achard, since the records of the Priory for this period have been lost and we possess only scattered references to the Priory in the sixteenth century.[1] There is, however, some evidence of a dispute between François I and the Friars of St.Lô in the year 1540. In April 1540, "honeste et religieux frere Denys de la Fosse, religieux et bailly du prieuray et monastere conventuel de Saint-Lô du Bourcachard, procureur du prieur ... jura et affirma qu'il avait tousjours ouy dire et tenu des religieux que tout le temporel du dit prieuré avait esté deument admorty par le roy".[2] In June 1542, François I restored to the Friars of St.Lô the possession of their temporal which for reasons unknown to us "avait été mis dans la main du roi".[3] It is possible to suppose that this dispute between François I and the Friars of St.Lô may have arisen because of the Friars' reluctance to accept Chappuys as Prior. If Chappuys were to have been Prior of St.Lô,

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1. The Conservateurs of the Archives départementales of Seine-Maritime and Eure (in which department Bourg-Achard is now placed) were unable to give me any information. DUCHEMIN, op.cit. pp. 111-112, states that from the 13th to the 16th century there is little information concerning the Priory, since the Priory records were destroyed by fire.
2. cit. DUCHEMIN, op.cit. p.114 (without indication of source).
3. cit. DUCHEMIN, loc.cit.

he must, however, have relinquished the benefice at a later date, since, in 1565, one Pierre Daubray was "prieur commandataire" of St.Lô de Bourg-Achard[1].

On the death of Bertrand de Marcillac on 31st December 1541,[2] Chappuys did not attempt to procure the office of Dean. In the preceding February, Bertrand de Marcillac had resigned his office in favour of his nephew, Jean de Marcillac, and on Bertrand de Marcillac's death, Chappuys did not dispute the succession[3]. We may suppose that he had no desire to renew the bitter struggle of the preceding years!

Over a period of years, Chappuys procured several benefices in the diocese of Rouen: in addition to the Priory of St.Jacques du Val-aux-Malades, he held the "cures" of Tourville-en-Caux, Hautot-sur-Dieppe, Cantelou and Yvetot, as well as the Priory of Saint-Sepulchre in the diocese of Meaux.[4]

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1. Cf. DUCHEMIN, op.cit. p.115.

2. Arch. Seine-Mar. G.2157, ff.37v°-38; Dom POMMERAYE, op.cit. L.III, p.325.

3. Cf. Dom POMMERAYE, loc.cit.

4. Listed by Ch. de BEAUREPAIRE, Le Trésor Immortel ..., p.xxvii, (with the exception of Yvetot, on which cf. infra, p.47). BEAUREPAIRE indicates, however, neither his source nor the dates at which Chappuys held these benefices.

With the passing of the years Chappuys gradually played a role of increasing importance at Rouen. In January 1542, he presided at the deliberations of the Chapter on the death of Bertrand de Marcillac[1]. In April 1544, he became a member of the "Bureau" or council of the city of Rouen[2] - a sign that he was held in no mean regard by the citizens of Rouen.

In May 1547, Chappuys was present at the funeral of François I[3]. We may also suppose that he was at Rheims in July of the following year for the Coronation of Henri II, since he has described the occasion in such meticulous detail in his poem the Sacre et Couronnement du Roy Henry II...[4].

In February and March 1547, Chappuys journeyed to the Court at Fontainebleau and Ecouen to represent the clergy and citizens of Rouen in a dispute over the "francs-fiefs" of the city[5]. In 1549 he made two further journeys to court, again in connection with the "francs-fiefs". In May 1550, he travelled to the Court at Boulogne

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1. Arch. Seine-Mar., G.2157, ff.37v°-38.
2. Archives Municipales de Rouen, Reg.A 13, F.175.
3. Cf. supra, p.17 .
4. Le Sacre et Courronnement du tresauguste, trespuissant & tres-chrestien Roy Henry deuxiesme de ce nom, A Reims ... Avec la harangue faicte au Roy par Monseigneur le Cardinal de Guyse Archevesque de Reims, & la response du Roy.
   Paris, André Roffet. 1549.
5. Arch. Seine-Mar. G.1919.

at St.Germain-en-Laye, and in July, was again at Court to discuss the matter with the King and the Cardinal d'Amboise. In August, he was at Court at St.Germain-en-Laye, and in December, at Blois[1]. We may suppose that the matter was finally settled on this occasion, since we have no record of any further journeys[2].

We do not know at what date Chappuys was ordained priest. In the marriage contract of James V of Scotland and Madelaine of France, he is styled "clericus turonensis diocesis"[3]. In September 1537, shortly after his installation as Precentor of the Cathedral, he was ordained subdeacon[4]. The first mention of Chappuys as priest is in 1563, when he is styled "presbyter turonensis diocesis"[5], but the increasingly important role which he played in ecclesiastical affairs would suggest that he was ordained priest some time before this. On 14th September 1550, he signed lists of ordinations; the other signatories - Lambert, de la Place, Romé and Preud'homme[6] - were all priests; so it would seem likely that Chappuys, too, was already a priest.

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1. Arch. Seine-Mar. G.1919.
2. Dr. ROCHE notes the journeys to Court in 1547, but merely states that Chappuys made one further journey to Court "vers 1550", cf. op.cit. p.58.
3. Cf. supra, p.32.
4. Arch. Seine-Mar. G.2155, F.95.
5. Arch. Seine-Mar. G.2166, F.40v°.
6. Arch. Seine-Mar. G.2042.

On 14th June 1550, the Echevins of Rouen, having been informed of the King's intention to make his Entry into the city of Rouen, appointed "m^e Chappuy, chantre en la cathédrale", together with other canons of the Cathedral and notable citizens of the town, "pour inventer quelque chose propre pour l'Entrée du Roy et de la Royne, et à la décoration de la ville"[1]. On 1st October, Henri II and his Queen, Catherine de Medicis, made their solemn Entry into the City of Rouen, in a scene of great splendour and magnificence[2]. In the absence of the new Archbishop of Rouen, the Cardinal de Vendosme, Chappuys, as Precentor of the Cathedral, received the King before the portal of the Cathedral, and welcomed him in the name of the Church[3].

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1. Archives Municipales de Rouen, Reg. A.16, F.78, cit. Trésor Immortel..., p.xxxv.

2. Cf. CHANTROU, Les Entrées solennelles et triomphales à la Renaissance, Paris, 1928, p.130.

3. Cf. C'est la deduction du somptueux ordre... Rouen, Robert le Hoy, Robert & Jehan dictz du Gord, 1551 F.54v°.
The King's magnificent Entry into Rouen was described in several contemporary accounts, one of which is preserved in an illustrated manuscript of the Bibliothèque de la Ville de Rouen (ms.1268 Y 28). L. de MERVAL, in publishing this manuscript, named Chappuys as one of the possible authors of this account, cf. Relation de l'Entrée de Henri II à Rouen, 1er Octobre, 1550. Publié d'après le ms. 1268 Y 28 de la Bibliothèque de la Ville de Rouen, pour la Société des Bibliophiles Normands, Rouen, 1868, p.4.

On 14th November 1550, Chappuys was elected as a deputy of the Church at an Assembly of the "Etats" of the Province to be held at Rouen[1]. He represented the Church again in 1552[2], 1553[3], 1555[4], 1557[5], and 1558[6]. In March and September 1553, Chappuys was entrusted with two further missions to the court on behalf of the city of Rouen[7].

On 23rd October 1553, Chappuys leased to one Nicolas Chefderue the administration of his priory of St.Jacques du Val-aux-Malades for the period of nine years at 80 livres tournois per annum[8]. The terms of the lease, which appear very favourable to "mons^{r} le Chantre", suggest that Chappuys had a keen business sense and drew a handsome income from his benefices! Chappuys did not reside at his "cures"; indeed, a list of "curés" drawn up in May 1564, in which he is named

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1. Archives Municipales de Rouen, Reg. A.16, Inventaire, p.172.
2. Archives Municipales, Reg. A.16, Inventaire, p.176; Dom POMMERAYE, III, p.340; B.N., Pièces Originales, 677.
3. Archives Municipales, Reg. A.16, Inventaire, p.179; Dom POMMERAYE, loc.cit.
4. Archives Municipales, Reg. A.17, Inventaire, p.184.
5. Archives Municipales, Reg.A.17, Inventaire, p.191; Dom POMMERAYE, loc.cit.
6. Archives Municipales, Reg. A.17, Inventaire, p.193; Dom POMMERAYE, loc.cit.
7. Archives Municipales, Reg. A.16, F.256v^{o}; Inventaire, Reg. A.16, p.177 and p.179.
8. Arch. Seine-Mar., G.9099.

as "curé d'Yvetot" specifies that he is non-resident[1]. At Rouen, he occupied a house belonging to the Chapter, in the rue aux Hous, in the parish of St.-Candé-le-Jeune, where he was to live until his death[2].

During these years Chappuys played a prominent part in the literary life of Rouen. Throughout the sixteenth century, Rouen had been renowned as a centre of literary activity, owing its reputation in a large measure to its "Puys" and "Palinods", and, in particular, to the celebrated "Puy de l'Immaculée-Conception"[3]. In 1552, the "Puy des Pauvres" was instituted, and continued until 1559. The Trésor Immortel of Jacques Sireulde[4] contains some of the pieces presented at the "puy" between the years 1552 and 1554. In

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1. Arch. Seine-Mar., G.850.
   It is probable that Chappuys owed the "cure" of Yvetot to Martin du Bellay, Seigneur d'Yvetot, and brother of the Cardinal du Bellay and of Guillaume du Bellay, Seigneur de Langey.
2. Cf. Arch. Seine-Mar., G.3427 (15th April 1559), G.4374 (3rd January 1560), and G.3749 (8th February 1562).
3. On the "Puys", cf. Eugène de BEAUREPAIRE, Les Puys de Palinod de Rouen et de Caen, Caen, 1907; GUERY, Palinods ou puys de poesie en Normandie, Evreux, 1916; HAMON, Histoire du culte de la Sainte Vierge en France, Paris, 1865, t.V.
4. Le Trésor immortel trouvé et tiré de l'Ecriture saincte. A Rouen. Chez Martin le Mesgissier... 1556. edited by Ch. de BEAUREPAIRE, Rouen, 1909.
   Jacques Sireulde was the winner of the "Puy des Pauvres" in 1552.

one of the poems, Sireulde addresses the judges of the "puy", including in their number Claude Chappuys:

> "Vous autres Messieurs de ce puy
> De l'Esprevier, Lambert, Chappuy,
> Mesmes aussi avec vous trois
> Le bon seigneur Monsieur des Croix,
> Galopin, Deserpens Docteur..."[1]

Thus through this chance reference in an obscure poem of the period, we learn of Chappuys' association with the "Puy des Pauvres" at Rouen.

In 1562, religious disorders swept through the Province of Normandy prior to the outbreak of the Civil War. On 16th April the Protestants seized the city of Rouen, and on 3rd May churches were sacked and desecrated; the Cathedral Clergy fled from Rouen and took refuge at Gaillon, the residence of the Archbishop of Rouen, and the Protestant Cult was practised in the Cathedral[2]. The Parliament left Rouen and established itself at Louviers[3]. For six months complete disorder reigned in the city. In October, Charles IX laid siege to the City, and entered in triumph on 1st November.

At this period Chappuys was suspected of religious unorthodoxy. In January 1561, he admitted having been present at the "congrégation de la presche"[4], and on 15th February his case was solemnly deliberated in Chapter[5]; on 17th March, he was formally exonerated, but ordered

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1. op.cit., F.xxxij, v°.
2. Cf. Dom POMMERAYE, op.cit., III, p.127.
3. Cf. FLOQUET, Histoire du Parlement de Normandie, Rouen, 1840-1842, t.II, p.398.
4. Arch. Seine-Mar., G.2164, F.175v°.
5. Arch. Seine-Mar., G.2164, F.177.

to present himself before the Archbishop of Rouen to justify his conduct[1]. During the occupation of Rouen, however, Chappuys' orthodoxy was again called into question, and on 5th August 1562, in full parliament at Louviers, he was charged with being "homme suspect, accusé de soy estre, peu de temps avant le pillage des églises, départy de sa première foy, suivy les presches, escript libelles diffamatoires contre le Clergé catholique"[2]. Certain other of his "confrères" were similarly accused: Nagerel was excommunicated, Lambert, Villy and others were required to justify their presence at Protestant services.

Chappuys felt it wise to absent himself from Rouen for some time, and on his return resigned his office of Precentor in favour of Michel Malet, in return for Malet's canonry and stall in the Chapter[3]. The Chapter of Rouen, however, refused to receive Chappuys into his new office, maintaining that a charge of heresy was lodged against him with the Parliament of Normandy[4]. The Parliament's decision was favourable to Chappuys - but the Chapter's attitude did

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1. Cf. Le Trésor Immortel..., p.xxviij.
2. Registres secrets du Parlement de Normandie, cit. FLOQUET, op.cit. t.II, p.468.
3. Arch. Seine-Mar., G.2166, F.12.
4. Arch. Seine-Mar., G.2166, F.12 et seq.

not change! On 10th May, Chappuys presented himself to the Chapter, furnished with "lettres compulsoires" from the Rouen Chancellory requiring his admission[1]; but the Chapter refused to receive him. On 4th June, Chappuys wrote to the Chapter asking to be received and accompanying his letter with "lettres compulsoires" from the King[2], but so strong was the weight of public opinion against him that the Chapter dared not comply[3]; in a solemn assembly of the following day, the Chapter refused to receive Chappuys voluntarily; if he wished to be received he should be installed by virtue of his "lettres compulsoires"[4]. Thus it came to pass that on 25th June Chappuys presented himself to the Chapter, and was duly installed in office by virtue of his "lettres compulsoires" and against the wishes of the Rouen Chapter[5].

In 1563, Chappuys celebrated the triumph of the young King Charles IX in his poem, La Reduction du Havre de Grace[6]. It would seem that by this intensely loyalist poem he was attempting to

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1. Dated 7th May 1563, cf. Arch. Seine-Mar., G.2166, F.19.
2. Dated Paris, 29th May 1563, cf. Arch. Seine-Mar., G.2166, F.30v° (copy), G.4557 (copy), cit. L.P. ROCHE, op.cit., pp.150-151.
3. Arch. Seine-Mar., G.2166, F.30v°.
4. Arch. Seine-Mar., G.2166, F.31v°.
5. Arch. Seine-Mar., G.2166, ff.40v°-41.
6. La Reduction du Havre de Grace par le roy Charles, neufiesme de ce nom. A Rouen, chez Martin Le Mesgissier, 1563.

rehabilitate himself in the eyes of his "confrères" and the people of Rouen!

In July 1565, Chappuys exchanged his office of canon for the "cure" of Us[1]. In October of the following year he returned to the Chapter, having ceded to Jean de Villy the priory of St.Jacques du Val-aux-Malades, in return for the Chancellory of the Cathedral[2]. It would seem that he had made his peace with his "confrères" since in the same year he was entrusted with a mission on their behalf, to the Cardinal de Bourbon[3]. In November 1568, a general assembly of the clergy of Rouen deputed him to bear its remonstrances to the King[4]. On 14th February 1573, he entertained Barjot, the President of the Grand Conseil, and Jean le Fèbre, sieur de la Boderie[5]; on 13th July of the same year, he welcomed the Queen Mother, Catherine de Medicis, the Cardinal de Bourbon, the Cardinal de Lorraine and the Cardinal de Guise on behalf of the Chapter of Rouen[6]. In August

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1. cf. Trésor Immortel, p.xxx.
2. Trésor Immortel, p.xxx; NICERON, op.cit, p.87; Dom POMMERAYE, op.cit. L.III, p.412.
3. Trésor Immortel, loc.cit.
4. Arch. Seine-Mar., G.5667.
5. Trésor Immortel, loc.cit.
6. Arch. Seine-Mar., G.2170, F.45v°.

1573, he resigned the office of Chancellor in favour of Marian de Martimbos[1].

Claude Chappuys died at Rouen, on 17th November 1575;[2] he received the last sacraments from the hand of Fremyn Doury, the Curé of the parish of Saint-Candé-le-Jeune, who, together with Nicolas Clérel and Nicolas Donynel, was an executor of his will[3]. Chappuys had named as his heir his brother, Jean Chappuys, "procureur royal" at Amboise, who on 16th February 1576, signed a receipt for the sum of 613 livres tournois, 13 sous, received from the sale of his brother's property[4].

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1. Arch. Seine-Mar., G.2955, G.3427; NICERON, op.cit., p.87; Dom POMMERAYE, op.cit. p.413.

2. Trésor Immortel, p.xxxi.

3. Cf. Trésor Immortel, loc.cit.

4. Arch. Seine-Mar., G.3427 and 4557 contain pieces relative to the administration of Chappuys' property at his death. (Dr. ROCHE, op.cit. p.71, gives also G.4374; I have, however, been unable to find in this dossier any mention of Chappuys' estate at the time of his death.)
G.3427 contains an Inventory of Chappuys' property including a large number of books. The list of books is of especial interest, since it gives an indication of Chappuys' literary tastes. It includes, among others, works by Aristotle (in Latin), Thucydides, Diogenes Laërtius, Valerius Maximus, Plutarch's Opuscula, Quintilian's Institutio Oratoria, a book of Ovid's Metamorphoses, Commentaries of Caesar, works by Cicero and Sallust and Suetonius, several works by Erasmus, including his Parabolae, Colloquia, Apophthegmata, Guillaume Budé's De Asse, the Roman de la Rose, the Chroniques of Philippes de Commines, 5 volumes of Ronsard, 10 volumes of du Bellay, "ung petit livre" by Jacques Tahureau and 25 books in Italian, unnamed. (Cf. Dr. ROCHE, loc.cit.)

The celebrated court poet of the reign of François I died in obscurity at Rouen. His death passed unnoticed and unsung; he had outlived the poets of his day, and his name was already almost forgotten, eclipsed by the brilliance of a younger generation: Ronsard, du Bellay, and the other poets of the Pléiade.

Chappuys: poet of the court of François I.

At the court of François I, Chappuys associated with many of the poets and men of letters of his day - the very persons whom he was to celebrate in his Discours de la Court:

"Et sainct Gelaiz à nul aultre second,
Docte à escripre, à parler tresfacond,
D'inventions tout plein & de doctrine,
En poesie & Françoise & Latine...
Et Sallignac si sçavant en Hebrieu
Grec & Latin qu'entre tous se peult mettre
Pour bien juger l'esperit de la lettre.
Danesius qui les plus grandz deffie
En rhetorique & en philosophie.
Salmonius qui en ses vers liriques
Cede bien peu aux poëtes antiques:
Et Rabelais à nul qu'à soy semblable
Par son sçavoir par tout recommendable"[1],

and

"Marot y fut & n'y est plus Brodeau
Que la mort a caché de son bandeau,...
La Maison neufve en son stile heroique
Philosophie a joignt à rethorique
Où le tresor de son bon sens desploye.
Et le gentil Macault le temps employe
Diligemment à escripre ou traduyre
Choses qui font nostre langue reluyre,
La Broderie & Salel font merveille..."[2] .

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1. Discours de la Court..., Paris, A. Roffet, 1543, ll. 1211-1214; ll. 1216-1224.

2. ib. ll. 1353-1354; ll. 1357-1363.

In the 1530's, Chappuys collaborated with and exchanged verses with other poets of the court of François I. Indeed, he even exchanged epistles with the King himself[1]. Such poems as these give an indication of the friendly relations which existed between François I and the poets of his court. Chappuys was also known to the Queen of Navarre, and exchanged huitains with her[2].

It is possible that Chappuys became acquainted with the poet Victor Brodeau at the court of the Queen of Navarre[3]. Certainly the two poets were on the friendliest of terms and on more than one occasion dedicated verses to one another[4]. Chappuys was also friendly with the Neo-Latin poet, Salmon Macrin. In his Carminum Liber primus[5], Salmon Macrin

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1. Cf. infra, p. 308 It is of interest to note, moreover, that in the B.N. ms. fr. 2335 the huitain "Qui a receu quelque bien ou plaisir" is attributed jointly to Chappuys and "Le Roy". In the Soissons ms. 200, however, it is attributed solely to Chappuys.

2. Cf. infra, p. 418

3. The poet Victor Brodeau was a Secretary of the Queen of Navarre. Cf. P. JOURDA, Un disciple de Marot, Victor Brodeau, R.H.L., 1921, pp. 30-59; pp. 202-228.

4. Cf. infra, p. 353 and p. 355

5. Salmonii Macrini Juliodunem Lyricorum libri duo..., Parisiis, offic. G. Morrhii Campensis, 1531.

in a short poem addressed to Chappuys,[1] linked his name with that of Melliin de Saint Gelays. In his Hymns of of 1537, Macrin dedicated two further pieces to Chappuys, as"librarium regium" and, somewhat prematurely, "decanum Rothomagensem".[2] In 1534, an edition of Antoine Macault's translation of Pro Marcello[3], contained the following liminary verses by Chappuys:

"Puys que le Roy qui tous autres surmonte
D'authorité, de vertu, & sçavoir
De ce translat a tenu si grand compte
Que l'ayant veu, il l'a voulu reveoir:
Que fault il plus (o lecteurs) pour sçavoir
Combien d'honneur Macault a merité:
Il a si bien gardé la dignité
De nostre langue: & la grace exprimée
De la latine, avec facilité
Que l'une n'est plus que l'autre estimée".

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1. ib. f. 6v°, Ad Claudium Cappusium, "Quid refert rapias sceleste Claudi...", cf. L.P. ROCHE, op. cit. p.6.

2. Salmonii Macrini Juliodunem Cubicularii Regii Hymnorum libri sex, Parisiis, ex officina Roberti Stephani, M.D.XXXVII, p. 110, Ad Claudium Cappusium librarium Regium,
"Quando ipsi sitiunt amice fontes..."
and p. 115, Ad Claudium Cappusium decanum Rothomagensem Thaliam alloquitur,
"Nae sim ferreus o Thalia nae sim...",
cf. L.P. Roche, op. cit. pp. 23-24.

3. L'Oraison que feit Ciceron à Caesar, pour le Rappel de M. Marcellus, senateur Romain.
Translatée de Latin en Françoys par l'Esleu Macault, secretaire & vallet de Chambre du Roy.
Imprimée par le congé dudit seigneur: à Paris, par

It was Macault, moreover, who wrote a neuvain in reply to Chappuys' dizain "D'en aymer troys ce m'est force & contraincte".[1]

Chappuys collaborated with Mellin de Saint Gelays and Héroet in the translation of the Fable de Cupido et Psyché.[2] These huitains were written originally for a tapestry for the King and were later reproduced in the celebrated "vitraux" of Montmorency's Château of Ecouen.

Chappuys was one of the first of the French poets to write blasons in imitation of Marot's Epigramme du Beau Tetin.[3] When in 1537 Marot replied to François Sagon's Coup d'Essay with his Epître de Fripelippes,[4] he named Chappuys as one of the

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3.(contd) Antoine Augereau, demeurant en la rue sainct Jacques, 1534, F.6v°. Cf. L.P. ROCHE, op. cit. p. 25.

1. Cf. infra, p. 426

2. Cf. Appendix I, infra, p. 444

3. Cf. infra, p. 78 et seq.

4. On the quarrel between Marot and Sagon, Cf. P. VILLEY, Marot et Rabelais, op. cit. pp. 104-108; La Querelle de Marot et de Sagon. Textes publiés par E. Picot et P. Lacombe, Société Rouennaise des Bibliophiles, 1920; C.A. MAYER, La Religion de Marot, E. Droz, Geneva, 1960, pp. 71 - 77.

"poettes renommez de ce temps" who may be counted upon for their support:

> "Je ne voy poinct qu'un Sainct Gelais,
> Un Heroët, un Rabelais,
> Un Brodeau, un Seve, un Chappuy
> Voysent escripvant contre luy"[1].

It is significant that Sagon in his reply, Rabais du caquet de Fripelippes et de Marot, dit Rat pelé, recognised the worth of the poets mentioned by Marot:

> "Je ne veux pas rabaisser les credits
> Des excellents par toi nommés et dits
> De Saint Gelays, Heroet, Chappuy, Scève..."[2].

Chappuys does not appear, however, to have taken an active part in the quarrel. As Villey has suggested,[3] it is possible that he did not wish to compromise himself by taking up Marot's cause.

By the mid 1530's Chappuys had already a considerable reputation as a poet, and knew and associated with the leading poets of the day. Since he had not yet written any political poems - his first political poem, the Panegyrique recité au roy Françoys Ier[4] was not composed until 1538 - it is clear that he established

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1. Guiffrey, III, p. 565, ll. 5-8.

2. Lines quoted by J. PLATTARD, Adolescence de Rabelais en Poitou, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1923, pp. 118-119, cf. L.F. ROCHE, op. cit. p. 31

3. Marot et Rabelais, op. cit. pp. 106-107.

4. Paris, A. Roffet, s.d. (1538).

his reputation not by his political poetry, but by his personal poetry: his epistles, his blasons, and his epigrams. It is evident, therefore, that Chappuys' personal poetry is of very great importance in assessing Chappuys' value as a poet.

The fate of Chappuys' personal poetry.

If in the 1530's Chappuys was considered one of the leading poets of the day, his reputation as a poet dwindled in the course of the mid-sixteenth century and by the time of his death in 1575 his name was almost forgotten. Certainly in modern times, his works are unknown.

From 1538 onwards[1] Chappuys seems to have ceased to write epistles and epigrams - the light "poésies de cour" by which he had established his reputation as a poet. He turned instead to the writing of longer political pieces: the Panégyrique in 1538[2], the Complaincte de Mars[3] in 1539, the Discours de la Court[4]

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1. The dizain, "Lors que Neptune eut receu cest honneur", the latest epigram for which it is possible to give a date, was composed in 1538, cf. infra, p.348

2. Panégyrique recité au tresillustre, tresmagnanime tresvertueulx, & treschrestien Roy Françoys premier de ce nom, à son retour de Provence, l'an mil cinq cens trente huit, au mois de Septembre.
Paris, André Roffet, [1538].

3. La complaincte de Mars sur la venue de l'Empereur en France. Paris, André Roffet, 1540.

4. Discours de la Court, presenté au Roy par m. Claude Chappuys, son libraire et varlet de chambre ordinaire.
Paris, André Roffet, 1543.

in 1543, L'Aigle qui a faict la poulle devant le Coq à Landrecy,[1] in 1544, the Sacre et Couronnement du Roy Henri II[2] in 1549, and, much later, the Reduction du Havre de Grace[3] in 1563. These long political poems were in the sterile tradition of the Grands Rhétoriqueurs and had little literary worth.

For some years Chappuys continued to enjoy a considerable reputation among the minor poets of the day. In his Livre de ses Amys of 1540[4], Charles de Sainte-Marthe links Chappuys' name with that of Marot, Saint Gelays, Scève, Héroet and Fontaine, and later in

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1. L'Aigle qui a faict la poulle devant le coq à Landrecy. Paris, André Roffet, 1544.

2. Le sacre et couronnement du tres auguste tres puissant & tres chrestien Roy Henry deuxiesme de ce nom A Reims... Avec la harangue faicte au Roy par Monseigneur le Cardinal de Guyse Archevesque de Reims, & la response du Roy.
Paris, A. Roffet, 1549.

3. La Reduction du Havre de Grace par le roy Charles neufiesme de ce nom.
Rouen, Martin le Mesgissier, 1563.

4. La Poesie Françoise de Charles de Saincte-Marthe natif de Fontevrault en Poictou... Plus un livre de ses amys.
Lyon, Le Prince, 1540.

his Hecatodistichon of 1550[1], he names in his list of poets "Chappusius omnibus probatus" together with Ronsard, du Bellay, Pelletier and Habert. In 1542, Paul Angier, replying to the Contr'Amye of Charles Fontaine, placed his poem L'honneste Amant under the protection of the "Divins espritz, Poetes françois" and dedicated his poem "A tresscientifiques poëtes, Marot, sainct Gelays, Heroet, Salel, Borderie, Rabelais, Seve, Chappuy & autres Poëtes"[2]. In Charles Fontaine's Passetemps des amis, G. Teshault, a friend of Fontaine's, attacks Paul Angier's "vaine et sotte rime":

> "Je croirois bien que Saingelais & Sceve
> Prendront plaisir en un homme qui resve:
> Je croirois bien qu'Heroet et Chappuy
> Daigneront lire ouvrage de celuy
> Duquel la Muse est jeune, inepte & sotte"[3].

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1. Annae, Margaritae, Janae, Sororum... In mortem Margaritae... Hecatodistichon.
Parisiis ex officina Reginaldi Calderii & Claudii eius filii, anno salutis 1550, cit. C. RUUTZ-REES, Charles de Sainte Marthe, Paris, Champion, 1911, p. 320.
Cf. L.P. ROCHE, op. cit., p. 36.

2. Opuscules d'Amour par Heroet, La Borderie et autres poetes. Lyon, J. de Tournes, 1547.
Cf. L.P. ROCHE, op. cit. p. 37.

3. S'ensuyvent les Ruisseaux de Fontaine: Oeuvre contenant Epitres, Elegies, Chants divers, Epigrammes, Odes, & Estrennes pour ceste presente annee 1555. Par Charles Fontaine, Parisien. Plus y a un traite du passetemps des amis, avec un translat d'un livre d'Ovide...
Lyon, Th. Payan, 1555, p. 231.
Cf. L.P. ROCHE, op. cit., p. 37.

In his Ruisseaux of 1555, Fontaine addressed Etrennes to Chappuys and urged the poet of the Aigle qui a faict la poulle devant le Coq à Landrecy, to take up the theme again to celebrate the success of the Duke of Guise against the Imperialist forces[1]. In 1558, moreover, François Gentillet, in a second Discours de la Court[2], reproduced substantially Chappuys' earlier poem.

Although Chappuys' name was not completely forgotten in the mid-sixteenth century, his reputation as a poet diminished rapidly - he was held in regard only by those who were themselves minor poets, Charles de Sainte-Marthe, Fontaine and Paul Angier. The brilliance of a new generation - Ronsard, du Bellay and the other poets of the Pléiade, eclipsed the older poets of the court of Francois I.

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1. ib. p. 201.

2. Le Discours de la Court, Avec le plaisant Recit de ses diversitez.
Paris, Philippe Danfrie & Richard Breton, 1558. Rothschild 653. Cf. E. PICOT, Catalogue...Rothschild, I, p. 462.

With the passing of the years, moreover, Chappuys came to be considered solely as a political poet. Except for the Blasons, only his political pieces were published[1]; his epigrams and epistles were completely forgotten. In their Bibliothèques Françoises[2], La Croix du Maine and Du Verdier looked upon him solely as a political poet and Colletet even went as far as to say that the poet of the political poems was incapable of writing such gracious pieces as the blasons. This tradition has survived substantially until the present day. Thus, even today, Chappuys' epistles and epigrams, though unquestionably the best of his poetry, are unfairly overlooked; his reputation is based almost wholly upon his political pieces and he is regarded merely as a late disciple of the Grands Rhétoriqueurs.

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1. Cf. supra, p. 60

2. Cf. LA CROIX DU MAINE & DU VERDIER, op. cit., t.I, p. 132 and t.III, p. 327.

II LITERARY STUDY

(a) The Genres.

For the purposes of literary study, Chappuys' personal poetry may be divided into three genres: Epistles and "Poèmes"[1], Blasons and Epigrams[2]. In order to place Chappuys' personal poetry in relation to that of the other poets of the day, it will be necessary to consider the development and definition of each of these genres.

(i) The Epistle.

Like many of the genres of the Renaissance, the Epistle was derived from Antiquity. The Grands

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1. On the definition of the "poème", cf. infra, p.72-73

2. In addition, a Rondeau, ("Che foeu couvert qui si fort m'hat espris"), and a Chanson, ("Maintenant c'est ung cas estrange"), have been attributed to Chappuys, cf. infra, p.196 and p.199

Rhétoriqueurs, influenced largely by Ovid's Heroides, established the genre in France around the year 1500 [I]. As the Heroides were letters in verse purporting to be written by the heroines of mythology to their lovers or husbands, the Grands Rhétoriqueurs, in imitation of Ovid, composed many "artificial" epistles in which legendary figures or dead persons addressed living people. As well as these "artificial" epistles, such poets as Guillaume Crétin and Jean Bouchet also wrote epistles in their own name, addressed to a friend or patron[2].

With the Grands Rhétoriqueurs, however, the epistle, even where "natural" in its subject, was artificial and heavily allegorical in style, wholly lacking in the personal character found

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I. On the development of the Epistle, cf. H.GUY, Histoire de la poésie française de la Renaissance, t. I, L'Ecole des Rhétoriqueurs, Paris, Champion, 1926, pp. 105 - 108.
Cf. also, C.A. MAYER, Les Epîtres de Clément Marot, London, Athlone Press, 1958, pp. 32 - 33.

2. H. GUY was the first to make the important distinction between the "epître naturelle" in which the poet wrote in his own name, and the "epître artificielle", cf. op.cit. para 165 - para 174, pp. 105 - 108.

in the epistles of Clément Marot. Alone of the Rhétoriqueurs, Jean le Maire de Belges introduced a note of wit and originality, since his two Epistres de l'Amant Vert purported to be love letters sent to Marguerite of Austria by her dead parrot! Yet these epistles, since they are supposedly written by a dead creature, are still, of course, "artificial".[I]

I. Cf. C.A. MAYER, loc. cit.

If in his early epistles Marot retained some of the characteristics of the Rhétoriqueurs[1], he soon abandoned the artificial style of the preceding generation and made of the epistle an essentially personal verse form, the ideal vehicle for the expression of his genius.

As well as the "personal" epistle addressed to a friend or patron, the poets of the court of François I derived from the Grands Rhétoriqueurs a second form of the Epistle, the"epistre amoureuse"[2]. The love epistle and the "complaincte" enjoyed immense popularity at the time of François I, due in part, doubtless, to the influence of the epistles written by François I himself, Louise de Savoie, Marguerite de Navarre, and the King's mistresses during the King's exile[3]. Besides those epistles

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1. Cf. the Epître de Maguelonne, ed. Guiffrey, III, 5, the Petite Epistre au Roy, ed. C.A. Mayer, Ep. I, and the Epistre du despourvu, ed. C.A. Mayer, Ep.II.

2. On the "epistre amoureuse" at the time of the Rhétoriqueurs, cf. GUY, op.cit., paras 167-170; pp. 106-107. Cf. also, Epistre d'un amant abandonné, Anciennes poésies françaises, Recueil de poésies françaises des XVe et XVIe siècles, (A. de Montaiglon and J. de Rothschild), Jannet, Frank et Daffis, Paris, 1865 - 1878, Vol. IX, p. 195, and Epistre du bon frère qui rend les armes d'Amour à sa Seur, Montaiglon, op. cit. Vol. XI, p. 207.

3. Cf. for instance Poésies du roi François Ier..., ed. A. de Champollion - Figeac, Paris, 1847, Epistre [à Madame la duchesse d'Angoulême] "Si le regret d'esloigner ses amys," p. 5 Epistre [de la Duchesse Marguerite au roi] "Si par desir, voyre en trop plus grand nombre," p. 12

of which the authors are known, the various manuscript "recueils" contain many anonymous epistles [I].

The Elégies of Clément Marot could, moreover, be considered love epistles[2], though Marot prefers to stress his debt to Antiquity by styling them Elégies.

Thus both the "personal" epistle and the love epistle were extremely popular verse forms among the poets of the court of François I.

I. Cf., for example, two epistles of the Rochethulon manuscript, attributed by Blanchemain to Mellin de Saint-Gelays: A sa dame, Bl. III, p.101, and A S'amie absente, Bl. III, p.105.
Cf., also, the eight anonymous epistles of the B.N. ms.fr. 883, discussed by P. JOURDA, in an article Marguerite de Navarre, Epîtres et comédie inédites, R. du 16e siècle, XIII, (1926), pp. 177-204. M. Jourda attributes these pieces to Marguerite de Navarre or to one of her "entourage".

2. Cf. V.L. SAULNIER, Les Elégies de Clément Marot, Société d'édition d'enseignement supérieur, Paris, 1952, pp. 99-105.
On Thomas SEBILLET's definition of the Elegy in his Art Poétique of 1548, cf. infra, p. 70

In their definition of the Epistle, the various Arts poétiques of the period are, however, somewhat vague[I]. In his Art poétique of 1548, Thomas Sebillet gives the following definition:

"L'Epistre Françoise n'est autre chose qu'une lettre missive mise en vers, comme tu peus voir aus Epistres d'Ovide tant Latines que Françoises et aus Epistres de Marot, et autres telz famés Pöétes." 2

Sebillet maintains that the Epistle should be written in decasyllables preferably and should rhyme in couplets[3]. Jacques Peletier du Mans, on the other hand, merely stipulates that the Epistle should be in rhyming couplets[4]. Sebillet has difficulty, moreover, in making a distinction between the "epistre amoureuse" and the Elegy, and merely concludes that the Elegy should be more elevated in style[5].

I. Cf. Thomas SEBILLET, Art poétique, ed. Gaiffe, STFM, Paris, 1910, pp. 153-156; J. PELETIER DU MANS, L'Art poétique, ed. A. Boulenger, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, Fasc. 53, Paris, 1930, pp. 181-183.

2. op. cit. p. 154

3. op. cit. pp. 154 - 155

4. op. cit. p. 181

5. op. cit. p. 156
Cf. also, J. PELETIER DU MANS, op. cit. pp. 182-3.

Since the various Arts poétiques of the period are vague in their definition of the Epistle and, indeed, are not even wholly in agreement, it is not easy to decide which of Chappuys' poems may be legitimately described as Epistles. The Soissons ms. 200 contains five poems attributed to Chappuys which are specifically termed "epistres", namely the Epistre d'une Navigation, a long narrative poem describing Chappuys' journey to Rome in 1534 and four love epistles: "J'ay longuement appart moy desbatu," "S'il n'est poinct deffendu de se ramentevoir", "Voye ma lectre ung mary, une mere" and "Il fault, il fault que le sac je deslye". Two of these pieces[1] are admittedly in lines of twelve syllables. As epistles in Alexandrines, though unusual, are not unknown at the period[2], and as these pieces are specifically

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1. Epistre d'une Navigation, "Quand vous aurez congneu la main en ceste espitre", and Epistre, "S'il n'est poinct deffendu de se ramentevoir".

2. Cf., for example, Epistre en vers alexandrins, "Celle paovre deceue et miserable amante", Poésies du roi François Ier, ed. Champollion - Figeac, p. 89.

entitled "epistres" in the Soissons manuscript, it seems reasonable to consider them epistles.

The Soissons manuscript contains, however, certain other pieces which it is more difficult to define, namely the four poems for the gift of a benefice: Au Roy, "Ce ne seroit, o majesté royalle", A Monseigneur le Grant Maistre pour le mesme affaire, "Il est venu, le bon prelat de Tulle", Encores au Roy pour ce mesmes fait, "Il est abbé ce bon pasteur de Tulle" and A Monseigneur le Cardinal de Lorraine pour ce mesme affaire, "Le Roy le veult, il l'entend, c'est assez", and the poem on the taking of Calais, "Puis que Calais vostre ancien dommaine". There is no indication of the genre of these poems in the Soissons manuscript. From the point of view of subject matter the poems for the gift of a benefice might well be considered epistles. The poem on the Prise de Calais is admittedly rather more lyrical in tone. With regard to metre, however, the question is more delicate.

Of the four pieces for the gift of a prebend, the first, Au Roy, is in rhyming couplets; the second, A Monseigneur le Grant Maistre..., consists of a dizain, rhyming abbabccdcd, eight lines in rhyming couplets and a second dizain; the third, Encores au Roy..., consists of two dizains, and the fourth, A Monseigneur le Cardinal de Lorraine, of a single dizain. The poem on the Prise de Calais is composed of two dizains. Epistles in stanza form were not unknown at the time of the Rhétoriqueurs. In fact Guillaume Crétin in his Lettres envoyées... à Jean Molinet[I], uses the same stanza form as Chappuys. From the title of the poem, it seems, however, that Crétin, himself, was reluctant to use the term epistle to describe such a piece. The poem is, moreover, rather more lyrical than is usual in the epistle. If at the time of the Rhétoriqueurs the epistle was occasionally in stanza form, it would

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I. G. CRETIN, Oeuvres poétiques, ed. K. Chesney, Paris, s.d., p. 320.

seem that at the time when Chappuys was writing, epistles were invariably in rhyming couplets[I].

Thus, of the pieces for the gift of a prebend, only the first, "Ce ne seroit, o majesté royalle", may be considered a regular epistle. The other three and the poem on the taking of Calais, "Puis que Calais vostre ancien dommaine" are of no definite genre, and for that reason I have chosen to refer to them simply as "poèmes". It is clear, however, that all four pieces for the gift of a prebend are closely related and it is possible that Chappuys considered the "poèmes" as an extension of the epistle in a different metrical form. For the purpose of literary study, I have therefore grouped together the epistles and "poèmes".

I. Two pieces by Clément Marot might appear to be exceptions to this rule, namely a dizain, "Puissant Prelat je me plainds grandement" and a huitain, "Puis que le Roy a desir de me faire", (cf., edit. C.A. Mayer, Epîtres XIV and XXVI). These pieces have, however, always been grouped with the Epistles because of their very close relation to the preceding pieces. It is to be noted, that in the first edition of the Adolescence Clémentine (Paris, G. Tory pour P. Roffet, 12 août 1532), these pieces are specifically termed Dizain and Huictain respectively; it is not until the Etienne Dolet edition of 1538 that these titles are omitted. As these pieces have always been grouped with the Epistles, there seems, however, to be every justification for continuing to include them in the Epistles.

(ii) The Blason.

The blason as a literary genre first appeared in France in the second half of the fifteenth century[I]. At the time of the Rhétoriqueurs, however, the blason was a somewhat indeterminate genre. The first known example of the blason, the Blason des Couleurs en Armes du héraut d'armes du roi Alphonse V, dating from about 1459, was merely a prose treatise on heraldry. Guillaume Coquillart's Blason des Armes et des Dames was a long descriptive piece written about 1483, to celebrate the coronation of Charles VIII. The Blasons of the Rhétoriqueur Pierre Danthe - the Blason des bons vins de France, the Blason du Beau Cheval, the Blason de la Belle Fille and the Blason de l'Argent[2], are short, light hearted poems which might almost be

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I. On the etymology of the word blason and the development of the genre, cf. M.A. PEGG, Les Oeuvres complètes d'Eustorg de Beaulieu, avec Introduction et Notes. Ph. D. Thesis Southampton University, 1957, Ch. 3, Le Blason, étude d'un genre, p. lxxi et seq.

Cf. also, H. GUY, Histoire de la poésie française, t.I, L'Ecole des Rhétoriqueurs, pp. 124 et seq.; KINCH, La poésie satirique de Marot, Paris, s.d., pp. 109 et seq.; V.L. SAULNIER, Maurice Scève, Paris, Klincksieck, 1948, pp. 72 - 77.

2. B.N. ms.fr. 1721, ff. 60v°, 61v°, 62v°, 63, cf. GUY, op cit. p. 131.

The first three of these pieces are reproduced also in the Blasons, poésiesanciennes, ed. M.D.Méon, Paris, 1807, p. 335, p. 334 and p 91, respectively.

said to anticipate the best blasons of the 1535 period. Guillaume Alexis' Blason des Fausses Amours[1], on the other hand, is almost wholly satirical. Pierre Gringore's Blason des Hérétiques[2] and Blason de Pratique[3] are satirical pieces, while his Blason de la Guerre et de la Paix[4] is a political poem, and may be compared with Jean Lemaire de Belges' Blason des Armes des Venitiens[5]. It is clear therefore that before 1535 the term blason was applied to a wide variety of descriptive pieces.

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1. Le Grand Blason des Fausses Amours, Paris, Pierre Levet, 1486, in -4 goth.
2. Méon, op. cit. p. 272.
3. ib. p.224
4. ib. p. 260
5. Oeuvres, ed. Stecher, Louvain, 1885, t.III, p.407.

If at the time of the Rhétoriqueurs, the blason was an indeterminate genre, it was primarily through the influence of Clément Marot that the blason anatomique was established as a definite genre among the poets of the court of François I. .

The Adolescence Clémentine of 1532[I] contained five blasons: the Blason des Statues de Barbe et de Jacquette, the Blason de la Rose envoyée par Estreines, the Blason du Pin..., the Blason de la Chapelle..., and the Blason à la louenge du Roy[2]. These pieces have, however, nothing particularly distinctive.

Towards the end of 1535, however, while at the court of the Duchess of Ferrara, Marot composed the Blason du beau tetin[3] - a gracious and witty description of the "tetin d'une humble demoyselle". Although this piece is included in the Epigrams in the edition of 1538 and in subsequent editions, Marot himself, in his epistle A ceulx qui apres l'Epigramme du Beau Tetin...,

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I. Cf. C.A. MAYER, Bibliographie, op. cit. II, n°. 9

2. Adolescence Clémentine..., ff. 76 - 77v°.

3. ed. Guiffrey, IV, p. 99.

refers to it as "un blason que je feis de bon zelle",[1] and it seems reasonable, therefore, to consider this piece a blason.

If it is impossible to say whether Marot specifically invited the French poets to imitate his blason, it is certain that Marot's poem soon became known in France, and that the poets of the French court imitated it readily.[2] In his epistle "A ceulx qui apres l'Epigramme du beau Tetin en feirent d'aultres, Marot specifically thanks the French poets who have written blasons:

> "En me suivant vous avez blasonné,
> Dont haultement je me sens guerdonné,
> L'un de la part, la Chevelure blonde,
> L'aultre le Cueur, l'aultre la Cuisse ronde,
> L'aultre la Main descripte proprement,
> L'aultre ung bel Oeil deschiffré doctement;
> L'aultre ung Esprit, cherchant les Cieulx ouvers;
> L'aultre la Bouche, où sont plusieurs beaulx Vers;
> L'aultre une Larme, & l'aultre a faict l'Oreille;
> L'aultre ung Sourcil de beaulté non pareille"[3].

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1. ed. C.A. Mayer, Epître XXXIX, l.5
Cf. also, the title of the piece in the Musée Condé ms. 748: Le Blason du beau tetin envoyé de Ferrare à la Court de France.

2. On the question of the "concours de Ferrare", cf. V.L. SAULNIER, op. cit., pp.77 - 78, and C.A. MAYER, Les Epîtres de Clément Marot, p.217, n.I.

3. A ceulx qui..., loc. cit. ll.7 - 16.

Of the pieces to which Marot refers, the Blason des Cheveux was by Jean de Vauzelles, the Blason du Coeur and the Blason de l'Oreille by Albert le Grand, the Blason de la Cuisse by Pierre Le Lieur, the Blason de la Main by Chappuys, the Blason de l'Oeil by Héroet, the Blason de l'Esprit by Lancelot de Carles, the Blason de la Bouche by Victor Brodeau and the Blason de la Larme and the Blason du Sourcil by Maurice Scève. Marot declares that the Duchess of Ferrara had awarded the "couronne de Laurier" to Maurice Scève for his Blason du Sourcil[I].

In his epistle A ceulx qui apres l'Epigramme du beau Tetin en feirent d'aultres, Marot urged the French poets to write contreblasons in imitation of his Epigramme du laid Tetin[2]. Charles de la Hueterie wrote seventeen contreblasons, published in the Protologies Francoises[3], but on the whole the genre met with little success.

I. ib. ll. 21 - 24.

2. ib., 37 - 38

3. Paris, 1536, in -16.

In the course of 1536 and the following years many more blasons were composed. In 1536, an edition of the Hecatomphile... et Fleurs de Poesie Francoyse contained a supplement of eleven blasons: the Blason des Cheveulx, the Blason du Sourcil, the Blason de l'Oeil, the Blason de la Larme, the Blason de l'Oreille, the Blason de la Bouche, Autre Blason [de la Bouche], the Blason du Tetin, the Blason de la Main, the Blason de la Cuysse, the Blason de l'Esprit, as well as a Neuvain, "Ung Orateur blasonne le Tetin"[I]. It is to be noted that all these blasons, except the Blason de l'Esprit and the second Blason de la Bouche, are mentioned in Marot's epistle[2].

In 1537, a further edition of the Hecatomphile contained no less than thirty-two blasons and a dizain: Description de Grace[3]: the Blason du Corps

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I. On this edition, cf. infra, p.216

2. Cf. supra, p.78

3. On this edition, cf. infra, p.217
Although the Hecatomphile is dated 1537, the title page of the Blasons, being the first of four pages not included in the pagination, bears the date 1536.
Professor SAULNIER, to whom this edition of the Bibliothèque de Strasbourg is unknown, is mistaken in assuming that certain of these blasons were not published until the 1539 edition of the Hecatomphile or the 1543 edition of the Blasons, cf. Maurice Scève pp. 80 - 81.

(by Marot ?), the Blason de la Joue (by Eustorg de Beaulieu), the Blason du Col, the Blason des Cheveulx (by Jean de Vauzelles), the Blason du Sourcil (by Scève), the Blason de l'Oeil (by Héroet), the Blason de la Larme,(by Scève), the Blason de l'Oreille (by "Albert le Grand"), the Blason de la Bouche (by Brodeau), the Blason du Front and the Blason de la Gorge (by Scève), the Blason du Tetin (by Marot), the Blason du Cueur(by "Albert le Grand"), the Blason de la Main and the Blason du Ventre (by Chappuys), the Blason de la Cuisse (by Le Lieur), the Blason du Genoil, the Blason du Pied, the Blason de l'Esprit, the Blason de l'Honneur and the Blason de Grace (by Lancelot de Carles), the Blason du Souspir (by Scève), the Blason du C.. (by Chappuys), the Blason du C.l (by Bouvret), the Blason du Nes (by J.N. d'Arles), Aultre Blason du Nes (by Eustorg de Beaulieu), the Blason de la Langue (by Eustorg de Beaulieu), Aultre Blason de la Langue, the Blason des Dens (by Eustorg de Beaulieu), the Blason du Pied (by Sagon), the Blason de la Voix (by Eustorg de Beaulieu),and the Blason de la Mort (by Jean de Vauzelles)[I].

I. In the 1537 edition of the Hecatomphile, the Blasons are without name of author. I have followed, therefore, the indications of the 1543 edition of the Blasons.

In the following years the blason maintained its popularity: a 1539 edition of the Hecatomphile contained twenty-one blasons and the Description de Grace[I] and a 1543 edition of the Blasons anatomiques a number of additional blasons, including the Blason du C.. de la Pucelle which may be attributed to Chappuys[2]. In addition, certain other blasons - for example, the Blason des Cheveux coupés and the Blason de l'Oeil by Mellin de Saint Gelays[3] - were not included in any edition of the blasons.

In his Art poétique of 1548, Thomas Sebillet defined the blason as

"une perpétuéle louenge ou continu vitupére de ce qu'on s'est proposé blasonner... Car autant bien se blasonne le laid comme le beau, et le mauvais comme le bon: tesmoin Marot en sés Blasons du beau et du laid Tetin..."[4]

I. Cf. infra, p.218 A 1540 edition of the Hecatomphile would appear to be a mere reimpression of the 1539 edition, cf. infra, loc. cit.

2. On this edition, cf. infra, p.218

3. ed. Blanchemain, I, 191 and 194.

4. ed. Gaiffe, p. 169.

It is evident that Sebillet's definition of the blason is based primarily on Marot's conception of the blason and contreblason.

Although the Blasons anatomiques were reprinted several times after 1543[I], the genre quickly lost much of its popularity. The number of possible subjects was, after all, strictly limited! Throughout the sixteenth century there were, however, poems resembling blasons, such as the Hymnes blasons of the poets of the Pléiade[2].

Thus between the years 1535 and 1543 the Blason enjoyed considerable popularity among the poets of the court of François I. Chappuys was, moreover, one of the first French blasonneurs, since in his Epistle A ceulx qui apres l'Epigramme du beau Tetin en feirent d'aultres, Marot mentions:

"L'aultre la main descripte proprement"[3].

I. Cf. infra, p. 219

2. Cf., in particular, La Grenouille, La Sallade, Le Fourmi, Le Pin, Le Rossignol, Le Houx and Le Verre by Ronsard; Le Papillon, La Cerise and L'Escargot by Belleau.

3. Cf. supra, p. 78

Two further blasons which may be attributed to Chappuys, the Blason du Ventre and the Blason du C.., were composed before the end of 1537, since they are found in the Hecatomphile of that year.[I] The final blason, the Blason du C.. de la Pucelle, is not found before the 1543 edition of the Blasons anatomiques[2]. After 1543, Chappuys does not appear to have composed any further blasons.

I. Hecatomphile, s.l. 1537, cf. supra, p. 80-81

2. Cf. supra, p. 82

Although in his epistle A ceulx qui apres l'Epigramme du beau Tetin ..., Marot urged the French poets to have regard for decency[1], Chappuys did not heed Marot's warning and the Blason du C.. and the Blason du C.. de la Pucelle, are, as their titles suggest, among the most scabrous of the blasons[2].

Chappuys does not appear to have written any contreblasons.

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1. Cf. A ceulx qui..., ll.78 - 82, ed. C.A. MAYER, p. 216:

"Parlons aussi des membres seulement
Que l'on peult veoir, sans honte, descouvers,
Et des honteux ne soillons point noz vers;
Car quel besoing est il mettre en lumiere
Ce qu'est Nature à cacher coustumière".

2. For criticisms of the blasonneurs, cf. the anonymous Blason des Blasonneurs (Méon, p.53), and Jean Visagier's Ad poetas Gallos qui muliebra membra laudarunt and Gilles Corrozet's Contre les blasonneurs de membres, (Méon, p. 98.)

(iii) The Epigram.

At the time of the Grands Rhétoriqueurs the epigram was unknown in France. The Rhétoriqueurs with their love of intricate verse patterns preferred short pieces "à forme fixe", in particular, the Rondeau and the Ballade. The Jardin de Plaisance, an anthology of verse published in 1502[I] contains occasional quatrains, but not a single huitain or dizain; by far the greater number of the short pieces are rondeaux and ballades.

If in his early years, Clément Marot remained faithful to the old tradition and composed a number of rondeaux, he soon abandoned this form in favour of the more supple huitain and dizain. In his use of these forms he probably imitated the "strambotti" of the Italian poets of the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Mellin de Saint Gelays, who had spend some years at Padua[2] and was in some ways more deeply imbued with Italian influence than Marot, was doubtless also partly responsible for the

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I. Cf. LACHEVRE, Bibliographie des recueils collectifs..., pp. 3 - 11, and the fac-simile edition, Le Jardin de plaisance et fleur de rethoriques, ed. G. Droz and A. Piaget, Paris, S.A.T.F, 1910, 1925. 2 vol.

2. H.-J. MOLINIER, Mellin de Saint-Gelays, Rodez, 1910, pp. 45 - 75.

introduction of the new verse forms.

If Marot and Mellin de Saint Gelays in their huitains and dizains imitated the "strambotti" of the Italians, they retained the traditional rhyme schemes of the Chanson and the Ballade: the huitain rhymed most commonly abbabcbc, and the dizain, ababbccdcd.

By 1530, the poets of the court of François I preferred in general the huitain, the dizain and the douzain to the traditional French forms, the Rondeau and the Ballade. They excelled in these light and trivial "poésies de cour", in particular in their delicate little love poems.

At this period, however, the term "épigramme" itself does not appear to have been applied to poems in the French language. It is not used in the 1532 edition of the Adolescence Clementine, nor is it found in the Hecatomphile of 1534[1], nor in any of the manuscript "recueils". The term seems to have been reserved exclusively for the "epigrammata" of Neo-Latin poets, like Salmon Macrin and Nicolas Bourbon.[2]

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1. Cf. infra, p.215

2. Salmon MACRIN'S Elegiarum, Epigrammaticum & Odarum, libri tres appeared in 1534, Nicolas BOURBON'S Nugae, in 1533.

It is significant that Michel Amboise's Cent Epigrames[1], published probably in 1532, were almost all translations of the "epigrammata" of the Italian Neo-Latin poet Angeriano. Although some of Marot's huitains and dizains first appeared in the 1532 edition of the Adolescence Clementine, they were not styled "épigrammes" in this edition. It is probably through the influence of the Neo-Latin poet and publisher, Estienne Dolet, whom Marot met at Lyons in 1536, that Marot introduced the term "épigramme", first in the Chantilly manuscript of 1538[2] and then in the Dolet edition of 1538[3]. Thus Marot, an innovator in so many fields, not merely did much to establish the huitain and dizain as popular French verse forms, but also introduced the use of the Latin term "épigramme" to designate such pieces .

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1. Paris, Alain Lotrian & Jehan Longis, s.d.[1532].

2. Cf. C.A. MAYER, Bibliographie des Oeuvres de Clément Marot, Droz, Geneva, 1954. (Travaux d'Humanisme et de Renaissance, X and XIII), I, pp. 10 - 18.

3. ib. II, n°.70.

In his Art poétique françoys of 1548, Thomas Sebillet defined the epigram as a short piece, usually not exceeding twelve lines. His definition of the epigram was based primarily on the epigrams of Marot and Mellin de Saint Gelays[I].

Thus the epigram, a short piece on any subject, was firmly established in the French literature of the period.

I. op. cit. ed Gaiffe, pp. 103 et seq.

Like Marot, Mellin de Saint Gelays and the other poets of the court of François I, Chappuys wrote a large number of epigrams. The epigram was indeed his genre "par excellence"[1]. Chappuys' epigrams are principally huitains and dizains, although he occasionally uses other short verse forms: the quatrain, the sixain, the septain and the neuvain[2].

If on occasions Chappuys writes in honour of the King[3] or some great noble[4] or lady of the court[5] or addresses a fellow poet[6], by far the greater number of his epigrams are love poems addressed to Loyse du Plessis[7] and, we may suppose, other ladies of the court. Thus, while not excluding other subjects, Chappuys conceived the epigram primarily as a short love poem.

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1. It is to be noted that the term "epigramme" is not used in the Soissons ms.200, (except in one instance (f.49) where it has been inserted in a later hand, cf. infra, p.147). In general the genre of the short pieces is not indicated. The early part of the manuscript was compiled, however, about 1540, before the term "epigramme" was in general use, cf. supra, p. 87 . As these short pieces are generally referred to as epigrams, I have not hesitated to use the term.

2. Cf. infra, p. 135

3. Cf. XVIII, "Puis que voyons, o Françoys, nostre Roy", p. 347

4. Cf. XVII, "De voz vertus le hault bruict & estyme", p. 345

5. Cf. XXI, "Je ne veulx pas blasmer les amoureulx", p. 357

6. Cf. XXIII, "Tous fleuves doulx oubliez vostre gloire", p. 353

7. On Loyse du Plessis, cf. infra, p. 183

Thus, in his choice of genres - the *epistle*, the *blason* and the *epigram* - Chappuy shows himself to be a typical poet of his generation. It is significant, moreover, that only a single *rondeau*[I] has been attributed to Chappuys. The *rondeaux* and *ballades* of an earlier generation were doubtless considered old-fashioned by 1530. Like Marot, Mellin de Saint Gelays and the other poets of his day, Chappuys preferred the more "modern" genres which had been established at the court of Francois I.

I. "Che foeu couvert...." p. 442

(b) Sources.

Like many of the poets of the court of Francois I, Chappuys owes much to the native French tradition. If in the Discours de la Court, Chappuys claims to emulate

"...Cretin & Jehan le Maire
Qui de leur temps la palme ont emportée"[1],

is his epistles, too, he is influenced by the Grands Rhétoriqueurs. His use of the stanza form in the "poème" is probably derived from the Rhétoriqueurs[2]. In his constant eulogy of the King, the Nobles of the Court and the French Cardinals[3], Chappuys follows the tradition of the Rhétoriqueurs. Clément Marot ridicules this practice in his Epistre au Roy [pour avoir esté desrobé][4] - but Chappuys does not see the limitations of the device! Fortunately he does not use it to such excess in his epistles and "poèmes" as in his later political poems. In his use of allegory and in certain images, Chappuys, like the Grands

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1. op. cit. ll 1120 - 1121
2. cf. supra, p. 73
3. cf., for example, the Epistre d'une Navigation, ll. 37 - 55.
4. Cf. ed. C.A. Mayer, Epître XXV, ll.123-130.

Rhétoriqueurs, draws upon the tradition of the Roman de la Rose.[1] Chappuys' use of these devices is, however, relatively restrained: the metaphors and images of the epistles, though often banal and uninteresting, have not the excessively complicated developments of the Roman de la Rose.

If in his epistles, Chappuys has not wholly thrown off the influence of the Grands Rhétoriqueurs, he is influenced to a much greater extent, however, by Clément Marot. In his epistles and "poèmes" for the gift of a prebend, he clearly seeks to imitate certain epistles by Marot[2]. Not merely does Chappuys treat similar themes, but he seems to attempt to recapture the spirit of Marot's elegant "badinage" - though inevitably with less success!

It is possible that in his love epistles Chappuys is influenced by Marot's Elégies. Here, however,

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1. Cf., for example, "Ce ne seroit, o majesté royalle", f.292 et seq.:
"Mes ennemys, Paouvreté et Fortune..."
Cf. also Epistre d'une Navigation, ll.155 - 156, p.271,
"...Et trouve en lieu de fleur une poignante espine
Dont voz grandes beaultez ont planté la racine."

2. Cf. for instance, Marot's Au Roy, pour succeder en l'estat de son pere, ed. C.A. Mayer, XII, p.136, Au Chancellier du Prat, nouvellement Cardinal, XIII, p.140, and Audict Seigneur pour se plaindre de Monsieur le Tresorier Preud'homme, XIV, p.143.

It is particularly difficult to assess the extent of Marot's influence. The love epistle was a popular verse form at the period, and Chappuys was doubtless following the general trend. Indeed, on the whole, Chappuys' love epistles and certain passages of the Epistre d'une Navigation, seem closer to the epistles of Francois I, Marguerite de Navarre and the King's mistresses, than to Marot's Elégies. Possibly this is because, like the King's epistles, Chappuys' epistles are somewhat mediocre! Chappuys' epistle, "J'ay longuement appart moy desbatu" is, moreover, based directly upon the King's epistle to which it is a reply.[1] Not merely does Chappuys systematically deny each charge brought by the King, but he frequently goes so far as to echo the King's very words.

In the Epistre d'une Navigation, Chappuys imitates in part Erasmus' Naufragium[2]. Here again, however, Chappuys owes little to his source, since his account of the storm at sea is based primarily, of course, on his personal experience.

