

A STUDY OF THE LIFE AND LITERARY WORKS OF JACQUES GREVIN

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE

TO HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PLEIADE POETS

BY

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ABSTRACT

This thesis comprises:

- (i) A bibliography of all works, literary and medical, known to be by Jacques Grévin (1538-1570), or attributed to him. This bibliography incorporates texts and editions discovered by the present author.
- (ii) A biography, bringing up to date the previous most extensive biography by Lucien Pinvert (1899). This includes an evaluation of works attributed to Jacques Grévin, notably the verse Epistre au Tigre (1561) and the Temple de Ronsard (1563), in an attempt to resolve the question of authorship.
- (iii) A detailed study of every reference to contemporary religious controversy found in Grévin's writings, and also of comments made by his contemporaries about his convictions, in an attempt to evaluate his religious allegiance.
- (iv) A discussion of Grévin's literary relationships with the most prominent contemporary poets: successive chapters are devoted to Ronsard, Du Bellay and the other poets of the Pléiade. An attempt has been made to note every significant source of inspiration found by Grévin in the Pléiade poets and to assess the extent and the manner of his borrowing from these poets. In the case of Ronsard and Du Bellay, Grévin's personal relationship with them is also analysed.
- (v) An annotated edition of Grévin's Preceptes de Plutarque montrant la maniere comme il faut se gouverner en mariage (1558).

This translation of Plutarch was done while Grévin was still at school and was soon afterwards prepared for publication.

In the introduction and notes of the present edition Grévin's text is compared with the Greek original, in the form in which it was known to him and his contemporaries, and with contemporary Latin and French translations (by La Boétie, Amyot, Jean Lodé, Jehan de Marconville, Speroni degli Alvarotti and Jacques de la Tapie) in order to analyse his working methods.

(vi) A bibliography of relevant works.

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INTRODUCTION

Despite the fact that Jacques Grévin is an important Renaissance poet, whose talents were fully recognised by his contemporaries, he is now all but forgotten. Some biographical articles have been written, and his plays have aroused a certain amount of interest (for instance, Cesar¹ and his two comedies²). His poetry, however, has been largely ignored. In 1922, Lucien Pinvert, in his edition of the plays, produced an unannotated edition of two of Grévin's collections of poems, L'Olimpe and La Gelodacrye.³ Subsequently a few individual poems have been reproduced in various articles; nevertheless, less than half of his poetry has been published since the sixteenth century. It is the aim of the present thesis to repair in some measure this undeserved neglect of his literary production, and especially of his poetry.

Grévin's life is, in fact, as little known nowadays as most of his works. Lucien Pinvert's biography, written in 1899,⁴ is out of date since a number of new poems by Grévin, as well as sixteenth century texts referring to him, have come to light. In this thesis I have attempted to provide a comprehensive biography of Grévin, taking recent discoveries into account.

Grévin was renowned in his time as a physician as well as a poet, writing a number of medical works on anatomy and on

poisons. The extent of his reputation is demonstrated by the fact that it was because of Grévin's criticism that the Paris 'parlement' forbade the use of antimony (a controversial drug) except on the prescription of a doctor.⁵ It is not, however, the aim of the present thesis to consider his medical achievements, and other aspects of his life will be studied in more detail.

One aspect, for instance, which is of particular interest is his attitude towards the contemporary religious issues. Until now it has been universally accepted that Grévin was a Reformer, although the reasons on which such an assumption was based have never been the subject of any serious scrutiny. An attempt will be made to discern as far as possible through Grévin's own writings, and also through those of his contemporaries, his true feelings regarding religion, and in particular his possible place among 'neutrals' who dissociated themselves from both the Roman Catholic and the Reformed communities. One particular difficulty encountered in an attempt to discern Grévin's true feelings on these matters, is that his statements on religion are often guarded, allusive and enigmatic - perhaps in part because his religious position seems to have been one which, for some while, could not be publicly professed.

Grévin was very probably the author of perhaps the most interesting of the pamphlets directed against Ronsard, the *TEMPLE DE RONSARD*. I have brought together in the present thesis the various reasons for attributing this pamphlet to Grévin, including one 'accusation' of authorship which, until

now, was not known. Indeed, his relationship with Ronsard is an important subject for both aesthetic and historical reasons, and yet is a relatively neglected one.

