

THE BIRTH OF THE ELEGY IN FRANCE, 1500-1550

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ABSTRACT

When Clement Marot gave the title Elegies to a group of poems published in the Suite de l'Adolescence Clementine, in 1532, he was the first poet to give this title to a poem, or poems in French. Marot's first group of Elegies were in fact quite simply love epistles, and in order to study the birth of the Elegy in France, we have therefore studied the origins of the Epître Amoureuse, and its growth in popularity from 1500, until Marot's creation of the Elegie. We have shown how the love epistle owed its wide diffusion to the influence of Ovid's Heroides, and more particularly Octovien de Saint-Gelais' translation of them, Les XXI Epistres d'Ovide.

We have further shown that although Ovid's influence was decisive in the creation of the genre, Marot himself does not imitate him textually to a large extent, nor does he imitate (as has sometimes been claimed) Tibullus and Propertius. We have shown how Marot draws largely from the traditions of mediaeval love poetry for the genre which he chose to give a title used by the authors of Antiquity.

We have studied the various elegies written up until 1550, since however arbitrary this date may be, it does mark a certain break between the ascendancy of Marot and his imitators, and the Fleïade. We have shown how, although the various poets who wrote elegies in the period between the creation of Marot's

elegies and 1550, were undoubtedly influenced by Marot in their adoption of the genre, there is a large degree of difference in the way each individual poet interpreted the genre. Nevertheless, as we have shown very briefly in the Conclusion, the pattern that Marot created was in fact a durable one, which had a certain influence even up to the end of the century.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

When Marot published a group of poems in the Suite de l'Adolescence Clementine¹⁾ under the title of "Elégies", he was the first French poet to use this title. However, on closer scrutiny of the poems that Marot called "Elégies" in this, and subsequent editions²⁾ of his works, it becomes clear that the poet himself had a very ill-defined idea of the nature of the Elegy; and it is this initial vagueness on the part of the so-called inventor of the genre that gave rise to the ambiguities which surround the elegies of the poets of the early sixteenth century. During the period between Marot's creation of the elegy, and 1550, although the majority of the pieces baptised as elegies deal as do Marot's with either love or death, there are some very weird exceptions.³⁾ Later on, for the poets of the Fléiade the genre is still a very ill-defined one,

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- 1) C.A. Mayer, Bibliographie des Oeuvres de Clément Marot, Droz, Geneva, 1954. Vol.I. Manuscripts; Vol.II Editions. Vol.II, no.15.
 - 2) The elegies published in the Suite de l'Adolescence Clementine towards the end of 1533 were all love poems. In 1538 Marot added six more poems to the group of elegies, two of which had earlier appeared as Complaintes. This meant that the group of elegies included three poems which were laments on the death of various individuals.
 - 3) These elegies are dealt with fully in the sections on Sagon, Charles de Sainte-Marthe and Gilles d'Aurigny.

and for Ronsard in particular it is almost infinitely elastic.¹⁾ In the various Arts Poétiques²⁾ which appear in the two decades following the publication of Marot's elegies, the definition becomes even more confused and complicated. The solution to some of these problems has already been touched on by V.L. Saulnier,³⁾ namely the influence of Ovid, and more particularly of the Heroides on Marot. It is from this point of view that the birth, and subsequent development, of the elegy in France up until 1550, can most usefully be studied.

It is in the light of the influence of the Heroides that we should consider the passage in Sebillet's Art Poétique,⁴⁾ where he points, seemingly rather mysteriously, to Ovid as a model for the elegy, as paradoxically, it

1) Ronsard's Elégies are a very mixed bag indeed. For a good discussion of them see H. Chamard, Histoire de la Pléiade, Paris 1939-40. 4 Vols, Vol. III, p.26. Many of Ronsard's elegies are simply verse epistles. It is possible that Ronsard in some cases simply wished to avoid giving a title to his poems Epître, the genre in which Marot had gained such fame. However, a discussion of Ronsard's elegies is outside the scope of this study.

2) T. Sebillet, Art Poétique françoys, Gaiffe's edition, S.T.F.M., Paris, Droz, 1932.

B. Aneau, Quintil sur le premier livre de la defense et illustration de la langue françoise, et la suyte. (With Sebillet's Art Poétique), Lyon, Jean Temporal, 1556. Brit. Mus. 1088. b. 19.

Claude de Boissière, Art Poétique réduit en bonne méthode. (follows Quintil Horatian in above edition.)

J. Du Bellay, La Deffence et Illustration de la langue françoise, Chamard's edition, S.T.F.M., Paris, 1948.

J. Peletier du Mans, L'Art Poétique, Edition of A. Boulanger, Paris 1930

3) V.L. Saulnier, Les Elégies de Clément Marot, Paris, 1952.

4) Sebillet, Op. cit. Part II, Ch. VII, De l'Epistre et de l'Elégie, et de leurs différences.

is not the more elegiac works of Ovid which seem to have influenced Marot here. It is not the Amores or the Tristia, but quite simply Ovid's letters from the heroines of Antiquity, whose husbands or lovers have deserted them. Sebillet is aware of this fact, and is at pains to explain why Marot called elegies, poems which were in fact basically the same as the Epîtres Amoureuses of Ovid. After remarking that the epistle may have a wide range of subjects Sebillet continues:

L'élégie n'est pas sujette a telle variété de sujet: et n'admet pas les différences des matières et légeretés communément traitées aus épistres: ains ha je ne say quoy de plus certain. Car de sa nature l'Elégie est triste et flebile et traite singulièrement les passions amoureuses, lesquelles tu n'as guères veues ni oyes vuides de pleurs et de tristesse. Et si tu me dys que les épistres d'Ovide sont vrayes épistres tristes et amoureuses, et toutefois n'admettent le nom d'élégie: enten que je n'exclu pas l'Amour et ses passions de l'Epistre, comme tu peus avoir entendu au commencement de ce chapitre en ce que je t'en ay dit: Mais je dy que l'Elégie traite l'Amour, et déclare ses désirs, ou plaisirs, et tristesses a celle qui en est la cause et l'obget, mais simplement et nuément: ou l'epistre garde sa forme de superscriptions et soubzscriptions, et de stile plus populaire. Or si tu requiers exemples d'Elégies, propose toy pour formulaire celles d'Ovide escrites en ses trois livres d'Amours: ou mieus ly les élégies de Marot: desquelles la bonne part représente tant vivement l'image d'Ovide, qu'il ne s'en faut que la parole du naturel. Pren donc l'élégie pour epistre Amoureuse: et la fay de vers de dis syllabes tousjours: lesquels tu ne requerras tant superstieusement en l'epistre que tu ne la faces par fois de vers de huit, ou moindres: mais en l'une retien la ryme platte pour plus douce et gracieuse. 1)

Sebillet, having first tried to differentiate the elegy from the epistle

1) Sebillet, Op. cit., pp.154-155.

by remarking that it treats less varied themes, and principally love, is then hard put to it to explain the difference between the elegy, and Ovid's Heroides. He attempts to do this, first by conceding that the epistle may have love as its subject, and then by introducing the curious distinction that the epistle retains "superscriptions et soubzscriptions", and that the elegy does not. He finally capitulates, and concedes that there is in fact very little difference, and that the elegy is in fact an Epitre Amoureuse, closely modelled on Ovid, and more particularly influenced by the Heroides. At the same time Sebillet insists on sadness as the distinguishing note of the elegy, and although this is indeed characteristic of Ovid's Heroides this does not necessarily hold good for Marot's elegies. In discussing the elegy here Sebillet does not mention Marot's elegies on death. However, in his chapter De la Deploration, et Complainte¹⁾ he further complicates his definition by remarking:

Complaintes et deplorations sembleroient estre comprises soubz l'élégie, qui ne les sonderoit au vif. Car l'élégie proprement veut dire complainte. Mais les usages et différentes sortes d'icelles ne contraignent t'en faire traité particulier: et t'aviser au reste que trouveras chés Marot et autres clers Pôetes des complaintes et deplorations: les unes faites en forme d'epitaphes, comme la pluspart des epitaphes qui se font aujourd'huy: les autres en forme d'élégie, comme celle de Marot sur la mort de Samblançay.

Thus it is that in his attempt to define the elegy, Sebillet admits that on the one hand the elegy and the epistle are so close as to be almost indistinguishable, and that on the other hand, the elegy is practically

1) Sebillet, Op. cit., pp.178-179.

synonymous with the Complainte.

When Du Bellay treats the elegy, in his chapter on the genres that the poet should cultivate,¹⁾ he makes no mention at all of Marot's elegies, but simply advises which authors should be imitated.

Distile avec un style coulant et non scabreux ces pitoyables élégies à l'exemple d'un Ovide, d'un Tibulle et d'un Propertius, y entremeslant quelquefois de ces fables anciennes, non petit ornement de poésie. 2)

However, in his remarks on the Epistle, Du Bellay condemns this genre as unworthy, but cannot escape from the fact that the Epître Amoureuse owes much to Ovid.

Quant aux épistres, ce n'est un poème qui puisse grandement enrichir notre vulgaire, pource qu'elles sont volontiers de choses familières et domestiques, si tu ne les voubis faire à l'imitation d'élégies, comme Ovide, ou sentencieuses et graves comme Horace. 3)

Du Bellay's attitude is explained by the fact that he wished to discredit Marot, but realised at the same time that he could not reject Ovid as a model for both the elegy and the epistle. The definition is further complicated by Barthélemy Aneau in his reply to Du Bellay, Quintil Horatian. Aneau seems to consider the elegy as a form of the epistle, which necessarily has unhappy love as its theme.

- 1) Du Bellay, Op. cit. Book II, Ch. iv. Quelz genres de poèmes doit elire le poëte François.
- 2) Du Bellay, Op. cit. p.111.
- 3) Du Bellay, Op. cit. p.115.

Tu nous renvoyes aussi à ces pitoyables Elégies
 (hélas) pour alors que demandons à rire, 1)
 nous faire plourer à la singerie de la passion
 Italienne. Lesquelles sont ouvrages de propre
 affection, de simple et facile artifice, et de
 ryme plate. 2)

Aneau pours scorn on Du Bellay's exhortation to enrich the epistle by imitation of Ovid, insisting that he would rather learn "à parler & escrire & enrichir mon vulgaire, et ma langue illustrer, que tes élégies larmoyantes". Finally, by mis-interpreting a passage of Horace, Aneau manages to condemn the elegy outright as an unimportant genre.

Horace te a enseigné (si tu as voulu) que la Poésie est comme la peinture. Or la peinture est pour plaire et resjouir non pour contrister. Parquoy la triste Elegie est une des moindres partie de Poésie: est aussi la plus aisée, toute place et plaignante, qui n'apprent rien qu'à plorer & jouer le personnage des amoureux & amoureuses.

Des langoureux & langoureuses
 Qui meurent le jour quinze fois. 3)

In the Art Poétique of Claude de Boissière,⁴⁾ which follows Aneau's

- 1) Here Aneau seems to make this pronouncement, under the impression which he later expands, that the sole purpose of poetry is to amuse.
- 2) B. Aneau, Quintil Horatian, (with Sebillet's Art Poétique), Lyon, Jean Temporal, 1556, p.193.
- 3) Aneau, Op. cit., p.198. The quotation is from Marot's first Cog-à-l'âne.
- 4) The author is not identified in the 1556 edition, but F. Gaiffe identifies him, and quotes an earlier edition of the Art Poétique published in 1554. See Gaiffe's edition of Sebillet's Art Poétique, Introduction p. xxii, note 1.
 De Boissière's work on the whole follows Sebillet quite closely, simplifying it. As examples, he quotes sometimes Marot and Mellin de Saint-Gelais, and at the same time some of the Pléiade poets, mainly Ronsard and Jodelle.

Quintil Horatian in the Lyon edition of 1556, we find only a very brief paragraph on the epistle and the elegy.

Des Epistres et Elegies.

Elegie et Epistres en (~~sic~~) ce différent, qu'une epistre traite diverses matieres, jouxte nos divers accidens et affaires: et Elegie traite des tristesses d'amour. 1)

Here Claude de Boissière simply follows the notion of Sebillet, that sadness was essentially the distinguishing feature of the elegy.

Jacques Peletier du Mans in his Art Poétique (published for the first time in 1555) devotes a long chapter to the Epistle and the Elegy. For the Epistle, he proposes Horace as a model. For the Elegy he is less precise, first of all quoting the Greek origins of the Elegy as a poem of lament for the dead, or on an unhappy occasion.

La première matiere de l'Elegie furent choses tristes: comme lamantacions, deploracions sus les mors, doleances des cas piteus: ainsi même que sonnè le mot an Grec.... Toutefois on a gagné depuis à l'accomoder aus ^{choses} Joyeusés, c'est assaver aus propos d'Amour. 2)

Jacques Peletier enumerates some of the Latin elegiacs, praising Tibullus and Propertius, but condemning Ovid as "lascif". He concludes that the Elegy was adopted as a love poem, because of the sadness, rather than the joyfulness of love.

A mon avis que l'Elegie à etè transfereé an l'Amour nō point commé an consideracion d' joyeuséte: mais

1) Art Poétique, p.253.

2) J. Peletier du Mans, Op. cit. Part II, Ch.3, p.162.

plus tôt de tristesse dont les pövrés amoureux sont
 tousjours pleins: ou pour le moins par cé qu'il i
 à de tous deus, e du bien e de l'annui. 1)

It appears from this, that even though Jacques Peletier had a more extensive knowledge of the authors of antiquity than his predecessors who wrote Arts Poétiques, this does not in fact help him to clarify his definition of the elegy, but rather makes it more confused. In fact, his definition adds little to the conclusion of Sebillet, that the elegy was a type of love epistle with a sad theme, or that it could on some occasions be a lament on death.

The insistence on sadness as a *sine qua non* of the love elegy is in fact curious. Sebillet, and probably the other theorists, (with perhaps the exception of Peletier) knew best as examples of the elegy in France, the Elegies of Marot. In fact for Marot, the love elegy seems to have been quite simply a long love poem, very often in letter form, written in decasyllables, with rimes plates.²⁾ The solution lies partly in the nature of the Epitre Amoureuse in the interval between Octovien de Saint-Gelais' translation of the Heroides³⁾ of Ovid, and Marot's creation of the elegy; for it seems to have been the popularity and wide diffusion of Ovid's Epitres Amoureuses, which led poets in France

1) J. Peletier du Mans, Op. cit., p.183.

2) There is one exception to this. Marot's Elégie XVIII is in strophic form. See C.A. Mayer, Clément Marot, Oeuvres Lyriques, University of London, The Athlone Press, 1964, p.254.

3) The earliest of the manuscripts of the translation is dated 1496.

to try their own hands at the love epistle, and subsequently led Marot to write a particular variety of the love epistle which he baptised "elegy". At the same time it is worth investigating whether in fact Ovid's Amores were translated, and whether they had any influence on Marot in his creation of the elegy.

In order to study this problem, it is essential to trace the popularity of Ovid first, very briefly, throughout the Middle Ages, and then in the sixteenth century in France, and then having prepared the ground we will study Octovien de Saint-Gelais' translation of the Heroides, and their subsequent popularity, and influence in France in the first four decades of the sixteenth century.¹⁾

In his prologue to the translation of the Heroides, Saint-Gelais enumerates the various reasons for his choice of that particular author, and that particular work, to translate. He stresses the qualities of Ovid, and his fame, which has never been eclipsed.

Après avoir tournoyé la petite libraire de mon entendement & visité les angletz de mon gazophile ung jour entre les autres assez curieux & embesogné de savoir ne (sic) en quel endroit dresser mon oeuvre, je trouvay parmi le nombre des autres volumes les Epistres Heroydes, par le treseloquent & renommé poete Ovide, jadis compilées en forme latine douce et melliflue. Et pource que la matiere et son art me sembla telle que langue de

1) I have found much valuable information on this subject in the thesis of G.M. Morisset, Ovide en France pendant la première moitié du seizième siècle. University of London Thesis, French Ph.D., 1934.

This thesis deals with editions, translations and imitations of Ovid during this period.

détracteur ne peult ferir ou atteindre contre l'escu de sa value, j'entens quant à reprouver la merite de telle personne, congnoissant aussi que la louange de luy avoit esté perseverée en la bouche des hommes depuis les olimpiades lors nombres jusques aux modernes calendes. Cela, toute autre cause regetté, me donna hardement (~~me~~) et force de aiguiser la pointe de ma plume et la pierre fine de mon sçavoir, pour en tirer ce que pourroye. 1)

Saint-Gelais' remark that Ovid had been famous "depuis les olimpiades" is hardly an exaggeration. During Ovid's life-time, despite the fact ²⁾ that the poet went into exile, and that he himself burnt his own copy of the Metamorphoses, and although the Roman libraries ejected his works from their shelves, enough copies survived to ensure that his fame lasted. His many friends in Rome took care that he was not forgotten, and even during his exile, his verses were recited at Pantomime performances, that is, accompanied by music and dancing. In the post-Augustan age his influence was chiefly on the metres used, ^{rather} than on the content of poetry. During the Dark Ages Ovid's works disappeared, and even during the Carolingian period his influence was eclipsed by that of Virgil. The so-called "aetas Ovidiana" dates from the end of the eleventh century ³⁾

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- 1) Octovien de Saint-Gelais, Les epistres d'Ovide, translätées de latin en françois, par révérend pere en Dieu, monseigneur d'Angoulesme. (no name of printer or place), 1538. Brit. Mus. 238.k.18. Prologue, Fol.ii v^o.
 - 2) On Ovid in general see L.P. Wilkinson, Ovid recalled, Cambridge, 1955. On Ovid's fame and influence, see especially Chaps. XI and XII.
 - 3) On Ovid in the Middle Ages see:
 - F. Munari, Ovid im Mittelalter, Stuttgart, 1960.
 - E.K. Rand, Ovid and his influence, London, 1925. Chap. Ovid through the centuries.
 - E.R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, (trans. W.R. Trask), New York, 1955. passim.

and continues right through to the thirteenth. Ovid's works were included in the curriculum of the schools, and considered an essential element in liberal education. Even as early as the ninth century, there are glosses provided with the manuscripts of his works.

At the end of the eleventh century, Ovid's influence was particularly noticeable in the works of three poets, Hildebert de Lavardin, Archbishop of Tours; Marbod, Bishop of Rennes, and Baudri de Bourgueil, Bishop of Dol.

Hildebert left a large collection of poetry, including elegies and epistles to his friends, and in both the manner and the matter Ovid is the obvious influence.¹⁾ Marbod too followed the fashion for poetical epistles to his friends, and in his youth wrote love poems, which he later apologises for. Baudri composed imitations of the Heroides, a letter of Paris to Helen, and Helen's reply, and also two epistles on the theme of the Tristia, Florus to Ovid, and Ovid to Florus. He also wrote elegiac epistles to a girl in a convent, expressing platonic love.²⁾

The poetry of the "clerici vagantes", no less than that of respectable Bishops was strongly influenced by Ovid's love poetry. The collection of Carmina Burana, with love and spring as the main themes of the poems shows that Ovid was the master of many of the poets who contributed to it.³⁾

1) F.J.E. Raby, A History of secular Latin poetry in the Middle Ages, Oxford, 1934, 2 Vols. On Hildebert See Vol. I pp.317-329.

2) Raby, Op. cit. Vol. I, pp.337-347.

3) Raby, Op. cit. Vol. II, pp.256-279.

For the whole of the Middle Ages, Ovid's Metamorphoses provided a sort of "Who's who" of antiquity and mythology. At the same time they were commented on and interpreted in much the same way as the Bible. One of the most famous interpretations was the Integumenta Ovidii, an interpretation of the Metamorphoses in verse by John Garland. Another exposition of Ovid, not excluding the Ars Amatoria, was prepared "in usum nonnarum". Ovid was thus "moralised". In the following century, an even more elaborate moralisation was worked out by Chrétien Lego^unais, who subjected the Metamorphoses to a threefold explanation, historical, moral and theological. Ovid was translated too, but unfortunately the translation by Chrétien de Troyes is now lost.

In the thirteenth century, the most striking example of the influence of Ovid is the Roman de la Rose.¹⁾ Guillaume de Lorris, the author of the first part of the poem says that it is a work "ou l'Art d'Amours est toute enclose".²⁾ The Roman is in fact a sort of Ars Amandi. Jean de Meun, who completed the Roman, was both more of a scholar and more of a satirist than de Lorris, and he draws even more heavily on Ovid's cynical comments on love. In particular, the "sermon" of the Old Woman to the Lover comes almost entirely from the Ars Amandi.³⁾

1) Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun, Le Roman de la Rose, publié d'après les manuscrits par E. Langlois, S.A.T.F., Paris, 1914. 5 vols. E. Langlois, Origines et sources du Roman de la Rose. Paris 1891. cf. Part I, Chaps. II and VII, and Part II, Chap. III, on the influence of Ovid on the two poets.

2) Roman de la Rose, ll.37-38.

3) Roman de la Rose, ll.12555-14546.

Chaucer in his turn knew his Ovid well, partly directly, and partly through the works of Boccaccio, and the Roman de la Rose. In Italy the influence of Ovid on Dante was considerable. Dante¹⁾ places Ovid, together with Homer, Horace and Lucan in the limbo. With Virgil they form "la bella scuola Di quei signor dell'altissimo canto".²⁾ According to Toynbee, Dante only actually quotes from the Metamorphoses and the Remedia Amoris, but that he was also indebted to the Heroides and the Ars Amatoria. In his turn Petrarch took many of his details of mythology from the Metamorphoses. His Trionfo d'Amore was inspired by the Amores. Boccaccio derived parts of the Fiammetta from Ovid, and much too for the Decamerone.

During the later Middle Ages Ovid's popularity diminished not at all. He is the favourite author of many of the "Grands Rhétoriciens."³⁾ However it is the Metamorphoses and the Ars Amatoria which appeal to the Rhétoriciens rather than any of Ovid's more lyrical compositions. This is true on the whole of the entire Middle Ages. Ovid owed his fame to the Metamorphoses, which were both a useful compendium of mythology, and at the same time offered a unique opportunity for allegorical interpretation. The Heroides were nevertheless by no means forgotten, and

1) See Paget Toynbee, Concise Dictionary of Proper Names & Notable Matters in the works of Dante, Oxford, 1914. Article on Ovid, pp.399-400.

2) Dante, Inferno, IV, ll.94-95.

3) H. Guy, Histoire de la poésie française au XVIème siècle, Paris, 1910. Vol. 1. L'Ecole des Rhétoriciens. On the classical sources which the Rhétoriciens were most familiar with (and Ovid was one of the Latin authors they knew best), See pp.10-11.

although there were no similar collections of letters, the individual epistles were widely known and imitated. Apart from the use that Petrarch made of them, the Amores seem to have been very largely unknown, or at least neglected.

The popularity of Ovid in the mid and late fifteenth century is attested by the large number of editions of his works. In the Bibliografia Ovidiana,¹⁾ there are listed from 1470 until 1500 over forty editions of the Heroides, more than twenty of the Metamorphoses, and about the same number of the Ars Amatoria and the Remedia. There are a dozen or so of the complete works and the Fasti. The bibliography only cites two editions of the Tristia, and none at all of the Ex Ponto or the Amores. With this information in mind, it is scarcely surprising that Saint-Gelais chose the Heroides to translate, a favourite work of a well-loved author.

The exact date of the translation is difficult to establish. The earliest of the manuscripts of the work is dated February 16th 1496.²⁾ This however gives us merely the date of the transcription and

- 1) E. Pafatore, Bibliografia Ovidiana, Sulmona, 1960. This list does not include translations of Ovid, but is simply a brief survey of the early printed editions.
- 2) Bibliothèque Nationale Fr. 873, Les Epistres d'Ovide, translätées de latin en françois, le xvi jour de febvrier mil CCC IIII^{xxx}XVI, par le Reverend Pere en Dieu, maistre Octovian de Saint-Gelès, à present evesque d'Angoulesme.

not the composition. In his work on Saint-Gelais, H.J. Molinier¹⁾ suggests that the translation dates from 1492.

The translation was carried out, according to the title of one of the Manuscripts²⁾ "par le commandement du feu roy Charles septiesme (VIII), dont Dieu ayt l'âme". If Molinier's chronology is correct, it would seem that this was one of the earliest works of Octovien de Saint-Gelais. Our translator was born in 1468 in Montlieu, Cognac. His family was an illustrious one, which held many of the more influential posts at the court of Cognac.³⁾ Octovien himself studied in Paris at the College of Sainte-Barbe, where he applied himself to learn "les reigles de grammaire, puis Poesie et Rhetorique".⁴⁾ Later, with the help of his illustrious family, he was able to gain an introduction to the Court at Cognac. There he seems to have had a considerable

- 1) H.J. Molinier, Essai Biographique et littéraire sur Octovien de Saint-Gelais, Evêque d'Angoulême, Paris, 1910.
cf. p.67 "C'est vraisemblablement vers l'année 1492 qu'il le (cet ouvrage) composa, alors que la composition du Séjour d'Honneur touchait à sa fin".
- 2) B. Nat. Fr. 874. Les Epistres d'Ovide.
- 3) R. de Maulde La Clavière, Louise de Savoie et François Ier, Paris, 1895. p.35. "Ils (les Saint-Gelais) abondaient à la Cour de Cognac. On en trouve trois, écuyers en même temps, Jacques, Baud et Tranchant. Jacques se fit députer près du roi en 1471, par Marguerite de Rohan. Baud passa à la cour de Louis XI, où il devint chambellan pensionnaire et capitaine".
- 4) Séjour d'Honneur, 1519, Book iv., fol. T. i. B. Nat. Rés. Ye. 296.

success, composing rondeaux and ballades for the ladies of the court.¹⁾
 At this time too, he translated the Ystoire de Eurialus et de Lucesse from the latin of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, and composed his long allegorical poem, the Séjour d'Honneur, which describes the journey of the hero to the Court, where the King, and naturally, honour reside. According to Molinier²⁾ it was his Séjour d'Honneur, and his translations of Piccolomini and of Ovid's Heroides that won him the favour of Charles VIII, and subsequently his Bishopric, rather than any ecclesiastic merit. Much has been said about Saint-Gelais' translation of the Aeneid³⁾ and his rendering of the first lines as,

J'ay entrepris de coucher dans mes vers,
 Le cas de Troye, qui fust mise en l'envers...

His translation of the Heroides, although an earlier work, does not fall quite so blatantly below the original. However, since Ovid was above all a stylist, it is inevitable that any translation should lose the qualities of the original. The Heroides are a curious collection of letters, supposedly written by a selection of the heroines of antiquity to their absent husbands or lovers. Part of their effect resides in

1) Séjour d'Honneur, fol. A iv v^o

Des dames lors estoye recueilly
 Entretien mes douces amourettes
 Amours m'avoit son servant accueilly,
 Portant bouquetz de boutons et fleurettes.

2) Molinier, Op. Cit. p.113, Ch.VI, Protonotaire, en attendant un évêché.

3) cf. H. Guy, Op. cit., pp.152-154.

their irony, since we know that in many cases the pless of the heroines will be in vain. The clumsiness of Saint-Gelais' translation misses some of the finer points of the latin, but he is reasonably faithful to the original. The whole device of the letter form for what is in fact a tragic or elegiac monologue, though it may seem strange to us, appealed as much to the contemporaries of Octovien de Saint-Gelais, as it had done to the Romans, if we are to judge by the number of editions of his translation, and by the various efforts to imitate it.¹⁾

Naturally enough, Octovien's translation is in many places far more lengthy than the original. For example, of the first two lines of the first letter, from Penelope to Ulysses, Octovien makes five in French,

Hanc tua Penelope lento tibi mittit, Ulixè -
Nil mihi rescribas tu tamen; ipse veni! 2)

Puisque tu es de retour paresseux
O Ulixes, de cueur tresangoisseux
Penelope ceste epistre t'envoye,
Affin que tost tu te mettes en voye:
Ne rescriptz rien, mais pense de venir. 3)

In the same way, Saint-Gelais lengthens the dramatic and cryptic epitaph, which Phyllis composes for herself, and inserts at the end of her letter to Demophon.

1) cf. G. Duplessis, Essai bibliographique sur les différentes éditions des œuvres d'Ovide, ornées de planches, publiées aux XVème et XVIème siècles, Paris, 1889.

2) Heroides, I, 1-2.

3) Les XXI Epistres, 1538 Edition Fol. iii v^o.

Phyllida Demophon leto dedit hospes amantem;
Ille necis causam praebuit, ipsa manum. 1)

Cy gist Phylis laquelle Demophon
A fait mourir en piteuse destresse.
Trop le cherit comme songneuse hostesse
Dont de ce crime et mal qu'elle porta,
Il bailla l'heure et elle l'executa. 2)

Inevitably too, Saint-Gelais cannot convey the virtuosity of Ovid in such lines as:

Demophon, ventis et verba et vela dedisti;
Vela queror reditu, verba carere fide. 3)

which he translates rather clumsily as:

O Demophon tu as doresnavant
Tes promesses & voiles mises au vent;
Tes voilles blasma pour leur grande absence
Et tes promesses pour leur grande decevance. 4)

Nevertheless, there are moments when Octovien de Saint-Gelais manages to convey the tone of the original quite successfully, as for instance when he translates the letter from Hero, replying to the protestations of Leander.

O Leander, moult desire et vouldroye
Que tu te misses incontinent en voye
Affin que j'eusse au vray, non par escript
Le tien salut, que ta lettre m'escript.

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- 1) Heroides, II, 11.147-148.
 - 2) Les XXI Epistres fol. xiii.
 - 3) Heroides, II, 11.25-26.
 - 4) Les XXI Epistres, fol. ix.

La demeure, tant soit ores petite,
 M'est ennuyeuse: car me. joye desherite.
 Si je te dy mon entier pensement,
 Pardonnez moy, j'aime impaciemment,
 Tous deux bruslons d'une flambe pareille,
 Ung mesme feu amour nous appareille,
 Mais ma force n'est pas pour porter fais
 Aussi pesant, certes, comme tu fais.

1)

If in places we are tempted to condemn Octovien de Saint-Gelais' translation as melodramatic, it is well to remember that Ovid's original Epistles trod a difficult pathway between tragedy, pathos and bathos. At the same time, much of their appeal to a Roman reader lay in Ovid's linguistic and rhetorical skill.²⁾ If lines like the following seem to us rather an unfortunate translation, we should bear in mind the nature of the original Latin.

Et si seroit Dido habandonnée
 Que par ta fraulde aurois à mort donnée
 Lors paroistroit au devant de ta veue
 L'ymaige froide ~~triste~~ de ta femme deceue;
 Triste, dolente et les cheveux epars
 Taincte de sang, navrée en toutes pars. (.....)
 Las je t'escriptz & j'ay pres de ma main
 Ton espée qui m'occira demain.
 De mes larmes le piteux glaive j'arrouse,
 Qui maintenant en mon giron repouse,

-
- 1) Les XXI Epistres, fol. cxiiii.
- 2) cf. L.P. Wilkinson, Ovid Recalled, Chapter on the Heroides, p.97 Dolor ira mixtus. "We may be fairly sure that his audience read these poems as connoisseurs of rhetoric; they did not weep for Ovid's Dido as Augustine was to weep for Virgil's. They would derive particular pleasure from recognising the details of the traditional story, and observing how dexterously Ovid had made use of them; they would burst into applause at a telling couplet; and of course they would delight in the easy mastery of the verse, the ingenious tricks and periphrases, the grace, the inevitability. The Heroides were probably not intended to move, they are a display of virtuosity, designed to entertain".

Et tost sera en lieu de pleurs et larmes
Tainct de mon sang par tes rigoureux termes. 1)

Protinus occurrent falsae periuria linguae
Et Phrygia Dido fraude coacta mori;
Coniugis ante oculos deceptae stabit imago
Tristis et effusis sanguinolenta comis. (.....)

Adspicias utinam, quae sit scribentis imago!
Scribimus, et gremio Troicus ensis adest,
Perque genas lacrimae strictum labuntur in ensem,
Qui iam pro lacrimis sanguine tinctus erit. 2)

As a translator, Saint-Gelais has certain merits. In his translation of the Heroides he is fairly faithful to Ovid's original Latin. His worst faults are clumsiness and prolixity. Nevertheless, his version reads easily, if somewhat quaintly at times.³⁾

The success of his translation is attested by the large number of Manuscripts and editions of his Epistres d'Ovide which appeared during the next half century. Between the first printed edition of the

1) Les XXI Epistres, VII, fol. xliiii v^o and fol. xlix.

2) Heroides, VII, ll.67-70 and ll.183-186.

3) G. Colletet, Vie d'Octovien de Saint-Gelais, publiée par Gellibert des Séguins, avec des Remarques de Eusèbe Castaigne, Paris 1863, pp.12-13. "Car encore qu'il n'ait pas les grâces de la belle poésie, on peut y rencontrer celles de la fidèle interprétation. Et après tout, c'estoit beaucoup faire en ce temps là que de se faire entendre clairement; car notre langue estoit alors tellement obscure et embarrassée, et si remplie de phrases latines et des autres élocutions étrangères, que le meilleur orateur de ce siècle-là n'estoit qu'un pur artisan du plus fin galimathias du monde."

Epistres d'Ovide,¹⁾ which dates from the turn of the century, until 1550, there were nearly twenty editions, by various printers in Paris, Lyon and Rouen. After 1550, a new translation was made of the first ten Heroides by Charles Fontaine,²⁾ and the edition contained these ten in the new translation, and the remaining epistles in the original version by Saint-Gelais. There were something in the region of ten ^{reprints} of this new edition before the end of the century.³⁾ A further proof of the success and popularity of Saint-Gelais' translation is given in the various attempts by poets in France to write epistles in the manner of Ovid. On the one hand, at the very beginning of the century, there were a series of very direct imitations of the Heroides, and on the other hand a large number of rather less direct imitations, which were love letters with unhappy or unrequited love, or absence as the theme. The first of the more direct imitations was by André de La Vigne, who included in his Vergier d'Honneur, Quatre Epistres d'Ovide, nouvellement faictes.⁴⁾

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- 1) Les XXI Epistres d'Ovide, translattées de latin en françoys par reverend père en Dieu monseigneur l'evesque d'Angoulesme, imprimé à Paris par Michel le Noir, l'an mil cinq cens, le vingt et neufviesme jour d'octobre.
cf. J.C. Brunet Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur des livres, Paris, 1860-65. 6 Vols. & supplement. Vol 4, col.289.
 - 2) Les Epistres d'Ovide nouvellement mises en vers françois par M. Charles Fontaine... Plus il y a la réponse à icelles (par M. d'Amboise). Lyon, 1552.
 - 3) For a fuller account of the various editions of the Epistres d'Ovide see Bibliography. Appendix.
 - 4) André de La Vigne, Le Vergier d'Honneur, nouvellement imprimé à Paris... Ensemble plusieurs autres choses faictes par M. Octovien de St. Gelais et par Maistre André de La Vigne. Paris, A. Vérard, goth. no date. B. Nat. Rés. L.b. 28/15.

In trying to imitate Saint-Gelais' translation of Ovid, André de La Vigne brought out all the inherent faults contained in Ovid's own device, of presenting elegiac monologues as letters. Where Ovid was able to reduce the necessary narrative in the Heroides, because he could rely on a wide knowledge of mythology in his readers, André de La Vigne could assume no such knowledge of his heroes and heroines in his readers. Consequently the fiction of letter writing is very strained indeed, as the author has to devote long passages in his four epistles to complicated narrative. At the same time, the episodes described, or alluded to by Ovid in the letters from his heroines, however fantastic are widely enough diffused for us to accept them. In the Quatre Epistres, we are continually distracted, both by the artificiality of the form, and by the extraordinary nature of their content.

In the first Epistle De Philistine à Elinus, the heroine is the daughter of the King of India. Elinus, the son of the King of Persia, had won her admiration and love by his valour in tournaments. When Philistine's father discovered that the young couple were lovers, he forced Elinus to flee, killed his wife who had defended the lovers, and threw Philistine into a hideous dungeon. There she is only saved from death by a huge lizard, who protects her from the serpents in her prison. Finally it appears that Elinus has been caught and killed, and Philistine is committed to the open sea in a small boat with the body of her lover. Consequently, she is writing her letter to her dead lover as she contemplates his body, and meditates on her imminent death.

Ma destinée ordonne et veult que face
 Une escriptoire des deulx yeulx de ma face
 Ou plongeray la plume de mon cueur
 Es douces larmes et la moite liqueur
 Yssant diceulx, car je n'ay point d'autre ancre
 Pres mon amy mort ou suis à l'ancre.
 Papier feray de sa face pallie
 Incontinent que la larme saillie
 Sera de l'oeil sur luy degouttera
 Qui pour empreintes denotera
 Que fais mes plains, mes douleurs et mes cris
 Pour le papier dessus lequel j'escrips. 1)

In the second letter, De Cloacus à Clibane the story is less complicated and consequently the letter form is somewhat more plausible. The young man who writes the letter, Cloacus, came from Asia, and fell in love with Clibane, who lived in the most wretched poverty. He spends all his money on her, despite the fact that he has a wife at home to support. His complaints are all the more bitter because of his guilty conscience. Clibane accepts all his gifts, at first "douce nourriture", and then fine clothes, and finally a diamond, and all his "rentes, possessions et héritages". When she has obtained all this, she casts her lover aside, and even sends him away when he comes begging at her door. This is the opening passage, where Cloacus looks back, and laments his folly.

Se pour gemir, pour plaindre et souspirer
 Possible estoit estaindre et expier
 Mes grans labours et diverses complaints
 Ensemble aussi maintes lermes qu'ont plaintes

1) Les XXI Epistres d'Ovide, translätées par Octovien de Saint Gelais, nouvellement reveues et corrigées. S'ensuivent quatre Epistres, faictes et composées par A. de La Vigne, (no name of printer), 1538. 8°. Brit. Mus. 238. k. 18. Pol. U.V v°.

Saiges personnes de mon mal rediées,
 Saiche pour vray, desloyalle Clibane,
 Qu'au flot marin feroye une cabane
 Pour jour et nuict apprendre à stiller
 A faire pleurs de mes yeux distiller
 Et de mon cueur faire yssir sens fin
 Eau decourant, yssant de mon sang fin. 1)

The third Epistle is more directly reminiscent of Ovid, as the writer of the letter, la belle Amazone,²⁾ finds herself in the same position as Ariadne, left on Naxos by Theseus. Like Ariadne, she has left her family and her native land, and fled with her lover Cézias. They go to sleep in a wood, and when she awakes, Cézias has disappeared. She searches distractedly for him, and bears his child on the bare earth. She writes the letter while awaiting certain death, for herself and her child, among the wild animals in the wood.

There is a similar parallel in the fourth epistle, entitled De Cynaras à son faulx et desloyal amy Célius. Cynaras had been promised marriage by Célius. Now he has left her. Like Penelope, asking for news of Ulysses from every stranger who visits the shores of Ithaca,³⁾ Cynaras waits and watches on the shore for news of her faithless lover. Finally she discovers from a fisherman that Célius has won a tournament, and hence the hand of the Princess in Thessaly. She laments his unfaithfulness, and then hopes that he may make a voyage, and end up shipwrecked on those very shores to see her wretched plight.

1) Quatre Epistres d'Ovide, Fol. X ii v^o.

2) La Belle Amazone à son amy Cézias.

3) Heroides I, 59-63.

These first attempts to adapt Ovid's form to a new set of characters and circumstances, although in fact very naive,¹⁾ did give the idea of the Epître amoureuse to the next generation of poets. The ingredients provided by Ovid, the somewhat clumsy device of presenting, what is in fact a monologue, as a letter, and the themes of unhappy love and death were adopted and manipulated in various ways. On the one hand there were Epîtres Amoureuses, which followed the pattern of Ovid extremely faithfully in both form and content (cf. the Contrepistres d'Ovide of Michel d'Amboise²⁾) and on the other hand, Epîtres Amoureuses, which while they drew the letter form, and some of the themes, from the Latin poet, were no longer in fact Heroides. (cf. the Epîtres Amoureuses of Bouchet.³⁾). Miss Morisset devotes a chapter of her Thesis, to the indirect influence of Ovid, examining various Epîtres Amoureuses⁴⁾ without however concluding that these epistles led on to the elegy.

1) cf. Ph. Aug. Becker, Andry de La Vigne, Leipzig, 1928.

p.71: Es sind die ersten selbsterfundenen Heroiden episteln nach dem Muster Ovids, die in französischer Sprache geschrieben worden sind. Das muss man sich gegenwärtig halten, um ihre grosse Naivität erträglich zu finden.

2) Michel d'Amboise, Les Contrepistres d'Ovide. D. Janot, Paris, 1541. 8°. Brit. Mus. C.40. a. 51 (2).

3) J. Bouchet, Epistres Morales et Familières. Poitiers, 1545. J. & E. de Marnef. Although these letters were not published in a collection until 1545, most of the separate epistles were composed and published much earlier.

4) G.M. Morisset, Thesis, Ch.5. p.143.

Following André de La Vigne, in his imitation of Ovid's Heroides, is a curious composition, by Macé de Villebresme, which Guy scornfully describes as a "bouffonne héroïde",¹⁾ l'Epistre de Cleriande la Romaine à Reginus, son concitoyen, le centurion.²⁾ Like Ovid's heroines, the writer of this letter, Cleriande, is writing to her absent lover, without knowing his whereabouts. The same problems that arose for André de La Vigne, here vex Macé de Villebresme, as the story is not a well-known one, much of the epistle is taken up with complicated narrative. The story is in itself highly melodramatic, and becomes almost farcical at times. Cleriande begins by reminding her absent lover how happy they had been before the time of the proscriptions, and then curses the Triumvirate for threatening the life of Reginus. She relates how Reginus had fled from their wrath, and how she had sheltered him in her "manoir". In order to facilitate his escape, she disguises him as a "charbonnier". After touching farewells, Reginus leaves to join Brutus and Cassius. Since then, there has been no news of him and she imagines that she will die of grief. Like the heroines of Ovid, Cleriande composes her own epitaph, and imagines the visit of Reginus to her tomb. She promises to pray for his military success as soon as she is in heaven. Thus in

1) H. Guy, Histoire de la poésie française au XVI siècle, 2 vols. Paris, 1910. Vol. I, L'Ecole des Rhétoriciens. § 711.

2) The full title is, Histoire Romaine de la belle Cleriande, laquelle sauva la vie à son amy Reginus le Romain, en habit de charbonnier; avec la piteuse mort de Cicero. *Guiffrey's edition* is taken partly from the original edition in the B. Nat. (Rés. Y 2 1283 Paris, s.d. G.L.A. Lotrian) and partly from the Arsenal manuscript, 5116, where it is together with Marot's Epistre de Maguelonne.

* Paris, 1875

pattern, the story follows Ovid fairly closely, but like De La Vigne, Macé de Villebresme's poetry falls far short of his model. Here, for instance is the touching farewell scene, which tends to arouse the reader's sense of the ridiculous, rather than to convey pathos.

Te souvient comment en mon manoir
 Je te taignys le visage tout noir,
 Après avoir tes habits despouillez,
 Et revestu d'aures noirs et souillez,
 Tant que tu fuz semblable aux charbonniers,
 Qui ça et là vont, querans les deniers,
 De leur charbon, afin qu'en sorte aucune
 Sçeusses passer l'yre de ta fortune?

.....

Nos bouches lors n'oserent ung mot dire,
 Car trop nos cueurs leur sçeurent contredire.
 Ta claire face, alors noire et honye,
 Longue sayson fut à la mienne unye.

1)

Marot himself tried his hand at this genre directly derived from the Heroides, but where Ovid had used the heroines of antiquity, and Macé de Villebresme found Cleriande in a translation of Appian's Civil Wars,²⁾ Marot bases his epistle on a mediaeval prose tale, Pierre de Provence et la belle Maguelonne. The absurdities of the Epistre de Maguelonne have been noted many times,³⁾ and they are essentially the same ones

1) Edition of Guiffrey, p.22.

2) cf. Guiffrey's introduction to the Epistre, where it is stated to be based on a prose translation by Claude de Seyssel of Appian's Civil Wars.

3) See C.A. Mayer, Les Epitres de Clément Marot, édition critique, University of London, the Athlone Press, 1958. p.51. also J. Vianey, Les Epitres de Marot, Paris, 1935. pp.34-35.

which arise in the epistles of André de La Vigne, and Macé de Villebresme. Since the story of Pierre de Provence and Maguelonne is relatively unknown, much of the epistle is taken up with narrative, and the situation in which Maguelonne addresses the letter to Pierre, without knowing where he is, is again a weakness. The interest of this epistle lies in the fact that it indicates Marot's interest in the Heroides in particular.¹⁾ At the same time, the similarity of the scene in the wood, where Maguelonne awakes and embraces the branches instead of Pierre, is strongly reminiscent of a corresponding scene in one of André de La Vigne's epistles,²⁾ thus suggesting that Marot knew of the earlier attempts to imitate Ovid's Heroides. At the same time, the presence of Marot's Epistre de Maguelonne side by side with the Epistre de Cleriande in the same manuscript, does suggest that Marot was well aware of other attempts

1) cf. V.L. Saulnier, Les Elégies de Clément Marot, on the influence of the Heroides on Marot's elegies.

2) André de La Vigne, Quatre Epistres. III. La Belle Amazone à son amy Cezias. Amazone's awakening is almost identical to that of Marot's heroine. She too, grasps the branches instead of her lover, Cezias, though he has wilfully deserted her, and Pierre's apparent desertion is unintentional. In her comments on this parallel, G.M. Morisset suggests that the similarity is pure coincidence, but the similarity of the two scenes does strongly suggest that Marot did know De La Vigne's Epistle.

cf. C.A. Mayer, Clément Marot, Oeuvres Lyriques, University of London, the Athlone Press, 1964. L'Epître de Maguelonne, p.118, note 1.

to imitate Ovid.¹⁾

In the same line of direct imitation of the Heroides, are the Contrepistres d'Ovide, of Michel d'Amboise. Although in fact, it seems likely that there was no earlier edition of these replies to the letters of Ovid's heroines before 1541, and they can therefore have had no direct influence on Marot's elegies, they do show in a striking manner, the continued interest in Ovid's Heroides right up to the middle of the century.²⁾ There are fifteen of these epistles, the replies from those of Ovid's heroes who do not reply in the actual collection of Ovid. In his preface to Charles de Valois, Duc d'Orléans, Michel d'Amboise explains his purpose.