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1. On this epistle, cf. infra, p.308

2. Epistre d'une Navigation, ll. 253 - 256

In his epigrams also, Chappuys owed a great deal to the tradition of light poetry which had flourished in France since the time of the Rhétoriqueurs. This tradition was derived primarily from the conception of courtly love in the Roman de la Rose. Many of the themes of the rondeaux and ballades of the Jardin de Plaisance and the manuscript "recueils" of the end of the fifteenth century were taken up again and revitalized by Marot and the poets of his generation.[I]

I. In La Création poétique au XVIe siècle en France (Paris, 1956 2 volumes), p. 186, Professor Henri Weber suggests that the theme of the conflicting emotions - the lover's hope and fear, doubt and desire - is derived primarily from the native French tradition. We may compare, for instance, a rondeau from the Poèmes de Transition (XVe - XVIe siècle) Rondeaux du manuscrit 402 de Lille (ed. M. Françon, Paris, Droz, 1938) t.I, p. 114:

"Cent foys le jour, toute la nuyt entiere,
Incessamment ta doulseur et maniere,
Pensant en toy, me conduit et assemble,
Amour, danger, desir et doubt ensemble;
Quand l'un m'avance, l'autre me tire arriere.
Le doulx regart dont tu es coustumiere
Soudainement par voulenté legere
Ta grant beaulté mon cueur ravist et emble
Cent foys le jour.
Amours commande poursuivre la matiere
Doubte et Danger me prient que je quiere
Allieurs secours; mais Desir, se me semble
Ne veult permettre que de toy desassemble
Tant qu'il me fault vivre soubz ta lumiere
Cent foys le jour"

and the following lines:

If Chappuys looked in part to the French tradition, like Mellin de Saint Gelays and, to a lesser extent, Clément Marot himself, he was deeply influenced by the new Italianism of the French court and in his epigrams in particular sought inspiration in the works of Petrarch and the Italian Petrarchist poets of the latter half of the fifteenth century and the early sixteenth century[I]. With the poets of the court of Francois I Petrarch's prestige was immense, and it is not surprising that in an epigram Chappuys should couple Petrarch's name with that of Ovid, the great love poet of Antiquity[2]. The

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I (contd.) from the Rochethulon manuscript (Blanchemain III, 64):

"Est il nul mal qui soit semblable au mien...
Car plus me fuit, plus me sens estre sien;
Moins je la voy, plus pour elle souspire;
Car n'ayant rien, tout avoir je desire",

or, indeed, the opening lines of a dizain by Chappuys:

"Quant je vous voy, je ne sans mal ny bien,
Et aussi peu quant veoir je ne vous puis;
J'ay oublié et si me souvient bien,
Que je fuz vostre et qu'encores le suis.
J'ay poursuivy & tousjours je poursuis
Vous veoir souvent et vers vous n'ose aller..."

On the importance of the tradition of courtly love, cf. also V.L. SAULNIER, Maurice Scève, pp.206-207.

I. I am deeply indebted to Professor H. Weber of the University of Montpellier for his help in the question of Italian sources.

2. "Amour aveugle, aveugle tout le monde", f8, p.359

Petrarchist themes of the poet's suffering and devotion, the "dolce amaro" of the poet's martyrdom and the images with which Petrarch immortalized the beauty of Laura, are all to be found in Chappuys' epigrams[I], though it is often difficult to say whether Chappuys imitates Petrarch directly or through the intermediary of an Italian Petrarchist poet[2].

The Italian Petrarchist poets of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were widely read in France. Such poets as Chariteo, Tebaldeo, Serafino, Philoxeno, Sasso, Baldassare Olympo da Sassoferrato and Britonio had transformed the Petrarchist themes by their witty elaboration of the Petrarchist images. These poets drew also upon the themes of the Greek Anthology and, in particular, owed

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I. For the themes of the poet's suffering and devotion, cf. for instance, "Je ne faiz riens que plaindre & souspirer", p.409, "Je ne me puis plaindre ny contenter" p.391, "Je plainds mon mal, mon temps et ma fortune", p.379, etc.

For the beauty of the lady, the "soleil de beauté" themes, cf. "Loyse estoit en ung char triumphant" p.410, "J'avoys osé m'ordonner pour maistresse", p.389, etc.

2. Cf. <u>infra</u>, p.99

to the Greek epigrammatists a certain sensuality and their many descriptions of Cupid and his darts. They were influenced too by Ovid and the Latin erotic poets, Catullus, Tibullus and Propertius. Petrarch himself, of course, owed much to the Latin poets.

Like Petrarch himself, the Italian Petrarchist poets were widely imitated by the poets of the court of Francois I.[1] In the dizain, "Fortune monstre assez sa cruaulté", Chappuys gives an almost literal translation of the following strambotto by Philoxeno:

> "Amor me ha acceso de tua gran belleza;
> Fortuna ognhor da te mi ten lontano;
> Il ciel me privo al nascer de richeza;
> Natura m'ha creato turpe e strano;
> Morte ognhor chiamo et quella mi dispreza,
> Per far che ogni disegno mio sia vano:
> Cosi han jurato de stentarmi forte
> Amor, fortuna, il ciel, natura et morte"[2]

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1. Cf. J. VIANEY, Le Pétrarquisme en France au XVIe siècle, Montpellier, 1909, pp. 45 - 58. Vianey maintains that Marot, Mellin de Saint Gelays and the other poets of the court of François I were inspired primarily by Serafino dall'Aquila and the poets of his school.
Professor V.L. SAULNIER, in his Maurice Scève, p. 208, is probably right in suggesting, however, that Vianey's view was somewhat too extreme. Although the French poets of the period owed much to the Italian Petrarchists, Petrarch himself was never eclipsed by his Italian disciples.

2. Sylve de Marcello Philoxeno Tarvisino poeta clarissimo, Impresso in Venetia per Nicolo Brenta M.D. VII
Cf. J. VIANEY, op. cit. pp. 54 - 55. Vianey following Blanchemain, assumes that this piece from the Rochethulon manuscript is by Mellin de Saint Gelays. On the question of Blanchemain's attributions, cf. infra, pp. 155 et seq.

On the whole, however, Chappuys does not translate directly from an Italian source, but prefers more general imitation of certain themes and images. Where these themes are common both to Petrarch and to the Petrarchist poets, it is often exceedingly difficult to say whether Chappuys finds his inspiration in Petrarch himself or in the works of one of his disciples. Nevertheless it seems true to say that on the whole Chappuys, like Mellin de Saint Gelays, is nearer to the Petrarchist poets than to Petrarch himself. Chappuys' concern is not to create images of visual beauty - there is not, for instance, a single description of his mistress; he seeks rather to follow the Petrarchist poets in their elaboration of certain concepts capable of development in an infinite variety of ways. Thus Loyse is a "soleil de beaulté"[1] dazzling the poet by her radiance[2] or shaming the very sun himself by her brilliance[3]. While the theme is already found in Petrarch[4] - and is

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1. "Loyse estoit en ung char triumphant", p. 410

2. "J'avoys osé m'ordonner pour maistresse", p. 389

3. "O, viateurs, ne soyez esbahys", p. 374

4. PETRARCH, son II, "Il cantar nuovo...", son. VIII, "Quand 'l pianeta che distingue l'ore", et passim

indeed one of the most striking of all Petrarch's images - Chappuys' pieces resemble more closely certain pieces by the Petrarchist poets - Tebaldeo, Sassoferrato and, in particular, Britonio, who, in his Gelosia del Sole develops the theme in a great variety of ways[1]. In the dizain, "Puys que le feu qui dedans me brusloyt", Chappuys uses one of the most common Petrarchist themes, namely that of the fire which cannot be obscured, burning within the poet's breast. The theme derived originally from Antiquity and is found in Ovid's Heroides, (XII,37-38):

"Quis enim bene celat amorem?
Eminet indicio prodita flamma suo".

Petrarch takes up the theme in his sonnet "Ben mi credea..." with his "chiusa fiamma è piu ardente" and there are endless variations in the works of the Petrarchist poets[2]. In the dizain, "Las, si le feu

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1. Cf. TEBALDEO, Opere d'Amore, (Venice, Bartolomeo detto l'Imperador e Francesco Vinetiano, 1544) son. 148; SASSOFERRATO, Gloria d'Amore,(Venice per Nicolo detto Zoppino, 1532), f. D 6v°, "Per quanta gira il sole a torno a torno"; BRITONIO, Gelosia del Sole, (Venice, 1533), passim, but, in particular, "Un giorno uscendo fulgido e lustrante" (f. 81v°)

2. Cf., for instance, SERAFINO, Opere, (Venice, 1548), f. 142v° and SASSO, Opera, (Venice, 1519), f. b 8 etc.

qui me brusle sans cesse", Chappuys' witty development of a similar theme seems to find its parallel in certain sonnets by Tebaldeo[I]. In his many developments of the theme of Cupid and his darts[2] Chappuys again seems to owe more to the Petrarchist poets than to Petrarch himself[3]. It is, moreover, much to Chappuys' credit that his images usually have a restraint which at times is lacking in his Italian sources.[4]

I. Cf., for instance, TEBALDEO, son. 135, "Non t'ammirar se nel tuo ardente tetto"

2. Cf., for instance, "Ayant Amour espandu tant de flesches", p.416 "Amour aveugle, aveugle tout le monde", p.359 "Amour, Amour je pense recognoistre", p.387 etc.

3. Cf., for similar themes, TEBALDEO, son. LV, et passim; PHILOXENO, "Per darmi morte..." These themes were also common, however, in the Italian Neo-Latin poets, cf. infra, p.105

4. Cf. J. VIANEY, op. cit. pp. 15 - 43. As Professor Weber suggests, however, in La Création poétique au XVIe siècle..., p. 166, n.1, it is probable that Vianey gives a slightly exaggerated impression of the preciosity of the Italian Petrarchist poets.

In Le Pétrarquisme en France au XVIe siècle J. Vianey suggested that in their blasons Clément Marot and the other French poets imitated certain pieces by the Italian poet Baldassare Olympo da Sassoferrato[I]. While it is certain that the works of Sassoferrato were known and esteemed in France, it seems unlikely that the French poets imitated the Italian poet closely. If Marot's Blason du Beau Tetin owes something to Sassoferrato's Capitolo del bianco petto de Madonna Pegasea and his Delle poppe tette de pegasea, Marot's Blason du Laid Tetin seems to derive more probably from Villon's Regrets de la Belle Heaumière[2]. While it is true that in his Comparation de laude a la signore mia in cominciando al capo per insino alli piedi[3], Sassoferrato composed a series of strambotti celebrating the different parts of the body, the French blasons are very different from

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I. J. VIANEY, op. cit. p. 42 and pp. 49-50. Vianey maintained, in particular, that Marot's Epigramme du beau tetin was inspired by Sassoferrato's Strambotti lascivi and by his Capitolo del bianco petto de Madonna Pegasea and Delle poppe tette de Pegasea.

2. ed. Foulet, p. 48 et seq.

3. Gloria d'amore, ed. Venice, Giovanne Padovanno, 1544, f. 211 et seq.

Sassoferrato's strambotti. Sassoferrato's short poems are, we feel, infinitely more sensual than the French blasons. Marot and his fellow poets concentrate essentially on the witty and ingenious development of their theme - their blasons have not the sensuality of Sassoferrato's strambotti, and indeed this sensuality is not found in French poetry before the time of the Pléiade.

If we consider Chappuys' Blason de la Main and Sassoferrato's strambotto, De la candido mano:

"Quella candida man chel cor me tolse
piu bella chuno avorio netto e puro
La man chel iugo al collo me rivolse
si bella che de altre non me curo.
La man chá lei remirar me volse
da frangere ogni petto alpestro, e, duro
La man leggiadra che me tens allacio
me fa contento si per lei disfacio"[1],

we see at once that though the themes are the same, the two poets' treatment of the subject is totally different. Chappuys' poem is considerably longer and he does not reproduce Sassoferrato's images. In the Blason du C.., there is admittedly one possible reminiscence of Sassoferrato's "Quelle parte secrete

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I. Gloria d'amore, op. cit. f. 214.

donde nasce"[1]. On the whole, however, Chappuys owes little to the Italian poet. Like Marot, moreover, he is in part inspired by Villon's Regrets de la belle Heaulmière. In the Blason du C.. de la Pucelle, Chappuys' opening lines:

> "C.., non pas c.., mais petit sadinet;
> C.., mon plaisir, mon gentil jardinet..."[2]

recall the following lines from Villon's poem:

> "Ces larges rains, ce sadinet
> Assis sur grosses fermes cuisses
> Dedens son petit jardinet"[3].

The imitation is all the more striking since the word "sadinet" in this sense would appear to have been first used by Villon and is indeed exceedingly rare[4]. Thus, in this particular blason, Chappuys is certainly inspired by Villon rather than by the Italian poet Olympo da Sassoferrato.

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1. Cf. infra, p.339
2. Blason du C.. de la Pucelle, l.I - 2, p.341
3. Regrets de la Belle Heaulmière, ll.54-6 (ed. Foulet, p. 51.
4. Cf. GODEFROY, t. VII

Like the Petrarchist poets, the Italian Neo-Latin poets of the fifteenth century, such as Angeriano, Marullus and Politian, were widely read in France and influenced not only French Neo-Latin poets like Salmon Macrin and Nicolas Bourbon[I] but also poets writing in the French language. The Italian Neo-Latin poets drew their themes largely from the Greek Anthology and from Ovid and the Latin erotic poets. As these sources were also used by the Italian Petrarchists, it is not always possible to determine whether Chappuys owed certain themes to the Petrarchists or to the Neo-Latins. In the dizain, "Desesperé et prest de m'aller pendre" it is probable that Chappuys imitates directly the Neo-Latin poet Angeriano[2].

I. It is unlikely that the French Neo-Latin poets themselves had a profound influence upon Chappuys, since their main works, published in the 1530's, were roughly contemporaneous with Chappuys' epigrams. It is possible, however, that in one limited field, Chappuys owed something to the French Neo-Latin poets, and in particular to Salmon Macrin. The French Neo-Latin poets frequently addressed Latin verses to their friends; indeed, Salmon Macrin wrote certain pieces in Chappuys' honour, (cf. supra, p.55). So it is possible that when Chappuys addressed poems to his fellow poets (cf. infra, p.353etc.), he had in mind the Latin verses of his friends, the French Neo-Latin poets.

2. Cf. infra, p.369

Like Marot, Mellin de Saint Gelays and the other poets of the court of François I, Chappuys sought his inspiration not merely in the native French tradition, but also in the poetry of Petrarch and the Italian Petrarchist and Neo-Latin poets. It is probably true to say that in his epigrams, in particular, Chappuys is nearer to Mellin de Saint Gelays and the "poètes italianisants" of the court of Francois I than to Clément Marot himself. Saint Gelays is more versatile than Chappuys: for his "petits vers" include, besides love poems, a number of satirical pieces[I]. In the love epigram, however, Chappuys is quite as successful as Saint Gelays. Indeed, the mere fact that so many of Chappuys' epigrams have been attributed to Saint Gelays[2] shows how closely Chappuys' epigrams resemble those of the more celebrated poet.

I. Cf., for instance, "Un maistre es arts mal chaussé et vestu", Blanchemain, II, 75, and "Un charlatan disoit en plein marché", Blanchemain, I, 277.

2. Cf. infra, p. 155 et seq.

If we attempt to compare Chappuys' personal poetry with that of the other poets of the court of François I, like Antoine Macault, Victor Brodeau and Héroet, we are faced with a difficult problem, since by far the greater part of their "petits vers" has been lost or is scattered throughout the manuscript "recueils" of the period, without name of author. Although Héroet's longer poems, in particular, his Parfaicte Amye, are, of course, well known, a mere handful of his short poems is found in Gohin's edition[I]. As far as we may judge, Chappuys' personal poetry is very similar to that of these minor poets of the court of François I.

In his personal poetry Chappuys is essentially a typical poet of his generation, seeking his inspiration in the native French tradition and in the new Italianism of the French court and owing a great deal to the other poets of his day, Marot, Mellin de Saint Gelays and the minor poets of the court of François I.

I. op. cit. pp. 147 - 152.

(c) Chappuys' Art.

In his epistles and "poèmes" Chappuys meets with little success, since, unlike Marot, he seems unable to render his epistles truly personal.

In his epistles and "poèmes" for the gift of a prebend, Chappuys seeks to imitate Marot's easy "badinage"; he falls far short, however, of the greatness of the master. Like Marot, Chappuys, in his epistle addressed to the King[I], assumes an air of false naïvety: he emphasises the modesty of his request and finally makes the obvious assertion:

> "...et moy, de mon costé,
> Je ne suis poinct certes si degousté
> Que je ne dye aussitost: je l'accepte"[2].

In these pieces Chappuys is, however, very repetitive. If in the first epistle to the King, he strikes a note of originality in his "badinage"[3], he is unable to maintain the same level throughout three further pieces and turns repeatedly to the use of similar

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1. Au Roy, "Ce ne seroit, o majesté royalle", p.296

2. ib. ll. 51 - 53.
For a similar development, cf. Marot's Epistre au Roy (pour avoir esté desrobé), ed. C.A. Mayer, XXV, l.83 et seq.

3. Cf., for example, "Ce ne seroit, o majesté royalle", ll.52 - 56, p. 300

devices[I]. Chappuys lacks Marot's ease and fertile wit: his humour in these poems is laboured and at times tedious. While Marot, by the very boldness and the effrontery of his "badinage" can make acceptable the most preposterous demands, Chappuys' repeated pleas fail to win the reader's sympathy.

In his love epistles and in the love passages of the Epistre d'une Navigation, Chappuys seems wholly incapable of introducing a personal note. It is impossible to say whether the love epistles are in fact addressed to a lady of the court, or whether they are purely "artificial". Whatever the case may be, it seems to matter little: for they are singularly without warmth of feeling.

I. Cf. Au Roy, "Ce ne seroit, o majesté royalle", p.299 ll. 43 - 46, and A Monseigneur le Grant Maistre...., ll. 12 - 18, p. 303.

In the love epistles, Chappuys' conception of love is one of extreme artificiality. His "parfaicte amictié ... n'est poinct de venin de folle amour infaicte"[1],

but

> "...suz vertu a prins son fondement,
> Et se nourrist par certain jugement
> Et par debvoir qui semond vous aymer,
> Comme Raison contrainct vous estimer"[2].

Chappuys' conception of this "amour parfait", derived from the traditions of the Roman de la Rose, is particularly arid. Certainly his plea for

> "... une chose
> Que je n'espere et demander je n'ose"[3]

is made solely as a matter of form - his forlorn request is the greatest honour which he can pay to the lady!

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1. "S'il n'est poinct deffendu de se ramentevoir", ll. 9 - 10, p. 324

2. "Voye ma lectre, ung mary, une mere", ll. 8-12, p. 326

3. "Il fault, il fault que le sac je deslye", ll. 41 - 42, p. 329

The Epistre d'une Navigation is by far the most ambitious of Chappuys' epistles, and alone offers some real interest. Chappuys' account of the French Cardinals' journey to Rome in 1534 for the election of a new Pope and of the situation in Rome at the time of the Conclave is of documentary interest and gives valuable insight into the contemporary scene. The Epistle impresses upon us the great political significance of the election for which such an august body of Cardinals undertook the hazardous journey to Rome.

In the Epistre d'une Navigation Chappuys' description of his journey has all the value of a personal account. Chappuys seems well able to seize upon the incident which will be of interest to his mistress and to all at the French court - the failure of the Commander of the Nice garrison to salute the French fleet to the intense annoyance of the French cardinals[I], the death of Ponnission in the flood waters on the way to Rome[2] and the incident in Rome when a

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I. Epistre d'une Navigation, ll. 205 - 210, p. 274

2. ib. ll. 303 - 312, p. 282

soldier was fatally wounded within the Sistine Chapel itself[1] are all faithfully recorded. It is, however, in his description of the storm at sea that Chappuys really excels. He well evokes the feeling of tension, the panic and bewilderment of all aboard the galleys[2]. Chappuys' description has much shrewdness; indeed he seems to view the scene with a certain detachment. He describes with dry humour the terrified traveller

> "Qui perd le manger et toute contenance
> Et l'espoir de jamais s'en retourner en France"[3]

and the French Cardinals who despite their red hats grow pale with fear[4].

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1. ib. ll. 343 - 345, p.286

2. Cf., for instance, l.91 et seq. p.266 and infra, p.127

3. ib. ll. 129 - 130, p.269

4. Chappuys' lines recall Du Bellay's famous description of the Cardinals, (Regrets, ed. Chamard, II, pp. 146 - 147):
> "Mais les voyant pallir lors que sa Saincteté
> Crache dans un bassin & d'un visage blanc
> Cautement espier s'il n'y a poinct de sang,
> Puis d'un petit soubriz feindre une seureté...".
Like Chappuys, but with an infinitely surer touch, Du Bellay contrasts the whiteness of the Cardinals' faces with red - but in his case it is the red not of the Cardinals' hats, but of a speck of blood in the Pope's basin.

In the Epistre d'une Navigation, Chappuys occasionally strikes a truly personal note. We sense his genuine regret at being away from France, his relief, when, on the rumour of an improvement in the Pope's health, the Cardinals are about to return home, and his great joy at the prospect of leaving Rome and returning to France, but all too often, however, Chappuys leaves the note of genuine nostalgia and lapses into the conventional lover's laments[I]. Occasionally we seem to catch a glimpse of genuine humanity in Chappuys' attitude: he feels pity at the death of the three slaves in a fire aboard one of the galleys[2], and at the sufferings of the galley slaves[3] and he expresses his grief at the death of Ponnission[4]. But the effect is lost immediately - the slaves' suffering is nothing, he maintains, in comparison with his own cruel fate at the hands of his mistress, and the deaths of the slaves and of Ponnission are merely dismissed with pious sentiments.

I. Cf. ll. 131 - 174, pp. 270 - 272, et passim.

2. Epistre d'une Navigation, ll. 199 - 200, p. 273

3. ib. ll. 289 - 290, p. 280

4. ib. ll. 303 - 310, p. 282

Throughout the Epistre d'une Navigation, it seems, moreover, that Chappuys never fails to represent the "official French attitude". He hopes piously that the new Pope will restore the Church "à demy ruynée"[1] and that he will be favourably disposed towards France[2]. While emphasising that the Cardinal de Lorraine is held in great honour by the other Cardinals, Chappuys does not hint at the difficulties which beset the Cardinal as leader of the French delegation; the Epistle lacks the humanity of Chappuys' comment in his letter to Jean du Bellay:

"...& y a bien de l'ypocrisie parmy le monde où il est"[3].

In the Epistre d'une Navigation, Chappuys seems rarely capable of conveying the full force of his emotions. He feels indignation at the mutilation of the corpse of Clément VII at the hands of the Roman mob:

"Veez là des tours de Romme! O cruelle fureur
Dont je croy que le diable a luy mesmes horreur!"[4]

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1. ib. ll. 56 - 60, pp. 262 - 263
2. ib. ll. 389 - 396, pp. 292 - 293
3. B.N. Dupuy 264, ff. 183 - 184.
4. Epistre d'une Navigation, ll. 333 - 334, p 285

but for all that he seems incapable of evoking the terror which reigned in Rome at that time when the French Cardinals went in very fear of their lives. His description lacks the force and vehemence of Marot's lines on the corruption in Venice[I], or indeed of Du Bellay's description of the Roman scene some twenty years later. Thus although the Epistre d'une Navigation is by far the most interesting of Chappuys' epistles and is somewhat more personal than the other epistles, yet in this epistle, too, Chappuys fails simply because he seems unable to give expression to the full force of his emotions.

I. Epistre envoyée de Venize à Madame la Duchesse de Ferrare par Clement Marot, ed. C.A. Mayer, XLIII, ll. 1 - 115.

If Chappuys failed in the epistle largely because he seemed unable to render his poems in any way personal, his *blasons* also are wholly without any personal touch. In his *blasons* Chappuys adhered rigidly to the literary fashion of the day and this in part explains their lack of appeal, since the *blason* as a genre appears excessively artificial to the modern reader.

With the minor poets of the court of Francois I, the *blason* followed a rigid pattern: it was, in fact, little more than a painstaking enumeration of the attributes of the part of the body concerned.[1] Thus in Chappuys' *blasons* there is little physical description. Chappuys is concerned primarily with giving a systematic review of the qualities of the hand or the "ventre" as the case may be. The hand may encourage the lover by its subtle indications:

> "Main qui les cueurs et corps lye et deslye,
> Main qui le mien a pris sans y toucher,
> Main qui embrasse et semond d'approcher,
> Main qui à moy doibz ouvrir, o main forte,
> Qui fors à moy, à tous ferme la porte..."[2]

- in fact, the hand is capable of everything!

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1. Cf., for instance, the *Blason de l'Oeil*, by Héroet, and the *Blason des Cheveulx*, by Jean de Vauzelles.

2. *Blason de la Main*, ll. 2 - 6, p. 331

Chappuys is guilty of the most laboured exaggerations, as in the following lines from the Blason de la Main in which he even invokes the very deities of Antiquity in his praise of the hand:

> "Main que Venus veult pour sienne advouer,
> Main qui du laucz doulcement scaiz jouer,
> Main quand Orpheus mesmes l'escouteroit,
> Comme vaincu sa herpe laisseroit,
> Main que Palas choisiroit pour escripre..."[1].

If Marot's success in the Blason du Beau Tetin is due to his wit and concision, Chappuys' enumeration of the attributes of the hand or "ventre" is laboured and tedious. Chappuys rarely has Marot's wit, though the conclusion of the Blason de la Main has an ingenious twist:

> "Main, je te pry, faiz responce à la myenne,
> Main, escriptz moy que souldain je revienne"[2].

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1. Blason de la Main, ll. 29 - 33, pp. 332 - 333
2. ib. ll. 41 - 42, p. 333

If Chappuys met with little success in the epistle and the blason, his epigrams have undoubtedly more appeal. Although there is little originality in Chappuys' epigrams - his themes and images, even his very "attitude d'esprit" are all part of the literary tradition of the day - yet the epigrams have an air of sincerity and a spontaneity which is wholly lacking in the epistles. In Chappuys' epigrams, there is no great depth of emotion, no "grande passion"; yet in their expression of light-hearted devotion and in their gracious extravagance, they seem indeed to reflect the personality of the poet.

Like Mellin de Saint Gelays and other poets of the court of Francois I, Chappuys in his epigrams draws upon the themes and images of the Italian Petrarchists[1]. In Chappuys' epigrams, there is a richness and variety of idiom which is not found in the epistles. Chappuys' themes and images are undoubtedly precious; yet, in their very extravagance lies much of their appeal. The notion of the lady illumining the poet's room with her radiance long after her departure[2] or of the sun hiding himself in

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1. Cf. supra, p. 96 et seq.

2. "Toute la nuict ma chambre reluisoit", p. 371

shame[1] has a charm and grace of its own. With such concepts as these, Chappuys indeed creates a whole world of whimsical fantasy.

Since Chappuys' themes - the poet's endless laments[2], his hope and despair[3], his regrets at absence and at parting[4] - are all part of the current literary tradition, it is much to his credit that he brings vitality to these well-worn themes. If in the epistles, Chappuys' conception of the "parfaict amour" is cold and artificial, in the epigrams, his conception of love has much greater warmth of feeling. Chappuys portrays the lover's every mood: his desire - a desire which despite his deference for the lady is far from being unsensual[5] - his trepidation[6], his timidity[7] and his sheer defencelessness[8]. In the following poem,

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1. "O, viateurs, ne soyez esbahys", p. 374
2. "De qui plustost me debveroys je plaindre", p. 358
3. "Au departir adieu ne vous diray", p. 434
4. "Si peu ne peult une absence durer", p. 411
5. "Si quelque foyz devant vous me presente", p. 399
6. "Ce ne fut pas la pluye ou le tonnerre", p. 424
7. "Assez souvant à la porte demeure", p. 363
8. "Difficile est que doulceur ne beaulté", p. 383

the picture of the lover's timidity is indeed a touching one:

> "Assez souvant à la porte demeure,
> Non par deffault de pouvoir y entrer,
> Mais ayant creu que ce n'est poinct mon heure,
> Je n'ose pas seullement me monstrer...
> Las, c'est amour, qui trop se faisant craindre,
> Luy mesmes crainct qu'il vous trouve à reprendre,
> Quant je viendray à vous de vous me plaindre".[1]

Chappuys conveys an equally lively impression of his lady, with her high-handed ways[2] and her evident delight in her throng of admirers[3]; yet, for all that, there is a gentler side to her nature, which makes her weep at a parting[4] and temper a rebuff with a gentle glance[5]. The description of these trivial incidents, with their close relation to the everyday life of the court, lends immediacy to Chappuys' lines.

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1. Cf., infra, p. 363
2. "On dict qu'amour se nourrist de querelle", p. 373
3. "Je n'y vais plus; car ilz sont plus de trente" p. 376
4. "Elle se cache au partyr pour pleurer", p. 398
5. "Que pensez vous que j'aye peu penser", p. 374

A great measure of Chappuys' success in his epigrams is due, however, to his refined wit and elegant "badinage". The essence of Chappuys' wit lies in the very nature of the poet's attitude, in his refusal to take himself, or his love, too seriously. Chappuys' humour is extremely varied in the epigrams. If, on occasions, his wit is rather heavy, as in some of his developments on the theme of Cupid and his darts[1], his humour is usually gentler and more subtle. With infinite grace and wit he pleads his innocence in the following lines:

> "D'en aymer trois ce m'est force & contraincte;
> L'une est à moy trop pour ne l'aymer poinct;
> Et l'autre m'a donné si vifve actaincte
> Que plus la fuy, plus sa grace me poingt;
> La tierce tient son cueur uny & joinct,
> Voire attaché de si trespres au myen,
> Que je ne puis ny veulx n'estre point sien.
> Ainsi Amour m'a mys en ses destroictz
> Et me soubzmect à toutes vouloir bien,
> Mais je sçay bien à qui le plus des trois",[2]

or offers advice tinged with a certain cynicism in

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1. Cf., for instance, "Desesperé et prest de m'aller pendre", p. 369

2. Cf. infra, p. 426

the following dizain:

"C'est le meilleur beaucoup de n'aymer poinct,
A qui s'en peult garder et garentir;
Mais quant Amour par nature nous poignt,
Que feroit on? Peu sert le repentir;
Moins, bien servir; beaucoup sert le mentir;
Parquoy fault faindre aujourdhuy d'aymer l'une,
L'autre demain, en cherchant sa fortune
De tous coustez. Ainsi tout dueil s'appaise.
Faict la blanche ung reffuz, suyvez la brune;
Et vous aurez moins d'amour & plus d'aise!"[1].

There is a trace of scorn in Chappuys' disdainful description of his lady's "lever":

"L'un tient sa coeffe et l'autre son bendeau,
L'un dict qu'Amour le moleste et tourmente,
Et l'autre faict le doulx, l'autre le beau;
Quelcun aussy peult estre faict le veau"[2].

If Chappuys prefers generally a refined wit, he occasionally enlivens his epigrams with a streak of broad humour as in the slightly malicious dizain: "M'amye ung jour me disoit "Je le veulx" "[3]. Thus Chappuys' versatile wit does much to bring vitality to the epigrams, rendering them by far the best of Chappuys' personal poetry.

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1. Cf. infra, p. 391
2. "Je n'y vais plus; car ilz sont plus de trente", ll. 2-5, p. 376
3. Cf. infra, p. 413

In his personal poetry, Chappuys is a typical poet of his generation. The genres which he preferred - the epistle, the blason and the epigram - are those which were popular with the other poets of the court of François I. Chappuys' personal poetry is essentially light court poetry, and has little originality or depth; yet his epigrams especially have considerable charm. If Chappuys has not the outstanding originality of Marot, nor the versatile wit of Mellin de Saint Gelays, he is nevertheless a figure of some significance among the minor poets of the court of François I.

(d) Style.

If in his epistles and "poèmes" Chappuys is less successful than in his epigrams, it is in part a question of style, since the themes, particularly in the love poems, are often very similar. In the epistles, Chappuys' style is almost invariably heavy; he seems unable to sustain the longer piece; without the discipline of the short verse form, he is prolix and repetitive and his verse betrays all the signs of hasty and careless composition. At times Chappuys' epistles seem no more than "prose rimée".

In the love epistles in particular Chappuys uses a heavy declamatory style which is reminiscent of the Rhétoriqueurs:

> "Mais que diray je? Amour m'a surmonté,
> Amour m'a pris par vostre grant beaulté,
> Amour m'a faict desirer une chose
> Que je n'espere et demander je n'ose...
> Enfin fauldra que je la vous demande,
> Amour, Amour, Amour le me commande"[1].

I. "Il fault, il fault que le sac je deslye", ll. 39 - 42, and ll. 45 - 46, p. 329

If in his epistle Au Roy [pour avoir esté desrobé], Marot chose to use a "style eslevé", it is not without a note of irony[1]. Chappuys, on the other hand, uses a grandiloquent style in all seriousness!

In the love epistles Chappuys' images are for the most part extremely banal. The poet, stricken by love, finds

" .... en lieu de fleur une poignante espine
Dont voz grandes beaultéz ont planté la racine"[2];

Love's dart pierces his heart

" .... tout ainsi comme une fiebvre lente
Ou ung venin, peu à peu nous desesche"[3].

Such images are commonplace in the French poetry of the period; in Chappuys' verses, they are singularly unevocative.

If in the Epistre d'une Navigation, the longest of his epistles, Chappuys is repetitive and diffuse and digresses frequently, his style is at times in this epistle forceful and direct. The subject, itself,

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1. Cf. Au Roy, ed. C.A. Mayer, Epître XXV, ll. 119 - 120, and Introduction, p. 43.

2. Epistre d'une Navigation, ll. 155 - 156, p 271

3. "Il fault, il fault que le sac je deslye", ll. 6-7, p 328

lends itself to a more direct style. Certain images are particularly expressive. On hearing of the rumour of the Pope's recovery, Chappuys declares:

> "Et pour ce on s'atendoit retourner à Marseille,
> Qui me fist pour certain dresser l'oeil et
> l'oreille"[1].

By its unexpected combination of "dresser l'oeil et l'oreille", the image well conveys the poet's eagerness to return to France. Yet, unfortunately, Chappuys immediately lapses into a conventional lament which might be found in any of the love epistles of the period:

> "Car je n'auray jamais plaisir, ny veulx avoir,
> Fors celluy que prendray, malgré vous, à vous veoir;
> Dont scay combien à mes ieulx suis obligé
> Qui ont le cueur triste tant de foys aleigé"[2].

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1. Epistre d'une Navigation, ll. 219 - 220, p. 275
2. ib. ll. 221 - 224, p. 275

Chappuys' description of the storm at sea, in particular, has great vitality, and he well evokes the sheer bewilderment of the sailors aboard the galley:

> "Et verriez le patron, le pilot et comite,
> Et l'argousin aussi plus piteulx q'ung hermicte,
> Les nochiers et prouyers; mesme le cappitaine,
> Courant par la coursye, est quasi hors d'alayne;
> Le gager, promptement descendu de la gatte,
> Pour s'en aller à bort demende une fregatte..."[1]

Chappuys gives an air of greater realism to his description by his use of nautical terms. With evident pride in his nautical knowledge, he enumerates the winds - "le grec et marin, le besche et le siroc"[2] - and the various types of sailors. In his description of the storm at sea and in his use of nautical terms, Chappuys doubtless influenced Bertrand de la Borderie's Discours du voyage de Constantinople and possibly had some influence upon Rabelais' description of the storm in the Quart Livre[3]. Unfortunately, however, Chappuys' description of the storm, though at times quite forceful, lacks the truly dramatic quality of Rabelais' more celebrated description.

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1. Epistre d'une Navigation, ll. 91 - 96, p. 266

2. ib. l. 89, p. 265

3. On this question, cf. C.H. LIVINGSTON, Un disciple de Clément Marot, Bertrand de la Borderie, R. du XVIe siècle, XVI, pp. 219 - 282.

In the blason, Chappuys' style is again heavy and unrelieved. The very form of the blason, with its exhaustive review of the attributes of the part of the body concerned, is laborious in the extreme. Chappuys' abuse of the device known as anaphora, the repetition of the name of the part of the body at the beginning of almost every line, renders his blasons most monotonous.

In the blasons Chappuys' description is wholly without originality and indeed is typical of the style of description found in the blasons of the minor French poets of the period[1]. In the Blason de la Main, the hand is a:

"belle main, main blanche, main poly"[2].

The"ventre"is a:

"ventre rond, ventre joly,
Ventre sur tous le mieulx poly,
Ventre plus blanc que n'est Albastre
Ventre en esté plus froit que plastre"[3].

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1. On the ideal of feminine beauty in the blasons, cf. V.L. SAULNIER, Maurice Scève...., p. 82 et seq.

2. Blason de la Main, l. I, p. 331

3. Blason du Ventre, ll. I - 4, p. 331

It is significant, moreover, that the French blasonneurs appear to apply the same epithets to any part of the body. If the "ventre" is "plus blanc que n'est Albastre", the cheek is also of "albastre ou cristaline"[1]; if the "ventre" is:

> " ... eslevé sur deux coulonnes
> De marbre blanc, grosses & bonnes"[2],

then the thigh is also

> " ... plus dure que le marbre
> Le soubstien et le gros de l'arbre"[3].

These attributes are no more than mere "clichés", wholly devoid of evocative force. Indeed it is only in the Blason du C.. that Chappuys' description has some verve, and, doubtless, this is because of the extremely "polisson" nature of the subject![4]

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1. Blason de la Joue, l.33
2. Blason du Ventre, ll. 27 - 28.
3. Blason de la Cuisse, ll. 3 - 4.
4. Cf., for instance, the Blason du C.., ll. I - 5, p. 339

If in the epistles, "poèmes" and blasons Chappuys' style is heavy and lacking in grace, Chappuys' epigrams have a lightness and sureness of touch which is never found in his other personal poetry. It seems that Chappuys' talent is particularly suited to the short verse form.

In his epigrams Chappuys is often most successful when he recaptures the easy tones of conversation. In so many of his poems he seems to be pleading graciously with his mistress[1] or merely confiding his troubles to a more sympathetic ear[2]. Often he achieves his effect by the very simplicity of his lines, as in the following Estraynes:

> "Ce n'est à moy qui n'ay rien du poete
> Que pouvreté, à moy n'est de donner;
> Car je n'ay rien et rien ne souhaicte,
> Fors que veillez voz plaisirs m'ordonner;
> Et n'ayant mieulx de quoy vous estrainer,
> Tous mes souhaictz à vous seulle j'adresse,
> Et vous desire autant d'heur et lyesse
> Que de beauté Nature vous donna,
> Et de tous biens aussi grande largesse
> Que de vertu le ciel vous ordonna"[3] .

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1. Cf., for instance, "J'ay ceste nuict aussi mal reposé", p.371 "Assez souvant à la porte demeure", p.363 etc.

2. Cf., for instance, "J'avoys pensé que pour mon plus grant bien", p.430 "On dict qu'amour se nourrist de querelle", p.373

3. Cf. infra, p.352

In the huitain, "Qui a receu quelque bien ou plaisir", the apparent artlessness of the lines lends a touch of pathos to the poet's plight:

> "Il est bien vray que simuler & faindre
> Peult en amours prouffiter & valoir;
> Mais il n'est pas aysay de se contraindre
> Rire au dehors & en cueur se douloir"[1].

The effect is gained largely through the skilful use of antithesis; yet this antithesis is not too obvious and indeed its value lies in its very unobtrusiveness. In the following dizain, too, Chappuys uses antithesis to convey the contradictions implicit in the lover's dilemma:

> "Quant je vous voy, je ne sans mal ny bien,
> Et aussi peu quant veoir je ne vous puis;
> J'ay oublié et si me souvient bien,
> Que je fuz vostre et qu'encores le suis.
> J'ay poursuivy & tousjours je poursuis
> Vous veoir souvent et vers vous n'ose aller;
> En m'approchant je me sens reculler;
> La main me tremble alors que pense escripre;
> Pareillement la voix quant veulx parler.
> Je vous supply: dictes que c'est à dire!"[2]

The whole piece culminates in the touching plea of the final line: "Dictes que c'est à dire".

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1. Cf. infra, p. 406

2. Cf. infra, p. 378

In certain pieces Chappuys gains effect by the "trait" of the final line; frequently the last line gives a neat conclusion to the whole poem. In the dizain, "D'en aymer trois ce m'est force & contraincte", Chappuys give a clever twist to the whole poem with the concluding lines:

> "Ainsi Amour m'a mys en ses destroictz
> Et me soubzmect à toutes vouloir bien,
> Mais je sçay bien à qui le plus des trois"[1].

In other poems, however, the use of the final "trait" is less effective. In the dizain, "Pardonnez moy si je fuz trop legier", for instance, after lamenting that his lady's faith has flown out of the window, Chappuys declares:

> "Il me desplaist que ne l'avoys fermée"[2].

Here the change in attitude is unexpected; the illusion of genuine emotion in the first nine lines is brusquely destroyed by the anticlimax of the final line.

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1. Cf. infra, p. 426
2. Cf. infra, p. 425

While in the epigrams Chappuys does not wholly avoid the faults of hasty composition, it is true to say that on the whole the style of the epigrams is superior to that of the epistles and the blason. In the best of his epigrams Chappuys achieves a graciousness of expression that is wholly lacking in his other poetry.

(e) Versification.

In the question of versification, Chappuys follows Marot, Saint Gelays and the other poets of the court of Francois I.

1. Metre.

With Chappuys, as with Marot, the decasyllable is the most common line. Chappuys uses the Alexandrine occasionally, notably in the Epistre d'une Navigation[I]. In the use of the Alexandrine, which is comparatively rare at the time, Chappuys is a forerunner of the poets of the Pléiade.

Chappuys uses a line of eight syllables in the Blason du Ventre[2].

2. Rhyme schemes.

The epistles and blasons are in rhyming couplets. The "poèmes" are, however, in stanza form[3], with the rhyme scheme ababbccdcd.

I. Cf. infra, p.256

2. The Chanson, "Maintenant c'est ung cas estrange", is also octosyllabic. It is unlikely, however, that this piece is by Chappuys, cf. infra, p.199

3. On the "poème", cf. supra, p.72 et seq.

The Epigrams are principally dizains, with the regular rhyme scheme ababbccdcd[1]. There is, however, one dizain, "Pour vous aymer moy mesmes veulx hair"[2], with the rhyme scheme ababbccddc[3].

The Epigrams include also a considerable number of huitains, with the rhyme scheme, ababbcbc[4]. There is, however, one huitain, "Amour, amy de tous, peste des siens"[5], which rhymes abbaacac[6].

In addition, there are two quatrains, with the regular rhyme scheme abba[7], a sixain, rhyming abbacc[8],

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1. Thomas SEBILLET, in his Art poétique françoys, (ed. Gaiffe, pp. 110 - 111), recommends the use of this rhyme scheme in the dizain.

2. Cf. infra, p.375

3. For this rhyme scheme, cf. H. CHATELAIN, Recherches sur le vers français au XVe siècle, Paris, 1908, p. 135.

4. Cf. SEBILLET, op. cit. p. 109.

5. Cf. infra, p.408

6. This rhyme scheme is not given by CHATELAIN, op.cit.
One further epigram, "L'aise que je reçoy vous voyant malcontente" (cf. infra, p.404), is in fact not a huitain, but two distinct quatrains rhyming abab.

7. "Aiez pitié du grant mal que j'endure", infra, p.393
"Nul en amour plus savant ne doibt estre", infra, p.438

8. "Les dyamans, les perles et rubis", infra, p. 362
CHATELAIN, op. cit. does not give this rhyme scheme.

a septain, rhyming ababbcc[1], and a neuvain rhyming abaabcdcd[2].

Chappuys, like Marot, does not observe the alternation of masculine and feminine rhymes, although this rule had already been introduced by Octovien de Saint Gelays, it was not observed rigorously until the time of the Pléiade[3].

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1. "Elle veult doncq par estrange rigueur", infra, p.422. For this rhyme scheme, cf. CHATELAIN, op. cit. p.144.

2. "Lors qu'Amour eut ses droitz en leur saine observance", infra, p.436. CHATELAIN does not give this rhyme scheme.

3. Cf. H. CHAMARD, Histoire de la Pléiade, Paris, Didier, 1939, t.IV, pp.128-133.

3. Measure.

On the whole, the rules which Chappuys follows are those of modern usage. There are, however, certain differences[I]:

a) The mute e, following a vowel at the end of a word but within a line, which is allowed in modern French only if it is elided, is found in Chappuys non-elided and counting as a syllable. For example, Epistre d'une Navigation, l.2, "Du pouvre malheureux qui l'envoye sans tiltre".

I. I have been unable to find in Chappuys' personal poetry any example of a "coupe féminine", namely an instance where a mute e at the caesura, though non-elided, does not count as a syllable.

On the "coupe féminine" or epic caesura, cf. L.E. KASTNER, Les Rhétoriqueurs et l'abolition de la coupe féminine, Revue des Langues romanes, XLVI, 1903.

Cf. also, T. SEBILLET, op.cit. pp. 48 - 53.

Chappuys occasionally uses the "lyric caesura", where a non-elided mute e, counting as a syllable, immediately precedes the caesura. Cf. for instance, Epistre d'une Navigation, l. 224, "Qui ont le cueur triste tant de foys aleigé". There are, however, very few examples of the "lyric caesura" in Chappuys' poetry.

On the disappearance of the "lyric caesura", primarily through the influence of Marot, cf. L.E. KASTNER, op. cit. pp. 296 - 297. SEBILLET, op. cit. pp. 51 - 52, is not clear on this point. He maintains that the final syllable before the caesura should not consist of a mute e, but gives as examples instances where, as the first word of the second hemistitch begins with a vowel, the mute e before the caesura is either in hiatus or elides giving a short line. This is, of course, different from Chappuys' use of the "lyric caesura", where the second hemistitch begins with a consonant.

b) The mute e coming after a vowel and followed by s or nt and within the line, which is not allowed in modern French, is found in Chappuys and counts as a syllable. For example, Epistre d'une Navigation, l. 264, "Les autres labouroient et fallut que l'armée". (In this line, the termination ent does not count as a syllable, since, as in modern French, the forms aient (oient) of the Imperfect and Conditional constitute only one syllable).

c) The mute e of esperit and of the conditional debverois, which has disappeared in modern French, is occasionally retained in Chappuys and counts as a syllable. For example, "Dessus ung lict estoit toute estendue", l.9; "N'as tu pas bien l'esperit abusé"; "De qui plustost me debveroys je plaindre" (l.I).[I]

I. In other cases, however, the mute e is dropped and these words have, of course, the modern French value, cf. "J'avoys osé m'ordonner pour maistresse", p. 389 l.4, "Mais la nuée estant en mes espritz".

d) Combinations of several ~~words~~ vowels within one word are in general monosyllabic or disyllabic as in modern French. There are, however, certain exceptions:

i. ui, monosyllabic in modern French in fuir, with Chappuys is disyllabic in the infinitive fuyr. For example, in the Epigram, "Je n'y vais plus; car ilz sont plus de trente", 1.6, "Or quant à moy je veulx fuyr la presse". In other tenses of the verb, it is, however, monosyllabic. For example, in the Epistle, "J'ay longuement appart moy desbatu", 1.129, "Que j'aye aymé ce qui me chasse et fuyct".

ii. ie in griefve, which is disyllabic in the modern French grief, is monosyllabic in Chappuys. For example, Epistre d'une Navigation, 1.295, "Plus griefve est doncq beaucoup ma payne à tort soufferte".

iii. véez (= voyez) is monosyllabic. For example in the Epistle, "Il fault, il fault que le sac je deslye", 1.15, "Véez là comment par escript me confesse".

4. The Caesura.

In the ten syllable line the caesura falls normally after the fourth syllable. It falls not infrequently, however, after the sixth syllable, and occasionally at the second, third, fifth and seventh syllables.

In the Alexandrine, the caesura falls regularly after the sixth syllable, and exceptionally, after the fourth or eighth syllable[1].

In the octosyllabic line of the Blason du Ventre the caesura is variable and may fall after the second, third, fourth, fifth or sixth syllable.

5. Hiatus and enjambement.

As neither hiatus nor enjambement was forbidden at the period, there are frequent examples of both in Chappuys' poetry.

6. Rhyme.[2]

Here again, Chappuys rarely departs from modern

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1. Cf., for instance, Epistre d'une Navigation, l.201.

2. It seems unnecessary to prove that in his rhymes Chappuys follows the pronunciation of his time. It is interesting to note, however, that because of the rhyme Chappuys on occasions adopts an archaic form or spelling. For example, maindre (= moindre), to rhyme with actaindre, depaindre, ("Il n'est esprit, parolle ou escripture") infra, p.389 and with plaindre, faindre and contraindre, ("Qui a receu quelque bien ou plaisir"), infra, p.406, as well as mains tenu (for moins tenu), to

usage. Like the other poets of his day, He does not observe, however, the rule whereby a word may not rhyme with its compound.

Apart from the "rime riche" and the "rime suffisante", Chappuys uses, occasionally, the more complicated rhymes favoured by the Rhétoriqueurs, notably the "rime léonine", which requires an exact conformity in the two final syllables[1]. Unlike Marot, however, he does not use this rhyme systematically throughout a whole poem[2].

Chappuys also uses the "rime équivoquée", but relatively infrequently, and more often in the Epistles than the Epigrams[3].

2.(contd.) rhyme with maintenu (Epistre d'une Navigation, 133-134), and also veuz (= voeux) to rhyme with veuz (= vus), (Epistre d'une Navigation, 121-122).
On the question of assonances at this period, cf. CHATELAIN, op. cit. pp. 1 - 82.

1. Cf., for instance, the Epigram, "Helayne à qui de beaulté ressemblez", ll. 1, 3, infra, p. 379

2. On the use of this rhyme in certain epistles by Marot, cf. C.A. MAYER, Les Epîtres de Clément Marot, p. 48.

3. Cf., for instance, Epistre d'une Navigation, 181-182, infra, p. 272
"Certes vous ne vouldriez plus avant en sçavoir
Et auriez peur d'oyr ce qui nous fache à veoir".
On this rhyme, cf. also SEBILLET, op. cit. p. 62.

III THE TEXT

1. THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE ATTRIBUTIONS

A. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES.

Poems are attributed to Chappuys in three manuscript "recueils de poésies":

(1) Soissons, ms. 200.

(2) B.N. ms.fr. 2335.

(3) B.N. ms.fr. 1667.

In addition, the B.N. mss. fr. 842, 885, 2334, 20025, and the Musée Condé ms. 523 contain the Trente huitains pour la tappisserye faicte de la fable de Cupido et Psyché, of which the first ten huitains may be attributed to Chappuys[I].

I. Chappuys collaborated with Héroet and Mellin de Saint Gelays in the translation of the Fable of Cupid and Psyché, cf. infra, p.444

The Musée Condé ms. 523 and the B.N. mss. fr. 885 and 2334 attribute the first ten huitains to Claude Chappuys, the second ten to Héroet and the final ten to Mellin de Saint Gelays. The B.N. ms. fr. 20025 attributes the first sixteen huitains to Chappuys and the remainder to Saint Gelays. As the B.N. ms.fr. 20025 is a manuscript of relatively weak authority, we may accept the attributions of the M.C. ms. 523 and the B.N. mss. fr. 885 and 2334.

(1) The Soissons ms. 200.

a. Description of the manuscript.

The Soissons ms. 200 is a sixteenth century manuscript. It contains 108 folios[I], which are of paper and measure 236 millimetres by 170 millimetres. The manuscript has been seriously damaged by damp. The sixteenth century binding is embossed calf.

The manuscript is a "recueil de vers", consisting principally of epigrams and epistles by a number of authors. While it is not possible to date many of the poems, it would seem that the greater part of the manuscript consists of poems composed before 1540: the Epitaphes of Madame de Traves, (ff. 2-3 bis) were written in 1533[2], the dizain, "Lors que Neptune eut receu cest honneur", (f.20), in 1538[3], the Epistre

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I. The folios are numbered erroneously from 1 to 103; there are, however, two folios numbered 3, a folio 12 bis, and three unpaginated blank leaves after f.96, making a total of 108 folios in all.
The manuscript is, moreover, incomplete, since f.7 does not follow on from f.6v°, nor f. 92 from f.91v°.

2. Hélène de Boisy, the wife of François Clermont, seigneur de Traves, died at Marseilles in October, 1533, cf. infra, p. 346

3. Cf., infra, p. 348

(d'une Navigation), (ff. 57 - 66), in 1534[1], and the Blason de la Main, (ff. 74 - 75), in 1535 or early 1536[2]. Towards the end of the manuscript, however, there are poems of a later date: the dizain, "Marot saluant le camp de monsieur d'Anguien, (f.93), was composed in 1544[3], La Prinse de Calais, (f.94v°), in 1558[4] and, lastly, the Epitaphe (de Henri II), (f.97v°), in 1559[5].

While it is possible to date certain poems in the Soissons ms. 200, it is not easy to decide when the manuscript itself was copied. Since the first poems in the manuscript, the Epitaphes de feue Madame de Traves, were written in 1533, the manuscript could not have been begun before 1533 at the earliest. As the greater part of the manuscript would appear to consist solely of poems written in the 1530's and as

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1. Cf., infra, p. 256

2. Cf. supra, pp. 78-79

3. The dizain was composed shortly after the victory of François de Bourbon, comte d'Enghien, at Cerisole, on 14th April, 1544, cf. MAROT, Oeuvres, ed. Guiffrey, IV, p. 238.

4. Calais was captured by French forces under François de Guise on 6th January, 1558, cf. LAVISSE, V (ii), p. 172.

5. Henri II died on 10th July, 1559, from a wound sustained in a tourney, cf. LAVISSE, V (ii), p. 248.

the poems composed after 1540 are all noticeably towards the end of the manuscript, it would seem probable that the manuscript was begun in the late 1530's and was continued over a period of years until 1559, the year in which the Epitaphe (de Henri II), the latest poem in the manuscript was composed.[I]

The style of the script varies considerably throughout the manuscript and it might appear at a first glance that the manuscript was the work of more

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I. The description of the Soissons ms. 200 given by L.P. ROCHE, op. cit., p. x, is, I believe, misleading. Dr. Roche claims that there is a clearly defined early section of the manuscript ending at f.42, (erroneously for f.49), where the last dizain attributed to Chappuys, "Au departir adieu ne vous diray", is heavily underlined and there is a marginal note "Fin aux epigrammes de Chappuys". The rest of the manuscript, he maintains, is of a considerably later date.

Dr. Roche does not indicate, however, that the marginal comment is a later addition. I would believe that there was originally no break in the manuscript at this point. The dizain, "Au departir adieu ne vous diray", and the following dizain, "Je ne voy riens qui vous puisse estranger", are in the same style of script; nor is there any variation in the shade of ink. The poems which follow this "break" would not appear to be appreciably later in date. While it is impossible to give an exact date for many of them, they would seem to be of the same period as the preceding poems: as we have seen, the Epistre d'une Navigation, ff. 57 - 66, was written in 1534, the Blason de la Main, ff. 74 - 75, in 1535 or 1536; moreover, many of the poems after f.49 figure in the Musée Condé ms. 523, which dates from about 1540. There would seem, therefore, to be little justification for supposing that a later section of the manuscript begins at f.49.

than one scribe[1]. Two sections, in particular, towards the beginning of the manuscript[2], would appear to be in a different hand from the surrounding text. These two sections are, however, in writing, whereas the surrounding text is in bookhand, the conventional script of the period. F. 18 offers, moreover, a clear transition between the two styles. There is, however, a great diversity in the style of the actual bookhand throughout the manuscript. Yet, although the appearance of certain folios is markedly different, the principal characteristics of the later style are "foreshadowed" early in the manuscript. As early as f.2, for example, we may note the letter "d" with a marked oblique stroke to the top left which is usual in the early part of the manuscript, and at the same time the letter "d" of the later style with its top stroke looped round to join on to the following letter. Towards the end of the manuscript, moreover, the scribe seems to revert in places to a style which is typical of an earlier part of the manuscript[3].

I. In this question of the script of the manuscript, I am deeply indebted to Dr. C.D. Pickford of the University of Hull for his invaluable help.

I exclude from this discussion the Huitain de la Royne de Navarre, f.3 bis v°, which is in a considerably more modern hand and has obviously been inserted on a blank page. I exclude also certain scribblings on ff.32 and 96v°.

I would tend to believe therefore, that the whole of the Soissons manuscript was copied by a single scribe. Certain variations in the style of script may doubtless be accounted for by the fact that the manuscript was probably compiled at irregular intervals over a period of years.

In the Soissons manuscript, however, in all except two cases,[I] the name Chappuys, together with certain emendations and marginal comments, has been added after the manuscript was originally copied. Not merely are the emendations, marginal comments and the name Chappuys in a very clear black ink, whereas the ink of the text has faded considerably, but, even more important, the style of the script in the emendations and comments is somewhat different from that of the surrounding text. These emendations do in fact present a difficult problem, since it is by no means easy to decide whether or not they are in the hand of the original scribe. Although the style of script is

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2.(contd) Ff. IIv°-12; ff. 19v°-22.

3. Cf. f. 103v° with f. 73.

I. In the title of the poem, Espitre responsive à la premiere, faicte par maistre Claude Chappuys, f.8, and at the foot of the poem on the taking of Calais, Au Roy, "Puisque Calais vostre ancien dommaine", f.96.

different from that of the surrounding text, this fact does not in itself indicate that they are in the hand of a different scribe, since, as we have seen, a scribe's style of script may change considerably over a period of years. It might be possible to maintain, moreover, that although the script in these additions is unlike the script of the early part of the manuscript, it is in fact nearer the style of script found towards the end of the manuscript[1]: the highly characteristic "u" resembling an "n" found in the name Chappuys and in the emendations and marginal comments is found occasionally in the latter part of the manuscript[2], and the equally distinctive "in" with the "n" stemming from the top of the "i" found in the comment "fin aux epigrammes de Chappuys" (f.49), though by no means general in the manuscript, is found in rare instances towards the end of the manuscript[3].

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1. Cf., for instance, the marginal comments of f.28v° and f.49 with ff. 77v°-79v°.

2. Cf., for instance, the "u" of "qui" in the first line of the huitain, "Celle qui vit son mary tout armé", f.80v; later in the same line, however, in the word "tout", the scribe reverts to the more usual form of the "u".

3. Cf. the second "in" of the word "invincible" in the fourth line of the dizain, "A Marcellus Romme a donné la gloire", f.77v°. (In the initial "in" of "invincible" the "i" is written as a "j"; so no comparison can be made).

Since there is a certain resemblance between the style of script in the emendations, the marginal comments and the name Chappuys, and the style of script towards the end of the manuscript, I would tend to believe that these later additions may in fact be in the hand of the original scribe.

The name Chappuys would appear to have been inscribed originally on the first folio of the Soissons ms. 200[1]; it was then erased, and the name Clausse was written in over the erasure. The traces of the original name are slight[2], but seem adequate to prove the point. The initial "C." is preserved in the name Clausse; the downward curve of the "h", the down strokes of the two "p's", the curling tail of the "y" and the final "s" can be faintly discerned. If we compare the traces of the name with the examples of Chappuys' signature which are known to us[3], it is evident that the name of the first folio is in fact Chappuys' signature: the elaborate initial "C", which represents the double initial "C.C.", the down curve of the "h", the highly characteristic tail of the "y" and the final "s" all correspond very closely to the signatures.

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1. Cf. J. PLATTARD, Compte-rendu: Ph. Aug. Becker: Mellin de St. Gelais, Eine kritische Studie, Revue du Seizième Siècle 1925, p. 183. DR. ROCHE, who must have known Plattard's article, fails to mention this point.

2. Cf. Photograph I. A print from a "cliché infra-rouge" has unfortunately revealed nothing.

3. Cf. Letter to Nicholas Berthereau, Bordeaux, 21st June (1530), Papiers Condé, Série L, t.XIV, Lettres de Montmorency (1526-1538), f.298.
Letter to Jean du Bellay, Rome, 7th October 1534, B.N. Dupuy, 264, f. 184. (Photograph II).
Receipt, Rouen, 10th Oct. 1553; B.N. Pièces Originales 677. (Photograph III)

Since it is probable that the Soissons ms.200 was in Chappuys' possession at some time, we may wonder whether Chappuys had any part in the copying of the manuscript.

If we compare the two sections of the manuscript which are in writing as distinct from bookhand[I], with the two autograph letters[2], it is evident that while there are certain similarities, such as the very full flourishes of the "s", there are also marked differences: we find, for instance, a much greater use of abbreviations in the letters. It is unlikely, therefore, that the manuscript and the letters are in the same hand.

If the evidence of the written sections of the manuscript is not decisive, a comparison between Chappuys' bookhand and the bookhand of the manuscript offers more conclusive evidence that they are not in the same hand. If we consider, for instance, the style of Chappuys' bookhand in a receipt dated 10th October, 1553[3], there is admittedly a certain

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I. Ff. 11v°-12; ff. 19c-22v°; cf. supra, p.146 and Photograph IV)

2. Letter to Nicholas Berthereau, Bordeaux, 21st June 1530, Musée Condé, Papiers Condé, Série L, t.XIV, f.298; Letter to Jean du Bellay, Rome, 7th October 1534, B.N. Dupuy, 264, f. 184.(Photograph II).

3. B.N. Pièces Originales, 677; and Photograph III

resemblance between the receipt-hand and the script of the early part of the manuscript. If, however, we compare the receipt with the poem, La Prinse de Calais, (f.94v°), written in 1568[1] and so roughly contemporary with the receipt, it would seem that the two styles are quite incompatible. If we examine the word "tesmoing" in the penultimate line of the receipt and in the ninth line of the poem, we see that the top stroke of the capital "T" has more loop in the poem, the "s" is quite different, and, more important, the letters "moin" slope markedly forward in the poem, and slightly backwards in the receipt. Such a great diversity could only be explained by a considerable lapse of time. Since the two samples of script are roughly contemporaneous, it is quite impossible to maintain that they are in the same hand.

Furthermore, the name Chappuys which has been inserted frequently throughout the manuscript[2], resembles neither Chappuys' signature nor the name "chappuys" in the text of the receipt.

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1. Cf. supra, p. 144 and Photograph V
2. Cf. supra, p. 147

Because of these differences in the writing and bookhand and in the name Chappuys itself, I would believe that Chappuys was not the scribe of the Soissons ms. 200.

The name Clausse was inserted over the name Chappuys on the first folio of the Soissons ms. 200.[1] It is probable that the manuscript passed into the family of Cosme Clausse, seigneur de Marchaumont and "receveur" of Sens, of whom Chappuys wrote in the Discours de la Court:

> "De Marchaulmont, du recepveur de sens,
> Dire ne puis tout le bien que sentz".[2]

As Cosme Clausse died in 1558, before the manuscript was completed[3], he could not have been the scribe of the manuscript. Cosme Clausse was succeeded in office by his son[4], and it is possible that the manuscript passed into his possession.

The name Piuchemay is inscribed on f.1v°. I have been unable to discover any information about this person who owned the manuscript at a subsequent date.

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1. Cf. supra, p. 150 and Photograph I

2. Discours de la Court, Paris, A. Roffet, 1543, ll. 1153-1154.

3. The Epitaphe de Henri II, (f.97v°), was composed in 1559, cf. supra, p. 144 n. 5

4. Cf. B.N. ms.fr. 7856, f. 116.

(b) The Attributions of the Soissons ms.200.

In the Soissons ms. 200, 97 epigrams, six epistles, four "poèmes"[1] and one blason are attributed to Chappuys. If we consider that the B.N. ms.fr. 2335 contains only 22 pieces which are attributed to Chappuys[2] and the B.N. ms.fr. 1667 a mere three pieces[3], it is clear that the Soissons ms.200 contains by far the fullest selection of Chappuys' poems; indeed, we owe our impression of Chappuys' personal poetry almost solely to this manuscript. If we are to assess the value of Chappuys' poetry, it is therefore of the utmost importance that we should reach some conclusion as to the validity of the attributions of the Soissons ms.200.

In assessing the value of the Soissons attributions there is, however, one great problem: namely that a number of poems attributed to Chappuys in the Soissons ms. 200 are found in the editions of the works of other poets or are attributed to other poets in various manuscripts.

It will be necessary to examine these attributions in detail.

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1. For my reasons for terming certain pieces "poèmes" rather than epistles, cf. supra, p.72 et seq.