This thesis will also attempt to assess Grévin's relationship with the poets of the Pléiade, with particular reference to his poetic debt to them. This study will highlight some of the repercussions of the work of the Pléiade, and illustrate aspects of the working of 'imitation'. Marcel Raymond, in his work L'Influence de Ronsard sur la Poésie française,⁶ has undertaken a study of Ronsard's influence on his contemporaries, including Grévin. His study, while interesting, is frequently general, and is not entirely chronological, whereas, in my study, I have attempted a comprehensive chronological evaluation of individual passages in Grévin, searching for their various sources, dealing with precise lines. Lacking this detail, Raymond's study fails to demonstrate the evolution of Ronsard's literary influence on Grévin, and the parallel question of the evolution of Ronsard's personal relationship with Grévin. However, whenever Raymond, or indeed any other scholar, has pointed out Grévin's indebtedness to other poets, I have recorded their conclusions, after ascertaining their accuracy, and, where necessary, have cited at length the parallels they have given, so that the present survey may be complete.

The term 'Pléiade', as it will be used in the present thesis, needs to be defined. In the sixteenth century, this term was frequently used simply to denote all those poets who followed and imitated Ronsard. However, the list suggested by Claude Binet, Ronsard's friend and biographer, is today

considered as definitive,⁷ and it is this, the traditional list (which comprises Ronsard, Du Bellay, Baif, Belleau, Jodelle, Dorat and Pontus de Tyard), that I intend to follow in studying the influence, widely divergent, of these poets on Grévin. It will be interesting to ascertain why Grévin, who had been a friend of Ronsard until 1563, as well as that of a number of other poets in this group, was destined never to be included in any of the numerous sixteenth century lists of the Pléiade poets, despite a poetic skill which often seems equal to that of many who are included in the traditional Pléiade.

The present thesis deals extensively with Grévin's debt to the poets of his day, and it is, therefore, perhaps useful to consider the sixteenth century attitude towards imitation. The term 'imitation' is, of course, used here not in the Aristotelian sense of an 'imitation of nature', but rather in the customary Renaissance sense of an 'imitation of models'. Imitation of the Greeks and Romans was advocated by many, since it was hoped, by this means, to perfect the French language, just as the Romans had perfected their own language through imitation of the Greeks. Du Bellay, in his Deffence et Illustration de la Langue Françoise, wrote:

[...] il n'y a point de doute que la plus grand' part de l'artifice ne soit contenue en l'imitation, & tout ainsi que ce feut le plus louable aux Anciens de bien inventer, aussi est ce le plus utile de bien imiter, mesmes à ceux dont la Langue n'est encor' bien copieuse & riche. 8

As is well known, Ronsard and Du Bellay both stressed, in 1549 and 1550, that French poets should not be imitated, because they are unworthy subjects.⁹ But Grévin, who only started writing around 1556, and who wrote most of his work after 1559, arrived on the scene at a time when the status of French poetry

had been vastly enhanced, and when there were a number of models - in particular Ronsard and Du Bellay themselves - who were worthy of imitation.

The actual manner in which 'imitation' operated is described very fully in Jacques Peletier's Art Poétique of 1555. First, we learn, the poet must make a critical evaluation of an author (and here Peletier, too, advocates Greek and Latin authors rather than French ones) in order to determine what aspects he should imitate and what he should avoid. For, as Peletier says:

Le premier e plus difficile point et de savoer discerner
la vertu d'avec le vice. 10

Second, the poet should assimilate entirely what he has determined is worthy of imitation - his models should be:

comme incorporez an sa memoere pour son principal fons,
e comme pour son ordinere patron. 11

Only then may the poet emulate his source, while nonetheless expressing his own ideas:

[...] se propose non seulement de pouvoer ajouter du sien,
mes ancores de pouvoer fere mieus an plusieurs poinz. 12

Du Bellay, in his Deffence et Illustration also advocates a similar type of imitation.¹³

This creates an initial difficulty for anyone attempting to find out precisely the extent to which one sixteenth century poet imitates another. If a model is entirely integrated and assimilated before being reproduced in the poet's own works, imitated passages will be extremely difficult to pinpoint. Indeed, as Du Bellay himself notes, the very poet who is doing the imitating is not always conscious that that is what he is doing:

Si par la lecture des bons livres je me suis imprimé quelques traictz en la fantaisie, qui après, venant à exposer mes petites conceptions selon les occasions qui m'en sont données, me coulent beaucoup plus facilement en la plume qu'ilz ne me reviennent en la memoire, doibt-on pour ceste raison les appeller pieces rapportées?

14

A difficulty I have inevitably encountered in this research on the influence of the Pléiade on Grévin is in discerning where imitation ends and original thought begins.