Comme le roi de Parthe, personne ne vient saluer sans quelque présent. Ainsi très illustre prince, te voulant saluer, je t'apporte ce petit livre que j'ay intitulé les Contrepistres d'Ovide, pourcequ'en chacune des epistres je repondg (sic), comme anciennement avoit faict le poète Quintianus en ses vers latins, lesquelz nous a osté le temps dissipateur des oeuvres humaines, qui

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- 1) cf. Ph. Aug. Becker, Clément Marot, sein Leben und seine Dichtung, Munich, 1926. After discussing De La Vigne's Epistles, Becker continues, (p.194). "Im gleichen Sinne ist auch Marots Epistre de Maguelonne eine Heroidenepistel, d.h. das Sendschreiben einer Sagenheldin an ihren Mithelden, und zwar eine moderne Heroide, die ihren Stoff, nicht aus dem Altertum, sondern aus einer beliebten spätmittelalterlichen Legende schöpft. In dieser Hinsicht hat sie ihre Originalität. Wenn Marot ausser Ovid, der ihm vielleicht nicht so ganz nahe lag, eine moderne Anregung erfuhr, so kam sie am wahrscheinlichsten von Villebresse her: kennzeichnend ist es jedenfalls wenn wir in der Arsenalhandschrift 5116 die "Epistre de Maguelonne" mit der "Epistre de Clerlande" und der Verserzählung "De Palamon et Arcita" vereinigt finden. Die Handschrift ist eine Widmung an Königin Klaudia."
- 2) For a fuller analysis of the Contrepistres, see G.M. Mcrisset, ^{Thesis} ~~Op. cit.~~, Ch. 5.

pour donner quelques allegements de l'espoir tant
attendu aux cendres des Dames royales, qui par cy
devant ont escript à leurs amys, a suscité et esmeu
aucunement ma plume à répondre, tant pour leur
satisfaire, que pour effacer le blasme de tant
de vaillants hommes, sans cause chargés d'ingrat-
titude et desloyaulté envers elles: ce que j'ay fait
en poésie françoise comme j'ay peu. 1)

As G.M. Morisset remarks, it does not seem to have struck Michel d'Amboise what a Herculean task he was undertaking, in following Ovid so closely on his own ground. The letters are on the whole carefully thought out replies to the reproaches of Ovid's heroines, and Michel d'Amboise appears to have an excellent knowledge of mythology. In reply to the complaints of Ariadne left on Naxos, the Theseus of Michel d'Amboise defends himself by insisting that he had intended to return, but that since Ariadne had betrayed him with Bacchus, he had not therefore done so. When Michel d'Amboise provides the answer to Penelope's letter to Ulysses, he makes Ulysses open his letter, by answering Penelope point by point.

Penelope, en regardant le tiltre
De ta tant triste & douloureuse epistre
J'ay tost congneu & m'en suis bien pris garde
Que de me veoir grandement il te tarde.
Pareillement, que ma longue demeure
Te faict gemir et pleurer à toute heure,
Te faict mauldire & Paris & Helaine
Ores par qui tu portes tant de peine;
Par qui es sans avoir les desduictz
Qu'avec moy eusses eu tant de nuyctz;
Te faict doubter aussi de ma santé. 2)

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- 1) Michel d'Amboise, Les Contrepistres, Prologue, Fol. A. ii.
2) Michel d'Amboise, Les Contrepistres, p.3

The worst fault of the letters is their prolixity, as in nearly every case, they are considerably longer than the equivalent letters from Ovid's heroines. They lose too some of the elegiac qualities of the originals, and tend to be more narrative, as the hero~~es~~ describe the circumstances which explain their absence, and try to justify themselves.¹⁾

During the first half of the century, the Heroides had thus been closely imitated, replied to, and finally they received the treatment accorded to most of Ovid's works in the Middle Ages, they were "moralised". François Habert, who also translated the Metamorphoses, published, in 1550, Les Epistres Heroides, très salutaires pour servir d'exemple à toute âme fidèle.²⁾

1) cf. Les XXI Epistres, Fol. iii v^o.

Puis que tu es de retour paresseux
 O Ulixes, de cueur tresangoisseux
 Penelope ceste epistre t'envoye
 Afin que tost tu te mettes en voye.
 Ne rescriptz rien, mais pense de venir.
 Seule à toy suis, ayes en souvenir.
 Troye gist bas & remise en foiblesse
 Tant haye des pucelles de Grece;
 Pas ne valloit ne Priam son grant roy
 Que tant de gens y tinssent leur arroy
 Si longuement pour faire vivre en crainte
 Les nobles grecs, dont en est morte mainte.
 O pleust à dieu que le tresbeau Paris
 Luy et ses gens fussent morts et peris
 Pour entailler la gracieuse Helaine
 Car s'ainsi fust, froide dans mon lict
 Ne fusse pas, et seulle sans delict.

2) Les Epistres Heroides, très salutaires, pour servir d'exemple à toute âme fidèle. Avec aucuns épigrammes, cantiques spirituelz et Alphabet moral pour l'instruction d'un jeune prince ou princesse. Paris, M. Fezandet & Robert Granjon, 1550. Chantilly, III, B.26.
 There is also a second edition, Les Epistres Heroides, pour servir d'exemple aux Chrestiens, Paris, M. Fezandet, 1560. B. Nat.

These curious compositions do contain some stories of unhappy love, but on the whole their main resemblance to the Heroides is that they are simply letters. They all have a highly moral purpose, from the Epistle from Saint Margaret to her nurse,¹⁾ to the Epistre d'une damoyelle à une sienne seur, contenant la piteuse mort de sa fille.²⁾ The epistles are exhortations to virtue, and stories of vice duly punished. The most curious of them all is the Epistre de Dieu le Père à la vierge Marie.³⁾ The irreverence of this approach does not disturb Habert in the slightest. In one passage, Habert even goes as far as letting "Dieu le père" compare himself with Jupiter, and, rejecting the pagan God's way of appearing to mortal women in the shape of a swan or bull, he decides to appear in a more pure and abstract form.⁴⁾ With François Habert, we seem to have reached the extreme limit of imitation of Ovid in form, and estrangement from the Latin elegiac poet in content.

The Epitres Amoureuses, which although drawing the letter form, and some of their themes, from Ovid, are no longer in fact Heroides, and

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- 1) Les Epistres Heroides, 1560 Edition. p.4. La première Epistre de Sainte Marguerite, estant en prison, à sa nourrice.
 - 2) Op. cit. p.26. La IIIII Epistre d'une damoyelle à une sienne seur.
 - 3) Op. cit. p.100, Epistre XX De Dieu le Père à la vierge Marie.
 - 4) For further commentary of the Heroides of François Habert, see G.M. Morisset's thesis, Ch. 5.
cf. also Hans Wichert, François Habert und der christliche Humanismus, Thesis, Bonn 1929.

are extremely numerous during the first three decades of the century. Between the publication of the first edition of Octovien de Saint-Gelais' translation of Ovid, and Marot's publication of his *Elegies*, the Epistle seems to have been one of the most popular vehicles for love poetry.¹⁾ Most of the later Rhétoriciens have left a certain number of Epîtres Amoureuses. Jean Le Maire de Belges, for instance, in his two Epîtres de l'Amant Vert²⁾ skilfully combines the themes of unrequited love and death, in imaginary missives from the parrot to his mistress Marguerite d'Autriche.

Among the Epîtres Morales et familières³⁾ of another of the Rhétoriciens, Jean Bouchet, we find several examples of the love epistle. They are not personalised love letters, but are supposedly written by a variety of lovers, or their ladies. Their themes are unrequited love, absence and death.⁴⁾ On the theme of absence Bouchet conveys with a

1) cf. G.M. Morisset, *Thesis*, p.146. "Les épîtres purement amoureuses sont très nombreuses. Elles n'expriment pas souvent la passion satisfaite. Il est en général question d'amour non partagé, ou de passion contrariée par des difficultés que les correspondants ne peuvent vaincre. Nous pouvons ajouter qu'elles sont d'une manière générale ennuyeuses, et que les auteurs du temps ne brillent pas dans ce genre de littérature, si recherché qu'il soit."

2) Les Epîtres de l'Amant Vert, édition critique publiée par Jean Frappier, Textes Littéraires Français, Geneva, 1948.

3) Les Epîtres Morales et Familières, J. & E. de Marnef, Poitiers, 1545. Brit. Mus. 83. h. 5.

4) cf. Op.cit.

Epître envoyée par ung jeune seigneur à celle qu'il attendoit espouser: en quoy fut supplanté par ung sien voisin. Fol. vii v^o.

Aultre Epître d'une fiancée, envoyée à son fiancé absent du royaume. Fol. viii v^o.

Epître en equivoques, au nom d'une Mercière du Palays de Poictiers: qui follement laissa son mary et s'absenta. Fol. ix.

certain amount of vividness, the feelings of a young woman absent from her lover.

Si rossignolz, chantres, musiciens,
Flustes, tambours, et les dieux anciens
Entreprenoyent de me faire joyeuse,
Ilz ne pourroient, car trop suis ennuyeuse,
Trop triste suis et merencolique,
Malheur me poingt, aigre soucy me pique,
Ardent desir sans fin me donne assault,
Mon pauvre cueur cent fois le jour tressault
Du tresgrant dueil que secretement porte,
Onques ne fut douleur de telle sorte. 1)

In another of Bouchet's epistles,²⁾ a "jeune seigneur" laments his fate. He was hoping to marry his loved one, and found himself supplanted by one of his neighbours. He feels that he will die of grief, and like Ovid's heroines, makes up his own epitaph.³⁾

Je vous supply qu'en bien grosse escripture
Soit engravé dessus ma sepulture:
Cy dessoubz gist ung enfant de renom
Digne d'avoir sur tous glorieux nom,
Car il mourut pour trop en amer une
Qui ne luy fut sur la fin opportune. 4)

This is the type of theme most commonly exploited by Michel d'Amboise in his *Epitres Amoureuses*. A collection of these appeared in 1529 in

- 1) J. Bouchet, Op. cit. Fol. viii v^o.
- 2) Epistre envoyée par ung jeune seigneur à celle qu'il attendoit espouser
Fol. vii v^o
- 3) cf. Heroides, II, where Phyllis in her letter to Demophoon composes her epitaph, and VII, where Dido writes hers in her letter to Aeneas.
- 4) J. Bouchet, Op. cit. Fol. viii.

Les Complaintes de l'esclave fortune.¹⁾ In these the poet concentrates exclusively, and morbidly on unrequited love, on its torments, and on the difficulties of obtaining his lady's favours. His requests for her "favours" are couched in varying degrees of intensity and urgency. In the first Epistre Venerienne²⁾ the letter is simply asking for her "bonne grâce", whereas in the seventh³⁾ his request is more directly "à une Dame, pour avoir jouyssance de sa personne". There is however one notable exception in theme. The fourteenth letter has as its title Epistre envoyée d'une damoyelle à son mary, estant absent d'elle.⁴⁾ Here we are very close indeed to the theme of the Heroides. The lady in question suspects her husband of unfaithfulness during his absence, and this grieves her bitterly.

O quantes fois, amy, pensant cecy
 Pleine de doute et pleine de soucy
 J'ay faict de pleurs à mon vis lavement
 Depuis que fis de moy ton pertement,
 Combien de nuictz j'ay faict ciel à ma couche
 De gros souppirs provenant de ma bouche
 Rememorant en ma pensée honteuse
 Dont ta demeure estoit tant oultraigeuse:

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- 1) Michel d'Amboise, Les Complaintes de l'esclave fortune, Avecques vingt Epistres et trente Rondeaux d'Amours nouvellement imprimez. Jehan St. Denis, Paris, 1529. B. Nat. Rés. 1627. These twenty letters reappear as the Epistres Veneriennes (with a further ten added) in 1532. A. Lotrian & D. Janot, Paris. B. Nat. Rés. 1622.
- 2) The edition I have consulted most consistently is: Les Epistres Veneriennes de l'esclave fortune, Gilles Corrozet, Paris, 1536. Brit. Mus. 241.g. 33. cf. Fol. 1.
- 3) Op.cit. Fol. xxi v^o.
- 4) Op.cit. Fol. ix.

Las amy, las, mercy amy, mercy,
 Je te supply que brief sois icy,
 Si tu ne veulx que bien tost je trespasse. 1)

Again in the works of Roger de Collerye,²⁾ we find a section of Epistres Amoureuses devoted to the theme of unhappy or unrequited love. The lover poet is eternally "querant et demandant sa dame par amours"³⁾ or "se complaignant"⁴⁾ because of the way his lady treats him. The same themes are the dominant ones in two anonymous compositions, the Epistre du bon frère qui rend les armes d'Amour à sa Seur, and the Epistre d'ung amant habandonné⁵⁾ where unhappy love is yet again treated in letter form.

1) Op. cit. Fol. xcii.

2) Roger de Collerye, Oeuvres, Edition avec préface et notes de Charles d'Héricault, Paris, 1855. See also F. Lachèvre, Roger de Collerye, un disciple de Coquillart, Paris, 1942.

3) Roger de Collerye, Op. cit. p.21. Epistle I, L'Amoureux querant et demandant sa Dame en amours.

4) Op. cit., p.25. Epistle III, Ung Amoureux se complaignant.

5) Montaignon, Recueil des poésies françaises des XVème et XVIème siècles, Paris, 1855-1878. Vol. XI, pp.207 and 195. The two pieces are dated as 1525 and 1530 respectively.

The popularity of the love epistle continues up until 1550. In the Oeuvres of Hugues Salel there are several love epistles. In several of the works of François Habert, there are series of love epistles, in the Jeunesse du Banny de Liesse, and the Suyte (Paris 1541), and again in the Combat de Cupido avec la mort, (Paris, Lotrian around 1544) there are fourteen Epistres Cupidiniques. Most of the Recueils Collectifs published from 1535 until 1550 contain Epistres Amoureuses. The Livre de plusieurs pièces, Gilles Corrozet, Paris, 1548 contains an Epistre à une Dame. The Mespris de la Court, Paris, 1544, contains several love epistles, and so does the collection Opuscules d'Amour, Lyon, 1547.

Admittedly, some of these themes, and their treatment in these *Epitres Amoureuses* owe much to the mediaeval tradition of love poetry, and have some of their origins in Alain Chartier's La Belle Dame Sans Merci, but the fact that these love poems were cast in letter form does owe much to the influence of Ovid, that is, to the influence of the Heroides widely diffused as they were after Octovien de Saint-Gelais' translation.

In contrast to the Heroides, Ovid's Amores seem to have been very little known at the beginning of the sixteenth century, in France.¹⁾ However, between 1530 or so, and 1550, there are several translations of individual pieces from various books of Ovid's Amores. Since in fact these translations date in the main from after 1532, when Marot published his first group of elegies, it seems rather that Marot's creation of the genre in French stimulated an interest in Ovid's elegies, rather than Ovid's elegies having influenced Marot.

Since however these translations of Ovid's elegies may have influenced some of the poets who wrote elegies between Marot's creation of the genre, and 1550, it is worth looking at such translations of the elegies of Ovid that there are.

Probably the first of these translations is the rendering of Mellin de Saint-Gelais of Ovid's piece Dure vir.²⁾ This piece appears in various

1) In the British Museum Catalogue for instance, although there are about 20 editions of Ovid's complete works listed from 1500 until 1550, and 10 of the Heroides, there are no separate editions at all of the Amores in this period.

2) Ovid, Amores, Book III, iv. Dure vir, inposito tenerae custode puellae.

manuscripts, and in the 1574 edition of the Oeuvres Poétiques.¹⁾ It also appears in the collection of Traductions de Latin en François,²⁾ in a version which contains a few very minor variants, with a very vague attribution "mise en François par N."

Mellin de Saint-Gelais certainly makes a spirited attempt to render Ovid into French, and his version of the elegy³⁾ in question reads much more easily than any of Octovien's translations of Ovid's Heroides. Inevitably Mellin has managed to lengthen Ovid's poem, which was a mere forty-eight lines, into a piece which is just over a hundred. Saint-Gelais here translates Ovid's elegiac couplets into decasyllables with rimes plates. Here is a sample of Mellin's translation, or rather paraphrase⁴⁾ of the opening lines of the elegy.

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- 1) Probably the most reliable manuscript source is the Chantilly Ms. 523 which was dedicated to Montmorency. It contains a large number of pieces by Saint-Gelais, some corrected in his own hand. Its date seems to have been some time shortly after 1538, since it contains several pieces congratulating Montmorency on taking up his post as Connétable. (Feb. 1538). For further information on this Ms. see Ph. A. Becker, Mellin de Saint-Gelais, eine kritische Studie, Vienna, 1924, p.44, and pp.71-72. The translation also appears with a group of Saint-Gelais' poems in the Ms. B. Nat. Fr. 4967. Strangely enough, it does not appear in the 1547 edition of Saint-Gelais' works. (Saingelais, Oeuvres de luy....Pierre de Tours, Lyon, 1547).
- 2) See C.A. Mayer, Bibliographie des Oeuvres de Clément Marot, Geneva, 1954, Vol. II, no. 273.
- 3) On this translation see, H.J. Molinier, Mellin de Saint-Gelays (1490-1558), Rodez, 1910. pp.422-425.
- 4) In the Oeuvres Poétiques, A. de Harsy, Lyon, 1574, p.199, the piece is entitled Elegie d'Ovide Paraphrasée. This is the title that Blanchemain gives it in his edition of Mellin de Saint-Gelais. Oeuvres Complètes de Melin de Saint-Gelays, Paris, 1873. 3 Vols. Vol. 2, pp.177-181.

O dur Mari, bien qu'ayes imposée
 Songneuse garde à ta jeune espousée,
 Tu ne fais rien; car chacune à part elle
 Se doit garder par bonté naturelle.
 Si sans containte aucune est preude-femme,
 Celle-là seule est chaste et sans diffame;
 Mais s'elle laisse à venir à l'effect
 Pour ne pouvoir, certes elle le fait. 1)

The next translations of Ovid's elegies appear in a collection of François Habert's poems Le Combat de Cupido avec la mort.²⁾ Habert is slightly more enterprising than Mellin, and he offers his readers "Quatre elegies d'Ovide en ses Amours, traduites en rime Françoise."³⁾ The four elegies are couched in the same form, that is decasyllables with rimes plates, and read well enough to suggest to the reader, that Habert was more at home translating the poetry of others, than when composing

1) Mellin de Saint-Gelais, Blanchemain edition, p.177.

Compare this with the opening lines of Ovid's elegy.

Dure vir, inposito tenerae custode puellae
 Nil agis; ingenio est quaeque tuenda suo.
 Siqua metu dempto casta est, ea denique casta est;
 Quae, quis non liceat, non facit, illa facit!

2) Le Combat de Cupido avec la mort, A. Lotrian, Paris. The volume in the Bibliothèque Nationale Rés. 1684 has no date, but Brunet, Vol. 3 Col. 3, quotes a similar one containing a Privilege, dated 1541. In any case, it dates from before 1546, since according to Ph. Renouard, Imprimeurs Parisiens, Paris, 1898, (p.249), Lotrian stopped printing in 1546.

3) La Première Elegie, qui commence, iusta precor quae me nuper predata puella est. (Amores, I, iii). Op. cit. Fol. R. iii v^o.

Autre Elegie d'Ovide parlant de la jouissance de son amye Corynna, qui commence: Aestus erat mediamque dies exegerat horam. (Amores, I, v.) Op. cit. Fol. R. v.

Autre Elegie d'Ovide par laquelle il se dict aymer toutes les femmes commençant: Non ego mendosus ausim defendere mores. (Amores, II, iv). Op. cit. Fol. R. vi.

his own. Let us look at part of Habert's translation of Amores, II, xv.

Petit anneau propice et ordonné
 Au doigt de celle à qui tu es donné
 Auquel ne fault estimer aultre chose
 Sinon l'amour du donneur estre enclose.
 Va veoir ma dame en beaulté admirable
 Et luy soy don et present agreable
 A celle fin qu'après t'avoir receu
 Tu soys soubdain en ses doigts apperceu,
 Desmonstre toy si juste et convenable
 Comme avec moy la belle est acceptable
 Et d'ung circuit juste le doigt oppresse,
 De celle qui est ma dame et maistresse.
 Bien fortuné traicté d'elle seras
 Et mon amour vers elle causeras,
 Mais je suis jà de mes dons envieux
 Et pleust à dieu (affin qu'il m'en print mieulx)
 Que le donneur je fusse et le don aussi
 Par art subtil, je prendroye le sculcy
 De te toucher, et soubz le vestement
 La gauche main approcher doucement
 Puis de ton doigt je sortiroye la presse
 Et tumberoys en ton sein par finesse. 1)

Here are the original fourteen lines from Ovid.

Anule, formosae digitum vinture puellae,
 in quo censendum nil nisi dantis amor,
 munus eas gratum! te laeta mente receptum
 protinus articulis induat illa suis:
 tam bene convenias, quam mecum convenit illi,
 et digitum iusto commodus orbe teras!
 Felix, a domina tractaberis, anule, nostra;
 invideo donis iam miser ipse meis.
 o utinam fieri subito mea munera possem
 artibus Aeneae Carpathiive senis!
 tunc ego te cupiam, domina, et tetigisse papillas,
 et laevam tunicis inseruisse manum--
 elabar digito quamvis augustus et haerans,
 inque sinum mira laxus ab arte cadam.

1) Aultre Elegie d'Ovide commençant: Anule, formosae digitum vinture puellae. Op. cit. Fol. R. viii.

Again, as in the translation by Mellin de Saint-Gelais, Habert's translation is somewhat longer than the latin original, but his rendering of all four elegies is reasonably faithful, and relatively graceful. Here is Habert's rendering of Ovid's request to his mistress that she will be favourable to him, and provide "materiem felicem in carmina".¹⁾

Demonstre toy donc heureuse matiere
 En mes escriptz pour te despaindre entiere;
 Ainsi seras par mes vers exaltée
 Comme la belle Io espouventée
 Par le taureau, et comme celle aussi
 Dont Juppiter eut le don de mercy
 Representant la semblance et figure
 Du Cigne blanc, qui prent en l'eau pasture;
 Ou comme celle estant sur le taureau
 De cil tenoit fainctes cornes en l'eau
 Semblablement nostre nom durera
 Par tout le monde et ainsi florira
 Et à ton nom sera le mien uny
 En loz & bruit durable et infiny. 2)

In the Traductions de Latin en Francoys,³⁾ there are two translations from Ovid's Amores, Saint-Gelais' piece, "O dur mary", and

1) Ovid, Amores, I, iii, l.19.

te mihi materiem felicem ~~felicem~~ in carmina praebere--
 provenient causa carmina digna sua.
 carmine nomen habent exterrita cornibus Io
 et quam fluminea lusit adulter ave,
 quaeque super pontum simulato vecta iuvenco
 virginea tenuit cornua vara manu.
 nos quoque per totum pariter cantabimur orbem
 iuncta semper erunt nomina nostra tuis.

2) François Habert, Op. cit. Fol. R. iiii

3) The edition I have used was that published in 1550 by Groulleau, in Paris. Mayer, Bibliographie des Oeuvres de Clément Marot, Vol. II, no. 273. The edition of 1550 appears to be simply a re-print of the 1549 edition.

another elegy which Habert had already translated, the fourth elegy from the second book of the Amores. In this case, the version is totally different from Habert's, and is indicated as translated by S.R., whom Lachèvre identifies as Saint-Romard.¹⁾ As a comparison, here are the opening lines, first as translated by Habert, and then by Saint-Romard.

Je ne voudroye ceste charge entreprendre
 Les meurs qui sont trop vicieux defendre
 Encore moins guerre injuste mouvoir
 De faulx honneur pour mes vices pouveoir,
 Donc je confesse & à bon droict j'estime
 S'il peult servir de confesser son crime,
 Que follement en mon vice je, tombe
 Et au delict confessé je succombe. 2)

Je ne veux point mes fautes excuser
 Ny de defense en me couvrant user
 Je les confesse à qui me les demande,
 Car aussi tost qu'ay mon mal confessé
 J'y suis recheu & l'ay recommencé. 3)

Apart from these translations of isolated elegies, there was no attempt to translate a whole book of the Amores in the same way that

1) F. Lachèvre, Bibliographie des Recueils Collectifs de poésies du XVIème siècle, Paris, 1922. pp.79-81.

2) F. Habert, Op. cit. Fol. R. vi

3) Traductions, Fol. E. vii v^o.
 cf. Amores, II, iv.

Non ego mendosos ausim defendere mores
 falsaque pro vitis arma movere meis.
 confiteor - siquid prodest delicta fateri:
 in mea nunc demens crimina fassus eo.

It can be seen from the two samples given that in fact Habert attempts to be more faithful to the latin, but that Saint-Romard achieves a more graceful set of verses.

Octovien de Saint-Gelais had translated the Heroidés, and Marot and François Habert translated the Metamorphoses. Even during the period when these translations were made, it seems that the interest in the Amores was a comparatively restricted one. In the earlier period, from 1500 until Marot's creation of the Elegy, the interest seems to have been even less, if we take as an indication the lack of editions and translations. Bearing this in mind, it seems even more likely that if Marot was influenced by Ovid, when he baptised his poems elegies, and thus "created" the genre, it was not the Ovid who was the author of the Amores but the poet who composed the Heroides. It was the Heroides which not only enjoyed wide circulation, and a large number of editions, but were also imitated widely. On the one hand, there were the various attempts at very direct imitation, such as that of André de La Vigne's Epistres d'Ovide and Marot's own Epistre de Maguelonne; and on the other the fashion for the Epitre Amoureuse, with the themes of love not shared, or lost, or absence from the beloved, which in fact derive both their form, the epistle, and their themes from Ovid. The distinguishing feature of both Ovid's own letters, and these imitations was essentially unsatisfied passion. Thus the association was formed, and very often sadness was considered as an essential ingredient of any love epistle. This may well explain why Sebillet, and the other poetic theorists set aside sadness as the distinguishing feature for the Elegy, that is simply because its antecedent the Epitre Amoureuse¹⁾ had adhered to this formula.

1) On the Epitre Amoureuse before Marot, see also: H. Guy, L'Ecole des Rhétoriciens, p.106 and Ph. A. Becker, Aus Frankreichs Frührenaissance, Die Versepistel vor Clément Marot, Munich, 1927.

Thus it is that Sebillet insists so vigorously on the sadness of the elegy, when this is neither necessarily the case for Marot's own elegies, nor for the elegies of other poets in France in the first half of the sixteenth century.

The Elegies of Clément Marot

In the Suite de l'Adolescence clementine,¹⁾ published towards the end of 1533, Marot included a group of twenty-one Elégies. They are long, serious, though not necessarily sad, love poems. In 1538, however, Marot added six more poems to the group of elegies, including two pieces which had previously been published under the title of Complaintes. Of the remaining new pieces three were love elegies, and the remaining piece was entitled Elegie..De Jehan Chauvin Menestrier qui fut noyé. From this, it is apparent that Marot himself had no absolutely clear cut idea of what the Elegy should be, or rather perhaps that Marot's idea of the Elegy embraced both love poetry, and laments on death. In studying the elegies of Marot it is essential to dispose of two theories which have long bedevilled writers on this subject: firstly that Marot owed much in his elegies to Tibullus and Propertius,²⁾ and secondly that the elegies were personal poetry, reflecting directly Marot's own experience.³⁾ When we have discussed these theories, we

1) C.A. Mayer, Bibliographie des Oeuvres de Clément Marot, Geneva, 1954. Vol. I, Manuscripts, Vol. II, Editions, Vol. II, no. 15.

2) The chief exponent of this theory was A. Roedel in Studien zu den Elegien Clément Marots, Inauguraldissertation, Weiningen, 1898. (Leipzig Thesis).

3) The most enthusiastic supporter of this theory was Ph. A. Becker, in Clément Marots Liebeslyrik, Vienna, 1917 and also in Clément Marots Buch der Elegien, sein Sinn und Seine Bedeutung, in Romanica, a Festschrift for Dr. Fritz Neubert, Edited by R. Brummer, Berlin, 1948.

will then proceed to a more detailed discussion of Marot's debt to Ovid, in the creation of his Elégies.

In the various studies¹⁾ of Marot's sources in his Elegies, a number of passages from Propertius and Tibullus have been quoted as being the sources for various lines of Marot's elegies. The attempt to make these "rapprochements" is natural enough, since, as Saulnier remarks in his study of the elegies of Marot,²⁾ when casting around for possible sources, "L'on pense aussitôt aux Elégiaques latins". Roedel in fact goes further, and collects a fair number of passages from Propertius and Tibullus,³⁾ compares them with passages from Marot's elegies, and concludes from this evidence that Marot owed his creation of the elegy, to a large degree to the Latin elegiacs. A brief study of these various suggestions will show us precisely what the nature of Marot's imitation of Propertius and Tibullus was.

We will deal firstly with the supposed imitations of Propertius. One passage in particular does suggest that Marot had at least some

1) A. Roedel, Op. cit. cf. p.51, Vorbilder.

Ph. A. Becker, Clément Marot, sein Leben und seine Dichtung, Munich, 1926. On the Elégies and their sources, see pp.246-251.

H. Guy, De Fontibus Clementis Maroti Poetae, Foix, 1898. On the sources pp.45-47.

H. Guy, Les Sources du poète Clément Marot, Foix, 1890.

P. Villey, Les Grands écrivains du XVIème siècle, Marot et Rabelais, Paris, 1923. On the elegies, see pp.47-54.

2) V.L. Saulnier, Les Elégies de Clément Marot, Paris, 1952. p.91.

3) Roedel, Op. cit. Vorbilder.

knowledge of Propertius' elegies. In elegy XIII,¹⁾ the lover declares that he will leave his lady, as his efforts to win her love have been clearly unsuccessful. Here, in several passages, Marot seems to follow Propertius, III, 21.

Magnum iter ad doctas proficisci cogor Athenas,
 ut me longa gravi solvat amore via.
 Crescit enim assidue spectando cura puellae:
 ipse alimenta sibi maxima praebet amor.
 Omnia sunt temptata mihi, quaecumque fugari
 possit; at ex omni me premit ipse deus....
 Unum erit auxilium: mutatis, Cynthia, terris,
 quantum oculis animo tam procul ibit amor...
 Aut spatia annorum, aut longa intervalla profundi
 lenibunt tacito vulnera nostra sinu....

L'esloignement que de vous je veulx faire
 N'est pour vouloir m'exempter & deffaire
 De vostre amour, encor moins du service.
 C'est pour tirer mon loyal cueur sans vice
 Du feu qui l'ard par trop grand amytié;

.....

Ce nonobstant vostre je demourray;
 Mais ce sera le plus loing que pourray.
 Car que ne vault veoir de pres & congnoistre
 Tant de beaulté, fors d'atizer & croistre
 Mon nouveau feu? J'ay tousjours ouy dire:
 Qui plus est pres plus ardemment desire; ...

.....

Et moy, qui n'ay espoir ne seulle attente,
 Comment feray ma pensée contente,
 Fors en fuyant la cause de son dueil?
 Là & au temps gist l'espoir de mon vueil.
 Le temps (pour vray) efface toutes choses.
 Au long aller mes tristesses encloses
 Effacera;..... 2)

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- 1) Clément Marot, Oeuvres Lyriques, édition critique de C.A. Mayer, University of London, the Athlone Press, 1964. Elégie XIII, pp.237-239.
 2) Elegy XIII, 11.1-5, 21-26, 43-49.

In this particular case, it does seem possible that Marot made a conscious effort to imitate the Latin poet. In another case, where Guy¹⁾ was searching for imitation of Propertius, he suggests that the lines which follow inspired four lines of Marot in Elegy XV.

Multa prius vasto labentur flumina ponto,
Annus et inversas duxerit ante vices,
Quam tua sub nostro mutetur pectore cura: 2)

Plustost sera Montaigne sans Vallée,
Plustost la Mer on verra dessalée,
Et plustost Seine encontremont ira,
Que mon amour de toy se partira. 3)

However, this is not the only source which has been suggested for these four lines of Marot,⁴⁾ and at the same time we find the same type of

1) H. Guy, De Fontibus, p.45.

2) Propertius, I, XV, ll.29-31.

3) Elegy XV, ll.35-38.

4) cf. Marot, Oeuvres Lyriques, p.244, note 1. "Cette expression est imitée d'un proverbe grec passé en latin et qui se trouve chez beaucoup d'auteurs de l'antiquité (entre autres Euripide, Cicéron). Marot a pu le trouver dans les Heroides d'Ovide, où Œnone, écrivant à Paris, l'assure que plutôt l'eau du Xanthos coulera vers sa source que son amour faiblira.

Cum Paris Œnone poterit spirare relicta
Ad fontem Xanthi versa recurret aqua. "

formula in two other elegies,¹⁾ where either the lover or his mistress protect their love by suggesting that the order of nature would have to be reversed before they would cease loving. From this we can conclude that the formula was in fact a common-place in antiquity, and that in using it, Marot was not following one author, Propertius, but what was already a literary tradition. In searching for possible imitations of Tibullus, Roedel finds a fair number of possibilities. Most of the passages quoted are however, merely stray lines here and there. Although many poets have declared that love is cruel, it is possible that Marot had a passage of Tibullus in mind when he makes this declaration in Elegy IV.

Sçais tu pas bien qu'Amour a de coustume
D'entremesler ses plaisirs d'asertume?

.....

Ne vueille aucun Damoyelles aymer
S'il ne s'attend y avoir de l'amer. 2)

1) Elegy IV, ll. 18-20.

Certes j'avois d'elle ceste fiance
Que l'on verroit Ciel et Terre finir
Plustost qu'en moy son ferme souvenir.

Elegy VII, ll. 17-22.

Helas (Amans) helas, se peult il faire
Qu'Amour si grand se puisse ainsi deffaire?
Je penseroys plustost que les Ruisseaux
Feroient aller encontre mont leurs eaux,
Considerant que de fait ne pensée
Ne l'ay encor (que je sache) offensée.

See also Saulnier, Op. cit. p. 83, on the use of this figure of speech.

2) Elegy IV, ll. 43-44, 47-48.

Nescis quid sit amor, iuvenis, si ferre recusas
 immitem dominam coniugium^{que} ferum. 1)

In the third elegy, it may well be that Marot was remembering a passage from Tibullus, when he protests his faithfulness to his lady, and insists that he could resist even the most beautiful heroines of mythology. Tibullus merely mentions Venus, but Marot adds Helen to the list.

Nunc licet e caelo mittatur amica Tibullo
 mittetur frustra, deficietque Venus. 2)

Quant est de moy, vienne Helaine ou Venus,
 Viennent vers moy m'offrir leurs corps tous nudz,
 Je leur diray: retirez vous, Deesses!
 En meilleur lieu j'ay trouvé mes lyesses! 3)

Roedel suggests that the passage in Elegy XVII, where Marot (or more probably the "chevalier" who wants to exchange his lance for the shepherd's crook) describes the joys of an imagined rustic idyll with his mistress, is inspired by a passage in Tibullus, I, 2, ll.71-74.

Ipsae boves mea si tecum modo Delia possim
 Iungere et in solito pascere monte pecus,
 Et te dum liceat teneris retinere lacertis,
 Mollis et inculta sit mihi somnus humo.

S'ainsi estoit, pour l'aller veoir seulette,
 Souvent feroys de ma Lance Houlette,

-
- 1) Tibullus, III, 4, ll.73-74.
 2) Tibullus, III, 19, ll.13-14.
 3) Elegy III, ll.73-76.

Et conduiroys, en lieu de grands Armées,
 Brebis aux Champs costoyez de ramées.
 Lors la verroys seant sur la Verdure,
 Si luy diroys la peine que j'endure
 Pour son amour,...

1)

Here again, we have a situation where another source has been suggested for precisely the same passage. Becker²⁾ suggests that Horace's Epode II, is the source for this particular description. Again, it seems that in all probability Marot was not particularly imitating either author, but rather following a literary tradition, since both in the literature of Antiquity, and in mediaeval literature, the idealisation of the rustic life is a common theme.

In the sixth of Marot's elegies,³⁾ the poet describes how the god of love came to him in a dream. Reedel suggests as the source for this passage, a passage from Tibullus, III, 4, where the Latin poet gives an elaborate description of the arrival and the appearance of the god while the poet is sleeping. Here again, there are other sources to be found in the Latin elegiacs,⁴⁾ and Marot may have known all of the possible sources, or none of them. In fact, he may be rather using the technique of the Rhétoriqueurs, who in their poetry often make allegorical, or mythological figures appear to the poet in a dream.

1) Elegy XVII, 11.57-63.

2) Ph. A. Becker, Clément Marot, sein Leben und seine Dichtung, p.251

3) Elegy VI, 11.9-28.

4) cf. H. Guy, De Fontibus, p.45. The theme of the lover's dream was a frequent one in the work's of the Latin elegiacs. See Propertius, Elegies, II, 25 and Ovid, Amores, III, 5.

From this examination of the various parallels suggested between Marot and Propertius and Tibullus, several conclusions can be drawn. The first is, that despite the diligence of Roedel and other critics to make these "rapprochements", their total number is in fact very small. Secondly, the nature of the so-called imitations is highly suspect, a line is remembered, and reproduced completely out of context, or quoted to an entirely different end. We have too, the situation, where different critics suggest different sources, for Elegy XVII, for example, and we realise that in fact, these are not precise sources, but simply themes and variations common to all lyrical poetry. This is particularly striking in this case, since the idealisation of rustic life was a favourite one of mediaeval poetry. The truth of the matter is that any poet moving in the narrow circle of lyrical love poetry is bound to appear to repeat the themes and treatment of his predecessors, whether he does in fact directly imitate them or not.

One of the first attempts to present the Elégies as personal poetry, directly related to Marot's own experience was made by Lenglet du Fresnoy in his edition of Marot.¹⁾ The commentary which he provided, assuring the reader that the elegies were addressed to four different ladies, including Diane de Poitiers, and Marguerite de Navarre, was subtle but completely unfounded. Further attempts at this type of identification

1) Oeuvres de Clément Marot, The Hague, 1731. 4 Vols. The elegies are in Vol. I, pp.279-356.

were made by A. Birch-Hirschfeld¹⁾ and then by his pupil Roedel.

Roedel concluded that the Elégies represented two of the loves of Marot, Isabeau, to whom the more direct, and supposedly erotic pieces were addressed, and Marguerite de Navarre, for whom the more lofty pieces were intended. In his turn, Becker developed several theories, twice changing his mind. His first theory was that the elegies reflected a single love of the poet, and had a profound unity.²⁾ His second theory tended to explain the elegies as a literary genre,³⁾ with no necessary connection

1) A. Birch-Hirschfeld, Geschichte der französischen Litteratur seit Anfang des XVI. Jahrhunderts. Vol. I, Stuttgart, 1889. On the elegies see pp.140-143.

2) Ph. A. Becker, Clément Marots Liebeslyrik, Vienna, 1917. p.5.

"Gelingt es uns zu zeigen, dass die Elegien in ihrer Hauptmasse eine Einheit bilden, dass sie an eine Person gerichtet sind und im wesentlichen in den zwölf Monaten geschrieben wurden, die der Schlacht bei Pavia vorausgingen oder folgten, und gelingt es uns, die in Verwirrung geratene Ordnung auf methodischem Wege wiederherzustellen, so wurden die bisher so rätselhaften Elegien für diese Zeitperiode das feste Gerüst zum Aufbau liefern, in den wir dann die sachlich verwandten Kleingedichte der Adolescence und der Suite ohne Schwierigkeiten eingliedern können."

3) In Clément Marot, sein Leben und seine Dichtung, Munich, 1926, Becker disproves his earlier theory of the personal element in the Elégies, and concludes: p.250.

"Das Band ist nicht ein einheitliches Erlebnis, sondern der Gattungsbegriff, und diesen hatte der Dichter augenscheinlich von Ovid, dessen Amorum Libri Tres ebenfalls aus Elegien gebildet sind. Liebesepisteln sind es gleichviel ob im eigenen oder in fremdem Namen geschrieben, das heisst direkte Mitteilungen an die Geliebte, Botschaften an sie, Bitten, Klagen, Trostschriften, oder auch Trostschriften an andere, die durch die Liebe geprüft sind, aber in diesem Falle nicht für den Leser geschrieben, sondern für den Beteiligten, um auf dessen Verhalten und auf dessen Entschlüsse einzuwirken."

with the poet's private life, or experiences in love. However, Becker's last words¹⁾ on the subject attempted to modify the position yet again. His conclusion is that some of the elegies were indeed based on the personal experiences of the poet, and that those which are not, are written in the King's name, and tell the story of François Ier's love for Anne de Pisseleu. Both the attempts to interpret the elegies as personal poetry, and the attempts to identify Marot's various mistresses have created far more problems than they solve. Apart from the fact that most of these attempts have been accompanied by divisions of the Elégies into cycles of the most arbitrary and useless nature,²⁾ if we accept the fact that Marot is speaking for himself in all the elegies, we then have to explain a number of points. If the elegies were personal poetry, how could we explain the fact that two of the elegies, Elégies XVIII & XX, are written from a woman's point of view? How could Marot himself

1) cf. Clément Marots Buch der Elegien, sein Sinn und seine Bedeutung, in Romanica, pp.9-54. See p.34.

"Unsere bisherige Untersuchung hat uns zu der Erkenntnis geführt, dass Marots Buch der Elegien, wie es als Bestandteil der Suite de l'Adolescence Clémentine erschienen ist, eine zeitlich geordnete Sammlung von Liebesepisteln ist, die dem Erlebnis nach zusammengehören und der Wirklichkeit entsprungen sind. Sie umspannen die Jahre 1524 bis etwa 1532; sie bilden jedoch keine geschlossene Einheit, insofern El. 1-4 ein persönliches Erlebnis des Dichters widerspiegeln, das sich in den Jahren 1524 und 1525 abgespielt hat während die übrigen Elegien von fünften an, auf das Liebesabenteuer des Königs mit Anne de Pisseleu Bezug haben."

2) For a fuller account of the various attempts to divide the Elégies into cycles, cf. Saulnier, Les Elégies, pp.125-134.

ever declare, as does the writer in Elegy IX, that;

Sept ans y a que ma main se repose
 Sans voullenté d'escrire à nulle femme, 1)

When in Elegy XVII, Marot speaks of changing his lance for a shepherd's crook, it is fatuous to suppose that he is speaking in his own name.

The first elegy too, which contains the references to the battle of Pavia²⁾ is written for a "chevalier", as the manuscript title shows.

One of the elegies which Marot added in 1538 has for its title, Elégie pour Monsieur de Barroys, à Ma Damoysselle de Huban, and it may well be that Marot speaks not for himself, but simply on behalf of either real or imaginary lovers, to their mistresses, in nearly all of the elegies.³⁾

In fact in this respect, Marot is much closer to Ovid's Heroides, and to the tradition of the Epître Amoureuse, when very often the author writes not for himself but on behalf of the lover to his lady, or vice versa.

1) Elegy IX, ll.12-13.

2) In all four manuscripts of this elegy it is entitled L'Epistre du chevalier pris et blecé devant Pavye, faict par Clement Marot. On this question, see C.A. Mayer, Edition of the Epitres of Marot, University of London, the Athlone Press, 1958, Preface, p.7.

3) cf. Marot, Œuvres Lyriques, p.34, note 3.

"La seule pièce qui fait exception et dans laquelle Marot nous livre probablement ses vrais sentiments est l'élégie XXIV. En vue de notre discussion il est tout à fait significatif que ce poème personnel ne fut jamais publié au XVIème siècle, mais trouvé de nos jours dans un recueil manuscrit sous le titre Epistre faicte par Marot."

It is in fact in this sense that Marot owes a debt to the author of the Heroides in his own elegies. Marot's elegies, like Ovid's epistles from his heroines, exploit to the furthest degree the themes of separation, or of unrequited love. Like the Heroides too, which lose some of their emotional impact as we stop to admire the skill of the heroines at argument and debate, Marot's elegies sometimes revolve around discussions, which Chamard neatly terms "métaphysique galante".¹⁾

Marot himself points out his affinity with Ovid, when in Elegy XX, the unhappy woman exclaims:

Las, je me plains, non point comme Dido
Frappée au cueur du dard de Cupido.
Ja ne m'orriez alleguer en mes plainctes
Le mien Âmant, comme Sapho et maintes.... 2)

Here indeed is a clear reference to the heroines, whose letters are gathered together in the Heroides. Dido's letter to Aeneas, Sappho's to Phaon, and many others. Not only this letter, where the unfortunate woman is bemoaning her fate, but in all probability most of Marot's elegies, bear about as much resemblance to Marot's own personal life as the Heroides did to Ovid's.

From this it emerges that Marot's debt to Ovid does indeed exist, in the sense that the Latin poet provided the framework for a form of elegiac poetry, which was not necessarily personal, and which used the

1) H. Chamard, Histoire de la Pléiade, Vol. 3, p.28.

2) Elegy XX, 11.15-18.

epistolary form. Marot already had considerable knowledge of this type of poetry when he composed the Epistre de Maguelonne, using the framework of the Heroides, but using characters from a mediaeval tale. In the elegies, Marot has moved one step further away from Ovid, but retains nevertheless the idea that elegiac poetry need not necessarily be a reflection of personal experience, and that the most suitable form for the elegy, is that of an epistle. It is possibly for this reason, that Sebillet ¹⁾ insists on the influence of Ovid on Marot's elegies, knowing that they had as ancestors Ovid's Heroides, when in fact if we search line by line for imitations of Ovid, we do not find a great deal of parallels. We will however examine such parallels as there are, and also comment briefly on any other debts of Marot to writers of antiquity.