2. Cf. infra, p.193

3. Cf. infra, p.197

(i) Mellin de Saint-Gelays.

Blanchemain's edition of the works of Mellin de Saint-Gelays[1] contains no fewer than fifty-nine poems which are attributed to Chappuys in the Soissons ms. 200.[2] Of these, two arefound in the first two volumes of Blanchemain's edition; the remaining fifty-seven in the third volume.

In order to assess the importance of these attributions to Saint-Gelays, it is necessary to study the composition of Blanchemain's edition.

The first two volumes of Blanchemain's edition contain only those poems which were included in the previous editions of Saint-Gelays' works. Of these early editions, the most important are:

(1) Saingelais. Oeuvres de luy, tant en composition que translation, ou allusion aux auteurs grecs et latins. Lyon, Pierre de Tours, 1547. In 8°, 79 pages.

(2) Oeuvres poetiques de Mellin de Sainct-Gelais. Lyon, Antoine de Harsy, 1574. In 8°, 262 pages.

(3) Oeuvres poétiques de Mellin de Saint-Gelays, Nouvelle édition, augmentée d'un très-grand nombre de pièces latines et françoises. Paris, 1719, in 12, 288 pages.[3]

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1. BLANCHEMAIN, Prosper, Oeuvres complètes de Mellin de Sainct-Gelays, (Bibliothèque Elzévirienne), Paris, 1873, 3 vols.

2. A further piece, attributed to Chappuys in the Soissons ms. 200, the huitain "J'avoys pensé pour mon plus grand bien" is signed "S" [Saint Gelays] in the B.N. ms.fr. 2335, f. 109°. As this manuscript is unreliable, (cf. infra, p.193), and as the huitain is

The first edition of 1547 is a slender volume containing only a very li ited selection of Saint-Gelays' poetry. The edition of 1574 is much supplemented; the edition of 1719 contains a further supplement of poems drawn from a manuscript which had belonged to Phi[illegible]ippe Desportes.

The authority of these early editions is open to question. We have no evidence that Saint-Gelays had any part in the preparation of the edition of 1547, the only edition published during his life-time. We do not know the source of the supplement to the 1574 edition, published some sixteen years after the poet's death. The Desportes manuscript which provided the supplement of the 1719 edition has been lost. The authority of these editions would appear to be rather slight, and yet, surprisingly enough, it would seem that the authenticity of their attributions need rarely be questioned.[I]

2.(contd) not attributed to Saint-Gelays elsewhere, we may dismiss this attribution.

3. Cf. BLANCHEMAIN, op. cit., I, pp.33-39. Editions of 1574 (Paris, Luynes), & 1582 are mere reimpressions of the 1574 Lyons edition. A 1656 edition contains certain pieces which are not by Saint-Gelays and which have been substituted for some of the freer verses.

I. F. GOHIN, in his edition of the works of Héroet, (Paris 1911), questions the authority of the early editions of Saint-Gelays' works. He includes in his edition the Rondeau, "Cueur prisonnier", p. 148, (Blanchemain II, [from the Desportes ms.] p. 257) on the

The authority of the early editions is confirmed to a certain extent by three contemporary manuscripts: B.N. mss.fr. 878 and 885, Bibl. Vat. Reg. Lat. 1493. The B.N. ms.fr. 878 bears on f.1 the inscription "Hymne au dieu d'amour, sur le livre de Sainct gelais par P.D.M.P." Apart from a few pieces signed "P.D.M.P." it contains only poems which are found in the 1719 edition. Although Saint-Gelays' name is nowhere indicated in the other two manuscripts, the Vatican manuscript contains only poems which are found in the 1719 edition and the B.N. ms.fr. 885 is formed almost exclusively of poems of the same edition. The authority of these manuscripts is not wholly reliable, since two of them contain certain pieces by other authors. It would seem, however, that where a piece is found in all three manuscripts as well as in the early editions, there can be little doubt of its authenticity.

I. (contd) doubtful authority of the B.N. ms.fr. 2335. He maintains that the piece is also attributed to Héroet in the Recueil de Vraye Poésie Françoyse..., Paris, D. Janot, 1544. In this "recueil", the piece is, however, anonymous. Since the attributions of the B.N. ms.fr.2335 are unreliable, the attribution of this rondeau to Héroet cannot be said to represent a serious challenge to the authority of the 1719 edition.

The first two volumes of Blanchemain's edition contain two of the poems attributed to Chappuys in the Soissons ms. 200: "Pres du cercueil d'une morte gisante", f.43,[1] and "Est-il poinct vray, ou si je l'ay songé," f.42v°,[2]. Neither of these is found in the 1547 edition of Saint-Gelays' work; the first is included in the 1574 edition and subsequent editions; the second does not appear before the 1719 edition. As, however, both poems are also found in all three of the manuscript "recueils"[3], there seems little reason to doubt their authenticity.

The poems of the third volume of Blanchemain's edition are drawn exclusively from two manuscript "recueils" of anonymous verses: the B.N. ms.fr. 885[4], and a manuscript communicated to Blanchemain by the Marquis Emmanuel de la Rochethulon.

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1. BLANCHEMAIN, II, p. 85.

2. BLANCHEMAIN, II, p. 295.

3. "Est-il point vray, ou si je l'ay songé" is also attributed to Chappuys in the B.N. ms.fr. 2335, f.102. For the authority of this manuscript, cf. infra, p.193

4. The B.N. ms.fr. 885 yielded a mere 20 poems, none of which is found in the Soissons ms. 200.

Blanchemain believed that the Rochethulon manuscript was the "livre de vers" which had belonged to Hélène de Culant, and from which La Monnaye had taken the variants which were reproduced in the 1719 edition. The manuscript contained many of the poems of the 1547 and 1574 editions of Saint-Gelays' works. Blanchemain did not hesitate to appropriate to Saint-Gelays many other pieces from this manuscript, rejecting only those poems which were found in Champollion-Figeac's edition of the Poésies de Francois I^erI, or following a translation of Euripides' Hecuba, attributed to Lazare de Baïf[2], or in the works of Marot or other contemporary poets[3]. Thus Blanchemain included in the third volume of his edition 192 new pieces drawn from the Rochethulon manuscript, and assigned to an appendix a further 21 pieces published

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I. Poésies du roi François Ier, de Louise de Savoie, duchesse d'Angoulême, de Marguerite, reine de Navarre et correspondance intime du roi, ed. A. CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, Paris, 1847.

2. La Tragédie d'Euripide nommée Hecuba, Traduicte de Grec en rythme Françoise, dediée au Roy.
Paris, Rob. Estienne, 1544.
Cf. E. PICOT, Catalogue des livres de J. de Rothschild, Paris, 1884-1920, II, p.2 n°1060, and BLANCHEMAIN, op. cit. III, pp. 1-2.
M. ALLEM, in his Anthologie poétique française, XVIe siècle, Paris, 1918, 1919, I, p.121 refers to an earlier edition of Hecuba, Paris, 1540, in -4°. I have been unable, however, to find any further reference to this edition.
On the attribution of this work to Lazare de Baïf, cf. infra, p.169 et seq.

in Champollion-Figeac's edition of the Poésies de Francois Ier, or in the edition of Hecuba.[1]

Ph. A. Becker, in his study on Mellin de Saint-Gelays[2], questioned Blanchemain's uncritical appropriation of poems drawn from anonymous "recueils", and was prepared to accept as authentic only those poems which were attributed to Saint-Gelays in other manuscripts.

In his Compte-Rendu of Becker's work[3] Plattard supports Becker's view on the evidence of the Soissons ms. 200, a manuscript which was unknown to Becker. Plattard restores to Chappuys 53 poems which are at ributed to him in the Soissons manuscript, but which Blanchemain had appropriated to Saint-Gelays from

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3. (contd) Cf. BLANCHEMAIN, op. cit., III, pp. 1-2.

I. Cf. BLANCHEMAIN, op. cit., III, p. 279.

2. BECKER, Ph. A., Mellin de Saint-Gelais, Eine kritische Studie, Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 1924, Die Ausgabe von Blanchemain, pp. 52-61.

3. PLATTARD, J., op. cit., pp. 183-186.

the Rochethulon manuscript[I]. Plattard does not attempt to give a full discussion of the attributions of the Soissons ms. 200. While he does not seem to question the validity of these attributions, his primary concern is to prove the unreliability of Blanchemain's attributions rather than to establish the authenticity of the Soissons attributions.

I. Plattard's list is incomplete: there are in fact 57 poems which are attributed to Chappuys in the Soissons ms. 200 and which are found in volume III of Blanchemain's edition. In addition to those of Plattard's list, the Soissons manuscript contains: "En m'offenceant à soy me rend tenue", f.20v°, (Bl. III, p. 23); "O que l'effort est aspre & dangereux", f.39, (Bl. III, p. 39); "O quel regrect à ceulx de departir", f.30v°, (Bl. III, p. 288); and "Je sens en moy quelque nouveau desir", f. 48v° (Bl. III, 24, with the "incipit", "Rien je ne sens fors un nouveau desir").

Unfortunately I have been unable to trace the Rochethulon manuscript[I]. If Saint-Gelays were the author of these poems, it would seem strange, however, that none of them should be included in the 1547 and 1574 editions, nor in the contemporary manuscripts, nor, it would appear, in the lost Desportes manuscript, which provided the supplement for the 1719 edition. I would tend to believe, therefore, that Saint-Gelays was not the author of all the unpublished poems of the Rochethulon manuscript.

I. Neither M. Porcher, Conservateur-en-Chef du Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, nor M. Arthur Rau the learned antiquarian bookseller, could give me any information.

Professor V-L. Saulnier of the Sorbonne stated that the Rochethulon manuscript should be considered inaccessible.

The descendants of the Marquis Emmanuel de la Rochethulon, the present dowager Marquise de la Rochethulon and the Marquis de Catuélan, whom I traced with the aid of the Vicomte de la Messelière, were unable to help me.

I was able to discover that the Marquis Emmanuel de la Rochethulon lived at the Château de Beaudiment, Beaumont, Vienne, and the Château de la Tourette, Marigny-Brisay, Vienne. The Conservateur des Archives départementales of Vienne could give me no information.

The Conservateur de la Bibliothèque de la Ville de Poitiers, M. Eygun, was able to inform me that the Library of the Marquis de la Rochethulon was sold in 1890 on the death of the Marquis. The books were disposed of in lots.

The researches of M. Renolleau, Greffier-en-Chef du Tribunal de Commerce de Poitiers and of M. Salvini, Ancien Conservateur des Archives départmentales of Vienne, could reveal no further information regarding the Rochethulon sale.

(ii) Marot.

Four poems attributed to Chappuys in the Soissons ms. 20[illegible] are included in Guiffrey's edition of the works of Marot[I]:

"Amoureux suys et Venus estonnée", f.21,(G.IV.p.280)
"Incontinent que je te veiz venue", f.20v°(G.IV.p.283)
(A femme qu'il regrette);
"J'apparçoy bien qu'amour est de nature estrange", f.41v°(G.IV.p.252)
"Je ne faiz riens que plaindre et souspirer" f.43v°(G.IV.p.255)

The first two of these are undoubtedly by Marot since they are found in the Etienne Dolet edition of 1538[2]. "Amoureux suys et Venus estonnée" is included also in the authoritative Chantilly manuscript, Musée Condé ms. 524, n° 60.

I. G. GUIFFREY, Oeuvres complètes de Clément Marot, Paris, 1875-1931, 5 vol. (Vol. I was published by R. YVE-PLESSIS, vols. IV and V by J. PLATTARD from the papers of G.GUIFFREY).

2. For the authority of this edition, cf. P. VILLEY, Tableau chronologique des publications de Marot, Revue du Seizième Siècle, VII-VIII, 1920-1921, and Champion, Paris, 1921; and Recherches sur la chronologie des oeuvres de Marot, Bulletin du Bibliophile, 1920-1923, and Leclerc, Paris, 1921; C.A. MAYER, Le texte de Marot, B.H.R. t. XIV, 1952, pp. 314-328 and t. XV, 1953, pp. 71 - 91; C.A. MAYER, Bibliographie des Oeuvres de Clément Marot, Droz, Genève, 1954, (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, X & XIII,) t.II, n° 70.

The remaining two poems are not found in any sixteenth century edition of Marot's work; they first occur in Lenglet-Dufresnoy's edition of 1731[1]. Lenglet-Dufresnoy took these poems, together with some twenty other pieces, from the Recueil de Vraye Poésie Françoyse, prinse de plusieurs Poètes, les plus Excellentz de ce regne..., (Paris, D. Janot, 1544). Lenglet-Dufresnoy did not claim that all these pieces were authentic, though he asserted that the "recueil" contained little else but poems by Marot and Saint-Gelays[2]. Subsequent editors, however, have accepted these pieces without question[3]. Since these two poems are not found in the sixteenth century editions of Marot's works, it is exceedingly unlikely, however, that they are by Marot.

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1. Oeuvres de Clément Marot, Gosse and Neaulme, The Hague, 1731, vol. III, pp. 511 and 516, respectively.

2. op. cit. III, 493.

3. On this question, cf. also, P. VILLEY, Tableau chronologique des publications de Marot, R. du 16e S., VIII, pp. 157-160; pp. 193-200.

(iii) François I and other poets.

The following poems, attributed to Chappuys in the Soissons manuscript, are included in Champollion-Figeac's edition of the Poésie du roi François Ier...:[1]

"L'aise que je reçoy vous voyant malcontente", p.94,
"D'en aymer trois ce m'est force & contraincte", p.95,
"Ce que par trop avons de fermeté", p.110,
"Amour craignant de perdre le povoir", p.150,
"Amour, amy de tous, peste des siens", p.158,
"Est-il poinct vray, ou si je l'ay songé," p.158, n.1,
"Pres du cercueil d'une morte gisante", p.158, n.1,
"Celle qui fut de beaulté si louable", p.159.[2]

Champollion-Figeac does not claim that the three manuscript "recueils des poésies du roi François Ier" upon which he bases his edition[3], consist solely of pieces by François I, Louise de Savoie, and Marguerite de Navarre; he is aware that they contain also poems by Marot and Saint-Gelays, and does not attempt to exclude

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1. Poésies du roi Francois Ier, de Louise de Savoie, duchesse d'Angoulême, de Marguerite, reine de Navarre et correspondance intime du roi, ed. A. Champollion-Figeac, Paris, 1847.

2. The Poésies du roi François Ier contains in addition an Aeglogue which Guiffrey attributes, wholly without authority, to Chappuys, cf. Oeuvres de Clément Marot, II, pp. 493-494.

3. Bibliothèque Royale, ms.7688-2(Baluze), ms.Cangé15, ms.8624, anc.fonds, cf. op. cit. Introduction, pp. ix-x. These manuscripts, for which Champillion-Figeac gives the Catalogue numbers of the Bibliothèque Royale, are the B.N. mss.fr. 1723, 2372 and 3940, respectively.

these pieces from his edition[1]. There is no reason to suppose that these "recueils" do not contain poems by other court poets whose works were unknown to Champollion-Figeac.

The eight poems attributed to Chappuys in the Soissons manuscript are drawn from the B.N. ms.fr. 2372. It is unlikely that they are by François I since they are found in neither of the two other manuscripts used by Champollion-Figeac; nor do they occur in the Musée Condé mss. 520 and 521, two "recueils des poésies de François Ier" which were unknown to Champollion-Figeac.[2]

Two of the eight poems, "Est-il poinct vray, ou si je l'ay songé" and "Pres du cercueil d'une morte gisante"[3] are, as we have seen,[4] almost certainly by Saint-Gelays.

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1. Champollion-Figeac occasionally relegates to footnotes those poems contained in the editions of Saint Gelays and Marot, but he does not do so with consistency throughout the edition.

2. On these mss. cf. Chantilly, Le Cabinet des Livres: Manuscrits. (By Gustave MACON), 2 vols. Paris, Plon, 1900; II, pp. 125 - 142.

3. Poésies de François Ier, p. 158, n.1.

4. Cf. supra, p. 158

Of the other six poems, the huitain, L'aise que je reçoy vous voyant malcontente" is attributed to "Colin"[1] in the B.N. ms.fr. 2335, a manuscript of rather doubtful authority. In the same manuscript, the huitain, "Amour, amy de tous, peste des siens" is signed "C.C." The Catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale suggests that these initials represent the name "Claude Collet"[2]. Lachèvre maintains, however, that they represent the name "Claude Chappuys"[3]. This might appear to be unlikely since the name Chappuys is indicated elsewhere in the manuscript by the abbreviated form "Chap".

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1. Probably Jacques Colin, Abbot of St. Ambroise, secretary and "lecteur" of François I and a friend of Clément Marot, rather than the "poète angevin", Germain Colin, since the B.N. ms.fr.2335 contains certain other pieces which are attributed to Jacques Colin, namely an Epistle, "Devant les Dieux, protecteurs de pitié" (f.37) and five Rondeaux (f.69v° et seq.).
   On Jacques Colin, cf. V.L. BOURRILLY, Jacques Colin, abbé de Saint-Ambroise, Paris, 1905.

2. Claude Collet was an obscure poet of Champagne. His principal works, "L'Oraison de Mars aux Dames de la Cour and La Réponse des Dames à Mars, were published at Paris by Chrestien Wechel in 1544.
   On Claude Collet, cf. LA CROIX DU MAINE and DU VERDIER, I, p. 134 and III, p. 329.

3. op. cit. p. 296.

Certain other poems attributed to Chappuys in the Soissons manuscript 200 are attributed elsewhere on rather doubtful authority to other poets.

In the B.N. ms.fr. 2335 (f.101), the dizain "Si j'ay voulu sans guerdon vous aymer" is signed "M.N." [La Maison Neuve]. Gohin includes this poem in his edition of Héroet's poetry[1], on the doubtful authority of this manuscript. In the B.N. ms.fr. 12489 (f.108), the dizain is anonymous.

In the Rothschild manuscript, n°. 2965, (f.41), the dizain, "O que l'effort est aspre & dangereux" is signed "M"[2]. A variation of this dizain is found in the edition of the works of Bonaventure des Periers, where it is attributed to Jacqueline de Stuard[3]. It is unlikely, however, that this attribution is authentic, since the dizain is found in two other manuscript "recueils", the Musée Condé ms. 523 and the B.N. ms.fr. 1667, and the poems of the Lyons' poetess do not usually figure in such "recueils".

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1. op. cit. p. 150.

2. I have been unable to identify this "M", to whom the following poems are attributed in the Rothschild ms: "O quel regrect à ceulx qui ont congneu", f.38v°; "Forte est l'amour, forte est la souvenance", f.39; "Contre le fort au foyble est deffendu", f.39v°; "Yeulx fermés vous de peur de trop clair voir", f.42, and "Comment amour qui a de toy faveur", f.41; the last of these is attributed to "M.T." in the B.N. ms.fr. 2335.

3. Bonaventure DES PERIERS, Oeuvres françoises, ed. Lacour, Paris, 1856, I, p. 162.

The dizain "O quel regrect à ceulx de departir" is found in a group of poems which follow a translation of Euripides' Hecuba, published in 1544.[1] Both the translation of Hecuba and the poems which follow it are unsigned. In his Art Poétique[2], Jacques Peletier attributed the translation of Hecuba to Lazare de Baïf, probably confusing it with Baïf's translation of Sophocles' Electra[3]. Brunet[4], E. Picot,[5] L. Pinvert[6] and others, following Peletier[7] and La Croix du Maine[8], have unhesitatingly attributed the translation of Hecuba and the other poems to Lazare de Baïf.

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1. On this edition, cf. supra, p.159 n.2

2. Art poétique, ed. A. Boulenger. Publication de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, fasc. 53, Paris, 1930, p. 192.

3. Tragédie intitulée Electra... traduicte en rythme françoyse. Paris, Est. Roffet, 1537.

4. Manuel du Libraire, Paris, 1861, col. 1104.

5. Catalogue... Rothschild, II, p.2, n°1060.

6. Lazare de Baïf (1496 [?] - 1547), Paris, 1900, p.103.

7. Loc. cit.

8. op. cit. II p. 34

Consequently, in his Anthologie poétique françoyse, XVIe siècle[1], M. Allem attributed to Baïf the dizain "O quel ennuy [sic] à ceulx de departir" René Sturel, in an article included in the Mélanges offerts à M. Emile Chatelain[2], following Du Verdier[3] maintained with greater probability that the translation of Hecuba was by Guillaume Bochetel. Sturel also claimed that at least two of the other poems of the "recueil", the Ballade presentée à la Royne en Espaigne, and the Fable de Biblis et Caumus, were probably written by Bochetel, while the remaining poems in the "recueil" offered no clue to the identity of the author. While the presentation of the "recueil", with its dedicatory letter to the King, would suggest that all the poems were by the same author, it is not impossible that Bochetel may have included certain pieces by other authors. There is therefore some possibility that the Soissons manuscript's attribution of the dizain "O quel regrect à ceulx de departir" to Chappuys is correct.

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1. loc. cit.
2. Paris, 1910, pp. 575-583.
3. op. cit. IV, p. 70.

(c) The Confirmation of other manuscripts.

(i) Two manuscript "recueils", the B.N. ms.fr. 2335 and the B.N. ms.fr. 1667 confirm certain of the attributions of the Soissons ms. 200.

a. B.N. ms.fr. 2335.

The B.N. ms.fr. 2335 confirms the Soissons attributions in the following cases:

"Amour a faict empaner ses deux aelles", f.106v°,
"Amour craignant de perdre le povoir", f.109,
"Amour n'est pas ung dieu, c'est ung magitien", f.109,
"Celle qui fut de beaulté si louable", f.110,
"Cesse mon oeil de plus la regarder", f.107,
"D'en aymer trois ce m'est force & contraincte", f.94,
"Je ne faiz riens que plaindre et souspirer", f.106v°,
"Je sens en moy quelque nouveau desir", f.112,
"Lachesis que l'on tient deesse irrevocable", f.109v°,
"Qui a receu quelque bien ou plaisir", f.101v°,I
"S'il est ainsi que le visaige monstre", f.108v°.

I. In the B.N. ms.fr. 2335, this poem is attributed jointly to Chappuys and François I.

The B.N. ms.fr. 2335 contains a further seven poems which, though anonymous in this manuscript, are attributed to Chappuys in the Soissons ms.200:

"Amour s'estoit loing de moy absenté", f.113,
"Amour voyant qu'il n'est pas le plus fort", f.112v°,
"Ce que par trop avons de fermeté", f.107v°,
"Fortune de mon bien envieuse & jalouse", f.108v°,
"Pardonnez moy si je fuz trop legier", f.107v°,
"Pres du cercueil d'une morte gisante", f.91,
"Tant a donné de plaisir à mes yeux", f.86v°.

Since the scribe has made no attempt to indicate authors with any consistency throughout the manuscript[1], the fact that these pieces are anonymous does not in any way invalidate the attribution of the Soissons ms. 200[2].

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1. The dizain, "Cesse mon oeil de plus la regarder", which is attributed to Chappuys on f.107, is anonymous on f.86.

2. It is to be noted, however, that the dizain, "Pres du cercueil d'une morte gisante", is in fact by Saint Gelays, cf. supra, p. 158

b. B.N. ms.fr. 1667

The B.N. ms.fr. 1667 attributes a mere three pieces to Chappuys. One of these three pieces, the dizain, "D'en aymer trois ce m'est force & contraincte" is attributed to Chappuys in the Soissons ms. 200. Thus, in this one instance, the B.N. ms. fr. 1667 may be said to confirm an attribution of the Soissons ms.200.

(ii) Musée Condé, ms. 523.

Dr. Roche[I] claims that the Soissons attributions are confirmed by the evidence of the Musée Condé ms. 523, which contains many of the poems of the Soissons manuscript. In the Musée Condé ms. 523, Dr. Roche maintains, Chappuys' name is given only for the Dizains (erroneously for Huitains) sur Pysché et Cupidon, although other poems, such as the Epître d'une Navigation, are certainly by him; the manuscript bears autograph corrections by Saint Gelays who, alone, is named with some regularity among the authors; yet none of the poems attributed to Chappuys in the Soissons manuscript is attributed to Saint Gelays in the Musée Condé ms. 523; as Saint Gelays has in general

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I. op. cit. x - xi

indicated his own poems in the Musée Condé ms. 523, it may be assumed therefore that the unsigned poems of the manuscript are not by Saint Gelays and that the Soissons attributions are consequently authentic.[I]

I. As I find Dr. Roche's argument a little difficult to follow, I reproduce in full the relevant section: "L'examen des manuscrits utilisés par Blanchemain corrobore l'assertion que ses attributions à Saint Gelays sont souvent purement fantaisistes: il a ajouté aux oeuvres de celui-ci une grande quantité de pièces qu'il a rencontrées sans indication d'auteur. Son procédé, comme avec le manuscrit de Roche-Thulon n'était qu'un accaparement général de tout ce qui était dans le goût de l'abbé galant. Un fait, surtout, nous permet d'affirmer que les attributions du ms.188 [200] de Soissons ne sont point douteuses: le ms. 523 du Musée Condé, formé vers 1540 et offert au connétable Anne de Montmorency, contient bon nombre de ces pièces; elles sont pour la plupart anonymes. D'autres sont signées, le plus souvent de Mellin de Saint Gelays, mais le nom de Chappuys n'est donné que pour les dixains sur Psyché et Cupidon; or, ce manuscrit contient d'autres pièces qui sont surement de lui, (par exemple l'Epître d'une Navigation), toutes anonymes. Ce manuscrit porte des corrections autographes de Saint-Gelays et ne nomme parmi les auteurs que ce même Saint-Gelays avec quelque régularité - mais parmi les pièces dont il est donné comme auteur, aucune de celles du ms. 188 ne se rencontre: elles sont toutes anonymes. Ce fait, étant donné le soin que Saint-Gelays a eu à se designer en général dans ce recueil, semble indiquer qu'il ne fut pas l'auteur des pièces en question".

I have examined the Musée Condé ms. 523 with great care. There are indeed corrections in Saint Gelays' hand[1]; yet although the manuscript contains many poems by Saint Gelays, Saint Gelays' name, like Chappuys', is given only for the Huitains de la Fable de Cupido et Psyché. Nor would there appear to be any distinguishing mark which would enable us to attribute any other poems to Saint Gelays.[2]

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1. Cf. Chantilly: Le Cabinet des Livres: Manuscrits, II, pp. 176-177.

2. I can only suppose that Dr. ROCHE accepted the indications of the Chantilly Catalogue as signatures. (In his list of "incipits", Gustave Mâcon, the author of the Catalogue, indicated those poems which were by Saint Gelays, viz. were found in the first two volumes of Blanchemain's edition, and those which were "attributed" to Saint Gelays in the third volume of Blanchemain's edition. Cf. Chantilly: Le Cabinet des Livres, Les Manuscrits, II, pp. 144-177.

Almost all poems, up to f. 194, are marked by three dots, (•.•), which have been added by Saint Gelays, who also numbered the pieces. As the poems so distinguished include pieces by Marot and Héroet, as well as some attributed to Chappuys in the Soissons ms. 200, the three dots cannot be taken to signify that the pieces so marked are by Saint Gelays!

Since Saint Gelays' poems, no less than those of Chappuys, are anonymous in the Musée Condé ms. 523, this manuscript cannot be said to offer any confirmation of the attributions of the Soissons ms. 200.

(d) Internal Evidence.

Certain of the Soissons attributions are confirmed by internal evidence.

(i) Epistles and "poèmes"

a. Epistre[d'une navigation], f.57.

The epistle is attributed to Chappuys in the Soissons manuscript alone. It is anonymous in the M.C. ms. 523 and in the B.N. ms. 477 n.acq.fr.

Mâcon, who did not know the Soissons ms. 200, suggests in the Chantilly Catalogue[1] that this epistle is the work of Bertrand de la Borderie. Mâcon bases his assumption on the resemblance between this epistle and La Borderie's Discours du voyage de Constantinople...., published by Pierre de Tours in 1542. La Borderie's poem describes a journey which he made to Constantinople in 1537, bearing letters from François I to the French ambassador at Constantinople, Jean de la Forest[2].

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1. op. cit. II, p. 159.

2. Cf. V.L. BOURRILLY, Bertrand de la Borderie, R.E.R. vol. IX, 1911, pp. 183-184; and Cat. des Actes, VIII, 30335.

The Epistre d'une Navigation gives an account of the journey which the French cardinals made to Rome in September - October, 1534, for the election of a new Pope. We have no evidence that Bertrand de la Borderie accompanied the French cardinals to Rome[I] - we do not possess any letter from La Borderie at Rome, nor is he mentioned in any letters written from Rome at the period: so it is very unlikely that he did in fact accompany the cardinals to Rome. On the other hand, it is certain that Chappuys travelled to Rome with the French cardinals, since we possess a letter addressed to Jean du Bellay, in which he gives an account of his journey.[2] Certain sections of the Epistre d'une Navigation correspond very closely with this letter, notably in the description of the death of Ponisson and of the situation in Rome[3]. There can be little doubt therefore, that the Soissons attribution is correct and that Chappuys was in fact the author of the Epistre d'une Navigation.

I. We do not know, moreover, whether La Borderie was known at the French court as early as 1534; the first mention of La Borderie in the Catalogue des Actes is for August (?), 1537. V.L. BOURRILLY, op. cit. p.184, comments on the dearth of information concerning this poet.

2. B.N. Dupuy, 264, ff. 183 - 184.

3. Cf. Epistre d'une Navigation, ll. 302-316; ll.336-342.

b. Au Roy: "Ce ne seroit, ô majesté royalle", f.66,

A Monseigneur le Grant Maistre pour le mesme affaire:
"Il est venu le bon prelat de Tulle", f.68,

Encores au Roy pour ce mesme fait:
"Il est abbé, ce bon pasteur de Tulle", f.68v°,

A Monseigneur le Cardinal de Lorraine pour ce mesme affaire:
"Le Roy le veult, il l'entend, c'est assez", f.69.

These poems all concern a request for the gift of a benefice. In the epistle Au Roy, l.44, the poet refers to himself as the "libraire [du roy]", and again, in the poem A Monseigneur le Grant Maistre, ll. 13 and 18, as the "paouvre infortuné libraire". As Chappuys was "libraire du roy" from 1532 onwards[I], there can be little doubt that he was the author of these poems.

The remaining epistles offer no internal evidence of the authenticity of the attributions of the Soissons ms. 200.

I. Cf. supra, p. 14

(ii) Epigrams

The epigrams present a more difficult problem. On the whole they offer little evidence of the authenticity of the Soissons attributions.

a. Replicque: "Tous fleuves doulx, oubliez vostre gloire", f.28v°,

Envoy: "Amour s'estoit loing de moy absenté", f.28v°.

The dizain, "Ausone a faict congnoistre la Garonne", f.28v°, which is addressed to Chappuys is followed immediately by a Replicque addressed to Brodeau, "Tous fleuves doulx, oubliez vostre gloire". It would seem therefore that this Replicque is by Chappuys. The Replicque is followed by an Envoy: "Amour s'estoit loing de moy absenté", again in honour of a fellow poet. As the two poems also follow one another in the M.C. ms. 523 (f.55v°), it would seem probable that the Envoy as well as the Replicque is by Chappuys and is addressed to Brodeau.

b. Epigrams relating to specific events

The Epigrams attributed to Chappuys in the Soissons manuscript occasionally refer to specific events. The dizain, "De voz vertus le hault bruict & estyme", (f.44v°) is addressed to Montmorency on the occasion of his visit

to Toulouse in July, 1533[1]. The dizain, "Puis que voyons, o Françoys, nostre Roy", f.14, would seem to relate to the ceremony of reparation in expiation of the Affaire des Placards, in January, 1535[2], and the dizain, "Lors que Neptune eut receu cest honneur", f.20, to the unfortunate accident which befell the Queen Eléonore and the Princess Marguerite at Nice in 1538[3]. While Chappuys may well have been present on these occasions, we have no conclusive evidence of the authenticity of these attributions.

c. Epigrams: love poems.

By far the greater part of the epigrams attributed to Chappuys in the Soissons ms. 200, are love poems. They offer little evidence of the identity of the author. Their Petrarchist themes, the torment and martyrdom of the poet suffering on account of his love, his fidelity in the face of his mistresses' cruelty, are common to many of the court poets of the period: to Saint Gelays, Héroet and Brodeau as well as to Chappuys. For the most part, it is impossible to distinguish the love poems of Chappuys from those of his contemporaries.

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1. Cf. infra, p. 345
2. Cf. infra, p. 347
3. Cf. infra, p. 348

In the Soissons ms. 200 we find attributed to Chappuys a number of poems written in honour of a lady named "Loyse":

"Loyse entend que plus je ne demande", f.12bis,
"Ung autre et moy entrasmes á mesme heure", f.12^{bis}v°,
"On dict qu'amour se nourrist de querelle", f.15v°,
"O viateurs ne soyez esbahys", f.15v°,
"Helayne à qui de beauté ressemblez", f.17v°,
"J'avoys osé m'ordonner pour maistresse", f.22,
"Loyse estoit en ung char triumphant", f.43 [1].

A poem of the Rochethulon manuscript enables us to establish the probable identity of the lady: it would seem that she was one Louise du Plessis.[2]

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1. A further poem in honour of Loyse, the quatrain, "En ung char triumphant non sans cause fut mise", f.43v°, is anonymous in the Soissons manuscript. Dr. Roche, op. cit. p. 161, attributes it to Chappuys. It would seem unlikely, however, that the piece is by Chappuys, since it is an evident "Replicque" to the preceding poem, "Loyse estoit en ung char triumphant", which is attributed to Chappuys.

Five of the above seven poems and the quatrain are found in volume III of Blanchemain's edition, (Rochethulon ms.) It would perhaps be tempting to annexe two further poems of the Rochethulon manuscript where there is mention of Loyse:
"Toutes les fois que je vais veoir Loyse", Bl.III, p.32,
"Une beauté parfaicte en bonne grâce", Bl.III, p.43.

2. The dizain, "Une beauté parfaicte en bonne grâce", Blanchemain III, p.43, gives the name "Louise du Plesis". In Blanchemain's edition, this dizain immediately precedes two of the "Loyse" poems which are found in the Soissons ms. 200. It would seem likely, there, that the "Loyse" poems of the Soissons manuscript are also in honour of Louise du Plessis. In his edition of the works of Mellin de Saint Gelays, (III, p.43),

In the Catalogue des Actes, Louise du Plessis is named as a "demoiselle" of Mademoiselle de Roye.[I]

2.(contd) Blanchemain identifies Louise du Plessis with Françoise du Bec, dame du Plessis-Marly, and wife of Jacques de Mornay, seigneur de Buhy et de la Chapelle, (cf. DE LA CHENAYE-DESBOIS, Dictionnaire de Noblesse, Paris, 1775, etc., t.5, p.499). We have, however, no evidence that Françoise du Bec was ever referred to as Louise du Plessis. The epigrams of the Soissons manuscript were most probably composed, moreover, in the 1530's; as Françoise du Bec, who was born in 1528, (cf. Dictionnaire de Noblesse, loc. cit.) was only a young girl at this time, it is unlikely that these poems were addressed to her!

I. Cf. Cat. des Actes, III, 666, 10559, dated December, 1538.

Madeleine de Mailly, daughter of Ferry de Mailly and Louise de Montmorency, the sister of the Connétable Anne de Montmorency, was the wife of Charles de Roye; she was one of the "dames" of the Queen Eleonore, cf. Cat. des Actes, II, 271, 5174, etc.

I have been unable to discover to which branch of the Du Plessis family Louise du Plessis belonged. It is possible, however, that she belonged to the Perigny branch of the family, since the three sons of Jean du Plessis, "maistre d'hôtel" of Louis XII, Guillaume du Plessis, seigneur de Liencourt, Charles du Plessis, seigneur de Savonnières, and Pierre du Plessis, seigneur de Perigny, all held important positions at the court of François I, (cf. B.N. Pièces Originales, 2301, n°. 616, and Cat. des Actes, V, 684, 18198, II, 298, 5292, etc.).

On the question of the identity of Louise du Plessis, cf. also, Ph.A. BECKER, op. cit., p.58, n.31.

Although Chappuys would undoubtedly know Louise du Plessis at the court of François I, we have unfortunately no evidence that he addressed poems to her. At the same time it would seem highly unlikely that these poems are by Saint Gelays, since the poems in honour of Loyse are all in the third volume of Blanchemain's edition, where, as we have seen[1] the authenticity of the poems is open to question.

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1. Cf. supra, p.158 et seq.

(e) Attributions to other authors in the Soissons ms.200

Although most of the poems in the Soissons ms.200 were originally unsigned, the scribe in copying the manuscript indicated the name of the author in the following cases:

Epistre au Roy au nom d'une dame qui se complainct de son amy, ff.4-6.
Epitaphe dudict seigneur sur le tombeau de madame Laure, f.6,
"Tousjours le feu cherche à se faire veoir", Le Roy, f.6v°,
"Si ung oeuvre perfaict doibt chascun contenter", Le Roy, f.6v°,
Epistre responsive à la premiere faicte par maistre Claude Chappuys, ff.8-11v°,
"Misericorde au paouvre langoureux", maistre Jehan Marot, f.24,
"Plustost que tard ung amant s'il est saige", J. Marot, f.24v°,
"Ausone a faict congnoistre la Garonne", Brodeau, f.28v°,
Huictain de la royne de Navarre, f.49v°,
"Dictes sans paour ou l'ouy ou nenny", Le Roy, f.54,
"Soubz ce tumbeau gist une sepulture", St. G. (Saint Gelays), f.77v°,
Huictain sur la prinse de Hedyn, Borderie, f.81,
"De deux grans roys la puissance inutille", Borderie, f.81,
Feu de joye de ladicte prise, Cle. Marot, f.81,
"Mes damoiselles", Cle. Marot, f.81v°,
"Paris tu m'as fait mains alarmes", Marot, f.82,
Responce que fait Paris, Faubert, f.82,
"Mes beaulx peres religieulx", Marot, f.82v°,
"Ung cordellier respond à Marot", Faubert, f.82v°,
Replicque par Marot, f.82v°,
Replicque faicte par le greffier, (Faubert), f.82v°,
Discours de M.N. (La Maison Neuve - Héroet), f.84,
Marot saluant le camp de monsieur d'Anguien, f.93,
Au Roy, "Puis que Calais vostre ancien dommaine", f.95v°,
Chappuys[I].

These attributions are for the most part confirmed

I. In addition, two pieces of f.51 were originally signed "M..." ? The name has been erased and is completely illegible.

by other contemporary sources. However, the Rondeau, "Misericorde au paouvre langoureux", is not found in the 1537 edition of Jean Marot's work.[1] The Epistre du Roy, ff.4-6, is not included in Champollion-Figeac's edition, but it is found in the Chantilly "recueil des poésies du roi", M.C. ms.520, (f.23). The attribution would therefore seem to be authoritative. The huitain, "Mes beaux peres religieux", f.82v°, is wrongly attributed to Marot; it is in fact by Brodeau. It would seem, however, that the huitain was generally believed to be by Marot, since Marot himself, in his Epître de Fripelippes of 1537, thought it necessary to disclaim the authorship of the huitain and restored it to Brodeau[2]. As this part of the Soissons ms. 200 was certainly copied after 1537[3], it is surprising that the scribe was not better informed on this point! This is, however, an exeeption; elsewhere the attributions which the scribe made in copying the manuscript would appear to be reliable.

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1. Lyons, François Juste, 1537.

2. Cf. Epître de Fripelippes, ed. Guiffrey, III, pp. 565 - 592:

"Vien, Brodeau, le puisné, son filz,
Qui si tresbien le contrefiz,
Au huictain des Freres Mineurs,
Que plus de cent beaulx divineurs
Dirent que c'estoit Marot mesme..."

3. Cf. supra, pp. 144-145

As we have seen[1], however, in all except two cases[2], the name of Chappuys was written in at a later date, probably some considerable time after the early part of the manuscript was copied. The only other instance where the name of the author has been inserted in the later hand, is a dizain "O doulce amour, o contente pensée", which is signed "Le Roy". Although this dizain is not included in Champollion-Figeac's edition of the Poésies du roi François Ier, it is found in a manuscript "recueil des poésies du roi", the Musée Condé ms. 520 (f.44). So the attribution of the Soissons manuscript may well be correct. The evidence of this single attribution is, however, too slight to allow us to justify thereby the attribution of poems to Chappuys.

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1. Cf. supra, p.147

2. Espitre responsive à la premiere, faicte par maistre Claude Chappuys, f.8, and Au Roy, "Puisque Calais, vostre ancien do aine", f.95v°.

(f) Analysis of the unsigned poems of the Soissons ms.200.

The Soissons ms. 200 contains 151 poems without indication of author. If it were possible to identify the authors of all these poems from other sources, while the pieces attributed to Chappuys in the Soissons manuscript were in all cases either unsigned or again attributed to Chappuys, it would be permissible to suppose that the attributions of the Soissons manuscript were justified.

I have attempted to identify the unsigned poems from editions and manuscripts. Nine of these poems may be attributed to Marot, fourteen to Saint Gelays[1], one to the Cardinal de Tournon, two to Héroet, one to Salel, one to Du Saix, and five to "T" or "M.T." (B.N. ms.fr. 2335), whom I have been unable to identify[2]. A further nine poems are found in Champollion-Figeac's Poésies du roi François Ier[3]. Thus it is possible to

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1. Excluding those pieces of questionable authenticity which are found in the third volume of Blanchemain's edition.

2. One of these is also attributed to "M" in the Rothschild manuscript, no. 2965, cf. supra, p.168 n 2

3. Excluding certain pieces which though found in Champollion-Figeac's edition are in fact by Saint Gelays, (Blanchemain I and II).

identify the author in the case of only 42 of the 151 poems[I].

As the unsigned poems cannot all be identified, it is impossible to justify the Soissons attributions by a comparison with the unsigned pieces of the "recueil".

I. A further five poems of the Soissons ms.200 are found in the group of poems which follows a translation of Euripides' Hecuba. These pieces are generally held to be by Lazare de Baïf, but as we have seen, the attribution of these pieces to Baïf is probably erroneous, cf. supra, p.169 et seq.

(g) Conclusion.

While the attributions which the scribe has made in copying the Soissons manuscript are on the whole reliable, in all except two cases the name Chappuys has been inserted at a later date; for this reason, the attributions might appear to be somewhat less authoritative.

In the later attributions, the scribe has undoubtedly made certain errors: he has attributed wrongly to Chappuys two pieces which are by Clément Marot[1], as well as two further pieces by Mellin de Saint Gelays[2]. Moreover, he has attributed to Chappuys a number of poems which are attributed elsewhere on rather doubtful authority to certain other poets.[3] As far as we may ascertain, however, the scribe's mistakes are relatively few. It is evident, moreover, that many of the pieces which he attributed to Chappuys are authentic: in some instances, the attributions of the Soissons manuscript are confirmed by other manuscripts; in other cases, it is clear from internal evidence that

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1. Cf. supra, p. 163
2. Cf. supra, p. 158
3. Cf. supra, p. 165 et seq.

certain poems, such as the Epistle and "poèmes" for the gift of a benefice, are in fact by Chappuys; indeed, since so many of these authentic pieces are found only in the Soissons manuscript, it is even possible that Chappuys may have made available to the scribe certain of his own pieces. We may wonder, therefore, whether the scribe, knowing of Chappuys' connection with the manuscript, merely failed to recognise that certain pieces in a long series of poems which he attributed to Chappuys, were in fact by other authors.

There is, moreover, one factor which would suggest that the scribe may have had some further authority for his attributions. As we have seen[I], he has in places emended the original text. Often his emendations are merely corrections of obvious mistakes, but in other cases the emendations must have been drawn from another source. In the Epistre d'une Navigation, (f.58), for instance, two complete lines have been inserted. It would appear therefore that the scribe had a further copy of the text of at least some of the poems

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I. Cf. supra, p.147

of the Soissons manuscript, and it is possible that this second text contained some indication of the author's name. For this reason, though it is impossible to confirm in every case the scribe's attributions, we may accept, with reservation, the attributions of the Soissons ms. 200.

(2) B.N. ms.fr. 2335.

The B.N. ms.fr. 2335 is a sixteenth century "recueil de vers", containing pieces attributed to Clément Marot, Saint Gelays, Héroet, Chappuys and other poets of the first half of the sixteenth century, as well as many anonymous poems. The scribe of this "recueil" is unknown. The spelling of the manuscript would suggest that he was of Picard origin[1]. It would appear that, on the whole, he is not a reliable authority: of the ten pieces which he attributed to Saint Gelays, only five are found in Blanchemain's edition; nor are the remaining five attributed to Saint Gelays in any other manuscript "recueils".

In the B.N. ms.fr. 2335, 22 poems are attributed to Chappuys; there is, in addition, one poem signed "C.C." which Lachèvre takes to represent the name Claude Chappuys[2]. The manuscript also contains ten anonymous poems which are attributed to Chappuys in the Soissons ms. 200.

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1. Cf. infra, p. 230
2. Cf. supra, p. 167

We have already considered the poems which are attributed to Chappuys in the Soissons ms. 200.[I] In all cases, it would seem reasonable to accept these attributions.

The B.N. ms.fr. 2335 contains twelve poems which are attributed to Chappuys in this manuscript alone. As the attributions of this manuscript are unreliable, it is necessary to examine these attributions in detail.

(a) The dizain, "Si mon regard s'adresse à autre dame", f. 112v°, the quatrain, "Dissimulez vostre consentement", f.94, and the huitain, "Estant icy tout seul à la fenestre", f.98v°, are included in the first two volumes of Blanchemain's edition of the works of Mellin de Saint Gelays[2]. These attributions are confirmed by the B.N. mss. fr. 878 and 885, and by the Bib.Vat.Reg.Lat. 1493. It would seem certain, therefore, that these poems are by Saint Gelays.

I. Cf. supra, pp. 171 et seq.

2. op. cit. II, p. 132; I, p.115; II, p.47. CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC also includes the first two in his edition of the Poésies de François Ier, pp. 152 and 155, respectively, but attributes them to Saint Gelays.

(b) Chanson, "Ghay le desir content et l'effect resolu", f.101. This Chanson is included in Champollion-Figeac's edition of the Poésies du roi François Ier, p. 93. As we have seen already[1], by no means all the poems of Champollion-Figeac's edition are by François I himself. In this case, however, it would seem that the Chanson is almost certainly by François I; while the other poems of Champollion-Figeac's edition which are attributed to Chappuys occur only in the B.N. ms.fr. 2372, the Chanson is found in other "recueils des poésies du roi": in the B.N. mss.fr. 1723 and 6940, and in the M.C. ms. 521; in the B.N. ms.fr. 1723, moreover, it is signed "Le Roy". There can be little doubt, therefore, that the Chanson is by François I.

(c) Quatrain, "Aiez pitié du grand mal que j'endure", f.99v°. The poem is anonymous in the Soissons ms.200. Gohin, in his edition of the works of Héroet[2], names this poem as one of Héroet's poems found in the Recueil de vraye Poésie Françoyse, Paris, D. Janot, 1544. He does not, however, say where the poem is

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1. Cf. supra, pp. 165 et seq.
2. op. cit. p. LXIV.

attributed to Héroet; nor does he include it in his edition. Lachèvre[I] claims that this poem is attributed to Héroet in the B.N. ms.fr. 1667: I have been unable to find this poem in this manuscript.

(d) "Che foeu couvert, qui si fort m'hat espris", f.95v°,
"Nul en amour plus savant ne doibt estre", f.103,
"Qui est la nymphe assise à la fenestre", f.113v°,
"Lhor qu'amour heut ses droits en leur saine esperance", f.114,
"Si ghay esté si loyal serviteur", f.115,
"Il dict qu'il n'est ny veult estre amoureus", f.115,
"Il n'en est poinct d'affection semblable", f.115v°.

These seven remaining poems are not attributed elsewhere to any other author.

As it is quite impossible to assess the value of the attributions of this manuscript, these pieces may be considered "attribuable" to Chappuys.

I. op. cit. p. 311.

(3) B.N. ms.fr. 1667.

The B.N. ms.fr. 1667 is a sixteenth century "recueil de vers", containing pieces attributed to the Queen of Navarre, François I, Brodeau, Saint Gelays, Chappuys and others. There are also many anonymous poems.

The manuscript contains only three poems which are signed Chappuys:

"D'en aymer trois ce m'est force & contraincte",f.179v°,
"Quant noz deux cueurs estoient unis ensemble",f.222v°,
"Quiconques fut qui Nature a repris", f.212.

The manuscript also contains thirteen anonymous poems which are attributed elsewhere to Chappuys.

The attribution of the dizain, "D'en aymer trois ce m'est force & contraincte" is confirmed by the Soissons ms. 200 and by the B.N. ms.fr. 2335. The huitain, "Quiconques fut qui Nature a repris", is anonymous in both the Soissons ms.200 and in the B.N. ms.fr. 2335.

B. "RECUEILS COLLECTIFS"

(1) Blasons.

In the editions of the Hecatomphile... et Fleurs de Poésie Françoyse ... which contain the Blasons[1], it would appear that the Blasons are in all cases anonymous.

In the 1543 edition of the Blasons[2], the name "Chaput" is given solely for the Blason de la Main. This blason is followed by the Blason du Ventre, the Blason du C.., and the Blason du C.. de la Pucelle, which have no indication of author. It has generally been assumed therefore that these three blasons are also by Chappuys.[3]

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1. Cf. infra, p.216 et seq.

2. S'ensuivent les Blasons Anatomiques du corps femenin ensemble les Contreblasons de nouveau composéz, et additionéz avec les figures, le tout mis par ordre: composez par plusieurs poetes contemporains. Paris, Ch. Langelier, 1543.

3. Cf. Blasons, Poésies anciennes..., ed. D.M.MEON; Paris, Guillemot, 1807, in -8°;
S'ensuivent les Blasons anatomiques du corps femenin.. ed. Gay, Amsterdam, 1866, p. 31, p. 35, p. 36.

(2) Other Pieces.

Certain of the poems attributed to Chappuys in the Soissons ms.200, and in the B.N. mss.fr. 2335 and 1667 are found in various sixteenth century "recueils". They are, however, in all cases anonymous.

The "recueil", Traductions de latin en françoys, imitations, et inventions nouvelles, tant de Clement Marot que d'autres des plus excellens poetes de ce temps, Paris, Est. Groulleau, 1554, contains the Chanson, "Maintenant c'est un cas estrange", signed "C.C.". Lachèvre takes these initials to represent the name Claude Chappuys[1]. The Chanson is found, however, in none of the manuscripts containing poems by Chappuys; it is not included in the first edition of the Traductions[2]..., but is one of the pieces added to the 1554 edition, and might appear therefore to be of a later date than the greater part of the epigrams composed by Chappuys.

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1. LACHEVRE, op. cit. p. 81 and p. 436.

2. Traductions..., Paris, Est. Groulleau, 1550. cf. LACHEVRE, op. cit. p. 79.

It seems more probable that the Chanson is in fact by Claude Collet[1] since both the 1550 and 1554 editions of the Traductions... contain two further pieces by Collet[2].

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1. On Claude Collet, cf. supra, p.167 n.2

2. Cf. LACHEVRE, op. cit., pp. 80 - 81. These pieces are admittedly signed "C.C.C." (Claude Collet, Champenois).

Conclusion.

On the evidence of both manuscript and printed sources, I have reached the following decisions with regard to the authenticity of the poems attributed to Chappuys.

I have in general accepted as authentic those pieces which are attributed to Chappuys in the Soissons ms. 200. I have rejected, however, the two pieces which, although attributed to Chappuys in the Soissons ms. 200, are in fact by Marot[1], as well as two further pieces which are almost certainly by Mellin de Saint Gelays[2]. I have, moreover, considered of doubtful authenticity the following pieces which, though attributed to Chappuys in the Soissons ms. 200, are attributed elsewhere, on rather doubtful authority, to other authors[3]:

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1. Cf. supra, p. 163

2. Cf. supra, p. 158

3. Cf. supra, p. 165 et seq.
I do not, however, question the authenticity of the pieces of the Rochethulon manuscript wrongly attributed by Blanchemain to Mellin de Saint Gelays. Nor do I question the attribution to Chappuys of the two poems which are found in Lenglet-Dufresnoy's edition of the works of Marot, and of certain pieces which are included in Champollion-Figeac's edition of the Poésies du Roi François Ier.

"O quel regret à ceulx de departir",
"O que l'effort est aspre & dangereux",
"L'aise que je reçoy vous voyant malcontente",
"Si j'ay voulu sans guerdon vous aymer",
"Amour, amy de tous, peste des siens".

Since it is not impossible that these pieces are indeed by Chappuys, I have included them in my edition, but have distinguished them with an asterisk[1].

Since the authority of the B.N. mss.fr. 2335 and 1667 would appear to be unsure, I have considered pieces attributed to Chappuys in these manuscripts as of doubtful authenticity and, indeed, have rejected outright certain pieces which though attributed to Chappuys in the B.N. ms.fr. 2335, are in fact by other authors[2].

I have also considered of uncertain authenticity the Blason du Ventre, the Blason du C.., and the Blason du C.. de la Pucelle[3].

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1. Throughout the edition, I have in fact distinguished in this way all pieces of doubtful authenticity.

2. Cf. supra, pp. 194-195

3. Cf. supra, p. 198

I have accepted as authentic the first ten huitains of the Fable de Cupido et Pyschè[1].

I feel that it is improbable that the Chanson, "Maintenant c'est un cas estrange" is by Chappuys. I have therefore placed it in an Appendix[2].

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1. Cf. supra, p. 142
2. Cf. supra, p. 199-200

2. ARRANGEMENT

The arrangement of the edition presents a difficult problem. Chappuys did not publish his personal poetry, and we can have therefore no conception of the order in which he would have arranged these pieces.

As Chappuys had some connection with the Soissons ms. 200, there might be a case for following the order of this manuscript. The manuscript was, however, built up over a period of years and follows no definite pattern;[1] there is no clear division into genres, nor yet are the poems arranged in chronological order[2]. The Soissons manuscript, moreover, does not contain all the pieces which may be attributed to Chappuys. It cannot therefore be used as a basis for the edition.

Since it is impossible to follow the order of the Soissons manuscript, I have decided to group the poems by genres, thus creating a sense of unity within each group and enabling us to form an impression of Chappuys' talent in each type of poem.

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1. Cf. supra, pp. 143-144

2. A Dizain of 1533, "De voz vertus le hault bruict & estyme", is found on f.44v°, whereas a Dizain of 1535, "Puisque voyons o Françoys nostre Roy", is found as early as f.14, cf. infra, p.345 and p.347

I have therefore given first the Epistles and "poèmes", then the Blasons, and finally the Epigrams and the Rondeaux. Within each group I have arranged the poems, as far as possible, in chronological order. Since it is impossible to date the love epistles and the love epigrams, I have placed these poems at the end of the section[I]. For these pieces I have therefore preserved the pleasantly varied order of the Soissons manuscript. I have placed at the end the poems from the B.N. ms.fr. 2335 and the B.N. ms.fr. 1667.

I have given in Appendix I the Trente Huitains pour la tappisserye faicte de la fable de Cupido et Psyché, and in Appendix II, the Chanson, "Maintenant c'est un cas estrange".

I. There are also certain other epigrams, apart from the love epigrams, which cannot be dated. In order to preserve a certain unity I have placed these epigrams before the love epigrams.

We might consider subdividing the love epigrams into those addressed to Loyse du Plessis and those addressed to other ladies of the court. It would be quite impossible to do this, however, since in most cases we do not know to whom the poem is addressed, and to attempt to distinguish by differences in "tone" and other such tenuous methods would be dangerous in the extreme!

Similarly, I have not separated from the rest of the epigrams the two pieces purporting to be written by a lady, namely the dizain, "Je l'ay trouvé et il est tant amable" and the huitain, "En m'offenceant à soy me rend tenue". These pieces do not form any marked contrast with the other epigrams - Chappuys merely writes for once from the lady's point of view.

3. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TEXT

The establishment of the text of the personal poetry of Claude Chappuys presents a difficult problem. Although all Chappuys' long political poems were published in the sixteenth century[1], there was no edition of his lighter poems: his epistles and epigrams. These poems are found in a number of contemporary manuscript "recueils"[2] and in certain of the printed "recueils collectifs" of the sixteenth century.

I have already discussed in detail the three manuscripts, the Soissons ms. 200 and the B.N. mss.fr. 2335 and 1667, in which poems are formally attributed to Chappuys[3].

The following manuscript "recueils" contain certain pieces by Chappuys. With the exception of the Huitains de la Fable de Cupido et Psyché[4], these poems are given without name of author.

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1. Cf. Bibliography, p.239.
2. I have drawn the following list of manuscripts in part from Dr. Roche's Table of "Incipits". Dr. Roche's indications are, however, incomplete, since certain manuscripts containing pieces by Chappuys were unknown to him; in those manuscripts which he used, moreover, he has at times overlooked poems by Chappuys.
3. Cf. supra, p.142 et seq.
4. The Huitains are found in the Musée Condé ms.523 and the B.N. mss.fr. 342, 385, 2334 and 20025.

a. Musée Condé, ms.523.

The manuscript 523 of the Musée Condé is a "recueil collectif", containing poems by Saint-Gelays, Marot, Héroet, Chappuys and other poets of the first half of the sixteenth century. The manuscript was compiled about 1540, most probably for the Connétable, Anne de Montmorency. The scribe is unknown; the manuscript may, however, have been compiled under the direction of Mellin de Saint-Gelays; certainly it bears corrections in his hand[1]. As Saint-Gelays knew Chappuys well, and had in fact collaborated with him in the translation of the Huitains de la Fable de Cupido et Psyché, which is included within this manuscript, it is possible that certain pieces by Chappuys, which are contained in this manuscript, were drawn from an authoritative source.

As well as the Huitains de la Fable de Cupido et Psyché, (ff.127-135), the Musée Condé ms.523 contains the Epistre d'une Navigation (ff.127-135), and twenty-six epigrams which may be attributed to Chappuys:[2]

"Je ne sçay pas si l'on pourroyt actaindre", f.52,
"Tous fleuves doulx oubliez vostre gloire", f.55,
"Amour s'estoit loing de moy absenté", f.55v°,
"S'il est ainsi qu'amour soyt de nature", f.60v°,
"Si quant le corps du corps se distraict et absente", f.63,
*"Quiconques fut qui Nature a reprís", f.63, f.119, and f.137,
"Fortune de mon bien envieuse et jalouse", f.63,

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1. On this manuscript, cf. G. MACON, Chantilly: Cabinet des Livres, Manuscrits, II, p.144 et seq., and supra, p.173. et seq.

2. In the lists of "incipits", pieces of doubtful authenticity are indicated by an asterisk, cf. p. 202 n. 1.

"Lors qu'Amours eut ses droitz en leur saine observance", f.67,
"J'apparçoy bien qu'amour est de nature estrange", f.67v°,
"Si son reffuz et maulvais traictement", f.115v°, f.122, f.135v°,
"Au de partir adieu ne vous diray", f.120,
"Je sens en moy quelque nouveau desir", f.120v°,
"Amour voyant qu'il n'est pas le plus fort", f.120v°,
"Celle qui fut de beaulté si louable", f.121,
"J'avoys pensé que pour mon plus grant bien", f.121,
"Pardonnez moy si je fuz trop legier", f.121,
"Ce ne fut pas la pluye ou le tonnerre", f.121v°,
"Elle veult doncq par estrange rigueur", f.121v°,
"Ce que par trop avons de fermeté", f.121v°,
"Amour a faict empaner ses deux aelles", f.122,
"Si j'ay du mal m'amye n'en a moins", f.122,
"Ayant Amour espandu tant de flesches", f.122v°,
"Si voz amys, Madame, on mesuroyt", f.122v°,
"Le doulx baiser receu de vostre bouche", f.123,
"O que l'effort est aspre & dangereux", f.135v°,
"Cesse, mon oeil, de plus la regarder", f.139v°.

b. Berlin ms.

The manuscript 78 C 10 (Hamilton 264) of the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin[1], is a "recueil de poésies" consisting of poems by Marot, Saint Gelays and other poets of the first half of the sixteenth century. Except for certain pieces at the end of the manuscript, which are attributed to François I[2], the poems are without name of author.

The scribe of the Berlin manuscript is unknown. Like the Musée Condé ms.523, this manuscript has however passed through the

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1. On this manuscript, cf. Ph. A. BECKER, op.cit. p.45.

2. Cf. infra, p.209 n.2.

hands of Mellin de Saint-Gelays who has added a number of poems by François I[1].

The manuscript contains forty-four epigrams by Chappuys[2]:

"Je ne me puis plaindre ny contenter",
"Loyse entend que plus je ne demende",
"Ung autre et moy entrasmes à mesme heure",
"Celle qui fut envers moy plus cruelle",
"Helayne à qui de beaulté ressemblez",
"Tant a donné de plaisir à mes yeulx",
*"O quel regrect à ceulx de departir",
"Mon oeil vous trouve à m'amye semblable",
"Fuyez Amour, fuyez le, c'est poyson",
"J'apparçoy bien qu'amour est de nature estrange",
"M'amye ung jour me disoit je le veulx",
"Le doulx baiser receu de vostre bouche",
"Amour a faict empaner ses deux aelles",
"D'en aymer trois ce m'est force & contraincte",
"Fortune de mon bien envieuse & jalouse",
*"Quiconques fut qui Nature a repris",
"Au departir adieu ne vous diray",
"S'il est ainsi que le visaige monstre",
"Cesse mon oeil de plus la regarder",[3]
"Si j'ay du mal m'amye n'en a moins",
"Si son reffuz et maulvais traictement",
"J'avoys pensé que pour mon plus grant bien",
"Si peu ne peult une absence durer",
"Si voz amys, Madame, on mesuroyt",
"Ayant Amour espandu tant de flesches",
"Amour craignant de perdre le povoir",
"Je ne fais rien que plaindre et souspirer",
"Amour, amy de tous, (peste) des siens",

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1. These pieces bear the title: Extraitz d'aucuns Oeuvres Poetiques de l'invention, didacture, & composition du Roy François, premier de ce Nom, traitans de ses Amours, de sa Prinse & de son Retour en France. This title would suggest that the manuscript was completed before the death of François I in 1547, since otherwise the title would doubtless have read: ... du feu Roy François premier...

2. The manuscript is unfoliated. I have listed the poems in the order in which they appear in the manuscript.

3. This Dizain is found twice in the Berlin manuscript, as is the Huitain. "Si son reffuz et maulvais traictement".

"Celle qui fut de beaulté si louable",
"L'aise que je reçoy vous voyant mal contente",
"Faire semblant d'aymer et n'aymer poinct",
"Je ne veulx pas blasmer les amoureulx",
"Si quelquefoyz devant vous me presente",
"De qui plustost me deveroys je complaindre",
"Amour aveugle, aveugle tout le monde",
"Fortune monstre assez sa cruaulté",
"Assez souvant à la porte demeure",
"Dessus ung lict estoit toute estendue",
"Si je suys seul plus que tous amoureux",
"Rien ne me sert de mon lucz l'armonye",
"Pour vous aimer, moymesmes veulx hair",
"Dieu qui peult tout, ainsi que je le croy",
"Je n'y vais plus; car ilz sont plus de trente",
"Il n'est esprit parolle ou escripture".

c. The Rochethulon manuscript

I have already considered the question of the Rochethulon manuscript.[1]

The manuscript would appear to contain fifty-eight poems which may be attributed to Chappuys.[2]

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1. Cf. supra, p. 158. et seq.