Another difficulty is illustrated by a further passage in Du Bellay's same preface. Defending himself against accusations of plagiarism made by his enemies, he writes:

Je dy encores cecy, Lecteur, affin que tu ne penses que j'aye rien emprunté des nostres, si d'aventure tu venois à rencontrer quelques epithetes, quelques phrases et figures prises des anciens, et appropriées à l'usage de nostre vulgaire. Si deux peintres s'efforcent de représenter au naturel quelque vyf protraict, il est impossible qu'ilz ne se rencontrent en mesmes traictz et lineamens, ayans mesme exemplaire devant eulx [...]. Tous ars et sciences ont leur termes naturelz. Tous mestiers ont leur propres outilz. Toutes langues ont leurs motz et loquions usitées: et qui n'en voudroit user, il se faudroit forger à part nouveaux artz, nouveaulx mestiers et nouvelles langues.

15

Thus, as Du Bellay indicates, it will not be easy to separate imitation from what is independent formulation of ideas on similar themes. Any analysis must be careful not to attribute to imitation what is, in fact, independently thought out, and such a fine line must remain uncertainly drawn in many cases. It is not impossible, therefore, that, despite careful sifting of evidence, claims of imitation will be made for lines or phrases which had, in fact, been written coincidentally by two poets, and which are, therefore, not imitation at all.

One final difficulty which arises when one attempts to discern the sources of any poet, is that one may find more than

one probable source. One might use as an example of this a poem by Ronsard, the famous Ode à Cassandre, a poem by Baif and one by Grévin. Ronsard's poem reads:

Mignonne, allon voir si la rose
 Qui ce matin avoit declose
 Sa robe de pourpre au soleil,
 A point perdu, cette vesprée,
 Les plis de sa robe pourprée,
 Et son teint au vostre pareil.

Las, voiés comme en peu d'espace,
 Mignonne, elle a dessus la place
 Las, las, ses beautés laissé cheoir!
 O vraiment maratre Nature,
 Puis qu'une telle fleur ne dure
 Que du matin jusques au soir.

Donc, si vous me croiés, mignonne:
 Tandis que vôtre âge fleuronne
 En sa plus verte nouveauté,
 Cueillés, cueillés vôtre jeunesse
 Comme à cette fleur, la vieillesse
 Fera ternir vôtre beauté. 16

Baif, at about the same time, writes:

Melinelle plus douillette,
 Que la rose vermeillette,
 Qu'un Zephire vigoureux,
 Hors du bouton éclos pousse,
 L'ouvrant d'un aleine douce
 Sus le rosier odoureux:

La rose durant l'Aurore
 De son vermeillon honore
 Ses raincelets verdoyans:
 Si tost que sur la fleurette
 Le soleil du midy jette
 Ses chauds rayons flamboyans,

La pauvrete languissante
 Plaint sa gloire perissante
 Triste penchant à costé
 [...]
 Devant que de la vieillesse
 La trop severe sagesse
 Rompe nos doux passetemps,
 Comme nous faisons, ma vie,
 Cueillon la rose épanie
 De nostre fleury printemps. 17

Grévin later wrote a poem which resembles both these:

Pucelle plus douce & tendre,

Que la fleur qui vient estendre
 Tout-en-un-coup sa beauté
 Au devant-coureur d'Esté:
 [...]

Ne vois-tu pas, pucellette,
 Que ceste fleur vermeillette
 Languissante à la chaleur
 Perd en un coup sa couleur?
 Et desja toute flestrie
 Se panche sur la prairie?
 Ainsi sera-il de toy.
 [...]

Ce pendant donc que nos jours
 Couvent les douces amours,
 Et que le printemps nous tire
 A l'essay d'un doux martire
 Ne laissons trop paresseux
 Couler ce bien doucereux.
 [...]

En-ce-pendant donc, Pucelle,
 Que nous sentons l'estincelle
 De ce doux feu qui nous point,
 Jouissons du dernier poinct.

18

In a case such as this it is impossible to determine whether Grévin is imitating Ronsard or Baff, or, indeed, both.¹⁹

Similar examples abound and, in comparing these, I have attempted always to mention the possible alternative source. Moreover, when Grévin's source is known to have imitated a Greek or Latin poet, I have referred to this source in my text, and have tried to determine whether his sources were indeed the Pléiade poets or their own models.

In each of the chapters which deal with the influence of a poet on Grévin, I have examined in turn those collections of poems by Grévin in which I have discovered imitation, in chronological order of date of publication.

In quoting Grévin's works, I have used the original texts, because Pinvert, who has produced the only modern edition of his works other than his plays, is often unreliable.