In Elegy XII, when the poet is describing how he wrote his letter during a sleepless night, several lines suggest a reminiscence of the Heroides.

Mais lors Amour de rigueur m'a usé,
 Car le dormir du tout m'a refusé,
 Me commandant de composer ~~off~~ tistre
 Toute la nuyct ceste petite Epistre, 2)

Haec tibi me in somnis iaculatrix scribere Phoebē;
 Haec tibi me vigilem scribere iussit Amor. 3)

Similarly, in Elegy XIX, in describing the insipidity of unalloyed

- 1) Art Poétique François, p. 155.
 2) Elegy XII, 11.29-32.
 3) Heroides, XX, 11.229-230.

pleasure, Marot evokes a passage from the Amores.

Brief, sans ennuy, trop fade seroit l'aise;
Et tout ainsi que les fades viandes
Avec aigreur on trouve plus friandes,
Ainsi plaisir trop doux & vigoureux
Meslé d'ennuy semble plus savoureux. 1)

Pinguis amor nimium ^{que} potens in taedia nobis
vertitur et stomacho dulcis ut esca, nocet. 2)

It is possible that when, in Elegy VI, the lover begs his mistress not to let the god of love seem a liar, Marot is remembering a similar plea in the Amores. 3)

Lors prins la plume et par escript fut mis
Ce songe mien que je vous ay transmis,
Vous suppliant, pour me mettre en grand heur,
Ne faire point le Dieu d'amours menteur; 4)

Two lines of Elegy XII seem to translate a line from the Amores (I, 6, 31).

Que pourra il faire à ses Ennemys
Quand il veult nuyre à ses meilleurs Amys? 5)

Quid facies hosti qui sic excludis amantem?

1) Elegy XIX, 11.64-68.

2) Amores, II, 19, 11.25-26.

3) Amores, III, 2, 1.59.

Quod dea (Venus) promisit, promittas ipsa, rogamus.

4) Elegy VI, 11.29-32.

5) Elegy XII, 11.17-18.

We have already seen, in dealing with Marot's borrowings from Propertius, that it is possible that Marot may have used a passage from Ovid's Heroides, when he makes the lover in Elegy XV protest that rivers would have to flow backwards before he would cease to love his lady.¹⁾ The examples we have cited here show in fact that textual imitation of Ovid in Marot's elegies does exist, but only in a very limited measure, and that Marot uses Ovid in fact more as a framework, in that he uses the form of the Heroides, but that the construction on this framework does not depend on Ovid for its details.

In his elegies Marot owes little, except for a few sentences to Virgil.²⁾ If the description of rustic life in Elegy XVII is too vague to ascribe to any particular source, nevertheless, the similar, but more detailed evocation in Elegy I could well have been imitated from Horace, Epodes, II.

Il vault trop mieulx en ung lieu solitaire,
 En Champs ou Boys pleins d'Arbres & de fleurs
 Aller dicter les plaisirs ou les pleurs
 Que l'on reçoit de sa Dame chérie;
 Puis, pour oster hors du cueur fascherie,
 Voller en Plaine, et chasser en Forest,
 Descoupler Chiens, tendre Toilles et Rhetz;
 Aulcune^sfois, apres les longues Courses
 Se venir seoir pres des Ruisseaux & Sources

1) cf. *Supra*, pp. 48-49.

2) Elegy III, 22. "Certes je croy (& ma foy n'est point vaine)....; appears to translate Aeneid, IV, 12.

"Credo equidem, nec vana fides."

It has been suggested that the portrait of fame in Elegy XIV owes some of its details to the portrait of fame by Virgil in Aeneid, IV, 173.

Et s'endormir au son de l'eau qui bruyt,
 Ou escouter la Musique & le bruyt
 Des Oyselletz painctz de couleurs estranges,
 Comme Mallars, Merles, Mauviz, Mesanges,
 Pinsons, Pivers, Passes et Passerons;
 En ce plaisir le Temps nous passerons; 1)

Libet iacere modo sub antiqua ilice,
 Modo in tenaci gramine.
 Labuntur altis interim ripis aquae,
 Queruntur in silvis aves,
 Fontesque lymphis obstrepunt manantibus,
 Somnos quod invitet levis.
 At cum tonantis annus hibernus Iovis
 Imbres nivesque comparat,
 Aut trudit acris hinc et hinc multa cane
 Apros in obstantis plagas,
 Aut amite levi rara tendit retia,
 Turdis edacibus dolos,
 Pavidumque leporem et advenam laqueo gruem
 Iucunda captat praemia.
 Quis non malarum, quas amor curas habet,
 Haec inter obliviscitur? 2)

In these two passages, there are enough similarities of detail to justify the term direct imitation. Marot adapts ^{Horace's} ~~Ovid's~~ description of the sound of running water, which invites sleep, and also the description of the techniques of hunting, and of laying nets. Apart from this one example, Marot does not seem to have used Horace as a source of inspiration elsewhere in his elegies.

From this survey of Marot's use of Ovid, and of one or two other Latin poets, we can conclude that Marot's textual legacy even from Ovid was not enormous. We saw earlier, that on examination, Marot's

1) Elegy I, 11.110-124.

2) Horace, Epodes II, 11.23-38.

borrowings from the Latin elegiac poets, Tibullus and Propertius, were in fact by no means comprehensive, and that many of these apparent borrowings were in fact simply Marot's re-iteration of the common-places of lyrical love poetry. Further than that, if we examine the elegies still further, we find that there is much in them which comes rather from the mediaeval tradition of love poetry. Thus ironically, Marot, as it will be seen, in introducing the elegy, a form which would suggest a return to the Latin elegiacs, stays much nearer in the content of the poems in question, to the themes of mediaeval love poetry.¹⁾

In fact, in many passages of the elegies, in his choice of themes and his treatment of them, Marot is much closer to the Roman de la Rose

1) cf. Marot, Oeuvres Lyriques, Introduction, ~~pp. 18-19~~ pp. 18-19.

"Il semble que pour ce genre nouveau, Marot n'ait pas eu de source précise, mais que, prenant ses thèmes dans le fonds de la poésie d'amour médiévale, il ait tâché, peut-être sous l'influence d'Ovide de les exprimer sous une forme poétique ^{au sens} antique."

H. Chamard, Histoire de la Pléiade, Vol. 3, p.27.

"Marot les (les élégies) adressait à des femmes aimées, Anne, Isabeau, d'autres encore sans doute. Mais il les rédigeait parfois pour d'autres amants que lui-même, se faisant volontiers l'interprète d'un seigneur désireux d'apitoyer sa dame, et tenant la plume à sa place. Quoi d'étonnant dès lors que ces épîtres, badinages d'amour gracieux, mais un peu vides, faits de galanterie et de préciosité nous donnent l'impression d'une poésie tout à la fois courtoise et courtisane? Dans cette forme, soi-disant reprise aux anciens, c'était l'esprit du Moyen Age qui survivait, j'entends l'esprit courtois, celui qui jadis animait les chansons et les jeux partis; un pas de plus et l'expression des sentiments dégénérait en discussions d'ordre subtil sur de menus problèmes de casuistique amoureuse."

and to Alain Chartier, than he is to the Latin elegiacs. In the second elegy,¹⁾ for example, when the author declares himself to be the slave of love, we have the courtly theme of the testing of love by a period of waiting. In the same way, the theme of the rejected lover, who continues his pleas to an apparently impervious mistress, which was exploited to its utmost in the Belle Dame sans mercy by Alain Chartier, appears in several elegies.²⁾ In Elegy X the lover praises his mistress for her beauty, and in the tradition of the mediaeval lover offering his submission, pleads that she who is perfect in every way, should not have that one fault, a hard heart.³⁾ Here we go back, not only to the lover of Alain Chartier, pleading with his lady, but also back to the tradition of the troubadour, attempting to win the love of his

1) Elegy II, 11.21-26.

Ung an y a que par toy commencée
 Fut l'amytié &, sachant ta pensée,
 Esclave & serf d'Amour fus arrêté,
 Ce que devant jamais n'avoys esté.
 Ung an y a (ou il s'en fault bien peu)
 Que par toy suis d'Esperance repeu.

2) Elegies VIII, XVII, XVIII.

3) Elegy X, 11.11-15.

O donques vous, du Monde la plus belle,
 Ne cachez pas ung Cueur dur et rebelle
 Soubz tel beaulté; ce seroit grand dommage;
 Mais à mon cueur, qui vous vient faire hommage
 Faictes recueil; je vous en fais present.

mistress.¹⁾ Despite the references to the heroines of Ovid, in Elegy XX, the theme is essentially a mediaeval one, the "plaintes" of the woman who is "la mal mariée". Elegy XVIII treats the dangers of losing one's good name, yet another theme from the mediaeval tradition of love poetry.

In not only the themes which he chooses, but also in the way he treats them, Marot remains close to the tradition of his fore-runners in France. In several of the elegies, he uses allegory, like the Grands Rhétoriciens, but in a much less exaggerated manner. In the first elegy for instance, the poet is trying to write his letter, when he is assailed by "Doubte", who attempts to dissuade him from writing. Next appears "Ferme Amour", who encourages the poet to continue his epistle.

Voyla comment Amour ferme t'excuse
De ce de quoy Doubte si fort t'accuse;
Et m'ont tenu longuement en ce point.
L'ung dict: escry; l'autre dict: n'escry point;
Puis l'ung m'attraict; puis l'autre me reboute;
Mais à la fin Amour a vaincu Doubte.
Doubte vouloit lyer de sa cordelle
Ma langue & main; mais, tout en despit d'elle,
Amour a faict ma langue deployer
Et ma main dextre à t'escrire employer..... 2)

In Elegy VIII, the lover fears that his lady's love has been cooled by

1) cf. A. Piaget, Edition of the Belle Dame sans mercy, Paris, 1949, T.L.F. Introduction, p. ix. "Chez les trouvères du XIIIème siècle, la femme aimée est toujours la plus belle et la meilleure de France, n'ayant qu'un défaut; elle est sans merci."

2) Elegy I, ll.47-56.

"Danger" and "Crainte", and that it is for this reason that she is fickle.

.....Qui vous faict doncq changer
 Si bon propos? Seroit ce point Danger?
 C'est luy, pour vray. Danger par Jalousie
 Chasse l'amour de vostre fantasie,
 Et en son lieu toute craincte y veult mettre,
 Ce que ne doibt ung gentil cueur permettre.
 Craincte est obscure, Amour est nette et blanche;
 Craincte est servile, Amour est toute franche;
 Amour faict vivre, & Craincte faict mourir. 1)

"Dangier", "Maubec" and "Jalousie" appear in Elegy XI, conveniently asleep so that the lover may carry on his amorous enterprises on Christmas night.

En ceste nuict le Dieu d'Amours resveille
 Ses serviteurs, et leur va commandant
 De ne dormir, mais rire, ce pendant
 Que faulx Dangier, Maubec et Jalousie
 Sont endormis au Lict de Fantazsie. 2)

A more extended use of Allegory is found in Elegy XIV, where the author threatens to write a "libelle" about the wickedness of his treacherous mistress, and give it to "Renommée ou Fame" to publish far and wide.

1) Elegy VIII, 11.17-25.

2) Elegy XI, 11.4-8.

For the use of allegory see also:

Elegy I, "Fortune variable", who sometimes favours lovers, and sometimes persecutes them.

Elegy III. Both lovers will follow the standard (le grand guydon) of "Fermeté", and triumph in the battle against "Envie".

It is significant to note that these struggles between the allegorical characters often take the form of the Débat, a very popular mediaeval form.

Incontinent, desloyalle **F**unelle,
 Que j'auray faict et escript ton **L**ibelle,
 Entre les mains le mettray d'une femme,
 Qui appellée est Renommée ou Fame,
 Et qui ne sert qu'à dire par le **M**onde
 Le bien ou mal de ce~~x~~ où il ~~s'~~abonde.
 Lors Renommée avec ses **a**elles painctes
 Ira volant en **B**ourgs et **V**illes maintes,
 Et sonnera sa **T**rompette d'**A**rgent
 Pour autour d'elle assembler toute gent; 1)

It is not only in the use of allegory that Marot harks back to the techniques of the Rhétoriqueurs and mediaeval poetry, but also in his use of the "Songe" (Elegy VI).²⁾ In the same mould too is the form of the Debate, or dialogue of the poet with his own heart in Elegy VI. It has been suggested that Marot's use of certain images is due to the influence of Petrarch, or Petrarchism, but apart from one concetto³⁾

1) Elegy XIV, 11.33-42.

2) This is the elegy for which several sources in the Latin elegiacs have been suggested. See *Supra*, p.51. However, in view of the extensive use of the dream by the Rhétoriqueurs, it seems that Marot, when he describes how the god of love appears to him in a dream, may be thinking rather of the poetry of the Rhétoriqueurs, than of that of the Latin elegiacs.

3) Elegy XVI, 11.59-64.

Mais si de vous j'ay encor quelque Lettre,
 Pour la brusler ne la fauldra que mettre
 Pres de mon Cueur; là elle trouvera
 Du feu assez, et si esprouvera
 Combien ardente est l'amoureuse flamme
 Qui mon las cueur pour voz vertus enflamme.

cf. Tebaldeo, Sonnet 112.

Volentier per un di te porterei
 Sopra la carne mia, ma ancor si forte
 M'arde, ch'io temo che te brusarei.

which has been identified, and traces of the influence of Petrarch's Trionfi in two elegies,¹⁾ there is little evidence of this. V.L. Saulnier remarks sagely:

"On connaît déjà Pétrarque: on ne pétrarquise pas encore.
Nous sommes entre le Jardin de Plaisance et Maurice
Scève, l'auteur de Délie." 2)

So far we have examined solely the love elegies of Marot. They are love epistles, though not necessarily concerned with sad themes, which deal mainly, though not exclusively, with the themes of absence or unrequited love. Although the very name elegy suggests a return to the literature of Antiquity, the elegies do not represent an attempt to imitate directly the Latin elegiacs, but follow rather in form, the Heroides of Ovid, and in content, to a large extent, the traditions of mediæval love poetry.

We now turn to the study of the three "élégies déploratives", which by their very nature form a separate group. As we saw earlier, Marot hesitated in their classification, but we should nevertheless consider them under the heading of "élégies", since at a particular moment in time, this was the title that the author himself chose to give them. In view of Marot's own hesitation in classifying the three poems, it is not surprising that Sebillet's attempt to clarify the situation is

1) Elegies XIII and XIV. cf. Oeuvres Lyriques, p.239, note 1, and p.241, note 1.

2) V.L. Saulnier, Les Elégies, p.98.

somewhat muddled.¹⁾ After first declaring that "Complaintes et deplo: ations sembleroient estre comprises soubz l'élégie", Sebillet finally chooses the explanation that the Complainte can be couched "en forme d'élégie, comme celle de Marot sur la mort de Samblançay". The elegy in question was published in the section of Complaintes, in the Cimetière in 1533, as was the piece on the death of Anne L'Huillier, and the two pieces then appear in 1538,³⁾ side by side with the lament on the death of Jehan Chauvin, as elegies.

It is difficult to ascertain why Marot chose these two particular poems to figure with the piece on Chauvin, and maintained the title of Complainte for other pieces. The possible criteria suggested by Saulnier are ingenious but not entirely convincing.⁴⁾ It is possible that length

1) Sebillet, Art Poétique, p.178

2) In the Suite de l'Adolescence clémentine, cf. Mayer, Bibliographie, Vol. II, no.15. The piece on Semblançay was originally published separately with the title, La Complainte du riche infortuné Jaques de Beaune, seigneur de Samblançay, cf. Bibliographie, Vol. II, no.4.

3) In the 1538 edition of Les Oeuvres, Bibliographie, Vol. II, no.71.

4) V.L. Saulnier, Les Elégies, pp.44-45.

"Quant aux déplorations sérieuses, écrites le plus souvent en décasyllabes ou en alexandrins, les plus amples et savantes sont classées comme Complaintes; ainsi des pièces sur Florimond Robertet et Louise de Savoie; les plus brèves (sur Longueil, sur Cretin, sur le Dauphin François) sont classées dans le Cimetière. A ces dernières sections, les Elégies ajoutent un nouveau cadre. Nous semblent ici classées les pièces funéraires du registre sérieux qui, sans avoir l'ampleur des Complaintes dépassent la forme épigrammatique qui caractérise depuis 1538 le Cimetière; et à condition qu'elles présentent le sort du défunt comme déplorable. La plus longue des pièces sur Jean Cotereau ("Celluy qui gist") ne sera pas placée parmi elles; c'est qu'au fond le défunt jouit d'un long bonheur."

may have been one of the criteria, since the pieces which Marot maintains as Complaintes are all much longer than the poems eventually classified as elegies. At the same time it is possible that form was one of the criteria, since several of the poems which remain as Complaintes¹⁾ are in strophic form, while the three pieces classified as elegies in 1538 are all in the same form as the love elegies, written in decasyllables with rimes plates. Again, why Marot considered giving the title of Élégie to funerary pieces at all is a problem, when his original idea of the elegy was obviously that it was a type of love epistle. It is possible that in the interval between the publication of the love elegies, and 1538, Marot became aware that the elegy could be, and had been for the Latin elegiacs, a lament on death, as well as a love poem. Ovid included in his Amores not only love elegies, but also a lament on the death²⁾ of Tibullus, and a rather ironic piece on the death of Corinna's parrot. Catullus too lamented the death of his mistress' sparrow in his elegies, as well as using them as a vehicle for erotic poetry. Thus it seems possible that Marot may have become aware, through the Latin elegiacs, of the possibility of calling some of his laments on death "élégies". However, as in the case of the love elegies, he does not seem to have imitated the Latins in detail.

1) The Complaincte d'une Niece, sur la Mort de sa Tante is composed in verses of eleven lines, and the Complaincte du Baron de Malleville has alternate verses of eleven and thirteen lines. Both pieces are written in decasyllables, with rimes croisées.

2) Amores III, 9. The lament for the parrot is in Amores II, 6.

In the poetry of the Rhétoriciens, the laments on death, whether they are called Complaintes or Déplorations, are long elaborate pieces which make frequent use of the dream, and of allegory.¹⁾ Marot moves away from this type of poetry even in the Complaintes which were moved to the section of Elégies in 1538. Nevertheless, in the elegy on the death of Semblançay, he does owe a certain amount to his predecessors, and more particularly Villon. The elegy in question contains a long passage which follows a section of Villon's Ballade des Pendus²⁾ quite closely. It seems too, that the idea of casting the poem in the form of a monologue spoken by the dead man, also came straight from Villon. Finally, the ending of Marot's elegy, when the dead man asks the passers-by

- 1) See for instance Molinet's lengthy poem on the death of Philippe le Bon, Le Throsne d'Honneur, and Cretin's Plainte sur le trespas de Guillaume de Byssipat. Both poems are several hundred lines long, and make extensive use of allegory and personification. In the Throsne d'Honneur, the poet falls asleep, and sees in a dream how Philippe is received and enthroned in the "septiesme ciel".
- 2) cf. Villon, Oeuvres, Foulet's edition, C.F.M.A., Paris, 1932, p.96.

La pluye nous a débuéz et lavéz,
Et le soleil dessechéz et noircis;
Piés, corbeaux, nous ont les yeux cavéz,
Et arraché la barbe et les sourciz.

Elegie du riche infortuné Jacques de Beaune, Seigneur de Semblançay, ll.39-50.

Là où le vent (quand est fort et nuysible)
Mon corps agite, et quand il est paisible,
Barbe et Cheveux tous blancs me fait branler
Ne plus ne moins que feuilles d'arbre en l'Air.
Mes yeux, jadis vigilans de nature,
De vieulx Corbeaux sont devenus pasture;
Mon col, qui eut l'accol de Chevalier,
Est accolé de trop mortel collier;
Mon corps, jadis bien logé, bien vestu,
Est à présent de la Gresle battu,
Lavé de pluye, et du Soleil seiché,
Au plus vil lieu qui peulst estre cherché.

to pray for him comes from the same source.¹⁾ In his use of complicated rhymes, and the play on certain words, we are reminded of the poetry of the Rhétoriciens, though by comparison with the Complaintes of the Rhétoriciens, the elegy on the death of Semblançay is a comparatively modest piece of sixty-six lines. The play on words is used too, in such a way that it draws attention to the horror of the situation, and is not simply a point of complicated technique.

Et de ma mort tant laide fut la voye,
 Que mes Enfans, lesquelz (helas) j'avoie
 Hault eslevé en honneur et pouvoir,
 Hault eslevé au Gibet m'ont peu veoir. 2)

The other two elegies are of a very different nature. In both cases Marot imagines a fable to explain the death of the person in question. For the elegy on the death of Anne L'Huillier,³⁾ who died in

1) cf. ll.62-66.

Priez à Dieu (o Peuple venerable),
 Que l'Ame soit traictée, sans esmay,
 Mieulx que le corps; & congnoissez par moy
 Qu'or et Argent, dont tous plaisirs procedent
 Causent douleurs qui tous plaisirs excedent.

2) ll.9-12. cf. also ll.23-26.

Car elle (Justice), ayant le mien criminel vice
 Mieulx espluché que mon passé service,
 Pres de rigueur, loing de misericorde
 Me prononça honte, misere et corde;

see also ll.45-46.

3) The full title of the earliest edition was, Complaincte sur la mort de Anne Lhuillier d'Orléans, laquelle par fortune fut bruslée dormant en son liect. Mellin de Saint-Gelais also wrote a dizain on Anne's death entitled En la mort d'Anne Huillier, qui se brusla avecques sa maison, (Ed. Blanchemain, II, 157).

the fire which destroyed her home; Marot invents a somewhat complicated piece of pseudo-mythology. In spite of discovering Anne's insensibility to her powers, Venus called on Vulcan to avenge her by setting light to Anne's bed. The invention is ingenious, perhaps too much so.¹⁾ Marot adds to the already rather melodramatic effect by remarking in conclusion

Or vit son Ame, & le corps est pery
 Par feu ardent. Mais qui de son Mary
 Eust eu alors les larmes qu'espandues
 Il a depuis, pas ne feussent perdues
 Comme elles sont; car de ses yeux sortir
 En fait assés pour ce feu amortir. 2)

For the elegy on the death of Chauvin (the only one of the three poems which was originally published as an elegy) Marot imagined a rather more graceful myth. So sweet was the music of Chauvin, and so great was its charm for the Naiads of the Seine that the river gods became jealous:

Chauvin, sonnans sur Seine les Aubades,
 Donna tel aise aux gentilles Nayades,
 Que l'ung pour tous des aquatiques Dieux
 Parla ainsi: Le son melodieux
 De ce Chauvin, Freres, nous pourroit nuire,
 Par traict de temps et noz femmes seduire
 Jusqu'à les faire yssir de la clere onde
 Pour habiter la Terre large et ronde.
 Ne fait, au chant de son Psalterion,
 Sortir des eaux les Daulphins Arion? 3)

1) V.L. Saulnier, Les Elégies, p.24. "....avec une préciosité un peu lourde, Marot suppose qu'il faut accuser les fraudes vulpines de Vénus."

2) 11.33-38.

3) Elegie de Jehan Chauvin Menestrier, 11.1-10.

In view of this threat, the jealous river gods overturn Chauvin's ship, and drown him. The Naiads, however, return his body to his friends on shore, and he is given an honourable burial. In this case, the myth that Marot has invented seems far less artificial, and it is possible that Marot had in mind two episodes in Latin poetry. One of these sources is the episode of Misenus in Virgil's Aeneid.¹⁾

Sed tum, forte cava dum personat æquora concha,
Demens, et cantu vocat in certamina divos,
Aemulus exceptum Triton, si credere dignum est,
Inter saxa ^{viridula} spumosa immerserat unda.....

Another passage, which Marot may have had in mind is from one of Propertius' elegies:

O centum aequoreae Nereo genitore puellae,
Et tu materno tracta dolore Thetis;
Vos decuit lasso supponere brachia mento:
Non poterat vestras ille gravare manus:.. 2)

In this case it does seem likely that Marot thought out the broad outline of his pseudo-myth, helped by the knowledge of the episode in Virgil, and possibly that in Propertius too. If we cannot conclude that Marot imitated definite classical models for these two elegies, it is nevertheless true that he moved away from the Rhétoriciens' concept of the Complainte, a long panegyric with allegorical trappings. In the elegy on the death of Semblançay however, the predominant influence is the

1) Virgil, Aeneid, VI, ll. 171-174.

2) Propertius, Elegies, III, 7, ll. 67-70.

mediaeval one, though it is that of Villon rather than that of the Rhétoriciens.

From our study of both the love elegies, and the "élégies déploratives" we can draw several conclusions. The love elegies are long serious love poems, couched in the form of the epistle. Since Saulnier's study of Marot's elegies, the various myths about the possible mistresses who could have inspired them have been exploded. The love elegies are not intended to be personal poetry, based on the poet's own experience, and expressing his own emotions and aspirations. They represent rather, an impersonal form of lyricism, where the poet speaks not for himself, but more often than not for another. The form and content of the elegies merely continues the tradition of the Épître Amoureuse, which enjoyed such enormous popularity from the beginning of the century up to, and beyond the time when Marot created his elegies. His elegies are best viewed in the light of his interest in the Heroides, and his attempt to "naturalise" this form in his own Épître de Maguelonne. The natural sequel to this attempt, was Marot's own Épîtres Amoureuses,¹⁾ which he chose to call elegies, and which in his case differentiate them from his Épîtres, which are all to friends or patrons and are never love epistles. The temptation for the critic has been to assume that since Marot called his love epistles elegies, he must necessarily have also

1) cf. P. Villey, Marot et Rabelais, p.47. "Car les élégies ne sont qu'un rameau détaché du genre de l'épître. Au début au moins, Marot ne classe sous ce titre que des épîtres amoureuses."

followed the Latin elegiac poets closely, and made large amounts of textual imitations and borrowings from them. As we have seen, Marot's imitation of Tibullus and Propertius is a very haphazard affair, which suggests rather a casual remembering of a theme, or a few lines here and there. In the case of Ovid, although Marot may owe the idea of the love epistle, and its broad outline, and some of its themes to Ovid, his imitations of the Latin poet line by line are scarcely more numerous or more methodical than his imitations of Tibullus and Propertius.¹⁾ In creating his own elegies, it is false to picture Marot deliberately imitating the Latin elegiacs passage by passage. The most we can conclude is that Marot had some knowledge of Tibullus and Propertius, and that he probably knew the Heroides of Ovid very well indeed, and was fairly well acquainted with the Amores. In his creation of the "élégie déplorative" Marot may well have been following the example of Ovid, which suggested that the Elegy could be a lament on death. Paradoxically, in both the love elegies, and the elegies on death, despite their name, we remain closer to the mediaeval tradition, than to that of antiquity, and the love

1) V.L. Saulnier, Les Elégies, p.94.

"Et l'on peut se représenter la nature de cette influence. Marot n'a certainement pas pâli sur les textes, comme fera parfois un Ronsard. Mais il ne s'épargna pas une lecture rapide des Elégiaques, et profita sans doute encore de l'échange des salons, de citations cueillies au vol, au hasard des conversations lettrées. Il en a retenu d'une part une assez souple idée du genre, avec quelques motifs amoureux plus ou moins bien aperçus ailleurs; d'autre part, quelques détails particuliers qui vinrent très naturellement s'insérer dans son texte."

elegies have been quite rightly cited as one of the more mediaeval parts of Marot's work. Finally, it is the fact that Marot presented as elegies first a group of poems which were impossible to distinguish from love epistles, and then at a later date added to the group three poems which were laments on death, which gave the elegy its very varied and ambiguous form throughout the first half of the century. Since the elegy did not seem to have an absolutely set pattern for Marot, its creator, the attempts by other poets to write "elegies" were consequently of a very diverse and varied nature.

Interpretations of the Elegy by Bouchet and Sagon

Several years elapsed between the publication of Marot's love elegies and the appearance of the next volume of poems with the title Elégies. Curiously enough the first collection of poems to have this title were in fact poems on death. In 1535, Jean Bouchet published a volume entitled Epistres, Elegies, Epigrammes et Epitaphes.¹⁾ It contained a variety of pieces, which lamented the death of Renée de Bourbon, Abbess of Fontevault. Bouchet's next contribution to the elegy appeared the following year in his Angoysses et Remedes d'Amour.²⁾ The first four pieces in this volume, which is devoted to exposing all the disadvantages of love, were entitled "Elegies". Then, in 1537, François Sagon entitled one of his pieces of invective against Marot an "Elegie". Thus even before Marot had added his funerary pieces to

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- 1) J. Bouchet et Conrad de Lonmeau, Epistres, Elegies Epigrammes et Epitaphes. Composez sur et pour raison du deces de feu tresillustre et tresreligieuse Dame, Madame Renee de Bourbon, en son vivant Abbess du Royal Monastere et ordre de Fontevault; avec autres choses concernans la Sainctete de ladicte Religion. Par le Procureur general dudict ordre, et par le Traverseur. J. & E. de Marnef, Poitiers, 1535. B. Nat. Rés. Ln.²⁷ 2708.
 - 2) Les Angoysses & Remedes d'Amour, Du Traverseur en son adolescence. J. & E. de Marnef, Poitiers, 1536. Brit. Mus. C. 97. b. 14.
 - 3) Elegie par François de Sagon, se complaignant à luy mesmes d'aucuns qui ne prennent bien l'intention de son Coup d'Essay, dont il frappa Marot. Arsenal 8^o B.L. 8737, B. Nat. Fonds Rothschild, 2594. On the date of this pamphlet, see C.A. Mayer, La Religion de Marot, Geneva, 1960, p.73, note 7.
This poem is reproduced in facsimile in La Querelle de Marot et de Sagon, textes publiés par E. Picot & P. Lacombe, Introduction de G. Dubosc. Société Rouennaise des Bibliophiles, 1920.

the selection of elegies which appeared in 1538, two poets had already taken up the title, Elegie, and given it to varying types of poetry.

We can see from this, that if Marot, in publishing his collection of elegies had suggested the possibility of applying the title to a poem in French, he had by no means set a definite pattern to be followed. Again, in our study of the Elégies of Marot, we found that despite the name, which was taken from the authors of antiquity, Marot's elegies were one of the more mediaeval parts of his works. The situation is even more paradoxical in the case of Jean Bouchet, who used the title Elégie, on the one hand for a poem on death, which followed exactly the pattern of the Rhétoriqueurs' Complaintes, and on the other hand, for four poems, which may owe some of their general idea to Ovid, but which in fact owe a great deal more to the Roman de la Rose, and to Alain Chartier's Belle Dame sans mercy. In the case of Sagon, he appears to use the title Elégie, on the strength of the fact that he is writing a type of epistle, in which he is "se complaignant".

We will study in detail first the two collections of Elegies of Bouchet, and then the piece by Sagon. We will follow chronological order, and look first at the lament on the death of Renée de Bourbon. Renée,¹⁾ who had led a vigorous and active life as abbess, and who had directed a reform of the order died at the end of 1534. The two authors who lament her in the volume were Conrad de Lommeau, the "procureur" of

1) On Fontevrault and Renée see: Honorat de Micquet, Histoire de l'ordre de Fontevrault, Paris, 1642 and Bosseboeuf, Fontevrault, son histoire et ses monuments, Tours, 1890. See also Caroline Rutz-Rees, Charles de Sainte-Marthe, Paris, 1914. pp.2-5.

the order, and Bouchet,¹⁾ a man with an impeccable record of orthodoxy in religion, and a considerable reputation as a poet. The collaborators are each responsible for about half the pieces in the volume. Conrad de Lommeau wrote the prose letter to the other convents of the order,²⁾ an epistle to Bouchet,³⁾ and a piece in verse entitled Deploration de virginité, religion, et clousture.⁴⁾ He is the author too, of a poem called Le Resconfort de Dame Reformation,⁵⁾ which refers to Renée's efforts in reforming the order. He is responsible too for a piece in which he interprets a dream Renée is said to have had.⁶⁾ His collaborator Bouchet, is the author of the longest poem in the volume, an elaborate panegyric, praising the life and works of Renée. It is several hundred lines long, and at some times is divided into strophic form, and sometimes

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- 1) On Bouchet see: A. Hamon, Un Grand Rhétoriqueur Poitevin, Jean Bouchet, 1476-1557? Paris, 1901.
See also Abel Lefranc, Jean Bouchet, in *Revue des Cours et Conférences*, 19ème année, 2ème série, No.24, 27 avril 1911, pp.289-296.
 - 2) Bouchet & Lommeau, Op. cit., Fol. A. La lettre envoyée par le couvent de Fontevrault aux autres couvents de l'ordre pour leur annoncer le decès de feue tresillustre Dame.
 - 3) Op. cit. Fol. B. A Maistre Jehan Bouchet de Poitiers.
 - 4) Op. Cit. Fol. B iii. Deploration de virginité, religion et clousture, gouvernant le royal monastere de Fontevrault, sur le decès de tres-illustre Princesse.
 - 5) Op. cit. Fol. C. Le Resconfort de Dame Reformation, responsif à la plainte des troys Dames, adressant à la defuncte.
 - 6) Op. cit. Fol. F i v^o. L'interpretation par ledict Lommeau, faicte le Quinzieme Novembre Mil cinq cens trente deux, du songe que ladicte Dame avoit faict de Troys Perles. These three pearls turn out to be, Virginité, Religion, Clousture.

is simply long passages of decasyllables with rimes plates. In the volume it is rarely specified, apart from in the section of the letters which open the volume, which poems the authors consider Epigrams, Epitaphs or Elegies. The reader is left to conclude that the shorter pieces in strophic form which are scattered throughout the volume are the Epigrams, and the Epitaphs, and that the long lament by Bouchet,¹⁾ is in fact intended to be an elegy. This is however not explicit anywhere in the volume. However, by a process of elimination, this does seem to be the piece which Bouchet refers to in the title. Let us now look more closely at the nature of Bouchet's Elégie.

In fact, nothing could be further from the elegies on death to be found in the works of the Latin elegiacs. The poem is exactly like the laments on death to be found in the works of the Rhétoriciens. The poem is couched in the form of a letter to Conrad de Lommeau. After several compliments to Conrad de Lommeau, Bouchet first describes the circumstances of Renée's death, and then launches into a long allegorical dream. Bouchet fell asleep, (in the best tradition of the Rhétoriciens), and saw in a dream how Renée was received up in heaven, how she was

1) Bouchet's Elegie, Op. cit. Fol. C ii, simply has as its heading, the usual form for a letter:
 Au tresdiscret & tresfacond Orateur & de chascun droit tresprudent
 interpreteur, monsieur maistre Conrad de Lommeau, Licencié es
 Droictz, seigneur de Pompierre, et procureur general de l'ordre de
 Fontevrault, Jehan Bouchet de Poictiers, autrement nommé le Traverseur,
 tres humble salut.

praised in turn by the heroines of antiquity, then those of the Middle Ages, and finally by a selection of saints. Renée is duly installed in a place of honour, and then Bouchet wakes up, and attempts to translate his dream to paper, with many excuses about his unworthiness for this onerous task. In this particular case, the letter form has little to do with the actual form of the piece, and it is a letter in name only. In order to give some idea of how rooted in the mediaeval tradition of the lament and panegyric on the death of an illustrious person it is, we will examine some of the passages in greater detail. Here first is the passage where Bouchet relates the circumstances of Renée's death.

N'a pas deux moys & comme on me remembre
 L'huytiesme jour de l'hyvernal Novembre
 Chargée dans non d'aultre infirmité
 Que de vieillesse & grand debilité
 En l'an present mil cinq cens trente quatre
 Sans rien du terme à la Dame rabattre
 Car mourir est une debte qu'on doibt
 A Dieu puissant que par naturel droit. 1)

Bouchet in fact found himself so overwhelmed at the task of praising Renée's virtues that he is unable to put pen to paper.

Ma main reculle & ma plume refuse
 Se y employer, & plus Clio ma muse
 En me disant que actaindre ne pourrois
 A si hault stille ains confus demeuerois. 2)

In this confused state, Bouchet lies down on his bed and falls asleep.

1) Bouchet & Lonmeau, Op. cit. Fol. C ii.

2) Op. cit. Fol. C iii.

Et moy gisant sur ma couche à l'envers
 Tout aggravé, mes yeulx de pleurs couvers
 Me fut advis veoir grant nombre d'estelles
 Resplendissans en l'air à mon gré belles,
 Dont ne sont point astrologues recors
 Car en chacune y avoit demy corps
 Devers le hault, de femme en honneur mise
 Monstrant le nu soubs tresfine chemise;
 Et sur leurs chefs avoient chappeaux de fleurs
 Bien ordonnez de diverses couleurs. 1)

These curious stars are divided into "ordres", and the first is made up of holy women who are famous in history, for their virtue and good works. Among this order appears Renée.

Et regardant ceste progression
 Il me sembla veoir une egression
 D'une autre estelle à moictié demye femme
 Plus reluysant que orientalle gemme
 Et que c'estoit Renée de Bourbon,
 Et toutesfoys (ce que trovay bon)
 N'avoit l'habit d'abbesse ou moniale
 Mais sur le nu la chemise bissale 2)
 Et sur le chef plain de virginité
 Chapeau de Liz fait par virginité. 3)

Renée is saluted in turn by the other "star-women", firstly by "Hortense, Romaine tresselegante", who praises her for her royal blood, and her

1) Op. cit. Fol. C v.

2) La chemise bissale. I have been unable to trace an adjective "bissale", but according to Godefroy, Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française, Paris, 1881-1902, 10 vols, la bisse was a type of very fine linen. Bouchet seems simply to have created his own adjective from the noun.

3) Op. cit. Fol. C v^o.

illustrious lineage, which can be traced back to the Trojans.¹⁾ She is chaster than Lucretia, and wiser than Minerva. Next comes forward Blitilde, daughter of Clothaire, king of France, who praises her numerous virtues in even more extravagant terms. Finally Sainte Radegonde,²⁾ who founded the "moustier clotaire" in Poitiers arrives to lead Renée's star to its place, between that of Sainte Radegonde, and Sainte Catherine. Lastly, in his vision Bouchet sees nine virtues³⁾

1) On Renée's royal lineage, see Runtz-Rees, Op. cit., p.4., note 2.

"Vingt-troisième abbesse de Fontevrault (1491-1534), fille de Jean II de Bourbon, comte de Vendôme et descendante directe de Louis IX."

In tracing the French back to the Trojans, Bouchet is merely repeating the widely disseminated legend, which Jean Lemaire de Belges embroiders on in his Illustrations de Gaule et Singularitez de Troye. cf. Jean Lemaire de Belges, Oeuvres, publiées par J. Stecher, Louvain, 1882-1891. 5 vols. Vol. 1. Illustrations de Gaule et Singularitez, Livre III, Premier Traicté.

de Troye.

- 2) Here again it seems that Jean Lemaire provided some of the information for Bouchet's references to Blitilde, and also to Sainte Radegonde. In the "second traicté" of the third book of the Illustrations de Gaule et Singularitez de Troye, Jean Lemaire gives an account of the family of Clotaire. Blitilde was his youngest daughter, from whom were descended "la tresnoble generation des Pepins et des Charles". Radegonde was his fourth wife, daughter of the King of Thuringia. When Clotaire conquered Thuringia, and killed her father, Radegonde was taken prisoner, and married Clotaire. But, continues Lemaire "il la laissa vierge à sa requeste: et elle entra en religion et y vescu de telle sorte qu'elle est reputée sainte en paradis." (Stecher, Oeuvres, Vol. 1, pp.419-421). There is a longer version of the legend concerning Radegonde in Robert Gaguin's Compendium supra Francorum gesta, which Bouchet almost certainly knew also. The first edition of this work was published in Paris in 1495. The edition I have consulted is Compendium Roberti Gaguini super francorum gestis, Paris, 1511. Brit. Mus. 1435.b.26. The history of Radegonde is on Fol. xvii v^o.
- 3) Bouchet's list of the nine virtues includes: Espoir, Foy, Charité, Aumosne, Percussion, Oraison, Pauvreté, Chasteté and Obédience.

leaving their tributes on Renée's tomb. The tributes are in the form of epigrams. At this point Bouchet comes to his senses, and, all the while excusing the humbleness of his pen, transfers the vision to paper.

It can be seen from this brief account of Bouchet's "élégie" that his poem is singularly lacking in "elegiac" qualities. Bouchet owes nothing at all to the writers of Antiquity except the name for his poem. The problem here is why Bouchet ever chose to call a highly artificial type of epistle, which is a lament on death, an elegy. We can only conclude that after the creation of Marot's elegies, Bouchet became aware of the possibility of calling various types of poetry in French, "elegies". Since Bouchet had some knowledge of the literature of Antiquity, and particularly of Ovid,¹⁾ it is possible that he knew that Ovid had included laments on death among his elegies, and consequently concluded that he might use the title for his own poem on the death of Renée de Bourbon. However, he hesitated to designate the individual piece specifically by this title, and simply included the term Elegie in the designation of the contents of the whole volume.

In the Angoysses et Remedes d'Amour, which was published the following year, Bouchet is much more precise about designating his poems as elegies. The first four poems, or rather groups of poems have as a

1) On Bouchet's imitation of the writers of Antiquity see: Hamon, Op. cit. pp.241-251.

definite title "Élégie" in each case.¹⁾ In fact although Bouchet presents the four pieces as forming a uniform group, there is a considerable difference between the first two Elegies, and the last two. The first two pieces appeared originally much earlier in the century in the Amoureux transy sans espoir.²⁾ One of the pieces was simply headed

- 1) Bouchet first heads the section of elegies thus: Le remede d'aymer du Traverseur, commancant par les elegies d'auculns amoureux indiscretz & des angoisses & dangiers d'amour illicite. The first piece, which has as its title L'amoureux transi sans espoir, is headed Premiere Elegie, p. i. The second piece L'enfant banny, qui ayne par honneur is designated as Seconde Elegie, p. xxiii. The third piece L'amant secret, qui plus qu'il ne veult ayne, is called Tierce Elegie, p. xxxvii. The final piece is La dame se compleignant de son desloyal amy, which is the Quarte Elegie, p. xlv. The first two pieces are in fact groups of poems. The introductory passages by the "acteur" are written in decasyllables with rimes plates. In the first elegy, the monologue by the lover is in strophic form, comprised of decasyllables, and one line of four syllables. Later in the narrative, a rondeau, and then a ballade is introduced. The second piece is simply in strophic form, with verses of twelve decasyllabic lines, with rimes plates. On Bouchet's attempts to vary his versification see Hamon, Op. cit. pp.218-227.
- 2) L'Amoureux transy sans espoir, A. Vérard, Paris, (no date, probably circa 1503). Brit. Mus. C. 34.g.6 (1).

There were also editions of L'Amoureux transy, by Jehan Jehannot, and the widow of Jehan Trepperel. cf. Brunet, Vol. 1. col. 1154.

In his Preface to the Angoysses et Remedes, Bouchet explains how some of the pieces in the volume have already seen the light of day.

"Au departir de mon imberbe & folle jeunesse, appellé d'aucuns au secours de leurs amoureuses entreprises, les voyant d'amour improbe surmontez et vaincuz & es destroitctz des desperée (sic) rage, l'un d'iceux Transi sans espoir, l'autre esloigné sans cause & accusé de follement aymer, et l'autre pressé d'amour non vouë, feiz à chascun d'eulx à leurs prieres & requestes un lay d'amours, et aussi à une jeune damoiselle seduicte par un desloyal coeur. Et depuis, pour les destourner de si violentes & conciliables affections, commençay faire un remede contre leur amoureux mal.... Certain temps apres (qui fut l'an mil cinq cens ung) avant qu'avoir prins fin en ces
(note continued on following page)

L'Amoureux transy sans espoir¹⁾ and the other as La complainte de l'enfant banny, qui ayme par honneur.²⁾ Both pieces are firmly rooted in the mediaeval tradition of love poetry. They hark back to the Roman de la Rose in their overwhelming use of allegory, and the first piece, in its opening passages resembles the opening of the Belle Dame sans mercy. The other two pieces are of a very different nature. They owe much more to the type of love poetry found in the Epitre Amoureuse, and a certain amount to the direct influence of Ovid's

(Note 2 continued from previous page)

petiz labeurs ne es Regnars traversans & Loups ravissans, aucuns Imprimeurs de Paris... avoient trouvé moien de retirer partie de mes compositions petites, et les avoient incorrectement imprimées..."

This explanation may well be true, in view of the fact that Antoine Vérard printed Bouchet's Regnars, and attributed the work to Sebastian Brant, assuming that under this supposed authorship the volume would sell better. Bouchet however went to ~~the~~ law, and eventually Vérard was made to pay him compensation. (See Hamon, Op. cit. p.23) It seems quite possible that the edition of the Amoureux Transy was published without Bouchet's co-operation. Bouchet's explanation too gives the reason for the title Angoysses..... du Traverseur en son Adolescence.

- 1) L'Amoureux transy, Fol. a ii.
- 2) L'Amoureux transy, Fol. e i.