2. For the poems of the Rochethulon manuscript which are attributed to Chappuys in the Soissons ms.200, cf. the list of "Incipits" given by PLATTARD, loc.cit.
PLATTARD's list of "incipits" is, however, incomplete: it is necessary to add four further poems attributed to Chappuys in the Soissons ms.200: "En m'offenceant à soy me rend tenue", (Bl. III, 23), "O que l'effort est aspre & dangereux" (Bl. III, 39), "O quel regrect à ceulx de departir" (Bl. III, 283), and "Je sens en moy quelque nouveau desir", F. 48v°. (Bl. III, 24, with the "incipit", "Rien je ne sens fors un nouveau desir").
In addition the Rochethulon manuscript contains one piece attributed to Chappuys in the B.N. ms.fr.2335, "Il n'en est poinct d'affection semblable" (Bl. III, 30), and one piece attributed to Chappuys in the B.N. ms.fr.1667, "Quand nos deux coeurs estoient unis ensemble" (Bl. III, 30).

d. Rothschild, 2965.

The manuscript "recueil", no. 2965 of the Rothschild collection[1], contains pieces by Héroet, François I, Saint-Delays, Chappuys and others. Almost without exception, the poems of this manuscript are without name of author[2]. The scribe is unknown.

The manuscript contains the epistle "J'ay longuement apart moy desbatu" (f.74v°), and ten epigrams by Chappuys:

"Suz ce tumbeau ne regendez que fleurs", f.38v°,
"O que l'effort est aspre & dangereux", f.41,
"Qui est la numphe assise à la fenestre", f.62v°,
"Si son reffuz et maulvais traictement", f.65,
"Amour craignant de perdre le povoir", f.71,
"Tant a donné de plaisir à mes yeulx", f.81,
"Quel est le fruict de franche voulonté", f.83v°,
"Cesse mon oeil de plus la regarder", f.83v°,
"D'en aymer trois ce m'est force & contraincte", f.84,
"Amour, amour puys que tu m'as actainct", f.91.

e. B.N. ms.fr.2334.

The B.N. ms.fr.2334 is a "recueil de vers" containing pieces by poets of the first half of the sixteenth century. The scribe and date of the "recueil" are unknown. With the exception of the Huitains de la Fable de Cupido et Psyché, the poems are unsigned.

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1. For a detailed description of the manuscript, cf. E. PICOT, Catalogue des livres de J. de Rothschild, Paris, 1884-1920, vol.IV, p.296 et seq.

2. The author is indicated for the following pieces: Discours de M.N. (La Maison Neuve) "Est ce plaisir d'incerteine asseurance", F.29v°; Par le Roy, "Puis que tu veulx sans vouloir consentir", F.96; Disain du Roy, "Tousjours le feu tasche à se faire veoir", F.96v°. In addition, certain pieces are signed "M". I have been unable to identify the author of these pieces, cf. supra, p.168.

In addition to the Huitains de la Fable de Cupido et Psyché, the manuscript contains twenty epigrams by Chappuys:

"Elle veult doncq par estrange rigueur", f.10,
"Fuyez amour, fuyez le, c'est poyson", f.11,
"O viateurs, ne soyez esbahys", f.40,
"Je plainds mon mal, mon temps, et ma fortune", f.40v°,
"Je ne sçay pas si l'on pourroyt actaindre", f.41,
"En m'offenceant à soy me rend tenue", f.41v°,
"Il n'en est point d'affection semblable", f.43,
"Si quelquefoyz devant vous me presente", f.45v°,
"Je ne veulx pas blasmer les amoureulx", f.45v°,
"Faire semblant d'aymer et n'aymer poinct", f.45v°,
"L'aise que je reçoy vous voyant malcontente", f.46,
"Je ne faiz riens que plaindre & souspirer", f.46,
"Si peu ne peult une absence durer", f.46,
"Si voz amys, Madame, on mesuroyt", f.46v°,
"Ayant Amour espandu tant de flesches", f.46v°,
"Si son refuz et maulvais traictement", f.46v°,
"Amour craignant de perdre le povoir", f.47,
"J'avoys pensé que pour mon plus grant bien", f.47,
"Quiconques fut qui Nature a repris", f.47v°,
"Pardonnez moy si je fuz trop legier", f.64.

f. B.N. ms.fr.2372.[1]

The B.N. ms.fr.2372 contains six pieces which may be attributed to Chappuys:[2]

"Amour craignant de perdre le povoir", p.131,
"L'aise que je reçoy vous voyant mal contente", p.131,
"Amour, amy de tous, ( )este des siens", p.150,
"D'en aymer trois ce m'est force & contraincte", p.155,
"Ce que par trop avons de fermeté", p.157,
"Celle qui fut de beaultè si louable", p.163.

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1. On this manuscript, cf. supra, p.166.

2. These pieces are reproduced in Champollion-Figeac's edition of the Poésies du roi François 1er, cf. supra, p.165.

g. Soissons mss. 201, 202 and 203.

The Soissons manuscripts 201, 202 and 203 contain many pieces by Marot and other poets of the period[1], including a number of epigrams by Chappuys:

(i) Soissons ms. 201.

"Tant a donné de plaisir à mes yeulx", f.12v°,
"Aiez pitié du grant mal que j'endure", f.13v° and f.42v°,
"Puisque voyons o françoys, nostre roy", f.15,
"Je ne faiz riens que plaindre & souspirer", f.47,
"Amour, Amour, puys que tu m'as actainct", f.57.

(ii) Soissons ms. 202.

"Qui est la nymphe assise à la fenestre", f.47v°.

(iii) Soissons ms. 203.

"Tant a donné de plaisir à mes yeulx", f.77,
"Amour voyant qu'il n'est pas le plus fort", f.79,
"J'apparçoy bien qu'amour est de nature estrange", f.79v°,
"Amour, Amour puys que tu m'as actainct", f.80,
"D'en aymer trois ce m'est force & contraincte", f.82.

h. B.N. ms. 477 n.acq.fr.

The B.N. ms. 477 n.acq.fr., a "recueil de vers" dating from the first half of the sixteenth century and consisting mainly of anonymous pieces, contains a single poem by Chappuys, the Epistre d'une Navigation (ff. 139 et seq.)

i. B.N. ms.fr. 20025.

The B.N. ms.fr. 20025 is a sixteenth century "recueil" containing

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1. On these manuscripts, which form part of a group of related manuscripts, nos. 199-204 of the Bibliothèque de Soissons, cf. C.A. MAYER, Bibliographie, I, pp.66-85.

pieces by Marot, André de Dignières, Sainct-Gelays, La Borderie and others.

In addition to the Huitains de la Fable de Cupido et Psyché, the manuscript contains the Huitain, "Faire semblant d'aymer et n'aymer poinct" (f.47v°), and the Blason du C.., entitled in this "recueil", Chanson sur ung C.. rebondy (f.45).

J. B.N. ms.fr. 883.

The B.N. ms.fr. 883 is a "recueil de poésies" dating apparently from the second half of the sixteenth century, since it contains Ronsard's Elegie sur le depart de la reyne Marye, written in 1561.

The manuscript includes one piece by Chappuys, the Huitain, "Si son reffuz et maulvais traictement" (f.29v°).

k. B.N. ms.fr. 4967.

The B.N. ms.fr. 4967[1] contains pieces by Marot, Germain Colin, François Sagon and other poets of the sixteenth century, including one poem which may be attributed to Chappuys, the Huitain, "Je ne veulx pas blasmer les amoureulx" (f.212v°).

l. B.N. ms.fr. 12489.

The B.N. ms.fr. 12439 is a "recueil de vers" containing pieces by François I, Clément Marot, Octavien de Saint-Gelays and other poets

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1. On this manuscript, cf. C.A. MAYER, Bibliographie, I, pp.63-65.

of the period. The name "Sainct Sire" is inscribed at the beginning of the "recueil".

The manuscript includes two pieces which may be attributed to Chappuys, "L'aise que je reçoy vous voyant malcontente" (F.105v°) and the Dizain, "Si j'ay voulu sans guerdon vous aymer" (F.108).

m. Rothschild 2964.

The Gueffier manuscript, no. 2964 of the Rothschild collection[1], contains one piece which may be attributed to Chappuys, the Huitain, "Celle qui fut de beaulté si louable" (F.37v°).

n. B.N. mss.fr. 842 and 885.

The B.N. mss.fr. 842 and 885 contain the Huitains de la Fable de Cupido et Psyché; in the B.N. ms.fr. 842 the Fable is incomplete[2].

The following printed "Recueils collectifs" contain pieces which may be attributed to Chappuys:-

1. Hecatomphile. De vulgarie [sic] Italien tourné en langaige Françoys. Les Fleurs de Poésie Françoyse.

Paris, Galliot du Pré, 1534. Petit in -8, paginated. B.N. Rés. Y²2256. Lachèvre, Bibliographie, p.38; P.H. Michel, Un Idéal humain au XVe siècle; La Pensée de L.B. Alberti, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1930, p.18 (VI 12), C.A. Mayer, Bibliographie, II, p.78, no.242.

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1. On this manuscript, cf. PICOT, Catalogue... Rothschild, IV, pp.288 et seq.; C.A. MAYER, Bibliographie, I, pp.18-47.
It is unlikely that Chappuys had any connection with the scribe, Gueffier.

2. Cf. infra, p.455.

This "recueil" contains eight pieces by Chappuys:
"Amour a faict empaner ses deux aelles",
"Amour, amy de tous, (p)este des siens",
"Amour n'est pas ung dieu, c'est ung magitien",
"Celle qui fut de beaulté si louable",
"Cesse, mon oeil, de plus la regarder",
"D'en aymer trois ce m'est force & contraincte",
"Fortune de mon bien envieuse et jalouse",
*"Qui est la nymphe assise à la fenestre".

Reimpressions:
Lyon, François Juste, 1534. Versailles.
Lachèvre, p.39; P.H. Michel, op.cit. VI, 14; C.A. Mayer, loc.cit.
Lyon, François Juste, s.d. B.N. Rés.3437.
Lachèvre, p.40; P.H. Michel, VI, 13; C.A. Mayer, loc.cit.
S.l. 1536, 92 ff. small in 8°.
Lachèvre, following Brunet (art. Blasons), p.40;
P.H. Michel, VI, 17; B. Guégan, Blasons anatomiques du corps femenin, Paris, 1931, p.xvi; C.A. Mayer, loc.cit. This edition has not been found. It would appear to contain a supplement of the Blasons (cf. Brunet).
S.l. 1536, (Paris)[1], in -16, 80 ff. non-paginated.
Cat. La Roche-Lacarelle, 1888, no.230; Lachèvre, p.40;
Guégan, op.cit. p.xiv; C.A. Mayer, loc.cit.
Bodleian Library, Oxford.[2]

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1. Cf. infra, n. 2
2. The Oxford edition, which is not mentioned in the standard bibliographies, is incomplete, lacking the title page and all before Bij. There can, however, be little doubt that it is of the same edition as the La Roche-Lacarelle copy. It collates Bij to K in eights and must therefore originally have contained 80 folios; like the La Roche-Lacarelle edition, it is without pagination; it contains the same eleven Blasons (cf. GUEGAN, loc.cit.; Guégan erroneously described the second Blason de la Bouche as a Blason du Nez, but gives an identical "incipit").
Mr. D. Rogers of the Bodleian Library was kind enough to point out to me that the ornamental capitals used in this edition are Parisian in style. The same capitals and some of the same woodcuts (in a more worn condition), were used in an edition of Les diverses fantaisies ... composées par Mere Sotte, by Estienne Groulleau in 1551. In 1545, Groulleau took over Denis Janot's place of business and printer's materials. There is a possibility, therefore, that this edition is by Denis Janot. cf 1536

This edition contains the following Blasons: Blason des Cheveulx, Blason du Sourcil, Blason de l'Oeil, Blason de la Larme, Blason de l'Oreille, Blason de la Bouche, Autre Blason (de la Bouche), Blason du Tetin, Blason de la Main, Blason de la Cuysse, Blason de l'Esprit and the Neuvain, "Ung Orateur blasonne le Tetin".

Of these, the Blason de la Main is by Chappuys.

Lyon, François Juste, 1536, in -16.

Lachèvre, p.40; P.H. Michel, VI, 16; C.A. Mayer, loc.cit.

This edition has not been found.

S.l. 1537; with the Blasons (S.l. 1536).

Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg (R 102 895)[1]

This edition is in -8°; it collates A-N, and is paginated II - CVI (excluding the title page -(I)), with four leaves, not included in the pagination, inserted between ff. LXIIII and LXV.

The title page of the Blasons (S.l. 1536) is the first of the four additional leaves. There follow thirty-two Blasons, and the Dizain, Description de grace:

Blason du Corps, Blason de la Joue, Blason du Col, Blason des cheveulx, Blason du Sourcil, Blason de l'Oeil, Blason de la Larme, Blason de l'Oreille, Blason de la Bouche, Blason du Front, Blason de la Gorge, Blason du Tetin, Blason du Cueur, Blason de la Main, Blason du Ventre, Blason de la Cuisse, Blason du Genoil, Blason du Pied, Blason de l'Esprit, Blason de l'Honneur, Description de Grace, Blason de Grace, Blason du Souspir, Blason du C.., Blason du C.l, Blason du Nes, Aultre Blason du Nes, Blason de la Langue, Aultre Blason de la Langue, Blason des Dens, Blason du Pied, Blason de la Voix, Blason de la Mort.

Of these the Blason du Col and the second Blason de la Langue are not included in any subsequent edition of the Blasons; the Blason du Corps, Blason de la Joue, the two Blasons du Nes, the Blason de la Langue, the Blason des Dens, the second Blason du Pied, the Blason de la Voix and the Blason de la Mort do not reappear before the 1543 edition of the Blasons.[2]

The Blason de la Main, the Blason du Ventre and the Blason du C.. may be attributed to Chappuys.

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1. This edition is not mentioned in any of the standard bibliographies.
2. Cf. infra, p.218.

Lyon, François Juste, 1537.
Lachèvre, p.40; P.H. Michel, VI, 19; Guégan, loc.cit.; C.A. Mayer, loc.cit. Edition not found.
Paris, P. Sergent, 1539. Rothschild 803.
80 ff., wrongly paginated.
Lachèvre, pp.40-41; P.H. Michel, op.cit., VI, 20; Guégan, loc.cit.; C.A. Mayer, loc.cit. Cat. J.Tannery, no.18. This edition contains twenty-one Blasons[1] of which three may be attributed to Chappuys, namely the Blason de la Main, the Blason du Ventre, and the Blason du C...
Paris, A. Lotrian, 1540.
Lachèvre, pp.40-41; P.H. Michel, op.cit. VI, 21; Guégan, loc.cit.; C.A. Mayer, loc.cit. Cat. S.S. Brunschwig, Geneva, 1955, no.308. This edition would appear to be a mere re-impression of the 1539 edition.

2.a. Blasons anatomiques des parties du corps feminin, invention de plusieurs poetes françois contemporains.

Lyon, François Juste, 1536 (ou 1537), in -16.
Edition cited by Du Verdier and by Draude (Bibl. Erotica, Francofurti, 1625). The existence of this edition has, however, been questioned by Brunet and E. Picot among others.
Lachèvre, p.45; C.A. Mayer, Bibliographie, II, p.80, no.247.

b. S'ensuivent les blasons anatomiques du corps fémenin, ensemble les contreblasons de nouveau composez et additionez, avec les figures, le tout mis par ordre: composez par plusieurs poetes contemporains. Avec la

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1. For a detailed description of this edition cf. E. PICOT, Catalogue-Rothschild, I, p.539, no.803.

table desdictz Blasons et contreblasons. Imprimez en ceste année. Pour Charles Langelier 1543.

Bull. Morgand, Nov.1891, no.19446; Library of Mr. D.H. Gordon, Baltimore; Library of M.G. Heilbrun, Paris.
Lachèvre, p.47; C.A. Mayer, op.cit., II, p.83, no.262. This edition contains all four of the Blasons which may be attributed to Chappuys: the Blason de la Main, the Blason du Ventre, the Blason du C.. and the Blason du C.. de la Pucelle.
Reimpressions:
Paris, pour Ch. Langelier, 1550. Rothschild, 310; Arsenal, 8° B.L. 11131 (Rés.), (formerly B.L. 8516).
Lachèvre, p.48; C.A. Mayer, loc.cit.
Paris, N. Chrestien, 1554. Osterreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.
Cat. Lignerolles 1407; Lachèvre, p.49; C.A. Mayer, loc.cit.
Paris, pour la veuve J. Bonfons, s.d. B.N. enfer. 600.
Lachèvre, p.49; C.A. Mayer, loc.cit.

3. La fleur de poesie Francoyse, recueil joyeulx contenant plusieurs huictains, Dixains, Quatrains, Chansons et aultres dictez de diverses matieres mis en nottes musicalles par plusieurs autheurs et reduictz en ce petit livre.

Paris, A. Lotrian, 1542. Bull. Morgand (Rahir), Dec. 1903, no.56; Lachèvre, p.54; C.A. Mayer, op.cit. II, p.83, no.259.
Reimpression: Paris, A. Lotrian, 1543. B.N. Rés. Ye 2718.
Lachèvre, p.54; C.A. Mayer, loc.cit.
This edition contains one piece by Chappuys: "Celle qui fut de beaulte si louable".

4. Recueil de vraye Poesie Françoyse, prinse de plusieurs Poetes les plus excellentz de ce regne.

Paris, D. Janot, 1544. Arsenal 8° B.L. 9905 (Rés.) (formerly B.L. 7231).
Lachèvre, p.56; C.A. Mayer, op.cit. II, p.83, no.264.
This "recueil" contains eight pieces which may be attributed to Chappuys:

"Amour a faict empaner ses deux aelles",
"Amour craignant de perdre le povoir",
"Amour n'est pas ung dieu, c'est ung magitien",
"Aiez pitié du grant mal que j'endure",
"J'apparçoy bien qu'amour est de nature estrange",
"D'en aymer trois ce m'est force & contraincte",
"Je ne faiz riens que plaindre & souspirer",
"Puis que voyons, o Françoys, nostre Roy".

Reimpressions:
Le Recueil de Poesie Françoyse, Lyon, J.Temporal, 1550.
Rothschild, 809; Arsenal 8° B.L.9907 (Rés.) (Formerly B.L. 7235), Roanne.
Baudrier, Bibliographie lyonnaise, 1895-1921, IV, 378;
Lachèvre, p.57; C.A. Mayer, loc.cit.
Paris, veuve Regnault, 1555.
Lachèvre, p.57; C.A. Mayer, loc.cit.

5. La Fable du Faux Cuyder Contenant l'Histoire des Nymphes de Diane transmuées en Saules. Faites par une notable Dame de la Court, envoyée à Madame Marguerite, fille unique du Roy de France. Avec autres compositions nouvelles.

Lyon, Jean de Tournes, 1547. Arsenal 8° B.L. 11224. (Rés.)
The original edition, Paris, Adam Saulnier, 1543, has not been found;
cf. Lachèvre, p.161; C.A. Mayer, op.cit. II, p.35, no.270.
This "recueil" contains two pieces by Chappuys:
"Amour n'est pas ung dieu, c'est ung Magitien",
"J'apparçoy bien qu'amour est de nature estrange".

6. Recueil de tout soulas et plaisir pour resjouir et passer temps. Aux amoureux comme Espistres, Rondeaux, Ballades, Epigrames, Dixains, Huistains nouvellement composé.

Paris, Jean Bonfons, 1552. Musée Condé.

Lachèvre, p.36; C.A. Mayer, op.cit. II, p.37, no.275.
This "recueil" contains six pieces by Chappuys:
"Elle se cache au partyr pour pleurer",
"J'ay devers moy ce poinct & adventaige",
"M'amye ung jour me disoit 'Je le veulx'",
"Son (sic) oeil vous trouve à m'amye semblable",
"Si quelquefoiz devant vous me presente",
"Si son refuz et maulvais traictement".
Reimpressions:
Paris, J. Bonfons, 1562. Arsenal, 8°, B.L. 9909 (Rés.) (Formerly B.L. 7237)
Lachèvre, p.37; C.A. Mayer, loc.cit.
Paris, J. Bonfons, 1563.
Cat. Lignerolles, I, p.1414; Lachèvre, p.36; Tchemerzine, Bibliographie d'éditions originales, Paris, 1926-1933, VIII, 90;
C.A. Mayer, loc.cit.

7. (?) Traductions de Latin en Françoys, Imitations et Inventions nouvelles, tant de Clement Marot que d'autres des plus excellens Poetes de ce temps.

Paris, G. Groulleau, 1549. Privilège du dernier jour de septembre mil cinq cens XLIX.
Brunet III 1460; C.A. Mayer, op.cit. II, p.86-87, no.273.
Reimpressions:
Paris, G. Groulleau, 1550. B.N. Rés.p.Yc.1646; Rothschild 808. Lachèvre, pp.79-80; Tchemerzine, op.cit. VIII, 79; C.A. Mayer, loc.cit.
Rouen, P. Cornier, 1553. Lachèvre, p.81, after Bull. Morgand 23, 16087; Tchemerzine, VIII, 79; C.A. Mayer, loc.cit.
Paris, G. Groulleau, 1554. Arsenal, 8° B.L.8733, 8734, (Rés.) (formerly B.L. 6423 rés) Lachèvre, p.81; C.A. Mayer, loc.cit. This edition contains 17 new pieces, (cf. Lachèvre, loc.cit.), including one piece, a Chanson, "Maintenant c'est un cas estrange", signed C.C., which Lachèvre attributes to Chappuys.[1]
Lyon, G. Roville, 1561.
Baudrier IX, 202; Tchemerzine, VIII, 79; C.A. Mayer, loc.cit.
s.l.n.d. Tchemerzine, VIII, 79; C.A. Mayer, loc.cit.

8. La Recreation et passetemps des tristes, pour resjouyr les melancoliques, lire choses plaisantes, traictans de l'art de aymer, et apprendre le vray art de poesie.

Paris, Pierre L'Huillier, 1573. Arsenal, 8° B.L.30503. (Rés.) (formerly B.L. 18115)
Lachèvre, p.95; C.A. Mayer, op.cit. II, p.90, no.287.
Lachèvre maintains that this "recueil" was preceded by an earlier "recueil", La consolation des Tristes, Rouen, chez Robert et Jehan du Gort, 1554, which has not been found.
The Recreation contains one piece by Chappuys, "Quiconques fut qui Nature a reuris".
Reimpressions:
s.l., 1574.
Cat. Crampon, 1897, no.292, cf. Lachèvre, p.96; C.A. Mayer, loc.cit.
Rouen, N. Mullot, s.d. (between 1578 and 1584). B.N. Rés.Ye 2997. Lachèvre, p.96; C.A. Mayer, loc.cit.
Rouen, A. Le Courturier, 1595. Arsenal, 8° B.L.12082. (Rés.) (formerly B.L. 9310) Lachèvre, p.99; C.A. Mayer, loc.cit.
Lyon, s.d.
Baudrier, IV, 324; Lachèvre, p.99; C.A. Mayer, loc.cit.
Rouen, C. Le Vilain, s.d. Wolfenbüttel.
Lachèvre, p.100; C.A. Mayer, loc.cit.

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1. Cf. supra, p.199.

If we examine the various manuscripts and printed "recueils" containing pieces by Chappuys, the Soissons manuscript would seem to be by far the most authoritative text: not merely did Chappuys own the manuscript at some time, but it is also possible that he may have had a direct part in its compilation, making available to the scribe a number of his own pieces[1]. The authority of the other manuscript "recueils" is relatively weak: in only rare instances has it been possible to identify the scribe or to give the date of the manuscript. Even where the scribe is known, as in the case of the Gueffier manuscript[2], for instance, it is unlikely that he had any direct connection with Chappuys. The Musée Condé ms.523 and the Berlin ms. alone could be held to have some slight authority, since it is possible that they were compiled under the direction of Mellin de Saint-Gelays[3]. With the exception of these two "recueils" and, of course, the Soissons ms.200, no manuscript has real authority.

Of the printed "recueils collectifs", the early editions of the Blasons alone may have some authority. The Blasons were first published in 1536 as a supplement to the Hecatomphile and possibly in a separate edition[4], less than a year, that is, after the celebrated

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1. Cf. supra, p.191
2. Cf. supra, p.215
3. Cf. supra, pp. 207-209
4. Cf. supra, p. 216

"Concours de Ferrare", when the Duchess of Ferrara in judging the various blasons written in imitation of Marot's Epigramme du Beau Tetin had awarded the prize to Maurice Scève for his Blason du Sourcil[1]. It is possible, therefore, that the early editions of the Blasons - or of the Hecatomphile with the supplement of the Blasons - published soon after their composition may have some slight authority; even this is doubtful, however, if one considers some of the very bad first prints of Marot's works[2].

With the other "recueils", however, it is unlikely that the editors drew their pieces from an authoritative source; it is even less likely that the authors collaborated in the preparation of the "recueils". The text of these "recueils" is, moreover, full of errors; the editors did not hesitate to alter the text, imposing their own titles and, in some cases, changing the whole character

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1. On the question of the "Concours de Ferrare", cf. V.L. SAULNIER, Maurice Scève, Klincksieck, Paris, 1948, I, p.73; C.A. MAYER, Les Epîtres de Clément Marot, London, Athlone Press, 1958, p.217.

2. Cf. C.A. MAYER, Le texte de Marot, Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance, t.XIV, 1952, pp.314-28 and t.XV, 1953, pp.71-91.

of a piece[1]. With the possible exception of the Blasons, we may consequently dismiss the printed "recueils collectifs" as being wholly without authority.

The Soissons ms.206 appears therefore to be by far the most authoritative of the manuscripts and printed "recueils" containing pieces by Chappuys. Moreover, in general, it offers the best text.[2]

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1. In the Recueil de Tout Soulas et plaisir, (cf. supra, p.220), the dizain, "Pres du cercueil d'une morte gisante", by Mellin de Saint-Gelays (Blanchemain, II, 85) is found, in the following form, in a series of burlesque Epitaphes:

   L'acteur au nom dudit dresseux sur le trespas de Conichon son compaignon.

   Dixain.

   "Pres du cercueil d'un amoureux gisant
   Mort & amour vindrent devant mes yeulx,
   Amour me dit la mort t'est plus duysant
   Car en mourant tu vivras beaucoup myeulx
   Alors la mort qui regnoit en maintz lieux
   Pour me navrer son fort arc enfonça,
   Mais de malheur sa flesche m'offença
   Au propre lieu: ou amour mist la sienne.
   Ainsi son dard seullement avança
   Celuy d'amour en la place ancienne."

2. It might appear at a first glance that the scribe's later emendations (cf. supra, p.147) represent a revised version of the text. If we examine these emendations, however, it is clear that, for the most part, they are not genuine variants, but merely corrections of the copyist's errors. In the few cases where the scribe has inserted a different reading where there was no error in the original text, it would in general be difficult to maintain that the emendations were in any way preferable to the original text, (cf. for instance, the Dizain, "Quel est le fruict de franche voulenté", l.6 [illegible] p.395). While it is probable that the scribe possessed a second copy of the text (cf. supra, p.191), there is no reason to believe that this gave an authoritative version of the text.

If we examine the texts of the other manuscripts, it is at once evident that there is little conformity in the readings which they offer[1]; nor is there any group of manuscripts containing all the same poems with identical readings. There is no evidence, therefore, that there existed a generally accepted text which differed from that of the Soissons ms. 200.

It is rare, moreover, that the other manuscripts give a reading which is clearly preferable to that of the Soissons manuscript. There is, I would believe, only one exception to this general rule. In the Dizain, "Tant a donné de plaisir à mes yeulx"[2], the last four lines of the Soissons manuscript read:

"Mais tout souldain, par le doulx souvenir
D'une beaulté qu'avez trop plus perfaicte
Je desiray que l'on vous peust tenir
Là en figure & icy pour moy faicte",

whereas the Soissons mss. 201 and 203, the B.N. ms.fr.2335, the Rothschild ms. no.2965, the Rochethulon manuscript and the Berlin manuscript give for line 8: "(D'une beaulté qu'avez trop plus) naifve", and conclude the final line: "(& icy) toute vive"[3]. In this one

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1. With the exception of instances where other texts give a correct reading for a copyist's error in the Soissons text.

2. Cf. infra, p.407.

3. This is also the reading which the scribe has inserted in the Soissons ms. 200.

case I would tend to prefer the reading of other manuscripts to that of the Soissons ms. 200. The other manuscripts cannot be said to offer elsewhere a text which is clearly preferable to that of the Soissons manuscript; in some cases, the variants are so insignificant that it is impossible to assess the relative worth of the readings of the Soissons manuscript[1], but, on the whole, the readings of the Soissons manuscript would appear to be preferable to those of other manuscripts[2].

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1. In the Dizain, "Assez souvent à la porte demeure", l.7 (p. 363) is it possible to choose between the "peur et doubte de mesprendre" of the Soissons ms. 200 and the "peur et craincte de mesprendre" of the Berlin manuscript? Or, in the final line of the Dizain, "Loyse entend que plus je ne demande", (p. 364) which of the three different readings should we prefer: the Soissons ms.200, "Et dict: Le mal au cueur en est monté", the Rochethulon manuscript, "Et dit: Le mal en est au coeur monté", or the Berlin manuscript, "Et dict le mal en estre au cueur monté"?
   In such cases as these, it seems quite impossible to assess the relative merit of the various readings.

2. Cf. for instance,
   "Si je suys seul plus que tous amoureux", ll.2 and 3, p. 367,
   "En m'offenceant à soy me rend tenue", ll.1 and 6, p. 384,
   "Si son reffuz et maulvais traictement", l.2, p. 418
   "D'en aymer trois ce m'est force & contraincte", l.7, p. 426,
   "J'avoys osé m'ordonner pour maistresse", l.5, p. 389.

We may conclude therefore that the Soissons ms. 200 not merely comes from the most authoritative source, but also offers a text which is on the whole superior to that of other manuscripts and printed "recueils".

I have consequently adopted the text of the Soissons ms. 200 for all those pieces which it contains: namely, for ten epistles and "poèmes", ninety-five epigrams,[1] and the Blason de la Main. As the later emendations are of doubtful authority,[2] I have, except for copyist's errors, reproduced the text of the Soissons ms. 200 in its original state and have merely indicated the later emendations as variants.

The Soissons ms. 200 does not, unfortunately, offer a perfect text; as there are a considerable number of copyist's errors, it is impossible to follow it throughout. For these errors, I have substituted the readings of other manuscripts; where the readings of the other manuscripts are not identical, I have given the reading which seemed preferable, or came from the more authoritative manuscript; in rare cases I have preferred the emendations of the

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1. This number includes two epigrams, "Quiconques fut qui Nature a repris" and "Aiez pitié du grant mal que j'endure", which are anonymous in the Soissons ms. 200 but which are attributed to Chappuys in the B.N. mss.fr. 1667 and 2335 respectively.

2. Cf. supra, p. 224 n.2

scribe to the readings of other manuscripts;[1] occasionally, where the piece is found in the Soissons ms. 200 alone, I have ventured to emend an error without further authority.

For the poems which are not found in the Soissons ms. 200 I have in each case adopted the best available text. These poems may be divided into three groups: poems attributed to Chappuys in the B.N. mss.fr.2335 and 1667, the Huitains de la Fable de Cupido et Psyché, and the Blasons (with the exception of the Blason de la Main).

a.(i) B.N. ms.fr.2335.

In the B.N. ms.fr.2335, there are seven pieces attributed to Chappuys, which are not found in the Soissons ms. 200:

"Che foeu couvert, qui si fort m'a esoris", f.95v°,
"Nul en amour plus savant ne doibt estre", f.103,

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1. I have preferred the scribe's emendations to the readings of other manuscripts solely in cases where they offer a correct reading which is nearer to the original text. Cf. for instance, the Epistre d'une Navigation, l.107 [p.267]. Here the Soissons ms. gives the faulty reading, "Brief je n'en ung seul qui ne blamisse", which is emended to: "Brief icy je n'en voy ung seul qui ne blesmisse"; the M.C. ms.523 and the B.N. ms.477 n.acq.fr. give the reading: "Brief icy je ne voy ung seul qui n'en blesmisse". I have, however, rejected this second reading, since it would require the following line of the Soissons text to be altered quite unnecessarily from "Ny cardinal si rouge aussi qui ne palisse", to "Ny cardinal si rouge aussi qui n'en palisse".

"Lhor qu'amour heut ses droits en leur saine esperance", f.114,
"Si ghay esté si loyal serviteur", f.115,
"Il dict qu'il n'est ny veult estre amoureus", f.115,
"Il n'en est poinct d'affection semblable", f.115v°,
"Qui est la nymphe assise à la fenestre", f.175.

The fact that these pieces are attributed to Chappuys in the B.N. ms.fr.2335 does not in itself justify the adoption of the text of this manuscript. Indeed, in places, the text of this manuscript is weak. For the Neuvain, "Lors qu'amour eut ses droits en leur saine observance", I have preferred the text of the Musée Condé ms.523, since that of the B.N. ms.fr.2335 contains no less than five errors.[1] For the Huitain, "Il n'en est poinct d'affection semblable", I have adopted the text of the B.N. ms.fr.2334, since the final line, essential for the rhyme scheme, is omitted from the text of the B.N. ms.fr.2335. I have used the text of the B.N. ms.fr.2335 for the following five pieces:

"Che foeu couvert, qui si fort m'a espris", f.95v°,
"Nul en amour plus savant ne doibt estre", f.103,

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1. I reproduce here the text of the Neuvain as it is given in the B.N. ms.fr.2335, f.114:
"Lhor qu'amour heut ses droits en leur saine esperance,
Nature le suyvoit pour son heureuse attente,
Amour le nourrissoit en honeste esperance;
Puist, meritant le pris de son obeissance,
Luy promettoit l'effect dond le ceur se contente;
L'haiant heu, ne bruslant pour quesque vent qui vente,
Mes abusant de l'ordre, a telement changé
Qu'elle se dict maistresse au lieu de servante,
Et si to qu'elle gouste, amour est estrangé."
It is evident that it is impossible to accept the readings which I have italicised.

"Si gh'ay esté si loyal serviteur", f.115,
"Il dict qu'il n'est ny veult estre amoureus", f.115,
"Qui est la nymphe assise à la fenestre", f.175.[1]

(ii) B.N. ms.fr.1667.

The Dizain, "Quant noz deux cueurs estoient unis ensemble" is found in the B.N. ms.fr.1667 and in the Rochethulon manuscript. As the Rochethulon manuscript is known to us only as it is reproduced in Blanchemain's edition of the works of Mellin de Saint-Gelays and as Blanchemain has nowhere indicated his rules of transcription, I have preferred the text of the B.N. ms.fr.1667, despite two errors in ll.9 and 10, for which I have given the readings of Blanchemain's edition.

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1. The B.N. ms.fr.2335 presents certain peculiarities of spelling which might suggest that the manuscript was of Picard origin: a "c" with an "s" sound [s] is written "ch" before an "e", cf. Rondeau, "Che foeu couvert...", p.442, while "c" with a "k" sound [k] appears simply as "c", without a following "u" or "o", before an "e", cf. *CXVI, "Qui est la nymphe assise à la fenestre", l.3, p.441, "ceur" for "coeur" or "cueur".

The manuscript also represents certain other peculiarities: "je" is written "ge" and "j'ai" as "ghay"; cf. *CXIV, "Si gh'ay esté si loyal serviteur", l.1 and l.10, p.439; the third person singular of the Present tense of "er" verbs has occasionally a final "t", cf. *CXV, "Il dict qu'il n'est, ny veult estre amoureus", ll.3-4, p.440:

"Il penset vray, mes son faict le dement,
Et penset cheus qui le sont, malheureus";

the final "t" of some words is omitted, cf. *CXIV, "Si gh'ay esté si loyal serviteur", l.6, p.439, "Mus miens plusto il le fauldroit defendre".

I have, of course, retained these spellings in my text.

b. Huitains de la Fable de Cupido et Psyché.

The huitains de la Fable de Cupido et Psyche are found in the Musée Condé ms.523 and in the B.N. mss.fr. 542, 835, 2334 and 20025; they are also reproduced in the Vitraux at Chantilly[1] and appeared in an edition of the Fable published in 1546 by Jean Maugin[2]. Of these, the Musée Condé ms.523, a "recueil de vers" belonging to the Connétable de Montmorency, would appear the most authoritative.[3] The text of this manuscript is, moreover, relatively free from errors.

I have consequently adopted the text of the Musée Condé ms. 523 for the Fable de Cupido et Psyche.

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1. Cf. G. MACON, Chantilly: Le Cabinet des Livres: Les Manuscrits, II, p.167, and Chantilly et le Musée Condé, p.36 and pp.255-256.

2. L'Amour de Cupido et Psiché mere de Volupté, prinse des cinq & sixiesme livres de la Metamorphose de Lucius Apuleius Philosophe. Nouvellement historiée, & exposée tant en vers Italiens que François. Paris, Jeanne de Marnef, 1546.
Cf. E. PICOT, Catalogue... Rothschild, III, pp.368-369, no.2567, and G. MACON, Chantilly et le Musée Condé, pp.255-256.

3. On the authority of this manuscript, cf. supra, p.207. et seq.

c. The Blasons.

The Blason de la Main alone is included in the Soissons ms. 200. For this blason I have adopted the text of this manuscript.[1]

For the other Blasons, I have in each case accepted the text of the earliest available edition, since it would seem that the text of the early editions is more likely to be authoritative[2]. For the Blason du Ventre and the Blason du C.., I have given the text of the 1537 edition of the Bibliothèque de Strasbourg[3]. For the Blason du C.. de la Pucelle, I have given the text of the 1543 edition, the earliest edition in which this blason is found.

For certain errors in the texts which I have used, I have substituted the readings of other editions or, in the case of the Blason du C.., of the B.N. ms.fr.20025.

Since it is impossible to assess the relative authority of the various manuscript "recueils", I have given variants from all manuscripts. With these variants, one is unable, unfortunately, to distinguish between the original and definitive states of the text.

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1. Cf. supra, p.227.
2. Cf. supra, pp.222-223
3. On this edition, cf. supra, p.217.
   For the Blason du C.., I have preferred the Strasbourg text to that of the B.N. ms.fr.20025, despite three errors in the Strasbourg text (ll.11, 15 and 27), since the B.N. ms.fr.20025 is a manuscript of doubtful authority (cf. supra, p.213).

I have also indicated as variants the emendations of the Soissons ms.[1] I have likewise given the variants of the printed "recueils", since it is not without interest to note the textual modifications in the "recueils". With the exception of the Blasons, for which I have given variants up to the 1543 edition, I have, however, taken variants from the first edition only in each series, since subsequent reimpressions are substantially the same.

Finally a few precisions upon the rules which I have adopted: I have indicated all variants except those which are purely a question of spelling[2]. I have retained the orthography of the manuscript or edition which I have used for my text[3]. I have, however, introduced certain modifications: I have resolved all abbreviations and ligatures, with the exception of the ampersand, and I have introduced the apostrophe (l'on for lon)[4], while retaining de, se, que, even

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1. Cf. supra, p.147.
2. For variants of the Rochethulon manuscript, which I have been unable to consult, I have relied upon Blanchemain's edition of the works of Mellin de Saint-Gelays.
   For variants from manuscripts I have indicated folio numbers, with the exception of variants from the unfoliated Berlin manuscript.
3. In texts taken from manuscripts, I have, however, introduced capital letters where modern usage requires it.
4. This modification frequently necessitates a change in the capital letter, l'Amour for Lamour.

where they elide; I have placed cedillas where modern usage requires them, and distinguished between i and j, u and v; I have accentuated the final é, as well as the preposition à, and the adverbs où, là; I have followed modern rules of punctuation.

I have not, however, introduced these modifications in variants.[1]

For titles I have given the title of the piece as it is found in the text which I have used. For the Epistre d'une Navigation, and the Blason de la Main, which in the Soissons ms.200 have no title, I have, however, given the titles by which these pieces are generally known.

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1. Where the variants of several texts are identical save for purely orthographical differences, I have not reproduced all the variants: in each case, I have given the spelling of the manuscript or "recueil" which is indicated by the first of the accompanying sigla. For example, in the Huitain, "Je ne sçay pas si l'on pourroyt actaindre" (p. 335), the sixth line reads in the Soissons manuscript, "Qu'elle par mort me fust du tout ostée". The B.N. ms.fr.2334 gives the reading, "Qu'elle me feust du tout par mort ostée", the Rochethulon manuscript, the reading, "Qu'elle me fust du tout par mort ostee". I have consequently given the variant as: j s, "Quelle me feust du tout par mort ostee", reproducing the spelling of j (B.N. ms.fr.2334).

SIGLA

Bibliothèque de la Ville de Soissons, ms. 200	a
Bibliothèque de la Ville de Soissons, ms. 200, later emendations	a (i)
Bibliothèque de Soissons, ms. 201	b
Bibliothèque de Soissons, ms. 202	c
Bibliothèque de Soissons, ms. 203	d
Musée Condé, ms. 523	e
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms.fr. 842	f
Bibliothèque Nationale, ms.fr. 883	g
Bibliothèque Nationale, ms.fr. 885	h
Bibliothèque Nationale, ms.fr. 1667	i
Bibliothèque Nationale, ms.fr. 2334	j
Bibliothèque Nationale, ms.fr. 2335	k
Bibliothèque Nationale, ms.fr. 2372	l
Bibliothèque Nationale, ms.fr. 4967	m
Bibliothèque Nationale, ms.fr. 12489	n
Bibliothèque Nationale, ms.fr. 20025	o
Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. 477 nouv. acq. fr.	p
Bibliothèque Nationale, Rothschild 2964	q
Bibliothèque Nationale, Rothschild 2965	r
Rochethulon manuscript, (Blanchemain III)	s
Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, ms. 78 C 10 (Hamilton 264)	t
Vitraux, Chantilly	V C

Hecatomphile. De vulgaire Italien tourné en langaige Françoys. Les Fleurs de Poesie Françoyse.
Paris, Galliot du Pré, 1534 A

Hecatomphile... [Paris, 1536][1] B

Hecatomphile... s.l. 1537 C

Hecatomphile... Paris, Pierre Sergent, 1539 D

S'ensuivent les blasons anatomiques du corps femenin, ensemble les contreblasons de nouveau composez, et additionez, avec les figures, le tout mis par ordre: composez par plusieurs poetes contemporains. Avec la table desdictz Blasons et contreblasons.
Paris, pour Charles Langelier, 1543 E

La Fleur de poésie françoyse recueil joyeulx contenant plusieurs huictains, Dixains, Quatrains, Chansons et aultres dictez de diverses matieres, mis en nottes musicales par plusieurs autheurs, et reduictz en ce petit livre.
Paris, Alain Lotrian, 1542 (or 1543) F

Recueil de vraye Poesie Françoyse, prinse de plusieurs Poetes, les plus excellentz de ce regne.
Paris, Denys Janot, 1544 G

La Fable du Faux Cuyder Contenant l'Histoire des Nymphes de Diane transmuées en Saules...
Lyon, Jean de Tournes, 1547 H

Recueil de tout soulas et plaisir pour resjouir et passer temps Aux amoureux comme Espistres, Rondeaux Ballades, Epigrammes, Dixains, Huistains nouvellement composé
Paris, Jean Bonfons, 1552 I

Traductions de Latin en Françoys, Imitations et Inventions nouvelles, tant de Clement Marot que d'autres des plus excellens Poetes de ce temps
Paris, Estienne Groulleau, 1554 J

La Recreation et passetemps des tristes, pour resjouyr les melancoliques, lire choses plaisantes, traictans de l'art de poesie.
Paris, Pierre L'Huillier, 1573 K

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1. On this edition, cf. supra, p. 216

L'Amour de Cupido et de Psiché mere de Volupté, prinse des cinq & sixiesme livres de la Metamorphose de Lucius Apuleius Philosophe. Nouvellement historiée & exposée, tant en vers Italiens, que François.
Paris, Jeanne de Marnef, 1546 L

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III Historical works.

IV Literary criticism, bibliographical works, etc.

V Other works.

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THE PERSONAL POETRY OF CLAUDE CHAPPUYS

I.

f.57. Epistre d'une Navigation.

Quant vous[1] aurez congneu la main en ceste espitre
Du pouvre malheureux qui l'envoye sans tiltre,[2]
Je crains que, l'estimant indigne d'estre leue,
Soubdain la condempnez avant que l'avoir veue;
Et que trop clerement, par rejecter son oeuvre,
La hayne que portez à l'autheur se descoeuvre.
Mais s'il vous plaist ung peu de pres considerer
La cause qui me faict maintenant ingerer
De vous ramentevoir celluy qui en absence
Ne peult n'estre oublié, veu qu'il l'est en presence,
Assez pourrez juger que ne pretends par lectre
Au chemyn de doulceur et pitié vous remectre,
f.57v. Saichant qu'elle est en vous pour moy du tout estaincte,

---

Composed: October, 1534.

Text: a, with the exception of the title and certain errors, for which I have substituted the readings of a(i), e or p.

Variants: a(i), e(f.127), p.(f.139).

Title. e) omitted, a p.
2. e envoya e p pour rejecter

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1. We do not know to whom this epistle is addressed.

2. The epistle has no title in the Soisson ms., or in the B.N.ms.477. n.acq.fr. It is only in the M.C.ms.523 that it bears the title Epistre d'une Navigation.

Et que oreilles n'avez pour oyr ma complaincte.
Cela est ja prouvé par tant d'effectz divers
Qu'il seroit superflu le coucher en mes vers;
Aussi n'ay je entreprins fors mes maulx vous depaindre,
Combien que je ne puisse en descripre le moindre,[1]
Mais pour ce qu'en mon dueil prenez tousjours plaisir,
Affin de vous complaire, ay bien voulu choisir
Le temps, l'occasion, la matiere et propoz,
Propre à vostre desir, contraire à mon repos.
Si vous raconteray au vray le navigaige,
Dont le seul souvenir faict changer de visaige,
Et non de volunté, car le ciel et la mer
Plustost s'asembleront q'une autre puisse aymer.[2]

---

17 e nay entreprins 19 e p tousjours prenez plaisir
24 p le visaige

---

1. On the rhyme depaindre - moindre, cf. supra, p.140 n.2
Cf. also, the rhyme moindre - plaindre, ll.149-150.

2. Cf. Bertrand de la BORDERIE, Discours du Voyage de Constantinople...
Lyon, Thibault Payen, 1549, f.3v°.

"Car pour tromper (amye) les ennuys
Que j'ay au cueur, & les jours, & les nuictz,
Je n'ay moyen fors escrire en la carte
Les lieux loingtains, où de vous je m'escarte,
Pour vous donner entendre le discours
De mon voyage, allant droict où prens cours
Soleil levant..."

Or, pour entrer en jeu, entendez que le vent
A son gré me gouverne en la mer de Levant;
Et m'en voys de droict fil, aumoyns si je rachappe,
A la Saincte Cité veoir faire ung nouveau pappe;
J'entends si, comme on dict, Clement est à son but
Et desja de nature a payé le tribut.[1]
Sept cardinaux françoys[2] y envoye le roy,
Qui vers le Siege Sainct, vers l'Esglise et la Foy,

---

28 p me pourmene 29 de droit e p) le droict a
31 son but e p) sa but a

---

1. Pope Clement VII had been ill for some months. Cf. PASTOR, History of the Popes, London, 1891-1933, vol.X, pp.322 et seq.

   He was taken ill in June 1534. Cf. GUICCIARDINI, Op. ined. 297, and A.M. PAPAZZONI's letter of June 20th, 1534. (State Archives, Bologna), cit. PASTOR, loc.cit. At the beginning of July he seems to have recovered, cf. F. PEREGRINO's letter of July 6th, 1534, cit. PASTOR, X, App. no.36; but he later had a relapse and was reported dead, cf. Letter from the Bishop of MACON, B.N.ms.fr.2968, f.86. On 18th August he had a renewed attack, and became so ill that on 24th August he received the extreme unction, but rallied yet again. He died on September 25th; Cf. notes to ll.218 and 244.

2. The seven French cardinals were: Bourbon, Lorraine, Tournon, Le Veneur, Givry, Boulogne, and Chastillon; cf. infra, ll.37-52.

   An eighth French cardinal, François-Guillaume, Cardinal de Clermont, papal legate at Avignon and in the provinces of Vienne and Embrun, did not travel to Rome with the other French cardinals. He did not arrive in Rome until 21st October and so was not present at the Conclave for the election of the new Pope. Cf. Lodovico SERGARDI, Letter from Rome, 23rd October, State Archives, Sienna, cit. PASTOR, op.cit. XI, p.7.

Tousjours tel s'est monstré que merite le lieu

Qu'il tient par ordonnance et volonté de dieu.

Entre iceulx est Bourbon,[1] duquel la grand noblesse

A chascun est congneue, et non moins la saigesse.

Lorreine[2] y est aussi, par tout tant renommé

---

39 p par tout renomme

---

1. Le Cardinal Louis de Bourbon; Archbishop of Sens; Bishop of Laon and Mans; ~~Curator of the Duke of Vendôme~~.

   Cf. CHAPPUYS, Discours de la Court, ll.1039-1041:

   "Le Cardinal de Bourbon en saigesse
   Correspondant à sa haulte noblesse,
   Louer ne puis tant qu'il a merité."

2. Jean de Lorraine was the third son of René II, Duke of Lorraine; he was born in 1498 and died in 1550; he was Archbishop of Narbonne, Lyon and Reims, Bishop of Agen, Metz, Nantes, Thérouanne, Toul and Verdun.

   Cf. COLLIGNON, A., Le Mécénat du Cardinal Jean de Lorraine, (1498-1550) (Annales de l'est, 24e année, no.2) Paris - Nancy, 1910.

   The Cardinal de Lorraine was one of the leading figures of François I's reign, and was charged with many diplomatic missions on behalf of the King.

   Chappuys mentions him, alone of the French Cardinals, in the Panegyrique, ll.309-310, and the Complaincte de Mars, ll.53-55, and in the Discours de la Court he places him at the head of the list of cardinals, (ll.1028-1038):

   Si fauldra-il en fin franchir le sault
   Et commencer (c'est chose bien certaine)
   Au prince grand Cardinal de Lorraine:
   Lequel j'estime estre la vraye Idée
   De la faveur par grande vertu guidée:
   Ayant du Roy qui congnoit sa bonté
   Non seullement credit mais privaulté
   Telle qu'avoit Achates à Aenée.
   O prince heureux, ô personne bien née,
   Qui vous pourra celebrer dignement
   Vous surpassez trop mon entendement.

   For the role of the Cardinal de Lorraine during the Conclave of 1534, cf. ll.956-972.

Que pour bien le louer suffist l'avoir nommé.

Tournon,[1] semblablement, de sçavoir et vertu,

Ainsi que son hault bruict declaire, revestu;

Et ne veult de ce nombre estre hors Le Veneur,[2]

Qui a chassé tout vice, et en a prins honneur.

Givry[3] et de Boulongne[4] y sont pareillement

---

1. François de Tournon was born in 1489, and died in 1562. He was Archbishop of Auch, and of Embrun, and was created Cardinal in 1529.

   On the Cardinal de Tournon, cf. M. FRANÇOIS, Le Cardinal de Tournon, homme d'état diplomate, mécène et humaniste, Paris, Boccard, 1951. Cf. also CHAPPUYS, Discours de la Court, ll.1042-1046:

   "Quel temps, quelle aage, & quelle antiquité
   Pourra jamais abollir le renom
   De l'excellent Cardinal de Tournon,
   Qui maintenant par sur tous se descoeuvre
   Parfaict ouvrier à manier grand oeuvre."

   For the role of the Cardinal de Tournon in the Conclave of 1534, cf. n. to l.356.

2. Jean Le Veneur, Abbot of Bec, Bishop of Lisieux; "grand aumônier du roi". cf. Cat. des Actes, I, 583, 3063, etc. He was nominated Cardinal in the Consistory held at Marseilles on 7th November 1533, during Pope Clement VII's visit to Marseilles.

   Cf. DU BELLAY, Mémoires, ed. Bourrilly and Vindry, Paris, 1908-1919, v.II, p.230, n.4. PASTOR, op.cit. X. p.233.
   The Cardinal Le Veneur died in 1543.

3. Claude de Longwy, Cardinal de Givry, Bishop of Macôn, Langres and Amiens, cf. Cat. des Actes, III, 53, 7711, etc. He was nominated Cardinal on 7th November 1533, cf. DU BELLAY, Mémoires, loc.cit.
   Cf. also CHAPPUYS, Discours de la Court, ll.1052-1053:

   "N'on (sic) pas receu & Gyvry & Meudon
   Des vertueux, telz qu'ilz sont, le guerdon?"

4. The Cardinal de Boulogne, Philippe de Seyssel-la-Chambre, was the son of Louis de Seyssel-la-Chambre and of Anne de la Tour-d'Auvergne-Boulogne, widow of Alexandre Stuart d'Albany, and mother of Jean Stuart d'Albany, cf. DU BELLAY, Mémoires, loc.cit. Philippe de la Chambre was Bishop of Belley (1530) ~~and of Fraccati~~, cf. Cat.des Actes, III, 267, 8950, etc. He was publicly declared Cardinal at a Consistory held at Marseilles on 7th November 1533, cf. DU BELLAY, Mémoires, loc.cit. He died in Feb. 1550. On the Cardinal de Boulogne, cf. CHAPPUYS, Discours de la Court, ll.1063-1064: "Boulloigne aussi avecques Lenoncourt
   Peu estymez ne sont en ceste court."

Estymez en tous lieux et louez grandement:
Givry qui, allyé d'un admyral de France,[1]
L'admiral, admirable en vertus et prudence,
N'est seullement venu à ceste dignité
Par le credit d'amys, mais l'ayant merité;[2]

46-47 Estymez en tous lieux et louez grandement
Givry qui allye dun admyral de France a(i)) omitted a
47 p Givry quest allye dun admiral de France 47-50 omitted e

---

1. The niece of the Cardinal de Givry, Françoise de Longwy, was the wife of Philippe Chabot, seigneur d'Apremont & de Brion, comte de Buzançais & de Charny, baron de Pagny; chevalier de l'ordre; Admiral of France, and Governor of Burgundy, cf. Cat. des Actes, I, 500, 2367, etc. Cf. Cat. des Actes, VI, 58, 19199, dated 30th May 1527:
"Mandement à Pierre d'Apestigny, tresorier de France, de payer 26500 livres tournois à Philippe Chabot, seigneur de Brion, ...; dont ... 10,000, premier quart de 40,000 livres tournois que le roi, present à son mariage avec Françoise de Longwy, lui a promises pour payer les dettes de feu Jean de Longwy ... pere de Françoise..."
Chappuys celebrates the beauty of Françoise de Longwy in the huitain, "Je ne veulx pas blasmer les amoureulx", cf. infra, p.351

2. The omission from the M.C.ms.523 of the lines in praise of the Admiral Chabot (ll.47-50), would suggest that the manuscript may have been copied between 1540 and 1542, during the period of the Admiral's disgrace. In 1540, when Chabot was at the height of his power, Montmorency and the Chancellor, Poyet, engineered his disgrace, (cf. LAVISSE, V, (ii), p.100 et seq.), and early in the following year he was deprived of his offices (cf. Cat. des Actes, IV, 180, 11827). His disgrace was shortlived, however, and he was reinstated in office by Letters Patent of the 23rd May 1542 (cf. Cat. des Actes, IV, 325, 12527).

Et ne fault oublier Chastillon,[1] jeune d'aage,
Mais si vieil en sçavoir, si prudent et si saige,
Qu'il promect tant de soy q'un jour il pourra estre
Successeur du credict de son oncle, grant maistre,[2]
Ainsi que des vertus il est imitateur.
Or ilz s'en vont à Rome,[3] et Dieu leur doinct cest heur
De faire ellection d'un chief qui, par effectz

---

56 ilz a(i) e p) il a doinct cest heur a(i) e p) doinct heur a

---

1. Odet de Coligny was born on 10th July 1517, cf. MARCKS, Gaspard de Coligny, Stuttgart, 1892, p.5. He was the eldest son of Gaspard de Coligny, seigneur de Coligny & de Châtillon-sur-Loing, maréchal de France (cf. Cat. des Actes, I, 95, 562, etc.), and of Louise de Montmorency, sister of Anne de Montmorency, Grand-Maître, and later Connétable, of France. Odet de Coligny entered Holy Orders at the instigation of his uncle Montmorency, who bestowed upon him the Abbey of Saint-Euverte in October 1531, cf. DECRUE, Anne de Montmorency, grand maître et connétable de France, à la cour, aux armées et au conseil du roi François Ier; Paris, 1885, p.168. At the age of sixteen he was nominated Cardinal at the Consistory held at Marseilles, on 7th November 1533; cf. DU BELLAY, Mémoires, loc.cit. He died in 1571. Cf. CHAPPUYS, on the Cardinal de Chastillon, Discours de la Court, ll.1065-1066:
"Et j'ose bien dire que Chastillon
De la vertu ha grand eschantillon."

2. Anne de Montmorency, Grand-Maître de France from 1526 and later Connétable de France; cf. n. to l.51.

3. The French Cardinals sailed from Marseilles; cf. Cat. des Actes, II, 759, 7428.
The French party arrived in Rome on 5th October, cf. n. to l.286. As they had spent "vingt et quatre jours en galere", (cf. CHAPPUYS to Jean du Bellay, Rome, 7th October 1534; B.N. Dupuy 264, ff.183-184), and would have taken one or two days to travel to Rome by land from Civita Vecchia, we may assume that they left Marseilles on the 9th or 10th of September.

Dignes d'un si hault lieu, puisse porter le faiz,
En sorte que l'eglise à demy ruynée
Soit à son vray estat reduicte et ramenée.
L'admiral de Levant,[1] gouverneur de Prouvence,
Le conte que vertus aux dignitéz advence,
Pour les conduire a mis vingt galleres au vent,[2]
Qui mesmes à Neptune ont faict peur bien souvent,

---

62 omitted e 64 peur a(i) e) pour a p

---

1. Claude de Savoie, comte de Tende & de Villars, eldest son of René, Bâtard de Savoie, and of Anne Lascaris, born in 1507, died in 1566. Cf. DU BELLAY, Mémoires, II, p.19.
   The offices of Grand Seneschal and Governor of Provence, and Admiral of the Levant, were conferred upon him by an Act of François I, dated 3rd July 1520. Cf. Cat. des Actes, V, 504, 17270; V, 513, 17314; VII, 89, 23654.
   By letters of 10th August 1534, Claude de Savoie received the command of the "armée de mer" and the galleys which were to transport the French Cardinals to Rome for the election of the new pope. Cf. Cat. des Actes, VIII, 639, 32591. For this service he received the sum of 8,000 livres tournois. Cf. Cat. des Actes, II, 759, 7428.
2. Cf. Chappuys' Letter to Jean du Bellay, B.N. Dupuy, 264, ff.183-184:
   "Monseigneur, je ne vous diray aultre chose du marinaige de mes dictz seigneurs les cardinaulx..., si ne me sçauroys je garder de vous faire la feste du bon equipaige de quoy l'armée du Roy est maintenant suz ceste mer de Levant, vous asseurant, Monseigneur, que quant elle faict voyle il y a bien garde le hurt pour ceulx qui vouldroient assaillir une telle puissance."
   Cf. also, ll.237-243.

f.58v. Tant s'en fault que puissions craindre en rien Barberosse,[1]
Qui s'en est enfuy, craignant d'avoir la trousse.
Quant aux plages & pors et captz, où suis venu,
Compte ne vous rendray du tout par le menu;
Car je seroys trop long, et pour y satisfaire
Ung livre me fauldroit, non une espitre, faire.
Bien verrez vous icy, comme en table pourtraicte,
Le principal descours de toute nostre traicte,
Protestant de ma part, o seulle et chere amye,
Qu'aymerois mieulx passer les desers de Lybie,
Que demourer une heure en lieu si peu feable,
Et qui est, sans mentir, plus que vous variable,

---

65 puissions e p) puissons a 70 non une espitre a(i) e p) non espitre a 75 p au lieu

---

1. For an account of the rise to power of the two famous corsair brothers, Aroudj and Khair-Eddyn Barbarossa, cf. Ch. de LA RONCIERE, Histoire de la Marine française, Paris, 1899, etc., III, pp.142 et seq.
On the death of his brother Aroudj in 1518, Khair-Eddyn assumed the sovereignty of Algiers.
In 1533, the Sultan Soliman II named him "capoudan-pacha", or Admiral, of his fleet. Cf. E. CHARRIERE, Négociations de la France dans le Levant, (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, série I), Paris, 1848-1860, I, p.245.

2. ~~On the assonance -osse - -ousse, cf. CHATELAIN, Recherches sur le vers français au XVe siècle, p.19.~~

Plus que vous, j'ose dire, et ne sçay par raison
A la mer inconstante autre comparaison;
Non qu'endroict moy soyez à changer adonnée -
Plus tost nommer vous fault à me nuire obstinée.
Mais pour venir au poinct, icy suis en gallere,
Non poinct forçat du tout, ny du tout voluntaire:
Forsat quant au respect du mal qu'il fault avoir,
Et vouluntaire aussi à raison du debvoir;[1]
Mais vouluntaire ou non, croyez que suis icy
Où la mer n'a de moy, non plus que vous, mercy,
Et où de mes ennuyctz vous mesme auriez pitié,
f.59. Feussiez vous plus cruelle encores de moictié.
Ha! le grec et marin, le besche et le siroc,

---

80 nuire e p) nuye a 82 du tout voluntaire a(i) e p) du voluntaire a
83 quil fault e p) qui a 87 p Ot ou de mes enuyz
89 e la resche et le sure p la besche et le sine

---

1. Cf. LA BORDERIE, Discours... f.21:

"Chascun d'eulx (forçats) est nommé serf, & forsaire:
Serf non forsé je suis, mais voluntaire..."

It is, however, the cruelty of La Borderie's mistress which enslaves him, and not the call of duty.

But cf. Epistre d'une Navigation, ll.290-296, and note.

Menassant du danger d'investir quelque roc;[1]
Et verriez le patron, le pilot et comite,
Et l'argousin, aussi, plus piteulx q'ung hermicte,
Les nochiers et prouyers, mesmes le cappitaine,
Courant par la coursye, est quasi hors d'alayne;
Le gager, promptement descendu de la gatte,
Pour s'en aller à bort demende une fregatte;
Ung autre prent la borde; et l'autre, l'artymon;
L'autre veult le trinquet, l'autre prend le timon;
Et l'autre en ung esquif plus mort que vif s'aposte,
Pour surgir hors du port et pour mectre la poste;

---

90 e p menassent au dangier dinvestir la ruyne 91 e et verrez
98 e p et lautre le thimon

---

1. Cf. Rabelais' description of the storm at sea, Quart Livre, Chapters XVIII-XXII; and LA BORDERIE, Discours... f.10:

"Où est le cueur plein d'asseurance forte,
Voyant ces cas, qui ne se desconforte?
Et qui n'espere en noyse tant haultaine
Plus tost la fin que la vie certaine?...
Plus du bastard on ne fait voile à mont,
Ny de la bourde, & moins de l'artimont.
Le seul trion en carré mensuré,
Est plus au vent constant, & asseuré.
Dangereux est navigage de l'hoste:
Et que Galere aupres d'elle s'accoste,
Chascun s'escarte à la mercy du vent,
Regnant Siroc le prochain du levant:
Lequel ayant la grand force brisée
Des autres ventz, & la mer maistrisée
Nous conduisoit vacabons & errans
Où sa fureur avoit gaigné les rangs."