Heroides.¹⁾ The Tierce Elegie is the monologue of the lover, who knows all the evils of love, and yet cannot stop loving his lady, who is a paragon of all virtues, but lacks that one quality "merci". The Quarte Elegie follows very closely the theme of the Heroides. The woman bemoaning her fate, first justifies her complaints by quoting a comprehensive list of the heroines of Ovid's letters, and then launches into her own sad story. She was led on by her lover, seduced, and then left when she became pregnant. In both cases, the form of the third and fourth elegies is much simpler than that of the first two. They are both uniformly in strophic form, with decasyllabic lines.²⁾ Apart from the fact that they are not specifically presented as letters, they are very

1) In the part of the volume indicated as the Angoysses d'Amour, which is made up of the four elegies, of a monologue Pallas, autrement appellée Raison, que c'est folle amour, and various other pieces describing the ill effects of "folle amour", Bouchet in fact imitates Ovid relatively little, except where indicated in the fourth elegy. In the second section of the volume, Des Remedes contre folle amour, as the title suggests, Bouchet follows Ovid's Remedia Amoris quite closely, using and adapting many of the Latin poet's precepts, for instance Ovid's exhortation to avoid leisure, Remedia Amoris, ll.135-168 which becomes a section Contre oysiveté & paresse. He also paraphrases whole passages of Ovid or adapts them to his own purpose. Bouchet's intentions are however radically different from Ovid's. Bouchet considers as "folle amour" any love which is not married love, or the love of God. His conclusion is in fact, that the best remedy against "folle amour" is to be found in the love of God, and in frequent prayers and supplications.

2) The third elegy has ten lines to the verse, and "rimes plates". The fourth has a slightly more complicated scheme, with thirteen decasyllabic lines to the verse, and the following rhyme scheme: asbaabbccdd. On Bouchet's rhyme schemes see Hamon, Op. cit. pp.219-221.

similar in both their manner, and their matter, to the love epistles of Bouchet that we have already examined.¹⁾

In view of the radically different nature of the two pairs of elegies, we will examine the first two together, and then the third and fourth elegies. The most striking feature about the first two elegies is their use of allegory. Both elegies, in this respect obviously owe a large amount of their inspiration to the Roman de la Rose. In the first elegy the lover bemoans his fate. He has loved his lady for four years, but without success. While he is thus lamenting, Bouchet, who is eavesdropping on the scene sees a chevalier come out of the woods. He is mounted on "le courcier de perseverance", his armour is "support", his lance "douce maniere", and finally "son espée estoit sans effort, De continuelle priere". When the lover enquires his name, he replies:

Je suys (dist ce gentil gallant)
 Bon espoir, sans plus en doubter,
 Si tu me veulx ton cas compter
 Et declarer de point en point
 En amours te feray monter
 Si hault que tu ne t'en plaindras point. 2)

Bon Espoir then enquires why the lover should be thus cast-down. The lover describes in detail, the "chasteau" where his lady resides, which explains his lack of success.

1) See Introduction, pp.33-34.

2) Angoysses et Remedies, p. vi.

Ceste dame cy se tenoit
 En un chasteau de belle sorte
 Honte la barriere en gardoit
 Et Inconvenient la porte.
 Parquoy l'entrée en estoit forte; 1)

Although the lover found these obstacles in his way, he did have some success until the lady's guards drove him away. The malevolent enemies were "Dangier", "Dure Responce", "Mocquerie" and "Reffus". Bon Espoir is not discouraged, and he leads the lover off to attempt to take the castle again. There then ensues a battle for the lady, in which the lover, and Bon Espoir have as their formidable adversaries "Crainte", "Dure Responce", "Dangier" and "Reffuz". The battle is fierce, and the lover and Bon Espoir are vanquished. To add to their sorrows "Cruaulté" appears on the scene and recites a triumphant Rondeau.

Allez ailleurs chercher vostre advanture
 Car vous n'aurez soubz ceste couverture
 Le noble don d'amoureuse mercy,
 Contre vostre eur chascun est endurcy
 On ne quiert fors vostre desconfiture.

A l'entreprinse il fault faire clousture,
 Car du chemin on vous a faict rompture
 Rien ne gaignez de vous amuser cy,
 Allez ailleurs.

Et fussiez vous aussi beau que nature
 En scauroyt faire: aultrement qu'en droicture
 Ne trouverez qui vous ayme, donq si
 Aymez a mal, & en prenez soulcy
 Confort n'aurez dedans ceste structure,
 Allez ailleurs. 2)

1) Angoysses et Remedés, p. vii.

2) Angoysses et Remedés, p. xx.

The lover, suitably subdued by this, in turn expresses himself in a ballad, ending,

Prince, pour avoir bien servy
Amours, ou j'ay faict mon devoir
J'ay le nom d'un pauvre ravy
L'amoureux transi sans espoir. 1)

The use of allegory in the second elegy is slightly more discreet. In this case, the lover blames his misfortunes on "faulce fortune",²⁾ who has caused the ruin of so many famous men. He also curses "Envie", who was the final cause of his separation from his lady. Here is the description of the machinations of "Fortune" and "Envie".

Au fort chasteau d'angoisse & de tristesse
Environné du fleuve de destresse,
Avez tenu conseil secretement.
Ou se trouva Envie la traitresse
Et vostre filz Maleur, qui tout oppresse,
Avec Discorde & Inconvenient,
Puis trahison, flaterie, accident,
Commune fame y fait un parlement. 3)

1) Angoysses et Remedez, p. xxii.

2) The diatribe against "faulce fortune" gives Bouchet the opportunity to give the reader a sample of his skill in stringing together words which have scarcely any meaning. cf. Angoysses, p. xxvi

Couplet dont tous les mots se commencent par f, fors la dernière ligne.

Fortune a faulx, fragile, fantastique,
Folle, fumant, folliant, follatique,
Favorisant follastres follement,
Faulce fureur, femme furibundique,
Faisant fremir felonieux fortificque,
Fortiffiant fainctifz folz faulusement,
Feu flamboyant, fouldroyant fierement
Felicité faillant facilement,
Ferme fierté, fascheuse, falcifique
Favee fleur, fallible faillement,
Facille fin, frauduleux fondement,
De toy se plainct la totale fabrique.

3) Angoysses et Remedez, p. xxviii.

The lover then has in turn to do battle with "Envie", "fame commune" and "Faulx rapport". He is taken prisoner, and kept in the "chasteau fort De desplaisir" where one of his guards is "desconfort". The lover ends his monologue with yet another diatribe against "Envie".

Yet another feature derived straight from mediaeval love poetry, is the theme of the lady who has incredible beauty, unbelievable virtue, and yet is not perfect, because she lacks "merci". In the first Elegie, the lover describes how he has long served his lady, without success:

Troys ans y a que traicté suys ainsi,
 Et que je quiers vers la dame sans si,
 Le noble don d'amoureuse mercy,
 En forte rage.
 Tant belle elle est, tant prudente & tant sage,
 Si tresplaisant de corps et de visaige
 Et tant congnois en elle d'avantaige,
 Et tant de bien....

1)

In the second elegy there is a slight variation on this theme. The lover praises his lady in highly extravagant terms, and then describes how he was separated from her by the machinations of "Envie". She is "belle... bonne, prudente et chaste de corps". She is chaster than Lucretia, more humble than Penelope, and more beautiful than Rachel or Susanna.²⁾

Again, in the first Elegie, the opening passages, if not actually imitating Alain Chartier in detail, bear a striking resemblance to some of the opening passages from the Belle Dame sans mercy. Bouchet gets

1) Angoysses et Remedés, p. ii.

2) Angoysses et Remedés, p. xxxi.

up early in the morning, and goes for a walk. He stops near a "verd
 bocaige" and a stream, and sees sitting near a fountain a young man, a
 "pauvre amant, palle, maigre & transy, Remply d'angoysse & d'amoureux
 soulci".¹⁾ Bouchet observes the lover, and in order to continue doing
 so without being seen himself, he hides himself behind a bush.

Or contemplant son trespiteux affaire,
 Je me mussay derriere un arglantier (Sic)
 Ou par escript mys son propos entier
 Sans qu'il me veist, par ma subtile ruse,
 Comme verrez cy apres en ma muse. 2)

Here it does seem that Bouchet had in mind the verses in the Belle Dame
 sans mercy, where the poet describes how he eavesdropped on the lover
 and his lady, through a "treille" of thick leaves. The chief difference
 is that Chartier overheard a dialogue, whilst Bouchet simply listens to
 the monologue of the unhappy lover.

- 1) cf. Alsin Chartier, La Belle Dame sans mercy et les poésies lyriques,
 edition of A. Piaget, Lille & Geneva, 1949, T.L.F.

Verse XIII of La Belle Dame

Des autres y ot pleine salle
 Mais celui trop bien me sembloit
 Ennuyé mesgre blesve et palle,
 Et la parole lui trembloit.....

- 2) Angoysse et Remedes, Second page, (before the start of the pagination).
 cf. La Belle Dame sans mercy, Verse XX.

De ceste feste me lassay,
 Car joie triste cuer travaille,
 Et hors de la presce passay
 Et m'assis derriere une treille,
 Drue de feuilles a merveille
 Entrelacee de saulx vers,
 Si que nul pour l'espece feuille
 Ne me peust veoir a travers.

Despite the fact that the mediaeval influence is predominant in these elegies, Bouchet does make some effort to use mythology to ornament them.¹⁾ In the second elegy, when he is describing the servants of "faulce fortune" he mentions in his list "discorde", and illustrates the functions of discord with a reference to the judgement of Paris.

Sur moy l'ont fait les nopces Peleus,
 Et de Thetis, qui deceut Protheus
 Discorde illec la pomme d'or gecta
 En la donnant a Palas ou Venus,
 Ou à Juno, au plus beau des corps nudz,
 Ce qui grand noise entre elles suscita,
 Paris fut juge, & les troys visita
 Et pour Venus sentence intergecta,
 Quant tous leurs cas furent par luy congneuz,
 Qui pour loyer à ravir l'incita
 La belle Helene, helas cher luy cousta,
 Car plusieurs maux luy en sont advenuz. 2)

Again, when the lover is praising his lady's beauty,³⁾ he compares her with the most beautiful women of classical antiquity, but adds, in the usual tradition of the Middle Ages, a few names of the women of Biblical times. In fact, Bouchet attempts to impress the reader with his knowledge of the literature of Antiquity by various references to heroes and heroines of mythology, or to the authors of Antiquity. In the second elegy, he insists that he is not the first to write about the evil

1) cf. Hamon, Op. cit., pp.242-243.

2) Angoysses et Remedes, p. xxvii.

3) Angoysses et Remedes, Seconde Elegie, p. xxxi.

influence of "faulce fortune", other famous writers have done so before him.

Il n'est Vergille, ne Homere,
 Marcus Tullius, ne Valere,
 Qui ne parle de tes abus.
 Boece maints dictz en profere
 Et Bocace assez en reffere,
 En parlant des nobles perduz... 1)

If in fact Bouchet is for the most part quoting this list of authors rather to impress his readers, rather than because he has any intimate knowledge of them, there is at least one on the list that he appears to have known more thoroughly. The opening of the first elegy, has a very familiar ring about it, and it is not simply because it is the type of metaphor frequently employed in epic poetry. Bouchet has simply taken over wholesale one of the metaphors for the dawn that Virgil uses in the Aeneid.

Lors qu'Aurora laisse la rouge couche
 Du Roy Titan, & que la terre touche
 De son regard doux et luciferant,
 Et qu'aux humains lueur va preparant.... 2)

Et iam prima novo spargebat lumine terras
 Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile. 3)

In the first two elegies, Bouchet's imitation of the authors of antiquity

- 1) Angoysses et Remedes, p.xxv.
- 2) Angoysses et Remedes, opening page (before pagination).
- 3) Virgil, Aeneid, IV, ll.584-585. cf. also XI, ll.182-183.

Aurora interea miseris mortalibus almam
 Extulerat lucem, referens opera atque labores.

is rarely more profound, or extensive than these examples quoted. Bouchet incorporates some of the more well known myths into his elegies, quotes the names of heroes and heroines of antiquity, in combination with figures from the Bible, to illustrate some of his arguments, and culls a metaphor here and there from Virgil.¹⁾ In fact, both in his choice of authors to quote, and occasionally imitate, Bouchet continues the tradition of the Middle Ages, and of his immediate predecessors, the Grands Rhétoriciens.

Let us now look at the remaining two elegies, la tierce Elegie and la quarte Elegie. Bouchet introduced his first two elegies with the device of the "acteur", who hears the plaintive monologue of the lovers. The third and fourth elegies are introduced in the same way. Bouchet, still concealed behind his bush, sees first the "amant secret" emerge from the wood, and tell his piteous tale²⁾ and then finally Bouchet sees the arrival of the only woman in this quartet of unhappy lovers:

1) cf. Hamon, Op. cit. p.242. "En dépit de ces principes excellents, il n'imité que très maladroitement les auteurs latins, parce qu'il ne les comprend pas. Il s'attache aux choses purement extérieures, aux mots, aux périodes, à quelques métaphores..... Il ne manque pas une occasion d'étaler en vers ou en prose sa science mythologique ou historique: il fait à tout propos passer sous les yeux de ses lecteurs des troupes de héros et d'héroïnes, dont les noms se bousculent et s'entassent aux hasards de ses souvenirs, et de la rime."

2) Angoisses et Remedes, p. xxxv

Il estoit homme de grand eage,
Et se nommoit l'Amant secret,
Ayant plus qu'il ne veult l'oultrage:
D'amours il dist par tel regret.

La lamentation parfaicte
 De cest amoureux tant contrainct,
 S'en alla par douce deffaicte
 En un lieu de verdure painct.
 Puy je vy le visaige tainct
 De pleurs, d'une dame excellente
 Qui fait un autre amoureux plainct
 Doucement en voix morne & lente. 1)

In contrast to the two first elegies, there is no use of allegory at all in either the third or the fourth. In both cases, the "amant secret", and the woman who has been deceived, content themselves with a simple narrative of the course of their unhappy love, and then bemoan the circumstances which caused them to lose the object of their affections. The "amant secret" who is now old, and feels that he should be wise enough to avoid the traps set by love, cannot avoid burning with "folle amour" for a lady.

Les grans vertus que veiz en une dame,
 Belle de corps & plus (comme croy) d'ame,
 Humble, modeste, et d'un bening maintien,
 M'ont fait penser qu'il convient que je l'ame,
 D'honneste amour en la quelle m'enflamme
 Si vivement, que plus je ne suys myen.
 Je dy que l'ayme en tout honneur & bien,
 Et toutefoys, quant au fait pense bien
 En ceste amour honneste & vertueuse
 Se mesle amour folle & deffectueuse. 2)

When he finally comes to declare his love to this model of perfection, after two years of patiently loving her in secret from afar, she rebuffs him.

1) Angoysses et Remedes, p. xliii.

2) Angoysses et Remedes, p. xxxviii.

Et si me dist, vous qui avez de l'aage
 Four bien scavoir la perte & le dommage
 Qu'on peult avoir pour follement aymer,
 Vouldriez vous estre si tresvillage
 D'offenser Dieu, pour un tel vassillage,
 Et envers tous nous faire diffamer?
 Combien seroit & vous & moy amer
 Nous vecir de Dieu & de chascun blamer
 Pour un plaisir dont ne vient que tristesse?
 Je vous supply faire à l'emprise cesse. 1)

The rest of the elegy is taken up by the lover's laments. He constantly wishes to be near her, and must remain far away. The pangs of unrequited love cause him pain in both body and soul.

Or appert donq de la perplexité
 Qui de moy vient, & de ma cecité,
 Et de ma chair habondant en ordure.
 Mon pauvre esprit est en diversité
 Avec la chair, o quelle adversité
 Quelle douleur mon meschant corps endure!
 Trop longuement ceste guerre en moy dure;
 Qui m'ostera de ceste peine dure?
 De cest ennuy, peine, labeur soulcy?
 Longtemps ne puis (sans mourir) vivre ainsi. 2)

The lady who complains of her desertion by her "desloyal amy", begins with a description of how the young man led her on with promises of marriage.

Las, il me vint courtoisement tenter,
 Par doux regards & honneste acointer
 Me promectant que seroys son espouse.
 Par chascun jour me venoit tourmenter
 De longs propos... 3)

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- 1) Angoysses et Remedés, p. xl.
 2) Angoysses et Remedés, p. xliii.
 3) Angoysses et Remedés, p. xlv.

So persistent was he, and so convincing were his arguments, that she gave way to him, and having first granted him her kisses, finally grants him all her favours. When she discovers that she is expecting a child, her faithless lover, despite all his repeated promises of marriage, first blames her for her conduct, and then leaves her.

Quand il a veu de ce malheur le centre
Et que portois dedans mon petit ventre
De mon delict le mut accusateur,
Desloyaulté dedans son esprit entre
Et puis en sort, & de rechief y rentre,
Et de mon nom est le seul diffamateur.

.....

Mais (le menteur,) quant il a mé grosse veue
De son seul faict, & de ce faix pou^{ve}ue
Tant douloureux, s'est de moy departy!
En me layssant d'amys trop despourveue. 1)

As a just conclusion to the story, the deserted woman then curses "folle amour", and its effects on the human race.²⁾

As we can see from the brief summary of the theses of the two elegies in question, Bouchet owes something to the mediaeval tradition

1) Angoysses et Remedes, pp. xlviij and xlix.

2) Angoysses et Remedes, p. 1.

Mauldicte soit folle amour, qui decoit
Jeunes & vieulx & tant de maulx conceoit
Pour deturper la gloire feminine.

.....

Soubz faulx semblant elle met en ruyne
Saiges & folz, pauvres & indigens,
Princes & roys, monarches & regens,
Preux chevalliers, & gens plus droictz que sierges,
Moynes cloistriiers & docteurs refulgens
Theologiens en vertuz emergens,
Femmes d'honneur, mariées & vierges.

of love poetry. The "amant secret" is the eternally faithful lover scorned by a beautiful, but unyielding lady. In the fourth elegy too, the lady describes how in his efforts to win her favours her lover had presented himself as the martyr of love.¹⁾ Nevertheless, the influence of Saint-Gelais' translation of Ovid's Heroides is very strongly suggested by the opening passage of the Quarte Elegie.

Si Briseys s'est plaincte d'Achilles,
 Penelope du subtil Ulysses
 Et de Jason la tresnoble Medée;
 Si Dianyre a parlé d'Hercules,
 Se compleignant de luy, & qu'Orestes
 Ayt Hermoine en amour deffraudée,
 Et si Dido, se complaignoit d'Enée,
 Diray je rien de l'amant desloyal,
 Qui m'a laissée en pleurs à l'ospital
 De deshonneur, de blasme, & de reproche?
 J'ay bon moyen de cest homme brutal
 Faire complaincte, & en parler en mal,
 Car par luy suys de tout grant malheur proche. 2)

In justifying her complaints, Bouchet's heroine cites not just an isolated case of a heroine of antiquity who complained of her ill treatment by her husband or lover, but six. What is more, each of the heroines quoted is the supposed writer of one of the Heroides.³⁾

1) Angoysses et Remedes, p. xlvi.

Un soir bien tard, ou il me dist comment
 Souffroit d'amour, le bien voulu martyre.

2) Angoysses et Remedes, p. xlv.

3) Heroides, III, Briseis to Achilles.
Heroides, I, Penelope to Ulysses.
Heroides, XII, Medea to Jason.
Heroides, IX, Deianira to Hercules.
Heroides, VIII, Hermoine to Orestes.
Heroides, VII, Dido to Aeneas.

Further, in contrast to the list of the famous women of antiquity which Bouchet quotes in the second elegy,¹⁾ the list in the Quarte Elegie is not combined with the names of women who were famous in Biblical times. The list in question here, is purely and simply a selection from Ovid's heroines, the fictitious writers of the Epistres d'Ovide. Again, the whole theme of this Elegie follows very closely the general outline of the Heroides. It is, like them, the monologue of the unhappy woman who has been betrayed by her faithless lover. Thus, for both the general outline, and for some of its details, Bouchet's Quarte Elegie goes directly back to Ovid's Heroides, or more probably to Octovien de Saint-Gelais' translation of them.

From the brief study we have made of the four pieces which Bouchet entitled Elegies, it is clear that Bouchet had no very clear-cut idea of what constituted an "elegy". The four pieces do have however several things in common. All four have as their theme unhappy love. They all narrate the miseries of love, either not returned, or in some way lost. Although two of the pieces are very firmly rooted in the mediaeval tradition of love poetry, in both the actual details of theme, and in their method of presentation, the third and fourth Elegies, which were probably written at a later date, break away from some of these traditions. The third elegy, and more particularly the fourth reflect the growing influence of Ovid, and more especially of his Heroides.

1) cf. Supra, p. 90.

It seems in fact, that both in the instance of the four love elegies, and the Elégie on the death of Renée de Bourbon, Bouchet was taking his cue from the fact that Marot had shown the possibilities of using the name "elegy" for a poem in French. The curious detail here is that Bouchet who generally favoured the already outmoded genres, and style of the Rhétoriciens, should have been the first to follow the example of Marot, and that in a sense he anticipated Marot when he applied the title "Elégie" to a lament on death. This may well be due to the fact that Bouchet, however little he understood the spirit of the writers of Antiquity, had enough knowledge of them, and probably of Ovid in particular, to consider using the term elegy for a lament on death in the same way that Ovid had done.

If in the case of Bouchet's elegies, despite their distance from the elegies of the Latins, it is easy to see why they have certain "elegiac" qualities, Sagon's Elegie presents more problems. For this poem is neither a lament on death, nor on the pangs of unhappy love. Sagon appears to adopt the title Elégie because he is voicing a series of complaints against Marot. In the poem, which appeared in 1537,¹⁾ and was

1) See C.A. Mayer, La Religion de Marot, Geneva, 1960, p.73, note 7. "Les Ecrits de Sagon contre Marot, no. 5. Elegie par François de Sagon..... s.l.n.d. (1537, puisque le pamphlet est encore une réponse à l'épître de Fripelippes)." The best account of the dispute is the article by P. Bonnefon, Le différend de Marot et de Sagon, in the Revue d'histoire littéraire, 1894, pp.103-138, & 259-285. See also H. Guy, Histoire de la poésie française au XVIème siècle, Vol. II, Clément Marot et son école, (363-418., P. Villey, Les Grands Ecrivains du XVIème siècle, Marot et Rabelais, pp.104-108, and C.E. Kinch, La poésie satirique de Clément Marot, Paris, 1940, pp.205-221.

yet another reply to the Epître de Fripelippes, Sagon indicates his intentions first by the title, Elegie par François de Sagon, se complaignant à luy mesmes d'aucuns qui ne prennent bien l'intention de son Coup d'essay, dont il frappa Marot, and then by various references in the text, to the nature of the poem he is composing. In the opening lines, Sagon attempts to describe the nature of the inspiration which spurs him on to write.

Est ce point songe ou raport fantastique,
 Ou si au vray la fureur poetique
 Assault ma muse & contrainct mon esprit,
 Faire complainte en ce present escript?
 Est ce despit qui tant me poingt & trouble
 Que dueil au cueur & tristesse en redouble? 1)

So full of rage and of bitterness is Sagon that:

L'oeil soubz le cueur a sa veue eslargie
 Et n'a plaisir qu'à lire en Elegie. 2)

Yet again, Sagon describes his state of mind, and the effect that it has on his poetry:

Je ne dy pas que cela ne fust mieulx,
 Mais j'ay au cueur tant de colere & d'ire
 Qu'ayant perdu toute grace à bien dire,
 Je suis contrainct mon doux stille estranger,
 Et mes dixains en tristes vers changer. 3)

- 1) Elegie de Sagon, 11.1-6
- 2) Elegie de Sagon, 11.21-22.
- 3) Elegie de Sagon, 11.40-44.

It seems from this, that Sagon gives his poem the title Elégie, because of the weight of sadness which causes him to write it, and to change his more usual style into "tristes vers". Throughout the poem, Sagon refers to his poem either as an "élégie"¹⁾ or as a complainte.²⁾ It seems from this, that for Sagon, the elegy was the term for a poem expressing sadness in some way or other, and not necessarily sadness resulting from love, or grief at the death of some person.

After announcing his anger and sorrow, and his intention of purging himself from them in the composition of his "élégie",³⁾ Sagon then further explains his intentions. By discrediting Marot, Sagon hopes to gain glory. He then launches into an exposition of the various sins that Marot has committed. His argument is, to say the least, somewhat confused. There is a proverb, says Sagon, which calls Paris the city without an equal. Marot's crime has been to speak ill of the institutions of this honorable town.

1) Elegie de Sagon, The poem is referred to as an elegy in the title, and in line 22.

2) Elegie de Sagon, ll.4, 14, 298.

3) Elegie de Sagon, ll.27-31.

Bref, ce n'est donc songe, mais verité
 Que j'ay du dueil plus que n'ay merité.
 Le doy je dire, à ton advis ma muse?
 Est ce la mieulx qu'à cela je m'amuse?
 Si je le dy, le cueur aura repos.

Or escoutes le point ou je me fonde,
 Et qui sera marotin me responde,
 S'il ne recoit, loing de contention,
 Du Coup d'essay la juste intention.
 Ne dict on pas en ung proverbe antique,
 Paris sans per, Paris ville autentique?
 Dont vient cela? seroit il d'equité
 Qu'elle eust honneur pour seule antiquité
 Sans aultre chose emporter d'excellence,
 Qui luy donnast ceste preeminence?
 Certes nenny. mais ce n'est sans raison,
 Qu'elle a le bruict de tout temps & saison,
 Non seulement d'estre au françoys lumiere,
 Mais d'estre ville au monde la premiere.
 Et qui le faict? c'est principalement,
 Qu'elle a ung saint & divin parlement:
 Et puis apres, Pource qu'elle est regie
 Par le conseil de sainte theologie,
 Qui aux erreurs veult la voye estoupper
 Vela pourquoy on dict Paris sans per:
 Non pour avoir de pays amplitude
 Mais de nourrir la Justice & L'estude. 1)

Having been carried away by his own eloquence, Sagon then attempts to
 return to the point he is trying to make.

Cela predict retournons à Clement.
 En a il pas mesdict bien greivement
 Ayant escript de plume infecte & vile,
 De la Justice & Senat de la ville?
 Est ce pas trop de Sorbonne mesdit,

1) Elegie de Sagon, 11.81-102.

Quant pour son tiltre ignorance l'a dict,
Et à grant tort des langues ennemye? 1)

In order to defend the honour of Paris, sullied by the vile Marot, Sagon had leaped to the defence of the town.

En voiant donc que Paris se deulloit
De ce blaspheme, & qu'homme ne voullait
Tenir la main au secours et defense,
Pour adoucir la main de telle offense,

1) Elegie de Sagon, ll.103-109

Here Sagon is reiterating his defence of the Parlement, and of the Sorbonne already expounded in the Coup d'Essay. Marot's criticism of the Parlement and the Sorbonne had been voiced in his Epistre au Roy, du temps de son exil à Ferrare, Les Epitres de Marot, ed. C.A. Mayer, University of London, the Athlone Press, 1958, no. XXXVI, p.194.

cf. ll. 5-16.

Je ne me sens du nombre des coupables;
Mais je sçay tant de Juges corumpables
Dedans Paris, que, par pecune prise,
Ou par amys, ou par leur entreprise,
Ou en faveur & charité piteuse
De quelcque belle humble solliciteuse,
Ilz saulveront la vie orde & immonde
Du plus meschant & criminel du monde;
Et au rebours, par faulte de pecune,
Ou de support, ou par quelcque rancune,
Aux innocents ilz sont tant inhumains
Que content suys ne tomber en leurs mains.

On the Sorbonne see ll. 39-47.

Aultant comme eulx, sans cause qui soit bonne,
Me veult de mal l'ignorante Sorbonne:
Bien ignorante elle est d'estre ennemye
De la trilingue et noble Académie
Qu'as erigée. Il est tout manifeste
Que là dedans, contre ton vueil celeste,
Est defendu qu'on ne voise allegant
Hebrieu ny Grec, ne Latin elegant,
Disant que c'est langaige d'heretiques.

Je me suis mys au danger & hasart,
 D'estre picqué de ce poignant lizart,
 Et recepvoir en la fin sans droicture
 De luy soubz fainte & d'aultres la pointure. 1)

The worst of it all, is that Sagon's noble efforts have been misunderstood, and that Marot, who should have been condemned for his sins, has been defended on all sides. Sagon asserts that his intentions throughout the matter have been entirely honorable, and that the only aim of the Coup d'Essay was "pour supporter l'honneur de ce pays".²⁾ Sagon feels himself to be the unrecognised champion of justice. Was it not right to attack such a vile detractor of the church?

Est ce mal faict de contredire ung homme
 Qui tant mesdit de l'eglise de Romme?
 Est ce mal faict de prescher & crier
 Apres celluy qu'on veoit sans fin pecher? 3)

Changing his tune somewhat, Sagon then declares that he was in fact doing Marot a good turn in warning him of his faults, and of the steps that justice would want to take against him.

Congnoissant donc que Marot n'a eu honte
 D'ainsy mesdire, et qu'il ne tenoit compte
 De sortir hors du peril & danger,
 (Ou encor est pour faintement changer)
 Estoit il pas besoing que l'advertisse
 Qu'il evitast fureur de la justice?
 Et s'il vouldoit en France retourner,
 Qu'il convenoit son courage tourner? 4)

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- 1) Elegie de Sagon, 11.131-138.
 2) Elegie de Sagon, 1.151.
 3) Elegie de Sagon, 11.201-204.
 4) Elegie de Sagon, 11.213-220.

Nevertheless, continues Sagon in a less benevolent tone, the evil that he had already attacked in the Coup d'Essay still exists, and France should beware.

Ce n'est pas tout, laissons là le malheur
 Vecy dont sourt la tristesse & douleur,
 Et ce qui tient Sagon en desplaisance.
 Marot banny, ou fuitif de la France
 La republique estimoit estre temps
 Saine d'erreur, de noises & contens
 Pour en avoir une cause chassée;
 Mais du peril la crainte n'est pas passée.
 Car le venin s'est aux veines caché,
 Pour rendre ung jour le corps public fasché. 1)

The poison in the system of the "republique" gives rise to some of Sagon's more imaginative lines:

Mainte pertie estant inferieure
 Cause à ce corps douleur interieure:
 Tant qu'on pourroit en ce lieu par raison
 Faire venir une comparaison
 D'homme ayant fievre, ou chaleur sur nature,
 Qui pense avoir allegeance future,
 Ou estancher son feu & son ardeur
 Par boyre l'eau en sa grosse froideur:
 Et neantmoins apres petite espace
 Tout le plaisir du froid breuvage passe:
 Et augmentant, le mal, sa mauvaistié
 Rend plus malade ung homme la moictié. 2)

In the same way, France, in exiling Marot found temporary relief from heresy, but this relief is all the more dangerous because it is not permanent. After this display of what Sagon supposes to be poetic

1) Elegie de Sagon, 11.243-252.

2) Elegie de Sagon, 11.253-264

les injures demeurent identiques, et elles ne nous semblent pas rajeunies lorsque nous les retrouvons, comme il arrive dans la Défense, condensées en dizains, arrangées en "confutation", ou se déguisant en élégie." 1)

This it seems is precisely the point. Sagon, in search of some way of varying the form of his poem, when in fact the content would largely be the same as those he had penned before it, hit on the idea of presenting it as a melancholy piece, and, as we see from the references in the text does not distinguish very sharply between "Elégie" and "Complainte". For Sagon, seems to have fixed on the idea that an "Elégie" was necessarily a sad poem, and this is why he chooses that title. It is possible that the fact that Marot had used the term for his own poems spurred Sagon on to use it for one of his own compositions, for had he not also found the title for his Coup d'Essay in the Preface of Marot's Adolescence clementine?²⁾ It seems quite plausible in view of Sagon's incapacity for originality that he took the name "elegy" from Marot's collection of love elegies, without much knowledge of what the title had implied for Marot's poetry, or for the poetry of the Ancients. In this way, he chose this title for a poem which is little more than ill-constructed invective, apparently believing that this was a suitable title for a piece in which he was "se complaignant". For Sagon, the feelings of

1) H. Guy, Histoire de la poésie française au XVIème siècle, Vol. II, Clément Marot et son école. § 396.

2) In the preface to the Adolescence clementine, Marot addresses his readers thus:
 "Ne vous chaille (mes Freres) si la courtoisie des lecteurs ne nous excuse, le tiltre du livre nous excusera. Ce sont Oeuvres de jeunesse, ce sont coups d'essay."

anger and righteous indignation which he attempts to convey, have changed his usual style into "tristes vers", and this for him is the essence of the elegy.

From our study of both the poems to which Jean Bouchet gave the title "Elégie" and the one poem to which Sagon gave this name, we can conclude that if Marot had set an example in naming his love epistles "élégies", it was not an example which was to be slavishly followed. On the one hand, Bouchet's first use of the title "élégie" was for a piece which is a lament on death, and here in fact he anticipates Marot, who did not use the title "élégie" for a lament on death until 1538. In a sense Bouchet follows Marot's example more closely in calling four poems, or rather groups of poems, elegies, since they are a type of love poetry, and all have unrequited or lost love as their themes. Nevertheless, in their form, and very largely in their content three of Bouchet's Elégies are so tied to the mediaeval tradition of love poetry, that it seems highly incongruous that they should have a title which suggests affinities with the Latin elegiacs. In the case of the Quarte Elegie, the influence of Ovid's Heroides shows that Bouchet did in fact know something of Ovid's love poetry. In all probability Bouchet's knowledge was confined to the Heroides and, as the title of the volume which contains the four elegies suggests, the Remedia Amoris. There is no question here of either knowledge of the Amores, or of an attempt to imitate Ovid's elegies. In Sagon's choice of the title Elégie for a poem which has ^{no} affinities with neither the Latin elegiacs, nor scarcely ^{any} with Marot's

elegies we have the strangest example of an "Elégie" that occurs in the first half of the century. Sagon merely seems to have chosen the title, on the one hand to attempt to vary the form of his poems directed against Marot, and on the other, because he assumed that the matter of his poem was suitable for this title. It is certain that neither Bouchet, who was nothing of an innovator, nor Sagon, another ultra-conservative, would have used the term elegy, had it not been suggested by Marot a few years before the publication of the poems we have discussed. In this sense, it is because of Marot's influence that it became possible to use the term. However, it seems that at this stage, the term was so ill-defined, and so little established, that it was taken by the two poets in question to be applicable to a wide variety of types of poetry.

Charles de Sainte-Marthe's Elegies

In 1540, a volume of poetry by Charles de Sainte-Marthe was published at Lyons.¹⁾ The volume was divided into three books, and one of these books contained a section of poems, which Sainte-Marthe entitled Elégies. Although Sainte-Marthe was by his own avowal²⁾ a faithful disciple

- 1) La Poésie Françoise de Charles de Sainte Marthe, natif de Pontevrault en Poictou. Divisée en trois Livres. Le tout adressé à tresnoble & tresillustre Princesse, Madame la Duchesse d'Estampes et Contesse de Pointievre. Plus un Livre de ses Amys. Imprimé à Lyon chés le Prince. M.D.X.L., B. Nat. Rés. p.Ye 193.
- 2) Sainte-Marthe insists on his debt to Marot in an epigramme, Poésie Françoise, p.55. A Clément Marot, son Pere d'Alience.

Que dira l'on, de me veoir si hardy
De composer après toy, ô Clément?
Mon cerveau n'est encor tant estourdy
Que ton pareil me dye aucunement.
Car davant tous je confesse haultement,
Que seulement ton apprentif je suis,
J'escris, j'invente, & fais ce que je puis.
On ne me sent tourner à l'impropere
L'escrivant totalement t'ensuis.
Qui reprendra l'enfant qui suit son Pere.

Sainte-Marthe follows Marot closely in the genres he includes in his Poésie Françoise, which contains Epigrammes, Ballades, Rondeaux, Epistres and Elégies. In her study of Sainte-Marthe, Caroline Ruutz-Rees devotes a large part of one chapter to Sainte-Marthe's imitation of Marot. See Charles de Sainte-Marthe, 1512-1555, Etude sur les premières années de la Renaissance française, traduit par M. Bonnet, Paris, Champion, 1914. (This translation is more easily available than the original publication in English, published in New York earlier the same year.) Deuxième Partie, Chapitre I, L'imitation de Marot et le Pétrarquisme. Of Sainte-Marthe's imitation, Ruutz-Rees remarks very justly: "En proclamant si haultement sa fidélité à Marot, Sainte-Marthe suivit ses pas de très près, d'aussi près que le permettait son manque absolu de talent poétique."

of Marot, in fact the poems that he entitles Elégies do not follow the pattern of Marot's elegies at all. They are neither love poems, nor laments on death. Rather, they are fairly long, serious poems, which, with the exception of the first elegy, reflect Sainte-Marthe's religious and philosophical preoccupations. Whereas it is hardly surprising that Bouchet and Sagon, who were far from being Marot's followers in their poetry, should have given the title "élégie" to poems very different from Marot's own Elégies, it is strange that Sainte-Marthe, who owes a large debt to the poetry of Marot, diverges so far from his acknowledged master in his own Elégies. In fact Sainte-Marthe presents his elegies and epistles in the same book of the Poésie Française, but divides the book into two sections, and includes a Preface to the section of elegies in order to distinguish between them. From the Preface we can gain some idea of what Sainte-Marthe considered the difference between the Epistle and the Elegy.

Elegies

Au Lecteur Salut

Nous te guardons (Lecteur candide) un livre d'Elegies, lequel voulons mettre en avant, à part, tant pour la diversité, que pour la gravité des matieres lesquelles y sont comprises. Ce pendant te plaira lire & prendre en gré, celles que t'avons voulu avancer, comme Arres de Plus grand'somme: laquelle te payerons quand nous auras donné à cognoistre le passetemps de nostre labour t'avoir pleu. Dieu soyt avec toy. 2)

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- 1) Elégie du Tempé de France, en l'honneur de Madame la Duchesse d'Estampes; As the title suggests, this is an elaborate poem in praise of the Duchess, including a long description of the Vale of Tempe.
 - 2) Poésie Française, p.197.

For Sainte-Marthe it seems, one of the distinguishing features of the elegy is its "gravité". This certainly is true, since the epistles are a mixed bag, containing some fairly light love poetry, and some letters to the author's friends, family, and patrons, and the elegies, with one exception, treat in a highly serious manner religious and philosophical questions. The other distinction which Sainte-Marthe attempts to make does not appear to be nearly so valid, since, as far as "diversité" is concerned, there is a much greater variety of content treated in the Epistles than in the Elegies. In complete contrast to Marot, who uses the Elegy primarily as a vehicle for love poetry, Sainte-Marthe excludes love entirely as a theme for his elegies. His love poetry is to be found in his Epigrammes, Rondeaux, Ballades, and in his Epistres.

Not only does Sainte-Marthe show independence from Marot in the content of his elegies, but also in their form. Whereas Marot almost without exception uses a decasyllabic line with rimes plates for his Elégies, Sainte-Marthe uses in one case the alexandrine¹⁾ and in another a combination of lines of five and ten syllables. There are three long lines to every short one.²⁾ It is possible here that Sainte-Marthe may have known the Latin elegiac couplet, which combined the hexameter with

1) Poésie Française, p.214. De l'Ame parlante au corps et monstrante le profit de la mort. Vers Alexandrins.

2) Poésie Française, p.210. Du vray bien et nourriture de l'âme.

the pentameter, and that his alternation of long and short lines was an attempt to imitate the metric usage of the Latins. At all events, the variation in the forms of his elegies shows a further divergence from Marot's example.

As we saw in Sainte-Marthe's preface to his section of elegies, the poet seems to have considered the elegy a suitable genre for more serious lyrical compositions, and the epistle only suitable for lighter ones. Sainte-Marthe obviously considered the elegy as a more suitable vehicle for his "lyrisme grave", for his less frivolous, but nevertheless lyrical compositions. Marot himself seems in fact to have been undecided as to the most suitable genre ~~the~~^{for} the more serious end of the lyrical register.¹⁾ In his Dieu gard à la Court composed in 1537, he refers to his poem as an elegy, "Doy je finir l'elegie presente".²⁾ For Sainte-Marthe

- 1) cf. Clément Marot, Oeuvres Lyriques, édition critique de C.A. Mayer, p.21.
"Les Cantiques". Le premier poème que Marot intitula Cantique est celui adressé à la Déesse Santé pour le roy malade; il fut composé en juin 1537, et publié dans les Oeuvres de 1538. Toutefois...dans le manuscrit de Chantilly...la pièce porte le titre Hymne à la Déesse Santé. La même hésitation se révèle par la pièce "Plaigne les mortz qui plaindre les voudra" qui figure dans le manuscrit de Chantilly sous le titre Complainte à la Royne de Navarre du maltraictement de Madame de Ferrare par le duc, son Mari, alors qu'un autre manuscrit la reproduit comme Cantique de Clement Marot banny premierement de France, depuis chassé de Ferrare par le duc et retiré à Venise. Ici, comme ailleurs les hésitations de Marot montrent avant tout qu'il tenait à réorienter la poésie française en recréant les genres gréco-latins. Pendant longtemps il ne fut pas sûr semble-t-il, du nom qu'il convenait de donner au genre lyrique grave. A part les termes Complainte, Hymne, et Cantique, il semble à un moment avoir songé même à l'Elégie, témoin ce vers du Dieu gard à la Court, composé en 1537: "Doy je finir l'elegie presente," bien que, plus de trois ans plus tôt, dans la Suite de l'Adolescence clementine, il eût clairement réservé cette dernière appellation au poème d'amour."
- 2) Oeuvres Lyriques, Cantique III, 1.69.

too the same problem arose. What was the most suitable genre for a long serious poem of a lyrical nature? It is possible that Sainte-Marthe adopted the elegy for this purpose for two reasons. Firstly, the fact that his "master" Marot has used the title for a group of his poems, even though it was for pieces of a rather different nature, was enough to recommend it to Sainte-Marthe as a possibility. Secondly, Sainte-Marthe was an excellent Latinist, with a wide knowledge of the authors of Antiquity¹⁾ and he may well have realised that the Latin elegiac poets gave the title "elegy" to poems which treated subjects other than love or death. With these two possibilities in mind, Sainte-Marthe composed six pieces in all which received the title "Elégie". The first poem is a long eulogy of the Duchesse d'Etampes, which includes a long lyrical description of the Vale of Tempe. The remaining elegies are meditations, some in the form of letters to his friends or patrons, on the true nobility of the spirit, on the conflict of the body and the soul, and on other religious or philosophical questions.

Before studying the various elegies of Sainte-Marthe in detail, it is worthwhile considering some of the circumstances of the life of the poet²⁾

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- 1) For an account of Charles de Sainte-Marthe's education and career, see F. de Longuemare, Une Famille d'auteurs aux seizième, dix-septième et dix-huitième siècles, les Sainte-Marthe. Paris, 1902, Chapter 3, Charles de Sainte-Marthe and C. Ruutz-Rees, Op. cit. Chapter 1, Premières Années, Vie à l'Université. Chapter 2, Professorat: Exil, Chapter 3, Grenoble: Lyon. Sainte-Marthe was a very well read Latinist, and knew also Greek and Hebrew, which he taught for a while at the Collège de la Trinité in Lyons. See Ruutz-Rees, pp.64-65.
 - 2) See the whole of the Première Partie of Ruutz-Rees, pp.1-111, and also Colletet's translation of Scévole de Sainte-Marthe's account of his uncle's life Eloges des Hommes Illustres, Livre III, pp.64-65. 372-374

at the time his Poésie Française was published, and in particular the influence on him of two illustrious women, Marguerite de Navarre, and Anne de Pisseleu, the Duchesse d'Etampes. Sainte-Marthe wrote a Latin funeral oration¹⁾ for Marguerite, and it was to the Duchesse that he dedicated his Poésie Française.

Sainte-Marthe studied law and theology at the University of Poitiers. He interrupted his studies in 1533, and taught for a while at the newly established Collège de Guyenne in Bordeaux.²⁾ He returned to Poitiers two years later, and found that in his absence considerable interest had been aroused by Calvin's visit to the town. Sainte-Marthe seems already at this stage to have been interested in Calvin's ideas,³⁾ but without seriously compromising his orthodoxy. By 1537, he was a Doctor of Law and of Theology, and shortly afterwards obtained the post of "Professeur royal" of Theology at the University of Poitiers. Around that time too, he attracted the attention of Marguerite de Navarre, who later gave him a post in her household. Secure in his position, Sainte-Marthe proceeded to steer a dangerously liberal course in his teaching,

- 1) In obitum incomparabilis Margaritae, Illustrissimae Navarrorum Reginae, Oratio funebris, per Carolum Sanctomarthanum...Parisiis, Ex officina Reginaldi Calderii & Claudii eius filii, M.D.L.
- 2) "Pour en icelluy colliège regenter et faire classe et regle à composer, et prononcer oraisons, dialogues comedies et lire publiquement". Extract from Sainte-Marthe's contract with the Principal of the College, Jean de Tartas. This is quoted in full in Ruutz-Rees, Op. cit., p.335.
- 3) cf. Ruutz-Rees, Op. cit., pp.15-18.

and to air his views rather too freely. In a letter to Calvin, dated April 1537, he expresses his admiration for Calvin, and his enthusiasm for the recently published Religionis Christianae Institutio.¹⁾ The letter leaves no doubt at all where Sainte-Marthe's sympathies lay in matters of religion. However, he cannot have been very active as a Reformer, as the authorities left him in peace for several months. Eventually his situation became difficult, and finally he was forced to leave his post, and to leave Poitiers. After a stay at Arles, he moved on to Grenoble, where he was imprisoned as a result of his enthusiasm for the cause of the Reformers. He was liberated through the influence of powerful friends, possibly Marguerite de Navarre, or what is more likely, Jean Marcel d'Avanson.²⁾ He was then offered a post at the Collège de la Trinité, Lyons, where he taught Greek, Hebrew and Latin. It was at Lyon, during the year that he arrived in the town, that his Poésie Françoise was published.