Puys l'autre courroussé, en lieu de bastonnade,
Meurtrist toute la churme, a grans coups d'anguillade,
Et va de proue en pouppe, et dict: "Hysse à l'entene!"
Puis crye à haulte voix, soubdain qu'on la rameyne;
Car la marette est grosse, et, à ce que j'entends,
Le plus asseuré d'eulx crainct fortune de temps.
Brief, icy je n'en voy ung seul qui ne blesmisse,
Ny cardinal si rouge aussi, qui ne palisse;
Mais ce n'est pas le pis! Ceste derniere nuyct,
A la plage Frejust, entendismes le bruict
f.59v. Q'une gallere l'autre investit tellement
Que l'esperon rompit, et lors pensez commant
Chascun parloit à Dieu, à sa mere, et aux sainctz;[1]
Ilz pensoient tous mourir, combien qu'ilz feussent sains;
L'un du corps rien n'espere, et, songneux de son ame,
Invocque à haulte voix, pour secours, Nostre Dame

---

102 churme a(i) e p) chair a 104 p quon le ramene
107 Brief icy je nen voy ung seul a(i)) brief je nen ung seul a
brief icy je ne voy ung seul e p
ne blesmisse a(i)) ne blamisse a nen blesmisse e p
110 Frejust a(i) e p) Fre?est a lll p inventist

---

1. Chappuys' description is inspired partly by ERASMUS' Naufragium, cf. Les Colloques d'Erasme translated by V. Develay, Paris, 1875, p.247 et seq.
"C'était un triste spectacle. Les matelots chantaient le Salve Regina; ils imploraient la Vierge mère, l'appelaient l'Étoile de la mer, la Reine du Ciel..."

Du Puy,[1] et de Laurette,[2] et d'autres qu'il n'a veues,

Qui sont à ung chascun par miracles congneues;

L'un se voue à Sainct Claude,[3] et ung autre à Sainct Pierre,[4]

---

119 autre a(i) e p) original word illegible a, e et lautre a sainct pierre

---

1. The origin of the cult of Notre Dame du Puy is lost in antiquity, but it is certain that from well before 1,000 A.D. the Church of Notre Dame du Puy had drawn large numbers of pilgrims.

   On the history of the Church of Notre Dame du Puy, cf. Gallia Christiana, II, p. 685 et seq.

2. The Italian town of Loreto was famed for its church of the Madonna, containing the Santa Casa, the Holy House of the Virgin Mary. According to legend, the Santa Casa had been transported from Nazareth by angels, first to Dalmatia and then to the coast of Italy. The Church of the Madonna had been established on the site.

   The cult of "Notre Dame de Lorette" was widely celebrated in France in the sixteenth century. Cf. RABELAIS, Gargantua, ch.XXVII:

   "Les uns cryoient: Saincte Barbe! les aultres:
   Sainct George! les aultres: Saincte Nytouche!
   les aultres: Nostre Dame de Cunault! de Laurette!
   de Bonnes Nouvelles! de la Lenou! de Rivière! ..."

3. Saint Claud was a 7th Century Bishop of Besançon, renowned for his piety.

4. Cf. PANURGE in the Quart Livre, ch.XIX:

   "Sainct Michel d'Aure, sainct Nicolas..."

   and LA BORDERIE, Discours... f.12:

   "Tous mariniers commencent à crier
   Misericorde, & à genoux prier:
   L'un saincte Barbe, & l'autre sainct Anthoine,
   L'autre fait voeu, de s'aller rendre moyne,
   Incontinent qu'il aura repris terre,
   L'un son salut recommande à sainct Pierre.
   L'autre promet de donner à sainct Cyre
   Sa pesanteur, & quantité de cyre.
   Tous en effect faisoyent riches les sainctz,
   Mais qu'à bon port peussent arriver sains..."

Et tous n'ont poynt le ciel, mais demendent la terre;
L'un faict son testament,[1] et l'autre, mille veuz,
Qu'il ne sauroit parfaire, et oncque furent veuz;[2]
L'autre mauldict celluy qui jamais inventa
Gallyon ny gallere, et fuste en mer gecta;[3]
Et l'autre, à plat couché sur son estrapontin,
Parle tout à ung coup hebrieu, grec, et latin,
Et dict, rendant sa gorge, "Helas, je voys mourir,
Et nul de mes amys ne me vient secourir."
L'autre pert le menger, et toute contenence,
Et l'espoir de jamais s'en retourner en France;

---

121 p et mille veux 126 e p en ung coup
130 sen retourner e p) retourner a a(i) veoir la france

---

1. Cf. RABELAIS, Quart Livre, ch.XXI,... Brief Discours sus testamens faictz sus mer:
   "Faire testament (dist Epistemon) à ceste heure qu'il nous convient évertuer et secourir nostre chorme sus poine de faire naufraige, me semble acte autant importun et mal à propous... De quoy vous servira icy faire testament? Car, ou nous evadons ce dangier, ou nous serons nayéz. Si nous evadons, il nous servira de rien. Testamens ne sont valables ne auctoriséz, sinon par mort des testateurs. Si sommes nayéz, ne nayera-il pas comme nous? Qui le portera aux exécuteurs?..."
2. The rhyme: veuz (= voeux) - veuz (= vus) is unusual at the period; the same rhyme is found, however, in the works of Guillaume CRETIN (Oeuvres poétiques, ed. Chesney, Paris, [1932], p.128, Debat entre Deux Dames, ll.903-904:
   "Pour voz plaisirs, mes dames, je faitz veu
   A tous les sainctz, que jamais ne fut veu."
   On the spelling veuz for voeux, cf. supra, p.140 n.2
3 The theme is commonplace in Antiquity, cf. HORACE, Carmina, I, 3, 9-12.

Quant à moy, quelque mal qui me puisse advenir,
De rien, sinon de vous, ne me peult souvenir;
A vous seulle, me voue, en vous seulle, j'espoire,
Apres mon long travail, recompensce prospere -
f.60 Recompense, je dy, digne de mon bon heur,
Conforme à mon devoir, sortable à vostre honneur,
Et s'ainsi ne m'advient, moins n'en seray louable,
Et vous en serez plus envers moy redevable;
Car il est de tous poinctz conclud et arresté
Que ne seray jamais autre que j'ay esté;
Et de tous les ennuyctz que m'avez faict sentir,
Non seullement ne suis prest à m'en repentir,
Ains ay deliberay d'endurer tellement
Que plus tost cesserez de me donner tourment,
Que moy de vous aymer, estant sur, pour le moyns,
De ne perdre ma cause à faulte de tesmoings;
Car mon mal en faict foy, qui pire ne peult estre,
Et peult tourner en bien, si le voulez congnoistre;
Mais j'ay ce grant malheur, et ung autre non moindre,

---

131 e que me puisse
136 p conforma a vostre honneur
138 e p endroit moy
142 men repentir e p) me ressentir a
146 p que ne perdray

Que contrainct suis souffrir beaucop, et peu me plaindre,[1]
Comme ung vray malheureux; non tant pour n'estre aimé,
Que d'estre pour aymer de s'amye blasmé.
Las, je praticque assez, et à l'oeil appersoy
Qu'amour est coup mortel, quant il est plain de foy,
Et trouve en lieu de fleur une poignante espine
Dont voz grandes beaultéz ont planté la racine;
Car ce qui sert par tout aux autres, me destruict,
Et ce que j'ay semé, est demouré sans fruict.
f.60v. O mon sort trop cruel! O pouvre ame affligée!
O temps mal colloqué! O ma vie abregée!
O mauldicte fortune! O liberté perdue,
Qui pour avoir congé, ne m'a esté rendue!
Mais pourquoy suis je entré maintenant en ces termes,
Qui desja de mes ieulx ont tant tiré de lermes,
Et sont hors du propoz dessus encommancé?
Douleur, douleur extresme, icy m'a advencé,
Et m'a faict, malgré moy, ouvrir la vielle playe,

---

158 jay seme a(i) e p) jayme a 159 e p o confort trop cruel
163 e p en ses termes 164 e de mes maulx ont tire tant
p de noz yeulx ont tire tant 165 p de propoz
166 e p douleur doulceur extresme

---

1. On the rhyme moindre - plaindre, cf. supra, p. 140 n. 2.

Qui d'autant moyns guerist, que plus guerir l'essaye,
Et pour ouvertement en parler sur ce pas,
Je ne sçay si je suis, ou si je ne suis pas,
Tant ay l'esprit troublé, et le cueur plain d'esmoy,
Qui peult tout en vous seulle, et ne peult rien en moy,
Fors gemir en secret, et pleurer mon martire,
Par tout assez congneu, et prouvé sans le dire.
Mais icy jugerez que forvoyé je suis
Hors mon premier chemyn, et que je ne poursuys
Les traictz du marinaige. Ha! si vous sçaviez bien
Quel y est maintenant nostre estat, et combien
Difficille est à moy par escript figurer
f.61. Les dangiers qu'il y fault moins craindre qu'endurer,
Certes vous ne vouldriez plus avant en sçavoir,
Et auriez peur d'oyr ce qui nous fache à veoir.
C'est ung piteulx spectacle, et où le plus hardy
Est trop plus estonné beaucop que je ne dy;
Car on n'a pas si tost ung peril evité,
Qu'on ne rencontre apres nouvelle adversité.

---

168 e que dautant 169 e p sur le pas 172 p ne peult rien moy
174 e prouve et congneu 178 e p quel il est 185 e p car lon

Au port de Villefranche, ung soir le feu se prist
Dedans une gallere,[1] et tellement surprist
Tous ceulx qui y estoient, qu'aucuns quasi moururent
De l'extresme fraieur et de la peur qu'ilz eurent;
Les autres promptement en la mer se gecterent,
Et fuyans ung dangier, autre dangier trouverent;
L'un crye apres l'allier, et dict en voix tremblante:
"Amenez cest esquif". L'autre la palemente,
Ainsy que s'il volloit, pour se sauver traverse,
Et de haste qu'il a, ses compaignons renverse;
La churme, qui fut pres du fougon atachée
Eust lors occasion d'estre bien empeschée;
Dont troys pouvres forsatz furent bruslez tous vifz,
Et par mort trop cruelle & estrange raviz -
Raviz et eslevez au ciel, puis qu'il fault croire
Que le ciel nous actend, apres le purgatoire,
Et ainsi appeller la gallere convient,

---

190 ilz eurent e p) il eurent a 193 a(i) a voix tremblante
195 p ainsi que sil voulloit pour le saulver 197 e que fut pres
200 e si cruelle - si an emendation in Saint Gelays' hand
croire e p) coyre a
202 apres le purgatoire a(i) e p) apres purgatoire a

---

1. I have been unable, unfortunately, to discover any further reference to this incident.

f.61v.
204 Qui seroit ung enfer, n'estoit qu'on en revient.
Quant au regard de Nyce, où nous estions passez
Ung jour auparavant, rien n'en dire est assez,
Fors qu'elle a oublié civil et droict canon,
208 Et n'a deigné tirer ung seul coup de canon,
Pour selon le devoir saluer ceste armée
Et bandyere du roy, par tout tant extimée.[1]
Au departir de là, en Vay, pres de Savonne,[2]
212 Trouvasmes et l'aiguade et la plage assez bonne.
Devant Gennes, apres de long, nous traversasmes;
Gennes nous salua, et nous la saluasmes.
Puis vinsmes à Ligorne, où doulx fut le sejour,
216 Et là courut ung bruict, qui dura plus d'un jour,

---

209 e ceste arivee (?) 214 e le saluasmes

---

1. It is evident that the French Cardinals bitterly resented this slight. Cf. Bishop of Aosta in a letter to the Duke of Savoy*, Rome, 12th October 1534, Archives of Turin, Corrispond. di Roma.(cit. PETRUCELLI, Histoire diplomatique des Conclaves, Paris, 1864-66, v.II, p.4.)
"Il est vrai que Mgr. de Bologne, frère de Mgr. de La Chambre, et Mgr. Duchesne, m'ont dit que tous les autres se plaignent du capitaine du château de Nice, qui, en passant, ne les salua pas, ce dont tout le monde s'étonne."
*Nice lay within the duchy of Savoy.

2. I have been unable to identify with any certainty "Vay pres de Savone". It is possible that it is the town of Vado, which lies some four miles South-west of Savona.

Que le sainct Pere avoit recouvert la sancté,
Quoy que jusque à la mort malade il eust esté;[1]
Et pour ce, on s'atendoit retourner à Marseille,
Qui me fist pour certain dresser l'oeil et l'oreille;
Car je n'auray jamais plaisir ny veulx avoir,
Fors celluy que prendray, malgré vous, à vous veoir;
Dont sçay combien à mes ieulx je suis obligé,
Qui ont le cueur triste tant de foys aleigé.
Mais pour continuer le propoz cy dessus:
Esperans prompt retour, nous feusmes tous deceuz;
f.62. Car alors que chascun revenoit de veoir Pise,
Pise des Florentins à tort ou droict conquise,[2]
La retraicte sonna, et pensions approucher
Jusque au port Hercules,[3] mais on ayma plus cher

---

220 dresser a(i) e p) ? a
223 dont scay combien a(i) e) dont je scay combien a p donc scay comme a(i) e p je suis a mes yeulx
224 a(i) e p triste cueur 230 p mais lon

---

1. Cf. n. to l.32, and PASTOR, op.cit. X, p.325. The Pope, who had received Extreme Unction on 24th August, rallied in early September.
2. In the last years of the fifteenth century and the early years of the sixteenth century Pisa had struggled valiantly against Florentine domination, but was forced finally to capitulate in 1509. On French relations with Pisa at the period, cf. LAVISSE, V (i), p.32, p.37 and p.55.
3. Porto Ercole, a small port on the Tyrrhenian coast, on the South side of the Monte Argentaria promontory.

Surgir au cap de Truye,[1] estant le vent si fort
Que pour luy resister ne valoit nul effort;
Et là, sans grant tourmente, une nuyt se passa;
Le lendemain apres, la mer se courroussa,
En sorte qu'il falut se mectre en seureté
Au port de Sainct Esteve,[2] où maincte adversité
En peu de temps survint, sans en cela comprandre
Que le Judée[3] estoit au guect, pour nous surprandre;
Mais ayant entendu qu'estions prestz à combatre,
Combien qu'il eust en mer des voyles vingt & quatre,
A fuyr le gaigna, et ne saichent mieulx faire,
Luy servit grandement le vent, à nous, contraire.

---

236 e sainct est ou - lacuna in manuscript
237 cela e p) sela a 240 p voilles vingt quatre
242 p qui servit

---

1. The Punta di Troia, lying to the South of Piombino.
2. Porto Santo Stefano on the North side of the Monte Argentaria promontory.
   Evidently the French fleet had hoped to round the Monte Argentaria headland to reach Porto Ercole, but was driven Northward to the Punta di Troia and then put into Porto Santo Stefano, still on the North side of the Monte Argentaria promontory.
3. I have been unable to discover who is meant by "le Judée". Is it yet another name for Barbarossa, or is it possibly a reference to Barbarossa's lieutenant, Sinan le Juif? Cf. Ch. de LA RONCIERE, op.cit. III, p.339.

Et le jour ensuyvant la nouvelle arriva
Que le pappe estoit mort,[1] qui noz cueurs fort greva,
Car nagueres au roy il s'estoit allié,
Et de grande amityé estroictement lyé;[2]
Ceste nouvelle doncq de partir nous hastoit,
Et la mer trop enflée ycy nous arrestoit,

---

1. Clement VII died on 25th September. Cf. PASTOR, op.cit. X.p.236.
Cf. also Letter from Henry VIII's envoy, Sir Gregory CASALE to Cromwell, R.O. S.P. VII, 1./86, 570; resumed GAIRDNE.., Letters and Papers, foreign and domestic of the reign of Henry VIII,... London, 1886, vol.VII, no.1185, and MARTINELLI: Diaria, B.M.add.mss.8446, ff.34v°-35, & 26809, f.3.:
"Die Veneris 25 septembris... quia Clemens Papa in illa nocte in extremis, et iam erat in agonia ita ut dubitaretur an missa et officium exequiarium finiri posset, fuit continuatum officium... dum essem in prandio supervenit clamor dum Clemens iam expirasset et paulo post R^mus. Card^lis de Farnesio misit pro me, ut ad eum subito accederem; a quo praecise intellexi, illum expirasse inter 17 horam et 18...";
and FIRMANI: Diaria, B.M.add.ms. 8447, f.9.

2. The death of Clement VII was a serious blow to France. The French alliance with the Pope had been secured at great cost of effort, and had culminated in the Pope's visit to Marseilles in October, 1533, for the marriage of his niece, Catherine de Medici, to Henri, duc d'Orleans, second son of François I; cf. l.318 and note. The alliance was now proved valueless and the French had little hope that the new Pope would be so favourably disposed towards them.
Cf. LAVISSE & RAMBAUD, Histoire générale..., Paris, 1893-1901, vol.V, ii; pp.76 et seq.

Où je ne veulx compter que vivres nous deffaillent;
Car plusieurs autres maulx trop plus griefz nous assaillent:
f.62v. Les vagues font ung bruict si treshault qu'il nous semble
Que toutes les forestz et montz tombent ensemble,
Et les alpes convient verrues extimer,
A la comparaison des undes de la mer
Dessus nous eslevée, en sorte que je croy
Que l'on pourroit toucher à la lune du doy;[1]
Et tant plus essayons l'autre cap enfoncer,
Tant plus avons le vent fort pour nous repousser
Contre lequel, debille est des forsatz la force,
Combien que chascun d'eulx à bien tirer s'efforce.

---

249 defaillent a(i) e p) ? a 250 assaillent a(i) e p) ? a
253 p verrures 254 p en la comparaison
258 e a nous repoulser

---

1. Chappuys' description is inspired in part by Erasmus' Naufragium, cf. Les Colloques d'Erasme, op.cit. I, p.244:

"Adolphe: ... Avez-vous jamais vu les Alpes?
Antoine: Oui.
Adolphe: Ces montagnes sont des verrues en comparaison des vagues de la mer. Chaque fois que nous montions, nous aurions pu toucher la lune du doigt..."

Cf. also, LA BORDERIE, Discours..., f.10:

"La mer qui fut pleine comme campagne,
Est ja reduicte en diverse montagne,
Jusques au ciel galeres sublimées,
En un instant semblent estre abysmées..."

La plume m'est quasi tumbée de la main
En pensant au danger où fut le lendemain
De noz gallaires l'une, Helaine surnommée;
Les ancres labouroient, et fallut que l'armée
Deslogeast sans trompecte. Hellas, quelle pityé
D'estre en lieu où ne peult rien servir amytié!
Nous voyons noz amis en peril de perir,
Et ung mesmes danger nous mesmes encourir,
Sans moyen de pouvoir leur octroyer secours,
Et sans pouvoir aussi vers eulx avoir recours.
O element barbare! O mer par trop amere
Où le filz ne pourroit aider sa propre mere!
L'ung de noz mariniers, expert et bien sçavant,
f.63. Pour ce que en luy n'estoit de maistriser le vent,
Soubdain en ung esquif se gecte à l'adventure,
Et devant noz yeulx print en l'eaue sa sepulture.
Brief, de tous les coustez, y a grande tourmente,
Et tout ce que voyons, la mort nous represente,
Qui nous faict oublier mille incommoditez,

---

262 au danger e) le danger a a(i) p du danger
264 ancres a(i) p) autres a e 266 e estre en lieu
267 e en danger 271 p o elemente barbare o mort par trop cruelle
278 p en tout

Et mille autres dangiers, que je n'ay recitez
Pour eviter longueur, vous priant au feu mectre,
Plus tost que vous facher de lire ceste lectre,
Que je ne veulx finir sans monstrer que j'endure
Beaucoup plus par effect, que par escript n'asseure.
Si esse que troys jours apres ceste tempeste,
A la Vielle Cité arrivons à grand feste,[1]
Estans en terre ferme, et hors de la gallere,
C'est à dire, en ung mot, hors de toute misere,
Où laissons maintz forsatz en grand poyne et esmoy,
Dont chascun a pityé, mais non tant que de moy,

---

282 e faschez lire 290 p dun chacun

---

1. The French Cardinals landed at Civita Vecchia and travelled thence by land to Rome, cf. CHAPPUYS, Rome, 7th October 1534, B.N. Dupuy, 264, ff.183-184.

"Monseigneur, apres que Messeigneurs les Cardinaulx ont demouré vingt et quatre jours en galere... ils arriverent lundy dernier en ceste ville, & vindrent au devant d'eulx messeigneurs les cardinaulx Trevolce, Pisan, Cibo et Gady, qui ont de leur costé faict tresbon office pour les monter tant de chevaulx que de muletz à venir de Civite Vesche jusques icy..."

The French Cardinals reached Rome on Monday, 5th October; cf. Ephem. in Cod. Vat. 6978:

"Oct. 5. Ingressi sunt Romam 7 cardinales Galli."

cit. PASTOR, op.cit. XI, p.7; and MARTINELLI, op.cit. B.M.add.ms.8446, f.43, & B.M.add.ms.26809, f.9:

"Eadem die (5a. octobris) fuit ab aurora usque ad noctem maxima pluvia, venerunt tamen, ea non obstante Rmi. Cardinales Galli... qui omnes hospitati sunt in Palatio in Belvedere, et in Campo Sancto in Domo Rmi. Cardlis. Sanctorum Quattuor."(Cardinal Pucci)

Qui seuffre beaucoup plus par amour qu'eulx par force,
Sentant que, de mon mal au leur, a longue torce;
Car ilz sont là pugniz à cause de leur vice,
Et je suis tourmenté d'avoir faict bon office.
Plus griefve est doncq beaucop ma payne à tort soufferte,
Que la pugnition qu'ilz ont, pour leur desserte.[1]
f.63v. Mais c'est pappier perdu de rien vous en escripre -
Vous n'en estes meilleure, et mon mal en est pire;
Parquoy veulx seullement poursuivre le voyaige.

---

291 e queulx trestous par force 295 p beaucoup a tort soufferte

---

1. Cf. LA BORDERIE, Discours..., f.20v.

"O sort inique, ò gens infortunez,
A tel labeur estans predestinez.
Or pense (amye) icy la grand' misere
De ces forsatz condamnez en galere:
Mais quant & quant vueilles penser aussi,
Que plus grand est mon mal que leur soulci:
D'autant que plus est fort, & vehement
De l'esprit, que du corps le torment.
Et si verrez par raison naturelle,
f.21. Si n'estes trop endurcye & cruelle,
Que plus dure est la mienne affliction,
Que n'est la leur serve condition.
Chascun d'eulx est nommé serf, & forsaire: (cf. l.84, note)
Serf non forsé je suis, mais voluntaire,
Bien que l'effort de vostre grand' beaulté,
M'ayt asservy soubz vostre cruaulté.
La liberté d'iceulx n'est asservie
Que pour un temps, la mienne pour la vie.
Ilz sont puniz pour leur grand demerite,
Je n'ay faict grande offence, ny pétite,
Dont peine doibve estre à moy recompense,
Si trop aymer vous n'appellez offense..."

Sy saurez qu'en la mer evitay le nauffrage,
Où je cuyday rencheoir deux ou troys jours apres,
Et pour dire le vray, j'en fuz à ung doy pres,
Et si pres qu'à mes piedz, à mon tresgrand regrect,
Ponnission, homme docte, & prudent, et discrect,
En passant ung torrant, devant nous se noya;[1]
Et croyez que chascun jusque au bout s'employa
Pour le tirer dehors; mais il ne fut possible;
Car la force de l'eaue en lieu inaccessible
Nous osta le moyen de l'aller secourir.
O quel ennuy ce fut d'ainsi le veoir mourir!
Et eust esté plus grand, sans l'esperance bonne,
Que sa fervente foy de son salut nous donne.
Si est l'esperit exempt de prison et tenebres,

---

300 e p sy scavez 305 p et passant 307 p mais il me fut possible
310 p a quel ennuy 311 p et eust plus grant

---

1. Cf. the account of Ponnission's* death, in Chappuys' Letter to Jean du Bellay:

"Le pouvre officiel de Tholose, Ponisson, tumba dedans l'ung desdictz torrens & le maistrisa la force de l'eaue en manyere qu'il ne fut jamais possible de le saulver, car elle le gecta en une fondryere inaccessible, où en moins d'ung demy quart d'heure il rendit l'esperit, que le corps trop debile & myné de maladyez ne peult retenir. Or il est quicte de ce que doibvent encores tous ceulx qui sont demourez apres luy..."

*On examining the mss., and in particular the autograph letter from Chappuys to Jean du Bellay, I have been led to believe that the name of the "officiel de Tholose" is "Ponisson", or "Ponnission" (Soissons, ms.200, f.63v.), and not "Promission" as given by L-P. Roche, Claude Chappuys, p.14, n.1. I have been unable to discover any information about Ponisson.

Et en Romme le corps reçoit pompes funebres,
Dont il est à bon droict en l'eglise honnoré,
Apres que toute nuyt en l'eau est demouré.
f.64. Or, en ce mesme temps, en grand magnifficence,
Du pappe, qu'avez veu dernierement en France,[1]
Les honneurs se faisoient, honneurs dignes de luy,[2]
Combien que des Rommains n'y ait quasi celluy
Qui de sa mort par tout ne chante et s'esjouysse,

---

316 e eust demeure p apres que toute mort en leaue
il eust este 320 p combien des romains
321 e seffouysse p se (?) jouysse

---

1. For an account of the meeting between Clement VII and François I at Marseilles in October 1533,
Cf. DU BELLAY, Mémoires, II pp.235-241,
SACCHI, Historia de Vitis Pontificum Romanorum ... usque ad Pium IIII. Venice, 1562. f.288v.
HAMY, Entrevue de François Ier. avec Clément VII à Marseille, 1533. Paris, 1900.
PASTOR, op.cit. X. pp.231-237.
LAVISSE, op.cit. V. II. pp.77-78.

2. On 25th September the body of Clement VII was laid in the "capella maiora" of the Vatican Palace, the Sistine Chapel. Cf. MARTINELLI, Diaria, B.M.add.ms. 8446, f.36; B.M.add.ms.26809, f.4; FIRMANI: Diaria, B.M.add.ms. 8447, f.9.
The following day, the "vigili(ae) et officium mortuorum" were celebrated, and on 2nd October the "exequiae" were begun in the Sistine Chapel, and were celebrated every morning until the Cardinals entered Conclave on the 11th October. Cf. MARTINELLI, op.cit. B.M.add.ms.8446, f.36 et seq.; B.M.add.ms.26809, f.6v° et seq.; FIRMANI, op.cit. B.M.add.ms. 8447, f.10 et seq.

Et qui d'un tel pasteur la vie ne mauldisse;[1]
Mais c'est peu qu'en maldire: il est si fort hay
Q'ung seul Françoys ne voy qui n'en soit esbahy,
Et croyable n'est pas le tour qu'ilz luy ont faict,
Tant il est inhumain, detestable, & infaict.
Mais le racompteray je: au millieu de Sainct Pierre
Ilz sont venuz lever le cercuil[2] et la pierre
Où avoit esté mis, et luy ont arraché
Les yeulx, couppé le nez, et ce qui est caché;
Puis ung brief epitapfe au dessus ont boutté

---

323 p mais ce cest peu
328 venuz lever le a(i) e p) venuz le a
e le tumbeau et la pierre (tumbeau inserted in lacuna)

---

1. There was great rejoicing in Rome at the death of Clement VII. Cf. PASTOR, op.cit. X, p.328; Sir Gregory CASALE to the Duke of Norfolk, Rome, 15th October 1534. R.O.S.P.I./86, p.45-7, and to Lord Rochford, Rome, 15th October 1534. S.P.I./86, pp.48-9; resumed GAIRDNER, op.cit. Vol.VII, nos. 1262 & 1263; PETRUCELLI, op.cit. II, p.8.

   Few of the sixteenth century Popes were popular in Rome, and the Romans did not hesitate to attack them vehemently! Anonymous lampoons, ridiculing them in the most vicious terms, were frequently attached to the mutilated statue of Pasquin. Cf. Du Bellay's sonnet, composed on the death of Jules III in 1555, Regrets, CIV, ed. Chamard, II, and collection of political Pasquinades, G. DICKINSON, Du Bellay in Rome, Leiden, 1960, Appendix

2. The spelling "cercuil" is unusual; the B.N. ms.477 n. acq.fr. gives "cercuel".

En ces termes: "Cy gist toute meschanceté".[1]

Veez là des tours de Romme! O cruelle fureur

Dont je croy que le diable a luy mesmes horreur!

Je dy, des tours de Romme, où domyne tout vice,

Le sainct siege vaccant, et faulte de police;[2]

f.64v. Car le plus fort est maistre, et n'y est plus saison

---

332 ces e p) ses a
333-335 contracted e Veez la des tours de Romme ou domine tout vice

---

1. Cf. PASTOR, op.cit. X. p.328, and Sir Gregory Casale to the Duke of Norfolk, Rome, 15th October, 1534, R.O., S.P.I/86, p.45-7; resumed GAIRDNER, op.cit. VII, 1262:

   "Duplex Romae gaudium est: ex huius (Paul III) electione et ex alterius (Clement VII) morte, quem omnes mortales acerbissimo odio prosequebantur, et mortuo etiam saepe noctu sepulchrum ferro petitum fuit. semel etiam dirutum, et cadaver gladio confossum, quod nisi respectus Cardinalis Medicis fuisset unco illud traxissent. tandem custodiam sepulchro apposuerunt...";

   and Sir Gregory Casale to Lord Rochford, Rome, 15th October, 1534, R.O. S.P.I./86, p.48-9; resumed GAIRDNER, op.cit. VII, 1263. The inscription on Clement VII's tomb had been altered from "Clementi VII, Pontifici Maximo, cuius invicta virtus sola clementia superata est", to "Inclementi VII, Pontifici Minimo, cuius victa virtus sola avaritia superata est".

2. Cf. CHAPPUYS, Letter to Jean du Bellay, loc.cit.

   "Quant aux nouvelles de deza, on y faict journellement à la mode accoustumée force meutres, pour ausquelz obvier en ceste trouble saison messeigneurs les cardinaulx de Bourbon et de Lorraine se sont myz en la saulvegarde & protection de Bellevedere, & le surplus de leur compaignye tient garnison en ce palais papal..."

   and SACCHI, op.cit. f.291:

   "... latronum, & sicarium audaciam, quae in provinciis, et Romae aegro pontifice, & per inter regnum eruperat..."

Que de tuer ou pere ou mere en trahison;
Et pour heureux se tient, qui de sa propre main
A faict quelque beau coup à l'usaige rommain;
Brief, il ne passe ung jour, sans quelque meurtre estrange;
Car sans pugnicion l'un de l'autre se venge;
Mesmes dedans l'eglise, on n'est en seureté;
Ung souldart devant moy navré y a esté,
D'ung coup qui tost apres luy a osté la vie.[1]
Quiconcques dont n'auroit du tout perdu l'envye
D'y venir en ce trouble, il auroit en pur don
Beaucoup plus tost gaigné le fouet que pardon!
Si est ce pour certain que ceste compaignie
De cardinaulx françoys de tous poincts ennoblye,
Pour une occasion si juste y est venue,

---

338 e p pere ou frere 339 p se tient que
341 p nest passe 347 pur e p) peur a
348 e gaigne fouet que le pardon
349 est ce pour certain a(i) e p) es se pour ? certain a

---

1. Cf. the incident described by MARTINELLI, op.cit. B.M.add.ms.8446, f.43v°, and B.M.add.ms.26809, f.9:
"Die mercuris 7 octobris et 6ª in exequiis celebravit R^mus. D. Card^lis. Sanctae Crucis (Cardinal Quiñones) ... fuit in Cappella quidam latrunculus qui abscidit bursam uni nobili, fuit retentus, cepit reclamare, et ita fortiter vociferari et plangere ut totam capellam perturbaverit, neque Macerii neque alii poterant eum eijcere, etiam in elevatione sacramenti omnia conturbata sunt, finito officio, omnes Cardinales in sacristia pro contione habenda de rebus publicis..."

352 Que la chrestienté au roy en est tenue,

Qui enhortez les a et priez d'entreprandre

Ung voyaige si long pour au devoir entendre,

Dont les semond le lieu qu'ilz tiennent en l'eglise;[1]

---

353 p puis dentreprendre

---

1. Although the French Cardinals could not hope to gain the election of one of their own number, because of Imperialist opposition, it was evident that their vote would carry considerable weight in the Conclave; François I had instructed them to give their support to an Italian who would favour France, or, failing that, to one who would not be openly hostile to France. They were first to support the candidature of the Cardinal Ridolfo Pio de Carpi, Bishop of Faenza, who had been papal legate in France from May to July of the preceding year; cf. Letter from the Cardinal de TOURNON to Jean du Bellay, Rome, 9th October 1534 (B.N. Dupuy, 263, f.38), in which he asks du Bellay to ask the King whether

   "il veult que nous facions en l'affaire de Mons. de Fayence ce qu'il nous a mandé par la depesche du XXVIIIe. de sept., puys que le pape est mort";

   cf. FRANÇOIS, M. Correspondance..., p.97, no.93; FRANÇOIS, M. Le Cardinal de Tournon..., p.120.

   According to Pietro GAZONE, Bishop of Aosta, the French Cardinals, if unsuccessful in their attempt to gain the election of the Cardinal Ridolfo, were to give their allegiance to the Cardinal Sanseverino, or, failing that, to the Bishop of Ivrea, Cardinal Ferrerio; cf. Letter from the Bishop of Aosta, Pietro GAZONE, to the Duke of Savoy, Rome, 10th October (Turin, Arch. di Stato, Lettere di ministri, Roma), cit. PETRUCELLI, op.cit. II, pp. 3 & 4.

   It would seem, however, that the French Cardinals must early have realised the impossibility of gaining the election of any of these candidates. As the Conclave drew nearer their choice of candidate remained a well-guarded secret, though it was known that they would exclude any Spaniard or German, or even any Italian favourable to the Emperor. Cf. PASTOR, op.cit. XI. p.8; Letter of Card. GONZAGA to the Duke of Mantua, Rome, 10th October 1534, Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua (placed incorrectly among the Briefs of 1550), Concept. Cod. Barb. lat.5788, ff.7-15, Bib. Vat.; cit. PASTOR, op.cit. XI, App.2.

Et la charge en cela principalle est commise
A celluy que plus pres de sa personne il tient,
Et que moins pour subgect, que pour amy, retient,
Amy, voire privé, et quant tel ne seroit,
Aultre qui digne en feust, poinct ne se trouveroit.
f.65. Mais nommer ne le fault, car c'est chose certaine,
Que cecy ne se peult dire que de Lorraine,[1]
Lorraine qui apres les obseques finies,
Estant acompaigné de graces infinies,
Qui le suyvent par tout, en congregation
De tous les cardinaulx, avant l'eslection,
Et avant qu'il feust temps dedans conclave entrer,
En oraison latyne est venu remonstrer
Choses tant à propoz avec telle eloquence,
Et telle majesté, et si grande asseurance,

---

356 en cela a(i) e p) de cela a 357 p celluy qui
360 p aultre que 369 e chose

---

1. The Cardinal de Lorraine was the acknowledged leader of the French delegation; cf. PASTOR, op.cit. XI, p.8; and Letter of the Bishop of Aosta, cit. PETRUCELLI, II, p.4. & FRANÇOIS, Le Card. de Tournon, p.120, n.2.

It would seem, however, that the Cardinal de Tournon conducted negotiations on behalf of the French party. Cf. Letter of the Bishop of Aosta: "vero è chel maneggio di le cose l'ha Tornon".

Qu'il fut non seulement ouy d'affection,

372 Mais les audicteurs mist en admiracion.[1]

Le dimenche ensuyvant en conclave on entra[2]

---

371 seulement a(i) e p) seul ? a

---

1. The Cardinal de Lorraine addressed the assembled Cardinals on the 7th October. Cf. Chappuys' letter to Jean du Bellay, loc.cit.:

"Aujourd'huy matin tout ce St.-College s'est assemblé dedans le revestiaire de Sainct-Pierre, apres la messe des obseques parachevée, & a myz en avant mondict seigneur le Cardinal de Lorraine ce qui sembloyt estre à proposer pour la necessité du temps où nous fusmez, & pour suyvre au plus pres l'intention du Roy. Il m'a presentement baillé le latin & le francoys de son oraison pour le vous envoyer cy-dedans..."

Cf. MARTINELLI, op.cit. B.M.add.ms.8446, f.43v°-44; B.M.add.ms.26809, f.9v°. The Cardinals felt some concern at the slowness of the preparations for the Conclave; they appointed three representatives "qui fabricam et tabulatum solicitarent et accellerarent", and agreed that money should be paid to Martinelli, as "magister caerimonium", "ad emendum necessariae pro usu communi conclavi". From Martinelli's account, it would seem that the Cardinal de Lorraine was largely responsible for these measures. Cf. MARTINELLI, loc.cit.:

"Eadem die et hora Rmus. dominus Cardinalis de Lorena donavit mihi et socio scudos triginta; ... ex sua camera porrexit mihi, sicut in capella tangendo mihi manum dixerat se ordinasse ut tot darentur mihi cui gratias egi".

2. The Cardinals entered the Conclave on Sunday, 11th October. There were thirty-five Cardinals present. Cf. PASTOR, op.cit. XI, p.6.

The weight of the support given to the Cardinal Farnese was evident. Though the French Cardinals' choice of candidate was not known, they were thought to favour the Cardinal Farnese. Cf. Sir Gregory Casale, to Cromwell, Rome, 12th October 1534, R.O. S.P.I./86, pp.37-39, resumed GAIRDNER, op.cit. VII, 1255. The letter was written while the Conclave was in progress:

"quum deinde animadverterem Pontificatum quotidie magis in Farnesium declinare: viderentque Galli quoque eodem descendere quamvis neque mihi, neque cuiquam suam mentem declararunt, antequam conclave occlusum foret..."

Où le sort fut si bon, et si bien rencontra,
Dictz je, le Sainct Esprit y vint de si bonne heure
Que, grace à dieu, n'y fut longue nostre demeure,
Et en moins de deux jours eusmes ung pape faict;[1]
De vous compter comment, besoing n'est en effect;
Car combien que soyez plaine de grand saigesse,

---

379 p plain

---

1. When the Cardinals first assembled on the morning of 12th October, the Cardinal Farnese addressed them, urging them to elect a new Pope speedily. In the afternoon, the Cardinal de Lorraine assembled the French Cardinals, and proposed Farnese as Pope. When the Italian Cardinals who supported the French had been informed of this, Lorraine went with the Cardinal de Medici to announce to Farnese his election. The following morning a formal scrutiny was held and the Cardinal Farnese was proclaimed Pope.

   For accounts of the Conclave, cf.:
   Cardinal GONZAGA's letter of 7th November, cit. PASTOR, op.cit. XI, App.4.; MARTINELLI, op.cit. Bibl.Vat., Vat.lat.6422, B.M.add.ms.8446, f.47 et seq.; B.M.add.ms.26809, f.11v° et seq.; & FIRMANI, op.cit. B.M.add.ms.8447, f.15v° et seq. published in J-B. GATTICO, Acta Selecta caeremonalia, Rome, 1753, Ia. p.325 et seq; SACCHI, op.cit. f.291; Sir Gregory CASALE to Cromwell, Rome, 12th October 1534, R.O. S.P.I./86, pp.37-39, resumed GAIRDNER, op.cit. VII, 1255; and to the Duke of Norfolk, Rome, 15th October 1534, R.O. S.P.I./86, pp.45-47, resumed GAIRDNER, op.cit. VII, 1262.
   N.B. I have accepted the account of the Conclave given by PASTOR, op.cit. XI, pp.12 et seq.; PETRUCELLI, op.cit. II, pp.7-8, maintains that the Cardinal de Lorraine formally opposed Farnese's nomination. For Pastor's authority, cf. op.cit. XI, p.13, note 4.

   Cf. also Du Bellay's sonnet, Regrets, LXXXI, ed. Chamard, II, p.113, describing the scene at Rome during the Conclave in 1555.

380 Si ne serez vous poinct comme Jehanne papesse,[1]

Et oncques puis n'en fut, et jamais n'en sera,

Tant que Romme la saincte au monde durera.

Entendez seullement que nous avons ung pape,

f.65v. 384 Garny de ce qu'il fault, & de myctre, et de chappe,[2]

---

381 oncques e p) ocques a p et oncques nen sera
382 au e) et a p

---

1. For an account of the growth of the legend of Pope Joan, the woman Pope who was believed to have reigned from 853-855 A.D. between the Pontificates of Leo IV and Benedict III, cf. DOELLINGER, Die Papst-Fabeln, Munich, 1863; HERGENROETHER, Histoire de l'Eglise, Paris, 1886, vol.III, pp.178-196 (Addition du traducteur, l'Abbé P. Belet). Belet (p.181) maintains that in the 15th and 16th Centuries the story of Pope Joan was still widely accepted.

2. After his election, Paul III donned the pontifical robes, cf. MARTINELLI, Diaria, cit. GATTICUS, op.cit. I, p.328:

"... et inde indutus vestibus papalibus, videlicet calceamentis rubeis cum cruce deaurata, diploide ex raso albo, tunica, alias subtana lunga, de panno albo, rochetto papali amictu, alba, cingulo rubeo, stola, & cruce pectorali... Curavimus ipsum poni super altare capellae cum pluviali rubeo (cope) & mitre pretiosa".

Et benediction; il s'appelloit Frenaise,[1]
Et Paule maintenant; auquel les piedz on baise
En vraye obeissance,[2] où d'or a une croix,[3]
Que baisent comme nous les empereurs et roys;
Il est fort extimé, et ycy maintenu
Digne de cest honneur dont il n'est mains[4] tenu
Au roy qu'à ses vertuz; car à ce que l'on dict,
Les Françoys l'ont esleu, sans aucun contredict;[5]

---

385 p et de benediction
386 p Et fault maintenant
389 p fort estant
390 e p moins tenu

---

1. Alexandro Farnese* was born in 1468; he came of a distinguished family of the Papal States. At the time of the Conclave, he was Dean of the Sacred College, of which he had been a member for some forty years. He had come near to being elected in the Conclave of 1524, and had frequently been named by Clement VII as the person most suited to succeed him. Cf. PASTOR, op.cit. XI, pp.10-12, pp.14 et seq. On his elevation, he assumed the name of Paul III. Cf. MARTINELLI, Diaria, cit. GATTICUS, op.cit. I, p.328.
*The unusual spelling Frenaise, for Farnèse, is found in all three manuscripts. I have not, however, come upon it elsewhere.
2. Cf. MARTINELLI, loc.cit.: "... & Cardinales eo modo, & ordine, quo potuerunt, praestiterunt obedientiam deosculando pedem, manum, & os."
3. Cf. MARTINELLI, loc.cit.: "calceamentis rubeis cum cruce deaurata".
4. On the archaic form mains for moins, for the purposes of rhyme, cf. supra, p.140 n.2
5. Cf. Sir Gregory CASALE to the Duke of Norfolk, Rome, 15th October 1534, R.O. S.P.I./86, pp.45-47, resumed GAIRDNER, op.cit. VII, 1262:
"Farnesius Pontifex creatus est ... qui certe huius dignitatis magnam gratiam Regi chr^mo. (François I) debiturus existimatur, Galli enim negotium confecerunt...";
and to Lord Rochford, Rome, 15th October 1534, R.O. S.P.I./86, pp.48-49, resumed GAIRDNER, op.cit. VII, 1263.

Reste que magnanime & vertueux puisse estre,
En sorte q'ung tel bien il veuille recongnoistre;
Ce qu'on actend de luy; et qu'il rabillera
Tout ce qui est gasté, et concile fera.[1]
De sa promotion, saichez que les Romains,
Pour demonstrer leur joye, au ciel levent les mains,
Et en cars triumphans, les piedz baiser luy viennent,
Et pour restaurateur de leur ville le tiennent.[2]

---

394 veuille a(i) e p) vouloit a
398 joye a(i) e p) vie a
399 p baiser les piedz
397 p sa promption pensez que
400 e p de leur vye

---

2. On 29th October, a torchlight procession was held in Rome. Cf. PASTOR, op.cit. p.25; MARTINELLI, Diaria, B.M.add.mss.8446, ff.57v°-58 and 26809, ff.19-19v°, published in J.B. GATTICUS, op.cit. I, a. p.329:

"Die 29 Octobris Populus Romanus tres currus praeordinaverat in modum arcuum triumphalium, fidei, caritatis & spei similium; quos circa horam 4 noctis cum multis Equitibus Conservatores, Capita Regionum cum aliis Civibus cum intortiis albis trahi fecerunt in plateam S. Petri: Papa autem in senestra venit. Descenderunt ex equis, & ascenderunt ad Papam, osculati sunt pedem eius, & D. Joannes de Capite ferro habuit oratiunculam satis, ut audio, gratam Pontifici, qui erat primus Conservator. Multaque signa pro laetitia fecerunt."

Cf. also Diaria of Marcello ALBERINO, B.M.add.ms.8364, ff.81-81v°.

1. An allusion possibly to the proposed General Council of Reform which ultimately materialised in the Council of Trent.

Le troysyesme jour de novembre, on luy donne
En grande sollempnité une triple couronne,[1]
Et cela faict, j'entends, si on ne nous arreste,
Que prendrons le chemyn d'icy droit à Lorette,
A Venise, à Ferrare, et puis apres en France,[2]

---

402 grant a(i) e p) grande a 405 p et ferrare

---

1. The coronation of Paul III did in fact take place on 3rd November. Cf. PASTOR, op.cit. XI, p.26, n.1:

   "Die 3 Novembris Paulus III coronatus est hora 18a. presentibus cardinalibus 35 et coronavit eum Innocentius cardinalis Cibo et fuit factus sumptuosus et pulcher apparatus et celebratum solemne convivium 32 rev^mis. cardinalibus et aliis quod faustum fuit." (Diarium card. Camerarii. Miscell. Arm. 12, t.58, f.335b, Secret Archives of the Vatican); etc.

   SACCHI, loc.cit.:

   "... ad tertium nonas Novembris, Pauli III nomine assumpto, coronatus: qua die ab eo felici auspicio publica hilaritate percelebri in eius honorem nobilissimi Romanae iuventutis per Vaticanam aream simulacro equestris pugnae edito iucundissime decurrerunt."

   Cf. Diaria of Marcello Alberino, B.M.add.ms.8364 (copy) ff.81v°-82; MARTINELLI, op.cit. B.M.add.ms.8446, f.58v° et seq. and B.M.add.ms. 26809, ff.20 et seq.; and FIRMANI, op.cit. B.M.add.ms.8447, f.15 v° et seq.

2. The French Cardinals did not in fact leave Rome until 9th November. Cf. Sir Gregory CASALE to Cromwell, Rome, 9th November 1534, R.O. S.P.I./87, pp.13-14; resumed GAIRDNER, op.cit. VII, 1406. They were to travel to Venice with Sir Gregory's brother, John Casale, Henry VIII's protonotary in Venice.

   For the Cardinal de Tournon's intention to return via Ferrara, cf. Letter to the Duchess of Ferrara, B.N. ms.fr. 3085, f.1; resumed FRANÇOIS, Correspondance..., no.94.

Où, si je puis de vous impetrer audience,
f.66. De tout ce qu'auray veu, le reste compteray;
Et sur ce poinct, d'escripre amye, cesseray,
Vous priant croyre, aumoyns, que tout le bien & l'aise
Et plaisir que receoit le bon pape Frenaise,[1]
Estant assis au lieu par luy tant esperé,
N'est rien au pris du bien que moy desesperé,
Ou peu s'en fault, auray si je puis heriter
De vostre bonne grace, et tel heur meriter.[2]

---

409 e que inserted 410 e que recoit maintenant e p ce bon pape
411 p par vous tant espere
413 fault auray si a(i) e p) fault si a
Subscription e de romme le trentiesme doctobre mil cinq cens trente quatre p De Romme le xxx doctobre m.v.c.xxxiij (sic)

---

1. On the spelling Frenaise, cf. n. to l.385.

2. Cf. LA BORDERIE, op.cit., f.38:

"Je m'abstiendray (pour la prolixité)
A vous narrer celle diversité,
Soubs un espoir que le plaisir de Dieu
Sera de brief me rappeller au lieu
Où vous serez aise le tout sçavoir
De moy, qui plus le seray de vous veoir...
Vous suppliant pour la fin humblement
Vouloir à moy permettre seulement
Que si les mers, & les vents furieux
Ont eu pouvoir m'esloingner de voz yeulx;
A tout le moins ilz n'ayent la puissance
De m'esloigner de vostre souvenance:
Et qu'autant loing je suis de vostre face,
Autant sois pres de vostre bonne grace."

II

f.66. Au Roy.[1]

Ce ne seroit, o majesté royalle,
Moins de reproche à ma vie loyal
De demourer en basse pouvreté,
Aiant servy si haulte majesté,
Que ce vous est eh plaisir eh honneur [sic]
D'estre si grant eh liberal donneur,

Composed: between May 1536 and February 1538, cf. infra, n.1.

Text: A

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1. This Epistle to the King is the first of a group of four poems in which Chappuys seeks the gift of a prebend. For the other pieces, cf. infra, III, A Monseigneur le Grant Maistre pour le mesme affaire f. 302; IV, Encores au Roy pour ce mesme faict f. 304; V, A Monseigneur le Cardinal de Lorraine pour ce mesme affaire f. 306. Since we do not know to which "prébende" Chappuys in fact refers (cf. infra, p. 299 n. 3), it is difficult to date these pieces. In this first Epistle Au Roy (II. 42-43), Chappuys speaks of the "evesque de Tulle", the King's "premier aumosnier". Chappuys must here refer to Jacques Hamelin, or Amelin, who was Francois I's "premier aumônier" from 1523 (cf. infra, p. 299 n. 1) and Bishop of Tulle from 9th May, 1536 until his death in May 1539, (cf. Gallia Christiana, Paris, 1715-1865, t.II, col. 674). Chappuys' poems must therefore have been composed between these latter dates. Furthermore, the second poem of the group is addressed to Monseigneur le Grant Maistre pour ce mesme affaire. Anne de Montmorency held the office of Grant Maître from 1526, and on 10th February 1538 was created Connétable de France, (cf. Cat. des Actes, III, 462, 9642). If Chappuys' poems had been written after this date, Chappuys' would have addressed Montmorency as Connétable (cf. Panegyrique... (Paris, A.Roffet, September 1538) f. Aii, A Monseigneur de Montmorency Grant Maistre & Connestable de France). These poems must therefore have been composed between May 1536, when Jacques Hamelin became Bishop of Tulle, and February 1538, when Montmorency was elevated to the rank of Connétable.

Que ce seroit, diz je, honneur à vous, Sire,
S'il vous plaisoit chasser et le confire
Mes ennemys, Paouvreté et Fortune;
Dont ceste cy contraire et importune
A voz vouloir et liberalité,
A plus de mortz, certes, consentité
f.66v° Pour me laisser au ranc des poursuivans
Qu'elle n'a faict mourir d'hommes vivans;[1]
Donnant par là evident tesmoignage
De son courroux contre moy et grant raige;
Si que ne veult aucunement souffrir
Que vostre grace à moy vienne s'offrir;
Ains empeschant le fruict de mon bon heur
Est quant et quant adversaire à l'honneur
Qui vous provient de liberalité
Digne de roy, telle comme a esté,
Certes, la vostre, o Sire, en mon endroict,
Quant comme vous Fortune y entendroit,
Quant avecq vous elle consentiroit,
Et que sans elle ung si grant roy pourroit;

---

1. Cf. "Fortune de mon bien envieuse et jalouse", 11.5-7, p. 350:

"Elle s'est alliée avec ung monstre infaict,
De Nature ennemy, qu'on appelle la Mort,
Et pour me nuyre ont faict revivre ung demy mort".

Mais tout ainsi que vostre grace grande
Preste l'oreille à mon humble demande,
Tout ainsi, Sire, elle entreprend deffaire
Ce que d'ung cueur royal vous voulez faire.
Quel moien, doncq, pourroys-je rencontrer
Pour les effortz de ceste dame oultrer?
Pourroys-je avoir du grant tresor du Louvre... ?[1]
Nenny: pour moy ne fault-il pas qu'on l'ouvre;
f.67. Pourroys-je avoir abbaye ou evesché... ?
Nenny: pour moy n'en fault estre empesché;
Pourroys-je avoir don d'ung bien gros office... ?
Nenny: combien qu'il me feust trespropice.
Que veulx-je doncq? Seulement une touche
De vostre, o Roy, tant eloquente bouche;
Ou ung escript qui servira de bulle,
Disant ainsi à l'evesque de Tulle:[2]

---

1. In 1532, the "Trésor de l'Epargne" which Francois I had founded in 1523 as a measure of fiscal reform, was established permanently at the palace of the Louvre, although the "Trésorier" himself continued to follow the Court in its peregrinations. Cf. R.DOUCET, Les Institutions de France au XVIe siècle, Paris, 1948, vol. I, pp. 290-292

2. Jacques Hamelin, Bishop of Tulle, from 9th May 1536 until his death in May 1539, cf. supra, p.296n.1.

"Mon premier aumosnier,[1] je veulx et vous commande

44 que au libraire[2] laissez de Rouen la prebende;[3]

---

1. Jacques Hamelin was appointed "premier aumônier" in 1523 and held the office until his death, cf. G.DUPEYRAT, L'Histoire ecclésiastique de la Cour ou les Antiquitez et recherches de la Chapelle et oratoire du roy de France, Paris, 1645, p.434. Cf. also Cat. des Actes, VII, 177, 24089 dated 28th June, 1531.
   As "premier aumônier", he headed the "aumôniers du roi", and deputized for the "Grand Aumônier" when he was absent from the Court, cf. DUPEYRAT, loc.cit.
   In addition to the office of "premier aumônier", Jacques Hamelin also held the office of "notaire et secretaire du roi", cf. Cat. des Actes, III, I, 7453 and VII, 681, 28274.

2. Chappuys had been "libraire du roi" since 1532, cf. supra, p.14
   On the importance of this line as evidence of the authenticity of the Soissons ms. 200, cf. supra, p.179

3. It is not clear to what "prebende" Chappuys is referring. It would be tempting to suppose that the epistle is connected with Chappuys' attempt to secure the office of Dean of Rouen Cathedral. It is difficult, however, to see what influence the Bishop of Tulle could bring to bear in this matter, since the King himself - and not his "Grand Aumônier", or in the latter's absence, his "premier aumônier" - made the nominations to all such offices, cf. DUPEYRAT, op.cit. p.389. Thus even had the "Grand Aumônier", the Cardinal le Veneur, been away from Court in September 1536, the nomination to the office of Dean of Rouen would not have rested with the Bishop of Tulle as his deputy. Furthermore in his letter to the Rouen Chapter (cit. L.P.ROCHE, op.cit. p.146), François I states specifically that he himself has nominated Chappuys to the office.
   It is evident from the Epistle (l.45), moreover, that the gift of the "prebende" would result in personal loss of income for the Bishop of Tulle; we may assume, therefore, that Chappuys refers to some benefice held by the Bishop in person. In the course of 1536, the Bishop of Tulle received the Abbey of St. Georges de Bocherville, in the diocese of Rouen, cf. Gallia Christiana, XI, col. 273. Although Chappuys affirms in l.35 that he is not seeking "abbaye ou evesché", it is possible that he sought to persuade the Bishop of Tulle to cede to him the Abbey of St. Georges. If this were the case, Chappuys' plea was unsuccessful, since the Bishop held the Abbey until his death in 1539, cf. Gallia Christiana, loc.cit.

Car elle vous est peu, à luy tant à propoz,
Que peine n'en aurez, luy en aura repoz."

Je sçay qu'il est, Sire, tant bien pourveu
Par voz biensfaictz,[1] et non si despourveu
De jugement, ne d'obligeant debvoir,
Qu'il n'obeisse à vostre bon vouloir
Tout promptement; et moy, de mon coustè,
Je ne suis poinct certes si degousté
Que je ne dye aussitost; je l'accepte.
Et s'il n'en faict ne mise ne recepte,
J'en feray bien la recepte et la mise,
Mise peult estre plus grande que la prise.
f.67v° L'evesque doncq, s'il ne veult estre chiche,
Sans s'appauvrir me peult bien faire riche,
Et si fera, on ne le peult nyer,
Acte de roy, office d'aumosnier;

---

1. Jacques Hamelin had received a number of benefices from François I. In July 1530, the King had conferred upon him a canonry of the Cathedral of Le Mans, (cf. Gallia Christiana, t.XI, col.982), and in June of the following year, a stall in the Sainte-Chapelle, (cf. Cat.des Actes, VII, 177, 24089).
In addition to the Abbey of St. Georges de Bocherville (cf. supra, p.299 n.3), Hamelin also held the Abbey of St. Gildas in the Archbishopric of Bourges, (cf. Gallia Christiana, t.XI, col.982; it is to be noted that his name is not included in the list of Abbots, Gallia Christiana, II, col. 153-156; but as no Abbot is mentioned between 1512 and 1571, it is probable that the list is incomplete).

2. ~~ne faire sa mise ne recepte de = to take no account of (Huguet)~~

Car faire dons à qui en a besoing,
Est d'aumosnier le vray office et soing,
Et enrichir soubdain ung paouvre rustre,
C'est faict de Roy Liberal et Illustre.

Vous quant et quant, Sire, ferez sçavoir
A ung chascun quel est vostre pouvoir
De faire tant riche ung serviteur vostre,
Qu'il puisse bien en enrichir ung aultre
Sans faire tord aucun à son estat;
Et si sera grant faveur au prelat
Que par ung tel royal commandement
Il m'ait faict riche ainsi soubdainement.

Vous plaise doncq, O grant Roy, O bon Maistre,
Ne reffuser ou le mot ou la lettre;
Et quant aurez d'une seule parolle
Vaincu Fortune, elle n'est pas si folle
f.68. Que desormais vous osast contredire,
Ny vous laisser en guerre ou paix le pire,
Et vous pleust il aujourd'huy ou demain
De la venir combatre main à main.

III

f.68 A Monseigneur le Grant Maistre pour le mesme affaire.[1]

Il est venu, le bon prelat de Tulle[2]
Il est venu à heure et bien à poinct,
Et ne me fault lectre, ny plomb, ny bulle,
Ung mot suffist pour attaindre à mon poinct;
Ung mot du roy, disant qu'il luy enjoinct
De me laisser de Rouen la prebende[3],
Ou de Paris;[4] autre bien ne demande.

Composed: between May 1536 and February 1538, cf. supra, p.296n.1

Text: a

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1. Anne de Montmorency, created Grand-Maître of France on 23rd March, 1526 (Cf. Cat. des Actes, I, 437, 2308). He was later to become a Connétable of France, on 10th February, 1538 (cf. Cat. des Actes, III, 462, 9642).
On Anne de Montmorency, cf. F. DECRUE, Anne de Montmorency, Grand Maître et Connétable de France, à la cour, aux armées et au conseil du roi François Ier, Paris, 1885; and Anne de Montmorency, Connétable et Pair de France sous les rois Henri II, François II et Charles IX, Paris, 1889

2. On Jacques Hamelin, Bishop of Tulle, cf. supra, p.298n.2 and p.299n.1

3. On the "prebende de Rouen", cf. supra, p.299n.3

4. We may suppose that Chappuys is seeking a canonry of the Sainte Chapelle or Notre Dame, cf."Encores au Roy pour ce mesme fait", ll.5-6, p.304.
Hamelin had been a canon of the Sainte-Chapelle since 1531, cf. supra, p.300n.1. I have been unable to find any reference to him as Canon of Notre Dame.

Ce n'est pas trop, mais, helas, j'ay besoing
De quelcung qui au roy me recommande;
Mon cas est faict, si en prenez le soing.
Dictes luy doncq, au partir de la messe:
"Sire, ung seul mot dont avez fait promesse
A vostre pouvre, infortuné libraire,
Le rend tout riche, et ne pourra desplaire
A ce prelat qui doibt croire les biens
qu'il a de vous, vostres, et non pas siens;[1]
f.68v° Joinct que c'est peu du bien qu'il laissera
Qui au libraire ung evesché sera."

Si une foix vous parlez ce langaige,
Le roy, voiant qu'en aurez le vouloir,
L'appellera, et d'ung traict de visaige,
Avant qu'ouvrir la bouche, a ce povoir
Qu'il luy fera tout ce qu'il veult vouloir.
O moy heureux et riche promptement,
Si, Monseigneur, il vous plaist seulement
Sonder ce gay et y rompre la glace!
Faictes le donc pour monstrer clerement
Qu'avez credit qui la Fortune passe.

---

1. On the benefices held by the Bishop of Tulle, cf. supra, p.300n.1

IV

f.68v. Encores au Roy pour ce mesme fait.[1]

Il est abbé, ce bon pasteur de Tulle,[2]
Et le merite encor qu'il ne soit nadne;
Il est evesque et en a belle bulle,
Curé, prieur, et bien vingt foix chanoine;[3]
Rien ne luy sert Rouen[4] qui m'est idoyne,
Ou Nostre Dame, ou la Saincte Chappelle.[5]
Promys avez, Sire, d'ung tresbon zelle,
Qu'une en auray. Signez, doncques, la lectre.[6]

Composed: between May 1536 and February 1538.

Text: a

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1. Cf. II, "Au Roy", supra, p. 296
2. Jacques Hamelin, Bishop of Tulle, cf. supra, p. 298 n. 2.
3. On the benefices held by Jacques Hamelin, cf. supra, p. 300 n. 1
4. Cf. supra, p. 299 n. 3
5. Cf. supra, p. 300 n. 1
6. viz. the Letters patent conferring the benefice upon Chappuys.

f.69. Et le prelat ne dira: j'en appelle[1];
Car on sçait bien que vous estes le maistre.

Mais n'estimez, s'il vous plaist, O bon roy,
Que Paouvreté m'ait si fort abbatu
Que je voulsisse exceder d'ung seul doy
Le droict chemyn pour laisser la vertu,
Cherchant du bien d'aultruy estre vestu;
Plustost vouldroys paouvre vivre et mourir
Que telle tache et macule encourir.
Parquoy ne quiers que ce qu'il tient en friche,
Et ne puys moins que vers vous recourir,
Qui d'ung seul mot me povez faire riche.

---

1 A probable reminiscence of VILLON, Ballade de l'Appel, ll. 17-19 (ed. Foulet, p. 177):
"Cuidiez vous que soubz mon cappel
N'y eust tant de philosophie
Comment de dire: 'J'en appel'?"

V

f.69. A Monseigneur le Cardinal de Lorraine pour ce mesme affaire.[1]

Le Roy le veult, il l'entend; c'est assez.[2]
Ne fault il pas que je croye et entende
Que sa bonté mes malheurs a chassez
Et que j'auray de Rouen la prebende[3]
Ou de Paris?[4] Le Maistre le commande
A son subgect, et par vous ceste clause
Me sert beaucoup, et le prelat[5] n'a cause
De reffuser ung mot, reste à luy dire,
f.69v. D'affection; et je ne croy qu'il ause
Le Roy et vous et la Raison desdire.

Composed: between May 1536 and February 1538.

Text: a

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1. On the Cardinal de Lorraine, cf. supra, p.259n.2

2. Cf. a Dizain of the Soissons ms. 200 (f.56), attributed by Guiffrey to Clément Marot, "Il pleut au Roy l'ung de ces jours passez", (Guiffrey, IV, p.32), l.7:
"Le Roy le veult: c'est raison qu'il soit faict".

3. Cf. supra, p.299n.3

4. Cf. supra, p.302n.4

5. Jacques Hamelin, Bishop of Tulle, cf. supra, p.298 n.2

VI

f.95v°. Au Roy.[1]

Composed: January, 1558

Text: a

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1. Henri II, King of France, 1547-1559.

Chappuys' poem celebrates the recapture of Calais by the French in January, 1558. Calais, which had been held by the English since 1347, was taken by French forces under François de Guise on 6th January, 1558, (cf. LAVISSE, V (ii), p.172). The recapture of Calais gave rise to a wave of intense patriotism in France, and many of the poets of the day celebrated the French victory, among them, Du Bellay, in an Hymne au Roy sur la prinse de Callais... (ed. Chamard, t.6, p.17 et seq.), Remy Belleau, in an Ode au duc de Guise (ed. Gouverneur, t.II, p.37-42), and a number of minor poets (cf. A.de MONTAIGLON, Anc. poés. fr., t. IV, pp.284-313). The Humanists of the period, Georges Buchanan, Michel de l'Hospital, Adrien Turnèbe, Léger du Chesne, Pierre Galland and Jean Dorat, also celebrated the victory in their Latin verses.

The Soissons ms. 200 contains, in addition to Chappuys' poem, the following lines, which are without name of author:

f.94v° La Prinse de Calais

"Louenge à Dieu qui faict les choses
Tant dignes d'admiration
Que ce sont pour nous lectres closes;
Nul n'entend son intention;
Mais puis qu'en sa protection
Et non ailleurs le Roy espere,
Que peult l'estrange nation?
Impossible est qu'il ne prospere.

Tesmoing en est la ville prinse
Que chascun tenoit imprenable;
Tesmoing en est la belle emprinse
De nostre Roy insuperable;
De long temps n'en fut de semblable
Myeulx conduicte et executée;
L'histoire et cronicque louable
Par tout en sera recitée.

Puis que Calais, vostre ancien dommaine,
Avez reduict soubz vostre obeyssance,
Croire devons que Dieu seul vous y meyne,
Comme il vous peult departir sa puissance
Et asseurer de sa benevolence,

---

1 (contd.)

Poettes latins et françoys
Ont d'escripre belle matiere,
Et quoy que de ce rang ne soys
J'en rempliray la page entiere;
Car la nation rude et fiere
Qui nous oza mouvoir la guerre,
En France n'a plus de frontiere
Ny par la mer ny par la terre.

f.95

Le grant Ocean perilleux
Rend au roy la foy & hommaige
Et sent son pouvoir merveilleux
Armé d'invincible couraige.
Il a conseil prudent et saige
Et de vertu telle influence
Qu'il n'en en peult avoir d'avantaige
Ny de biens plus large affluence.

Que gaigne la Fortune adverse
De le traicter inicquement?
A ung clin d'oeil son heur renverse
Tout desastre et encombrement;
Et ne fault demander comment;
Car Dieu le conserve & conduict;
L'effect le monstre: en ung moment
Calais soubz sa main a reduict.

Qui l'eust pensé? Cela est faict
Avant qu'on sceust que son armée
Fust preste, ny son champ refaict.
Le duc de Guyse à main armée,
Croissant son loz et renommée,
Par hardiesse a merité
De victoire tant estimée
Le tiltre d'immortallité.

Vous promectant qu'il le garantira,

Car dessoubz vous Saincte Foy regnera,

8 Que les Angloix voullurent regecter[1].

Allez y donc, Sire, Dieu vous fera

Bien entreprendre & myeulx executter[2].

---

1 (contd.)
f.95v° Si du Roy l'honneur grant peult accroistre
Calais l'aura fort augmenté;
Car Dieu par tout a faict congnoistre
Lors que plus estoit agité,
Qu'estre voulloit de son coûsté.
Le Roy doncq en Dieu est puissant
Et par la divine bonté
En brief remplyra son croissant.

1. An allusion to the Reformation in England during the reign of Henry VIII and to the establishment of Protestantism under Edward VI. Calais was in fact recaptured in the reign of Mary Tudor who sought to restore Catholicism in England.

2. Cf. DU BELLAY, Hymne au Roy..., ll.71-74:

"Mais à qui fault il, SIRE, attribuer l'honneur
D'une si grand' victoire & d'un si grand bon-heur
Fors à Dieu, & à Vous, qui d'une telle prise
Avez premierement desseigné l'entreprise..."

Henri II was himself personally responsible for the scheme for the recapture of Calais in the depths of winter. The King's Council was wholly opposed to the idea and François de Guise would not commit himself either way. The King, therefore, assumed full responsibility for the enterprise, cf. L.ROMIER, Les Origines Politiques des Guerres de Religion, Paris, 1913-1914, II, p.216.

Voyons nous point que Dieu vous favorise
Et que l'hyver convertist en Esté;[1]
Chascun a veu pour couvrir l'entreprinse
Que tout le ciel bruyneux a esté.[2]
f.96. Y a il poinct quelque divinité
En tout cela, qu'on ne peult concepvoir?
Difficile est le croire sans le veoir,
Et pour certain vostre presence heureuse

---

1. The French poets of the period insist on the fact that the campaign was carried out in the depth of winter. Cf., for instance, Anthoine FAUQUEL, Epitaphe de la ville de Calais, (MONTAIGLON, IV, p.304 et seq.):

"Par un matin estant melancolique,
J'ay entendu la piteuse oraison
Qu'a faict Calais, qui par arme bellique
Prinse a esté d'iver en la saison..."

A winter campaign was indeed exceptional since, as a rule, all military operations were suspended during the winter months.

2. The weather did in fact favour the French, since the English fleet, gathered on the coast of England, was prevented by bad weather from relieving the besieged towns of Calais and Guynes. Cf. H.FORNERON, Les Ducs de Guise et leur Époque, Paris, 1877, I, pp.225-226.

D'aultant plustost à Calais doibt pourveoir

que plus la prinse en est miraculeuse.[1]

---

1. After a solemn procession of thanksgiving had been held in Paris on 16th January, 1558, Henri II, accompanied by the Cardinal de Lorraine, the Cardinal de Guise, the Prince of Condé and a host of courtiers, left Paris for Calais on the following day. The King and his court remained at Calais, amid great rejoicing, until the beginning of February. Cf. J.Alvarotti, to the Duke of Ferrara, Paris, 17th January, 1558, (Arch. of Modena, Francia; orig.), cit. L. ROMIER, Les Origines Politiques..., II, p.217

VII

f.8. Espitre responsive à la premiere, faicte par maistre Claude Chappuys.[1]

1 J'ay longuement appart moy debatu,
Lequel m'estoit plus honte que verbu:

Text: a

Variants: r (f.74v° et seq.)

---

1. The Epistle is written in reply to the Epistre du Roy au nom d'une dame qui se complaingt de son amy, found on ff.4-5v° of the Soissons ms.200
Although the Epistre du Roy is not included in Champollion-Figeac's edition of the Poésies du roi François Ier, there can be little doubt of its authenticity, since it is found in two manuscript "recueils" of the King's poems: the Musée Condé mss.520, (f.23), and 1470.
The two epistles are also found in the manuscript n° 2965 of the Rothschild collection, where they are anonymous.
We know nothing of the circumstances in which these epistles were composed. Had Chappuys in fact been suspected of infidelity to some lady of the court, thus rousing the King to take up the defence of the unfortunate lady? Or is it more probable that the quarrel is an imaginary one and that the two epistles merely represent a delicate "débat littéraire" between the King and one of the poets of his court?
As Chappuys in his Epistle follows the King's Epistle very closely, I reproduce in full the Epistre du Roy:

f.4. Epistre du roy au nom d'une dame qui se complaingt de son amy.

Je sçay pour vray en lisant ceste lettre
Que tu diras que c'est follie mectre
Peine et travail pour te faire scavoir
Ce que ta faulte incessamment faict veoir;
Car tes effectz dont j'ay peine trop dure
Me font servir de foible couverture.
Ne trouve estrange, o amy variable,
Si le penser qui tant fut agréable
Contrainct la main à vouloir esprouver
Chose qu'il est bien seur de ne trouver;
Mais il suffist de n'avoir riens obmis
A essayer pour garder ses amys,
Et bien que saiche estre peu fructueuse

(Contd.)

La mienne lettre, encore elle est heureuse,
Puis qu'elle sert de faire la cronicque
De ton amour et de ta foy inicque.
Que diras tu quant verras ceste epistre
Dont tu acquiers ung si louable tiltre?
Je croy pour vray que rougiras tresfort
Si le tromper trop plus que honneur n'est fort.
f.4v° Mais que te sert d'aymer ce qui te fuyt
Et de fouyr celle qui te poursuyt?
Quel bien reçoys d'aymer en si hault lieu
Qui est de toy aussi loing comme dieu?
Par quoy tu n'as jamais que l'adorer?
Mais par celle tu cuydes t'honnorer,
Et que ceulx là qui sont peu congnoissans
Te jugent grant & homme de bon sens.
Comme peu dure & la gloyre et la pompe
D'ung fol penser quant soy mesmes l'on trompe!
N'as tu bien veu que pour trop hault te mectre
Fortune n'a jamais voullu permectre
Que fusses aymé, ne gueres bien venu,
Et à ceste heure encores es revenu
Une aultre aymer que croy pour verité
Riens n'en sçavoir; mais ta felicité
C'est de voulloir à chascun faire entendre
Beaucop plus hault que n'oseroys pretendre.
Reviens, reviens doncques à tes semblables
Qui sont autant comme tu es aymables,
Et si tu dis que je n'ay grant beaulté
Je te responds que j'ay grant loyaulté.
f.5 A tout le moins en moy n'a facherie
Et qu'il soit vray l'honneste compaignie
Des plus parfaicte souvent si me demande,
Qui est tesmoing de louenge asses grande;
Mais que me sert si fort me courousser
Ce n'est que mal sur mon mal amasser.
O dur amy, n'auras tu congnoissance
De mon amour envers toy sans offence?
Ne pense tu, las, que je suys t'amye,
Qui n'ay aymé ny mon corps ny ma vie,
Si n'est pour toy, sans voulloir te fascher;
Car plus que moy tousjours t'ay tenu cher.
Certes, je croy que ton cueur endurcy
N'aura de moy et moins de luy mercy;
Pour moy, me nuyt sa grande ingratitude,
Pour luy, l'emprise estant trop fort et rude,
En adjoustant torment à mon torment,
A luy le nom non aymé, moy d'aymant;

(Contd.) Mieulx il seroit qu'en m'aymant feist aymé
Qu'en me laissant il fust si mal nommé.
Las, ta fortune et mon sort malheureux
f.5v° 64 Ne t'ont permis m'aymer pour estre heureux
J'entends asses que je me debvroys taire
Et te laisser par aultre main desfaire,
Mais si fault il qu'ensamble j'aye pitié,
68 De toy, de moy, du temps, de l'amitié;
Si je pensoys que deusse revenir
Pour noz voulloirs en trop grand heur unir,
Je te diroys le seul contentement
72 Que doibt sentir l'honneste & vray aymant;
Doncques il fault que du bien je me taise
Et que du mal je te parle en lieu d'aise,
La lerme à l'oeil et l'estomac pressé,
76 La main debille et le cueur oppressé,
Palle coulleur & la chair consommée,
Le feu enclos soubz rigueur trop aymée
Te monstre asses & tu le doibs bien veoir
80 Combien vers moy peult ton ingrat pouvoir;
Si tu ne veulx croyre ce que tu voys,
Point ne reffuse au moins la triste voix
Qui te dira en parolle piteuse:
84 Celle n'est plus que tu feis malheureuse,
Celle n'est plus qui n'a voullu permectre
La cruaulté avec son amour mettre;
f.6 Celle n'est plus de qui la cruaulté
88 A ruyné l'amour et loyaulté,
Cruelle mort à elle favorable
Luy a ousté ton deffault importable
Et ordonne dessus sa chair tant pure
92 En marbre dur graver ceste escripture:

"Heureuse fus mourant en monstant hors de peine
Et toy es malheureux vivant en desplaisir
Tousjours commencera ton malheur & desir
Ton plaisir sera mort, ma foy vivra certaine".

Ou de laisser sans responce l'espitre
Que vous m'avez adressée à faulx tiltre,[1]
Ou y respondre et faire à chascung veoir
Qu'en vostre endroit n'ay failly de debvoir.
Et, d'une part, semble n'estre besoing
Prouver le bien dont assez est tesmoing
Le mal que j'ay enduré et souffert
Pour m'estre à vous trop loyaulment offert.
D'aultre cousté, raisonnable ne pense
Dissimuler et passer soubz silence
La faulte à moy à grant tort imputée,
Qui me seroit pour faulte repputée,
Si pour le moyns ne voulois entreprendre
Ma bonne cause esclarcir & deffendre.

---

1. "A faulx tiltre" has here a double significance: not merely is the letter addressed to Chappuys "à faulx tiltre", in that he claims that he is wrongly accused of infidelity, but also the King's epistle is in fact written "à faulx tiltre", since the King is writing in the name of a lady.
The poets of the court of Francois I frequently composed epistles in the name of another person. We may compare, for instance, Clément MAROT's celebrated epistle, Pour la petite Princesse de Navarre à Madame Marguerite (ed. C.A.Mayer, LI, p.259), and his Epistre qu'il feit pour ung Vieil gentil homme respondant à la Lettre d'un sien Amy (ed. C.A.Mayer, XVII, p.150) and Pour ung gentil homme de la Court escrivant aux Dames de Chasteaudun (ed. C.A.Mayer, XX, p.156).

Mais que feray je? Oseray je bien mectre
La plume en main pour respondre à la lectre
Qui est si bien d'elegance tissue
Qu'on la diroit de Minerve estre yssue?
Et pour quoy non? Si j'ay peu d'eloquence,
La raison est pour moy en recompense;
f.8v° Et suis certain que, comme par paincture
De beau langaige et faconde escripture,
Avez voulu prendre à honneur et gloire
Persuader et faire à chascun croyre
Ce qui n'est pas. Ainsi la verité
Declairera que je n'ay merité
Avoir de vous, que tiens pour seulle amye,
Tiltre qui peult me noter d'infamye;
Car vous sçavez que je n'ay riens obmis
De ce qu'il fault faire pour ses amys;[1]
Et qui plus est, sans user de reproche,
Je dy que nul des autres n'en approche.
Et toutesfois honte n'avez d'escripre
Ce dont l'effect vous peult assez desdire,
Et mesmement quant me voulez charger
D'estre inconstant et subgect à changer,

28 r Declairant

1. Cf. Epistre du Roy, ll.11-12.

Ayant osé, sans qu'il soit vray semblable,
Me intituler et nommer variable,[1]
Comme s'il feust possible en tout le monde
Trouver maistresse à qui soyez seconde,
Ou que me feusse oublyé tellement,
Et esloigné de juste jugement,
Que, laissant celle à qui est deu le pris,
J'eusse en mon cueur de changer entrepris.
f.9. Quoy qu'il en soit, autre juge ne veulx
Pour mectre à fin le desbat de nous deux
Fors vous, Amye; en qui gist tout mon bien,
Et sans laquelle estre je ne veulx rien.
En protestant que ne puis concepvoir
A quel propoz me voulustes pourveoir
D'ung si beau nom; mais bien je jureray,
Et par vous mesme assez le prouveray,
Qu'il est du tout à mes effectz contraire,
Car qui pourroit fors vous seulle me plaire?
S'il est besoing suyvre la bonne grace,
Je n'en voy point icy qui vous efface;
Et si sçavoir et vertus font aymer,
Il en est peu qu'on deubst plus estymer;

43 r Ou que me face oublier
44 r Et eslongner
45 r cela a
48 r Pour mectre affin le debat

1. Cf. Epistre du Roy, l.7

Vostre entretien et asseuré langaige
En ont donné suffisant tesmoignage.
Dont m'esbahis qui vous feist advancer
Non seullement de dire mais penser
Que pour laisser ce que j'ayme apres dieu
J'aye affecté m'accointer en hault lieu.[1]
Est ce le fruict, est ce la recompense
De mon entiere et longue obeissance?
f.9v° Qui eust cuydé que pour avoir bien faict
On feust si mal à la fin satisfaict?
Quoy satisfaict? Mais qui eust oncq pensé
Que pour bien faire on deubst estre tensé?
Il est bien vray que vostre cruaulté
Vaincre a voulu ma ferme loyaulté;
Et tant de foiz m'avez voulu facher
Que n'eusse eu tort d'aultre amye chercher:
Mais j'ay esté envers vous si constant
Que je me suis d'aymer tenu contant,
Sans adviser à l'extreme rigueur

---

64 r mais de pencer
69 r Qui est cuide
76 r daultre amye changer

---

1. Cf. Epistre du Roy, ll. 23-24

Qui m'a fait vivre en tristesse et langueur
Et m'eust souvant contrainct rompre ma vie,
Si de vous veoir n'eusse point eu d'envye.
Parquoy ne fault que mectez en avant
Ce qu'il vous plaist repeter si souvant:
Que je revienne environ mes semblables
Qui sont autant comme je suis aymables.[1]
Comment pourrois je en ung lieu revenir
Où je me suis tousjours voulu tenir?
Et ne debvez alleguer et reprendre
Que j'ay voulu à chascung faire entendre
f.10. Plus hault vouloir qu'entreprendre je n'ose.[2]
Ce propoz là sent ung peu la jalouse,
Et n'est en riens à mon desadvantaige.
Le demourant est perte de langaige,
Où il y a aussi peu d'apparence
De verité, que beaucop d'eloquence;
Et suis bien seur que ceulx qui le liront,
S'ilz m'ont congneu, foy n'y adjousteront,
Quelque couleur dont ayez blasonné

---

86 r Qui autant
92 r Ce propos la
97 r la lyront

---

1. Cf. Epistre du Roy, ll. 39-40
2. Cf. ib., ll. 36-38

Celluy qui s'est à vous seulle donné,
Et qui ne peult assez esmerveiller
A quelle fin voulustes travailler
De mectre en vers et belle poesie
Tout le rebours de vostre fantasie.
Auriez vous bien oublyé les propoz
Qui tant de nuyctz m'ont osté le repoz,
Et vous ont faict dedans mon cueur cognoistre
Ce que n'escriptz et escript ne peult estre?
O chere amye! O myeulx que bien aymée!
Et s'il vous plaist ainsi estre nommée,
O seulle aymable! aumoings considerez,
Quant recueillye en vous mesmes serez,
f.10v°. Que si quelcung de nous deux se doibt plaindre
Ce n'est pas moy qui s'en debvercit faindre,
Non seullement pour estre mal traicté
Et n'avoir riens de ce qu'ay souhaicté,
Mais pour avoir par fortune trop dure
Receu de vous tel opprobre et injure;
Je dys injure autant insupportable
Comme je suis loing d'estre variable,
Et tousjours prest à bien vous obeyr
Et eussiez vous entreprins me hayr.

---

100 r Celuy qui est 101 r sesmerveiller 103 r A mettre en vers
105 r Auriez vous poinct 106 r ont oste

Quant au surplus, je ne m'arreste point
Par le menu respondre à chascun point
Sur vostre epistre, où sans doubte il me fasche
Que vous m'aiez voulu nommer si lasche
Et si ingrat et si fort malheureux
Et, qui pis est, à vous si rigoureux
Que j'aye aymé ce qui me chasse et fuyct,
Et deschassé ce qui m'ayme et poursuyt.[1]
Dont l'ung du tout est hors de mon pouvoir,
L'autre ne peult entrer en mon vouloir;
f.II. Et si mon heur ou malheur eust permis
Que contre amour tel cas eusse commis,
Beaucop plus tost je m'estimerois digne
De griefve mort que de grace benigne.
Et quant au point où comptez voz douleurs,
Chair consommée, et voz pasles couleurs,[2]
Ayant de moy, du temps, de vous, pityé,[3]

---

125 r De vostre epistre
127 r & fort malheureux
128 r Et que pis est
135 r Plus tost beaucoup
138 r Chair consommer

---

1. Cf. Epistre du Roy, ll. 21-22
2. Cf. ib., ll. 75-78
3. Cf. ib., ll. 67-68

Et me chargeant de rompre amytié,
Quoy qu'en cela usez de si doulx termes
Que d'ung rocher feriez sorbir des lermes,
Si est ce plus beaucop par fiction
Que par Nayfve et pure affection.
Et qu'il soit vray, pensez s'il est croyable
Que vous puyssiez si peu estre agreable,
Et moy si rudde et si fort endurcy,
Que de vous n'aye, et moyns de moy, mercy.[1]
O beau propoz et digne d'estre sceu,
Et de par moy à grant joye receu!
Il est certain si j'avois ce credit
En vostre endroict que ne l'eussiez pas dict;
Mais vous avez essayé de monstrer
Qu'en faulx subgect sçavez bien rencontrer
f.IIv. Et là dessus feray fin et en lieu
D'ung Epitaphe et de vous dire adieu,

---

146 r sy tost estre agreable
151 r et javoys
154 r Que faulx subjectz sçavez bien remonster

---

1. Cf. Epistre du Roy, ll. 55-56

Je vous prieray de ces vers la substance
Estre gravée en vostre souvenance:[1]

Celluy qui à grant tort de variable eut nom,
A tout jamais sera vostre, veulliez ou non.
Et ayme beaucop myeulx vous servir avec payne,
Que d'autre dame avoir recompense certaine.[2]

---

1. Cf. Epistre du Roy, ll. 89-92
2. Cf. ib., Epitaphe de la dame, ll.93-96

VIII

f.69v°. Epistre

S'il n'est poinct deffendu de se ramentevoir
A ses amys absens, quant on ne les peult veoir,
Et s'il est par raison licite de rescripre
L'ung à l'aultre de loing ce qu'on ne se peult dire,
A qui feray je tort si ceste briefve lectre
Vient tumber en voz mains, et au lieu où veulx estre,
Et où certes je doibs maugré la longue absence
Estre tousjours present par vraye souvenance?
J'ay dict que je le doibs, si amytié parfaicte,
Qui n'est poinct de venin de folle amour infaicte,
Cela peult meriter. Mais, las, si d'avanture
Autre que vous venoit à veoir ceste escripture
Qui mal interpretast ce qu'il convient bien prendre
Et vous voulsist, ou moy, estimer à reprendre,
Ou ensemble les deux - moy, pour l'avoir escripte,
Vous, pour la recepvoir - quel qu'il soit, je despite
Et luy et Malebouche[1] et toute leur malice
Qu'ilz me puissent garder de faire bon office,
f.70. Joinct que l'estime et bruit de vostre honnesteté

Text: a

---

1 Malebouche, Slander, is one of the personages of the Roman de la Rose, and this is thus one of Chappuys' infrequent borrowings from the Roman de la Rose.

Envers chascun desja ce poinct a merité
Que quant j'auroys fail y-ce que je ne confesse -
L'esgard et le respect de vostre grant sagesse
La faulte couvriront. Mais si trouviez estrange
Que je vous aye escript, loing seroys de mon change;
Et certes, je craindroys ce malheur m'advenir,
N'estoit qu'assez vous peult des propoz souvenir
Que je vous ay tenuz; lesquelz vous ont faict foy
Que la raison ne veulx esloigner d'ung seul doy;
Et que je ne pretende et n'ay poinct pretendu
En vous, ny de par vous, ung bien qui ne soit deu,
Non à moy seulement, mais à toute personne
Qui à suyvre l'honneur plus qu'au plaisir s'adonne.
Lisez doncq hardiement, et me recongnoissez,
En jugeant le present par les actes passés.

IX

f.70. Autre Epistre

Voye ma lectre, ung mary, une mere,
Ung oncle, aussi, ung cousin, ung frere,
Ce n'est tout ung: qui mal y pensera,
La faulte à luy, et non myenne sera;
f.70v°. Car de ma part devant Dieu je proteste,
A qui le cueur est tousjours manifeste,
Que le mien n'est aucunement infaict
De folle Amour, mais d'un amour parfaict
Qui suz vertu a prins son fondement,
Et se nourrist par certain jugement
Et par Debvoir qui semond vous aymer,
Comme Raison contrainct vous estimer.
Veez la Raison, Debvoir, Amour, ensemble,
Avec vertu, assez fors, se me semble,
Et pour actendre et surmonter aussi
Ceulx qui vouldroient calumnyer ainsi,
A la vollée, et sans nulle apparence,
L'office bon que je faiz en absence:
Mais, las, que puis je, ou taire ou vous escripre,
Que puis je plus ou penser ou vous dire

Text: a

Que ne sçaichez aussi bien comme moy?
Je vous ay faict de mon cueur, et je croy
Qu'aussi m'avez faict du vostre, ouverture:
De quoy sert doncq maintenant l'escripture?
N'escripvant poinct, moins ne vous aymeray;
Vous escripvant plus aymé ne seray.
f.71. Si est ce, amye, et ainsi le fault croire,
Que ceste doulce et tant ferme memoire
Dont suis nourry, et qui ne m'abandonne,
Incessamment me stimule et ordonne
Ou de partir pour vous aller reveoir,
Ou faire aumoins d'escripre le debvoir:
L'ung je ne doibs et en seroys repris,
Mesmes par vous qui m'avez tant apris
De preferer l'honneur à tout plaisir;
Quant est d'escripre, en ayant le loisir,
Je ne m'en puys et ne m'en veulx garder,
Et ayme mieulx ce papier hazarder
A estre veu que moy d'estre estimé
Peu diligent au lieu où suys aymé.

X

f.71. Autre Epistre

Il fault, il fault que le sac je deslye;
Et ne m'enquiers si c'est sens ou folye.
Quoy que ce soit, il le fault, ce m'est force;
Car d'autant plus mon mal couvrir m'efforce,
Plus je le sens, et plus il me tourmente;
Et tout ainsi comme une fiebvre lente
Ou ung venin peu à peu nous desesche,
Ainsi d'amour la violente flesche
f.71v°. Mon cueur meurtrist et quant l'arracher pense,
Ou par fuyr ou par la congnoissance
De mes malheurs ou par veoir autre dame,
C'est lors que plus d'amour je sens la flame,
N'en trouvant poinct qui vous soit comparable,
Ny apres vous ny avecq vous aymable.
Veez là comment par escript me confesse;
Veez la comment ardente Amour me presse
Vous declairer et de loing vous escripre
Ce que de bouche, estant pres, n'osay dire.
O moy, pauvre homme aveugle et abusé!
Ne sçay je pas que seray reffusé,
Si une fois je parle ce langaige?
Ne sçay-je pas que vous estes si saige

Text: a

Et de vertuz et honneur tant pourveue,
Qu'incontinent que ma lectre aurez veue
Ou sans la veoir soubdain la gecterez
Et elle et moy ensemble bruslerez;
La lectre en feu qui la consommera,
Moy par amour qui tousjours durera.
Mais quel remede? en moy n'est de povoir
Ou surmonter la force et le povoir
f.72. D'ung si grant maistre, ou craindre de l'atendre
Puys que fuyr n'y sert ny se deffendre.
Lequel feray je? Helas fuyr ne puys,
Qu'il ne me suive, et quant je le poursuys,
De plus en plus je le treuve plusfort,
Et moy plus foible à vaincre son effort;
Je ne veulx doncq l'assaillir ny fuyr,
Et me suffist que me veuillez ouyr.
Mais que diray je? Amour m'a surmonté,
Amour m'a pris par vostre grant beaulté,
Amour m'a faict desirer une chose
Que je n'espere et demander je n'ose,
Mais qui me tient de si pres à la teste
Que si ne suys ou sot ou du tout beste,
Enfin fauldra que je la vous demande,
Amour, Amour, Amour le me commande!

Je sens desja que vostre front se fronce,
Et que j'auray quelque dure responce,
Ou que seray de ce propoz blasmé,
Avant quasy que l'avoir entamé.
Mais quoy! Amour le fait mectre en avant,
Et si j'estoys, amye, assez sçavant
Pour le vous dire qu'il est au cueur,
Je ne craindroys en rien vostre rigueur.
f.72v° Si me fault il pour trop ne vous deplaire,
En cest endroit la conclusion faire;
Mais c'est à vous, non à moy, de conclure,
Et veuille Amour que ce que je procure
Pour son moien soit par vous entendu,
Tant que je n'aye et sens et temps perdu.

XI

[Blason de la Main.]

f.74. O belle main, main blanche, main polye,
Main qui les cueurs et corps lye et deslye,
Main qui le mien a pris sans y toucher,
Main qui embrasse, et semond d'approcher,
Main qui à moy doibz ouvrir, o main forte,
Qui fors à moy, à tous ferme la porte;
Main qui souvant en estraignant le doy,
Sans dire mot, m'as dit je sçay bien quoy;
Main qui la trousse et flesches sans doubter
A Cupido, seulle, pourrois oster,
Dys je la main qui Cupido feroit
Mourir d'amour, quand il la toucheroit;
f.74v°. Main qui peuz seulle, et le soir & matin,
Laisser la myenne approcher du tetin;
Main qui permect, s'il est besoing, qu'on puisse
En se jouant sçavoir quelle est la cuysse.
O main qui peult souffrir oultre passer,
Mais ce seroit assez pour trespasser,

Composed before February 1536.
Text: a, with the exception of errors in ll. 40 and 42, for which I have given the readings of BCDE and DE respectively.
Variants: B C D E
Title: Omitted a 1 B C D E O doulce main main [illegible]elle 2 B C D E cueurs faict lier & deslie 9 B.C.D.E. flesche 11 B C D E que Cupido feroit 12 B C D E Mouvoir d'Amour 15 B C D E peult 17 B C D Main qui souffre par foys oultre passer E Main qui permet par foys oultre passer

Main qui peuz mieulx faire encore aultre chose
Qui plaist trop plus que moyns demander l'ose;
Main à qui seulle appartient que l'on saiche
Ce qu'on ne voit, ce qu'on cherche, et qu'on cache;
Main qui peult mieulx par escript asseurer
Que l'oeil pour veoir ou bouche pour jurer,
O digne main qui jusques au ciel approche,
Main qui faiz honte à la neige & reproche,[1]
Main qui estrainctz le neud de fermeté,
Main qui chatouille en toute honnesteté,
Main que Venus veult pour sienne advouer,
Main qui du laucz doulcement sçaiz jouer,
Main quand Orpheus mesmes l'escouteroit,
Comme vaincu sa herpe laisseroit,

---

19 B C D E peut bien faire
20 B C Qui plaist autant que moins dire je n'ose
D E autant moins dire je n'ose
21 C D E quelle scache
24 C D E par voyr & bouche
27 B C D estrainct E esteint
32 E la harpe

---

1. Cf. Clément MAROT, Du Beau Tetin (ed. Guiffrey, IV, 99), l.3:

"Tetin qui fais honte à la rose".

Main que Palas choisiroit pour escripre,
Main qui aultant que la bouche peult dire,
Main qui trop plus d'heur envoye en absence
Que l'oeil n'en peult octroyer en presence;
Main fretilliante, ostez voz gans, ostez,
Et vos plaisirs par voz doys nous contez,
J'entends ceulx là dont fault que soye tesmoing,
Et quand de toy, helas, je serey loing,
Main je te pry, faiz responce à la myenne,
Main escriptz moy que souldain je revienne.

---

34 B C D E peulx
38 B C D me comptez
E par voz doigtz comptez
39 E que je soye
40 de B C D E) te a. B C D E serois
41 E Mais je
42 Main D E) mais a B C
E rescry moy

*XII

LXXX. Blason du Ventre

O Ventre rond, ventre joly,
Ventre sur tous le mieulx poly,
Ventre plus blanc que n'est Albastre,[1]
Ventre en esté plus froit que plastre
Dont le toucher rend la main froide,
Et je ne sçay quoy chault & roide.
Ventre qui es plain de bon heur,
Ventre où tous membres font honneur,
Ventre qui sçais l'homme contraindre
A demander ou fort se plaindre.
Ventre qui bien sçais en tous temps
L'homme attirer où tu pretends,
Et qui si beau te voit vestu
Peult bien juger quel tu es nu.

Composed; 1536 or 1537
Text: C, with the exception of an error, l.59, for which I have given the reading of E
Variants: D E
7 E qui est
14 E que tu es nu

---

1. Cf. Eustorg de BEAULIEU, Blason de la Joue, l.33:

" d'albastre ou cristaline".

Doncques celuy heureux seroit
Qui ventre nud te tasteroit,
Encores plus heureux sera
Qui dessus toy reposera.
Ventre qui as bas la fontaine
Pour recreer nature humaine.
Ventre, nul est qui le te nye
Qu'en toy ne soit le fruict de vie,
Ventre habile à recepvoir
Cela de quoy peuz concepvoir,
LXXXv.° Ventre, qui en donne & prens
Et qui te preste, tu luy rens.
Ventre qui es si digne chose
Que dedans toy l'enfant repose.
Membre subject plus que trestous
A soustenir de rudes coups.
Ventre c'est toy avec ta suyte
Dont chascun faict si grant poursuyte,
Car si en prenant ses esbas
La main te touche hault & bas,

---

15 E bien heureux
26 E te donne
32 E Dont un chascun faict grand poursuyte

D'ancien amy soit, ou nouveau,
Il a plus grant part au gasteau.
Ventre eslevé sur deux coulonnes
De marbre blanc, grosses & bonnes,
Bien dignes d'ung tel lieu tenir
Et si noble faiz soustenir.[1]
O ventre assis au droit millieu
Qui est estimé le meilleur lieu.
Ventre, qui voit ton beau maintien,
C'est grand cas s'il ne se rend tien.
Ventre eslevé qui par dehors
Si bien troussé monstre le corps.
Ventre, clapier sans nulle ordure
Où le connil faict sa demeure.
Ventre sans ride & sans macule,
Ventre qui jamais ne recule
Pour coup d'estoc, ou bien de taille,
En escarmouche ou en bataille.

---

1. Cf. LE LIEUR, Blason de la Cuisse, ll. 3-4:

"plus dure que le marbre
Le soubstien et le gros de l'arbre".

Ventre, gratieux au taster
Encores plus à l'acointer,
Les membres du corps ne desprise,
Mais sur tous autres je te prise.
A l'Oeil,[1] au Nez,[2] point je ne touche,
Au Tetin rond[3] ny à la Bouche[4],
Le Cueur[5] sert fort, aussi l'Oreille,[6]

---

54 E Et encore
57 D point ne te touche
59 sert E / sort C D

---

1. The Blason de l'Oeil by Antoine HEROET.
2. The Blason du Nez by Eustorg de BEAULIEU or by J.N.d'ARLES. As the Blasons by both these authors appear for the first time in the 1537 edition of the Hecatomphile, it is impossible to say to which Chappuys refers.
3. The Blason du Beau Tetin by Clément MAROT (ed. Guiffrey, IV, 99)
4. The Blason de la Bouche by Victor BRODEAU. It is to be noted, however, that Hecatomphile of 1536 (Bodleian Library, Oxford) contains a second Blason de la Bouche, "Je crains beaucoup, o digne et belle bouche..." In the Soissons ms. 200 (f.75) this second Blason de la Bouche follows immediately on Chappuys' Blason de la Main.
5. The Blason du Cueur by Albert LE GRAND.
6. The Blason de l'Oreille by Albert LE GRAND.

Mais cela point ne me reveille;
Le poil doré,[1] cela m'est peu;
Mais que de ton bien soys repeu.
Quant tout est dit, tout leur affaire
Ne gist en rien qu'à te complaire,
Parquoy c'est toy à qui me voue
Et que sur tous j'estime & loue.

---

1. The Blason des Cheveulx by Jean de VAUZELLES.

*XIII

Blason du C..

XCIIIIv° Petit mouflard, petit C.. rebondy,
Petit counin plus que Levrier hardy,
Plus que Lyon au combat courageux
Agille & prompt en tes follastres jeux
Plus que le Singe, ou le jeune Chatton.
Counin vestu de ton poil follaton
Plus riche que la Toyson de Colcos.
Counin grasset, sans harestes, sans os
Friant morceau de nayfve bonté,
O joly C.. bien assis, hault monté,[1]
Loing du dangier, & bruyt de ton voysin,
Qu'on ne prendoyt jamais pour ton cousin;

Composed: 1536 or 1537
Text: C (D E identical), with the exception of three errors, l.11, l.15 and l.27, for which the readings of o are given.
Variants: o (f.45)

Title: o Chassour (?) sur ung C.. rebondy

4 o a tes
8 o grasslet
11 du dangier o) de dangier C D E

---

1. Cf. VILLON, Les Regrets de la Belle Heaulmiere, ll. 54-55, ed. Foulet, p. 51:
"... ce sadinet
Assis sur grosses fermes cuisses."

Bien embouché d'ung bouton vermeillet,
Ou d'ung Rubis servant de Fermaillet
Joinct & serré, fermé tant seurement
Que ta fasson ou joly mouvement,
Soyt le corps droict assis, gambade ou joue,
Si tu ne fays quelque amoureuse moue.
Source d'amour, fontayne de doulceur[1]
Petit ruysseau apaysant toute ardeur,
Mal & langueur, o lieu solacieux
Et gratieux, sejour delicieux,
Voluptueux plus que tout autre au monde;
Petit sentier qui droict meine à la bonde
D'excellent bien, & souverain plaisir,
Heureux sera cil duquel le desir
Contenteras, qui prendre te pourra
Et qui de toy plainement jouyra.

---

13 o C.. embouche
15 seurement o) seullement C D E
16 o Que ta façon ne change au mouvement
27 Contenteras o) contentera C D E

---

1. Cf. SASSOFERRATO, Gloria d'amore, (Venice, 1544), f.211, Comparation de laude a la signora mia in cominciando al capo per insino alli piedi:

"Quelle parte secrete donde nasce
un ampla vena de soavita..."

*XIV

26v.º Blason du C.. de la Pucelle

C.., non pas c.., mais petit sadinet;
C.., mon plaisir, mon gentil jardinet[1]
27. Où ne fut oncq plante, arbre ne souche.
C.. joly, C.. à la vermeille bouche.
C.., mon petit mignon, ma petite fossete.
C.. rebondy en forme de bossete.
C.. revestu d'une riche toyson,
De fin poil d'or en sa vraye saison.
C.. qui tant a de force, & puissance.
C.. qui seul peult bailler la jouissance.
C.. qui la main trop paresseuse & lente
Rend, quand il veult, hardie & diligente.
C.. qui commande à l'oeil de faire signe
A cil qu'il tient de s'amour le plus digne;
Et qui ordonne à la bouche parler
De tout plaisir, & ennuy ravaller.

Composed: before 1543
Text: E with the exception of an error of l.14

14 A cil qu'il tient de s'amour le plus digne)
A cil qui tient de s'amour la plus digne E

---

1. Cf. VILLON, Les Regrets de la Belle Heaulmiere, (Oeuvres, ed. Foulet, p. 51):

"Qu'est devenu ce front poli...
Ces larges rains, ce sadinet
Assis sur grosses fermes cuisses
Dedens son petit jardinet?"

C.., tu as bien la force & le povoir
Un Petin ferme esbranler & mouvoir.
C.., tu n'es point de ses C..s furieux,
Tu es le C.. tresbeau & gratieux,
Qui n'as senty ceste doulce bataille.
C.., il n'est point autre C.. qui te vaille.
C.., hault monté sur les cuisses tant fermes,[1]
Qui faict rampars aux assaulx & allarmes,
Tout ce qu'on faict, qu'on dit ou qu'on procure,
Tout ce qu'on veult, qu'on promect, qu'on asseure,
C'est pour le C.. tant digne decorer;
Chascun te vient à genoux adorer.
27v. O c.. petit morceau friant, (beau c..)
C.. qui rendroit un demy mort riant,
Je laisse à ceulx qu'ilz desiroient la main,
La leur qui tant plus tost huy que demain;[2]
Et à ceulx là qui sont contens du veoir,[3]
C'est un grand bien que ne desire avoir.
Et le baiser je leur delaisse aussi,[4]
Et suis contens de demeurer icy,
Pres de toy, C.., à te faire service,
Comme celuy qui m'est le plus propice.

1. Cf. VILLON, Les Regrets de la Belle Heaulmiere, ll.54-56, ed. Foulet, p.51.

2. A probable reference to the Blason de la Main, which was composed by Chappuys himself.

3. A probable reference to the Blason de l'Oeil by Heroet.

4. A probable reference to a Blason de la Bouche, either the one by Victor Brodeau or the one by an unknown author, cf. supra, p.80.

XV

f.48. Lachesis que l'on tient deesse irrevocable,
Congnoissant aux Françoys Madame[1] necessaire,
Fut par sa grant vertu rendue pitoiable,

Composed 1531

Text: a Variants: k(f.109v°)

3 k si grand vertu

---

1. Louise de Savoie, mother of François I. Louise de Savoie, who was born in 1476, was the daughter of Philippe II, Duke of Savoie, and of Marguerite de Bourbon. In 1490, she married Charles d'Angoulême. On the death of Louis XII in 1515, her son François d'Angoulême succeeded to the throne as François I. After her son's succession, Louise de Savoie wielded considerable power in France, acting as Regent during François I's campaign in Italy and his captivity in Spain. In 1529, she negociated with Margaret of Austria for the Peace of Cambrai, known as the Paix des Dames.

Louise de Savoie died at Grez-sur-Lorng (Seine-et-Marne), on 22nd September, 1531, (cf. DU BELLAY, Mémoires, II, p.129, n.2; Cronique du Roy François Ier, ed. Guiffrey, p.93). Her death was widely mourned in France. Clément Marot, composed a quatrain (ed. Guiffrey, IV, 356) in her honour, as well as an Eclogue: De Madame Loyse de Savoye, mere du Roy, en forme d'Eglogue (ed. Guiffrey, IV, 399). Mellin de Saint Gelays lamented her death in two poems: De Mme. Louise de Savoye mere du roy François (Blanchemain, II, 169) and Epitaphe de Louise de Savoye (Blanchemain, II, p.279).

Et à ses propres seurs[1] se declaira contraire,
Saichant que pour le ciel la nous vouloient soubzstraire,
Mais, helas, de malheur, quant le fil tirer pense,
Elle trouve rompu & lors elle se advance
De tost le renouer: mais Mort contraire au bien
Que ça bas nous donnoit son heureuse presence,
Dist: "Le fil est rompu: ce corps doibt estre mien."

---

4 k Qua
5 k vouloit
7 k Elle la trouve
10 k Le fil est rompu le corps

---

1. ~~Clotho, and Atropos, who cuts the thread of life.~~
Clotho, who span the thread of life, and Atropos, who cut it. Lachesis assigned to one one's lot in life.

XVI

f.44v? A Monseigneur le Grant Maistre[1]

De voz vertus le hault bruict & estyme
En tant commung icy et en tous lieux,
Que ce pais et peuple heureux estyme
Le jour qu'il peult specter sur vous les yeulx.[2]
f.45. Chascun s'efforce à qui fera le mieulx,
Et s'ilz font moins que requiert le debvoir,
La voulenté vous prient recepvoir
En lieu du faict, & que les excuses;
Mais d'autant plus d'honneur debvés avoir,
Que tous honneurs & pompes reffusez.[3]

A Thoulouse le xxvigesme jour de juillet, mil. v c. xxxiij.

Composed: 27th July, 1533.
Text: a

1. On Anne de Montmorency, Grand Maître of France, cf. supra, p. 342 n.1

2. On 23rd March, 1526, Montmorency was appointed Governor of Languedoc and of Provence (cf. Cat. des Actes, I, 437, 2307). He did not, however, make his official Entry into his Province for some years. On 27th July, 1533, he finally made his solemn Entry into Toulouse, the seat of his government, where he was received amid much rejoicing. Montmorency's Entry was followed by those of the Dauphin, François I and Queen Eléonore in the succeeding days. Cf. F.DECRUE, Anne de Montmorency, Grand Maître et Connétable de France à la cour... du roi François Ier, p.209.

3. When Montmorency made his Entry, he was accompanied in the procession by his Lieutenant, Clermont, and by four "capitouls", or city officials, who offered to carry a canopy over his head. Montmorency, however, modestly declined this honour, cf. F.DECRUE, Anne de Montmorency..., loc. cit.

XVII

/ Epitaphe de feue Madame de Traves

Helayne Gouffier / [1]

f.3. Suz ce tumbeau ne rependez que fleurs;
Car celle-là, dont le corps y repose,
A merité qu'en lieu de tristes pleurs
Apres sa mort son sepulcre on arrose
D'eau de parfum, d'eau de naffe, ou de rose,
En demonstrant que vertus et faconde,
f.3v.° Dont à nulle autre elle n'estoit seconde,

Composed October - November, 1533
Text: a Variants: r(f.38v°)
Title: r Epitaphe pour feue madame de Traves
3 r que au lieu 7 r elle estoit

---

1. Hélène Gouffier, or Hélène de Boisy, was the daughter of Artus Gouffier, seigneur de Boisy, and of Hélène de Genlis. In 1517, she married Louis de Vendosme, who died on 11th May, 1527. On 16th September, 1528, she married for a second time, marrying François de Clermont, seigneur de Traves. She died at Marseilles on 29th October, 1533, while the French court was at Marseilles for the visit of Pope Clement VII (cf. DU BELLAY, Mémoires, II, pp.219-231).

The passing of Hélène Gouffier was widely mourned by the poets of the court of François I. Besides Chappuys, Clément Marot, Mellin de Saint Gelays and others composed Epitaphs in her honour, (cf. De Heleine de Boisy, ed. Guiffrey, IV, 364: De feue Mme. de Traves, Blanchemain, II, 274). In the Soissons ms. 200 Chappuys' dizain is the final poem in a group of Epitaphs in honour of "feue Madame de Traves" (ff.2.-3v°). The other Epitaphs are all unsigned, although one may be attributed to Marot ("Ne sçay où gist Helaine en qui beaulté gisoit", cf. Guiffrey, IV,364.)

Luy ont donné là-hault si seure adresse,
Qu'on doibt penser, qu'elle laissa le monde,
Pour estre au ciel immortelle deesse.

XVIII

f.14. Puis que voyons, o Françoys, nostre roy,
La teste nue, en la main une torche,
Humilié pour l'honneur de la foy,
Où est le cueur, feust-il plus dur que roche,
L'homme tant plain de blasme et de reproche,
Qui ne voulsist comme luy, qui est maistre,
Celluy qu'il tient pour Seigneur recongnoistre,
Et adorer l'hostie salutaire!
O nous heureux autant qu'on le peult estre
D'avoir ung roy qui nous monstre à bien faire![1]

---

8 r donne lassus

Composed January 1535 Text: a Variants: b (F.15) F.
Title b Dizain du feu roy françoys. 1. bF Puisque lon veoit

---

1. On 21st January, 1535, by order of François I, a solemn procession was held in Paris in expiation of the outrages of the Affaire des Placards, (cf. supra, p.24 n.1). This procession, in which many precious relics were borne through the streets of Paris from the Church of Saint Germain de l'Auxerrois to the Cathedral of Notre Dame, was one of the most spectacular religious occasions in the whole of the sixteenth century. In the procession, Jean du Bellay, Bishop of Paris, carried the Holy Sacrament beneath a canopy borne by the Dauphin, his two brothers and the Duke of Vendosme, and, according to the Cronique du roy François premier and other contemporary accounts, the King himself followed close behind:

"Incontinant après ledict Sainct Sacrement, marchoit le Roy, nostre souverain Seigneur, seul, tenant une torche de

XIX

f.20. Lors que Neptune eut receu cest honneur
De veoir le Roy avec toute sa suycte,
Delibera pour croistre son bon heur
De s'accoincter de deux dames d'eslite;
Et fut si bien l'entreprinse conduycte,
Que quelque temps les tint en son povoir:
Mais à grant payne eut loysir de les veoir
Qu'il apperceut le Roy tost s'advancer
Encontre luy; dont changes de vouloir,

Composed 1538
Text: a

I (contd.)

sire vierge en sa main, teste nue, en grande
révérance qu'il faisoit merveilleusement
bon voir".

(Cronique du Roy Françoys premier, ed. Guiffrey, pp.113 et. seq.)

For other accounts of the procession, cf. Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris, p.447; FELIBIEN, Histoire de la Ville de Paris, Paris, 1725, t. IV, p.686 and t. V, p.343; Registres des Déliberations du Bureau de la Ville de Paris, II, pp.195 et seq.

Et les rendit craignant de l'offencer.[1]

---

1. The dizain would seem to refer to an incident which took place during François I's visit to Nice in June, 1538, for the conclusion of a treaty with the Emperor Charles V. On 11th June, Queen Léonore and the French Princesses visited the Emperor on board his galley. The gang-way between the galley and the shore collapsed, throwing the ladies into the water, from which, fortunately, they were quickly rescued! For an account of this incident, cf. Cronique du roy françoys premier, p. 242-243. On the "Entrevue le Nice", cf., also, DU BELLAY, Mémoires, III, pp. 444-445; F.DECRUE, Anne de Montmorency... à la cour du roi François 1er, pp. 353-356.

Like Chappuys, other poets of the day took delight in describing the incident. The Rothschild ms., n° 2965, contains, for instance, the two following pieces, which are anonymous:

f.41v° "Congnoysant bien Neptune son grand heur
Par deux clairtez tenant en sa puissance,
N'a pas permys pour estre plus asseur
Que trop en eust la terre congnoissance;
Car d'aultre foys par longue experience
Il a congneu la force du povoir
Dont l'une faict par la nuict son debvoir
Et l'aultre feist ung flambant feu ingresse;
Parquoy le dieu maulgré tout son vouloir
Sera vaincu et la terre maistresse."

"Veoyant Neptune avoir en sa puissance
Par cas piteux et sort trop miserable
Prinse et butin de clairté l'excellence,
Estonné fut la sentant importable;
Alors eut peur craignant le jour finable
Quand par le feu perdra tout son pouvoir;
Sy les retint ung peu pour les myeulx veoir;
En l'une veyt de troys l'embraisement,
L'aultre qui peult maulgré luy l'esmouvoir;
f.42 Illes rendit ne pouvant plus pourvoir
Que le feu n'eust sur l'eau commandement".

XX

f.48v° Au Roy[1]

Fortune, de mon bien envieuse & jalouse,
f.49. Veult vostre bon vouloir rendre de nul effect,
Et pour ce qu'elle crainct vostre grandeur & n'ouse
Sa malice monstrer, sçavez vous qu'elle a faict?
Elle s'est alliée avec ung monstre infaict,
De Nature ennemy, qu'on appelle la Mort,
Et, pour me nuyre, ont faict revivre ung demy mort.[2]
Mon malheur doncq leur sert de triumphe & de gloire,
Mais, Sire, si pour moy vous plaist de tenir fort,
J'auray contre Fortune & contre Mort victoire.

Composed before 1534
Text: a, with the exception of an error of line 9, for which the reading of e (f.63) i s t and A is given.
Variants: i(f.212v°) k(f.108v°) s t A
Title A Ung Amoureux prie sa dame luy tenir main pour vaincre Fortune & Mort
Omitted k s A
1 k curieuse et jalouse 5 k elle est allyée s t sen est allee
7 A on fait i recuire or recivre ? 8 k et gloire
9 A Mais dame i pour moy sil plaist e i s t A) plaise a k plait tenir

---

1 We do not know on what occasion Chappuys addressed this dizain to the King. As the piece, in a slightly different form, is found, however, in the Hecatomphile of 1534, it is possible that Chappuys composed the poem some two years earlier when he was seeking to obtain the office of "Libraire du Roi". If this were the case, the "demy mort" of l.7 would be one Jean Verdier whom Chappuys succeeded as "Libraire du Roi" in 1532, (cf. Cat. des Actes, II, 360, 5575).

2 Cf. supra, n.1, and also Au Roy, "Ce ne seroit, o majesté royalle", 9-14, p.297

XXI

f.40v° Je ne veulx pas blasmer les amoureulx
Qui leur amye estyment sans semblable,
Et en cela se trouvent bien heureux
De la penser entre toutes amable.
Mais pour asseoyr jugement equitable,
Confesser fault, car elle a merité,
Que l'Admiralle est sur toute admyrable
En grant doulceur & parfaicte beaulté.[1]

Text: a (j(f.45v°) identical)
Variants: m(f.212v°), s t
6 m quelle la merite s t car el' la
7 s sur tout

---

1 On Françoise de Longwy, wife of Philippe Chabot, Admiral of France, cf. supra, p.261n.1

Cf., also, Discours de la Court, 817-818:

"Sans delaisser ma dame l'Admiralle
En bonne grace aux plus belles esgalle".

In 1538, Marot addressed Estrennes to Madame l'Admiralle, cf. ed. Guiffrey, IV, 311.

XXII

f.12bis. Estraynes.[1]

Ce n'est à moy qui n'ay rien du poete
que pouvreté, à moy n'est de donner;
f.12bis,v°. Car je n'ay rien et rien je ne souhaicte,
Fors que veillez voz plaisirs m'ordonner;
Et n'ayant mieulx dequoy vous estrainer,
Tous mes souhaictz à vous seulle j'adresse,
Et vous desire autant d'heur et lyesse
que de beaulté Nature vous donna,
Et de tous biens, aussi grande largesse
que de vertu le ciel vous ordonna.

Text: a

---

1 We do not know to whom these Estraynes are addressed.

XXIII

f.28v° Replicque.[1]

Tous fleuves doulx oubliez vostre gloire;
Laissez le cours que Nature a donné
Pour faire honneur aux triumphes de Loyre,
Où leur jardin les dieux ont ordonné,
A tous plaisirs et biens habondonné.

Text: a, with the exception of an error of l.4 for which I have given the reading of e and i

Variants: e(f.55) i(f.193v°)

Title omitted e i

3 e de gloire 4 jardin e i] jardrin a

---

1. Chappuys' dizain is written in reply to the following neuvain by Victor Brodeau which precedes Chappuys' poem in the Soissons ms. 200 (f.28v°):

"Ausone a faict congnoistre la Garonne,
Petrarche Sorgue et Sainct Gelays Charente,
Arne est petit et grant bruit on luy donne
Par les escriptz de Bocasse et de Dente,
O Loire en biens et plaisir habundante!

Las, je suys ny suz vostre claire rive
Et riens de vous declairer je ne puys!
Ce faict Amour qui contre moy estrive
Pour en bailler le subgect à Chappuys".

The Musée Condé ms. 523 (f.55) and the B.N. ms. fr. 1667 (f.193) contain also the following lines:

Là est Flora, & Palas y frequente,

Et Apolo qui avecq elle chante,

Et puys Amour, qui rompit son bandeau,

Aiant oy musicque si plaisante,

Pour en donner le subgect à Brodeau.

---

10 e Pour lire et veoir les escriptz de brodeau
i Pour livre (?) et veoir les escripts de brodeau

---

1. (continued):

"Puisque Sorgue, la Garonne et Charente
Sans oublier Arne ont eu cest honneur
De gens dignes de louange excellante
Estre louez, si du fleuve vient l'heur,
Loire doit donc engendrer ung facteur
Qui sa gloire partout le monde esvente.
Brodeau avoit esleu selon son cueur,
Mais n'ayant mis qu'à bon fruict sa pretente,
Cuydant faire ung poete qui chante
Dont à jamais il deust estre memoire,
Ung bon crestien a receu de sa plante;
Brodeau n'est peu puis qu'il est bonne poire".

On Victor Brodeau, the Secretary of the Queen of Navarre, cf. P. JOURDA, Un disciple de Marot, Victor Brodeau, R.H.L., 1921, pp.30-59; 202-228.

XXIV

Envoy[1]

f.28v° Amour s'estoit loing de moy absenté,
A de le suivre estoys peu curieux;
Mais tout soubdain il s'est representé,
Quant j'ay receu voz escriptz gracieux.
Vous le m'avez envoyé parmy eulx,
Je l'ay senty et congneu que vous estes,
Ainsi que luy, maistre et victorieux:
Luy de mon cueur, vous des autres poetes.

Text: _ (k(f.113) identical)
Variants: e(f.55v°) i(f.196v°)

Title: omitted e i
8 i et vous

---

1. In the Soissons ms. 200, this Envoy follows Chappuys' Replicque to a poem by Brodeau (cf. supra, XXIII). The later scribe, moreover, has bracketed all three pieces together with the marginal comment "fault mectre ces troys l'ung apres l'autre". So we may assume that like the Replicque this Envoy also is addressed to Brodeau.

*XXV

f.222v.[9] Quant noz deux cueurs estoient unis ensemble
Par ung lyen d'estroicte affection,
De l'un à l'autre, comme il me semble,
Il n'y avoit point d'obligacion;
Car de l'amour la retribucion
Estoit amour et les plaisirs passez,
Qu'amour nous a en honneur amassez.
Lais maintenant que sans estre muable
Vous veuil aimer, mesmes quant me chassez,
Je me oblige, et ma foy rends louable.[1]

Text: i, with the exception of an error of l.9 for which I have given the reading of s
Variants: s
6 s Estoit lamour
7 s par honneur
9 Vous veuil aimer s) vous deux aymet i
10 s je vous oblige

---

1. The B.N. ms. fr. 1667 (f.223) contains the following Response par Brod⌈eau⌋.

Si je vous ay aucun temps estrangé,
Tant seullement d'eul et de contenance
Et non de cueur qui n'a jamais changé
En vostre endroit sa foy et sa constance,
C'est pour veoir vostre perseverance;
Et si vouldriez quelque peine endurer
Pour nostre amour: mais quant... murmurer*
Du reprocher toutes graces surmonte,
De vostre part elle ne peult durer;
Amour ne mect jamais sa mise en compte.

* I have unfortunately been unable to read this line.

XXVI

f.14. Quatre elemens sont autheurs de la vie,
Par ung accord que Dieu entre eulx a mis,
Et est soudain l'ame du corps ravie
Quant l'un deffault ou est par trop remis.[1]
Ainsi pour vray est il des quatre amis,
Joinctz et uniz par telle affection
Que de l'un seul la separation
Mourir feroit tous les quatre en une heure;
Mais quant des lieux survivent mutation,
Le cueur de l'un faict que l'autre ne meure.

Text: a
Variants: s

4 s ou lautre est trop remis
5 s de quatre amis

---

1. For the theme, cf. SASSOFERRATO, Olimpia..., f. C 3.

XXVII

f.11v.° De qui plustost me debveroys je plaindre,
D'Amour, de vous, de moy mesme ou du Temps?
Amour me veult à le servir contraindre;
Vous reffusez ce qu'à bon droict j'actends;
Je vy d'espoir & nul bien ne pretends,
Et par le Temps contrainct suys m'absenter.
Aynsy j'ay cause assez de lamenter,
Mais plus de vous, car vous estez à mesme
De me povoir promptement contenter
D'Amour, de vous, du Temps et de moy mesme.

Text: a

Variants: s t

1 s t me devrois je complaindre

XXVIII

f.12. Amour aveugle aveugle tout le monde
Et moins souvent espargne le plus saige,
Duquel le sens, le sçavoir ou faconde
Ne peult couvrir ce qu'on voyt au visaige.[1]
Or je cognoys qu'il vous guecte au passaige
Le traistre enfant qui tant m'a abusé!
Fuyez vous en; car il est trop rusé,
Et n'en croyez Petrarque ny Ovide;
Mais advisez si doibt estre excusé
Celluy qui prend ung aveugle pour guyde.[2]

Text: a
Variants: s t

3 s Oncques le sens
6 s qui ma tant abuse
9 s t sil doibt

---

1. For this theme, cf. CII, "S'il est ainsi que le visaige monstre", ll.1-2 and note 1. p427
2. Cf. RONSARD, Sonnets pour Helène; I, VI,

"Dedans les flots d'amour...
Choisissant un enfant, un aveugle pour guide".

XXIX

f.12. Fortune monstre avec sa cruaulté
En m'esloignant du lieu où gist mon cueur;
Amour me rend serf de vostre beaulté
4 Et m'adoulcist vostre extreme rigueur;
Le Ciel n'a poinct pitié de ma langueur;
Nature aussy ne m'a pas figuré
Pour estre à vous en grace mesuré.
8 La Mort souhaicte & Lort de moy n'a cure;
Contre moy doncq ensemble ont conjuré
Fortune, Amour, le Ciel, Mort et Nature.[1]

Text: a

Variant: s t

3 s t de vive beaulté

---

1. An almost literal translation of the following poem by PHILOXENO:

"Amor me ha acceso de tua gran belleza;
Fortuna ognhor da te mi ten lontano;
Il ciel me privo al nascer de richeza;
Natura m'ha creato turpe e strano;
Morte ognhor chiamo et quella mi dispreza,
Per far che ogni disegno mio sia vano:
Cosi han jurato de stentarmi forte
Amor, fortuna, il ciel, natura et morte".

(Sylve de Marcello Philoxeno Tarvisino poeta clarissimo, Venice, Nicolo Brenta, 1507, f.b.vii).

XXX

f.12v.° Je ne me puis plaindre ny contenter;
Car c'est beaucoup et ne me doibt suffire
Que, quant vostre oeil me cuyde tourmenter,
Vostre parolle adoulcist mon martire.
Si suis je heureux, mais pas ne le fault dire,
De vous aimer, veu qu'avez le povoir
De satisfaire en ung mot au debvoir
Que vous requiert mon ardente amytié;
Mais plus que heureux seray, si je puis veoir
Que par effect ayez de moy pitié.

Text: a

Variants: s

2 s peut suffire
3 s cuide me tourmenter
9 t plus heureux

XXXI

f.12v.º Les dyamans, les perles et rubis
A vous parer ne servent nullement;
Car voz beaultés gardent certainement
Que l'on ne puisse adviser aux habis.
Dont qui vouldroit bien parée vous veoir,
Sans parement il vous fauldroit avoir.[1]

Text: a

Variants: s

l.I s les rubis

---

1. Cf. MAROT, (ed. Guiffrey, IV, 83),

De madame Ysabeau de Navarre

"Qui cuyderoit desguiser Ysabeau
D'un simple habit, ce seroit grand simplesse...
Mais il me semble (ou je suis bien trompé)
Qu'elle seroit plus belle toute nue".

XXXII

f.12v° Assez souvant à la porte demeure,
Non par deffault de pouvoir y entrer,
Mais ayant creu que ce n'est poinct mon heure,
f.12bis. Je n'ose pas seullement me monstrer;
Et quant je veulx vous dire et remonstrer
Ce que devez sans le vous dire entendre,
J'ay quasi peur et doubte de mesprendre.
Las! c'est amour, qui trop se faisant craindre,
Luy mesmes crainct qu'il vous trouve à reprendre.
Quant je viendray à vous de vous me plaindre.

Text: a
Variants: t

2 t ny pouvoir entrer
7 t peur et craincte

XXXIII

f.12bis. Loyse[1] entend que plus je ne demende
Fors la servir et tousjours estre sien;
Et toutesfoys la fascheuse commende
Que de la veoir m'abstienne, et si sçayt bien
Que je ne puis et que n'en feray rien.
Dont de despict, en lieu d'une sagecte,
Contre ma jambe ung baston elle gecte.
Le sang en sort. O grande cruaulté!
Mais le barbier trouve ma jambe necte,
Et dict: "Le mal au cueur en est monté".

Text: a
Variants: s t
10 s le mal en est au coeur monte
t le mal en estre au cueur monte

---

1. Louise du Plessis, cf. supra, p.183n.1 and the following dizain from the Rochethulon manuscript (Blanchemain III, 43):

"Une beauté parfaicte en bonne grâce,
Un noble coeur qui se voit au visaige,
Une vertu qui tout honneur pourchasse,
Un ris ouvert, modéré, doulx et saige,
Accompagné d'un asseuré langaige,
Un oeil qui faict du premier coup aimer
Et un refus qu'on ne sçauroit blasmer,
Avec attrait et maintien bien rassis,
Qui tout cela ensemble veut nommer,
Nomme sans plus LOYSE DU PLESSIS".