In view of his tribulations, it is not surprising that Sainte-Marthe

- 1) Carolus Sammathanus sacrarum literarum in Pictaviensi Achademia regius professor, D. Joanni Calvino Lausanensi Ecclesiastae viro pio juxta et erudito. Herminjard, Correspondance des Réformateurs, Vol. IV, no. 625.
- 2) cf. Ruutz-Rees, Op. cit., p.53. In the dedicatory Epistle of the Livre des Amys, A Monsieur le Secretaire D'avanson, Charles de Sainte-Marthe salut. (p.226), Sainte-Marthe refers to him as "Celuy lequel au bescin s'est monstré par effect mon Amy."

agreed to the suggestion of a friend, the Duc de Montausier, that he should dedicate the Poésie Française¹⁾ to the Duchesse d'Estampes, thus hoping to gain her protection in times of trouble. At the same time, to be doubly sure of the efficacy of his dedication to the Duchess, Sainte-Marthe addressed an épiigramme to Marot, A Luy mesme, luy recommandant ses Oeuvres, vers Madame la Duchesse d'Estampes.

Tu vois, Marot, quel moyen j'ay trouvé
 Donnant mon Oeuvre à la Perle de France,
 De me tirer hors de toute souffrance.
 Approuves lé, desjà est approuvé
 Reprouves lé, desjà est reprouvé,
 Ays de ton Filz (o Pere) souvenance. 2)

Apart from the dedicatory Epistle A Madame la Duchesse d'Estampes luy presentant ses Oeuvres,³⁾ the Poésie Française contains six pieces dedicated to the Duchesse,⁴⁾ and of all of them, the Elegie du Tempé de France is the longest and most elaborate.

1) Poésie Française, Livre des Ays, pp.227-228. Léon de Sainte-More, dit de Monthozier, chevalier de l'ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, A Charles de Sainte-Marthe. The Duke begins by congratulating Sainte-Marthe on his appointment at the Collège de la Trinité, and then suggests the dedication.

2) Poésie Française, p.55.

3) Poésie Française, p.9.

4) Poems dedicated to the Duchess.

Epiigrammes.

De Madame la Duchesse d'Estampes, p.20.

A Madame la Duchesse d'Estampes, p.37.

A Madame la Duchesse d'Estampes, p.62.

Rondeau A Madame la Duchesse d'Estampes, luy recommandant son Oeuvre.

Epistre A Madame la Duchesse d'Estampes, p.125.

Elegie Du Tempé de France, en l'honneur de Madame la Duchesse d'Estampes, p.197.

In dealing with the elegies, it seems only logical to discuss first the Elegy for the Duchesse d'Etampes, and then to treat the other elegies in a group together, since they present a certain unity in their choice of themes and their treatment, and particularly in the debt that they owe to the Chansons Spirituelles of Marguerite de Navarre.

The elaborate and rather far fetched pun in the title of the Elegie du Tempé de France¹⁾ seems to have been suggested to Sainte-Marthe in an Epigramme of Marot.

De la Duché d'Estampes

Ce plaisant val que l'on nommoit Tempé,
 Dont mainte hystoire est encor embellie,
 Arrousé d'eaulx, si doulx, si attrempé
 Sçachez que plus il n'est en Thessalie:
 Juppiter, roy qui les coeurs gagne et lie
 L'a de Thessalie en France remué,
 Et quelque peu son nom propre mué,
 Car pour Tempé veult qu'Estampes s'appelle,
 Ainsy luy plaist, ainsi l'a situé,
 Pour y loger de France la plus belle. 2)

Sainte-Marthe takes up this idea, and extends it first with a long description of the actual Vale of Tempé and then with a long passage in which he lists all the renowned poets of the day, showing that France is equal to Greek Antiquity in poetic talent.

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- 1) Rutz-Rees gives the poem in its entirety on pp.298-303 of her book on Sainte-Marthe. The poem is also reprinted with a selection of other poems by Sainte-Marthe, in Bibliothèque Choisie des Poètes françois jusqu'à Malherbe, Vol. III, Paris 1824. pp.425-432.
- 2) Epigramme CV.

The opening passage is worth quoting at length, since it both shows the poet in one of his more fortunate attempts at lyrical description, and at the same time shows us his extensive borrowing both from the literature of antiquity, and from Marot.

Jadis il fut un lieu en Thessalie,
 Place estimée à merveilles jolye,
 Cinq mille pas ayant en sa longueur,
 Six mille aussi en patente largeur,
 Champ delectant par plaisante verdure,
 Champ produisant toute bonne pasture,
 Champ, le vray lieu de toute amenité.
 Là, y avoit grande diversité
 De toute floeurs & verdoyants bocaiges,
 Ou l'on oyoit les beaulx & doux ramaiges
 Des oisillonts, chantants souefvement.
 Là florissoyent tous Arbres noblement,
 Si tresespests, qu'il sembloient forests fortes,
 Et produysoyent des fruicts de toutes sortes,
 Amoenité leur umbraige rendoit,
 Et de Phcebus tresestuuant gardoit,
 Gardoit de Vent, de Pluye et de Tempeste.
 Là, n'y hantoit aucune fere Beste,
 Qui jour ou nuict peust celuy dommaiger
 Lequel y fust allé se soullaiger.
 Il y avoit devers la main senestre
 Des petits Monts: & aultant à la dextre,
 Qui au beau lieu de deffense servoyent
 Par leur circuit, duquel l'environnoyent.
 Fortifié ainsi fut, par la cure,
 Et le grand soing qu'y avoit mis Nature.
 Par le milieu, pour la perfection
 De tout scoubhait & delectation,
 Qui si tresbien y estoit ordonnée:
 Alloit dormant le Cristallin Penée,
 De tous costés de beaulx Arbres vestu,
 Lesquels estoient tousjours en leur Vertu.
 Et ce lieu là, garny de toute aisance,
 Et lieu remply d'incredible plaissance,
 Lieu sous un Air si tresbien attrempé,
 Les Anciens ont appellé Tempé.

Plusieurs Auteurs, gents dignes de memoire,
 La descrivant, ont voulu faire croire
 Qu'onques ne fut d'essus le firmament
 Lieu à celuy semblable aucunement:
 Et ont dit plus, tant que seroit durable
 Ce monde cy, qu'il n'auroit son semblable.
 Mais ilz n'avoient assés bien calculé,
 Leur Tempé est maintenant recullé,
 Leur vieil Tempé au nouveau Tempé cedde,
 Tempé, qui cil de Thessalie excedde,
 Tempé, qui est remply de tout plaisir,
 Que soubhaitter pourrait l'humain desir.
 Ce beau Tempé, c'est le Tempé de France,
 Avec plaisir, lieu de toute assurance,
 Auquel habitte un Cueur si tresloyal
 Qu'il est trouvé digne du Lys Royal.
 Du vieil Tempé, toute la grand'tenue,
 En certains pas fut jadis contenue:
 Et le plaisir que là on pretendoit,
 Tant seulement par termes s'estandoit.
 Nostre Tempé, (chose miraculeuse)
 Quoy que ne soit place tant spacieuse,
 Il comprend plus toutefoy que celuy,
 Que l'on disoit n'avoir pareil à luy.
 Le vieil Tempé estoit plain de flourettes,
 Que produisoient verdoyantes herbettes
 En grand odeur, plain d'Arbres florissants,
 Et d'iceulx, fruicts de toute sorte yssants.
 Ce nonobstant, quoy que soit chose heurée,
 Elle n'est point d'immortel durée,
 L'herbe fletrit, & deseiche la fleur,
 Et par le temps se perd scuefve odeur.
 Les Arbres verts perdent leurs verdes fouilles
 Perdent leurs fruicts, avecques leurs despouilles,
 Et n'ont plaisir, que pour un certain temps,
 Mais le Tempé, duquel parler j'entends,
 N'a point ainsi plaisance definie,
 Immortelle est la sienne & infinie. 1)

In her discussion of this elegy,²⁾ Caroline Ruutz-Rees has various

1) Poésie Françoise, pp.197-199.

2) Ruutz-Rees, Op. cit. pp.133-134.

suggestions to make about the possible sources for various parts of the description of the Vale of Tempe. According to her, some of the details of the evocation of the birds, in lines ten and eleven are strikingly similar to a passage in Marot's Temple de Cupido.¹⁾ The parallel is not a very close one, and in the description of a landscape within these narrow limits, this seems little more than coincidence. What does seem more plausible is her suggestion that Sainte-Marthe culled some of his ideas from Marot's translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses,²⁾ though here again, we should qualify this statement, since it is equally possible

- 1) Marot, Œuvres Lyriques, Le Temple de Cupido, p.93, ll.119-122 and ll.125-130.

Le grant Dieu Pan avec ses pastoureaux,
 Gardant Brebis Boeufs, Vaches & Thoreaux
 Faisoit sonner chalumeaux, cornemuses,
 Et Flageoletz pour esveiller les Muses....
 Les oyselletz par grant joye et deduyt
 De leurs gosiers respondent à tel bruyt.
 Tous arbres sont en ce lieu verdoians;
 Petitz ruisseaulx y furent undoians,
 Tousjours faisans au tour des prez herbus
 Ung doulx murmure;

- 2) Le premier livre de la Metamorphose d'Ovide, ll.1123-1134.

En Thessalie une haulte forest
 Par tout enclost un val, qui encor est
 Nommé Tempé, temperé, fleurissant,
 Parmi lequel Peneus fleuve yssant
 Du fons du pied de Pindus, grand'montaigne
 D'eaulx escumans le pays tourne et baigne
 D'un roide cours les nues embrumées
 Va conduisant, qui petites fumées
 Semblent jeter & va si roidement
 Contre les rocz, que du redondement
 Les boys arrouse & de son bruit qui sonne
 Les lieux plus loing que ses voisins estonne.

that Sainte-Marthe took the passage from the original Latin. The passage in question gives a short description of the Vale of Tempe, setting the scene for Jupiter's pursuit of Io.

Ruutz-Rees also suggests that Sainte-Marthe may have known and used a passage from Aelian's Variae Historiae,¹⁾ which gives a detailed description of the Vale of Tempe. The passage describes first the high mountains which hem in the valley, then the river Peneus, and then comments on the valley:

Habet autem hic locus varios et omnis generis amoenos recessus, non manus humanae opera, sed spontanea naturae, quae tunc omnia ad pulchritudinem ei conferre studuit, quando locus primum est ortus. 2)

Although Aelian does not introduce Sainte-Marthe's birds in his description, the essential elements are certainly there. It seems possible too, as Ruutz-Rees suggests, that Charles de Sainte-Marthe culled some of his descriptive details from part of Lorenzo de' Medici's Silva d'Amore,³⁾

- 1) There were possibly two editions available to Sainte-Marthe, Ex Aeliani historia per P. Gyllium latine facti itemque ex Porpyrio, Heliodoro, Oppiano, tum eodem Gyllic accessionibus aucti libri xvi... Lyon, Gryphe, 1533.
Variae historiae, Libri XIV...Rome, 1545.
- 2) I have used, and quoted from Variae Historiae, Graece et Latine, Amsterdam, 1731, Lib. III, Cap. I. Describuntur Tempe Thessalica.
- 3) Opere di Lorenzo de' Medici, detto il magnifico, Florence, 1825. Vol. II, p.89, Silva d'Amore.

E un monte in Tessaglia Pindo
Più celebrato già dai sacri vati,
Ch'alcun che sia dal vecchio Atlante all'Indo
Alla radice l'erba e i fior ben nati
Bagnan l'acque d'un fonte chiare e vive....

where the Italian poet dwells on the beauty of the flowers and grass, and on the semi-miraculous quality of the atmosphere of the valley with its "eterna primavera".

In looking for the sources of this particular passage, the possibilities are enormous, as this particular landscape was extensively described in both Greek and Latin literature. Pliny describes the valley in his *Natural History* (Book IV, 8.) and the valley is mentioned by Herodotus, Lucian, Apollodorus, and in Livy and Ovid. E.R. Curtius concludes after discussing the various descriptions, in a chapter on the Ideal Landscape,¹⁾ that in the literature of antiquity Tempe simply stood for a certain type of mixed landscape.

"Tempe had long since become the generic name for a variety of Locus Amoenus, a cool wooded valley between steep slopes. In his praise of rustic life, Virgil (*Georgics*, II, 4) had said that countrymen lacked the luxuries of the city, but:

At secreta quies et nescia fallere vita
Dives opum variarum, at latis otia fundis
Spelunca vivique lacus, at frigida Tempe
Mugitusque boarum mollesque sub arbore somni
Non absunt.....

Servius had commented on this passage that Tempe was properly a Locus Amoenus in Thessaly, but stood by catachresis for any charming place. (abusive cuiusvis loci amoenitas). 2)

In view of the bewildering number of sources for the description of the

- 1) E.R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, translated by W.R. Trask, London, 1953. (First published in Berne, 1948, as Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter.) cf. Chapter 10, The Ideal Landscape, the Pleasance.
- 2) E.R. Curtius, *Op. cit.*, pp.198-199.

Vale of Tempe it would be foolish to pin Sainte-Marthe down to any particular one. However, in view of the particular details he evokes it does seem likely that Sainte-Marthe knew the description by Aelian, and the description of the valley in the Metamorphoses of Ovid, either directly, or through Marot's translation. From the similarities between Sainte-Marthe's evocation of the valley as a place endowed with some kind of semi-magical qualities, and the same type of suggestion in the passage from Lorenzo de' Medici, it seems highly plausible that Sainte-Marthe ^{knew the description by the Italian poet also.} may have remembered Marot's evocation of the singing of the birds in the Temple de Cupido. All in all, Sainte-Marthe's description comes from a selection of sources, and not from one in particular.

Probably the most famous passage of the whole elegy is, in fact, the passage where Sainte-Marthe mentions nearly all the eminent poets of his day. They are linked with the various Muses that Sainte-Marthe considers the most suitable. Naturally enough, he heads the list with Marot, who is favoured by Calliope. Next comes Jacques Colin, favoured by Clio. Saint-Gelais is the favourite of Erato, and Maurice Scève of Melpomene (the Muse of comedy and of the idyll.) Victor Brodeau, "Lequel toujours invente chant nouveau" is favoured by Terpsichore. Jean Bouchet, "qui tant de beaulx dicts couche, Tous procedants de sa dorée bouche" has as his Muse Euterpe. Last on the list come "Hercet le subtil, Avecques luy Fontaines le gentil, Deux en leur sons une personne unie, Chantants auprès de l'hault Polymnie", and Hugues Salel who "escriit de telle dignité, Et ses escripts si saignement compasse, Qu'il n'est aucun

qui en ce l'outrepasse." For some strange reason Salel is linked with Urania, the Muse of Astronomy and geometry, but it may be that the explanation is simply that there was no suitable Muse left for Sainte-Marthe to nominate as Salel's particular patroness.

Having thus shown that the poets of France are in no way inferior to those Greek poets who celebrated Tempe in their works, Sainte-Marthe then proceeds to rather more direct praise of the Duchess. In this modern Tempe, there is a "Parc de Plaisir", which is peopled by Honneur, Magnanimité, Prudence, and Justice, and in this "Parc", we find the Duchess.

Là, au dedans de ce parc, pres d'Honneur,
 Qui est du bien aux merites donneur,
 Est noblement une grande Dame assise,
 Belle, prudente, honorable & rassise:
 Ayant regard à merveilles humain,
 Couronnée est, & tient sceptre en sa main,
 Et ce Tempe regente sans nul blasse,
 Duquel elle est la souveraine Dame. 1)

Sainte-Marthe finally invites the authors who had praised the Greek Tempé, to judge between the old and the new.

Or venez tous maintenant, vous auteurs,
 Du vieil Tempé jadis collocateurs,
 Des deux Tempés si faictes conference,
 Lequel sera qui aura preference?
 Or sus, jugez, jugez en vostre endroit,
 Si vous fondez le jugement en droict,
 Nostre Tempé n'est il plus autentique
 Cent mille foibs, que le Tempé antique. 2)

1) Elegie du Tempé de France, ll.203-210.

2) Elegie du Tempé de France, ll.215-222.

Faced with this lengthy poem in the honour of the Duchess, it is tempting to conclude that Sainte-Marthe attempted to extend the parallel, and the pun suggested by Marot into something more weighty than was justified. The principal source of interest in this Elegie is partly in the fact that Sainte-Marthe chose this title for a poem of this type, and partly in his description of the Vale of Tempe and the various sources for this description.

Of the remaining elegies, three are in the form of Epistles,¹⁾ one is a monologue in Alexandrines²⁾ and the remaining elegy an exhortation to nourish the soul with the "pain incorruptible" of the gospel.³⁾ All of these elegies have a specifically religious or moral and philosophical content. At the same time nearly all this group of elegies concentrate particularly on the more unorthodox, and specifically evangelical aspects of Sainte-Marthe's thought. This is true of course for the whole of the Poésie Française, but it does seem that Sainte-Marthe considered the elegy as a particularly suitable ^{vehicle} for ~~for~~ expressing his religious thought.

1) Elegie en forme d'Epistre à Monsieur le Chevalier de Mothozier, Poésie Française, pp.205-209.

A Monsieur Verjust de Macon, De la vraye noblesse, pp.216-218.

A.P. de Marillac, Que le Cœur fort magnanime est le seul riche du Monde, par son contentement, pp.219-222.

2) Elegie de l'Ame parlante au corps et monstrante le proffit de la mort, Vers Alexandrins.

3) Du Vray bien et nourriture de l'âme. pp.210-213. It is in this elegy that Sainte-Marthe experiments with alternating long and short lines. cf. supra, pp. 113-114

Certainly, in view of his recent persecution, Sainte-Marthe is surprisingly bold in his choice of subjects,¹⁾ and in these five elegies he treats

1) cf. Ruutz-Rees, Op. cit. pp.68-70.

"Ses poèmes furent publiés quelques mois après son arrivée à Lyon. Ceci semble prouver que Sainte-Marthe se sentait suffisamment à l'abri des attaques dirigées contre ses opinions; car ce volume, bien qu'il contient un poème ou deux destinés à effacer les doutes qu'on pouvait concevoir sur son orthodoxie, par exemple: A Tous Chrestiens, En la personne de la vierge, Mère de Dieu et Qu'on cognoist la vive et vraye Foy par les Oeuvres (P.F. pp.45 and 62), ne laissait pas de présenter des points capables de faire naître le soupçon. Telle était par exemple son insistance à interpréter certains aspects de la Foi sur lesquels l'Eglise, à dessein ne se prononçait pas à cette époque. Cette insistance devenait de plus en plus caractéristique chez les nouveaux réformés. La doctrine de la Grâce, par exemple, est exposée avec intransigeance dans le poème par lequel débute le livre troisième de la Poésie Française:

A Dieu, Confession de son infirmité et Invocation de sa Grâce.

Je scay (Seigneur) je scay, telle est ma Foy,
 Que les Humains ne peuvent rien de soy,
 Que se donner aucun bien ilz ne peuvent,
~~Ne~~ decliner le mal quand ilz le treuvent,
 Si telle force ilz n'ont par ton moyen.
 De toy (Seigneur) vient le mal et le bien.

De même, le salut par la Foi constitue le thème dominant de la longue Elegie, du vray bien et nourriture de l'Ame, et le poète insiste plus d'une fois sur la Prédestination... Ces sentiments déjà assez suspects le devenaient davantage par l'omission de toute allusion aux Saints ou à toute intercession autre que celle du Sauveur. Sa paraphrase imitée de Marot, du Psaume CXX, que le grand poète n'avait pas composée n'était pas faite pour plaire aux orthodoxes, non plus que son insistance sur la nature purement spirituelle du Sacrement de l'Eucharistie dans la Balade double, contenant la promesse de Christ, sa Nativité, Passion, Resurrection et précieux sacrement de son corps, icy à nous delaisié pour gaige de salut: (P.F. pp.110-112)

Car il luy est un seur et riche gaige,
 De prendre part au Celeste héritage,
 Si par Foy veult son Cueur y arrester,
 Et l'arrestant, par Foy plus le gouster

(Note continues on following page.)

justification by faith, predestination, and the doctrine of grace. As Ruutz-Rees rightly stresses these "sins of commission" are aggravated by Sainte-Marthe's "sins of omission" since he omits almost completely references to the Virgin Mary, and speaks of direct intercession of Christ and God the Father, without the intermediary of the Saints.¹⁾ It seems safe to conclude that Sainte-Marthe's stay in prison had by no means diminished his religious enthusiasm, and that his convictions were very much those that he expressed in his letter to Calvin from Poitiers.

Ruutz-Rees remarks:

"L'impression que l'on garde de l'étude de ces poèmes, impression que renforce la liste des personnages dont Sainte-Marthe escompte la protection c'est qu'il ne penchait pas moins qu'à Poitiers vers la Réforme, quoi qu'il ait voulu faire croire à Faucher. La protection de Marguerite de Navarre et de la Duchesse d'Etampes, suffisamment puissante pour défendre un hérétique, n'était pas faite pour donner à celui qui en bénéficiait une grande réputation d'orthodoxie. Beaucoup snathématisaient encore le nom de Marot et les sympathies de Montausier paraissent suffisamment dans la formule finale de sa lettre, "Je supply l'Eternel, nostre justificateur et dateur de toutes graces, nous conduire en spirituelle vie." 2)

(Note 1 continued from previous page):

Que par la Chair, qui le contraire clame,
Car on ne peut de ceste chair taster
Le divin pain, nourriture de l'Ame.

Ce passage de Sainte-Marthe, frise pour le moins, une des doctrines de Luther, qui furent solennellement condamnées, en 1521, par la Faculté de Théologie de Paris, savoir: celle qui consiste à croire qu'en la Foi réside l'efficacité des Sacrements."

- 1) cf. "Seul suis ton Dieu, seul suis ton saulvement" and "Viens droict à moy sans avoir déffiance", from Jesu Christ estant en Croix parle à un chascun Chrestien. Poésie Françoise, p.73.
- 2) C. Ruutz-Rees, Op. cit. p.71.

In view of Sainte-Marthe's preoccupations, it is not surprising to find that several of his elegies owe something to the Chansons Spirituelles¹⁾ of Marguerite de Navarre. On the one hand it seems likely that certain compositions of Marguerite's gave Sainte-Marthe the idea for a whole poem²⁾ and in other cases we find simply shorter passages which are strongly reminiscent of passages in Marguerite's poetry. These parallels will be indicated as they occur in examining the various elegies.

- 1) The Chansons Spirituelles were not actually published until 1547 in Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses, Lyons, J. de Tournes. However, it does seem that many of the Chansons were composed by 1540, and circulated widely in manuscript in the circles in which Marguerite moved, and it does seem likely in this case that Sainte-Marthe had every opportunity of access to them. cf. Ruutz-Rees, Op. cit., p.189, "Dans une de ses Chansons Spirituelles, dont beaucoup, à ce qu'il semble, furent composées et mises en circulation dans le courant de 1540...."
On the date of their composition see also P. Jourda, Marguerite d'Angoulême, Paris, Champion, 1930, 2 Vols. Vol. II, 1122.
"Dans les Marguerites, toutes les pièces que l'on peut dater sont antérieures à 1540. Font exception seules quelques-unes des Chansons; celle par exemple sur la mort du Roi. Note 58. J. Plattard n'hésite pas (Rev. Et. Rab. T.X., p.340) à supposer que Marguerite écrivait ses Chansons dès 1530. Abel Lefranc les croit des environs de 1540. (Grands Ecrivains, p.192).

- 2) It seems possible that the elegy, De l'Ame parlante au Corps, et monstrante le profit de la Mort was partly suggested to Sainte-Marthe by Marguerite's Discord estant en l'homme par la contrariété de l'Esprit et de la Chair et Paix par vie spirituelle. Sainte-Marthe seems to have been particularly interested by this theme, as he wrote altogether four poems besides the elegy, a prayer, A Dieu Du debat de la chair et de l'Esprit, (P.F. p.49) and a series of three dizains, (P.F. p.42-43).

In dealing with the elegies, we will examine first the three which are couched in letter form since they do have a certain affinity. First the Elegie en forme d'Epistre à Monsieur le Chevalier de Monthozier. In this letter, it is through the personal relationship of the two men that Sainte-Marthe conveys his religious thought. He compares their lives, and comments on their various trials and tribulations. The letter opens with thanks to Monsieur le Chevalier for his letter, and lavish compliments on the Chevalier's wisdom "haulte science" and "longue experience". In his letter, the Chevalier had expressed his satisfaction that throughout his troubles Sainte-Marthe had always been, nevertheless, guided by the hand of the Lord. Sainte-Marthe here dwells at length on his suffering, which he believes to be completely undeserved, and then finally meditates on predestination.

Il est bien vray, que si croyons Fortune
 Nous dominer, dirons par rancune
 (Voire à grand tort) à souffrir suis soubmis
 Tant affligé, sans mal avoir commis.
 Mais je cognoys, que Fortune ou les Astres
 (Ce que nous font à croire ces follastres
 Et ignorants Astrologues menteurs)
 Ne sont en rien sur moy dominateurs.
 Je ne croy point, qu'ilz puissent avoir en ce
 Dessur mon Corps ou Esprit, influence,
 M'assubjectant plus qu'un aultre à travail.
 Je croy plus tost, estre le puissant vueil
 De celui-là, qui sur nous seul domine,
 Et qui les maulx augmente, ou bien termine
 Ainsi qu'il veult, à iceulx mesmement,
 Qui sont Esleux dès leur commencement.

God the eternal alone guides and guards all men, including Sainte-Marthe,

whom he delivered from prison. He needs no further proof of the perfection of God other than the way he, and the Chevalier, have prospered in their virtuous lives, and though they may have moments of trouble, the Almighty will always be with both of them. On this hopeful and confident note Sainte-Marthe ends his epistle.

Sur cest espoir arrêté & assis,
 J'ay mon esprit hors de trouble rassi,
 Tant assuré, que (pour tout dire en somme)
 Je ne tiens plus aucun compte de l'homme,
 Car aussi bien j'ay esté deceu;
 Chassé de l'homme, avec Dieu suis receu,
 Qui m'as esté toujours au lieu de Père
 De Mère, Soeur et charitable Frère 1)
 Non seulement de titre, mais de faict,
 C'est ce qui m'a de tout aultre deffaict. 2)

The last five lines of this passage seem to be an echo of one of the Chansons Spirituelles, where Marguerite expresses herself in very similar terms.

Je n'ay plus ny Père ny Mère,
 Ny Seur ny Frère
 Sinon Dieu seul auquel j'espère,
 Qui sus le Ciel et Terre impère. 3)

-
- 1) cf. Buutz-Rees, Op. cit. pp.50-51. It appears that at the time of his imprisonment in Grenoble, Sainte-Marthe's family gave him no help, financial or otherwise. There are several vicious epigrammes against his family and their indifference to his plight. In an epistle to the Chevalier de Monthozier, he complains again of their treatment of him, and compares it to the action of wild animals who devour their young. These lines in the elegy would seem to be not only an expression of his trust in God, but also another barb directed at his family.
- 2) Poésie Françoise, p.210.
- 3) Les Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses, Ed. Félix Frank, Paris, 1872. Vol. III, p.120.

In contrast to the elegy addressed to Monthozier, the Elegie à Monsieur Verjust, Doyen de Macon, De la vraye Noblesse¹⁾ owes little to Sainte-Marthe's religious ideas, or to Marguerite de Navarre. The theme of the elegy is quite simply that nobility resides in deeds, and not in titles. This theme is found, developed to its fullest in Juvenal's eighth Satire. The Latin satirist's expression of this is "nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus".²⁾ Without imitating Juvenal in detail, Sainte-Marthe certainly takes ~~the idea for~~ the broad idea of his elegy from him and in some passages actually echoes a few lines of Juvenal. In neither case is the poet as democratic as he at first seems, since Juvenal is lamenting the fact that the representatives of the most noble families of Rome are poor specimens of the human race when compared with their ancestors, and Sainte-Marthe is pursuing the thought, that the noble "Doyen" has the supreme virtue of being not only noble of birth, but also noble in spirit.

Comme on doibt estimer Gentilhomme
 Celuy lequel estre monsieur on nomme,
 Monsieur de tiltre & un Villain de faict,
 Tel qu'aujourd'hui par argent on le faict....
 Armes j'entends, soubz les faicts vertueulx,
 Non pas dessoubz les habits sumptueux.
 Armes j'entends, non un tas de psinctures,
 Non des surnoms, forgés aux adventures.
 Non point ces fiers et glorieux regards
 Non point aussi mines de ~~ees~~ Braguenards,
 Ne tous honneurs qu'on faict en compagnie,
 Mais de vertu la personne garnie.

1) Poésie Française, p.216.

2) Juvenal, Satires, VIII, 20.

These lines by Sainte-Marthe, if not an exact imitation, seem to have found some of their inspiration in the opening lines of the Satire in question.

Stemmata quid faciunt? quid prodest, Pontice, longo
 sanguine censerī, pictos ostendere vultus
 maiorum et stantis in curribus Aemilianos
 et Curios iam dimidos umerosque minorem
 Corvinum et Galbam auriculis nasoque carentem?
 quis fructus generis tabula iactare capaci
 Corvinum, posthac multa contingere virga
 fumosos equitum cum dictatore magistros
 si coram Lepidis male vivitur.....

Sainte-Marthe then continues that it is useless to be rich and powerful if one is not virtuous.

Avoir chasteaulx & riches mansions
 Estre seigneur de grands possessions,
 Tenir en coffre or et argent sans nombre,
 Et estre dit un Monsieur soubz ceste ombre,
 Et cependant de tous costés happer,
 Injurier, mespriser et frapper,
 Tenir l'aultruy, soubz couleur de faulx gaige,
 Blasphemer Dieu pour orner son langaige,
 Et pres de soy chascun de l'estimer,
 Asçavoir mon si je dois estimer
 Ceste Noblesse? ou Noblesse la dire.

Introducing a personal note, Sainte-Marthe directs a few barbs against his own family, who had refused to help him while he was in prison. Certainly they are noble of birth "en Maison apparents", but this is little credit to them in view of their conduct.

Mais c'est aux hoirs bien petite deffence,
 Si leurs maieurs n'ensuyvent sans offence.

Having thus defined true nobility, Sainte-Marthe concludes in a manner

conducive to flatter Monsieur de Verjust.

Si aulcun est noble par ce moyen,
 Tu es celuy (o tresnoble Doyen)
 Noble de sang, noble d'une lignée,
 De tiltre noble antiquement signée,
 Noble d'esprit, d'honneur bien revestu,
 Noble de sang et noble de vertu.

Here Sainte-Marthe shows himself in his true colours. Like Juvenal, he is disappointed when those who are of noble birth fall below the standards expected of them, and all the more pleased when they combine nobility of blood with nobility of character. In this particular case, Sainte-Marthe was almost equally impressed by the "tiltre noble" of the Doyen, as by his nobility of spirit.

In the third elegy of this group, A P. de Marillac, Que le Cueur fort et magnanime est le seul riche du monde par son contentement¹⁾

Sainte-Marthe develops a parallel theme. Worldly riches, and earthly possessions are all vanity. The only true contentment in this world comes from "^{Cognoissance} ~~Sagesse~~ de Dieu". Sainte-Marthe starts off by condemning avarice, meanness, and worldly longings. Virtue is its own reward. The real way to contentment is through the contempt of worldly things.

Tressaigement Diogene disoit
 Que si Prudence en l'homme reposit
 Il priseroit tout cela qu'il desprise,
 Desprisant tout (au contraire) qu'il prise.

1) Poésie Française, p.219

Riches are a "faulx bien", and the only true treasure is the knowledge of the Lord.

C'est donc thresor infiny que Saigesse,
 C'est un thresor qui tousjours croist sans cesse,
 Et vray thresor de qui vray bien s'ensuit,
 Car en tous lieux son possesseur il suit.
 Mais en cecy convient adviser comme
 Saige quelcun par Saigesse l'on nomme
 Car je n'entends celle là des humains,
 Ausquelz la vraye eschappée est des mains
 Saigesse dy de DIEU la cognoissance,
 Laquelle fait de tout bien accroissance
 Qui tant bonne est qu'en tout temps & tout lieu,
 Elle maintient pour souverain Bien DIEU;
 Souverain Bien, car à jamais il dure,
 Et ne permet qu'aucun Mal on endure. 1)

Finally, Sainte-Marthe concludes that de Marillac is rich indeed with spiritual gifts, though he has never been rich in material possessions.

Et par cela, je te prie à bon droict
 O Marillac, veoyant qu'en ton endroict
 Tu n'as eu rien (fors qu'en Dieu ton attente)
 Qui son esprit tresgrandement contente,
 Contentement, qui est si plantureux
 Qu'il te faict estre un Riche tresheureux. 2)

The two remaining elegies, although they are not in letter form, do offer a similarity of theme. In both of them Sainte-Marthe stresses the fragility and mortality of the body, and the robustness and immortality of the soul. The Elegie, Du vray bien et nourriture de l'âme concentrates

1) Poésie Françoise, p.221.

2) Poésie Françoise, p.222.

3) Poésie Françoise, p.210.

on the theme of justification by faith. Since the soul is immortal, and the body will pass away, we should concentrate on nourishing the soul with the "pain incorruptible" of the Gospel, and with faith.

C'est l'Ame donc laquelle fault nourrir,
 Elle ne meurt, elle ne peut périr,
 Non corruptible
 Nourrissez-la du pain incorruptible,
 C'est l'escript saint, c'est la sacrée Bible.
 Si a cela elle est un coup ductible,
 Si elle en mange
 Impossible est que soudain ne se change,
 La chair (ainsi qu'un Pourceau en la fange
 Veult demeurer) trouve ce pain estrange,
 Et n'en veult point.
 Il fault l'esprit estre d'elle disjoint
 Et à Jesus (son cher Espoux) conjoint. 1)

The theme of the flesh as a hindrance to the salvation of the soul is also the dominant one of the Elegie de l'Ame parlante au corps, et monstrante le proffit de la mort. Although on the one hand, Sainte-Marthe's interest in this theme²⁾ owes something to the influence of Marguerite de Navarre, the theme itself was one treated at length in the mediaeval dialogue, the Debat du corps et de l'âme. This debate, which probably dated back to the twelfth century, was popular throughout the Middle Ages, and also had several editions at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The debate is introduced as being the dream of a hermit, who in a vision, witnesses a bitter discussion between the soul and the body as to which of the two is responsible for their damnation after death. The

1) Poésie Française, p.113.

2) cf. Supra, p.130 and Rutz-Rees, Op. cit. p.186-189.

soul asserts that the body is responsible for its corruption and the body in its turn asserts that the soul is responsible for the actions of the body, and is therefore to blame for their ultimate downfall. The debate ends with the arrival of three devils, who take the soul through the gates of Hell. Sainte-Marthe, in three dizains describes this strife between the body and the soul. In the second of the three, he stresses the body and soul, as in the mediaeval debate, as bitter enemies.

Deux ennemys sont en une closture,
 Se guerroyants en cruelle discorde.
 Voire & si fault que ceste guerre dure
 Jusques à ce, qu'un seul les deux accorde.
 C'est dans le Corps l'Esprit, et la Chair orde,
 Qui tousjours ont ensemble difference:
 Et besoing est que la Mort s'y advance,
 Qui les separe & termine leur guerre:
 Mettant l'Esprit la hault par sa puissance,
 La Chair cy bas, avec son Corps en terre. 1)

In the elegy in question, Sainte-Marthe uses the form of the monologue, and makes the soul expand at length on its superiority to the body, its immortality, and consequently, the profit of death to the soul, since it will after death be freed from the distractions of the body. The opening passage of this elegy stresses the incorruptibility of the soul, and echoes passages of a similar nature in the Elegie Du vray bien et nourriture de l'âme.

Regarde moy, ton Ame, ô mon Corps corruptible,
 Regarde, que je suis du tout incorruptible;
 Et contemple sur moy, d'interieur remort,
 L'effect, l'esgard, l'effort, et pouvoir de la Mort.

1) Poésie Française, p.43.

Et ne t'arrestes plus à mon trespas gemir,
Ne par tes vains clameurs empescher mon dormir. 1)

The flesh is only the enemy of the spirit, and seeks constantly to do it harm.

La chair assault l'esprit malicieusement
Et tend à ceste fin, luy faire par cautelle
(Si le trouve imporveu) quelque playe mortelle. 2)

However, the sinful flesh cannot win this battle, as the final victory is bound to go to the immortal soul.

Le monde perd son cours & n'a plus de plaisir,
Car l'esprit a sur eulx triumpante victoire,
Par mort, mis à repos, jouyssant de sa gloire. 3)

Finally the soul addresses the passer-by who observes the tomb containing the mortal remains of the body, and begs him not to consider the grave with horror, but rather with joy for the immortal soul.

Enten icy, enten toy passant viateur, 4)
Et ne soys seulement du tumbau spectateur
Soubs le quel mon corps mort jusqu'^{ues} à temps repose

.....
Et ne soys cy apres vivant en ceste erreur
D'avoir de Mort, au cuer, ou regret, ou terreur,

1) Poésie Françoise, p.214. Runtz-Rees suggests a further link between this elegy, and one of Marguerite's Chansons, in which the writer addresses her soul. "Ame, tu n'es en chemin / Ny en la voye / De vraye felicité / Dieu t'y convoye". (Marguerites de la Marguerite, Vol. III, p.141).

2) Ibid.

3) P.F. p.215.

4) The address to the "viator" is a "lieu commun" of classical epitaphs, both Greek & Latin.

Par laquelle je vy en grand beatitude,
Et sans laquelle estoys davant en servitude. 1)

What is remarkable in these two elegies is not only Sainte-Marthe's interest in the mediaeval expression of the conflict between the body and the soul but also ^{the way} in which his treatment of this theme points very strongly to his knowledge of certain of Plato's ideas on the same subject. In both elegies, his treatment of the relationship between body and soul echoes Plato, and he reaffirms exactly the same point in part of his Oraison Funèbre.....de Marguerite de Navarre.²⁾ "Car, comme dit le divin Platon, combien que nous disons l'Homme estre composé du Corps & de l'Ame, si est ce que sa meilleure & plus noble partie c'est l'Ame, participante de la raison & de l'immortalité divine."³⁾ He then continues to describe the imprisonment of the soul in the body, the same Platonic theme which he amplifies in the Elegie de l'Ame parlante au Corps. This interest in Plato seems to have gained greatly by Sainte-Marthe's contact with Marguerite de Navarre, and Abel Lefranc even goes so far to describe his attention to Plato in the following terms. "Le poète, qui, dans l'entourage littéraire de la Reine, a célébré avec la foi la plus ardente, la plus communicative, les beautés de la religion platonicienne, ce fut

1) Ibid.

2) Oraison funèbre de la Mort de l'incomparable Marguerite Royne de Navarre & Duchesse d'Alencon. Reprinted by Anatole de Montaiglon in his edition of the Heptaméron, Paris, Eudes, 1880, Vol. I, pp. 21-130.

3) Oraison Funèbre, p.119.

sans contredit l'aimable Charles de Sainte-Marthe."¹⁾ It seems that in this respect, the elegies of Sainte-Marthe owe much to the influence of the Queen of Navarre, not only for their textual similarities, but also for the suggestion of some of the Platonic ideas contained in some of them. With the exception of the elegy dedicated to the Duchesse d'Etampes, they do present a certain unity in their treatment of moral and religious subjects. As is suggested by the author in his introduction to the section of elegies, the matter treated in them contains a certain "gravité". The diversity of the group of elegies is constituted by their varied length, and the variety of subjects within a certain range.

At the same time, there is a certain diversity of form in the elegies. The poem for the Duchesse d'Etampes is written in decasyllables, with rimes plates, and so are the three elegies designated as epistles. So far Sainte-Marthe follows the pattern of Marot. However, Sainte-Marthe obviously did not take Marot's example as a rigid rule, as the Elegie de l'Ame parlante au Corps is written in Alexandrines. Further, the

1) Abel Lefranc, Marguerite de Navarre et le Platonisme de la Renaissance, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, Vols. LVIII, pp.259-292, & LIX, pp.712-757. Vol. LIX, p.754.

See also Abel Lefranc, Le Platonisme et la Littérature en France à l'époque de la Renaissance (1500-1550), Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France, Jan. 1896.

In this lengthy article, Lefranc makes the distinction between those whose interest in Plato was "d'essence philosophique et érudit, inclinant davantage vers les questions spéciales de méthode, et de métaphysique pure". Among their number were Dolet and Ramus. The other group, whose interest was "d'une nature plus vague, d'une signification plus large, plus universelle", included poets and writers like Charles de Sainte-Marthe, and Heroët. (cf. p.12).

Elegie Du vray bien et nourriture de l'âme, has a combination of lines of ten and five syllables. There are in fact three long lines to every one short one:

C'est l'Ame donc laquelle fault nourrir,
 Elle ne meurt, elle ne peut périr,
 Non corruptible
 Nourrissez-la du pain incorruptible,
 C'est l'escript saint, c'est la sacrée Bible
 Si a cela elle est un coup ductible
 Si elle en mange.

In view of Sainte-Marthe's knowledge of Latin literature, it seems highly probable that he knew well the elegiac couplet of the Latin elegiac poets, which alternated lines of hexameter with lines of pentameter, and that he may well have been trying to introduce something similar into French poetry when he used this combination of long and short lines. However, we should remember that the elegiac couplet was an essential part of the form of the elegy for the Latin poets, and Charles de Sainte-Marthe only uses it in one out of six elegies, probably as an experiment. At all events, we see from the variety of types of versification used by Sainte-Marthe in his elegies that in this matter, he does not follow the pattern that Marot set in his elegies. Thus it is obvious that Sainte-Marthe regarded the elegy as a genre with a certain amount of flexibility in both form and content, and that he by no means regarded the elegies of Marot as a definitely fixed guide to the genre.

It seems that for Sainte-Marthe, the elegies of Marot merely suggested the use of a designation, which in the case of Latin literature could embrace a wide variety of subjects, although it was more often used

for love poetry. Although Sainte-Marthe followed Marot so closely in other respects, here he showed a large degree of independence, in using the elegy on the one hand for a poem of flattery for one of his protectors, and on the other hand for a series of serious reflective poems, which mirrored in the main, his religious and philosophical preoccupations. Both the elegy for the Duchesse d'Etampes, and the other five poems are in fact lyrical works. The greater part of the poem for his patroness is taken up by a lyrical description of the Vale of Tempe. The other elegies represent a type of religious lyricism, which Sainte-Marthe knew in the Chansons Spirituelles of Marguerite de Navarre, and which in part he tries to imitate, though not entirely successfully. When Marguerite's songs strike the reader because of their directness and earnestness, well conveyed by their brevity, Sainte-Marthe's more reflective and much longer compositions fail to sustain our interest in the same way. Nevertheless, his attempt at "le lyrisme grave" is an interesting one, both for the content of the poems, and the varied forms in which Sainte-Marthe presents his elegies. It seems that when the poet was searching for a suitable genre in which to express his more serious poetic subjects, he probably considered the elegy since it had already been used by Marot, and because he knew of the wider use of the elegy by the writers of Antiquity. Thus it was Sainte-Marthe, usually so far from originality in the rest of his poetry, constantly claiming Marot as his "père" instructor, and even protector, who chose to use the elegy in his own highly individual way, using both forms and themes very different from those of Marot's Elégies.

CHAPTER 5

The Elegies of Charles Fontaine

After the publication of Sainte-Marthe's elegies in 1540, the next collection of elegies to appear was that of Charles Fontaine. In his Fontaine d'Amour¹⁾ first published in Paris in 1545, Fontaine offered the reader a group of twenty-two love elegies, which are in effect, like the elegies of Marot, love epistles. Again, like Marot, in a later collection of poems, Les Ruisseaux de Fontaine²⁾ Fontaine presents a further group of elegies, two in number, which are laments on death.

The similarity to Marot does not end there. The group of love elegies from the earlier volume covers what is essentially the same ground as that covered by Marot in his elegies. Fontaine writes of the misery of separation from his mistress, praises her beauty and her moral qualities at length, and complains of her unremitting cruelty and hard-heartedness. However, in the case of Fontaine, there are suggestions that Petrarchism, and some of the latin elegiacs, had a greater influence on his elegies than they had on those of Marot.

In the case of the two later elegies, the laments, one on the death

- 1) La Fontaine d'Amour, contenant Epistres, Elegies et Epigrammes, I. de Tournes, Lyon, 1545. Brit. Mus. 1073.d.34.
There was also an edition of La Fontaine d'Amour published in Paris by J. de Marnef in 1546. B.Nat. Rés.Ye. 1609.
- 2) Les Ruisseaux de Fontaine, contenant Epistres, Elegies, Chants Divers, Epigrammes, Odes et Estrennes, T. Payan, Lyon, 1555.
B.Nat. Rés.Ye. 1610.

of Catherine, Fontaine's sister, and the other on the death of one of his sons, in contrast to Marot's death elegies, which owe more to mediaeval antecedents than to the latin elegiacs, Fontaine's attempts at this genre borrow rather from Antiquity. The Elegie sur le trespas de Catherine Fontaine, soeur de l'auteur contains long passages which are closely modelled on Ovid's elegy on the death of Tibullus.¹⁾ In both cases, the love elegies, and the elegies on death, it is apparent that Fontaine inherited his idea of what the elegy should be from Marot. Fontaine differs chiefly in the use he makes of Latin and Italian sources. Before proceeding to a more detailed study of the elegies, it is useful to look more closely at the distinction which Fontaine draws between the elegy and the epistle, since both genres appear side by side in the Fontaine d'Amour, and since, in the Fontaine, the elegy is simply a love epistle.

Twenty-one of the elegies in the Fontaine are love epistles addressed by Fontaine to a real or imaginary mistress. One of the recurring themes is the frustration of writing to his lady, and receiving very few replies. Throughout the elegies the poet refers to them as "lettre"²⁾ or "épistre"³⁾. The only occasion on which Fontaine refers to what he is

1) Amores, III, 9.

2) cf. Elégie XVII, Fontaine, p.42.

Après que j'ay bien veillé et n'ay peu
Aucunement vous trouver à temps deu
Pour vous bailler un petit mot de lettre...

3) cf. Elégie XX, Fontaine, p.60.

Quand aurez leu l'épistre (ô fleur des Dames)
Je vous supply, jettez au feu ces flammes...

writing, as an elegy, is in the poem composed by the poet on someone else's behalf. This is La XVIII Elegie, faite pour le receveur de Glatigny, adressée à Monsieur du Brueil.¹⁾ Fontaine opens this elegy by speaking for himself, and then hands the narrative over to the receveur. In his preamble, Fontaine refers to his work thus:

Mon bon Seigneur, par devers vous j'adresse
L'escrit present que je fay et je dresse
En Elegie, & forme de complainte,
Que verrez cy comme en un tableau paincte.

In this particular instance Fontaine appears to link the idea of the elegy with sadness and absence, since the "receveur" is bemoaning his fate during the absence of his mistress. Thus it seems that Fontaine considers the elegy on the one hand as a love epistle, with unrequited love or separation as its theme, or as a lament on the death of a person. The distinction is however further complicated, since the section of Epistres which follow the elegies in the Fontaine d'Amour contains many epistles with love as their theme.²⁾ Apart from the fact that the poet himself made the arbitrary division, it is difficult for the reader to discern any difference between the love epistles which Fontaine chose to entitle elegies, and those he placed in the section of Epistres. There are however some minor differences, which point towards what Fontaine might have considered the difference between the two genres.

1) Fontaine, p.45.

2) All the Epistles in Les Ruisseaux are Epitres Familières to Fontaine's friends, family, and including one to François Ier, and one to the Duchess of Ferrara.

Among the nineteen Epistles, several are not addressed to the poet's lady, and some of them are not love letters. There are two addressed to two ladies, Epistle XIII is directed to "deux dames de grand beauté", and Epistle XIX to two sisters. The tenth epistle is a curious piece in praise of maternity rather than virginity, and may well be addressed to Fontaine's wife.¹⁾ A trio of letters, XVI, XVII and XVIII put before us a dispute between the poet and his mistress, with Epistle XVII designated as written by the lady. The rest of the Epistles are love letters, praising the lady's beauty, lamenting her cruelty, and describing the effects of love on the poet. In one instance we have a particularly striking example of how the poet treats a certain motif in almost exactly the same way in an elegy and in an epistle. The poet is all admiration before the beauty of his mistress, and feels himself both unworthy and incapable of setting pen to paper in order to describe her.

Tu m'en croiras en tous endroitz et lieux
 Mille pensées viennent devant mes yeulx,
 Lesquelz seroit impossible d'escrire.
 Comment pourroye en ce papier descrire
 Qu'à la lueur de sept ou huict flambeaux
 Voy tes tetins qui ~~ny~~ (~~me~~) semblent tant beaux,
 Ton nez longuet, tes joues vermeillettes,
 Ton beau tainct fraiz, plus que n'ont les fillettes
 Ton large front et ton col cristallin,
 Aussi le bort des lèvres courallin,
 Tes yeulx rians, conduictz de telle forme
 Que tu n'as rien sur toy qui te difforme.
 Comment aussi mettroye en prose ou vers
 Que je te voy, les yeulx demy ouvers
 Tourner vers moy.

2)

1) cf. Les Ruisseaux de Fontaine, Odelette à sa Flora enceinte.
 Flora was Fontaine's second wife, and he married her in 1544.

2) Elegie I

Mais pense tu qu'on peust mettre en escrit
 Comment je te oy parler de grand esprit,
 Comment te voy vestue et comment nue,
 Comment te voy de corps gente et menue,
 Comment en cotte et comment en chemise,
 Comment sur ta chair blanche est mise
 Comment je tien ton tetin bien refaict:
 Tu n'en croiras, on n'auroit jamais faict
 Plume n'y a qui le peust bien escrire
 Ny Orateur qui le peust bien descrire
 Langue n'y a qui le peust raconter,
 Ce papier cy ne le pourroit porter,
 La main n'est pas de ce travail capable,
 L'entrepreneur se sentiroit coupable. 1)

From the two passages it is difficult to see that Fontaine attempts to make any clear-cut distinction between the two genres. Other themes too run through both the elegies and the epistles, such as the joys of dancing with his lady²⁾ and the poet's constant complaints at the lady's refusal to reply to his letters.³⁾ Thus in the epistles which treat love, and they certainly make up the bulk of the epistles, there is little to distinguish them in theme from the elegies.

From the purely technical point of view, there is again little difference. Both the elegies and the epistles are written in decasyllabics, with "rimes plates". When we look at the length of the two genres, here we find what is probably a better guide. The shortest epistle is a mere

1) Epistre III

2) Fontaine describes the joys of dancing with his lady in Elegies I and III, and Epistle III. In Epistles XIII and XIX, addressed both to two ladies, he again discourses on the pleasures of the dance.

3) On this theme, cf. Elegies VIII and XVII, and Epistles VI and XIII.

16 lines,¹⁾ and the longest, an exceptional 90 line missive in praise of his lady's beauty.²⁾ Most of the epistles are around 30 lines long. The shortest elegy is 28 lines long,³⁾ and the longest 104.⁴⁾ On an average, most of the elegies are around or over fifty lines in length. It does seem that Fontaine considered the elegy as a longer, and possibly more elaborate type of love letter. Here again, the only safe conclusion is that Fontaine's idea of what constituted an elegy was far from clear-cut. When Sebillet in his Art Poétique⁵⁾ gives a rather muddled and ambiguous definition of the elegy, he is merely reflecting the ambiguities he finds among the poets who write elegies.

Whatever Fontaine's exact concept of the elegy as distinct from the epistle, it does seem possible that he was better acquainted with the latin elegiac poets, and made slightly more use of them than did Marot. In the dedicatory epistle to the Duc d'Orléans, which prefaces the Fontaine d'Amour, Fontaine, fearing that he may be criticised for the lasciviousness of his love poetry, first of all puts forward the defence, borrowed from Catullus and Ovid, that although his verses may be

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- 1) Epistle XIII.
 - 2) Epistle VII.
 - 3) Elegy XXI.
 - 4) Elegy XVIII.
 - 5) See supra, Chapter I.

lascivious, his heart is pure.¹⁾ He then embroiders on this defence by insisting on the examples of the famous Latin poets, who had mistresses, and wrote erotic poetry about them.

Je n'ay ces choses alléguées pour me justifier & rendre innocent; car quand bien seroit que j'auroye conjoint l'expérience avec l'écriture, ce ne seroit nouveauté, ne cas reprehensible. Il est tout seur que Tibulle, poète beau de corps et sçavant d'esprit eut pour amy Nemesis, Properse (sic) Cynthia; qui parfois luy aydoit à parfaire ses vers, tant estoit sçavante; comme aussi la corinne à Ovide; Lesbia à Catulle. 2)

Apart from this reference to the Latin elegiacs, which shows that he knew something of their lives, and works, it does seem that Fontaine was particularly interested by Ovid. He later translated parts of the Remedia Amoris³⁾ and also ten of the Heroides.⁴⁾ For the purposes of his elegies, Fontaine culls a certain amount of material from Ovid's Amores, and it seems from them that his knowledge of the Heroides and the Metamorphoses was extensive.

1) Catallus: Nam castum esse decet pium poetam
Ipsam; versiculos nihil necesse est.

Ovid: Crede mihi, mores distant a carmine nostro:
Vita verecunda est, Musa jocosus mihi.

2) Fontaine d'Amour, Préface à Treshault et Tresflorissant Prince, monseigneur, le duc d'Orléans, p.8.

4) Les Epistres d'Ovide, nouvellement mises en vers françois, par M. Charles Fontaine, avec les préfaces et annotations, Lyon, 1552. Arsenal, 8°. B.L.4. 856.

3) Fontaine's translation of the first book appeared in Les Ruisseaux, p.349.

From Catullus, Fontaine appears to have taken little, apart from a few reminiscences, and the idea for the elegy on the loss of his mistress' dog.¹⁾ These borrowings suggest rather haphazard scraps remembered and used, rather than a conscious consistent effort at imitation. There appears to be very little that Fontaine took directly from Tibullus or Propertius.

There is however throughout the love elegies (and the epistles) a constant use of Petrarchist devices. R.L. Hawkins, in his study of Fontaine²⁾ suggests that Fontaine may have become familiar with Italian poetry during his stay in Italy, which probably took place during the period 1539-1540. Fontaine went first to Piedmont, and then made his way from Turin to Ferrara, calling at various cities on his way, Pavia, Cremona and Mantua. Whilst he was in Ferrara, he presented a poem to the Duchess Renée, in the hope of gaining her favour, and possibly remuneration. He was apparently unsuccessful. A possible explanation is that the Duchess was at that moment engaged in defending herself from a new wave of persecution by her husband, Ercole d'Este. However it is possible that this stay in Italy stimulated Fontaine's interest in Italian poetry.

- 1) This elegy (IX) seems to be an imitation of Ovid's lament on the death of Corinna's parrot (Amores, II, 6), which in its turn was imitated from Catullus' lament on the death of Lesbia's sparrow. (lugete, o Veneres Cupidinesque.) This theme seems to have appealed particularly to various sixteenth century poets, who lament the death or loss of dogs, cats, sparrows, and weasels.
- 2) R.L. Hawkins, Maistre Charles Fontaine, Parisien, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, Studies in Romance Languages, Vol.II, 1916. There is much valuable information on Fontaine's life and works in this study. On Fontaine's stay in Italy, see Chapter III.

In an article¹⁾ on Fontaine's translation of four epigrams by Sannazaro Caroline Ruutz-Rees even goes as far as dating these translations from the years of Fontaine's stay in Italy. This is stating the case rather too strongly, since on the one hand Sannazaro and his works were very well known in France, and in any case Fontaine who lived for many years in Lyon would certainly be particularly open to Italian influence, simply as being resident in a town famous for its contacts with Italy.

- 1) C. Ruutz-Rees, Charles Fontaine's Fontaine d'Amour, and Sannazaro, Modern Language Notes, March 1912.

The four epigrams in question are:

De Galla, which Fontaine translated as, De Catin, Catin se plainct, Catin se deult. Fontaine, p.108.

De Thelesinae crinibus, from which Fontaine drew two pieces:

De Catin, Ainsi comme Catin se mire, Fontaine, p.92.

Autre, Par un matin Catin se mire, Fontaine, p.93.

The most interesting translation is of Sannazaro's Ad Vesbiam, since it embroiders on the theme of love as a conflict between fire and water, which re-appears very frequently in the elegies.

Aspice quam, variis dstringar Vesbia curis
Uror et heu! nostro manat ab igne liquor;
Sum Nilus, sumque Aetna simul: restringe flammam
O lacrimae, lacrimas ebibe flamma meas.

De Amour qui faict feu et eau. Fontaine, p.99

Je m'esbahy qu'en eau ne suis fondu,
Qui n'ay jamais les povres joues seiches;
Plus m'esbahy qu'amour m'a rendu
Tout converti en cendres et flammèches
Aussi aisé comme petites mesches.
Je suis le Nil & suis le mont Etna:
Etna pourtant que je fondz tout en pleurs:
Feu, boy ces pleurs qu'amour me resigna,
Pleurs, restraingnez ce feu et ces chaleurs.

Certainly, whether Fontaine in fact became interested in Italian poetry during his stay in Italy, or simply in Lyons, he does make very frequent use of a certain number of the clichés of Petrarchism throughout the elegies, and in fact throughout his poetry.

In studying the elegies of Fontaine we will study first Fontaine's borrowings from the latin elegiacs, then his borrowings from Petrarchism, and finally, try to discern what the influence of Marot was, and whether Fontaine carries over any of the mediaeval poetic traditions. Of the latin elegiacs, Ovid is a suitable starting point, since it has been assumed that Fontaine borrowed largely from this poet, and in particular from the Amores.¹⁾

One of the more striking passages which demonstrates Fontaine's knowledge of Ovid is in the fourteenth elegy. In it, Fontaine in fact does not actually translate, or even directly imitate, he simply exploits "Ovidian" material. Here it is not the Amores that Fontaine follows, but the Heroides. In exhorting his lady to love him, Fontaine tries to spur her on by quoting a list of the great lovers of Antiquity. We are young, says the poet, and should therefore take advantage of our love and youth. He then quotes his list of lovers, most of the couples being those who wrote or received the Heroides.

1) cf. Hawkins, Op. cit., p.177. "In his elegies, twenty-four in number, twenty-two of which are in the Fontaine d'Amour, Fontaine was influenced by the Amores of Ovid, by Catullus, possibly by Tibullus and Propertius."

Antoine Marc ayma Cleopatra;
 Zenone ayma Paris, dont elle entra
 En grand douleur quand Helene il ravit.
 Le paindre grand Campaspe nue vit,
 Et fut d'amour et d'ardeur entasmé.
 Pyramus ha jusques à mort aymé
 Thybé, aussi tesmoing leurs glaives nudz.
 Le traict d'amour, le brandon de Vénus
 Ont bien senti Ero et Leander,
 Qui ont voulu des epistres mander;
 Et qui sont morts en poursuyte amoureuse,
 Moyez en mer horrible & furieuse. 1)

The point to note here, is that Fontaine not only gives greater detail to the couples whose tragic loves are narrated in the Heroïdes, but that he keeps well within the tradition of Ovid by insisting that Hero and Leander "ont voulu des epistres mander". Obviously Fontaine was well acquainted with the Heroïdes by this stage in his career. Further references in the elegies suggest that he was somewhat taken by Ovid's references to Corinna's parrot in the Amores. In elegy X, where Fontaine defends himself against the accusation of being the lover of his mistress, he remarks:

Dea, si j'estois un signon perruquet,
 Plein de babil et d'amoureux caquet,
 On pourroit dire un mot à l'avanture. 2)

In the elegy on the loss of his mistress' dog, as in Ovid's elegy on the death of Corinna's parrot, Fontaine draws an imaginary picture of the burial place of the dog, and the worthy animals he will have as companions

1) Elegy XIII.

2) Elegy X, Fontaine, p.28.

in his final resting place. Fontaine includes in this list both the parrot of Corinna, and Lesbia's sparrow.

Le petit chien d'amour tant bonne et pure,
 Digne d'avoir après mort sepulture
 Avec la chienne (hélas) de Atalanta,
 Que le sanglier trop cruel adenta;
 Digne d'avoir sa déploration
 Et sa louange & décoration
 Avec l'oyseau de l'amye à Catulle,
 Et perroquet que Ovide y accumule. 1)

It is interesting to note that from the poem of Catullus on the death of Lesbia's sparrow, which was a short piece of eighteen lines, managing to convey a certain amount of pathos at the death of the sparrow, via Ovid's longer and more ironic piece, we come to Fontaine's lengthy effort (almost fifty lines). The intent has changed, and the death of a pet animal has been modified to a mere loss. The whole purpose of the piece is an occasion for Fontaine to discourse at length on the beauty of the lady, and the affection she showed for a domestic animal.

Apart from these examples, the textual borrowings from Ovid are minimal. It seems that although Fontaine quoted Ovid so energetically

1) Elegy IX, Fontaine, p.27. It is quite possible too that Fontaine's mention of parrots in these two elegies may be a reminiscence of Jean Lemaire's Les Epitres de l'Amant Vert. In the second epistle, Lemaire's parrot hero describes his experiences in the underworld of classical antiquity, and having described the wicked animals in Hades, goes on to list the virtuous birds and beasts in the Elysian fields. Among "mille oiseaux et animaux gentils" is "le passeron de l'amye de Catulle". Strangely enough, Lemaire does not include Corinna's parrot in his list of virtuous animals. The fact that Fontaine does give a list of animals with whom his mistress' dog is worthy to be buried indicates that he may well have been acquainted with Lemaire's extensive list of birds and beasts.

in his preface, and possibly saw himself writing in the same tradition as Ovid's Amores, he scarcely uses Ovid as a source for his love elegies. The same is largely the case for Fontaine's borrowings from Catullus. Apart from the references to Catullus in the Preface, and the link with the latin poet in the elegy on the loss of his mistress' dog, there is not a great deal to be gleaned from the text of the elegies which comes directly from Catullus. There is, however, one instance where Fontaine, if not translating line by line at least freely imitates, possibly from memory, Catullus' elegy, "Vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus".¹⁾ In the fourteenth elegy, Fontaine exhorts his mistress to take advantage of her youth while it lasts.

Sans y penser, nous dit à Dieu Jeunesse,
 Sans y penser nous poursuit la vieillesse.
 Le beau soleil tous les jours va et vient:
 Jeunesse va, mais jamais ne revient,
 Et trop en vain en feu la regrettons,
 Quand ses esbatz par trop nous rejettons.
 Jeunesse, donc (si tu m'en croys, amy)
 Et ses esbatz ne rejecterons nye.
 Assez aurons vieillesse rigoureuse,
 Sans chagriner nostre jeunesse heureuse. 2)

Rather than being a textual imitation it appears that the Catullus elegy

1) Catullus, Carmina, V.

Vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus,
 Rumoresque senum severiorum
 Omnes unius aestimemus assis.
 Soles occidere et redire possunt;
 Nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux,
 Nox est perpetua una dormienda.

2) Elegy XIII, Fontaine, p.35.

was a poem that Fontaine knew well, and was attempting to imitate, without having the Latin original in front of him. There is the parallel of "Soles occidere et redire possent", and "Le beau soleil tous les jours va et vient". In the case of "Assez aurons vieillesse rigoureuse", this seems to be a slip of the memory, since it is highly unlikely that a latinist as capable as Fontaine¹⁾ would actually mistranslate "senum severiorum". In fact, for Fontaine, it seems that Catullus, like Ovid, was an example to quote in defence of his aims, to admire, and to borrow from on occasions, but not a definite source to translate from consistently.

When Du Bellay in his comments on the elegy in the Deffence et Illustration affects to ignore the efforts of poets before the Pléiade in writing elegies, the prescription he gives is interesting in view of the elegies of Fontaine. "Distile avecques un style coulant & non scabreux ces pitoyables elegies, à l'exemple d'un Ovide, d'un Tibule, & d'un Propertius, y entremeslant quelquefois de ces fables anciennes, non petit ornement de la poésie".²⁾ We have seen so far that Fontaine takes something from Ovid for his own elegies, and nothing from Tibullus or Propertius. However, as far as the latter part of Du Bellay's instructions is concerned, Fontaine certainly makes a wide use of mythology to embellish his elegies. In some cases Fontaine seems to be

1) As well as translating the Remedia Amoris and the Heroides, Fontaine also published a translation in 1558, Les Sentences du poète Ausone. In 1555 he was made the temporary head of the Collège de la Trinité. See Hawkins, Op. cit. pp.216-219.

2) La Deffence et Illustration de la Langue Francoyse. Book II, Ch. iv, pp.111-112.

relying on his own knowledge of mythology, which may have been quite wide in view of his interest in Ovid, on other occasions his use of mythology is simply a further borrowing from the Roman de la Rose, and on one occasion, his mention of a series of myths comes from one of Marot's elegies. We will look briefly at some of the myths, or scraps of mythology that Fontaine introduces in his elegies.

On the most banal level of all Fontaine is constantly making Venus and Cupid appear on the scene in his elegies. Venus is responsible for the flame of love, "de Vénus le flasbeau"¹⁾ and Cupid, the blind god of love, "Cupido ne voit goutte"²⁾ who nevertheless shoots his arrows with deadly accuracy. In order to be cured of the wounds inflicted by Cupid, Fontaine must be treated kindly by his lady, and for this wound to be miraculously cured, he begs her:

De me guérir ne fay point de refus,
Achille soys, je seray Telephus. 3)

Fontaine is forever quoting illustrious examples to encourage his mistress to love him. For Helen, time and place worked wonders, "Le lieu et temps furent le grand moyen, Qui assambla Hèleine et le Troyen".⁴⁾ His lady should be flattered, since he is coming to Paris in order to seek her out, in the same way that Paris went to Greece to find Helen.

1) Elegy XVII. cf. also Elegies XII and XV.

2) Elegy VII. cf. also Elegies XI, XIII, XX.

3) Elegy XI.

4) Elegy II.

"Jadis pour veoir & pour avoir Heleine, S'en vint de Troye en la Grèce
Paris, Je vien pour vous d'Italie à Paris.¹⁾ Again²⁾ after quoting a
series of the famous mortals of Antiquity who were famous lovers, Fontaine
then embarks on a long list of the exploits of the gods in the amorous
field. Neptune loved Tethys, and Mars loved Venus. Fontaine then mentions
Jupiter's appearance to Leda in the form of a swan and goes into details
of the story of Phebus' loves. The crowning example given is that of
the love of the moon for Endymion.

Les dieux haultains mesme ont cure d'aymer
Qu'il soit ainsi, Neptune, Dieu de mer,
N'ayma il pas Tethys? ouy, en effet.
Mars et Venus on ha prins sur le faict.
Et Juppiter ayma Leda, en signe
Qu'il se mua pour elle en un blanc Cigne.
Phébus ayma Leucothée et Daphné:
D'une jouyt, l'autre l'a pourmené:
Mais l'une et l'autre est en arbre muée,
L'une d'honneur, l'autre d'odeur ornée:
La lune ayma de grand affection,
Jadis le beau pasteur Endymion,
Et l'endormit sept ans: adonc le baise
Incessamment et trop plus à son aise.
En attendant avoir de toy secours,
Le temps s'en va, tousjours passe ce cours. 3)

1) Elegy XII. On Helen cf. Elegy IX.

La dame en soy est de beauté tant pleine,
Que la maintien une seconde Heleine.

2) Elegy XIII.

3) This passage may well be a free imitation of a passage from Marot's Elegie XXIV, Marot, Oeuvres Lyriques, ed. C.A. Mayer, University of London, the Athlone Press, 1964, p.270.

The poet, who has returned from exile, wonders how he dares to present his "service" to the lady he addresses, and declares that his boldness is justified, since in the past mortal men have been loved by goddesses.

Aussi jadiz deesses adourées
D'hommes mortelz se sont enamourées.
Le jeune Athis feust aimé de Cibelle,
Endymion de Diane la belle;
Pour Adonis, Venus tant s'abbaysa
Que les haultz cieulx pour la terre layssa.

Finally, as the ultimate flattery of his mistress, Fontaine insists that she has all the virtues of the goddesses, as well as the beauty of Helen or Venus.

Tu es Sappho en science haultaine:
Tu es en biens Juno la souveraine:
Tu es Pallas en grâce et gravité;
Tu es Helene, ou Vénus en beauté. 1)

From these examples, it can be seen that although Fontaine appears to have a fairly comprehensive knowledge of mythology, in many cases he requotes from his contemporaries, and on the whole keeps very much to the myths or characters in mythology which had been "lieux communs" throughout the Middle Ages (Venus and Cupid, Helen). Nevertheless, Fontaine could hardly be reproached for neglecting to use mythology as an embellishment for his elegies.

In examining the various Petrarchist elements which recur in Fontaine's elegies, we find two main strands. There is on one hand the stylised description of his lady, full of superlatives, and exaggerations. Then there is Fontaine's use of various conceits to describe love, and its effect on him, for instance love as a wound or a flame, or again as a conflict between fire and water.

We will deal first with Fontaine's descriptions of his mistress.

1) Elegy XII.

We have already seen¹⁾ how in the first elegy Fontaine starts by asserting that it is impossible to describe his mistress' beauty on paper, but then immediately launches into a long attempt to do so. The same theme is exploited in Elegy XII, this time with the description of the lady's beauty placed first finishing up with the poet's avowal of his own unworthiness to describe her.

La plaisant tainct de ta luisante face,
 Ton large front et ton col cristallin
 Ton tetin blanc qu'on voit soubz crespes ou lin
 Bien deslié, ta lèvre rouge et saine
 Dont vient et prent son petit cours alaine
 Tant souefve et douce, et les dorez cheveulx,
 Ton corps bien faict.....
 Mais qui le tout dignement louera?
 O grand' beaulté, douceur & grâce d'ange,
 Ma muse est bien moindre que ta louange.

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- 1) Although this is a common device and theme in Petrarchism, it is possible that Fontaine knew the particular Canzone where Petrarch bemoans his unworthiness and incapability of describing Laura. cf. Petrarca, Rime, Trionfi e Poesie Latine, a cura di F. Neri, Milan & Naples, 1951. No. CCCXXV, p.414.

Tacer non posso e temo non adopre
 contrario effeto la mia lingua al core,
 che vorria far onore
 a la sua Donna che dal ciel n'ascolta.
 Come poss'io se non m'insegni, Amore,
 con parole mortali agguagliar l'opre
 divine e quel che copre
 alta umiltate in sé stessa raccolta?

.....
 Muri eran d'alabastro e 'l tetto d'oro,
 d'avorio uscio e fenestre di zaffiro
 onde 'l primo sospiro
 mi giunse al cor e giugnerà l'estremo;
 inde i messi d'Amor armati usciro
 di saette e di foco

Compare also the final tercet of Sonnet XX, p.22.

Più volte incominciai di scriver versi,
 ma la penna e la mano e l'intelletto
 rimaser vinti nel primier assalto.

The same type of exaggeration and use of superlatives are evident when Fontaine attempts to describe the hard-heartedness of this paragon of beauty, and on the other hand, the all-consuming quality of love. These two themes are combined, and expressed by the fire/water conceit. It may well be that Fontaine was remembering the epigram of Sannazaro, Ad Vesbiam, when he composed the following highly exaggerated verses.

N'y a il point quelque pitié en femme,
 A tout le moins en celle qui enflamme
 Si fort mon cueur, que la grande chaleur
 Redondera à son tresgrand malheur?
 Malheur tresgrand, si la pluye de grâce
 Dedans brief temps ne l'estainct & efface,
 Car si tousjours il se veult alumer
 Avant huit jours me pourroit consumer.
 Puis en la fin, par cruelle vengeance
 Tourner sur elle & sans quelque alegeance
 Luy consumer cueur, corps, mammelle & tainct.
 Ainsi soit-il, si elle ne l'estainct,
 Quand elle peult, à fin que me ressemble,
 Et que soyons tous deux bruslez ensemble,
 D'un même feu plus grand que cil d'Ethna. 1)

Fontaine appears to have been particularly taken by this variation on the fire/water conceit, in which only the lady can provide a "pluye de grâce" to prevent the flames of his love from consuming both of them. He uses it again in elegy XVII.

Par un longtemps l'amour point ne ce cele
 Le feu caché en la fin se descele.
 Le feu que sens est feu chault, cler et beau,
 C'est asçavoir de Vénus le flambeau,
 Qui tousjours luyt et longtemps ne se cache.
 Ha! vostre cueur n'est pas qui ne le sache.
 Luy plaise donc espandre tant soit peu,
 De l'eau de grâce au milieu de ce feu,

1) Elegy XXI.

Dont par vostre oeil qui sur moy estincelle,
M'avez jetté la première estincelle.

Apart from the use of this antithetical image of fire and water, Fontaine makes constant use of the well worn image of love as a flame or a fire. Under the cover of the beauty of his lady lies a fire which will set the poet alight. (Elegy II). Being near her, and yet being unable to possess her is a double flame, and a double torment. Here Fontaine introduces another rather striking image. This suspense is like giving the invalid medicine in order to prolong life, and agony.

C'est un beau feu qui ha double chaleur,
C'est un bon sort tout bordé de malheur;
C'est un sirop que le medecin donne,
Pour alonger le mal de la personne. 1)

It is extremely difficult to pinpoint exact sources for many of the conceits and images that Fontaine uses in describing love as a flame, and in describing his own passion, and the coldness of the lady. We find this antithesis frequently in Petrarch, either as the direct contrast between the heat of the poet's passions, and the coldness of

1) Elegy V.

her response, even though she is his "flame",¹⁾ or as the contrast between the poet's burning passion, and the tears of misery and frustration he sheds.²⁾ The contrast between this warmth and the coldness is again a favourite theme of Serafino dall'Aquila, who exploits the theme to its utmost, and gives some very weird variations on it. Serafino's flame is so intense, that if he were to be cast into the sea, even the sea would catch fire. How is it then that he is not consumed by this flame? Although he carries a fire within himself, at each moment his tears

1) cf. Sonnet CLXXXII, Neri edition, p.248.

Amor, che 'ncende il cor d'ardente zelo,
di gelata paura il ten costretto,
e qual sia più fa dubbio a l'intelletto
la speranza o 'l temor, la fiamma o 'l gelo.

Trea' al più caldo, ard' al più freddo cielo,
sempre pien di desire e di sospetto,
pur come donna in un vestire schietto
celi un uom vivo o sotto un picciol velo.

Di queste pene è mia propria la prima,
arder di e notte; e quanto è 'l dolce male,
né 'n penser cape, non che'n versi o 'n rima:

l'altra non già, che 'l mio bel foco è tale
ch'ogni uom pareggia, e del suo lume in cima
chi volar pensa indarno spiega l'ale.

2) cf. Neri edition, p.82. Ballata, LV.

Quel foco ch'i' pensai che fosse spento
dal freddo tempo e da l'età men fresca,
fiamma e martir ne l'anima rinfresca.

form enough of a stream to extinguish this flame.¹⁾ Indeed, he is like damp wood which gives off water as it burns.²⁾ In view of the way in which this same type of imagery occurs with such frequency in the elegies of Fontaine, it seems reasonable to assume that the French poet, if not ever translating Serafino with any exactitude was very well acquainted with his poetry, and reproduces much the same type of conceits which made Serafino so admired in his day.

Linked with the image of the flame of love, is the image of

1) cf. Strambotto, Di Seraphino Aquilano poeta elegantissimo opere nuovamente ricorrette et con diligentia imprese, In Venegia, MDXLVIII.
 f. 125 r.

Se drente porto una fornace ardente,
 Espargo ogn' hor da gli occhi un largo fiume
 Hor come il foco e l'acqua e si possente
 Che l'un per l'altro mai non si consume,
 Ma solo al mondo amor questo consente
 Che po levar ciascun de suo costume
 E fa chel foco suo ne l'acqua appiglia
 Per farmi exemplo d'ogni maraviglia.

2) On Serafino see J. Vianey, Le Pétrarquisme en France au XVIème siècle, Montpellier, 1909. Ch. I, A l'école de Séraphin dall'Aquila.

The editions I have consulted are:

Di Seraphino Aquilano poeta elegantissimo opere nuovamente ricorrette et con diligentia imprese, In Venegia, MDXLVIII. Brit. Mus. 11429 df.35.

Le Rime di Serafino de' Ciminelli dall'Aquila (Collezione di opere inedite o rare, Bologna, 1896. This is edited by Mario Menghini, and contains simply the Sonnets.

As an example of one of Serafino's more precious embroideries on the fire/water theme here is the Strambotto where he compares himself to damp, green wood. Opere, p.143 v^o.

Che non se placa hormai tua cruda mente,
 Ingrata nel mio volto remirando
 Che ben dimostra drento il foco ardente
 Il mio muggir le lachrime ch'io spando
 Che un verde legno mentre il foco sente
 Sempre da i capi humor getta gridando
 Ma dove e crudelta non val ragione
 Ne exemplo alcun mai vinse ostinatione.

love as a wound, inflicted either directly by the lady, or by Cupid. It is the eye of the lady which inflicts the wound on the heart of the poet. "Si ton oeil vif & de telle poincture, Qu'il perse cueurs, tant que son regard dure."¹⁾ Fontaine embroiders at length on this image in Elegy VII. He cast a glance in the direction of his lady, but it was not until she looked at him that he received the wound.

De son costé le mien²⁾ n'en dit pas moins:
 Les coups de traict en sont les vrayz tesmoings.
 J'entends de traict, que l'oeil tira adoncques
 Tout droict au cueur, aussi bien qu'on vit oncques.
 Mais s'il advient qu'on ne puisse tirer
 Le traict dehors, ô Dieu quel martyrer!
 O quel tourment! ô quelle fascherie,
 Car autrement ne peult estre guerie
 La playe ainsi en cueur receue, ô Dieux,
 Mieulx ne vouldroit que l'homme n'eust point d'yeulx?
 Que par iceulx en un tel martyre estre
 Qui n'a relasche en la vie terrestre?

As in the case of the fire/water imagery, this particular conceit is singularly widespread in both Petrarch and his followers in Italy. Here again it is possible that Fontaine took this particular conceit from Petrarch, and enlarged on it himself. For instance, in a sonnet³⁾ Petrarch describes the glance from his mistress' eyes as like the archer's arrow.

Si tosto come aven che l'arco scocchi
 buon sagittario di lontan discerne

-
- 1) Elegy II.
 2) le mien, i.e. the lover's heart.
 3) Neri edition, p.126, Sonetto LXXXVII.

qual colpo è da sprezzare e qual d'averne
fede ch'al destinato segno tocchi;

similmente il colpo de' vostr' occhi,
Donna, sentiste a le mie parti interne
dritto passare, onde conven ch'eterne
leggrime per la piaga il cor trabocchi.

e certo son che voi diceste allora:
"Misero amante! a che vaghezza il mena?
Ecco lo strale onde Amor vol ch'e' mora".

Ora, veggendo, come 'l duol m'affrena,
quel che mi fanno i miei nemici ancora
non è per morte, ma per più mia pena.

From these examples we can conclude that Fontaine may well have known the works of Petrarch, and taken some of the conceits he uses from this source. However, in certain cases where he uses an incredibly exaggerated and stylised form of imagery, it seems he was also acquainted with the 15th century Petrarchists, and most probably Serafino chief among them. He also as we saw took some of his fire and water imagery from the neo-latin poet, Sannazaro.

If Fontaine has a certain debt to the Latin elegiacs, and also drew largely from the arsenal of images and techniques provided by Petrarchism, what did he owe to Marot? Fontaine was an admirer of Marot, and one of his defenders in the Marot-Sagon quarrel.¹⁾ It is even possible that Fontaine was on friendly terms with the poet he admired

1) cf. Hawkins, Op. cit., Ch. II, which contains a long account of Fontaine's part in the quarrel.

so much.¹⁾ It seems fairly certain that Fontaine would not have adopted the elegy as a genre simply on his own initiative, and that without Marot as an example, he might well simply have baptised all his love epistles Epîtres Amoureuses. Certainly Marot started a fashion, but he did not necessarily impose a strict form. In the case of Fontaine, it is difficult to trace many textual imitations of Marot,²⁾ and we can finally do little more than point out certain parallels. If Marot borrowed little from the Latin elegiac poets, it cannot be asserted that Fontaine borrowed a great deal, although in his lightness of touch and frivolity, he is often a lot nearer to the Amores of Ovid than Marot was in his own elegies. Fontaine's debt to the Petrarchists is certainly greater than Marot's. Since Marot's elegies are from so many points of view one of the more mediaeval parts of his work, it may be of interest to see what mediaeval elements there are in Fontaine's love elegies.

There are several passages in Fontaine's elegies where it is a problem to see where the influence of Petrarchism begins, and where mediaeval influence ends. When the poet-lover suffers the torments of unrequited love, is this the influence of Petrarchism, or is it the

1) cf. The dizain (Ruisseau, p.82) A Clément Marot, quand l'auteur alloit disner avec luy.

Je n'ay veu ton pareil encor
 En douceur de rime françoise:
 Car, ami Marot, autant qu'or
 Plus qu'autre metal luit et poise
 Tes vers françois en douce noise

Vont surpassans le stile antique,
 Et croy qu'en ton art poétique,
 Le temps à peine amenera
 Un poète si doux-unique,
 Qui plus doucement sonnera.

2) One very slight example has already been quoted. cf. *supra*. p 159, note 3.

well-worn theme of the "amant econduit"? Certainly there are parts of Fontaine's elegies which owe more to the tradition of courtly love, and to Alain Chartier, than to Petrarch or Petrarchism.

In one elegy Fontaine launches into an extensive use of allegory. This is in Elegy X, which has in itself a theme that is mediaeval. Some person, says Fontaine, has betrayed the secret of their love, and the poet now defends himself against these "mesdisants" who assert that he is the lover of his mistress.

Belle pour qui à tort suis accusé,
 Et toutefois de nul suis excusé
 Fors de celuy qui seul cognoist les cueurs:
 Ne voy tu point je ne scay quelz mocqueurs,
 (Car autrement je ne les puis nommer,
 Qui ton smant me viennent surnommer?
 Par un seul mot donnans à nous deux blasme,
 Qui m'est bien grief pour toy honneste Dame.

.....
 Si celle-là, par qui recompense ha,
 Cil qu'on accuse à grand tort et sans cause
 Par Verité nostre bonne advocate
 Retireroit soubdain sa faulse patte,
 Fol jugement l'advocat adversaire
 Ou plainement seroit trouvé faulsaire.

Fontaine includes in this elegy a thoroughly moralistic condemnation of all "mesdisants", and wicked gossips, and then concludes, to re-assure his lady:

Et quant à toy, Dame, à qui je rescriptz,
 Ne crains en rien tous leurs blasons et eriz;
 Quand les orras je croy que viendrâs dire
 Vertu en fin vaincra vostre mesdire.

In another elegy, Fontaine stresses the courtly ideal of long,

faithful and submissive service to his mistress. Despite two years faithful love, fortune is contrary to the lover, and he has not even had the opportunity to declare his love. However, despite malevolent fortune, the poet will persevere.

Mais maulgré toy,¹⁾ tant je l'ayme et ~~se~~ la sers,
 Que la querray avant par les desers,
 Je la querray & par champs & par villes,
 Et feray tant par tous moyens habilles
 Que la verray: & si m'escoutera
 J'y parviendray, quoy qu'il me coustera. 2)

Elegy IIII stresses the sorrows of the path of love, and the possibilities which await the lover.

Si tu cognois le travail & la peine
 Dont est d'amours la sente toute pleine
 Si tu entends mes maulx aucunement
 Ton plaisir soit me dire absolument
 Ouy ou non. Par responce absolue
 Bien tost sera la question solue.
 Le premier est gracieux saufconduit,
 Le second est desdaigneux escenduit.
 Par le premier on entend jouissance,
 Par le second, rigoureuse puissance.

In yet another description of the trials of love, contending that joy in love is always marred by pain and torment, Fontaine uses the image of the plucking of the rose, which seems to be a reminiscence of the Roman de la Rose. "Qui veult cueillir une Rose bien souefve, quelque pointure il fault qu'il en reçoive".³⁾

- 1) "toy" Here the poet is apostrophising Fortune.
- 2) Elegy VI.
- 3) Elegy XIX.

Finally, there is throughout the elegies a sensual, and sometimes frankly obscene element, whose origin may be found no further away than in the main stream of mediaeval tradition, and again, nearer to Fontaine, in the "équivoques obscènes" of certain of the Rhétoriciens.¹⁾ In some of the elegies in question, Fontaine gives a highly sensual description, which is suggestive, but little more. In the first elegy, where the poet describes how he first saw his lady, he starts his description thus:

Belle de face et gente de corsage,
Et de maintien bien gracieuse et sage,
Depuis le jour que vey ton blanc tetin
Par l'entrebail d'un collet de satin

On other occasions Fontaine is far more suggestive, and launches into the frankly erotic. In Elegy V, the poet opens with a description of the pains of being so near, and yet so far from his sexual goal.

Là où tu sçais, je ne pris jamais aise,
Qui ne me fust destrempé en mesaise.
Car quel plaisir de près voir & toucher
Ce qu'on peult bien, mais qu'on n'ose attoucher,
Pour esprouver par pinceau et par pointete?
Combien que soit la bague riche et coincte.

1) On the Rhétoriciens and the "équivoque obscène", see Marcel Françon's collection of Poèmes de Transition (XV-XVIème siècles), Rondeaux du Ms. 402 de Lille, Harvard University Press & Bros, Paris 1938. There is an interesting preface by Henri Guy. cf. Préface, pp.42-46. Guy remarks of the authors of these rondeaux, "Tous, en effet sont plus sensuels qu'amoureux. Il ne s'agit pas pour eux d'exaltation mystique, mais des plaisirs du lit." This is largely true of Fontaine in various elegies. Compare too the rondeaux-ballades of Molinet, which are in the same vein. Les Faicts et Ditz de Jean Molinet, Soc. des Anciens Textes Français, Paris, 1936. Vol. II, Poésies familières: Balades, pp.864-874. Rondeaux, pp.274-276.

The same image appears in Elegy XX, where Fontaine declares that his mistress is more dear to him than money, gold, or fine jewels. She is a treasure more precious than all these, or to be more precise, this treasure is part of the lady in question.

J'espère donc bien heureux devenir,
 Quand un tel bien je puis veoir et tenir;
 Veoir et tenir, ô que c'est belle chose.
 Mais le mal est que la bague est enclose;
 Ainsi la veoir c'est veoir aucunement,
 Mais ce n'est veoir ne tenir proprement,
 C'est seulement en veoir la couverture,
 Et la tenir. O chose grieve et dure!
 Ma Damoyelle, ostez doncques, ostez
 Ceste closture & la bague apportez
 Devant mes yeulx sans couverture et nuë
 Pour esprouver sa tant riche valuë.

It seems then that Fontaine takes both faces of the coin from the mediaeval tradition of love poetry. On the one hand he is the agonised but patient lover in the line of Alain Chartier, and on the other, the exponent of a vigorous and purely sensual love. Indeed, in his more sensual moments, he makes a blatant contrast to the chaster elegies of Marot which draw rather on the more ethereal and courtly tradition of love.

In conclusion to the study of the love elegies, we will consider briefly the eighteenth elegy, since it differs somewhat from the others.¹⁾ It is composed by Fontaine for the Receveur de Glatigny, who is supposedly writing to a friend, Monsieur de Breuil, about the torments of absence. His mistress is far away. She has in fact gone to visit her husband, "et

1) La XVIII Elegie, faicte pour le recepveur de Glatigny, adressée à Monsieur du Breuil.

avec luy quelque repos avoir". Everything conspires to remind the Receveur of his mistress, the house she lives in, and the countryside. The Receveur then describes his dialogue with the spirit of the countryside, Glatigny, who attempts to console him. She has gone, sighs the Receveur, and it is as if the sun has disappeared.

Elle sembloit un Soleil splendissant,
 Qui te¹⁾ rendoit bien souef et florissant,
 Et de présent qu'elle s'en est allée,
 Me semble veoir grand'nue devallée
 Droit dessus toy, espendant neige et gresle,
 Dont, sans cesser mon cueur dit, où va elle?
 Revien, revien Soleil plaisant et beau,
 Revien produire ici un temps nouveau. 2)

The "Lieu de Glatigny" replies that the Receveur should console himself, and count his blessings.

Si tu t'en plains, combien plaindre m'en doy,
 Qui suis à elle au paravant que toy.
 Tu as icy boys, rivières, prairies,
 Arbres fruictiers et vignes bien fleuries;
 Tu as ta femme et servante et valet,
 Ne te plains donc que tu sois seulet.

The spirit encourages the Receveur to busy himself with all the tasks to

- 1) The Receveur is here addressing the "Lieu de Glatigny".
- 2) Petrarch constantly refers to Laura as the sun. This particular passage seems to be imitated from two sonnets, XLI & XLII (Neri, pp.61 and 62). In the first, the poet declares that when Laura goes away, the sky becomes dark, and the storm starts, and in the second, when she returns, all is well again in nature. cf. XLI.

Quando dal proprio sito si remove
 l'arbor ch'amo già Febo in corpo umano
 sospira e suda a l'opera Vulcano
 per rinfrescar l'aspre saette a Giove;
 il qual or tona, or nevica or piove,
 senza onorar più Cesare che Giano;
 la terra piange, e 'l sol sta lontano
 ché la sua cara amica ved' altrove.

be seen to on his land, and when he is thus occupied, his mistress' return will seem to come all the quicker. The Receveur takes the advice to heart and ends by a few words addressed to Monsieur du Brueil.

Voylà comment lors que me complaigny
 Me remonstra le lieu de Glatigny.
 J'ay tresbien pris sa remonstrance faicte.
 Or, il est temps de sonner la retraicte,
 Car (Monseigneur) maint affaire autre part
 Ja me semond. Le Segneur Dieu vous gard.

This elegy differs from the other love elegies, both in form and its content. On one hand, it is the only "non-personal" elegy, in that it is the only elegy where Fontaine is not writing directly to his lay^d. On the other hand, it contains long passages of description of the countryside, and also the dialogue between the Receveur, and the "Lieu de Glatigny". The personification of the place in this way suggests a return to the personifications and allegories of the Rhétoriqueurs. Although from its form it would seem much more suitable to appear in the section of the Epistles, it does have in common with the rest of the elegies the themes of love, and of separation from the loved one. The fact that Fontaine includes a piece which differs in several ways from the other elegies in the same section, shows, as did the similarities between the epistles and the elegies, how ill-defined was Fontaine's idea of the elegy.

The remaining elegies we have to consider are Fontaine's two elegies on death. Both appear in Les Ruisseaux, which, although it was not published until 1555, contains many pieces written some time before

that date.¹⁾ The two elegies provide a striking contrast. The Elégie sur le trespas de René,²⁾ in which the poet laments his dead son by apostrophising him and asking him why he chose not to remain on earth, is a comparatively short piece, simple and direct in its approach. The Elégie sur le trespas de Catherine Fontaine,³⁾ is a much longer and more elaborate work. It is over 80 lines long, and laments Catherine in the terms of classical antiquity. The elegy is in fact inspired by, and largely imitated from Ovid's elegy on the death of Tibullus.

We will look first at Fontaine's lament on the death of his son. He first asks why the child has left the world without even tasting any of its joys or pleasures:

Dieu te gard donc mon petit filz René,
 A Dieu mon filz aussi tost mort que né;
 Dieu gard mon filz, venant sur terre ronde,
 A Dieu mon filz departant de ce monde.
 Tu n'as encor le lait bien savouré,
 Tu n'as encor le tien père honoré,
 Ne seu que c'est de maux et ^{de} lieses
 Que loing de nous tu t'en vas & nous laisses.

.....

Petit enfant, qui t'a donné envie
 De si soudain aller en l'autre vie.