XXXIV

f.12bis.v.° Ung autre et moy entrasmes à mesme heure
Dedans la chambre où se trouve Loyse;[1]
Cest autre là, qui moins que moy labeure
D'Amour et mieulx le simulle et desguise,
Entra sans craincte; il s'approche et devise;
Elle l'escoute et faict une responce
Au goust de luy plus rude qu'une ronse;
Il se recule; elle suit; je les laisse,
Le reservant pour quelque arriere fonce.
O bien heureux qui ayme et n'ayme en presse!

Text: a, with the exception of an error of line 7, for which I have given the reading of t
Variant: t
5 t entre
7 ronse t) arronce a

---

1. Louise du Plessis, cf. supra, p.364 n.1

XXXV

f.13. Dessus ung lict estoit toute estendue,
En actendant son desiré mary,
Cel e à qui est toute louenge deue;
Et lors Amour, qui ne fut oncq nourry
Qu'en tout hazard, despict et bien marry
D'avoir esté tant de foys reffusé,
La voyant seulle, ainsi qu'il est rusé,
Luy a dict: "O, dame digne de mieulx,
N'as tu pas bien l'esperit abusé
D'actendre ung homme et delaisser les dieux?"[1]

Text: a, with the exception of an error of line 5, for which the reading of s t is given.
Variants: s t
5 hazard s t) harard a
10 s t de laisser

---

1. We do not know to whom this poem is addressed. We may suppose, however, that the lady in question had rejected the advances of the King or some other prince at the court of François I, thus abandoning "les Dieux", namely Cupid and the King himself, for a lesser mortal.

XXXVI

f.13. Si je suys seul plus que tous amoureux,
Seul plus que tous je vous veulx obeir,
Si plus que tous en amour malheureux
f.13v°4. Je ne vous puis mal vouloir ny hair.
On ne s'en doibt aultrement esbahir;
Car je soubstiens que vostre grant beaulté
Avoir les cueurs de tous a merité.
8 Mais je vous pry aussi considerer
Qu'Amour où trop domine cruaulté
Certes ne peult gueres long temps durer.

Text: a
Variants: s t
2-3 s Seul plus que tous en amour malheureux
Si plus que tous je vous veulx obeir
8-10 omitted t

XXXVII

f.13v? Suz le propoz que l'un est pour le jour et l'autre pour la nuict.

Celle où beaulté a esleu son sejour
A ses amis le temps a divisé;
L'un a la nuict, et l'autre prent le jour;
Et m'est advis que c'est mal advisé,
Et qu'elle n'a mon merite prysé;
Car tous les deux doibs avoir ou choisir.
Or j'ay le jour, qu'Amour donne desir
D'avoir la nuict. L'autre est trop bien traicté
D'avoir le temps où se donne ung plaisir
Qui, suz tout aultre, est de tous souhaicté.

Text: a, with the exception of an error of line 7 for which I have given the reading of s
Variants: s

Title: omitted s
7 Or jay s) or je a s Amour donne
8 line repeated a

XXXVIII

f.14v.[1] Desesperé et prest de m'aller pendre
Pour le reffuz qu'à tort l'on m'avoit faict,
La Mort priay de tost me venir prendre;
Ce que voulut executer de faict,
Et droict au cueur tira son dard infaict;
Mais quant du tout transpersé l'apperseut
De ceulx d'Amour, sa flesche elle ne sceut
Gecter dedans et la poulse au visaige,
Qui guerison soubdainement receut,
Par le mesme oeil dont sortit tout l'outraige.

Text: a
Variant: s
4 s Ce qu el voulust

---

1. For the theme of the conflict between Cupid and Death, cf. ANGERIANO, Erotopaegnion,

De Seipso, Morte et Cupidine
"Dum mea lingua vocat mortem, mors advenit, & quid
Vis? ait, hoc cupio dico ego, caede caput..."

and Michel d'AMBOISE, Les cent epigrames avecque la vision..., (Paris, Alain Lotrian & Jehan Longis, s.d.) f.liiii, D'ung amoureulx.

Cf. also two Rondeaux by Mellin de SAINT GELAYS, "pour avoir paix entre Amour et la Mort" (Blanchemain, I, 314), and Dialogue d'Amour et de la Mort, "Mort, seras-tu jamais de tuer lasse", (Blanchemain, I, 315), and also an onzain of the Rochethulon ms. "Amour a dit à la Mort: Attendez", (Blanchemain, III, p.27).

XXXIX

f.14v° Vous estez donc tumbée en maladie,
Apres m'avoir faict du pis qu'on peult faire!
O le grant bien, puis qu'il fault que le die,
4 Qui vous fera juger, par son contraire,
Que tort avez de me vouloir deffaire!
Si esse, amye, affin que je ne mente,
Que vostre mal moins vous que moy tourmente;
8 Et faiz souhaict, s'il fault que vous mouriez,
Que de la mort pour vous le coup je sente,
Et qu'icy bas, pour nous deux, demouriez.[1]

Text: a, with the exception of two errors of lines 8 and 10, for which I have given the readings of s

8 mouriez s) mourez a
10 demouriez s) demourez a

---

1. Cf. Mellin de SAINT GELAYS, (Blanchemain, II, 88):

"C'estoit assez que ma debile force
Eust moins monstré de travail que senti...
Sans que le ciel, de mon mal repenti,
M'eust reservé à ceste mort plus lente,
De voir ma dame en fievre violente.
Qu'elle sera donc ma calamité
S'il luy vient pis, quand pour la voir dolente
Je sens de morts plus d'une infinité".

XL

f.15. J'ay ceste nuict aussi mal reposé
Que quant j'avoys la fiebvre et sa sequelle;
J'ay ravassé, basty et composé
De beaulx chasteaulx en ryme dieu sçait quelle.
Et m'est advis que vous faisoys querelle,
Dont vous m'aviez engardé de mourir,
Pour puis apres vous monstrant trop cruelle,
Me faire pis que la mort encourir.[1]

XLI

f.15. Toute la nuict ma chambre reluisoit,
Sans y avoir lumiere ny clarté;
Et m'est advis que quelcun me disoit:
"C'est seullement l'umbre de la beaulté
De celle là qui t'a si bien traicté,
Que de son oeil ta chambre a descorée.
Pense combien heureux eussez esté,
Si en presence elle y feust demourée."

XL Text: a
XLI Text: a

---

1. For the theme, cf. MAROT, D'un Songe, (Guiffrey, IV, 16) and A Anne qui songe de nuict, Guiffrey, IV, 192).

XLII

f.15. Rien ne me sert de mon lucz l'armonye,[1]
Pour adoulcir l'aigreur de ceste absence,
Aiant tousjours au cueur la compaignie
f.15v°4 Dont je jouys par seulle souvenance.
Et m'en souvient, si souvent que je pence,
Le seul penser beaucoup plus gratieulx
Que ne fut oncq tout le plaisir des yeulx;
8 Dont n'ay regret qu'à la parolle et voix;
Car le surplus je gouste et sens trop mieulx
Ne l'ayant poinct, qu'alors que je l'avoys.

Text: a
Variants: s t
1. s t Rien ne my sert de mon luth lharmonie

---

1. For a similar theme, cf. Mellin de SAINT GELAYS, (Blanchemain, I, 239), Sur un Luth.

XLIII

f.15v? On dict qu'amour se nourrist de querelle;
S'il est ainsi, la mienne est bien nourrie;
Car Loyse est de complexion telle
Qu'elle est sans cesse et sans cause marrye;
Et en cella vers moy poinct ne varye;
Mais qui pis est, elle ne veult contraindre
Souffrir tousjours et jamais ne me plaindre;
Lors en secret de moyesme ay pitié,
Pensant lequel, helas, je doybs plus craindre:
Son chault courroux ou sa froide amytié.[1]

Text: a

---

1. Cf. a dizain of the Rochethulon manuscript (Blanchemain, III, 32):

"Toutes les fois que je vais veoir Loyse,
Que le ciel m'a de servir ordonné,
Elle me faict une mise si grise
Que je vouldrois n'estre point né.
Et neanmoins moy povre infortuné,
Qui d'elle n'eus oncq un mot gratieux,
Sans craindre pis je n'ay pour trouver mieux
De la laisser ny d'autre prendre envie.
Helas! Amour mit la mort en ses yeux;
Et si ne puis, sans la veoir, avoir vie!"

XLIV

f.15v. O viateurs, ne soyez esbahys
Si le soleil n'ose monstrer sa face.[1]
f.16. Il sçayt tresbien Loyse estre en pais,
Dont la beaulté toute la sienne efface.
Caché se tient ce pendant qu'elle passe;
Car il a peur d'estre vrins et actainct
De son amour, ou bien, cherchant sa grace,
La favorise et garde son beau tainct.

XLV

f.16. Que pensez vous que j'aye peu penser,
En vous voyant sortir quant suis entré,
Et de rentrer soubdain vous advancer,
Quant de sortir semblant vous ay monstré.
Doubter ne fault que Mort ne m'eust oultré,
Pour la grant peur qu'ay eu de vous desplaire,
Si vostre oieil doulx le mal n'eust racoustré
Qu'en fermant l'huis vostre main voulut faire.

XLIV Text: a (1 (f.40) s identical)

XLV Text: a

---

1. For this theme, cf. PETRARCH, son. "Il cantar nuovo..."; SASSOFERRATO, Gloria d'Amore, (Venice 1532), f.D. 6v°: "Per quanto gira il sole a torno a torno..."; BRITONIO, Gelosia del Sole, (Venice, 1531), f.81v°, "Un giorno uscendo fulgido e lustrante".

XLVI

f.16 Pour vous aimer moymesmes veulx hair;
Pour vous garder je me veulx delaisser;
Pour vous tenir la foy me veulx trahir;
4 Pour vous guerir contant suis me blaisser;
Et maintenant que me voulez chasser
Soubz ne sçay quelle honneste couverture,
Croyre je veulx et souvent je m'asseure
f.16v° Qu'ainsi l'avez par raison entreprins;
Mais il n'est dict qu'on doibve estre reprins
De se fascher quant par trop on endure.

Text: a, (s t identical)

XLVII

f.16v.º Dieu qui peult tout, ainsi que je le croy,
Et qu'il est vray, et poinct n'en fault doubter,
Qui congnoissez ce que suis mieulx que moy.
Sçavez les maulx que elle me faict porter,
Voyez qu'en moy n'est de les supporter;
A vous me viens adresser pour le mieulx,
Et vous supply, si pitié regne aux cieulx
Que commendez que pour syen ne retienne.
Mais si voullez faire devant noz yeulx
Ung grant miracle, il fault qu'elle soit mienne!

XLVIII

f.16v.º Je n'y vais plus; car ilz sont plus de trente.
L'un tient sa coeiffe et l'autre son bendeau,
L'un dict qu'Amour le moleste et tourmente,
Et l'autre faict le doulx, l'autre le beau,
Quelcun aussy peult estre faict le veau.
Or quant à moy je veulx fuyr la presse;
Et si l'on dict que j'ayme, je confesse
f.17. 8 Que j'ayme tant que ne m'ose monstrer.
O fort Amour! estrange est ta rudesse:
Tu me conduictz, et me deffends d'entrer.

XLVII Text: a Variants: s t
1 s t Dieu qui pouvez tout comme je
2 s Comme il est
XLVIII Text: a (s t identical)

XLIX

f.17. Celle qui fut envers moy plus cruelle
que je ne puis dire ny exprimer,
Et continue à estre tousjours telle,
Comme je fais et feray de l'aymer,
Voyant qu'enmy ne me peult consumer,
Ung grant plaisir me donner s'advisa,
Et d'ung piteux oeil me favorisa;
Dont toutesfoys ma douleur ne s'appaise;
Car mon cueur sent qu'ainsi elle en usa.
Pour tout soubdain me faire mourir d'aise.

Text: a

Variants: s t

2 s ne dire nexprimer
9 s t sceut

L

f.17. Quant je vous voy, je ne sens mal ny bien,
Et aussi peu quant veoir je ne vous puis;
J'ay oublié, et si me souvient bien,
Que je fuz vostre et qu'encores le suis.
J'ay poursuyvy, & tousjours je poursuis
Vous veoir souvent,et vers vous n'oser aller;
f.17v.° En m'approchant je me sens reculer;
La main me tremble alors que pense escripre;
Pareillement la voix, quant veulx parler.
Je vous supply: dictes que c'est à dire![1]

Text: A

---

1. For the theme, cf. PETRARCH, s. CLXIX, "S'una fede amorosa, un cor non finto", 5-8:

"Se nella fronte ogni penser dipinto,
Od in voci interrotte appena intese,
Or da paura, or da vergogna offese;
S'un pallor di viola e d'amor tinto..."

Cf., also, the closing lines of a dizain from the Rochethulon manuscript, (Blanchemain, III, 71):

"Mais quand je suis auprès d'elle à loysir,
La voix me fault, le coeur et le desir,
Tant qu'un seul mot ne luy dy de mon role.
Taire me faut, n'ayant plus grand plaisir
Que de la voir et oyr sa parolle".

LI

f.17v° Je plainds mon mal, mon temps et ma fortune
Et beaucoup plus la plume malheureuse,
Qui par vouloir du tout complaire à une
Et estre trop de son nom curieuse,
Me nourrissoyt en pensée amoureuse.
Doncq veulx cesser d'extoller son hault bruyct;
Car toute branche estant trop fructueuse
Plustost se rompt & soymesmes destruict.

LII

f.17v° Helayne à qui de beaulté ressemblez,
Si oncques Dame au monde luy sembla,
Voyant les Grecz et Troyans assemblez
L'un contre l'autre, & Paris qui l'embla,
De grant pityé et de frayeur trembla.
Mais vous Loyse, en qui j'ay le cueur myz,
Prenez plaisir au debat des amys
Et plus chargez celluy qui plus est vostre.
Si vous supply ne les rendre ennemys,
Et, gardant l'un, ne vouloir perdre l'autre.

LI Text: a (j (f.40v°), s, identical)
LII Text: a (s, t, identical)

LIII

f.18. Il n'est esprit, parolle ou escripture
qui sceust au but de voz honneurs actaindre,
Et moy, tant sotte & vile creature,
Ne suys assez suffisant pour le maindre.
Et quant je veulx vostre beaulté depaindre,
Mille beaultés se viennent presentor
qui font la main & la plume arrester.
Aynsy ne puys au subgect satisfaire
Où l'on ne peult rien mectre ny ouster;
Doncq pour bien dire il se vault trop myeulx taire.

Text: a
Variants: s t

10 s t Donc pour mieux dire il vaut trop mieux se taire

LIV

f.19v.° Las! si le feu qui me brusle sans cesse
Faisoyt fumée ou flamme qu'on pouust veoir,[1]
Chacun pourroyt de mon cueur la tristesse
De pres ou loing assez appercevoir.
Puys si m'amye ne faisoyt son debvoir
En le voyant de sa chaleur estaindre,
Pres le son corps soudain me verriez joindre
Pour de ce feu comme moy l'allumer;
Et si son corps je ne povoys actaindre,
A tout le moins sa robbe luy brusler.[2]

Text: a (s,(III,33) identical)

---

1. Cf. LXIII, "Puys que le feu qui dedans me brusloyt", p. 390, note 1.

2. For witty developments of the theme cf. TEBALDEO, son. 135, "Non t'ammirar se nel tuo ardente tetto", et passim.

LV

f.19v.° Les faictz et dictz se rapportans ensemble,
Sans varier puys le commencement,
Te debveroient asseurer, ce me semble,
Doubter est bon, mais non si longuement.
Car Faulx Amour en ton entendement
Ne se pourroyt celer par tant d'espace;
Et si le vray en mon cueur a prins place,
Ne sçay pourquoy tu ne le veulx entendre;
Juger ne puys de la rigueur ou grace
Si ce n'estoyt pour plus ferme me rendre.

Text: a, with the exception of an error of l.5, for which I have given the reading of a(i)

5 entendement a(i)) endement a

LVI

f.20. Difficile est que doulceur ne beaulté,
Parler ou grace ayt desormais puyssance
De rappeler la myenne voulenté
Au lieu premier de son obeyssance;
Car, cognoissant d'amour la decepvance,
Comment pourroys je en luy fiance avoir?
Et toutesfoyz, certes, si le sçavoir
Estoyt pareil au semblant qu'il me monstre,
Je ne dyz pas qu'il n'eust bien le povoir
Encor ung coup me passer à sa monstre.

Text: a

Variants: s

1 s en beaute
2 s Parole
7 s Et toutesfois si le certain savoir

LVII

f.20v.° En m'offenceant à soy me rend tenue,
Celluy qui est à changer [illegible] vray maistre;
Car sa grant faulte & trahyson congneue,
Tous ses consors me fera recognoistre.
Et quant à luy, veu qu'aultre ne veult estre,
D'estre legier je ne le doibs blasmer,
Et m'est beaucoup de l'avoir peu cognoistre:
Mais plus sera de jamais ne l'aymer..

Text: a
Variants: j(f.41v°) s

1 j s En offensant me rend a soy tenue
6 j s Sinon legier je ne len doy blasmer
8 s de ne jamais laimer

---

1. This piece, like the dizain: LXXIV: "Je l'ay trouvé et il est tant amable" is written in the name of a lady.

LVIII

f.20v°. Je ne sçay pas si l'on pourroyt actaindre
Où je me tiens; Mais j'ay telle fiance,
Tant peu je suys accoustumé de craindre,
Et tant certaine est mon impatience,
f.21. Que j'aymeroys trop myeulx la cognoissance
Qu'elle par mort me fust du tout ostée,
Que l'on me dist, par doubteuse apparence,
Aultre l'avoir seulement empruntée.[1]

Text: a
Variants: e(f.52 and f.154v°) i(f.189) j(f.41) s A
2 s toute fiance
4 e (f.52 and f.154v°) i j s A tant certain de mon
5 s Car jaimerois e(f.154v°) trop plus
6 j s quelle me feust du tout par mort ostee
i par mort me fust ousbee

---

1. In the Musée Condé ms.523 (f.52v°), Chappuys' huitain is followed by this reply:

"Ce qui est bon ne se doit empruncter;
Il vault trop mieulx tout l'achapter ou vendre;
Et si n'est pas le bien à regretter
Qui soymesmes s'emprunte et se faict vendre;
Mais quant la Mort qui nul pris ne veult rendre
Vient menasser celle dont fermeté
Ne peult partir tant qu'elle soit en cendre,
Peur fait alors bien sentir et entendre
Que emprunct n'est pas fin de bien heurtée."

LIX

f.21 Helas! ce n'est ny le vent ny la mer
Qui le travail de voz amys augmente;
Plustost seroyt la tempeste d'aymer,
Où noz souspirs font le vent & tourmente
A mon esprit qui se plaint et lamente
Pour n'estre au lieu dont l'absence nous deult;
f.21v° Et si Celluy, qui tant sçayt & tout peult,
Ne nous rend tost, mesdames, où vous estez,
Nous en serons, et la raison le veult,
Aussy marryz que vous estez honnestes.

Text: a, with the exception of line 5, which is omitted in the Soissons ms. and for which I have given the reading of s.

Variants: s
4 s les soupirs sont
5 s] omitted a.
6 s tout scait

LX

f.21v°. Amour, Amour, je pense recognoistre
Les coups et traictz et dangereux affuz;
Venir te sens, comme tu soulois estre,
Pour me tourner tout tel comme je fuz;
Et si j'en faiz davantaige reffuz,
Je te veoy prest & le mesme arc tendre,
Aulx coups duquel quelque foys m'as faict rendre.
Las! oncques puys je ne m'estoys rendu,
Et si me suys tant qu'ay peu deffendu;
Mais or ne puys ny ne veulx me deffendre.[1]

Text: a, with the exception of errors of l.6 and l.7 for which I have substituted the reading of s
Variants: s

2 s Tes coups estroits et
3 s Venir sur moy
6 tendre s) tendu a
7 as s) a a

---

1. Cf. PETRARCH, son. II, "Per far una leggiadra sua vendetta".

LXI

f.21v.° Amour, Amour, puys que tu m'as actainct,
Que n'actains tu celle pour qui j'endure?
Si mon las cueur souspirs gecte et se plainct,
Sera le sien exempt & sans blessure?
f.22. Faictz luy sentir ta grant force & poincture,[1]
Et combien est ton povoir rigoreux;
Lors nous rendras, par esgale mesure,
Tous deux contens ou tous deux malheureux.

Text: a, with the exception of an error of line 3, for which the emendation, a(i), is given.
Variants: b(f.57) c(f.80) r(f.91)

Title c D'amour
1 b c r Or sus amour
2 c que nattends tu
3 souspirs gecte et se plainct a(i)) gecte souspirs & pleurs a
b c pleure souspire et plainct
r souffre souspire et plainct
4 b c r le sien entier
6 b c et le povoir de ton iard vigoureulx
7 b c si nous rendras

---

1. Cf. PETRARCH, (ed. Poulenc), S.XLII:

"Lasso, che mal accorto, fui da prima...
Non prega già, nè puote aver più loco,
Che misuratamente il mio cor arda;
Ma che sua parte abbia costei del foce".

LXII

f.22. J'avoys osé m'ordonner pour maistre
Loyse seule & souvent entrepris
En style bas eslever sa haultesse;
Mais la nuée estant en mes espritz
Trop estaignoyt sa clarté & hault pris
Et allumoyt le feu de mon desir.
Parquoy Amour, pour mon bien et plaisir,
Et pour le nom d'elle rendre im ortel,
Taire me fest & luy voulut choysir
Ung bouche d'or, qu'on nomme Bochetel.[1]

Text: a
Variant: s
l.5 s esloignoit

---

1. Guillaume Bochetel, secretary of state under François I, cf. R. DOUCET, Les Institutions de France au XVIe siècle, Paris, 1948, I, p.160

In his Discours de la Court, Chappuys honoured Bochetel in the following lines:

"Et Bouchetel faisant bien son debvoir
Grande bonté conjoinct à grand sçavoir".

LXIII

f.22v° Puys que le feu qui dedans me brusloyt
Fut par dehors sans la flamme apperceu,[1]
Confesser fault que quelque dieu vouloyt
que mon desir sans le dire feust sceu.
Je le celoys, craignant n'estre receu;
Mais, las! Amour le vous a faict cognoistre;
Luy, qui sçayt tout; luy, qui de tous est maistre.
Qui vous faict doncq dire qu'ahyr [sic] vous veulx?
Ce mesme Amour: lequel desirant croistre,
Faict doubter l'ung, pour asseurer les deux.

Text: a

---

1. The theme is found in Antiquity, cf. OVID, Heroides, XII, 37-38:
"Quis enim bene celat amorem?
Eminet indicio prodita flamma suo",
and is common in the works of Petrarch and his disciples. Cf. PETRARCH, canz. XVI, "Ben mi credea passar mio tempo omai", 66-67:
"Chiusa fiamma è più ardente; e se pur cresce,
In alcun modo più non può celarsi...";
SERAFINO, (ed. 1548), f.142v°; SASSO, (Venice, 1519), f.b8, etc.
Cf. also, Jean MAROT, Recueil (Paris, P.Roffet, s.d.), f. A 7:
"Car il n'est feu, quelque part qu'on le cache,
Dont il ne sorte ou fumée ou challeur"
and the opening lines of a dizain attributed to François I (B.N. ms. fr. 2335 and Soissons ms. 200 f.6v°):
"Tousjours le feu cherche à se faire veoir,
Par sa nature estant clair et legier;
Mais quand on veut à le celer pouveoir,
Alors il est en le cachant plus fier...".

LXIV

f.22v.° C'est le meilleur beaucoup de n'aymer poinct,
A qui s'en peult garder et garentir;
Mais quant Amour par nature nous poignt,
Que feroit on? Peu sert le repentir,
Moins, bien servir; beaucoup sert le mentir;
Parquoy, fault faindre aujourdhuy d'aymer l'une,
L'autre demain, en cherchant sa fortune
De tous costez. Ainsi tout dueil s'appaise.
Faict la blanche ung reffuz, suyvez la brune;
Et vous aurez moins d'amour & plus d'aise!

Text: a with the exception of an error of l.3
l.3 nature/ nuture, a

*LXV

f.30v? O quel regrect à ceulx de departir
Où ferme amour ne peut estre offensée!
Laquelle vient toutesfoys nous partir
Joye & doulleur en secrete pensée.
f.31. Il est bien vray que pas n'est compensée
La joye au mal q'ung chascun de nous porte;
Mais seure foy de tant nous reconforte
Qu'il n'y a temps, longue absence ou demeure
Qui puisse clorre à noz desirs la porte;
Car sans nous veoir, nous voyons à toute heure.

Text: a

Variants: s t

6 s t que chacun
8 t longue attente

*LXVI

f.34v°. Chanson.

Aiez pitié du grant mal que j'endure
Pour vous servir, sans m'en vouloir blasmer;
Amour vous peult comme moy faire aymer,
Et du passé vous demander l'usure.

Text: a
Variants: b(f.13v° and 42v°) k(f.99v°) G

1. b G du grief mal
3. b G Pour vous aymer sans me voulloir
4. b k G Et du passe faire payer lusure

---

1. M. P. Lesure of the Bibliothèque Nationale (Department of Music) kindly indicated that this quatrain, set to music by Clément Janequin, was reproduced in a "recueil de chansons" entitled Vingt et quatre chansons musicales à quatre parties. Composées par maistre Clément Janequin et Imprimées à Paris en la rue de la Harpe prez sainct Cosme par Pierre Attaignant. MDXXXIII, f.7v°. (B.N. Mus. Rés. Vm. micr. 211).

The piece is also found set to music by Thomas Créquillon in the Second Livre des Chansons à quatre Parties auquel sont contenues trente et une chansons convenables tant à la Voix comme aux instrumentz... (Anvers, Tylman Susato, 1544), f.IXv° (B.N. Mus. Rés. Vm⁷ 510). (In this "recueil" the opening line of the quatrain reads "Prenez pitié du mal que j'endure"; M. Lesure has suggested that the reason for this change may be that "prenez" is in fact an easier word to sing than "ayez".)

*LXVII

f.39. O que l'effort est aspre & dangereux,
Quant contre amour, amour faict resistence!
O que celluy est vrayement malheureux
Qui contre soy a s'amye en deffence.
Je sens en moy ceste grand violence,
Estant contrainct à aultre m'adresser;
Mais qui pourroyt à cella me presser,
Veu que changer n'est poinct en mon usaige?
Amour luy mesme il la me faict laisser,
Pour me venger de son tort & oultraige.

Text: a(s identical)
Variants: e(f.135v°) i(f.173) r(f.41)

1 e aspre et rigoureux
6 i r Et suis contrainct
7 i r de cela e me pousser
8 i r a mon usaige
9 e il me la faict

LXVIII

f.39. Quel est le fruict de franche voulenté,
Si on veult l'un & on faict le contraire?
J'ay en Amour les moyens inventé
De le banyr, et ne m'en puis deffaire.
De quoy me sert le vouloir, sans le faire?
Ha! les docteurs n'ont entendu ce poinct;
Car, quant de moy je l'esloigne, il me poignt,
Et me congnoys où la force peulst estre
Du France Arbitre: helas! je n'en ay poinct,
Ou si j'en ay, Amour en est le maistre.[1]

Text: a (s identical)
Variants: a(i) r(f.83v°)
6 a(i) mont esclarcy
9 r grant arbitre a(i) nen ay je poinct
10 a(i) Certes ouy: mais amour en est maistre

---

1. Cf. Clément MAROT, Dialogue nouveau fort joyeulx, 138-142, (ed. Guiffrey, II, p.114):

" PREMIER
Que tu es belistre!
Et n'as tu pas ton franc arbitre
Pour sortir dont tu es entré?
SECOND
Arbitre? C'est bien arbitré:
Je le veulx bien, mais je ne puis".

LXIX

f.39. Le pere m'a d'une part assailly,
Le filz d'une aultre a suz moy entrepris;
f.39v°. Et toutesfois saichant que n'ay failly,
Je n'ay pas peur qu'ilz emportent le pris.
Vray est que l'ung est d'aymer bien apris,
Et n'y eut oncq blasme ny vitupere;
Le filz aussi, cherchant Amour prospere,
De pourchasser n'est jamais degousté.
Mais pour secours contre le filz & pere,
Le sainct esprit sera de mon cousté.

LXX

f.39v°. Des deux amys aymans en mesme endroict,
Dignes tous deux d'estre recompensez,
Et dont l'un nuyre à l'autre ne vouldroit,
Si pres de vous l'un vous en advancez,
Recullant l'autre, helas, vous offencez;
Car à l'amy l'amy rendez contraire,
Et de vouloir à tous deux satisfaire,
Sans les aymer, seroit se mocquer d'eulx;
Parquoy vault mieulx afin d'esgaulx les faire,
Que seul je soye en la place des deux.

LXIX Text: a
LXX Text: a

LXXI

f.39v.° J'ay devers moy ce poinct d'advantaige,
Pour garentir ma grande fermeté,
Que le long temps en donne tesmoignaige,
Et mesme à vous si grande seureté
Que tort avez, si en avez doubté.
Mais si je pren quelque fois le loysir
f.40. De deviser cza et là pour plaisir;
Pourtant ne veuil devenir variable:
Mais estymez que sans aultre choisyr,
Je vous en trouve apres trop plus amable.

Text: a
Variants: I

5 I Que tort avez de tant en quaquete
7 I pour mon plaisir
8 I venir variable
10 I apres plus

LXXII

f.46. Elle se cache au partyr pour pleurer,
Et je me monstre afin de adieu luy dire;
Il luy desplaist que ne puis demeurer,
Et la laisser c'est ennuyeulx martire;
De mon grand heur l'heure je doibs mauldire;
Car ayant veu ce qu'ay tant desiré,
Plus que devant cent fois je le desire;
Ainsi je suis par mon bien empiré.[1]

Text: a
Variants: I

3 I Il me desplait
4 I De vous laisser
6 I ayant eu
7 I la desire

---

1. Cf. Pellin de SAINT GELAYS, (Blanchemain II, 9):

"Le grand regret de ce département
Est si avant en mon entendement
Que si n'estoit l'espoir de vous revoir
Le seul plaisir de vous ramentevoir
Ne serviroit qu'à croistre mon tourment".

LXXIII

f.40. Si quelque foyz devant vous me presente
Et que soubdain je mue de couleur,
Ce n'est pourtant à dire que je sente,
En vous voyant, passion ny douleur.
Mais c'est mon cueur qui preveoyt son malheur,
Et craint desja, avant qu'on l'ayt saisy,
D'estre par vous, o dame de valeur,
Tresmal traicté pour avoir bien choisy.

Text: a (j(f.45v°) s identical
Variants: t I

5 t I qui prenoit
7 I pour vous

LXXIV

f.40. Je l'ay trouvé, et il est tant amable
Que c'est grant heur de luy povoir complaire;
f.40v° Et quelque foys me fut tant favourable,
Qu'il demonstra de me voulloir attraire;
J'essayay lors en tout luy satisfaire,
Sans luy vouloir jamais desobeyr;
Mais je ne peu assez fort m'esbahir
Quant serviteur se dist en mon endroict,
De l'acceptant, me debvoit il hayr?
Je l'en fayz juge: il sçayt mon tort ou droict.[1]

LXXV

f.41. Mon oeil vous trouve à m'amye semblable,[2]
Mon cueur aussi, ravy de joye extreme
Et qui n'estyme au monde riens amable,
Tant soyt parfaict ou beau, fors elle mesme,
Aupres de vous fremist et me rend blesme.
Si sçay je bien que poinct ne changera
Et que jamais à aultre ne sera.
Qui l'a doncq faict souldainement trembler?
Amour, qui dict que tousjours l'aymera
Pour l'amour d'elle, & vous pour luy sembler.

LXXIV Text: a
LXXV Text: a Variants: s t I
1 I Son oeil 5 s t Aux pieds de

---

1. This piece, like the huitain: LVII, "En m'offenceant à soy me rend tenue", p. 384, is written in the name of a lady.
2. For this theme, cf. LXXXIII, "Tant a donné de plaisir à mes yeux", p. 407.

LXXVI

f.41. Fuyez Amour, fuyez le; c'est poyson!
Fuyez Amour qui tant de maulx procure!
Fuyez Amour qui oste la raison
Et tellement les hommes transfigure
Qu'ilz n'ont plus riens d'homme que la figure!
O bien heureux qui cela peult congnoistre,
Et plus heureux qui exempt en peult estre!
Il est aysay à penser & à dire;
f.41v° Mais cestuy là faict bien ung tour de maistre,
Qui sans dangier & à temps s'en retire.

LXXVII

f.41v° Faire semblant d'aymer et n'aymer poinct
Est le moyen pour bien l'amour charmer,
Et pour plustost parvenir à son poinct,
Qu'on ne feroit à loyaulment aymer.
Je ne veulx pas la loyaulté blasmer;
Mais j'en ay dict ce que j'en sens & sçay,
Et si quelcung m'en veult desestymer
Son tort verra en ayant faict l'essay.

LXXVI Text: a (t identical)
Variants: j(f.11) s
5 omitted j 9 s faict un bon tour

LXXVII Text: a, with the exception of an error of 1.4, for which I have given the reading of j(f.45v°) o s t
Variants: o(f.47v°) s
4 feroit j o s t ~~a~~ seroit o pour loyaulment
5 o ta loyaute s voulant faire

LXXVIII

f.41v.° J'apparçoy bien qu'Amour est de nature estrange,
Difficile à congnoistre et facile à sentir;
Il se veult aprocher quant de luy on s'estrange,
Et quant on s'en aproche il en faict repentir,
Le suyvre maugré moy me faillut consentir,
Mais soubz Bonne Esperance il me fut rigoreux,
Et lors que je pensoys estre le moins heureux
Entre plusieurs ennuys, je me vy prosperer.
Aiez doncq souvenance, o tristes amoureux,
Qu'il fault craindre tousjours & tousjours esperer.

Text: a(k(f.94) t g H identical)
Variants: d(f.79v°) e(f.67v°) i(f.216)

Title: d Dizain contre amour
6 d il ne fut i me fait rigoreux
7 e i Et alors que pensois

LXXIX

f.42. S'il est ainsi qu'amour soyt de nature
Accompaigné de mille passions,
Et que celluy qui pour luy plus endure,
Moins ayt de part aux retributions,
Je feroys tort à mes affections,
Qui vous ont tant porté d'obeyssance,
Puys que desja j'ay ceure congnoissance
Que tout le bien qu'on y treuve est amer.
Si je vouloys pour la recongnoissance
De mon amour vous requerir d'aymer.

Text: a, with the exception of an error of l.5 for which the emendation a(i) and the readings of e(f.60v°) and i(f.199) is given

5 feroys tort a(i) e i) feroys (or seroys?) tiré a

*LXXX

f.42. L'aise que je reçoy vous voyant malcontente
De mon eslongnement, ne permect que je pleure;
Combien que de mon aise et plaisir je m'absente
Et du lieu où plus part de moy sans moy demeure.

Il est vray que vostre oeil qui pleure le mien tente;
Mais mon cueur ne consent qu'en pleurant vous sequeure;
Car c'est bien la raison que celluy seul lamente
Qui pour me faire vivre est cause que je meure.

Text: a (k(f.99v°) identical)
Variants: j(f.46) l(p.150) n(f.105v°) s t

Title: n Huictain damours

1 l mal contant
5 j s t Bien est vray
n vostre oeil pleure & le mien tente
6 n car cest bien la raison que plorant
7 n mais mon ceur ne conscent que

*LXXXI

f.42. Si j'ay voulu sans guerdon vous aymer,
Estimant plus honneur que le plaisir,
f.42v°. Nul pour cela me debveroyt blasmer,
4. Veu que Raison a vaincu le desir.
Vostre beaulté vous feit à l'oeil choisir;
Mais audedans, en grace bien sortable,
Loge vertu de soy si fort aymable
8. Que le travail, si c'est travail, emporte
Avecques soy recompense louable
D'avoir servy dame de telle sorte.

Text: a(k(f.101) identical) Variants: n (f. 108) s

Title n Huictain damours 2 s lhonneur
3 n ne men devroit s ne me devroit
5 n a faict loieil (?) choisir 6 n louable
8 n Que pour amour travail je veulx choisir
9-10 omitted n

LXXXII

f.42v°. Qui a receu quelque bien ou plaisir,
En le taisant il le rend beaucop maindre;
Et qui n'a riens de son plus grand desir,
A tout le moins ne peult il que s'en plaindre.
Il est bien vray que simuler & faindre
Peult en amours proufficter & valoir;
Mais il n'est pas aysay de se contraindre
Rire au dehors & en cueur se douloir.

Text: a Variant: k(f.101v°)

7 k Mes il nest pas de se constrindre

LXXXIII

f.43. Tant a donné de plaisir à mes yeulx
Le seul reguard de vostre pourtraicture,
Que le mien cueur, se meslant parmy eulx,
S'est voulu rendre oeil, contre sa nature.
Ma bouche aussi, baisant celle paincture,
Oeil pour la veoir, souhaicta devenir;
Mais tout souldain, par le doulx souvenir
D'une beaulté qu'avez trop plus nayfve,
Je desiray que l'on vous peust tenir
Là en figure & icy toute vive.[I]

Text: a, with the exception of weak readings of l.8 and l.10, for which I have given the readings found in other texts.
Variants: a(i) b(f.12v°) d(f.77) k(f.86v°) r(f.81) s(III, 19) t

Title: d Dixain sur ung portraict donne par ung damoiselle
3 r t se mectant parmy eulx 5 t ceste paincture
7 k par ung doulcs souvenir
8 s t quavez par trop
nayfve a(i) b d k r s t) perfaicte a
9 b d jay desire k Je souhaicte que l'on vous peult tenir
10 k la en pourtraict s la en paincture
toute vive a(i) b d k r s t) pour moy faicte a

I. For the theme, cf. Marot, Une dame à un qui luy donna sa pourtraicture, (ed. Guiffrey, IV, 79).

LXXXIV

f.43v° Amour, amy de tous, peste des siens,
Pour me tromper, de moy s'est allyé;
Et me voyant attaché et lié
En sa prison d'invincibles lyens,
M'a eslongné et de moy et des miens,
Me contraignant n'aymer fors mon contraire.
Helas! Amour, s'ainsi traictes les tiens,
Qui vouldras plus devers toy se retraire?

Text: a, with the exception of errors of l.1 for which I have given the readings of k (f.102v°) l(p.150) s t A and s respectively.
Variants: k A

Title A Dung amoureux passionné
1 amour j k s t A) amours a peste s) reste a j k t A
8 k vers toy

LXXXV

f.43v° Je ne faiz riens que plaindre & souspirer,
Desirant plus ce que moins puis avoir,
Et sens mon mal chascun jour empirer
4. En voyant moins ce que plus je veulx veoir.
Voir semble peu à qui s'en peult pourveoir,
Mais j'ay congneu par vraye experience
Que quant on faict en amour son debvoir
8. Il n'est ennuy que l'ennuy d'une absence. I

Text: a (b(f. 47), j (f.46), k(f.106v°), ℓ F identical)

I. M.F. Lesure of the Bibliothèque Nationale (Department of Music) has kindly pointed out to me that this huitain is found set to music by Créquillon in the "recueil de chansons" entitled the Second Livre des Chansons à Quatre Parties auquel sont contenues trente et une chansons convenables Tant à la Voix comme aux instrumentz (Anvers, Tylman Susato, M.D.XLIIII), f.XI. (B.N. Musique Rés. Vm 510).

LXXXVI

f.43v° Loyse estoit en ung char triumphant,
Faisant reluyre ung soleil de beaulté[1];
Et se jouoyt pres d'elle cest enfant
Amour, lequel craignoit sa cruaulté
Et se myroit en sa grande clarté.
f.44. Lors vy comment ses graces s'apprestoient
Pour attyrer tous ceulx qui assistoient,
Tant que de faict Amour les transpercea;
Mais quant il sceut que peu constans estoient,
Ses traictz retyre et moy seul en blessa.[2]

Text: a Variants: s
l.4 s lequel cognoist
l.5 s Si se miroit
l.9 s peu contens

I. For this theme, cf. XLIV, "O viateurs, ne soyez esbahys", p. 374 and note.

2. In the Soissons ms. 200 (f.44), Chappuys' dizain is followed by this quatrain in reply:

"En ung char triumphant non sans cause fut mise
Loyse qui triumphe en beaulté tres exquise;
Car non tant seulement entre toutes est belle,
Mais elle embellist tout ce que est aupres d'elle".

For Dr. Roche's attribution of this piece to Chappuys, cf. supra, p. 182 n.1

LXXXVII

f.44. Si peu ne peult une absence durer
A cestuy là qui d'amour est surpris,
Qu'elle ne face ung gref mal endurer,
4. Tirant à soy tous les sens et espritz.
Je sçay combien les miens j'en treuve espris,
Ausquelz sans vous nul bien ne peult suffire;
Et sont si fort en vous liez et pris
8. Qu'ilz n'ont en moy le povoir de l'escripre.

Text: a (j(f.46) identical) Variants: s

2 s Qua celuy la 3 s Elle ne fasse

LXXXVIII

f.44. Si quant le corps du corps se distraict et absente,
Le cueur du cueur s'approche, et si plus par penser
Se nourrist l'amityé que par veue frequente,
4. L'esloignement prochain ne nous doibt offencer,
f.44v° Puys que le souvenir peult l'oeil recompenser.
Mais, helas! qu'ay je dict? quel bien satisfera
Au cueur qui pres ou loing ne se contentera?
8. Si de vous il est loing, loing de vous ne peult vivre;
S'il est pres, pres de vous Amour le bruslera;
Dangereux sont les deux; mais beaucoup moins vous suyvre.

Text: a Variants: e(f.63) i(f.212)

4 Omitted i 6 i quaye dit que bien
7 e pres et loing
10 e i Jugez donc quil doit faire ou fouyr ou vous suyvre
a additional line: Oel juges (?) ce quil fault faire ou fuyr ou vous suyvre erased a or a(i) ?

LXXXIX

f.44v° M'amye ung jour me disoit: Je le veulx,
En luy parlant de coucher avec elle.
Et si alors n'eussions esté que deux,
J'eusse bien pris au mot la damoiselle,
Qui m'a laissé bonne & juste querelle
De l'en prier quand le temps en sera.
Si elle est saige elle l'accordera;
Mais de malheur, s'elle veult reculler,
Trop prompt à croyre ung chascun me dira
Et elle sotte & legiere en parler.

Text: a (t identical) Variants: s I

Title: I Prompte a octroyer
1 s I me disoit un jour 3 I que nous deux

XC

f.45. Le doulx baiser receu de vostre bouche,
Donné de grace & acquis par requeste,
Jusques au cueur & de si pres me touche
4. Que le penser d'ung plaisir tant honneste
D'en souhaicter encore ung m'admonneste.
S'il vous plaisoit, madame, l'accorder,
Il ne tiendroit à le vous demander;
8. Mais il vault mieulx ne vous prier de rien,
Et par raison au desir commander,
Qu'apres souffrir, ayant eu trop de bien.[I]

Text: a Variants: e(f.123) s t

1 s donne de vostre bouche 4 s t du plaisir
8-10 omitted e 9 omitted s
10 s t Que de souffrir apres un si grand bien

I. Cf. Clément MAROT, (ed. Guiffrey, IV, 194),

D'un doulx baiser

"Ce franc baiser, ce baiser amyable,
Tant bien donné, tant bien receu aussi,
Qu'il estoit doulx! O beauté admirable!
Baisez moy donc cent fois le jour ainsi,
Me recepvant dessoubz vostre mercy
Pour tout jamais: ou vous pourrez bien dire,
Qu'en me donnant un baiser adoulcy,
M'aurez donné perpétuel martyre".

XCI

f.45. Si voz amys, madame, on mesuroyt
Auz qualitéz qui vous font tant aymer,
Je ne sçay pas qui digne assez seroit
4. Pour vous servir et vostre se nommer.
Si ne fault il l'humble servant blasmer;
Mais debvez croyre & penser que le dieu
f.45v°. Qui faict les cueurs tressaillir & pasmer,
Deux aelles print pour voler en hault lieu.

Text: a(e(f.122v°) identical)
Variants: j(f.46v°) s t

8 j s t Deux aelles a j t maint lieu

XCII

f.45v° Ayant Amour espandu tant de flesches,
Et tant tyré ça & là en tous lieux,
Que plus n'avoit dont povoir faire bresches,
Se vint loger au plus pres de voz yeulx;
Et par l'atraict d'ung maintien gracieulx,
Accompaigné de sçavoir & faconde,
Je ne sçay pas s'il penetra les cieulx;
Mais je suis seur qu'il navra tout le monde.

Text: a Variants: e(f.122v°) j(f.46v°) s t

2 j t maintz lieux 3 j s t il peust
5 e la traict emended to le traict in Mellin de Saint Gelays' hand

XCIII

f.45v° Si j'ay du mal, m'amye n'en a moins;
Elle m'en donne assez d'experience,
Et n'est besoing alleguer pour tesmoings
4. Les durs regrectz qui, par vraye apparence,
Monstrent l'ennuy qu'elle a de mon absence.
Mon cueur le sent tant il est pres du sien!
Que me fault il? Vouldroys je ung plus grant bien?
8. Non; mais au monde il n'y a riens parfaict;
Son deul modere & augmente le myen,
Et me contente & ne me satisfaict.

Text: a(e(f.122) identical), with the exception of a weak reading of line 3, for which I have substituted the reading of s t. Variants: s t

3 t nest ja besoing pour tesmoigns s t) par tesmoings a e
5 t lennuy de mon absence
6 pres du sien omitted t 7-10 omitted t
10 s qui me contente

XCIV

f.45v°. Responce à ung huitain de la Royne
de Navarre lequel est escript
à iiij eme feueillet cy apres suyvant.[I]

Si son reffuz et maulvais traictement
Peult rien servir à son honnesteté,
f.46. Je ne souhaicte aulcung allegement
4. Et me desplaist de l'avoir souhaicté;
Mais il me semble, apres avoir gousté
Le bien que c'est jouyr de chose aymée,
Qu'en me traictant comme j'ay merité,
8. Elle en seroit d'autant plus estimée.

Text: a
Variants: e(f.115v°, f.122 and f.135v°) g(f.29) j(f.46v°) r(f.55) s(III, 47) t(i and ii) I

Title: e(f.122) Responce a ung huitain fait par une dame [The words "une dame" are inserted over an erasure].

Omitted e(f.115v° and 135v°) g j r s t(i and ii) I

1 e(f.135v°) r Si le reffuz
2 e(f.115v°) t(i) Font quelque chose a
e(f.135v°) g r I Fait quelque chose a
j s t(ii) Peult bien servir
3 e(f.115v°) t(i) Je ne demande
5 r Mais y me semble
g apres lavoir gouste
6 I cest de jouyr de chere aymee
7 e(f.115v°) and(f.135v°) que me traictant
t(i) que mectre tant
e(f.115v°) g t(i) comme je merite
8 e(f.115v°) r t(i) I beaucoup plus estimee
e(f.135v°) g beaucoup myeulx

XCV

f.46. Amour a faict empaner ses deux aelles,
Qui sont trop plus legieres que le vent,
Des cueurs legiers de maintes damoiselles[I]
4. Qui en Paris vont au change souvent.[2]

Text: a (e(f.122) identical)
Variants: k(f.106v°) s(III, 47) t A G
Title: A Ung autre blasme les Dames de Paris
1 G rampenner 2 j k sont plus
4 J k a Paris G dans Paris

I.(contd) Cf. Soissons ms. 200, f. 49v°:

Huictain de la Royne de Navarre

"Tout son reffuz et mauvais traictement
Causez sans plus par grant honnesteté
Me contraignent à l'aymer doublement;
Car je ne puys hayr sa chasteté.
J'ayme trop mieulx estre plus mal traicté
Et qu'elle soit par vertuz estimée,
Que d'avoir tout ce que j'ay souhaité
Et qu'elle feust moins digne d'estre aymée".

I. Cf. MAROT, (ed. Guiffrey, V, 19), Elégie IV, 23 - 24:

"Doncques, Amour, qui couves soubz tes aesles
Journellement les cueurs des demoyselles".

Cf. also Mellin de SAINT GELAYS (Blanchemain, I, p. 35):

"Escriteaux attachés aux pieds de petits oyseaux, que des Mattacins laissèrent aller parmi les dames

"Amour comme nous a des ailes
Si ont maints coeurs de Damoiselles".

2. An allusion doubtless to the quarter of the "Pont au Change" which was frequented by shopkeepers, seamstresses and other women of easy morals.

Si celluy donc qui pense aller devant
Est le dernier, c'est le commun usaige.
Il en est bien d'un estrange pennaige[I]
Qui prennent train selon la nourriture;
Mais celles là[2] oublyent leur ramaige
Et par vertu ont vaincu leur nature.

Text: a (e(f.122) identical)
Variants: k(f.106v°) s(III, 47) t A G
8 A G leur nourriture 9 A ont laisse le ramage
10 G Qui par vertu s t pour vertu
A par vertu surmonte

I. The last four lines of the dizain are obscure. I take them to mean: "There are some, of course, of strange plumage, who behave according to their upbringing; but those forget their song and by virtue have overcome their nature".

2. Presumably the "dames de Lyon" since in the Hecatomphile de Fleurs de Poesie Françoyse (Paris, Galliot du Pre, 1534), f.95, Chappuys' dizain is followed by a Deffense pour icelles Dames, & charge sur celles de Lyon. This lengthy piece opens with the following lines:

"Si le tien cueur pretent à se pourveoir
D'une Maistresse en amours desirable,
Trescher amy, tu es au lieu pour veoir
Le droit chemin à choysir bien trouvable.
Là j'ay choysi une fleur admirable;
Là sont les fleurs pour bons cueurs alleger;
Là sont les fleurs qu'ung Amant de leger
Ne peult cueillir, s'il ne veult changer vice.
Ce loz je donne aux fleurs du beau verger,
Paris sans per en l'amoureux service".

XCVI

f.46. Cesse, mon oeil, de plus la regarder
Puis que ton mal procede de son bien;
Et toy, mon cueur, qui ne te peultz garder
4. De la servir, aprens à estre tien;
Ou si tu es contrainct demourer sien
Par les effortz de sa grace & beaulté,
f.46v°. Ne monstre pas, aumoins, ta loyaulté;
8. Car d'autant plus que la feras congnoistre,
Plus sentiras sa grande cruaulté
Et moins vouldra tes labeurs recongnoistre.

Text: a(t identical) Variants: e(f.139v°) i(f.46 and f.78) k(f.86 and f.107) r(f.83v°) s A

Title: A Au mesme propos dung amoureux ung peu marry
1 i(f.46) casse 2 e mon mal
3 r que ne i(f.78) ne peulx garder
4 i(f.46) bien 5-10 omitted e 5 s A Car si
6 i(f.46) effectz i(f.78) fais A ses grace & beaulté
7 k(f.86) ne monstre point k(f.107) ne monstre au moins
8 i(f.46) plus tu luy feras i(f.78) plus luy feras
A de tant plus tu la feras
9 k(f.86) sa dure cruaulté
10 i(f.46 and f.78) vauldra

XCVII

f.46v°. Elle veult doncq par estrange rigueur
A mes ennuictz donner nourrissement,
Et ne permect que du mal la vigueur
Puisse par mort mectre fin au tourment;
Mais pour avoir certain allegement,
Il me suffist de la veoir amoureuse;
Lors congnoistra que trop fut rigoreuse.

Text: a (j(f.10) k(f.107) identical)

Variant: e(f.121v°)
6 e il suffira

XCVIII

f.46v°. Responce aux damoiselles

Qui ont faict des chansons nouvelles.

Ce que par trop avons de fermeté,
Nous a tenuz en grant subgection;
Si nous suyvions vostre legiereté,
Moins en amours aurions de passion;
Car on ne peult par vraye affection
Gagner l'amour de voz aultres tant belles,
Qui croist d'autant qu'on en prent de nouvelles;
Ainsi qu'on voit maintenant par voz plaintes,
Par voz chançons & rimes Dieu sçait quelles,
Qui monstrent bien qu'estes d'aymer actainctes.

Text: a Variants: e(f.121v°) k(107v°) l(p.157)

3 k l suyvons 7 k qui croit que autant que
l qui croist autant que 9 k rithmes

XCIX

f.46v°. Ce ne fut pas la pluye ou le tonnerre
F. 47 Qui me garda arsoir d'aller vous veoir;
Car il n'est point de peril suz la terre
Qui puisse faire obmectre mon devoir;
Mais le plaisir qu'on y peult recepvoir,
Le cueur penetre, & entre si avant,
Qu'on ne doibt moins craindre de vous reveoir,
Que desirer de vous veoir bien souvent.[I]

Text: a Variant: e(f.121v°)

6 e Lame penetre

I. Cf. Michel d'AMBOISE, Les Cents Epigrames.... (Paris, Alain Lotrian et Jehan Longis, s.d.), f.xxix:

Ung amant à s'amye

"Je ne crains point la fouldre ny tonnoire
N'aucun dangier qui soit dessus la terre...
Je ne craintz fors ta rudesse m'amye
De qui l'amour trop plus d'assez me mort
Scez tu pourquoy: car j'ay la fantaisie
Que seulle peulx me donner vie ou mort".

C

f.47. Pardonnez moy si je fuz trop legier,
De vouloir croyre avant que de congnoistre;
Combien est grant le peril et dangier
De se cuyder jouer avec son maistre.
Vous me juriez que myenne vouliez estre,
Et je vous prins lors pour ma mieulx aymée;
Mais vostre foy passa par la fenestre:
Il me desplaist que ne l'avoys fermée!

Text: a(e(f.121) j(f.64) identical)
Variant: k(f.107v°)

7 k passet

CI

f.47. D'en aymer trois ce m'est force & contraincte;
L'une est à moy trop pour ne l'aymer poinct;
Et l'autre m'a donné si vifve actaincte
4. Que plus la fuy, plus sa grace me poingt;
La tierce tient son cueur uny & joinct,
Voire attaché de si trespres au myen,
Que je ne puis ny veulx n'estre point sien.
8. Ainsi Amour m'a mys en ses destroictz
Et me soubzmect à toutes vouloir bien,
Mais je sçay bien à qui le plus des trois.[I]

Text: a (k(f.108) and s(III, 281) identical)
Variants: d(f.82) i(f.179 and f.221) l(p.155) r(f.84) t A G

Title A Comment Amour navra de trois dardz le plus perfaict des vrays amans
4 A la suy
7 d Que je ne me puis que ne me rende sien
i(f.179 and f.221) r Que je ne puis ne veulx estre point sien
t Que je ne veulx ny puis nestre point sien
A ny ne vueil estre sien G que ne me rende sien
8 i(f.179) l A Ainsi Amour me tient
i(f.221) Ainsi ma pris amour
9 i(f.179) r me convient i(f.221) me soubzmectant
10 i(f.179) la plus A a quelle plus de trois

I. The B.N. ms.fr.2335 (f.108) contains the following reply to Chappuys' poem:

Responce par Macault

"Qui se contente d'une en peut havoir plaisir,
Et qui plus en desire au repentir en vient;
Car puist que d'une seule hom reçoit desplaisir,
De plusieurs certe plus d'ennuy et mal survient;

CII

f.47v°. S'il est ainsi que le visaige monstre
Les passions de l'amour commencée,[I]
Il m'en desplaist; mais quant je vous rencontre,
Maulgré le cueur, l'oeil trahist la pensée;
Si en cela je vous ay offencée,
Excusez moy sans m'en vouloir blasmer;
Car la vertu qui vous faict estimer,
Veult que ne soys du tout riens aultre chose
Qu'affection faicte pour vous aymer;
Me monstrant doncq, ne la puis tenir close.

Text: a(k(f.108v°) identical) Variant: t
8 t soit en tout

I.(contd) Une doncque commande amour en tous endroicts,
Voulant que qui luy sert obeisse à ses droits
Sans que vraye amitié soit à plusieurs commune;
Et cognoistrat cheluy qui en veult aymer trois
Que les trois il perdrat s'il ne s'arrestet à une".
The Musée Condé ms.523 contains (f.81v°) the following dizain which is very similar to Chappuys' piece, but is written by a lady:

"D'en avoir deux tous d'ung mesme vouloir,
D'un mesme cueur et d'une mesme grace,
Faisans tous deux si tresbien leur devoir
A me servir que l'un l'autre ne passe,
De les aymer tous deux ne suis point lasse;
Mais s'il falloit ung seul des deux choisir,
Ce me seroit ung trop grant desplaisir;
Car l'un des deux je ne sçaurois laisser
Sans faire tort à l'autre; or mon desir
Est de tous deux bien aymer sans cesser".
Cf. also a dizain by Mellin de SAINT GELAYS, "J'en aime deux d'amour bien differente" (Blanchemain, II, p.57).

I. Cf. OVID, Ars am., I, 574:
"Saepe tacens vocem verbaque vultus habet".

Cf., also, PETRARCH, s. CLXVII, "Liete e pensose,

CIII

f.47v° Amour craignant de perdre le povoir
Que luy donnoit suz moy vostre presence,
M'a faict chercher ce que moins puis vouloir,
Par l'ennuy seul d'une si briefve absence.
Vous jugerez cela estre inconstance;
Mais ce n'est riens que desir trop fervent
Qui de deux maulx l'ung beaucop moindre pense,
C'est ne veoir poinct que voir trop peu souvent.

Text: a
Variants: j(f.47) k(f.109) l(f.131) r(f.71) s t G

2 k vostre persone 5 l r On jugeroit
6 l que destre trop fervent
7 k que deus mauls l r que de deux maulx
8 j t et ne veoir rien s Cest ne point veoir
G ce quon voit trop souvent

I.(contd) accompagnate e sole":

"Ma spesso nella fronte il cor si legge"

and s. CLXIX, "S'una fede amorosa, un cor non finto":

"Se nella fronte ogni penser dipinto";

BRITONIO, Gelosia del Sole, (Venice, 1531), f.58v°,
"Se col cor tacendo i' fusse inteso".

CIV

f.47v°. Amour n'est pas ung dieu, c'est ung magitien,
Qui enchante les cueurs & les sçait si bien prendre,
Soubz coulleur de plaisir & espece de bien,
4. Que d'eulx mesmes à luy ilz cherchent de se rendre;
Et alors qu'il les tient, en lieu de les deffendre,
Il les trompe & deçoit, & faict que sa prison
Leur semble liberté, les yvrant de poison.[I]
f.48 Dont, pys que mort s'ensuit; parquoy il n'est pas dieu;
Car ung dieu n'useroit de telle trahison;
Mais l'esprit aveuglé luy a donné ce lieu.

Text: a, with the exception of an error of l.8, for which I have given the reading of k s A G H
Variants: k(f.109) s(III, 48) A G H

Title A Ung Amoureux marry dit qu'Amour use de magicque & non de divinite G H Contre Amour
3 k espoir de bien
4 k ils cherchent se rendre A soubdain se viennent rendre
5 s A Et des lots ils sont siens
6 A ce faisant sa prison s G H la prison
7 A & les paist de poyson
8 s puisque mort sensuit appert quil
A je dys quil nest G H doncques il nest
dieu j s A G H) adieu a
10 k luy done

I. Cf. Michel d'AMBOISE, Les Cents Epigrames..., f.lvi:
Comme est amours: et de ses façons
".. Et lors que doulx et gracieulx il semble
C'est quant il trompe et qu'il faict trahyson
Et n'est vivant qui fuyr sa poyson
Ayt le povoir..."

CV

f.48 J'avoys pensé que pour mon plus grant bien
Et trouver fin à mon dueil & tourment,
C'estoit de veoir celle que je sçay bien
4. Garder la clef de mon contentement.
Mais mon mal s'est aigry plus qu'aultrement;
Car comme l'ung actraict l'autre plaisir,
Ainsi je sens en mon entendement
8. De la reveoir accroistre le desir.

Text: a Variants: e(f.121) j(f.47) k(f.109v°) t

2 e en mon dueil
5 k est aigri j t plus haultement
7 t je suis
8 e que le reveoir acroistra j mon desir

CVI

f.48 Celle qui fut de beaulté si louable
Que pour sa garde elle avoit une armée,
f.48v°. A aultre plus qu'à vous ne fut semblable,
4. Ne de Paris, son amy, mieulx aymée
Que de chascun vous estes estymée;
Mais il y a difference d'ung poinct;
Car à bon droict elle a esté blasmée
8. Par trop aymer & vous de n'aymer poinct.

Text: a (e(f.121) identical) Variants: k(f.110) l(p.163) p(f.37v°) s t A E

Title A Ung autre pour attraire sa Dame la loue en sa personne
E Aultre a une dame

2 A sa garde avoit
3 E A aultres s ne fut qua vous
5 Omitted k p dun chascun
7 s t cest qua E fut fort blasmee
8 I s t E de trop aymer A de trop daymer

CVII

f.48v°. Amour, voyant qu'il n'est pas le plusfort,
Et que subgect à luy ne me peult rendre,
Toute la nuyct faict à mon cueur effort,
4. Et par songer tasche de le surprendre.
Enquoy je l'ay vaincu sans armes prendre,
Fuyant sa force et forceant sa prison;
Mais au resveil j'ay senty le poison
8. Dont sont infectz & le ciel & la terre;
Si n'aura il avec sa trahison
Ce qu'il n'a peu gaigner de bonne guerre.

Text: a (e(f.120v°) identical)
Variants: d(f.79) k(f.112v°)

Title d Dizain pour la resistance d'amour
1 k nest poinct 7 k ghay sentu la poison
8 d dont infectz

CVIII

f.48v°. Je sens en moy quelque nouveau desir
Qui ne m'est pas encor assez congneu;
Mon oeil vous veult pour maistresse choisyr,
Et est du cueur en cela soustenu;
Si de par vous il estoit retenu,
Il feroyt bien à aymer son office;
Ne prenez doncq en mal si suys venu
Pour vous offrir en honneur mon service.

Text: a (e(f.120v°) identical)
Variants: k(f.112) s

1 s Rien je ne sens fors un nouveau desir
2 k nest pas

CIX

f.49 Au departir adieu ne vous diray;
Car ce seroit mal suz mal amasser;
Et pour remede au retour penseray,
Voulant l'ennuy à l'aise compasser;
Et pour le bien de veoir, qui peult passer,
Le souvenir, qui ne me laissera,
Non seulement me reconfortera,
Mais par la vraye & claire congnoissance
De voz vertuz, tous jours m'asseurera
Q'ung bien faict n'est jamais sans recompense.