-
- 1) Both elegies, according to Hawkins were almost certainly composed before 1549. On the dating of these two elegies see Hawkins, Op. cit p.125, p.186, note 3, and p.237.
 - 2) Its full title is: Elegie seur le trespas de René, cinquiesme enfant, & tiers filz de l'auteur, Ruisseaux, p.53
 - 3) Elegie sur le trespas de Catherine Fontaine, soeur de l'Authour. Ruisseaux, p.49.

Fontaine then supplies his own answer to the question:

Il semble à voir que tu cogneusses bien
Qu'en ceste vie y a petit de bien
Donc as choisi les grans joyes célestes
Pour de ce monde éviter les molestes.

Fontaine then takes up parallels between this life and the next, embroidering on elements already stated in the question to his son.

Petit enfant, je croy bien que tu as
Un autre père au ciel, là ou tu vas,
Lequel a fait que ton cueur le desire,
Quand le charnel laisses pour l'autre élire.
Petit enfant qui n'as gueres teté
Je ne croy point que tu n'eusses gousté
Du laict celeste, au moins deux ou trois gouttes
Quand tu t'en vas afin que plus en goustes.

The poet then finished the elegy on a quite literally "world-weary" note. His son's decision to leave this vale of tears makes Fontaine himself consider death as a release from life.

O mon enfant, qui as vie tant brève,
La mienne estant moyenne m'est jà griève,
Et si te dy qu'à l'exemple de toy
Me tarde bien que mon Dieu je ne voy.

In a note on this poem, Hawkins¹⁾ quotes as a comparison a latin poem by

1) Hawkins, Op. cit. p.124, Note 1. "Compare a latin poem by Jean de Boyssonné on the death of Rabelais' son, Ad Theodulum Rabalcesum puerum bimulum morientem. Translation:

"Pourquoi petit Rabelais nous quitter si tôt? Ne veux-tu pas gouter les joies de la vie? Pourquoi pars-tu avant la tendre jeunesse? Pourquoi vas-tu périr d'une mort prématurée?" To which the child replies, "Je ne meurs pas en haine de la vie, mais pour ne pas mourir à chaque instant. Je veux, Boyssonné, vivre avec le Christ, c'est la seule vie qui ait du prix".

La Vie et les poésies de Jean de Boyssonné, ed. François Mugnier, Paris 1897. pp.412-413.

Jean de Boyssonné on the death of Rabelais' son; Ad Theodulum Rabaloesum puerum bimulum morientem. Here too, the poem is an apostrophe to the dead child, asking why he has chosen to leave life already. In view of the fact that Theodule Rabelais died about 1541, it seems highly likely that Fontaine used the shorter latin poem as a model, and on its framework built his own elegy, enlarging on various touches.

In contrast to the poem on the death of his son, the elegy on the death of his sister is as pagan as the other poem is Christian. For in lamenting the death of Catherine, Fontaine follows the model of Ovid's elegy closely enough for the tone to be that of antiquity. Hawkins remarks of this elegy:

"All the characteristics of Ovid's elegy are found in Fontaine's; the lofty tone, the impression of the true sorrow of the poet somewhat marred by literary artificiality; the abundance of mythological references, the lamentations, and the description of pagan mourning and funeral rites". 1)

This is certainly true. Fontaine has retained the character of Ovid's elegy, and here and there a few lines read almost like a free translation, but nowhere does he translate long passages consistently from the latin. I give here the text of the elegy, with notes which indicate (following Hawkins) where Fontaine follows Ovid particularly closely.

1) Hawkins, Op. cit. p.186. In his discussion of the elegy on the death of Catherine Fontaine, Hawkins gives the complete text of the poem, indicating with footnotes the passages from Ovid that Fontaine follows particularly closely. I follow the same procedure, reproducing Hawkins' indications of Fontaine's borrowings from Ovid.

Las, elle est morte, elle est en terre mise
 Celle que Dieu, voire seule, a permise
 Vivre avec moy, après tout frère et soeur
 Et après père et mère: or est-il seur
 Las elle est morte, et en terre boutée 1)
 Mercure avec sa verge redoutée
 De tous esprits, Mercure, aimé des dieux
 Son cler esprit a conduit ès hauts cieux. 2)
 Arrière pleurs donques, Fontaine arrière;
 Pourquoy es tu convertie en rivière?
 Or say-je bien que quand je chanterois
 Mieux qu'Orpheus, ne la retirerois 3)
 De la puissance et charge de Mercure,
 Qui en ce cas de m'exausser n'a cure.
 Et si say bien qu'elle a son mal vaincu
 Par qui elle a plus languy que vecu
 Cinq ou six ans: mais l'amour fraternelle
 Ne me sauroit deffaillir envers elle.
 C'est ceste amour qui l'arrose en mes pleurs
 Et l'arrosant augmente mes douleurs:
 C'est ceste amour, sur toutes principale
 Qui m'a rendu esplouré, triste et palle:
 C'est ceste amour que nature enracine
 Qui de mon poing fait battre ma poitrine,
 Et qui me fait avec pleurs souspirer
 Tant que ne puis mon aleine tirer. 4)

1) Ovid, Amores, III, 9, 11.5 and 6.

cf. Ille tui vates operis, tu fama Tibullus
 Ardet in extracto, corpus inane, rogo.

2) 11.59-60.

Si tamen e nobis aliquid nisi nomen et umbra
 Restat, in Elysia valle Tibullus erit.

3) 11.21-22.

Quid pater Ismario, quid mater profuit Orphee?
 Carmina quid victas obstipuisse feras?

4) 11.7-12.

Ecce, puer Veneris fert eversaque pharetram
 Et fractos arcus et sine luce facem;
 Adspice, demissis ut miserabilis alis
 Pectoraque infesta tundat aperta manu!
 Excipiunt lacrimas sparsi per colla capilli
 Oraque singultu concutiente sonant.

Si Aurora et Tethys grans Déesses
 Du ciel et mer regentes et princesses
 Ont tant pleuré Achilles et Memnon 1)
 Puis-je ne plaindre & ne pleurer? ha non.
 Et si encor du grand souleil les filles
 Ont eu les yeux à pleurer tant faciles
 Dessus leur frère, abyssmé sans secours,
 Qu'en arbre humide et qui pleure tousjours 2)
 Muées sont? qui me pourra deffendre
 De ne pleurer ma soeur, jà terre et cendre.
 Toy, son espoux pleure sur ton espouse; 3)
 Et moy son frère, autant que dix ou douze
 Dessus ma soeur je pleureray sans cesse.
 Or, sus, allons tous deux pleins de tristesse
 Vestuz, hélas, de noirs habitz non ceinctz
 Les yeux de pleurs, les coeurs de regretz pleins
 Chanter sus elle un piteux requiem. 4)
 Allons offrir à Pluton l'ancien,
 Vin avec laict, noirs moutons, et brebis.
 Allons en dueil & de coeurs et d'habit
 Ses beaux os blanc recueillir tous ensemble
 Avec la main qui toute de dueil tremble:
 Puis les mettans en beau coffre de marbre
 Près d'un cyprès, qui est douloureux arbre
 Les baignerons en pleurs, en laict, et vin,
 Entremeslans ce service divin 5)

- 1) Compare the opening lines of Ovid's elegy.

Memnona si mater, mater ploravit Achillem
 Et tangunt magnas tristia fata deas
 Flebilis indignos, Elegeia, solve capillos.

- 2) The Heliades were so grieved at the death of their brother Phaëton that they were changed into poplars by the gods, and their tears into amber.
- 3) With this, and the following lines compare,

Hinc certe madidos fugientis pressit ocellos
 Mater et in cineres ultima dona tulit:
 Hinc soror in partem misera cum matre doloris
 Venit incornatas dilaniata comas,
 Cumque tuis sua iunxerunt Nemesisque priorque
 Delia descendens.....

- 4) Notice how blatantly Fontaine juxtaposes the idea of a Christian requiem, and purely pagan funeral rites.
- 5) Fontaine's description of the "divine service" seems to be derived from various sources, perhaps from Aeneid VI, 175 ff., with details from Aeneid V, 77 ff., and Ovid Tristia, III, 13 ff.

De telz regretz! Or es-tu trespassee 1)
 Et comme fleur or es tu tost passee.
 Encor n'avois ton corps demy parfaict
 Quand fauce mort ce meschant tour t'a fait:
 Encor n'avoit la ride fait outrage
 A ton bening & ton tendre visage.
 Cire n'avoit bordé tes yeux si bons
 Ny la blancheur gasté tes cheveux blonds.
 Maudite mort tousjours tes noires ailes
 Abbatront-ils les choses les plus belles? 2)
 Outre ceux-là, tant de regretz diray
 Qu'au tour de moy tout l'air j'en rempliray
 Ma seule soeur, non plus soeur, car je suis
 Frère sans soeur, di pourquoy tant me fuis?
 Tu n'avois pas demi parfait ton aage
 Quand Lachesis trop lasche de courage
 Ne voulut plus desvider le beau fil
 Tant delié, tant blanc & tant subtil
 Lors Atropos par trop pleine d'envie
 S'en vint couper ce beau fil de ta vie. 3)
 Pourquoi m'es tu tant contraire, ô Fortune,
 Quand après tout tu m'en as fait perdre une,
 Une de corps qui valait dix de coeur?
 Perdue l'ay suyvant un belliqueur
 Loing de Paris, voire bien loing j'estois 4)
 Entre les monts la mort je ne doutois:
 Et toy ma soeur qu'en la plaine je laissez,

1) Compare Ovid's apostrophe: ll.41-42

Tene sacer vates, flammaeque rapuere rogales
 Pectoribus pasci nec timere tuis?

2) cf. ll.19-20

Scilicet omne sacrum mors importuna profant^a
 Omnibus obscuras inicit illa manus.

3) cf.

Cum rapiunt mala fata bonos (ignoscite fasso!)
 Sollicitor nullos esse putare deos.
 Vive pius; moriere: pius cole sacra: colentem
 Mors gravis a templis in cava busta trahet;
 Carminibus confide bonis: iacet, ecce Tibullus;
 Vix manet e toto parva quod urna capit.

4) Fontaine is here refering to the fact that he was in Italy when his sister died, which means that she must have died between 1539 and 1540.

Dedans Paris trouvas de mort la voye,
 Fontaine, hélas, depuis que tu fus né
 Or es-tu bien au monde fortuné.
 Mais si j'ay veu quelque temps si prospère
 Que frère estois, ores ne suis plus frère:
 Car j'ay perdu le reste de mes soeurs
 Qui me fera commencement de pleurs.

It can be seen from this that in fact Fontaine owes much to Ovid in this elegy, although at no point does it read like a translation. Hawkins suggests that "Maitre Charles devoured, digested and assimilated Ovid's poem, and then tried to write a similar poem."¹⁾ In other words, Fontaine follows Ovid in the same way that he follows Catullus in the short passage from "Vivamus, mea Lesbia", always at a respectful distance, and adds characteristic touches of his own.²⁾ What is perhaps most striking about the elegy on the death of Catherine Fontaine is its independence from the mediaeval type of Complainte. Although following Marot as to the type of poem the love elegy should be, both Fontaine's elegies on death are very different from Marot's, which owe much to the mediaeval tradition, and in particular to the Rhétoriqueurs. Fontaine uses as a model, on the one hand a latin poem by one of his contemporaries, and on the other, an elegy of Ovid.

Nevertheless, in a sense, Fontaine does follow the pattern that Marot set for the elegy quite closely. In contrast to Charles de Sainte-Marthe and Sagon, whose elegies are neither love epistles nor laments on

1) Hawkins, Op. cit. p.186

2) cf. Arrière pleurs donques, Fontaine arrière;
 Pourquoi es tu convertie en rivière.

death, Fontaine does follow Marot's twin definition of the elegy. He differs from Marot in that for him there appears to be no clear-cut difference between the elegy and the love epistle, and also in the sources he uses for his elegies.

In the love elegies, he takes little more than Marot from the latin elegiacs. In general he seems to have inherited from Ovid's Amores a vague idea of what the love elegy should be, as well as a few passages which he imitates. He uses his knowledge of the Heroides and possibly of the Metamorphoses to embellish his elegies with a certain amount of mythology. From Catullus, he takes a few ideas and a passage. In contrast to Marot, Fontaine draws largely on Petrarchism for his love elegies. Some conceits he takes directly from Petrarch, and others probably come to him from the later Petrarchists, in particular Serafino, and from the neo-latin, Sannazaro. He hardly ever translates directly, either from his latin or his Italian sources.

In the case of his elegies on death, he takes the framework for one elegy from Boyssonné, and for the other, from Ovid. In both cases, he stays much closer to his model than he ever does in the love elegies, where only short passages are culled from other authors. For both of his elegies on death, he uses his models as a framework, and in the case of his imitation of Ovid also translates, or at least follows separate passages.

Thus although on the one hand Fontaine remains a disciple of Marot, in his imitation of his type of elegies, in the actual execution of them

he branches out and uses sources which the older poet does not use. If the elegies of Marot can legitimately be qualified as one of the more mediaeval parts of his works, and this is largely true, Fontaine's, in contrast, reflect the growing interest in Petrarchism, and to a certain extent the Ovid of the Amores rather than the author of the Heroides.

The Elegy in France from 1545 to 1548

In comparison with the earlier attempts at the genre, by this date most of the creations of the various authors that we will discuss in this chapter have a certain degree of uniformity. In contrast to the elegies of Sagon and Sainte-Marthe, which bore very little resemblance to the elegies of Marot, in the years following the publication of Charles Fontaine's Élégies, the elegy tends to follow the pattern of Marot much more closely. Of the elegies that we shall examine, the majority are love elegies, and almost all of them are written in the form adopted by Marot, decasyllables with rimes plates. It seems that by this date the definition of the elegy, which in the few years following the publication of Marot's Élégies had been very widely interpreted, was becoming more established, and more fixed, and corresponded more and more closely to Marot's original idea of the elegy as a love poem. In this chapter we will see how this is the case for the elegies of Pernette Du Guillet,¹⁾ for an elegy

1) Pernette's elegies are found in the various editions of her poems. The first edition was Rymes de Pernette du Guillet, gentile et vertueuse Dame, Jean de Tournes, Lyon, 1545. B. Nat. Rés. Ye 1341.

There was another edition the following year, Les Rithmes et poesies de gentile et vertueuse Dame, Pernette du Guillet Lyonnaise. Avecq' le Triumphe des Muses sur Amour et autres nouvelles compositions, Jeanne de Marnef, Paris 1546. B. Nat. Rés. 1342.

There was a further edition by Jean de Tournes at Lyons in 1552.

by Victor Brodeau,¹⁾ and for the elegies of Gilles d'Aurigny²⁾ and Etienne Forcadel.³⁾ The elegies of Pernette present rather a special problem. For all the editions of Pernette's poetry were published after her death, and in fact the poetess herself did not even classify her poems. Antoine du Moulin was asked, so he tells us in his preface to the first edition of Pernette's Rymes, to edit the poems, and put them in order for publication. According to du Moulin, this request came from Pernette's husband, who had found the poems 'parmy ses brouillars en assés povre ordre, comme celle qui n'estimoit sa facture estre encore digne de lumiere jusques à ce que le temps la luy eut par frequent estude ^{et estendue} et lymee'.⁴⁾

Du Moulin is at pains to make it clear that Pernette had by no means prepared the edition of the Rymes herself. In the 1545

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- 1) The elegy by Victor Brodeau is one of the 'nouvelles compositions' added by Jeanne de Marnef to Pernette's Rithmes in the 1546 edition. It is entitled Elegie du Semi Dieu Faunus, demandant aux nymphes pourquoy elles ne le voulient aimer.
 - 2) Le Tuteur d'amour... par Gilles d'Aurigny, dict le Pamphile. F. Girault for A. L'Angelier, Paris, 1546. Brit. Mus. 241.g.37. This collection of poems includes three elegies.
 - 3) Le Chant des Seraines. Gilles Corrozet, Paris 1548. B. Nat. Res. Ye 4021. Forcadel includes in this collection of poems two elegies.
 - 4) Antoine du Moulin's Préface to the 1545 edition of the Rymes.

edition of the poems, he makes some attempt to divide up the various poems, and give them some sort of order. In the edition published the following year in Paris by Jeanne de Marnef, either du Moulin, or more probably another anonymous editor further divided up the poems, and gave them in some cases the title Elegie. Here both du Moulin, and the subsequent editor interpret as elegies poems of at least thirty lines with love as their subject, written in decasyllables with rimes plates. In his book on Pernette and her poetry, Saulnier discusses in the following terms the classification of Pernette's poetry:¹⁾

'Ces oeuvres sont "épigrammes, chansons, et autres diverses matieres de divers lieux" dit encore Antoine du Moulin, et Guillaume Colletet précise que ses poèmes "peuvent passer pour odes, pour élégies, et pour épigrammes". sans doute Pernette n'a-t-elle que très rarement donné un titre à ses poèmes, et les titres ajoutés postérieurement, qui d'ailleurs ne précisent pas le sens, sont dépourvus d'autorité. On peut cependant répartir ses poésies en épigrammes, chansons, élégies et épîtres, en ne donnant pas à ces termes un sens trop étroit.' 2)

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- 1) V.L. Saulnier Etude sur Pernette Du Guillet, Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance, IV, Paris, 1944.
- 2) V. L. Saulnier, Op. cit. p. 14

In dealing with the elegies of Pernette, we follow the classification followed by Saulnier¹⁾, which is based largely on the classification by the various sixteenth century editors. What is interesting here, is that, even if the classification of certain poems as elegies is not that of the poetess herself, the elegy was by this time so firmly established as a genre, that Antoine du Moulin, and the person responsible for the classification of the 1546 edition, did not hesitate to accord to love poems of a certain length and a certain form the title elegy. Thus it is highly relevant to our study of the development of the genre that the poems were classified as elegies by Pernette's contemporaries, even if the authoress herself did not classify them.

According to the classification we adopt, Pernette's elegies are five in number. Two are short pieces of just over thirty lines, on the trials and joys of love. The third elegy La Nuit is a curious piece, which Saulnier compares with Marot's Deploration de Florimond Robertet. It is a long allegorical piece, of almost two hundred lines, which describes the various

1) V. L. Saulnier, Op. cit. p. 86. Tables des Rimes.

Elegies.

- I. Parfaicte amytie. Quand est d'amour, je croy que c'est un songe.
- II. Combien de foyz ay-je en moy souhaicté.
- III. La Nuit. La nuit estoit obscure, triste et sombre.
- IV. Desespoir. Si c'est d'amour, pouquoy m'occist il donc?
- V. Confort. Si l'on pouvoit par un repentir cher.

apparitions which Pernette sees in a dream. The fourth and fifth elegies are again longish pieces, one just under, and the other just over, one hundred lines. The fourth elegy is presented in the sixteenth century editions as Désespoir, traduit de la prose du Parangon italien. In fact Saulnier has found manuscripts of Prose models in French,¹⁾ for both the fourth and fifth elegies, which are so close to Pernette's two poems, that it seems highly likely that in fact her models were in fact French, and not, as she would have the reader believe, Italian. With the exception of the long allegorical piece, the elegies are written in decasyllables with rimes plates, and again, with the exception of La Nuit, they all have love as their subject. So far Pernette follows the pattern of Marot's Elegies fairly closely. She differs from Marot chiefly in the way she treats love in her elegies. Whereas Marot's elegies give an impression of carefully rehearsed exercises, and variations on a theme, Pernette's convey a high degree of directness

1) cf. Saulnier, Op. cit. pp. 41 - 45.

and conviction in the sentiments expressed.¹⁾ This conviction and directness result partly from the language which the poetess uses. She uses a singularly abstract and restricted vocabulary, with a narrow range of images, and very few conceits. Where Pernette imitates either the ancients, or in some cases her contemporaries, her imitation is singularly discreet.

We will examine first the debt that Pernette owes to the writers of Antiquity. On the whole she follows the Latin elegiacs very little. The elegy which owes most to the Ancients is the second elegy, where Pernette describes how in her imagination, she bathes with her lover in a fountain. If only, sighs Pernette, the water could change him into Acteon. Not, she hastens to add, that she wishes his destruction, but that she would wish him to feel himself her slave.

1) cf. Saulnier, Op cit. p.85. Les genres. 'Pernette s'inspire de la facture de l'élegie marotique: c'est une pièce assez longue, d'une trentaine de vers au moins, écrites en décasyllabes à rimes plates. Mais Pernette substitue dans l'inspiration, le sentiment à l'esprit et une mélancolique douleur à la galanterie précieuse de la casuistique d'amour. Sauf dans ses toutes dernières ^{élégies} Marot considère volontiers le genre comme un badinage. Pernette fait prédominer cet accent de douce tristesse et de calme regret qui caractérise l'élegie moderne.

O qu'alors eust l'onde telle efficace
 De le pouvoir en Acteon muer,
 Non toutefois pour le faire tuer
 Et devorer à ses chiens, comme Cerf:
 Mais que de moy se sentist estre serf,
 Et serviteur transformé tellement
 Qu'ainsi cuydast en son entendement,
 Tant que Dyane en eust sur moy envie,
 De luy avoir sa puissance ravie.

1)

Pernette's joy would be further increased by the fact that if her lover felt himself to be Acteon, she would truly feel herself to be Diana. Finally Pernette renounces the dream, since it would mean that she would distract her lover from the service of Apollo and the nine Muses.

Combien heureuse, et grande me dirois!
 Certes Deese estre me cuyderois.
 Mais, pour me veoir contente à mon desir,
 Vouldrois je bien faire un tel déplaisir
 A Apollo, et aussi à ses Muses,
 De les laisser privées et confuses
 D'un, qui les peult toutes servir à gre,
 Et faire honneur à leur hault choeur sacré?

 Laissez le aller, qu'Apollo je ne irrite
 Le remplissant de Deite profonde,
 Pour contre moy susciter tout le Monde,
 Lequel un jour par ses escripts s'attend
 D'estre avec moy et heureux et content.

2)

1) Elegy II, ll, 28 - 36.

1) My quotations from Pernette's Rymes are taken from A.M. Schmidt's anthology, Poètes du XVI^e Siècle, Bibliothèque de la Fleiade, Paris, 1953. Schmidt gives the text of the 1545 edition of the Rymes. The second elegy is on pp. 244 - 245.

2) A.M. Schmidt, Poètes du XVI^e siècle, p. 245. Elegy II, ll. 37-44, ll. 50-54.

It is probable that Pernette knew the version of the myth of Acteon and Diana given by Ovid in his Metamorphoses.¹⁾ The references to Apollo and the Muses however, are of such a general nature that they can hardly be pinned down to the knowledge of any particular author. The above example is in fact the only instance where Pernette makes use of mythology at all in her elegies.

Pernette is almost equally discreet in her direct borrowings from her contemporaries in France. Saulnier, who favours the thesis that the lover referred to throughout the elegies is Maurice Scève,²⁾ searches diligently for traces of the influence of Scève on Pernette's poetry. It may well be argued that the type of elevated love which Pernette advocates in her love poetry is a diluted form of Scève's Platonism in Délie, but actual textual imitations of Pernette's presumed master in poetry, and lover, are few and far between. However it is certainly true that Pernette seems to echo two lines from a dizain of Délie, in the opening lines of the fourth elegy.

1) Ovid, Metamorphoses, Book III ll. 155 - 150

2) Saulnier develops his conjecture that Pernette is the mistress sung in Scève's Délie in Maurice Scève, ca 1500-1560, Paris, 1948, 2 vols. See especially, Vol. I, Chap. VIII, Les Amours d'un poète, Délie et Pernette du Guillet.

Si c'est Amour, pourquoy m'occist il donques
Qui tant aymay, et onq ne sceuz hair? 1)

Si c'est Amour, pourquoy m'occist-il donc
Qui tant aymay, et hayr ne sceuz onc?
Et s'il m'occist, pourquoy plus oultre vis? 2)

Saulnier further asserts, somewhat gratuitously, that the fountain which appears in Pernette's second elegy is the same fountain which figures in two of Scève's dizains, CCXXXV, and CCCXXXV. All in all, even if Scève had some influence on Pernette as far as her idea of love was concerned, his influence is not very pronounced in the elegies.

If Pernette takes the form of the elegy largely from Marot, here again, there is very little in the way of detailed imitation. Saulnier suggests that the following lines from the first elegy are a reminiscence of an epigram of Marot.

Mais l'amytie, que les Dieux m'ont donnée
Est à l'honneur toute tant adonnée..... 3)

Perhaps a slightly more direct following of Marot is found in the long allegorical poem La Nuit. Saulnier rightly suggests that there are certain resemblances between La Nuit and the Déploration

1) M. Scève, Delie, LX

2) Elegy IV, ll. 1 - 3.

3) Elegy I, l. 16. cf. Marot, Epigramme LXXXVI.
'Car ma dame est à l'honneur tant donnée.'

de Florimond Robertet. In Marot's poem there appear a series of allegorical figures 'la Mort hideuse', 'La Grande Dame' (representing the Catholic Church), and 'l'autre Dame' (République française.). In Pernette's elegy there appear four allegorical figures, firstly 'une grande Dame', then 'une grande Roïne', and a 'Vieille hydeuse', and finally, 'une autre Dame'. Whereas Marot simply states that the figures appear to him in a forest, Pernette, following the technique often used by the Rhétoriqueurs presents them as appearing to her in a dream. Apart from these similarities, Pernette's elegy presents little else in common with Marot's Déploration. Pernette describes first how she falls asleep and sees in a dream a place which is completely silent, and yet peopled with monsters. First appears the 'grande Dame' who is followed by 'Maint Laboureur, Noble, Marchant et Prebtre.' Next comes the 'grande Roïne' who is so haughty that her followers are very few. The 'vieille hydeuse' is the servant of the Queen, who drives away all unwanted followers. Of all the figures presented she is the one describes by Pernette in most detail.

Veü qu'une Vieille hydeuse, et qui rechine
 Tousjours ses dentz de sés mains embridez,
 Seche et jaunatre, à courbe, et longue eschine,
 Joue enfoncée, yeulx rouges tous ridez,
 Ce neantmoins songneuse, et diligente
 A appeler les plus oultrecuydez..... 1)

1) Elegy III, ll. 82 - 87.

Finally comes 'une autre Dame', whom Pernette obviously intends to portray as the representative of virtue.

La face avoit rouge, comme un flamme,
Et toutefois d'une masque couverte,
Se tenant loing de celle gent infame:
En faictz discrete, et en parler disert.... 1)

Those who follow this lady are the lovers of true virtue, and this in itself is its own reward, since they are mocked by the rest of the public. Pernette further embroiders on her theme by describing the guard of monsters who surround the 'grande Dame', 'Dyables', who have come to torment the world. It is only in the last few lines of the poem that she gives us the key to what the various figures represent. The 'Grande Dame' is 'Vaine Gloire', the 'Grande Royne' is 'Ambition', and the hideous old lady 'Honte'. As for the other lady, who is also referred to as 'Princesse'. Pernette does not give a specific explanation of what she represents. We are left to conclude ourselves, that she is the representative of truth and virtue, or possibly as Saulnier suggests: 'Le quatrieme personnage semble représenter l'âme clairvoyante et libre, baignée de lumière par son jour qui dissipe les illusions malsaines et folles'.²⁾ Since the poetess only reveals the terms

1) Elegy III, ll. 97 - 100.

2) Saulnier, Op. cit. p. 96.

of the allegory at the conclusion of the poem, and nevertheless expresses the actions of the allegorical figures in rather abstract terms, the result is singularly obscure. If Pernette was inspired to some extent by Marot's Déploration, nevertheless, the real influence which has some importance here is in part the use of allegory particularly by the Rhétoriciens, and in part the mediaeval tradition of moralising in poetry. However, her use of allegory is restricted to the third elegy, and to a discreet reference in the first elegy,¹⁾ which is fortunate, since she appears to be singularly ill at ease in her attempt at a long allegorical piece.

Under the heading of borrowings from her contemporaries should be grouped too Pernette's use of two French Prose passages, which do, it seems, provide the basis for the fourth and fifth elegies. Pernette herself presents the fourth elegy as translated from an Italian prose passage, but the manuscript that Saulnier²⁾

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- 1) Elegy I, XX. l. 19. Pernette insists that her love is perfect that her lover may be assured that he is safe from 'Faulx Semblant', 'Danger' and 'Changement'.
 - 2) cf. Saulnier, Op. cit. p. 41. The manuscript in question is B. Nat. Fonds français 1723., and the model for elegy IV is found on fol. 34 r^o - 40. The prose passage in the manuscript is presented as a translation from a passage of Italian prose. Paragon translate d'italien en francoys. Par le Roy. La Plaincte sur amour.

has discovered gives a French version which is so close to Fernet's elegy, that it is entirely convincing to suppose as Saulnier does, that in fact Fernet was inspired by the French passage. The manuscript in question is quoted in full by Saulnier, side by side with Fernet's version in verse. In order to see how closely Fernet follows her model, we give here several extracts from the manuscript, followed by the corresponding passages from the elegies.

Plainte sur Amour.

Si c'est amour, pourquoy ne m'occis? S'il m'occist, pourquoy viz je?
 Si je viz, pourquoy ne plains: Meilleur estoit, incontinent que fus
 né, estre mort. Mortel ennemy suis de moymesmes, et ne me puis
 vouloir nul bien, me voulant mal celle que j'ayme sur toutes choses.
 Et ne puis vouloir sinon ce qu'elle veult. Je ne scauroye monstrier
 plus grand douleur que plus grand douleur ne me tourmente. 1)

Désespoir, traduit de la prose du Farangon italien.

Si c'est Amour, pourquoy m'occist-il donc
 Qui tant aymay, et hayr ne sceuz onc?
 Et s'il m'occist, pourquoy plus outre vis?
 Et si je vis, pourquoy sont mes devis
 De désespoir et de plainctz tous confus?
 Meilleur m'estoit soudain que ne je fus
 De mourir tost que de tant vivre, mesmes,
 Que mortel suis ennemy de moymesmes:
 Et ne puis rien fors, ce que veult la dame,
 De qui suis serf de cuer de corps et d'ame.
 Estre ne peult mon mal tant lamenté
 Que de plus grand ne soye tourmenté:
 Et ne pourrois monstrier si grand douleur
 Qu'encor plus grand ne celast mon malheur. 2)

As we can see from the opening passages from the prose passage and from Pernette's elegy, there is a very close concordance between the two pieces. Pernette if anything, lengthens the prose for her own purposes, very often for the exigencies of the rhyme. For further comparison, we give the final lines of the prose passage, and the last twenty-two lines of Pernette's elegy.

1) Manuscript, B. Nat., Fonds Français, 1723, fol 34 r^o - 35.

2) Elegy IV, ll. 1 - 16.

O amantz: nul debvroit souffrir peine et douleur en esperance de Rescompense. Car la force d'amour ne peult estre vaincue pour bien servir. Et plusieurs fois celuy qui moins a merite est le mieulx rescompensé. Et en telle guerre ne vault foy ny service. Et puis que victoire m'est donnée, laquelle justement m'estoit duee, la ou meurt la gloire, c'est gloire que meure la vie. Avecq ceste myenne mort mourroyent tous mes maulx, mon esperance & mon obstination, & amour avecques ses tromperies.

1)

Chetifz Amantz, aucun ne deubt s'offrir
 A telle ardeur, peine à douleur souffrir
 En un espoir (plus vain que l'on ne pense)
 D'une, peult estre, ingrate recompense:
 Car de l'amour la force tant aigue
 Pour bien servir ne peult estre vaincue.
 Et plusieurs fois (et à la verité)
 On voit celuy qui a moins merite
 Estre pour vray, le mieux recompensé,
 Qui ne deubt estre à tel bien dispense.
 En telle guerre, ou vertu sert de vice
 Ne vault avoir ferme foy ny service.
 Puis donc qu'on m'oste et desnie victoire
 Qui m'estoit duee il est par trop notoire
 Que là ou meurt, et où gloire desvie
 C'est gloire aussi que tost meure la vie.
 Aussi, ô Dieux avec ceste mort mienne
 Mourront mes maulx, et ma playe ancienne
 Et mon arbitre en mal predestiné,
 Mon mal, ma peine avec mes fascheries
 Amour aussi avec ses tromperies.

2)

Exactly the same close parallels appear if we study the fifth elegy, and a further prose passage in the same manuscript. We give as an example a passage where Fernet follows her French model particularly closely.

1) Fonds Fr. 1723, fol. 39 - 39 v^o.

2) Elegy IV, ll. 57 - 78.

Mais que te vault? en accusant ta dame, tu la descharges, la blasmant tu l'absoulz, la vituperant, tu la loues: l'estimant cruelle tu la blasonnes comme juste. Et es contrainct de l'adopter. Car en ce que debvroit lascher le neu, plus l'estrainct. Et ce que debvroit deslyer, eternellement lye. La sienne grandeur de cuer, qui en apparence la fait humaine, la contrainct en voulente estre rude avecques non challance d'amour. Car le grand desir d'amour et craincte d'injure vainct le tien grand service et pource les partz qui en toy sont amables d'honestete sont abatus a ton desir non raisonnable. 1)

Mais que te vault? Tu descharges ta Dame
 En l'accusant, & en luy donnant blasme
 L'honnores mieux: vituperant la loues
 La denyant, plus fort tu la te advoues.
 Et si tu veulx, comme dure et cruelle
 La blasonner, par raison naturelle
 Tu la viendras, comme juste, adorer,
 Et en ton cuer sa vertu odorier.
 Car ce qui deubt le noud lyer le soult:
 Ce qui devroit bien fort contraindre absoult;
 Et ce que plus on destrainct & deslye
 C'est ce qui plus eternellement lye.
 La haulteur sienne, ou son cuer se pourmaine
 Qui la desmonstre estre douce & humaine
 La contrainct estre en voulente tresrude
 Comme confite en toute ingratitude:
 Mais elle faint, contre le sien vouloir,
 D'avoir d'amour un constant nonchalloir:
 Car son desir et la craincte d'injure
 Vainct ton servir, qui a t'aymer l'adjure.
 Parquoy ces partz, qui en toy sont amables
 D'honestete, se font desraisonnables. 2)

In both elegies, Pernette follows the French prose version almost word for word, merely adding a few developments here and there.

Saulnier remarks of Pernette's efforts 'Le texte de Pernette ajoute

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- 1) Fonds Fr. 1723, fol 41. The prose passage is entitled Resconfort.
 2) Elegy V. ll. 15 - 36.

seulement beaucoup de développements prolixes et oiseux: c'est une glose, une paraphrase maladroite.¹⁾ Curiously enough, as Saulnier hints in his comments, the effect of Pernette's poetry in these two elegies is almost more prosaic than the original prose versions, on account of this tendency to pad out the original, in order to turn it into verse. Instead of the poetry becoming a medium which distills further the thought, rather here it is a dilution.

We have seen so far what impression the writers of Antiquity, and the traditions of French poetry, both mediaeval, and contemporary left on Pernette's elegies. We turn now to Italian influence. We have just seen that where Pernette presents one of her elegies as translated from the Italian, this is in all probability not quite the case. Nevertheless, since she included in her poetry two epigrams in Italian, it is reasonable to suppose that she had some knowledge of Italian poetry. This seems all the more likely, in view of the fact that she was a native of Lyons, a town renowned for its close contacts with Italy. However, when we examine Pernette's elegies in detail, there are very few of the more obvious marks of Petrarchism. Unlike many of her French contemporaries, she does not adopt wholesale the arsenal of Petrarchist images to describe the effects of love. Her presentation of her own love as something peculiarly elevated may

1) Z. Saulnier. op.cit; p.44.

well come from Petrarch's insistence on the purity of his love. In the first elegy, entitled Parfaicte Amytie, Pernette pours scorn on self seeking lovers, and then describes what she understands by real love.

Quand est d'Amour, je croy que c'est un songe,
Ou fiction, qui se paist de mensonge,
Tant que celui, qui peult plus faire en croire
Sa grand faintise, en acquiert plus de gloire.
Car l'un faindra de desirer la grace,
De qui soudain voudra changer la place:
L'autre fera mainte plainte à sa guise,
Portant tousjours l'amour en sa devise,
Estimant moins toute perfection
Que le plaisir de folle affection.

.....
Mais l'amytié, que les Dieux m'ont donnée
Est à l'honneur toute tant adonnée
Que le moins seur de mon affection
Est assure de toute infection
De Faulx semblant, Danger et Changement. 1)

Pernette's love, is, she assures us, founded on 'vertu', and is consequently eternal. It is not entirely of this world, and is in fact a gift from the gods. It is, as Pernette indicates by the title of the elegy, one of the few titles that the poetess actually gave to her poems, Parfaicte Amytie. Again, in elegy II, Pernette expresses the wish that her lover should show the same sort of devoted and humble love for her that Petrarch showed for Laura.²⁾

Pernette does use antithesis to describe her love, but not that most commonly used by the Petrarchists, fire and water, or

1) Elegy I, ll. 1 - 10.

2) Elegy II, 32 - 36.

heat and cold, but rather, night and day, or darkness and light. her lover is 'mon jour'¹⁾, or the sun, while she is the moon.²⁾

His light saves her from the darkness of intellectual and moral ignorance. Here, as Saulnier suggests, the antithesis has more, much more than merely the pictorial quality of the image.

'Cette nuit 'obscur triste et sombre', toujours 'preste à malefice', son ami seul a le pouvoir de lui donner l'éclat du jour. A ce symbole il faut donner un triple sens. D'abord un sens purement humaniste, car son ami l'initia aux chefs d'oeuvre littéraires antiques et modernes qu'elle s'attache à imiter. Un sens platonicien; le jour symbolisant la science représente en effet le fondement de la morale par opposition avec les ténèbres; symbole de l'ignorance, c'est-à-dire du vice: par là des expressions banales comme 'l'amour aveugle' dépassent ici la valeur d'une image vulgaire; la connaissance et la Science sont les seuls fondements de la vertu. Un sens amoureux enfin; car c'est précisément sur la vertu que repose l'amour véritable... Le passage de la nuit au jour représente donc à la fois une transformation morale, la vertu chassant loin le vice, et une transformation sentimentale, l'amour succédant à l'amour vulgaire.'

3)

Elsewhere in her Rymes Pernette stresses the contradictions of love. In elegy V, which has in fact ultimately an Italian source she discusses the ironies of love.

- 1) Elegy III, l. 21. 'Monstres du monde et de mon jour hais.' Although this elegy does not have love as its subject, it shows Pernette's pre-occupation with night and darkness as something intrinsically evil.
- 2) On Pernette as the moon, see Saulnier, Maurice Scève, Vol. I, pp. 148 - 152. Since for Saulnier, Pernette is indubitably Délie, she is therefore all the identifications of Délie, Diana, and the moon, and at the same time Scève, who in view of their relationship can be identified as her 'frère', is Apollo.
- 3) Saulnier, Etude sur Pernette du Guillet, p. 65.

Car ce qui deubt le noud lyer, le soult:
 Ce qui devroit bien fort contraindre, absoult;
 Et ce que plus on destrainct, et deslye,
 C'est ce qui plus eternallement lye. 1)

In elegy IV, which again does have in fact a distant Italian source, Pernette, following the example of her prose model, uses for once, the contrast between fire and tears to describe her love.

L'ame congnoit que de si très bas lieux,
 Dont mes grandz pleurs montent jusques aux yeulx,
 Jamais les voix ne peuvent estre ouyes,
 Ny en haulteur si grande resjouyes:
 Car ce mien feu, qui peu à peu me fond,
 Est dans mon cueur allumé si profond,
 Qu'il ne peult pas, bien qu'il soit grand, reluire
 Devant les yeulx qui, pour mal me conduire
 Font le Soleil de grand honte retraire:
 Ainsi je meurs, estant contrainct me taire. 2)

Love, of the kind that is not 'Parfaicte Amytie' is in fact full of these contrasts and contradictions:

Ainsi tu peulx en ton ardeur choisir
 Et joye, et dueil, plaisir et desplaisir,
 Doulx et amer, faveur et deffaveur,
 Desapetit, revoquée faveur. 3)

It can be seen from the above examples, that Pernette in fact borrows few of the actual trappings of Petrarchism from the Italians.

- 1) Elegy V, ll. 23 - 26.
- 2) Elegy IV, ll. 25 - 34.
- 3) Elegy V, ll. 49 - 52.

The elegies in which she uses some of the techniques of Petrarchism are those based on a French prose translation of Italian models. What she may well have taken from Petrarchism is some of its ideas on the nature of love, with, as in the case of Petrarch himself, if not always the later Petrarchists, a certain lofty ideal. Love is not a base passion, but something pure and noble. The lover, as Petrarch presents himself, is humbly submissive to his lady, and their commerce is as much intellectual as anything else. This is Pernette's concept of love, and she may well owe it as much to Petrarchism, as to the Platonism of Scève, as Saulnier suggests.

As for the form of the elegies of Pernette, this is quite simply the form suggested by Marot in his love elegies, and in fact what was the most common form for a longish poem, not in strophic form, at that particular time. With the exception of La Nuit, all Pernette's elegies are written in decasyllabic lines with rimes plates. The third elegy, which differs too in its subject, is in the form of decasyllables with rimes croisées.

From our brief study of the poems of Pernette, which were subsequently classified as elegies, we can draw several conclusions. Firstly, Pernette certainly knew the elegies of Marot, and probably followed him in the form she gave to her longer pieces with love as their subject. Although she did not give a name to these pieces

herself, nevertheless in general, in their form and content, she follows Marot. What is also significant is that subsequent editors did not hesitate in according the title Elegie to poems of a certain length and form with love as their subject. As for the elegies themselves, Pernette it seems was more successful in the shorter pieces, Elegies I and II, where she relies largely on her own invention, and somewhat ill at ease when she attempts a longer piece with allegorical trappings, or puts into verse a prose model.

As we saw earlier, among the various pieces included in the 1546 edition of Pernette's Rithmes¹⁾ was a piece entitled Elegie du Semi Dieu Faunus. In fact the poem does not have the author's name attached to it, but merely the initials, V.B. Lachèvre²⁾ attributes the poem to Victor Brodeau, and in this case, there seems no reason to dispute this identification. The poem is thirty-six lines long, and is written in decasyllables with rimes plates. Its full title is Elegie du Semi Dieu Faunus demandant aux nymphes pourquoi elles ne le vouloient aymer. Thus, both in respect of the form of the elegy, and of its content, the elegy follows exactly the pattern of Marot's elegies. The poem is in the form of a monologue, spoken by the unhappy Faunus, pitifully

1) Brodeau's elegy is on pp. 128 - 129 of the 1546 edition of the Rithmes.

2) F. Lachèvre, Bibliographie des recueils collectifs de poésies du XVI^e siècle, Paris, 1922. p 159.

asking the nymphs why they do not love him, and who, realising that he is ugly, enumerates a list of heroes and gods of antiquity who were loved despite their lack of physical beauty.

There were various sources in the literature of Antiquity, to give Brodeau the details about Faunus. Horace in his Odes¹⁾ tells of Faunus, the wild god, the lover of nymphs, whose festival, in December was celebrated with merrymaking in the countryside. In fact Horace provides Brodeau, with the idea for his elegy, in that he opens his poem with the picture of Faunus pursuing fleeing nymphs.

Faune, Nympharum fugientum amator,
per meos finis et aprica rura
lenis incedas abeasque parvis
seque alumnis..... 2)

Faunus was in fact a somewhat formidable figure, with a reputation for frightening anyone who crossed his path. He is often identified with, or confused with Pan, for he too has a form half human and half goat, and this is the epithet that Ovid applies to him.³⁾ Brodeau in fact, who seems to have been quite aware of the

1) Horace, Odes, III, 18.

2) Horace, Odes 18, III 1-4.

3) Ovid, Fasti, V, 99.

Sacraque multa quidem sed Faunis prima bicornis
has docuit gentes alipedisque dei
semicapere, coleris cinctutis, Faune, Lupercis.

terror usually inspired by Faunus, actually manages to arouse some of the reader's sympathy, as we read of his pleas to the nymphs, whom he is forever pursuing, but always without success.

Declarez moy, Nymphes, pourquoi fuyez
 Ma compagnie, et vous en ennuyez:
 Et quelz deffaultz sont en Faunus repris
 Qu'il est ainsi de vous mis à despris. 1)

After this frank beginning, Faunus then starts on his list of gods who were loved despite their ugliness.

Si j'ay deux cors estranges en la teste,
 Bacchus en a, qui n'en est moins honneste.
 Et qu'il soit vray: Ariadne de Crete
 Le traita bien, ~~bien~~ en amytié secrete. 2)

If Faunus has a face whose colour is 'vermeille, tirant sur feu', is this not also true of Phoebus, who was nonetheless loved by Climene? Further, if Neptune equally has a face which is hideously ugly, was he not loved by Thetis? In turn, Faunus invokes the example of Hercules, who was bearded like himself.

Si j'ay la barbe herissé & farouche
 Cela n'est point pour en avoir reproche.
 Deianire alors est pleine d'aise
 Quand Hercules son barbu mari bayse 3)

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- 1) Elegie... de Faunus, ll. 1 - 4.
 2) Elegie de Faunus, ll. 5 - 8.
 3) Elegie... de Faunus, ll. 17 - 20.

Finally, Faunus mentions Vulcan, often cited as an example of an ugly husband, loved by a beautiful wife,¹⁾ here stressing that although Vulcan had a limp, he was nevertheless the husband of Venus.

Vous m'arguez d'un pied de Bouc honteux,
 Qu'est-il plus laid au marcher qu'un boyteux,
 Et neantmoins la tresbelle Venus
 Espousa bien le boyteux Vulcanus. 2)

The nymphs are, concludes Faunus, self interested indeed, for they drive away the humble shepherds, and hope for greater things.

Mais j'entends bien voz ruses et fins tours
 Vous esloignez un garde de pastours
 Pauvre et petit, demandant pour guerdons
 De vostre amour des grands dieux les grands dons. 3)

Brodeau, in giving the title Elegie to a poem which was a monologue, in which the speaker, who is not necessarily the author, laments his lack of success in love, was following a pattern which was by this date becoming well established. Brodeau's elegy, like several of Fernet's, is a piece of just over thirty lines, written in decasyllables with rimes plates, with love as the subject.