Text: a, with the exception of an error of l.5 for which the reading of st is given.
Variants: e(f.120) s(III, p.97), t

4 t compenser
5 qui peut s t) que a quil peult e
10 s t Un bienfaict

* CX

f.51. Quiconques fut qui Nature a repris
De n'avoir mys au corps une fenestre,
f.51v°. Certes il fust entre tous bien apris;
Car l'on eust peu le cueur au vray congnoistre,
Qui n'est tousjours tel qu'il veult apparoistre.
Hal pleust à dieu qu'ainsi eust esté faict:
J'eusse congneu que double vouliez estre,
Et vous que suys vray amy et parfaict.[I]

Text: a, with the exception of an error of line 4, for which the reading of e(f.63, f.119 and f.137v°), i j k t is given.
Variants: e(f.63, f.137v°) i(f.212) j(f.47v°) k(f.87) t K

Title K Un amy a sa dame rigoreuse
1 e(f.137v°) nature repris 2 j de navoir point e(f.137v°) aux cueurs i au cueur
4 e(f.63) i k K Car on au vray e(f.63, f.119 and f.137v°) i j k t) a vray a au vif K i j t le cueur cognoistre
5 i Quil nest toujours e(f.63) i tel qui veult e(f.137v°) Qui nest toujours tel qui veulx apparoistre
6 e(f.63) i k O pleust a dieu e(f.137v°) K Or pleust
7 e(f.137v°) que double vouliez estre i doubiez
8 e(f.137v°) Et vous quel suys K A moy qui suis k En vous qui suis vray amy parfaict

---

I. A development of the celebrated anecdote of Antiquity whereby Momus reproached Vulcan for not having made a window in man's breast, by which it would be possible to see what was hidden in man's heart.

Cf. RONSARD, Ode à Cassandre (Les Mélanges(1554), Laumonier, STFM, t. VI, p.228), ll.23 - 26:

"Que pleut à Dieu que la Nature
M'eust fait au coeur une ouverture,
Afin que vous eussiez pouvoir
De me cognoistre et de me voir".

* CXI

f.67. Lors qu'Amour eut ses droitz en leur saine observance,
Nature le suivoit pour son heureuse attente;
Amour la nourrissoit en honneste esperance,
4. Puis meritant le pris de son obeissance
Luy permectoit l'effect dont le corps se contente.
L'ayant eu ne bransloit pour quelque vent qui vente,
Mais abusant de l'ordre a tellement changé
f.67v° Qu'elle se dit maistresse au lieu d'estre servante,
Et si tost qu'elle gouste Amour est estrangé.

Text: e, with the exception of an error of l.1 for which I have given the reading of i k
Variants: i(f.216v°) k(f.114)

1 amour i k) amours e k esperance
3 k le nourrissoit 4 i mectant
5 i promettoit k dont le ceur
6 i bransloit quelque k bruslant
7 k orde 8 k de servante

* CXII

f.43. Il n'en est point d'affection semblable
A celle là qu'à bon droict je vous porte,
Et pour combatre ung cueur trop variable
4. Il n'en sera cy apres de plus forte;
Car si Courroux vient frapper à la porte
Mon desir croist quasi de la moictié;
Mesme l'ennuy qui survient me conforte
8. Et n'est sinon q'un renfort d'amytié.

Text: j Variants: k(f.115v°)

4 k plusfort 7 k qui souvent
8 omitted k

* CXIII

f.103. Nul en amour plus savant ne doibt estre
Que moy, qui tant y hay heu de malheurs,
Jecté de pleurs, et souffert de douleurs,
4. Qui m'hont rendu d'apprentis trop bon maistre.

Text: k

* CXIV

f.115. Si gh'ay esté si loyal serviteur
Que du passé la grande experience
Doibvet efforcer la doubte du futur,
Osés vous bien faire à vos ieuls defence
De voir cheluy qui ne feit onque offense?
Aus miens plusto il le fauldroit defendre,
Qui separer vouldroit nostre aliance,
Mes ge ne veul à aultre aymer entendre.

Text: k

* CXV

f.115. Il dict qu'il n'est, ny veult estre, amoureus,
Craignant d'havoir trop mauvais traictement,
Et penset cheus qui le sont, malheureus.
Il penset vray, mes son faict le dement;
Car il est plus, mes plus couvertement,
Qu'onque ne fut. S'hom demandet pourquoy,
Quand hom parlet en secret et requoy,
Il pert couleur et puist la voix luy tremble.
Ge ne say pas si ch'est d'amour out quoy;
St est che bien chose qui luy resemble!

Text: k

* CXVI

f.113v° Qui est la nymphe assise à la fenestre,
Qui de chascun veult attirer les yeuls,
Et beaucoup plus au ceur faire cognoistre
L'enchantement de son traict gracieus?
Est elle poinct descendue des cieuls,
Pour venir voir les beaultés immortelles,
Qui sont ichy en maintes damoiselles?
Elle est Françoise à sa façon de faire,
Mes semble bien entre toutes les belles
Faicte du tout pour les aultres defaire.[I]

Text: k
Variants: c(f.47v°) i(f.175) r(f.62v°) A

Title c Dizain voyant une damoiselle a une fenestre
A En la louange dune dame Francoyse
1 r assise en la fenestre
2 c dun chascun c i r peut attirer A peut attraire
3 A Et que plus est
c i r A aux cueurs
4 A Le grand povoir de
6 i r A les graces immortelles
7 r a maintes damoiselles 9 A Mais bien appert

I. In the B.N. ms.fr. 2335 (f.114), Chappuys' dizain is followed by this poem:

"Quele fortune a distraict de vos yeuls
Icele nymphe entre toutes bien faicte,
Que l'hom jugeoit descendue des cieuls
Tant en beaulté et grace fut parfaicte.
Quesqun des deus l'hauroit il poinct substraite
Pour la servir et faire sa maistresse?
S'il est ensy, O heureuse deesse,
Qui peut le ciel de grand ayse pourvoir
Et nous autant pleins d'ennuyts et tristece
Que de plaisir nous heusmes à vous voir!"

* CXVII

f.95v° Che foeu couvert qui si fort m'hat espris,
Ge ne sçay pas en quel lieu l'havés pris,
Mes de vos ieuls est issu sans mentir,
4. Qui me le font si tres au vif sentir
Que g'en pers sens, contenance et esprits.
En bone foy ils end seront repris,
Si Bel Accueil,[1] où tant y hat de pris,
8. D'eaue de pitié ne le veult amortir,
Che foeu. [2]
f.96. Faire le peut; car il est bien appris,
Et si le doibt, cognoiscant que mespris.
Chose ge n'hay, qui l'en deubt divertir,
12. Ne sa doulceur en rigueur convertir
Contre cheluy dond hat le cueur surpris
Che foeu.

Text: k I have emended an error of line 1,
qui) que k

---

1 (see overleaf)

2. Cf. Jardin de Plaisance(f.110v°), the Complainte du Prisonnier d'amours,

"Au feu, au feu, qui trestout mon cueur ard...
gectez de toute part
Eaue de pitié, de larmes & de pleurs",

and Jean MAROT, Recueil, f.D 5v°:

"Plus chault que feu je languy par tes yeulx,
Et si ne puys mes regretz ennuyeux
Bouter à fin: car ton regard me livre
Feu si tres doulx qu'en mourant me fault vivre

2.(contd)

Soubz ung espoir incertain d'avoir myeulx...
Doncques craignant ton refuz furieux,
Je te supplye en l'honneur des haulx Dieux,
Fay distiller ton cueur plus dur que cuyvre
En eaue de grace, afin que je m'enyvre
De ton amour qui me brusle en tous lieux".

Cf., also, Hecatomphile et Fleurs de Poesie Françoyse (Paris, Galliot du Pré, 1534), F viii v°:

Ung autre expose son martyre, & prie sa Dame le regarder en pitié pour estaindre le feu qu'amour par elle a lancé en son Cueur

1 Bel Accueil, Welcome, one of Chappuys' rare uses of a character from the Roman de la Rose

APPENDIX I

f.194v° Trente huitains pour la tappisserye faicte de la fable de Cupido et Psyché. [I]

Ces x premiers sont de maistre Claude Chappuys.

Icy recite Apulée une fable,
Bien inventée et trop myeulx poursuyvie,
D'une espousée eleguante et amable,
Par des brigans furtivement suyvie,
Qui fut le jour de ses nopces ravye,
Et lors la vieille ayant la garde d'elle,
Pour divertir ung songe qui l'ennuye,
Luy vint compter de Psyché la nouvelle.

Text: e, with the exception of certain errors for which I have given the readings of f h j o VC L. For Stanza XVII, which is omitted in e, I have given the reading of h. Variants: f h j o VC L.

Title: o Huitains que le roy a ordonné estre faiz par St. Gelays et Chapuys que a recite Apulee de Psiches et Cupido
omitted f h VC L

1 L Apuleus a descrit une fable
2 L Luy transforme gentement poursuyvie
6 L Puys une vieille f h aymant la garde
7 L un sommeil

I. The legend of Cupid and Psyche, from Apuleius' Golden Ass, enjoyed a considerable vogue at the court of François I. It had become known in France largely through some fine Italian etchings, made from drawings thought to be the work of Michel Coxie, a pupil of Raphael.

The legend of Cupid and Psyche was the subject of a tapestry, for which, according to the Musée Condé ms. 523, the Trente Huitains were

II

Ung roy et royne ont troys filles bien nées,
Et toutes troys d'excellente beaulté;
Les deux en sont heureusement ornées,
Mais la plus jeune a le pris emporté;
Car au visaige eut tant de deité
Que pour Venus mainct peuple l'adora.
Venus contre elle a Amour irrité,
Et par amour d'elle se vengera.

---

11 h Les en sont 12 VC les pris
15 f h Amour ha irrite o a lAmour irrite
16 o Et pour amour delle sen vengera

I.(contd) originally composed. The first ten Huitains were by Chappuys, the second ten by Héroet and the final ten by Mellin de Saint Gelays. From the B.N. ms.fr. 20025 we learn, moreover, that these huitains were written at the request of François I himself. The tapestry itself has not been preserved, though Gustave MACON, in his Catalogue of the Chantilly Manuscripts, has suggested that it may possibly be identified with a Brussels tapestry depicting the story of Psyche which was included in an inventory drawn up in 1683 on the death of Colbert, (cf. Chantilly: Le Cabinet des Livres, II, Les Manuscrits, p. 167).

The Italian etchings were freely copied in the celebrated windows made between 1542 and 1544 for Anne de Montmorency's Château at Ecouen. The Huitains by Chappuys, Héroet and Mellinde Saint Gelays were incorporated in these windows, which, in the nineteenth century, were transferred to Chantilly. (Cf. Chantilly: Le Cabinet des Livres, II, p.167;

III

f.195 Ses deux seurs sont pourveues haultement,
Et d'autant mieulx que moins ont eu de bruict.
Psyché, de tous louée grandement,
Demoure seulle, et nul ne la poursuict.
Beaulté, qui deust plus ayder, plus luy nuyt,
Et son grant heur la rend tresmalheureuse;
Sa fleur fletrist et desseiche sans fruict;
Parquoy vivoit à soy mesme odieuse.

---

21 o la nuyt 22 o En son grand heur
24 o Pourquoy vivoit en soymesme odieuse

I.(contd) G. MACON, Chantilly et le Musée Condé, p.36, pp. 255-256). The Huitains are also to be found in the ms. 523 of the Musée Condé, as well as in several other manuscripts of the period.

In 1546, the Italian etchings of Cupid and Psyche were finely copied in a small volume entitled L'Amour de Cupido et de Psiché mere de Volupté, prinse des cinq & sixiesme livres de la Metamorphose de Lucius Apuleius Philosophe... (Paris Jeanne de Marnef, 1546). The artist in this case was Jean Maugin, who was known as the "retit Angevin". The legend of Cupid and Psyche was given in both Italian and French verses. (Cf. E. PICOT, Catalogue ... Rothschild, III, pp. 368-369, no.2567).

IV

Le roy, son pere, estonné et marry,
Vient à l'oracle, et sacriffie aux dieux
En demandant pour sa fille ung mary.
On luy respond: Psyché doit pour le mieulx
Avoir espoux qui soit venu des cieulx,
Et sur ce mont, avec le mortuaire
La fault mener sans habit precieux
Au dieu qui volle et n'a bien qu'à maifaire.

---

26 L Va a loracle 28 j Psiche pour le mieulx
30 o le mont L ce mortuaire
31 L habitz precieux

V

Ceste responce a l'ennuy redoublé,
Et ses parens en ont mené tel dueil
Que le palais royal est tout troublé;
Le peuple crye et gecte larmes d'oeil,
Voyant Psyché conduicte à tel accueil,
Qui neantmoins les assistans conforte.
Ses nopces sont obseques; le cercueil
Est de vivante et non de femme morte.

---

35 j est estonne L en est trouble
36 j larme doeil
37 f h en tel escueil o en tel accueil
39 j Ses obseques sont obseques
VC L obseques & cercueil
40 VC Et de vivante
j Encor vivant a nom de femme morte

VI

f.195v° Le doulx zephire enfle son vestement
Et l'a soufflée où fortune la maine;
Apres avoir reposé doulcement,
44. Elle apperceut les boys et la fontaine
Pres d'ung palais faict de main plus que humaine,
Où une voix sans rien veoir entendit;
Va t'en baigner, Psyché, et soys certaine
43. D'avoir icy tout povoir et credit.

---

42 f h la soufflee infortune
44 o VC L le bois
47 VC L Vas te baigner
48 L bon pouvoir

VII

Elle obeyt à la voix incongneue,
Croyant que c'est des dieux la volunté,
Et s'est au bain lavée toute nue,
N'y voyant rien de main d'homme appresté.
Sans s'esbahir de telle nouveauité;
Son chef aussi a voulu perfumer
D'odeurs remplis de grande suavité,
Pendant qu'Amour son cueur vint allumer.

---

55 j Dodeur o remplir L grand suavite
56 VC L vint son coeur allumer

VIII

Ung peu apres, revestue et coeffée,
Elle s'assiet et n'apperçoit personne;
La table fut de tous mectz estoffée,
Et ung accord de plusieurs voix resonne,
Qui la recrée et grant plaisir luy donne;
Mais poinct ne sçait s'il y a trahison,
Ne si amour pour son bien l'envyronne,
Ne si c'est myel ou si c'est du poison.

---

61 o Qui la recolle

IX

Quand il fut nuyt, et le lict bien paré,
Psyché se couche; Amour la vient chercher,
Et, laissant trousse et dart bien asseré,
Entre ses bras nud à nud va coucher.
Qui l'eust alhors gardé de luy toucher?
Il luy promet et jure grant serment
D'estre à jamais le sien espoux trescher,
Dont prinse fut, mais voluntairement.

---

66 o le vint chercher
68 L vient coucher
70 f h VC L jure un grand serment
o grande serment

X

Puis de dormir, non d'aymer, assouvye,
Le jour venu, estant Amour en voye,
Elle est de gens invisibles servye,
Et tost s'accoustre, et, entre dueil et joye,
Compte à par soy les biens qu'Amour envoye,
Et se mainctient sur toutes bien heurée,
Croyant qu'Amour jamais ne se desvoye
Et que sa foy est ferme et asseurée.

73-80 L Au poinct du jour la belle est esveillée
Cuydant baiser son amy doucement:
Mais il avoit ja dressé sa volée
Pour s'en aller devers le firmament.
A son reveil dames bien promptement
La vont vestir de robe precieuse,
Dressent aussi son poil blond gentement;
Adoncq en soy dit qu'elle est tresheureuse.

73 f h non damour assouvie
75 j gens visibles
78 f h le maintient 79 f h se forvoye
80 sa foy f h VC) la foy e j

f.196v° Ces X suyvans sont de La Maison Neufve.

XI

En ce palais les seurs plaines d'envye
Dessus les ventz descendent doulcement
Pour descouvrir la bienheureuse vye
84. Qu'Amour vouloit mener couvertement.
Psyché leur feit gracieux traictement;
Mais par accueil et tresors presentez
Impossible est d'appaiser le tourment
88. Que faict envye en fainctes voluntez.

---

81 VC L ses soeurs o plaine denvye
87 o Impossible est appaiser

XII

Qui recevez amoureuses doulceurs
Et les loyers d'un labeur enduré,
Ne vous fiez en freres ny en seurs,
Ny en conseil d'un amy perjuré.
Voyez les seurs, de visaige asseuré,
Faindre qu'Amour est serpent deshonneste;
Psyché le creut, et de cueur conjuré
Delibera de luy trancher la teste.

---

89 f h douleurs 91 o ny en freres
92 f h Ni au conseil 93 o L dun visaige
f ends at this line 95 J Psiche le croit

f.197 XIII

Le glaive prest, tenant la lampe ardente,
Psyché venoit pour tuer le serpent;
Cogneut Amour; le voyant, se repent,
Et curieuse ung peu plus que contente,
Picque son doit d'une fleiche poignante;
Puis à reveoir ce petit dieu revient;
Lequel, bruslé par huille estincellante,
S'esveille et part; elle en vain le retient.

---

104 j en vain retient

XIV

En terre cheutte, à triste oeil le conduict;
Puis se gectant dens l'eaue de haulte rive,
Veult que une mort de tant de maulx la prive.
Sa volunté le doulx fleuve esconduict,
Qui d'une part en l'autre la reduict,
Où Pan chantoit, lequel de bonne sorte
A luy compter ses fortunes l'induict;
Mais rien qu'amour d'Amour ne la conforte.

---

105 L A terre cheut le conduit j o VC
L) la conduict e, h En terre cheut ce triste oeil
la conduit
106 h leau de saulterine
109 VC la conduit

XV

Elle, pensant qu'à chascun feust permis
Venger le tort que font les envyeuses
En ruynant amyes ou amys
Par trahisons et façons odieuses,
Rend ses deux seurs d'Amour tant amoureuses
Et le danger du lieu tant dissimule,
Que y revoiller cuydoient les malheureuses;
Mais mort s'approche, et le vent se recule.

113-120 L Psiche errant comme une pauvre dame
Vient vers ses soeurs, & par fainte
leur conte
L'outrage grand, le deshonneur,& blasme,
Que luy a fait son mary, & la honte.
A l'escouter chacune fut trop prompte,
Et desirant d'Amour estre espousée
Soudainement sur le hault rocher monte,
Au cheoir duquel elle fut desbrisée.

114 h les ennuyeuses 115 VC amyes & amys
116 j trahison ou facon o trahisons ou facons
VC trahison & facons

f.197v° XVI

Dedans la mer, sur deux daulphins assise,
Se promenoit Venus, envyronnée
De dieux marins, et de nymphes ornée.
Quant la mouette à son oreille mise
Dit: O Venus, d'un malheur je t'avise;
C'est que ton filz est au lict fort blecé;
Et toy icy! Tout le monde en devise,
Qui sans vous est de grace delaissé.

---

123 L & Nymphes aornee
124 j Quand a son oreille
125 h VC L Dit a Venus 126 j o Tost que
127 devise h j o VC L) divise e
128 VC L sans toy h graces

XVII

Vers le malade elle a son chemin pris,
Et l'a tansé en lieu de l'appaiser,
De ce qu'aymer il a celle entrepris
Qu'il sçait sa mere hayr et mespriser,
Le menassant de son arc luy briser,
Rompre ses traicts et arracher ses aelles;
Puis vint Ceres et Juno adviser
De son ennuy, demandant secours d'elles.

129-136 h omitted e j o VC
L Venus s'en vient devers son filz Amour
L'interroguer, pourquoy luy fait ce tour
De prendre ainsi pour espouse & amye
Celle qui est sa plus grande ennemye.
Puis par despit en courroux a juré
De luy oster feu, trousse, & arc doré.
Ce dit, s'en va, & recite aux Deesses
De son enfant Cupido les finesses.

134 arracher) arraches h

XVIII

Suyvant Psyché de son amy la trace,
Trouve Ceres, s'humilye et mect peyne
D'ordonner faulx, rasteaulx, orge et avene,
Qu'elle apperçoit en desordre en la place.
Voyant son mal indigne de sa face,
Dame Ceres l'eut voluntiers receue;
Mais par faveur de Venus, qui efface
Tout jugement, fut charité vaincue.

L places Stanza XX before Stanzas XVIII and XIX
137 j Marginal note: "al. voyant Psyche"
140 L quelle aportoit 143 j o pour faveur

f.198 XIX

Devant Juno, qui en son temple estoit,
Remply de veux et de maincte despouille,
Psyché, mercy demandant, s'agenoille,
Comptant le mal que par Amour sentoit.
De son travail Juno se resentoit,
Et eut changé en joye sa tristesse;
Mais pour l'honneur qu'elle à Venus portoit,
La feit sortir du temple sans rudesse.

---

149 L se contristoit

XX

Venus, au ciel par coulombes portée,
De Jupiter impetre son Mercure,
Qui deust bannir Psyché desconfortée
Par ung cartel plain de telle escripture:
Nous banissons Psiché par forfaicture
De tous les lieux où soleil passera;
Et ce pendant sept baisers par droicture
Venus promect à qui l'enseignera.

After Stanza XX, h gives the following two additional stanzas:

"Est il travail qu'Amour legier ne face?
Psiche amante, Amour s'en va cerchant;
Mais Cytheree elle trouve en sa place,
Qui l'abatist son beau poil arrachant,
Puis se frottant l'oreille et se faschant
La meit es mains de douleur et d'angoisse;
Les quelles deus de coups la detranchant
N'ont sceu ancor apaiser la deesse.

Donc en un tas divers bleds elle a mis,
Que tous trier a Psiche ordonna;
Ce qui fut fait soudain par des fourmis;
De quoy Venus grandement s'estonna,
Et non Psiché du faict soupeconna,
Ains son garson, qui jusqu'au Ciel commande.
En fin un pain de sa main luy donna,
Mais pour sa faim vouldroit autre viande.

L gives the following two stanzas (which have been incorporated, in modern times, in the windows at Chantilly):

XXI

Ces X suivans sont de St Gelaiz.

Pour ces labeurs Venus non moderée
Luy monstre ung bois où paissoit grant foison
De grans moutons à la laine dorée,
Luy commandant avoir de leur toison;
Ung vert roseau luy dit l'ordre et raison
D'en recouvrer. O incroyable chose!
Les fiers trouppeaux dorment quelque saison,
Et de Venus l'ire poinct ne repose.

---

162 h Luy monstra un bois ou passoit grand foison
VC L paissent 165 h Qui vert roseau
168 VC L Mais de Venus o point lire

(contd)

"Ayant Psiche par mont et par valee
Quis son amy, enfin s'en est allee
Vers le palays de Venus triumphant,
Estimant bien y trouver son enfant:
Mais las! au lieu d'y avoir reconfort,
Moquee fut, & fessee bien fort
De par Venus, qui de dueil se gratoit
De quoy assez chacun ne la batoit.

Venus despite apres luy fist bailler
Un grand monceau de divers grains meslez,
Luy commandant de tost les demesler,
Et mettte(sic) aux lieux pour eulx aparsillez.
Or sont venuz les Fromiz esveillez
Pour achever ceste tasche baillee:
Ce qu'ilz ont fait & puys s'en sont allez;
Dont trop en est Venus esmerveillee.

f.198v° XXII

A peine estoit Psyché bien retournée
Du long travail de l'heureuse rappine,
Qu'elle se treuve une boiste ordonnée
Que sa maistresse envoye à Proserpine
Pour rapporter de sa beaulté divine;
Ce que Psyché, n'esperant povoir faire,
De se lancer d'une tour determyne;
Mais la tour parle et dresse son affaire.

---

169 Psyche h j o VC L) Pspyche e
170 j De long travail de lheureuse arapine
171 VC L a trouve 173 j o la beaulte
176 j o dressa

XXIII

Psyché, croyant la veritable tour,
Deux pains ensemble et deux deniers appreste
Pour contenter d'aller et de retour
Le vieil Charon et le chien deshonneste,
Et ne voulut accomplir la requeste
D'un importun errant et solitaire,
Ne soulaiger une chargée beste,
Se contentant de veoir et de se taire.

---

177 h j voiant le veritable tour
o voyant la veritable tour
181 VC L accorder la requeste
183 j VC L De soulager

XXIV

Bien eussent peu troys vieilles tisserandes
L'impitié mesme à pitié convertir;
Mays pour leur lin ne leurs prieres grandes
Psyché ne veult main ne voix divertir;
Et se sentant par abboys advertir
Que Cerberus veult nouvelle curée,
De ses deux pains ung luy vient deppartir;
Ainsi passa le danger asseurée.

185-192 L Estant Psiche aux voyes infernales
Aucun esprit ne la peut arrester.
Non mesmement les trois filles fatales
Voulants au long son sort interpreter:
Mais bien prudente elle voulut traiter
Le gros mastin Cerberus d'un potaige,
Puys s'en alla. Ne fut elle pas saige?
Il luy faloit en autre lieu troter.

185-188 omitted VC 185 o Bien eusses peu
187 j pour leur loy o ne leur prieres

f.199. XXV

Ayant passé l'inevitable porte
D'où le retour à nul homme est permis,
Devers la royne au palais se transporte,
196. Où faict et dict ce qu'on luy a commys.
Pres de la royne ung siege luy fut mis
En luy offrant et repoz et viande;
Mais rien ne prent ny offert ne promis,
200. Fors que la boiste ainsi qu'elle demande.

---

194 j o L Dont le retour 196 h Qui faict
197-200 omitted VC
198 j o offrant ung repos
199 L Mais rien nen prend

XXVI

Ah! comme il nuyt d'estre trop curieuse!
Psyché, pensant accroistre sa beaulté,
Ouvre la boiste, où peste furieuse
Estoit enclose, et somme et cruaulté;
Et si ne fust la grande loyaulté
De Cupido, qui la reliefve en voye,
Elle mouroit; mays ayant rebouté
Les maulx au vase, à Venus la renvoye.

---

203 L Ouvrit 204 j o et somme cruaulte
VC L & mort & cruaulte

XXVII

Amour, aymant une qu'il feit amante,
Et esprouvant en soy comme autre il poinct,
A Jupiter faict requeste exprimante
L'ennuy qu'il a de Psyché n'avoir poinct.
Le dieu, qui s'est souvent veu en ce poinct,
En eut pitié, et commande à Mercure
Que tous les dieux en mesme instant et poinct
Soubz grande peyne assembler il procure.

---

209 j Amour aiant une j o qui feit amante
h Amour laymant quil avoit faict amante
210 j o esprouvante 211 h feit requeste
213 VC Et dieu L Ce dieu
214 j en mesme instance L a linstant & a poinct
216 L Souz grosse peine h assembles

f.199v°

XXVIII

Tost fut remply, soit par craincte ou devoir,
Des immortelz le celeste pourpris.
Si prent le roy à leur ramentevoir
Qu'il a d'enffance Amour en amour pris
Combien qu'il fust de legierté repris,
Et que or voulant à Psyché l'arrester
Il a d'eulx deux l'aliance entrepris;
Pour tant l'a faict par Mercure apporter.

---

219 h a luy ramentevoir VC L a leur faire scavoir
220 j Quil denfant Amour L Quil denfance
221 h VC L dinconstance repris j de legerete pris
222 j Que or
223 VC Il a des deulx L Il a des dieux

XXIX

Grant fut l'effect de la doulce ambrosie
Qui la purgea d'impure humanité;
Grant fut l'honneur, l'accueil, la courtoisye,
Qu'elle receut de celle affinité,
Là, de plaisirs y eut infinité,
Chascun faisant ce qui plus le delecte;
Troys Nymphes ont par tout mys et gecte
Maincte fleur belle et fresche violette.

---

228 h ceste affinite 229 j o des plaisirs
230 J Chacun faisoit ce que plus les delecte
o L ce que plus
231 L Deux nymphes

XXX

Quelle parolle, escripture, ou pensée
Sauroit au vray les plaisirs exprimer
D'une amytié enfin recompensée,
Dont le long mal faict les biens estimer!
Or est en doulx converty leur amer,
Or ne sont que ung de corps et volunté;
Et de cest ung, doublé par bien aymer,
Ne peult sortir que honneste volupté.

---

234 j les plaisirs estimer
236 VC L le bien estimer
237-240 omitted VC 239 j o pour bien aymer
240 h Naist eternelle et pure volupte

APPENDIX II

Autre chanson par C.C.

Maintenant c'est un cas estrange
De vouloir garder loyauté,
Il vaudroit mieux aller au change
Qui vouldroit vivre en liberté.

Au temps de ma jeune ignorance,
J'en aymoys une seulement,
Et croyois par folle asseurance,
En avoir seul contentement.

O forte & lourde fantaisie,
De se vouloir aproprier
Chose commune, ô frenaisie
D'ainsi tant soy mesme lier!

Qui veult engarder qu'une femme
N'aille par tout à l'abandon,
Il se rompt en vain corps & ame,
C'est de sa peine le guerdon.

Text: K

S'elle a un amy d'avanture,
Il sera bien tost dejetté,
Car elle n'a rien de Nature,
Qu'inconstance & legereté.

Lors qu'elle sera d'un contente,
L'ordre du Ciel se changera,
La grand' mar sera sans tormente
Le cler soleil plus ne luyra.

On verra d'amytié paysible
Brebis & Loupz se frequenter,
Bref l'impossible estre possible,
Plus tost qu'on la voye arrester.

GLOSSARY [I].

accointer (s'), VII, 66; XIX, 4, to become acquainted
acointer, XII, 54, acquaintance

accoustrer (s'), App. I, 76, to dress, attire oneself

acointer, see accointer (s')

actendre, = atteindre, IX, 17, (meaning as in modern French)

actraire, see attraire

admonnester, XC, 5, to exhort, urge

adonné (à), I, 79, given to, inclined to

adviser, XXVIII, 9, to consider
adviser (à), VII, 79; XXXI, 4, to consider, think of
mal advisé, XXXVII, 4, ill-considered

affaire, III, Title, et passim, masculine, (meaning as in modern French)

affecter, VII, 66, to seek, aspire to. Cf. Cotgrave, "To affect, fancie; desire, covet; seeke after, aspire unto.."

aiguade, I, 212, watering-place (for ships)

ains, II, 19, et passim, but

allier, I, 193, quarter-master Cf. Jal, "Glossaire nautique, répertoire polyglotte de termes de marine anciens et modernes, Paris, 1848.

amour, XIV, 14, CII, 2, feminine, (meaning as in modern French)

anguillade, I, 102, whipping (with an eel-whip), cf. Cotgrave: "A whipping, lash, or blow, with an Eele, or with an Eeles skin".

aposter (s'), I, 99, to place, position oneself

I. The glossary includes the first ten stanzas only of the Fable de Cupido et Psyché (Appendix I); it does not include the Chanson, "Maintenant c'est ung cas estrange", (Appendix II).

appart, = à part, VII, 1, (meaning as in modern French)

arresté, I, 139, decreed, determined

arsoir, XCIX, 2, yesterday evening

assembler (s'), I, 26, to meet

asseoyr (jugement), XXI, 5, to give judgment

attraire, actraire, LXXIV, 4; CV, 6, to attract

autant (comme), VII, 86, as ... as

bandyere, I, 210, banner

bastonnade, I, 101, cudgelling

besche, I, 89, a South-west wind, cf. Rabelais, Quart Livre, Ch. XLIII,"l'un loue le iroch, l'autre le Besch..."

blason, XI, Title, et passim, poem in celebration

blasonner, VII, 99, to paint; to describe, to celebrate

borde, I, 97, (reserve) mast, cf. Littré

boutter, I, 331, to put, place

bruit, bruict, bruyct, I, 42; VIII, 19; XVI, 1; LI, 6; App. I, 18, reputation, renown
bruict (entendre le), I, 110, to hear a rumour

but, I, 31, end; LIII, 2, limit

cars, I, 399, = chars (meaning as in modern French)

cas, VII, 134, offence

celle, LXXXIII, 5, this (adj.)

ceste cy, II, 10, the latter

cestuy là, LXXVI, 9; LXXXVII, 2, the one, he

change, VIII, 23, change
change (aller au), XCV, 4, to change, but cf. also footnote

charger, VII, 37 and 140, to accuse

chef, App. I, 54, head

cher (aymer plus), to prefer

chiourme, I, 197, rowers of a galley

churme, see chiourme

clos (p.p. clore), CII, 10, secret

colloqué (mal), I, 160, ill-set, ill-disposed

combien (que), II, 38; LXXX, 3, although

comite, I, 91, sailor in charge of galley slaves

commung, XVI, 2, well-known

compasser, CIX, 4, to measure, regulate

complaincte, I, 14, complaint

compter, I, 407, = conter, (meaning as in modern French)

conforter, App. I, 38, to comfort

connil, XII, 47, cony, (also sexual connotation)

contraincte (être), CI, 1, to be compelled

contredire, II, 77, to go against, oppose

convenir, VIII, 13, to be necessary (should)

coucher, I, 16, to put, set down

coulleur, CIV, 3, semblance, pretence

coup (encor ung), LVI, 10, again

coursye, I, 94, coursy, (a raised passage from prow to poop of a galley over the rowing benches, cf. Cotgrave).

couverture, XLVI, 6, pretence

creait, I, 50, credit; I, 54, creait, reputation

curieux, XXIV, 2, anxious; LI, 4, concerned with

cuyder, I, 301; XXX, 3; C, 4, to think, believe

debvoir, II, 49, (sense of) duty

decepvance, LVI, 5, deception

defaillir, XXVI, 4, to be missing

deffault (il), see defaillir

deffault (par - de), XXXII, 2, through lack of

deité, App. I, 13, divinity

deliberer, I, 143; XIX, 3, to resolve

demeure, LXV, 8, absence

demourant, VII, 94, rest

departir, deppartir, LXV, 1, to leave; VI, 4, to distribute, bestow

desbatre, VII, 1, to consider

deschasser, VII, 130, to chase, drive away

desconfire, II, 8, to discomfit

descours, I, 72, subject, discourse

desdire, V, 10, to go against, belie; VII, 36, to belie

desestymer, LXXVII, 7, to think the worse of, disesteem

despict, XXXV, 5, angry, vexed

despiter, VIII, 16, to defy

despriser, XII, 5, to undervalue, underestimate

destroictz, CI, 8, straits, (fig. sense)

devant, LXXII, 7, before (temporal)

devers, LXXI, 1, towards

dict(z), LV, 1, words

distraire (se), LXXXVIII, 1, to be separated from

divertir, App. I, to turn aside, dispel

dont, I, 355 et passim, for which reason; I, 346 = donc,

doubte, XXXII, 7, fear

doubte, CXIV, 3, feminine, (meaning as in modern French)

douloir, LIX, 5, to grieve

effect, I, 15; I, 57; VII, 55, act, deed; VII, 36, fact
par effect, I, 284; XXX, 10, in fact, in reality

efforcer, CXIV, 3, to overcome, suppress

embler, LII, 4, to ravish

empaner, XCV, 1, = empenner (meaning as in modern French)

empescher, II, 19, to hinder, prevent; I, 198, to impede,
empesche, II, 36

empirer, LXXII, 8, to impair

encommancer, I, 165, to begin

encontre, XIX, 9, towards

endroict, I, 79, towards
en mon endroict, en vostre endroict, II, 23 et passim,
towards me, towards you

enfoncer, I, 257, to penetrate, attain

engarder, XL, 6, to prevent

enhorter, I, 253, to exhort

enquerir (s'), X, 2, to ask oneself, wonder

ensuyvant, I, 243 et passim, following

entendement, LIV, 5; CV, 7, mind

entendre, I, 354, to heed

entene, I, 103, = antenne (meaning as in modern French)

entreprendre, LXIX, 2, to set upon, attack

entretien, VII, 61, conversation, cf. Cotgrave, "also compliement, complementing or entertaining of one another with courteous speeches"

envers, VIII, 20, towards

environ, VII, 85, among

escripture, VII, 24, et passim, writing(s)

esgard, VIII, 22, regard, consideration

esjouir (s'), I, 321, to rejoice

esmerveiller, VII, 101, to marvel at

esmoy, I, 171; I, 289, sorrow, distress

espace, LIV, 6, (space of)time

espece, CIV, 3, semblance

esprit(z), LXXXVII, 4, wits

esse, I, 263, et passim = est-ce

estat, II, 69, estate

estoffé, App. I, 59, laden

estonné, I, 184; App. I, amazed, aghast

estrainer, XXII, 5, to offer a present to

estrapontin, I, 125, pailiasse, cf. Saingéan, Les termes nautiques chez Rabelais, R.E.R., 1910, p.54

estyme, XVI, 1, repute

exceder, IV, 13, to exceed, go beyond

exempt (de), I, 313, freed from

experience, XCIII, 2, proof

extoller, LI, 6, to extol

facond, VII, 24, eloquent

faconde, XVII, 6, XXVIII, 3; XCII, 6, eloquence

faire, LXXXIII, 10, to form, fashion

faict (de), LXXXVI, 8, in fact

faillir, VII, 6, to fail

faulte, I, 336, lack

faveur, II, 70, (source of) honour

feable, I, 75, trustworthy, sure

fermaillet, XIII, 14, clasp

facher, I, 182, to grieve, distress

fiance, LVI, 6; LVIII, 2, trust, confidence

fiction, VII, 143, pretence

figure, LXXXIII, 10, likeness, portrait

figurer, I, 179, to describe; XXIX, 6, to form, fashion

fil (de droict), I, 29, straight, directly, cf. Cotgrave "directly on, straight forward".

fin (faire), VII, 155, to end
fin (mectre à), VII, 48, to bring to an end

follaton (poil), XIII, 6, down

fonce, XXXIV, 9, ? (Not found in Huguet or Cotgrave. Godefroy gives the meaning "fonts baptismaux" and also as equivalent to "foncet" or"fonset", a large river-boat on the Seine and Oise. Littré also gives the meaning river-boat).

force (être), X,3; CI, 1, to be forced, compelled

fors, VII, 49, et passim, save

forvoyer, I, 175, to stray

fougon, I, 197, galley

fregatte, I, 96, ship's boat, cf. Jal: "Au XVIe siècle et au commencement du XVIIe siècle la frégate avait l'importance d'une chaloupe, et souvent on appelait Frégate le canot d'un navire".

fructueux, LI, 7, fruitful

fruict, II, 19, enjoyment

fuste, I, 124, light galley

gager, I, 95, look-out, cf. C.H. Livingston, op. cit.

garder, App. I, 69, to prevent
garder (se), VIII, 18; IX, 37; XCVI, 3, to prevent oneself

gay, III, 26, = gué (meaning as in modern French)

grandement, I, 46, greatly, highly

grant, XV, 3 et passim, feminine (meaning as in modern French)

grec, I, 89, north-east wind, cf. Cotgrave

grever, I, 244, to grieve

grief, I, 250; I, 295, grievous

guerdon, LXXXI, 1, reward, recompense

haultesse, LXII, 3, highness, greatness

heur, I, 414, et passim, good fortune, happiness

heuré (bien), App. I, 78, fortunate

heure (à), III, 2, at the right time, opportunely

huis, XLV, 8, door

huy, XIV, 32, today

iceulx, I, 37, them

idoyne, IV, 5, suitable, ideal

impetrer, I, 406, to obtain

incontinent (que), X, 24, as soon as

infaict (p.p. infaire), VIII, 10; IX, 9, infected, poisoned
infaict, I, 326, foul

infortuné, III, 13, unfortunate

intituler, VII, 40, to name, call

investir, I, 90, to go aground on, I, III, to come up against, ram

ja, I, 15 et passim, already

labeurer, XXXIV, 5, to labour

libraire, II, 44 et passim, librarian

lucz, XI, 30; XLII, 1, lute

lyesse, XXII, 7, joy

long (de), I, 213, straight, cf. H. Estienne, Dial. du lang. franç et ital., I, 373, "Quelle est vostre deliberation? D'aller de long à ma case: et là faire un pocotin de collation."

maindre (pour le), LIII, 4, at least

maintenir, I, 389, to consider

marette, I, 105, swell, cf. Jal, "mareta...houle, levée de la mer"; sea (Huguet)

marin, I, 89, south-west wind, cf. Cotgrave, "Vent marin ... A Southerlie wind"

marinaige, I, 177, voyage

marinier, I, 273, sailor

marry, XXXV, 5; XLIII, 4, aggrieved, vexed; LIX, 9; App. I, 25, grieved, sad

memoire, IX, 28, memory

mentir, LXIV, 5, lying

menu (par le), I, 68; VII, 124, in detail

mesmement, VII, 37, especially

mesprendre, XXXII, 7, to make a mistake, err

mise, II, 56, outlay, expenditure

moins (à tout le), LXXXII, 4, yet, nevertheless

monstre (passer à sa), LVI, 10, review, cf. Cotgrave, "a muster, view, shew..."

mortuaire, App. I, 30, funeral array, cf. Gohin, Oeuvres d'Héroet, Glossary

mouflard, XIII, 1, round faced one, round face

mouvoir, XIV, 18, to move

moyns (pour le), I, 145 et passim, at least

muer, LXXIII, 2, to change

naffe (eau de), XVII, 5, orange-flower water

navigaige, I, 83, voyage

navrer, XCII, 8, to wound

nayfve, VII, 144; XIII, 9, innate

nochier, I, 93, officer of the quarter-deck, as opposed to "prouier", officer of the fore-deck, cf. Jal, Notcher.. (2) Nochers - officiers.

noter, VII, 30, to accuse

nourrissement, XCVII, 2, nourishment

nourriture, XCV, 8, upbringing

obligeant, II, 49, obliging (= imposing obligations)

octroyer, I, 269, to give

office (faire bon), VIII, 18, to render a service

oncq, VII, 71 et passim, ever

oraison, I, 368, speech, oration

orné, App. I, 11, endowed

oultrer, II, 32, to overcome; XLV, 5, to pierce through, kill

paincture, VII, 33, display

palemente, I, 194, part of the upper deck of a galley, cf. Cotgrave

parement, XXXI, 6, dress, adornment

parfaire, I, 122, to fulfil

parquoy, IV, 18, et passim, for this reason

partir, partyr, III, II, leaving, going out from; LXXII, 1, leaving, departure

partir, LXV, 3, to distribute, dispense

pas (sur ce), I, 169, on this subject

passer, III, 28, to surpass

patron, I, 91, master, cf. Jal., "patron de galere... second au cappitaine"

pilot, I, 91, navigator

piteux, CVI, 7, full of pity, pitying

pitoiable, XV, 3, full of pity, pitying

plaisant, XXXIII, 9, pleasing

plomb, III, 3, (sealed) letter, act

poignante, I, 155, piercing

poinct, I, 350; VIII, 20, point; III, 4; LXXVII, 3, end, aim
à poinct, III, 2, opportunely

poincture, LXI, 5, penetration

poindre, LXIV, 3; LXVIII, 7; CI, 4, to pierce, wound

police, I, 336, civil order, government

porter, XLVII, 4, to endure

poste (mectre la), I, 100, to hasten

poursuivans, II, 13, seekers

poursuivre, I, 299, to continue, pursue

pourtraicture, LXXXIII, 2, portrait

pourtraire, I, 71, to portray

pourveoir, VII, 52, to afford, furnish with

praticquer, I, 153, to experience, have experience of

prise, II, 56, income, gain

privé, I, 359, man of confidence

promptement, III, 24, immediately

propoz, I, 21, subject
propoz (à quel), VII, 52, for what reason

propre (à), I, 22, befitting

prouyer, I, 93, officer of the fore-deck, see nochier

puys, LV, 2; LX, 8, since

quant (est), IX, 36, as for

quant et quant, II, 20; II, 65, at the same time

quasi, I, 189 et passim, almost

querir, IV, 18, to seek

rabiller, I, 395, to repair, restore

rachapper, I, 29, to escape

racoustrer, XLV, 7, to repair

raige, II, 16, rage, fury

raison (par), I, 77; VIII, 3, indeed

ramentevoir (se), I, 7; VIII, 1, to remember

ravasser, XL, 3, to rave

reduire, I, 60, to bring back, restore

regard (au - de), I, 205, as regards

reguard, LXXXIII, 2, (act of) looking

remonstrer, I, 368; XXXII, 5, to expound

remis (p.p. remettre), XXVI, 4, distant, separated

rencheoir, I, 301, to fall again

rencontrer, I, 374, to fall; II, 31, to find; VII, 154, to speak well, cf. Cotgrave, "to speak merrily, wittily, prettily, properly, or to the purpose..."

repputer, VII, 14, to consider, hold

requoy, CXV, 7, secret, quiet

rescripre, VIII, 3, to write (to one another)

respect (au - de), I, 83, as regards

responsif, VII, Title, in reply to

retraire (se), LXXXIV, 8, to retire

sadinet, XIV, 1, female organ, cf. Villon, Regrets de la belle Heaulmiere, ed. Foulet, p.51:

"Qu'est devenu ce front poly...
Ces larges rains, ce sadinet,
Assis sur grosses fermes cuisses".

sagecte, XXXIII, 6, arrow

sçavant, I, 273, skilful, well-versed

semblablement, I, 41, likewise

sembler, LII, 2; LXXV, 10, to resemble

semondre, I, 355; IX, 11; XI, 4, to bid

servant, XCI, 5, servant

si, XXXIX, 6 et passim, yet

siroc, I, 89, south-east wind

soing, II, 62, office, duty

solacieux, XIII, 21, comforting

songer, CVII, 4, dream

sortable, I, 136; LXXXI, 6, befitting

soubdain, souldain, I, 4 et passim, immediately

soubdainement, XXXVIII, 9, immediately

souloir, LX, 3, to be used to

souvenance, VII, 158 et passim, memory
souvenance (avoir), LXXVIII, 9, to remember

surmonter, IX, 15, to surmount

suz, IX, 9 et passim, over

tant (que), X, 60, so that (modern French - de sorte que)

taster, XII, 53, feel, touch

tellement (que), I, 111; I, 143, in such a way that, so that

tenser, VII, 72, to chide, rebuke

terme(s), I, 163, subject, terms

tierce, CI, 5, third

timon, I, 98, helm

tissu (tistre), VII, 19, woven

torce, I, 292, stretch, distance

tort (faire - à), II, 69, to harm

toucher, XII, 5, touch, touching

tourner, LX, 4, to change, turn

tout(du), VII, 131, wholly

traict, I, 177, feature
traict (de visaige), III, 21, glance

traictement, App. I, welcome

travail, I, 134, travail, labour

trestous, XII, 29, all

triumphant, I, 399, LXXXVI, 1, triumphal

trouble, I, 347, trouble, cf. Cotgrave, "Trouble, disquiet, molestation, disturbance, turmoyle; a sedition, tumult..."

trousse, XI, 9; App. I, 67, quiver
trousse (avoir la), I, 66, defeat, trouncing ? cf. use of the verb "trousser", Aubigné, Hist II, 81, "Les soldats au lieu de s'étonner ... emporterent les deux galeres qui faisoient le plus de mal; Vernier et Colomne en troussent chacun deux encore", cit. Littré.

veau (Faire le), , XLVIII, 5, to play the ass

veoir, XIV, 33, sight

vermeillet, XIII, 13, vermilion

vertus, I, 62, and probably I, 48; X, 23, singular (meaning as in modern French), cf. Rabelais, Pantagruel, ch. XXVI:
"Ce fut icy qu'apparut la vertus
De quatre preus et vaillans champions"

voire, I, 359 et passim, and even

volíée (à la), IX, 17, rashly, unfairly, cf. Cotgrave, "rashly, unadvisedly, inconsiderately..."

voye (estre en), App. I, 74, to be journeying

viateur, XLIV, 1, way-farer

vitupere, LXIX, 6, blame, condemnation

voulenté, XVI, 7, will, wish

vouloir (avoir le - de), III, 20, to wish, will

voulsist, VIII, 14, imp. subj. of vouloir, (meaning as in modern French)

yvrer, CIV, 7, to inebriate

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l'ADMIRALLE, XXI, 7, Françoise de Longwy, wife of Philippe Chabot, Admiral of France

ANGLOIX, les, VI, 8, the English

APOLO, XXIII, 7, Apollo

APULEE, App. I, 1, Apuleius, the philosopher of Madaura

BARBEROSSE, I, 65, Khair-Eddyn Barbarossa
BEL ACCUEIL, CXVII, 7, Welcome, Personification
BOCHETEL, LXII, 10, Guillaume Bochetel

BONNE ESPERANCE, LXXVIII, 6, Personification

BOULOGNE, cardinal de, I, 45, Philippe de Seyssel-la-Chambre, cardinal de Boulogne

BOURBON, cardinal de, I, 37, Louis, Cardinal de Bourbon

Calais, VI, 1 and 19

CHAPPUYS, maistre Claude, VII, Title

CHASTILLON, cardinal de, I, 51, Odet de Coligny, Cardinal de Chastillon

CLEMENT, I, 31, Pope Clement VII

Colcos, XIII, 7, Colchos

CUPIDO, XI, 10, 11; App. I, Title et passim, Cupid

FAULX AMOUR, LV, 5, Personification

Ferrare, I, 405, Ferrara

FLORA, XXIII, 6, Flora

I. The names of persons are in capital letters, the names of places in small letters.

FLORENTINS, I, 228, the Florentines

FORTUNE, II, 9, 24, 76; et passim, Personification

France, I, 405

France, admyral de, I, 47, Philippe Chabot, Admiral of France

FRANCOYS, les, XV, 2; XVIII, 1, the French

Frejust, I, 110, Fréjus

FRENAISE, I, 385, 410, Alexandro Farnese, Pope Paul III

Gennes, I, 214, Genoa

GIVRY, cardinal de, I, 45, 47, Claude de Longwy, Cardinal de Givry

GOUFFIER, Helayne, XVII, Title, Hélène Gouffier, dame de Traves

GRANT MAISTRE, III, Title, XVI, Title, Anne de Montmorency, Grand Maître de France

GRECZ, les, LII, 3, the Greeks

HELAINE, I, 263, a French galley

HELAYNE, LII, 1, Helen of Troy

Hercules, le port, I, 230, Porto Ercole, on the Tyrrhenian coast, on the south side of the Monte Argentaria promontory

JEHANNE, I, 380, Pope Joan

JUDEE, le, I, 238, Barbarossa ? cf. note

LACHESIS, XV, 1, Lachesis, one of the three Fates

Levant, admiral de, I, 61, Claude de Savoie, comte de Tende, Admiral of the Levant

Levant, mer de, I, 28, the Mediterranean

LE VENEUR, cardinal, . I, 43, Jean, Cardinal Le Veneur

Ligorne, I, 215, Leghorn

Lorette, I, 404, Loreto

LORRAINE, cardinal de, I, 39, 362, V, Title, Jean, Cardinal de Lorraine

LORREINE, see LORRAINE

Louvre, II, 33, the palace of the Louvre

Loyre, XXIII, 3, Loire

LOYSE, XXXIII, 1; XXXIV, 2; XLIII, 3; XLIV, 3; LII, 6; LXII, 2; LXXXVI, 1, Louise du Plessis

Lybie, I, 74, Lybia

MADAME, XV, 2, Louise de Savoie, the mother of François I

MALEBOUCHE, VIII, 17, Slander, Personification

Marseille, I, 219, Marseilles

MINERVE, VII, 20, Minerva

NAVARRE, Royne de, XCIV, Title, Marguerite d'Angoulême, Queen of Navarre (by her marriage to Henri d'Albret), sister of François I

NEPTUNE, I, 64; XIX, 1,

Nostre Dame, IV, 6, the Cathedral of Notre Dame, Paris

NOSTRE DAME DE LAURETTE, I, 116-117, Our Lady of Loreto

NOSTRE DAME DU PUY, I, 116-117, Our Lady of Le Puy

Nyce, I, 205, Nice

ORPHEUS, XI, 31,

OVIDE, XXVIII, 8, Ovid

PALAS, XI, 33; XXIII, 6, Pallas Athene

PAOUVRETE, II, 12; IV, 12, Personification

PARIS, LII, 4; CVI, 4, Paris of Troy

Paris, III, 7; V, 5; XCV, 4,

PAULE, I, 386, Alexandro Farnese, Pope Paul III

PETRARQUE, XXVIII, 8, Petrarch

Pise, I, 227, Pisa

Prouvence, gouverneur de, I, 61, Claude de Savoie, comte de Tende, governor of Provence

PSYCHE, App. I, Title et passim,

ROMAINS, les, I, 397, the Romans (people of Rome)

Rome, Romme, I, 56, 333, 335, 382.

Rouen, II, 44; III, 6; V, 4,

ROYNE DE NAVARRE, see NAVARRE, Royne de

SAINCT CLAUDE, I, 119, Saint Claud, a seventh century Bishop of Besançon

Saincte Chappelle, IV, 6, the Sainte Chappelle (in Paris)

Saincte Cité, I, 30, the Holy City, Rome

SAINCTE FOY, VI, 7, the (Catholic) Faith (Personification)

Sainct-Esteve, I, 236, Porto Santo Stefano, on the Tyrrhenian coast, on the north side of the Monte Argentaria promontory

SAINCT PIERRE, I, 119, Saint Peter

Sainct Pierre, I, 327, Saint Peter's, Rome

Savonne, I, 211, Savona

Thoulouse, XVI, subscription, Toulouse

TOURNON, cardinal de, I, 41, François, Cardinal de Tournon

TRAVES, dame de, see GOUFFIER, Helayne

TROYANS, les, LII, 3, the Trojans

Truye, cap de, I, 231, the Punta di Troia, lying to the south of Piombino

TULLE, evesque de, II, 42; III, 1, Jacques Hamelin, Bishop of Tulle

Vay, I, 211, Vado, four miles south-west of Savona?

Venise, I, 405, Venice

VENUS, XI, 29; App. I, 14 et passim

Villefranche, I, 187

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Amour, Amour puys que tu m'as actainct	LXI
Amour, ony de tous, peste des siens	LXXXIV
Amour aveugle, aveugle tout le monde	XXVIII
Amour craignant de perdre le povoir	CIII
Amour n'est pas ung dieu, c'est ung magitien	CIV
Amour s'estoit loing de moy absenté	XXIV
Amour, voyant qu'il n'est pas le plus fort	CVII
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O Ventre rond, ventre joly	XII
O viateurs, ne soyez esbahys	XLIV

Pardonnez moy si je fuz trop legier	C
Petit mouflard, petit c.. rebondy	XIII
Pour vous aimer moymesmes veulx hair	XLVI
Puisque Calais, vostre ancien dommaine	VI
Puis que voyons, o Françoys, nostre Roy	XVIII
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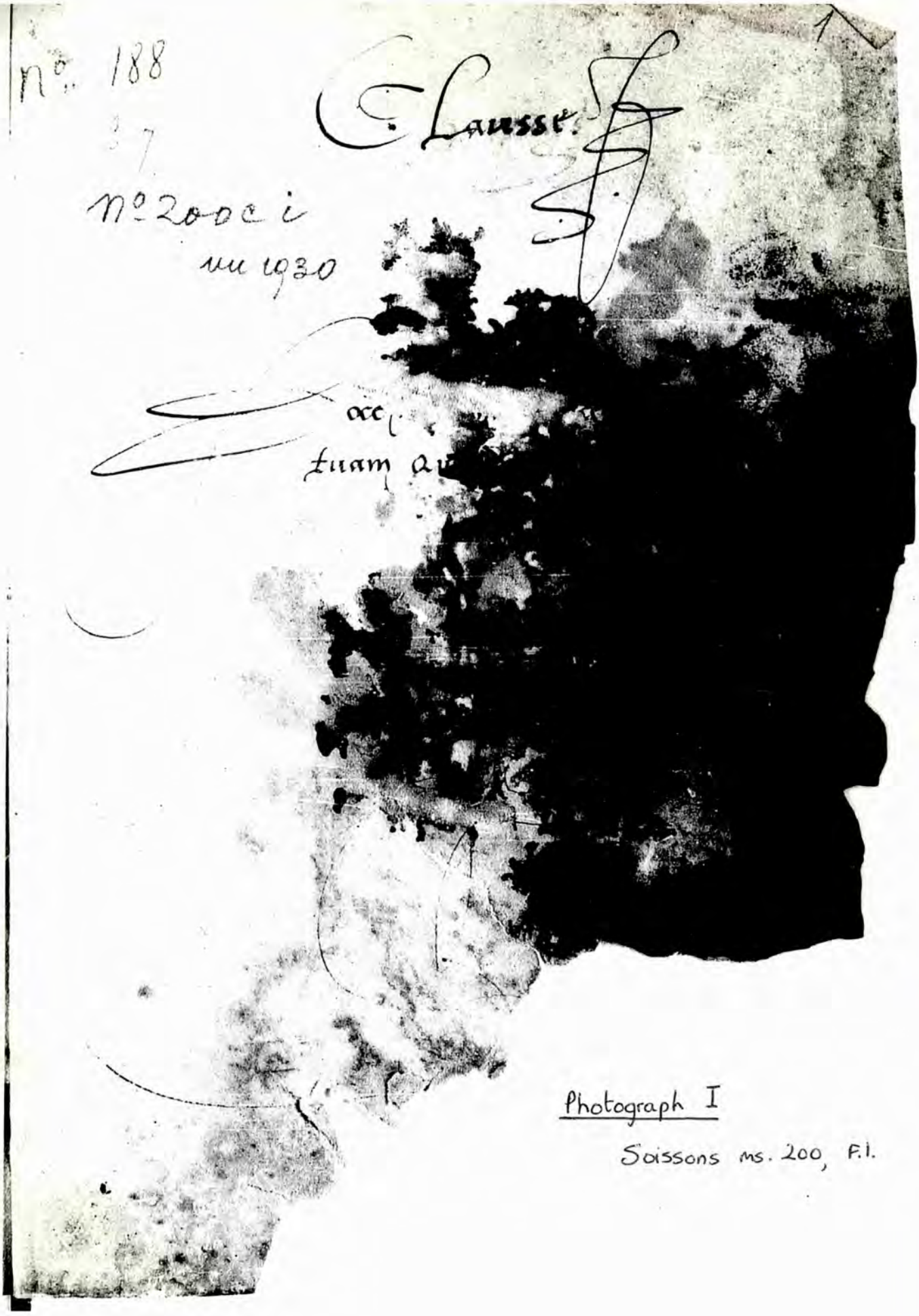
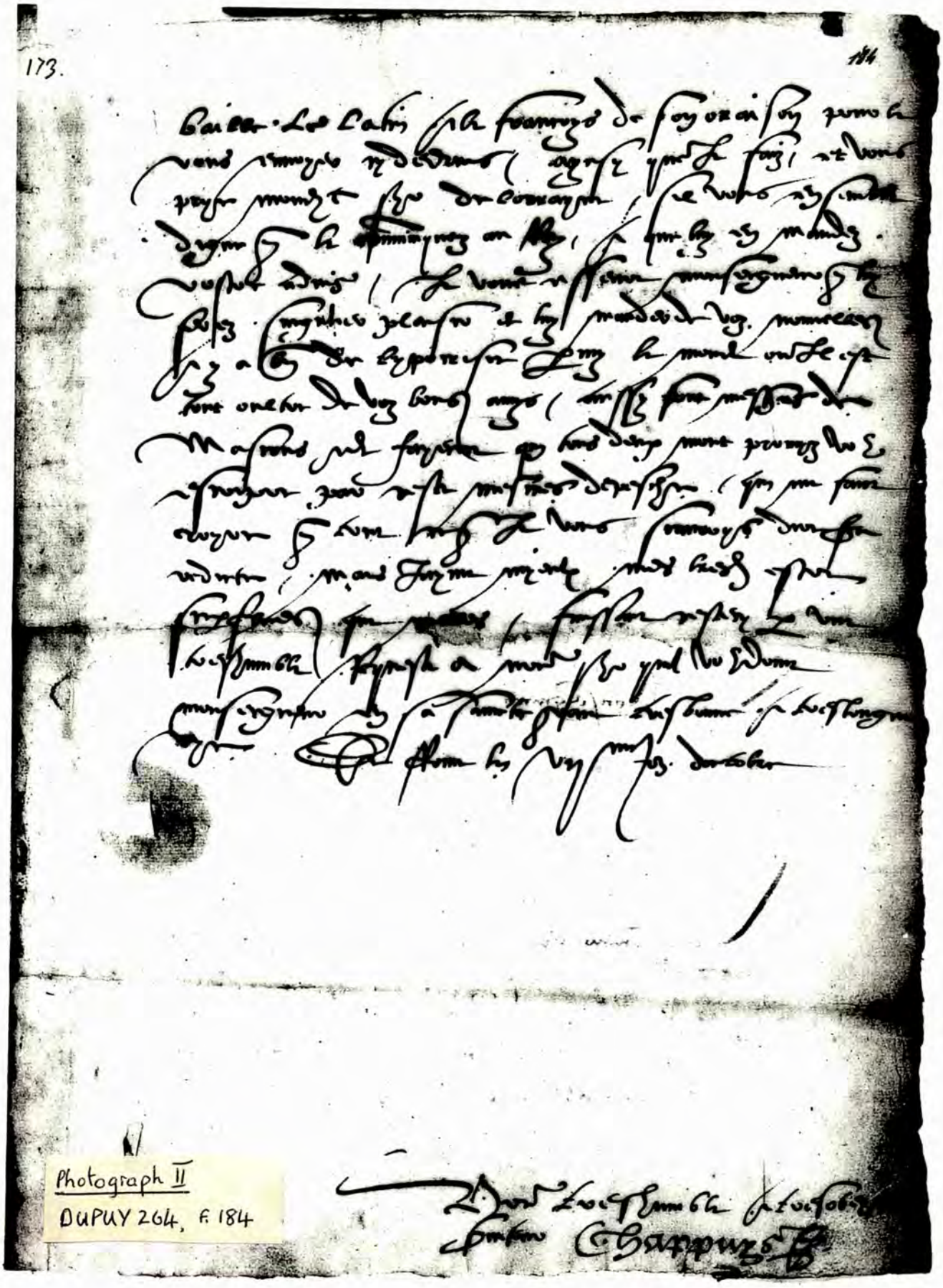
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BHR	Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance
BSHPF	Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français
Cat. des Actes	R. MARICHAL, Catalogue des Actes de François 1er, 10 vol.
R. du XVIe S.	Revue du Seizième Siècle
RER	Revue des Etudes Rabelaisiennes
RHL	Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France
STFM	Société des textes français modernes



Photograph I

Soissons ms. 200, f.1.



Photograph II
DUPUY 264, f. 184

Et Claude Chappuys Chantre et chanoyne en leglise de Rouen. Confesse avoir receu comptant de
Me Francois Gaudart receveur des aides et tailles en lelection dudict Rouen. La somme de soixante livres
tournois a moy ordonnee en la convention et assemblee des gens des troys estatz du pays et duche de
Normandye tenue audict Rouen ou moys doctobre mil cinquante deux derrenier passe pour le faict
des tailles et receues de ceste presente annee finissant le derrenier jour de decembre prochain venant pour
avoir assiste en ladicte convention comme delegue pour les gens de leglise du bailliage de Rouen porte
la parolle et faict la respon pour tous les deleguez desdictz estatz. De laquelle somme
de lxx l. je me tiens content et bien paye et en quitte ledict Me Francoys Gaudart receveur dessus
et tous autres. Tesmoing mon seing manuel cy mys le dixme jour doctobre mil cinq cens
cinquante trois.

Chappuys

BIBLIOTHÈQUE IMPÉRIALE MAN.

Photograph III

Pièces Originales 677

88196 Pièces orig. 677

Photograph IV

Soissons ms. 200 F. 22

La prinse de Calais.

Louenge a dieu qui faict les choses
Tant dignes dadmiration
Que ce sont pour nous lres closes
Nul nentend son intention
Mais puis quen sa protection
Et non ailleurs le roy espere.
Que peult lestrange nation?
Impossible est quil ne prospere

Tesmoing en est la belle prinse
Que chun tenoit imprenable
Tesmoing en est la belle emprinse
De nre roy insuperable.
De long temps nen fut de semblable
Myeulx conduicte et executee
Histoire et cronique louable
Par tout en sera recitee.

Poettes latins et francoys
Ont descripre belle matiere
Et quoy que de ce rang ne soys
Jen rempliray la page entiere.
Car la nation rude et fiere
Qui nous oza mouvoir la guerre
En france na plus de frontiere
Ny par la mer ny par la terre

Photograph V
Soissons ms. 200 f. 94 v°.