1) cf. Michel d'Amboise, Les Epistres Veneriennes. In the fourth letter, the author, like Faunus, admits his ugliness, but tries to persuade his mistress to love him, by giving her a list of ugly people who have been loved. He mentions Numa, Ulysses and says of Vulcan,

Boiteux estoit & bossu Vulcanus
 Et toutefois aymé fut de Venus. (Fol. vi.)

2) Elegie... de Faunus, ll. 25 - 28.

3) Elegie... de Faunus, ll. 33 - 36.

As in the case of the elegies of Marot, for Brodeau, the elegy is not a personal type of love poetry, but merely a form of impersonal lyricism.

In the same year that the second edition of Pernette's Rithmes appeared, a further collection of Elegies appeared in the Tuteur d'Amour, of Gilles d'Aurigny.¹⁾ D'Aurigny includes in the volume, both a section of Epistres, many of which are love epistles, and three elegies, all of which have love as their subject, althoughⁱⁿ the second elegy Elegie du cheval de monsieur de la clavette,²⁾ the love theme is somewhat overshadowed, and the real preoccupation of the elegy is the praise of the wonderful horse. Although the elegies and epistles are very similar in their theme, and in their form,³⁾ they are differentiated by the fact that the elegies are not couched in the form of letters. Two of the elegies are monologues by unhappy lovers, and the Elegie du cheval is again

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- 1) Very little is known about d'Aurigny. There is some information about his life and works in La Croix du Maine, Bibliothèque Francoise, 1584. p. 127.
 - 2) Le Tuteur d'Amour, pp. 56 v^o - 58 v^o. The full title of the elegy is Elegie du cheval de monsieur de la clavette, du coup que ledict cheval receut a la monstre, & de ses amours.
 - 3) The elegies are all written in decasyllables with rimes plates. The epistles are in the same form, with one exception, Epistre IV, which has octosyllabic lines, with rimes plates.

a monologue by the author, in praise of the horse. Thus d'Aurigny distinguishes quite clearly between the elegy and the Epistre amoureuse, despite their similarity in theme.

The choice of the title Elegie for two of d'Aurigny's pieces is in fact quite usual. The first elegy is entitled Elegie d'une fille se plaignant d'avoir aime homme de trop grande qualite sans pouvoir estre aime. The lady in question bemoans her fate at having fallen in love with someone who cannot return her love. The third elegy Troisieme elegie de s'ame qui le vouloit venir voir, et ne le permist, describes the feelings of the lover, who has of his own accord refused to let his lady see him; since seeing her will only increase his agony. The Elegie du cheval, although it has love as its ostensible theme, has in fact other preoccupations. It has certain affinities with the Blason in the way that it describes and eulogises the horse in question. In our examination of the three elegies, we will look first at the Elegie du cheval, since by its very content it sets itself apart, and then at the two elegies which conform more closely to the pattern of the love elegy.

The Elegie du cheval is in fact a curious hybrid composition.

It is not a pure Blason,¹⁾ since it does not concentrate solely on describing the horse in great detail, and praising it. Nor does the author start off by describing the animal, and praising it, and then launch into praise of the animal's master. This is the technique employed by the Latin elegiacs, Ovid, and Catullus, who lavish praise on their mistress' pet, merely as a pretext for launching into praise of the lady herself. We have already seen an example of this in one of the elegies of Charles Fontaine,²⁾ on the loss of his mistress' dog. In the Elegie du cheval d'Aurigny does bring the horse's master into the poem, but rather to show the true virtue of the horse, and to demonstrate how truly horse and master were in sympathy.

Before unfolding the tale of the gallant horse, and his master, d'Aurigny heaps praise on the steed, and compares him with Alexander's horse, Bucephalus.

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- 1) D'Aurigny was well aware of the nature of the Blason, as he himself made his contribution to the so-called 'Concours des Elasons', with a Blason de l'Ongle, which appears in the Tuteur d'Amour.
- 2) Charles Fontaine, La Fontaine d'Amour, Elégie IX. cf. supra, pp. 154 - 155.

Puis qu'ainsi est que tant de haulz espritz
 Ont travaille & mys en leurs escriptz
 (Comme un grand cas) que l'honneur on doit rendre
 A Bucephal le cheval d'Alexandre
 Puis qu'ainsi est que par eulx il doit estre
 Tant estimé d'avoir saulvé son maistre
 Je soutiendray autre cheveulx heureux
 En avoir veu un plus aventureux.
 Je soutiendray tousjours que la clayette
 A ung cheval digne assez qu'on le mecte
 Par grand honneur en hystoire ou cronique
 Pour approuver son faict tant magnifique. 1)

D'Aurigny then launches into the tale of the heroism of the horse. The animal, always particularly aware of his master's wishes, is so much in sympathy with his rider, that he realises that his master is in love, and is consequently of an unusually boisterous humour. The horse takes all this into consideration, and takes responsibility for the pair of them.

Il est bien vray qu'amour trop enflame
 Avoit son coeur tellement entame
 Pour le reduyre en sa haulte puissance
 Que le cheval en avoit congnoissance.
 Cela faisoit que ce feu vehement
 Eschauffoit l'un et l'autre incessamment
 Pour entre tous estre subtil et promptz.
 Estimez vous que les durs esperons
 Pour le dompter luy fussent mys à point.
 Certes nenny, mais il n'en falloit point;
 Car le cheval jugeoit en son courage
 Qu'amour tenoit son seigneur en servage. 2)

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- 1) Le Tuteur d'amour, p. 56 v^o. Elegie du cheval, ll. 1 - 12.
 2) Le Tuteur d'amour, p. 57. Elegie du cheval, ll. 25 - 36.

However, this understanding of the master by the horse is soon put to severe test. Somewhat incongruously, after the realistic description of the horse, and his manoeuvres, d'Aurigny declares that 'Envie' plotted to cause the death of both the lover and the horse. In order to do so, 'Envie' se veint (sic) jecter au ventre D'un grand coursier.' This animal, spurred on by the machinations of 'Envie' rushes up to la Clayette and his gallant steed. Strangely enough, by this point in the elegy, presumably in sympathy with his master, the horse is also referred to as 'amoureux'. The maddened beast rushes at them again and again, and at each fresh attack, the virtuous horse takes skilful avoiding action. Finally however, fortune not wishing that la Clayette and his horse should have an immediate victory intervenes.

Mais la fortune ayant l'envie à coeur
 Ne permist point qu'il fust pour lors vainqueur,
 Voyant son geste & sa façon gentille,
 Car le courcier, plus enrage qu'habille
 Jecta son coup royde comme sayette
 Contre la jambe du noble la clayette. 1)

This is where the horse's complete understanding of his master reaches its height. Having felt that his master has been dealt a blow, he retires from the field, and takes his master where he may seek comfort.

1) Elegie du cheval, ll. 79 - 84.

Ce que sentant, ce cheval de hault pris
 Et congnoissant son maistre estre surpris
 Sans s'effrayer, ou se monstrier farouche
 Subitement sortit de l'escarmouche.
 Apres avoir fait quatre ou cinq beaux tours
 Le porta droict au lieu de ses amours,
 A celle fin que le contentement
 Luy peust servir de quelque allegement.
 Qui est celuy qui vueille dire ou croire
 Que Cephalus merite plus de gloire? 1)

D'Aurigny devotes several more lines to comparing the horse favourably to Bucephalus, and then as if as an afterthought reintroduces the theme of 'Envie', the enemy of lovers.

O faulce envie aux vrais amantz contraire
 Tu pensois bien d'un coup les deux deffaire
 Mais malgré toy comme amant il vivra
 Et ses amours tous jours il poursuyvra
 Four te monstrier & donner a cognoistre
 Qu'amour fera de toy vainqueur et maistre. 2)

The impression left by the elegy is a curious one. D'Aurigny is at pains to keep love as the central theme of the poem, but somehow is continually carried away by his description of the horse, and of its relationship with its master. Consequently, whenever dealing with love, the poem is singularly static and uninspired, and when dealing with the horse, the poem becomes singularly animated. It seems that D'Aurigny gave the title elegy to the piece because it did in fact ultimately deal with love, and possibly because he

1) Elegie du cheval, ll. 85 - 94.

2) Elegie du cheval, ll. 107 - 112.

knew of the part that domestic animals played in the elegies of Catullus and Ovid.

Elegies one and three both treat in different fashions the trials and tribulations of love. The situation in the first elegy is a comparatively simple one. The lady who utters the long monologue, (the poem is just over two hundred lines long) has quite simply fallen in love with someone so far above her socially, that any love between them is impossible. The object of her passions does not even know of her love. In her misery, she first calls on Cupid to explain the source of this torment, love.

Pour contenter mes vagabonds espritz
 Pour conforter mes membres trop espris
 Et asseurer ma pauvre ame esgarée
 Je te requiers (ô fils de Citharée)
 Me declarer (toy qui scais mon tourment)
 D'ou vient ce feu subit et vehement
 Qui s'est espris en mon estomach tendre
 Je te supply, donne moy à entendre
 Pourquoi ce feu s'est si tost allumé
 Rendent mon coeur à demy consumé. 1)

Cupid has, she declares, taken her heart away, and it is no longer her own. Breaking away from this particularly well worn way of describing her state, the lady declares that her heart belongs to the noble gentleman, and that if only he knew of her plight, he would release her heart, just as a powerful lord can liberate a prisoner.

1) Elegie d'une fille se plaignant.., Le Tuteur d'Amour, p. 53
 ll. 1 - 10.

O que cela est bien fascheux a faire
 Veü qu'il ne scait aucunement s'il tient
 Mon pauvre coeur, lequel luy appartient.
 C'est tout ainsi qu'en estroicte prison
 L'homme est tenu, a juste, ou sans raison:
 Il se tourmente, il n'a jamais de bien
 Et toutefois le seigneur n'en scait rien.
 Quand il le scait, ne fault qu'une priere
 Pour le remettre en liberte premiere.

1)

Apart from this one fairly original comparison, the references to love throughout the elegy are couched in the most obvious Petrarchist clichés. Love is a torment and a pain,²⁾ or love is a flame or a fire.³⁾ Again, in the tradition of Petrarchism, the lady describes how it was through the eyes that she received the fatal wound. She reproaches her eyes for having been open, and thus seen the person who was to be so fatal to her.

O vous, mes yeux, qui fustes trop hastifs
 De contempler les deux siens attractifs,
 D'ou procedoit telle presumption
 De regarder vostre perdition?
 En un moment, vous pensiez enflammer
 Ce qui vous fait maintenant consumer.
 O le grand heur s'il m'eust esté permis
 De vous tenir fermez ou endormis.

4)

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- 1) Elegie d'une fille se complaignant, ll. 50 - 58.
 - 2) Love is referred to as a torment, as pain or suffering in lines, 5, 16, 19, 121, 154, 166, and 170.
 - 3) Love is described as heat, fire or flame in lines, 6, 9, 108, 154 and 200.
 - 4) Elegie d'une fille se complaignant, ll. 103 - 110.

The lady then proceeds to reproach the gods in turn for not having prevented this misfortune. Why was Mercury not present at the time? Could he not have rendered her eyes useless as he did when he put Argus to sleep? Could he not have caused some metamorphosis that would have saved her? She then calls on Diana, the goddess of chastity, who surely should have helped her.

Ou estois tu Diane, chaste et sainte,
 Que ma chaleur ne fut par toy estaincte.
 Que ne veins tu environner mon coeur
 De ta divine et pudicque froideur?
 C'estoit à toy ma jeunesse innocente,
 Tu devrois donc de chaleur vehemente
 La preserver, (ô deesse de pris)
 Tu avois bien aultre part tes espritz. 1)

The gods, so the miserable woman concludes, are trying to punish her or they would indeed have intervened on her behalf. She further laments her fate feeling that her pain is so great that she will die of love if Cupid does not intervene. The elegy finishes with a plea to the god of love to end her misery by making the object of her love fall in love with her. If Cupid grants this wish, she will eternally praise him, if not the consequences will be disastrous.

1) Elegie d'une fille se complaignant, ll. 129 - 136.

Va luy monstrier ta puissance et vertu
 En le rendant tout autant amoureux,
 Comme en l'ayant mon coeur est langoureux.
 S'ainsi le fais, tu peulx estre asseure
 Qu'en mon esprit j'ay desjà preparé
 A ta louenge un ismortel cantique
 Qui descripra ta puissance auctentique.

.....
 Mais si pour moy tu ne fais ce message
 Afin d'avoir à son amour partage
 A ton honneur jamais ne parleray,
 Seule en un lieu je me retireray
 En maudissant la fleur de ma jeunesse,
 De me causer eternelle tristesse.
 Jusqu'à la mort je passeray les nuictz
 En desconfort, soupirant mes ennuyz.

1)

When she is asked the cause of her distress, her answer will be that 'folle amour' has caused these miseries.

The Elegie d'une fille se complaignant, owes some of its images, and themes to Petrarchism, and probably some to the traditions of mediaeval love poetry, with the eternally lamenting lover, though here the theme is inverted, and we have the eternally lamenting lady. Where d'Aurigny uses some of the clichés of Petrarchism, he exploits them little, and merely refers in passing to love as a flame, without extending the comparison. The elegy in fact simply follows the themes of the Epistre Amoureuse, with its eternal embroidery on the theme of unrequited love.

1) Elegie d'une fille se complaignant, ll. 181 - 187. & 192 - 199.

The theme of the third elegy is a somewhat more sophisticated one. The lover who speaks the monologue has forbidden his lady to come to see him. This is not, he insists, as some will conclude because he is not resolute enough in his love, or because he is too proud. It is quite simply because the effects of love are already so strong, that he fears the consequences if they are increased by further sight of the lady.

Ay- je donc pas cause de ne permectre
 Qu'un plus grand feu en mon coeur vienne mestre?
 Veu que celuy qu'elle a ja allumé
 Mon esprit a et mon corps consume.
 Si je permectz qu'elle vienne vers moy
 Asseuré suis que j'auray tant d'esmoy
 En la voyant, si dieu ne me faict grace,
 Qu'en peu de temps fauldra que je trespasse.
 Je suis bien seur que son ceill deceptif
 Me rendra mort, ou du tout fugitif.

1)

In order that he may not perish in this unhappy fashion, the lover wishes to postpone their meeting until he has become more accustomed to the effects of the fire of love. The image of love as an all consuming flame is continued throughout the poem, and exploited to its utmost. If the lovers do not keep apart, the lady's eyes may well consume the lover completely with their flame.

1) Troisième elegie de s'amye, qui le vouloit venir veoir, et ne le permist. Le Tuteur d'Amour, p. 58 v^o - 59 v^o. ll. 37 - 46.

Puis s'elle void qu'il vueille consumer
 Ses subtilz yeulx le pourront allumer
 Et enflammer, voire de telle force
 Qu'ilz brusleront et le boys et l'escorce 1)

The lover concludes with a plea to Venus to keep the lady patient, until a meeting should be more propitious, but not in any way to diminish her love, which is as great as his.

In all three of d'Aurigny's Elegies, love is the principal subject, even if it is somewhat overshadowed in the Elegie du cheval. In the two elegies which treat only love, d'Aurigny borrows certain of the Petrarchist clichés to embellish his poems. All in all, the three compositions conform to the pattern of Marot's Elegies, that is to say his love elegies, both in their form, decasyllables with rimes plates, and in their content. Like Marot too d'Aurigny distinguishes between the elegy and the epistle, although the distinction that d'Aurigny makes between the love epistle and the elegy lies in the fact that the elegies he composed are monologues, and not epistles, whereas Marot's love elegies are quite simply love epistles.

The last group of elegies we have to study are the two poems which appeared in 1548 in Etienne Forcadel's Chant des Seraines. Forcadel in his turn follows fairly closely the pattern set by

1) Troisieme elegie, ll. 53 - 56.

Marot's love elegies. Both the poems have love as their subject, and both are written in decasyllables with rimes plates. The first elegy, Elegie premiere, pour un Amant¹⁾, treats the pangs of unrequited love, and is quite simply a plea to a lady to grant her love, and to pour on the flame of the lover's passion, 'eau de mercy'. The second elegy is the author's defence of his attitude, and his writings on the female sex and on love. Some other poet has been trying to persuade the ladies that Forcadel has spoken ill of them in his poetry.²⁾ This is not true, protests Forcadel. All that he has written has been in praise or defence of the fair sex.

The first elegy follows the pattern of love as expounded by the Petrarchists. Forcadel describes his lady's beauty in highly exaggerated terms, and compares her favourably with the heroines and goddesses of Antiquity. She is so beautiful that Mars would have chosen her rather than Venus. Further, if Phoebus had seen

1) Le Chant des Seraines, Elegie premiere pour un Amant, pp. 21 v^o - 23.

2) Le Chant des Seraines, Seconde Elegie, pp. 23 - 24 v^o.

Si as trouve quelque cas à refaire
 Non d'un quidem, sot rithmeur fait en haste,
 D'un qui mon bruit, comme les metres gaste
 Persuadant aux simples damoyelles
 Que j'ay parlé sinistrement d'elles. (ll. 6 - 10.)

In line 6, Forcadel is addressing the reader.

Forcadel's lady, Daphne would not have been turned into a tree, and Paris would not have caused the Trojan war in order to gain Helen.

Mais ne deçoy je en ceste veine attente?
 Quand ta beaulté, d'ou nostre temps se vante
 A deservy, sans aymer, d'estre aymée,
 Et se graver, par main de renommée.
 Tant naive est, qu'à Venus rien ne doit.
 Ou que Venus sur soy la reconnoit.
 Et croy, que Mars t'eust pour Venus choisie,
 Sans qu'Adonis l'eust poingt de jalousie.
 Et si Phebus eust ta forme congne,
 Daphné ne fust vert Laurier devenue.
 Et Iliou ne seroit à l'envers,
 Estans les yeulx au beau Paris ouverts.
 Car seconde est Heleine à ta haultesse,
 Et fust icy de present toute Grece.

1)

An even more obvious borrowing from Petrarchism is Forcadel's constant reference to love as fire or flame. Twice Forcadel uses the image of fire contrasted with water. The lady should have mercy on him:

Fais sur son feu eau de mercy plouvoir,
 Pour mieul^{l'}aiser, pour mieulx content le voir.

2)

Yet again, Forcadel declares that the sea could not extinguish the flame she has lit.

1) Elegie Premiere, ll. 11 - 24.

2) Elegie premiere, ll. 53 - 54.

Mais si la mer te rend vers moy piteuse,
 J'yray voguer en la mer perilleuse,
 Veux que la mer ne pourroit de son onde,
 Noyer le feu, qui en mon cueur abonde. 1)

Forcadel declares too that his mistress should be his Salamander.

Si que ne say tant impossible chose,
 De qui, pour toy, à l'essay, ne m'expose,
 Ou au danger des flammes & attendre
 Qu'à l'ardent feu tu sois ma Salamandre,
 En estainant le feu d'ou me sens poindre,
 S'il te plaisoit un feu semblable joindre. 2)

Here, Forcadel is echoing Serafino, who declares that it is no more strange that the Salamander can live in fire, than it is that his lady, who is made of ice, should continue to live in the heart of the poet without melting.³⁾

In the first elegy, Forcadel declares his love in terms which come partly from Petrarchism, and partly from the tradition of courtly love. In the opening lines of the poem, he offers the lady his 'service'.

1) Elegie premiere, ll. 37 - 40.

2) Elegie premiere, ll. 31 - 36.

3) Opere dello elegantissimo Poeta Serafino Aquilano, nuovamente con diligentia impresse con molte cose aggiunte. Firenze, 1516.
 p. 126.

Se Salamandra in fiamma vive, e in foco,
 Non me stupisce quel che fa natura:
 Ma costei che è di ghiaccio & io di foco
 E in mezo del mio cor vive sicura
 Chi la defende in così ardente foco
 Che dovendo equagliar diventa dura?
 Solo amor di natura aspro avversario
 Che à Suo dispetto unisce ogni contrario.

Si avec toy, mes vrays ans je consume,
 Couchant mon dueil, par ma voix & ma plume,
 Reçoy en gré, & ne me tiens à vice
 Si je te fais offre de mon service. 1)

In the final lines of the elegy, Forcadel begs his mistress to be favourable to him,²⁾ otherwise he will meet an early death, following partly in the footsteps of the lover in Chartier's Belle Dame sans Mercy, who dies from his love, and partly in the footsteps of the later Petrarchists.

From the type of images that Forcadel uses, it seems that he takes some of his inspiration from the later Petrarchists, and possibly from Serafino, who exploited the conceits of fire conflicting with water to the utmost. Certainly Forcadel appears to take the reference to the Salamander from Serafino. Apart from these borrowings, the mediaeval concept of love as service is also suggested.

The second elegy is in a somewhat more light-hearted vein. Somehow Forcadel does not seem to have taken the accusations against him very seriously. In listening to his accuser, one

1) Elegie premiere, ll. 1 - 4.

2) Elegie premiere, ll. 59 - 62.

Et si en rien ny vault herbe & racine,
 Je crains, que mort en bref temps ne termine
 Ou si subit n'a fin le mien tourment,
 En mon vivant, je mourray longuement.

would think that he had tried to harm the reputation of the fair sex in his verses. This is not the case:

Si, qu'à l'ouïr, en mes vers croist l'ortie;
 Mais c'est juger sans ouyr la partie,
 Et recevoir avec la gauche main,
 Ce, qu'ay donné de cueur dextre et humain.
 Car qui de près espluchera mon dire,
 Appercevra, que le tout fut pour rire,
 Et la plupart, au loz de quelque Dame,
 Qui vers soy a la moytié de mon ame,
 Qui suffiroit pour illustrer le reste
 Du feminin sexe, doux & modeste: 1)

I would be the last person to speak ill of the fair sex, declares Forcadel, for the fair sex:

Plus me plaist que la fresche fontaine
 Au cerf vene, courant et hors d'aleine,
 Ou à la mousche à miel, la fleur de Thin,
 Ou bien au pré, le ruyseau argentin,
 Ou au soldat, l'anime bien fourbie. 2)

In order to express how far he is from speaking ill of women, Forcadel uses the formula, 'the order of nature would have to be reversed before this would happen', the same formula that the lovers in Marot's elegies use, to express the quality of their love.³⁾

1) Seconde Elegie, ll. 11 - 20.

2) Seconde Elegie, ll. 21 - 25.

3) see supra, pp. 48 - 49.

Quand est à moy, avant que la m'esprouve,
 Verrons Obris, le cler et plaisant fleuve,
 Sans l'eau l'yver, ou aller contremont.
 Avant paistront les Alozes au mont,
 Avant verrons le feu à la mer joindre,
 Que mon desir soit de blasmer ou poindre. 1)

Forcadel finishes with a plea to the ladies to believe in his good faith, and a few rather cynical comments about the one lady he is so diligently wooing.

Puis en bref temps, Dames, vous cognoistrez
 Mon bon vouloir, & l'ire remettrez
 Espanissant vostre amyable~~x~~ trongne,
 Qui a present, sans cause se refrongne.
 Celle qui a tant obstiné son cuer,
 Ne voudra pas amollir sa rancueur,
 L'on luy a dit quelque mot un peu lourd,
 Mais, que sert il de luy faire la court?
 Elle est à tous, & diligence est veine,
 De desrober au bort de la mer l'areine.
 Or voise donc avecques son semblable,
 Veu que je suis aux autres favorable,
 Et favory: car qui a innocence,
 A les deux tiers de la bonne sentence. 2)

From our brief study of the elegies of Forcadel published at this date,³⁾ we see that the poet considered the elegy as a genre for

1) Seconde Elegie, ll. 41 - 46.

2) Seconde Elegie, ll. 61 - 74.

3) There are further collections of elegies in Forcadel's later collections of poems, Poésie d'Estienne Forcadel, J de Tournes, Lyon, 1551, B. Nat. Res. Ye 1824., and Ceuvres Poétiques, G. Chaudière, Paris, 1579., Brit. Mus. 11475. bbb. 51.

love poetry, either addressed directly on behalf of a lover to the object of his passion, or as a slightly more frivolous discussion of feminine honour, and Forcadel's protection of it in his verses. The form of his elegies, and their content follow in broad outline the love elegies of Marot.

We can draw several conclusions from the study of the various elegies published between 1545 and 1548. In contrast to the elegies published in the decade following the publication of Marot's love elegies, which have a wide variety of form and content, the elegies we have studied in this chapter follow more closely the pattern of the 'élegie marotique'. With few exceptions,^{all} the elegies we have discussed have love as their subject. This does not mean however that the treatment of the theme of love is the same. For Pernette, the elegy is generally a monologue, and is at least ostensibly a poem which presents her own emotions. For Brodeau, the elegy is again a monologue, but the emotions expressed are not those of the author, but of another person. The Elegies of d'Aurigny are again monologues, and are quite separate from d'Aurigny's love epistles. Finally for Forcadel again, the elegy is a monologue, not necessarily written on his own behalf, expressing the pangs of love; or a rather more vague 'badinage' addressed to several ladies. In almost all cases, the Elegie is

not necessarily a love epistle any longer, and in that respect, the authors in question show their independence from Marot's concept of the elegy. Another striking feature is the almost complete independence from the Latin elegiacs. Probably the greatest single influence on all the writers discussed in this chapter is Petrarchism, whether it is very marked, as in the case of Forcadel, or much more assimilated in the case of Fernette. All in all, it seems that the elegy was firmly established as a genre for love poetry by 1548, and although the content of the various elegies varies slightly, as does their length, the form, the decasyllable with rimes plates is fairly constant. Marot's Elegies certainly give the basis and the pattern, and each individual author gives his own variation on the basic scheme.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion

In our study of the birth of the elegy in France, that is in our study of the origins of the elegy, and of the various elegies written between the creation of the genre by Marot in 1532, and 1550, we have tried to show several things, and to clear up various problems which surround Marot's first attempts at the genre, and those of the poets who follow him.

We have tried to show firstly, that the creation of the elegy in France, by Marot was not a sudden and miraculous harking back to a genre used by the poets of Antiquity. Rather, the elegy developed from the Épître Amoureuse, and was for a long time confused with it, since many poets, and not only Marot, wrote elegies, which were in fact love epistles. At the same time, the fact that Marot had given the title Élégie to a love epistle did not mean that all love epistles were subsequently baptised 'Élégies'. For a long time, the two genres survive side by side. The Épître Amoureuse owed its being, and its wide diffusion during the first forty years of the sixteenth century to the popularity of Ovid's Heroides, or more particularly to Octovien de Saint-Gelais' translation of Ovid, Les Epistres d'Ovide. It was in fact, as we saw in Chapter One, the Heroides, and not the Amores, which had a wide influence on love poetry at the beginning

of the century. Marot himself had a considerable knowledge of Ovid. He translated the first book of the Metamorphoses, and composed his own variation on the Heroides, the Epistres de Maguelonne. With his knowledge of the literature of Antiquity, Marot made various attempts to renew the forms and content of French poetry. With the example of the Latin elegiacs in mind, Marot baptised his love epistles Elegies. This had the double advantage of both enhancing his poetry with a title used by the Ancients, and distinguishing the love epistles from his Epitres, which treat a wide variety of subjects, but never love.

Secondly, in view of the fact that Marot and those poets who chose the title elegy for their compositions, between 1532 and 1550, adopted a title used by the Latin elegiacs, it is tempting to conclude that they also imitated the Latin elegiacs in detail in their elegies. This is by no means the case. In the case of Marot's elegies, as we have seen, there are certain passages which are reminiscent of the Latin elegiacs, and several instances where Marot has imitated short snatches from Tibullus, Propertius, and slightly more often, Ovid. It is false, however, to picture Marot deliberately setting out to model his elegies on those of the Latins, as some critics have tried to show. The same is true for the other authors of love elegies. Jean Bouchet takes a certain

amount of material from Ovid, and Charles Fontaine finds a certain degree of inspiration in both Ovid and Catullus. Neither Pernette du Guillet, Brodeau, Gilles d'Aurigny, nor Forcadel owe very much to the poetry of the Latin elegiacs. Marot's Elegies are one of the most mediaeval parts of his poetry, and they exploit in the main themes handed on by the courtly tradition, and Alain Chartier. The biggest single influence on the elegies of Bouchet is the Roman de la Rose. His elegy on the death of Renée de Bourbon is a very typical example of a poem on the death of a patron, which follows all the usual formulae of the poetry on death of the Grands Rhétoriciens. Charles Fontaine by contrast, in both his themes, (that is in his love elegies) and treatment of them, is closer to the Italian Petrarchists, than to the Latins, and the same is largely true of Pernette, Gilles d'Aurigny and Etienne Forcadel. Their imitation is often of such a nature that it is difficult to conclude that they were imitating a single author. Very often they adopt, and exploit, the most widespread and banal conceits of Petrarchism. All one can conclude is that since many of the images they adopt are the most exaggerated ones, they seem to have been following the later Petrarchists, and very probably, principally, Serafino.

Thirdly, we have tried to show that the elegy was not for Marot, nor very largely for his followers, a form of personal lyricism, but was in a sense, like the Heroides, a display of lyricism of a purely impersonal nature, presenting a range of variations on the theme of absence, and of love, very often unhappy. Again, like the Heroides, Marot's elegies are written by the author for someone else, for a noble 'chevalier' or even on behalf of an unhappy woman. The same is true of Bouchet's Elegies, for some of the elegies of Fontaine, for Brodeau's one composition, and also for the elegies of d'Aurigny and Forcadel. Thus for the majority of the authors of elegies of this period, the elegy was a form of love poetry, which was far from being a type of personal lyricism.

Lastly, we have tried to show how the fact that Marot gave the title Elegie to a group of love poems, and then later added to the group, three poems on death gave to the elegy an opportunity for ambiguous interpretation. At first, as we have seen in studying the elegies of Bouchet, Sagon, and Sainte-Marthe, the elegy was far from being closely defined, and admitted a wide variety of themes and treatment. However, Charles Fontaine follows very closely Marot's definition of the elegy, in that he includes in his group of elegies, principally pieces which are

love epistles, but also two laments on death. All but one of the elegies treated in the last chapter are in fact love elegies, if we admit a somewhat wide definition of the term.¹⁾ As well as this uniformity of content, after the diversity of form of the earlier attempts at the genre, the elegies composed from 1545-1548 also have uniformity in their form: the decasyllable, with rimes plates seems to be firmly established. The influence of Marot's elegies during this period has in fact been neatly summed up by Saulnier, in his chapter Les Élégies Amoureuses dans l'histoire littéraire.²⁾

"A l'époque que l'on peut appeler marotique (disons en somme, les années 1535 - 1555), l'influence des Élégies est très nette. Il en faut bien voir les limites. Marot n'a pas imposé le nom d'élegie d'une manière immédiate, et sans appel: je n'en veux pour preuve que des compositions particulièrement fidèles à l'exemple des Élégies de Marot, et que leur auteur Hugues Salel intitule Epîtres. En second lieu, les pièces marotiques titrées "Élégies" s'autorisent à traiter de nouveaux genres de sujets: dans sa Poesie françoise (1540) Charles de Sainte-Marthe

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- 1) It is possible to argue that Gilles d'Aurigny's Elegie du cheval, has as its ultimate theme love, and that Brodeau's Elegie, despite its apparent novelty does treat the pangs of unrequited love. The only piece which lies beyond the definition of the love elegy is Fernet's poem La Nuit.
 - 2) V. L. Saulnier, Les Élégies de Clément Marot. Chapter III.

en donnera qui seront d'histoire littéraire, comme l'Élégie du Temps de France, ou de morale religieuse, comme l'Élégie de l'Âme parlante au corps. Enfin, certaines "élegies" se permettent d'user d'autres mètres que Marot: la même Poesie Françoise en contient qui sont écrites en alexandrins, ou en forme strophiques. Mais si Marot n'a pas, d'une façon saisissante, imposé le cadre d'une seule facture, il a lancé une mode." 1)

'Il a lancé une mode'. This apparently casual way of describing the influence of Marot's Elegies, and this applies equally to Marot's elegies on death, (although in the actual context Saulnier does not intend this to apply) is in fact very accurate. However far from the 'élegie marotique' that the compositions by, for instance Bouchet and Sagon, are, it is certain that these two very minor poets, both extremely conservative in their choice of genres would never have chosen to entitle their poems Elegies, if Marot had not already 'set the fashion' for the title. Again, Charles de Sainte-Marthe, who declares himself a very faithful disciple of Marot, seems to have chosen to entitle a section of his Poesie françoise, Elegies, because the title had been 'inaugurated' by Marot. As we have seen, poets such as Fontaine and Forcadet

1) Saulnier, Op. cit. pp. 111 - 112. Saulnier reminds the reader in a note, that he is of course speaking mainly of the influence of the love elegy. 'Il s'agit principalement des élegies amoureuses, ou des élegies dans leur ensemble. Pour ce qui est de leur influence séparée, les élegies déploratives ont joué dans le vaste domaine de la poésie funéraire, un rôle plus modeste.'

followed the pattern of the 'élegie marotique' even more closely. There is however one point where, from 1545 onwards there is a certain divergence from the pattern of Marot's love elegies. Whereas Sainte-Marthe and Fontaine present their elegies as epistles, Brodeau, Fernette and others tend to present their elegies as monologues, and for Gilles d'Aurigny, the elegy is distinguished from the love epistle by the fact that it is a monologue.

We have restricted our study to the creation, and early development of the elegy, since this study in itself constitutes a very wide field. However, before concluding we will trace very briefly the fate of the elegy after 1550. Forcadel, whose two elegies we have studied in some detail added a further collection of elegies to his *Poésie*.¹⁾ Berenger de la Tour d'Albenas included a section of thirteen elegies in his volume of poetry Le Siècle d'Or.²⁾ All of them are love elegies, written in decasyllables with rimes plates. A few years later, Louise Labé

1) Poésie d'Estienne Forcadel, J. de Tournes, Lyon, 1551. B. Nat. Res. 1824. This volume contains 10 elegies, two of which are those which we have examined in detail.

2) Le Siècle d'or, et autres vers divers, J. de Tournes, Lyon, 1551, Brit. Mus. 11475.b. 40.

put at the head of her Euvres¹⁾ three elegies. The first and third of the Elegies are apologia, where she defends herself in advance from criticism for having loved, and written about it. The second elegy is on the absence of her lover. All three are written in decasyllables with rimes plates.

Even very minor poets produced collections of elegies in the decade from 1550 - 1560. Jean Doublet,²⁾ a native of Dieppe wrote twenty-six elegies, mainly on the subject of unhappy love. Diverging from the pattern of Marot's Elegies, and presumably trying to reproduce something similar to the elegiac couplet of the Latins, he alternates two lines of decasyllables with two octosyllabic lines. Another obscure poet Ferry Julyot, produced a collection of elegies entitled Elegies de la belle fille lamentant sa virginité perdue.³⁾ The Elegies are in fact letters,

1) Euvres de Louize Labe Lionnoize, J. de Tournes, Lyon, 1555. Brit. Mus. C.40.b.1.

2) Les Elegies de Jean Doublet Dieppois, reproduites d'après l'édition de 1559. Preface et notes de Prosper Blanchemain., Rouen, 1869.

I have found a certain amount of useful information on the elegy at the time of the Fleïade, and on these two minor poets in the article of R. G. Mahieu, L'Elegie au XVI^e siècle, Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France 46^e année, 1939. pp. 145 - 179. M. Mahieu does not however treat the elegies of Marot, or any of the elegies in the period 1532 - 1550.

3) Les Elegies de la Belle Fille lamentant sa virginité perdue, réimpression complète, publiée d'après l'édition originale de 1557, avec notice, éclaircissements et index, Paris 1873.

in which the young lady deploras her fate, in turn to 'Nature', to her parents, and to her lover, whom she reproaches for having seduced her.

In view of Du Bellay's views on the elegy expressed in the Deffence et Illustration¹⁾ it is interesting to see the results of the Fleiade's labours when they put theory into practice. When Du Bellay himself came to compose his elegies, the results of his labours bore a strange resemblance to the scorned 'élegie marotique'. For Du Bellay's three elegies²⁾ are all pieces written in decasyllables with rimes plates. They are all epistles, which treat minute questions of 'casuistique amoureuse', and which hardly make any use of the 'fables anciennes, non petit ornement de poesie',³⁾ that Du Bellay had so strenuously recommended.

When we come to examine the Elegies of Ronsard, the case is an even stranger one. Ronsard in fact carefully avoids using the title Epitre for any of his poems, probably through fear of being unable to surpass Marot in a genre in which the older poet

1) see supra Chapter 1, p. 5.

2) Du Bellay's first Elegie was published in 1553, in the second edition of the Recueil de Poesie. The Elegie d'Amour, and the Elegie Amoureuse appeared in Divers Jeux Rustiques (1558).

3) Deffence et Illustration, pp. 111 - 112.

was indeed acknowledged a master. Consequently, Ronsard tends to use the term elegy for many pieces, which are quite simply epistles, and do not even have love as their subject.¹⁾ His first three pieces entitled elegies, which appeared in 1553 in the second edition of the fifth book of his Odes, are of a very varied nature. The first was quite simply an epistle, addressed to Muret, the second was again an epistle, addressed to J. de la Péruse, and the third was the Élégie sur le trépas d'Antoine Chasteignier, poète élégiaque, modelled on Ovid's elegy on the death of Tibullus. Later Ronsard turns more and more to the idea of the elegy as a love poem, but continues nevertheless to treat a

1) On Ronsard's elegies see, Mahieu, L'Élégie au XVI^e siècle, pp. 155 - 167. Chamard, Histoire de la Pléiade, vol. 3, pp. 26 - 40. Saulnier, Les Élegies de Marot, pp. 115 - 117. J. Plattard, Marot, sa carrière poétique, son oeuvre, Paris, 1938. pp. 163 - 165. D. Frey, Le genre élégiaque dans l'oeuvre de Ronsard, Thesis presented at Bâle, 1939. Saulnier comments judiciously (p. 116.) 'Ronsard rendit à Marot un très grand service: celui de démoder le terme d'épître. Considérant ce genre comme bien familier, ou bien plutôt soucieux de ne pas rivaliser le moins du monde dans un genre où Marot était passé maître, Ronsard renonçait au genre de l'épître comme par principe. Il préfère intituler une épître élégie plutôt que procéder à l'inverse'.

wide variety of subjects.¹⁾ In the 1584 edition of his works, there are no fewer than forty-six elegies. Mahieu, after discussing Ronsard's elegies concludes that of all of his elegies the 'élégies amoureuses' are the most successful.²⁾ Ironically, many of his love elegies follow both the form, and to a certain degree, the content of Marot's elegies, and thus, despite his attempts to remain independent of Marot, Ronsard does in fact owe a certain debt to him in his elegies.

Ronsard and Du Bellay were not the only members of the Pleiade to produce elegies. Pontus de Tyard included two Elegies in his Nouvelles Oeuvres Poétiques, an Elegie à Ronsard and another rather unusual piece, Elegie à une Dame enamourée d'une autre dame. In his turn, Etienne Jodelle included in his Amours et autres poesies, two love elegies. Among the contemporaries of the

1) Chamard, in his discussion of Ronsard's elegies, divides them into three divisions, 'l'élégie d'amour, l'élégie d'idée, et l'élégie de Cour.' The 'élégie d'idée' is the classification that Chamard accords for instance to the Elegie au Seigneur Baillet, trésorier de l'épargne du Roy, a sort of counterpart to the Hymne de l'or. The love elegies are addressed to a variety of ladies, at different dates, to Isabeau, Genevre, and to Marie. Under the heading of the Elegie de Cour, Chamard discusses a group of elegies addressed to Mary Stuart, on her departure from France, and elegies addressed to the Queen mother and to Charles IX.

2) see Mahieu, L'Élegie en France, pp. 157 - 165.

Fleïade, Jean de la Péruse left a collection of six elegies, mainly laments on death. The Olimpe (1560) of Jacques Grévin contains five elegies, one addressed to Olimpe, whilst the others treat various subjects, the most curious being Élégie sur la naissance de Typosine, Déesse tutélaire de l'imprimerie. In the Premières Œuvres (1569) of Scévole de Sainte-Marthe, there is a group of elegies, translated from Greek and Latin, and also an Élégie de J. A. Baif à l'auteur. Later still, we find a large collection of love elegies in the Œuvres Poétiques (1575) of Amadis Jamyn.

Desportes in his turn gave a large selection of love elegies to his readers, in his Premières Œuvres. The elegies, twenty-four in all, diverge from the pattern of Marot's elegies, in that they are all written in Alexandrines. We find too collections of elegies by Etienne Pasquier, by Jean Passerat, by Flaminio de Birague, and Jean de la Jessée. When Robert Garnier lamented the death of Ronsard in verse, he did so in the form of an elegy.¹⁾

This list of the various elegies written in France after 1550, until the end of the century does not pretend to be exhaustive. From the examples quoted however, we can see that if

1) Robert Garnier, Œuvres Complètes, edition of L. Finvert, Paris, 1923. Vol II, p. 434. Élégie sur la mort de Ronsard.

anything, the popularity of the elegy as a genre increased as the century progressed, and that Marot's collection of elegies was to have a large number of successors. On the whole, the elegy after 1550 is more often a vehicle for love poetry than for poetry on death, although we do find a certain number of elegies which are laments on death. On the whole too, apart from various attempts to try to produce some sort of metre which resembled the elegiac couplet,¹⁾ the most common form, up until the elegies of Desportes, is the metre used by Marot, the decasyllable with rimes plates. Thus in a sense, the pattern set by Marot was a very durable one, since the elegies which did not treat either love or death were the exception rather than the rule, and for a long time, the decasyllable was the most usual metric form for the elegy. It was thus not only for his immediate followers that Marot had 'lancé une mode', but also in a sense for the poets of the whole century.

We have seen how the elegy, developed from the Épître Amoureuse, a genre which owed its wide diffusion largely to the translation of Ovid's Heroides, gradually became independent of the love epistle, and was acknowledged in its own right, even

1) Jean Doublet for instance alternates two decasyllabic lines with two octosyllabic lines. Ronsard, in his elegy on the death of Chasteignier, alternates the Alexandrine with the decasyllable.

though a certain degree of confusion with the love epistle remained. Due to the fact that Marot himself hesitated in the classification of his Elégies, and eventually included under that heading pieces which were on the one hand descendants of the simple love epistle, and on the other hand, laments on death, a certain amount of confusion reigned in the years 1532 - 1550 as to the exact nature of the elegy. In our study we have seen how Sagon gave the title Elegie a very wide interpretation, as did Charles de Sainte-Marthe. Finally, around the period 1545 - 1550, the elegy became firmly established as a genre which many poets included in their collections of poetry, and at the same time the interpretations of the elegy followed much more closely the pattern of Marot's Elégies, or more properly, his love elegies, for the influence of the elegies on death is overshadowed by the influence of the love elegies. Broadly speaking, the influence of the pattern set by Marot in his love elegies is not eclipsed until the end of the century.

APPENDIXBibliography of the editions of Octovien de Saint-Gelais' translation of Ovid's Heroides, Les XXI Epistres d'Ovide.

In the majority of cases I have seen the editions myself in the British Museum Library, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. I have listed also editions quoted by Brunet, and by G. Duplessis in his Essai Bibliographique sur les différentes éditions des œuvres d'Ovide, ornées de planches, publiées aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles, Paris, 1889, and in some cases editions quoted by Molinier in Essai biographique et littéraire sur Octovien de Saint-Gelais. I have placed the editions, as far as possible (since in some cases they are undated) in chronological order.

- 1) Le recueil des epistres d'Ovide, translate en francoys, o vray ligne pour ligne, faisant mention de cinq loyelles amoureuses qui faisoient complainctes et douloureuses lamentations pour leurs singuliers amys, qui les avoient habandonnez pour aultres. C'est assavoir, Zenone pour Paris, qui ravit Helaine, Adryane (sic) a Theseus, Dido a Enée, Philis a Demophon et Ysiphile au vaillant Jason. No date or name of printer, in 4^o, gothic lettering. B. Nat. Res.p.Yc. 1567.
- 2) Les XXI Epistres d'Ovide, translatees de latin en francoys, par Reverend pere en Dieu, monseigneur l'evesque d'Angoulesme. Michel Le Noir, Paris, 1500, in 4^o, gothic lettering. Brunet quotes this edition, Vol. 4, col. 289. There is apparently only one copy in existence, in a library in Parma.
- 3) Les XXI Epistres d'Ovide, translatees de latin en francoys par reverend pere en Dieu, Monseigneur, l'evesque d'angoulesme. A. Verard, Paris, no date (probably around 1502) in 4^o, gothic lettering, with the Latin text in the margin. B. Nat. Velins. 2088 & 2089.
- 4) Epistres d'Ovide traduites en francoys par Octavien de St. Gelais. A. Verard, Paris, no date, in 8^o, gothic lettering. B. Nat. Res.p.Yc. 1683.
- 5) Les XXI Epistres d'Ovide translatees de latin en francoys par reverend pere en Dieu, Monseigneur l'evesque d'angoulesme. J. Trepperel, Paris, 1505, in 4^o, gothic lettering. B. Nat. Rés.m.Yc. 531. Brit. Mus. 11388.b.40.

- 6) Les XXI Epistres d'Ovide, translatees de latin en francoys, par reverend pere en Dieu, maistre Octavien de Saint-Gelaix (sic) Evesque d'angoulesme. La veuve Jehan Trepperel, & Jehan Jehannot, Paris, no date, in 4^o, gothic lettering. B. Nat. Res.m.Yc. 533(3), Brit. Mus. C.48.d.3.
- 7) Les XXI Epistres d'Ovide, par maistre Octovien de Saint-Gelaix (sic). Olivier Arnoullet, Lyon, 1522, in 4^o, gothic lettering. Brit. Mus. 1138.b.41.
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