In the chapters dealing with the influence of another poet

on Grévin, where I have not discovered any links, I have simply made no reference to the collection concerned in the relevant chapter. In presenting parallels, textual echoes will be underlined, but arguments regarding imitation will often also rest on similarity of theme or exposition appearing clearly in the passages under scrutiny at the time. Indeed, it is occasionally possible to be quite sure about a model even when there is very little actual verbal echo. One example of this would be the present thesis, p. 221. Du Bellay's Le Poete Courtisan has been closely imitated by Grévin, yet the verbal echoes are insufficient proof in themselves.

In presenting sixteenth century texts the original spelling has generally been retained, except that the letters 'i' and 'u', where used as consonants, have been replaced by 'j' and 'v'; a cedilla has been inserted wherever its use is conventional in modern French; accents have been added where necessary to differentiate between common words - 'des' and 'dès', 'a' and 'à', 'ou' and 'où', and the final 'e' of the past participles of verbs in 'er'.

Because, on occasion, individual poems, or small collections of poems have the same title as publications, I have adopted the practice of writing the titles of publications in capitals, and those of individual poems or collections within a publication in lower case, thus avoiding the possibility of confusion.

Four abbreviations will be used in indicating periodicals:

Revue du Seizième siècle

R.S.S.

Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France

R.H.L.F.

Bulletin du Bibliophile

B.B.

Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance

B.H.R.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF GREVIN'S PUBLICATIONS

It is intended here to give a complete chronological list of all the known editions of Grévin's works, including any manuscript versions. Such a list is necessary because the most complete list to date of Grévin's works, published in 1922 (Jacques Grévin, Théâtre complot et poésies choisies avec notice et notes par L. Pinvert, Paris, 1922, p. xlvi-xlix), mentions only the original editions. Moreover, even this is incomplete, for Pinvert makes no reference to the works numbered 7, 9, 10, 13, 14, 18, 30, 31, 38, 40, 43 and 45 in the following list. I shall also list here works by Grévin which are now lost.

Unless otherwise stated, the references in the present thesis to Grévin's works allude to the first edition of each work, as listed here.

In this list, I have used capital letters for books, and lower case for individual works. I have also asterisked those works which I have not seen.

1. ODE DE J. GREVIN A ROBERT ESTIENNE [s.d.; c. 1556¹; B.N. Rés. G.Y.3.

Reprinted, unaltered, in LE THEATRE of 1561, p. 313-315, under the title A Robert Estienne Ode.

2. HYMNE A MONSEIGNEUR LE DAUPHIN, SUR LE MARIAGE DUDICT SEIGNEUR, ET DE MADAME MARIE D'ESTEVART, ROYNE D'ESCOSSE, Paris, Martin L'Homme, 1558; B.N. Rés. Ye. 1017.
3. LES REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE EMPEREUR, CINQUIESME

DE CE NOM. ENSEMBLE LA DESCRIPTION DU BEAUVOISIS & AUTRES
OEUVRES. DEDIEZ A MADAME MAGDALEINE DE SUZE, DAME DE
WARTY, Paris, Martin L'Homme, 1558; B.N. Rés. Ye. 1806.

This contains the following poems:

A Madame, Madame Magdaleine de Suze, Dame de Warty.
Jacques Grévin son humble serviteur, Salut &
prosperité

Les Regretz de Charles d'Austriche empereur,
cinquiesme de ce nom.

Description du Beauvoisis.

A Monsieur Philippes de Warty. Sonnetz.

Ode à Madame Magdaleine de Suze, Dame de Warty.

Ode à Jacques Grévin son oncle.

Ode à Antoyne de Talon.

The last three odes were later reprinted with only
minimal alteration in L'OLIMPE. (see also number 48)

4. CHANT DE JOIE DE LA PAIX FAICTE ENTRE LE ROY DE FRANCE
HENRI II ET PHILIPPE ROI D'ESPAGNE, Paris, Martin L'Homme,
1559; B.N. Rés. Ye. 1016.

Reprinted, with few alterations, in L'OLIMPE of
1560, p. 135-145, under the title Sur la Paix
faicte l'an 1559, Ode II

5. LES PRECEPTES DE PLUTARQUE, MONSTRANT LE MANIERE COMME
IL FAUT SE GOUVERNER EN MARIAGE. TRANSLATEZ SELON LA
VERITE DU GREC. AVEC UNE CHANSON DE LA FEMME VERTUEUSE
& BONNE MENAGERE, Rouen, Jean Chollim, [s.d.]; B.N. Rés.
p. R. 838.

This contains the following sections:

Jacques Grevin au lecteur salut.

In Io. le Bon falso Hetropolitanum.

Sonnet à S.F.

Preceptes nuptiaux, de Plutarque Cheronée.

Dizain.

Les vertus de la femme fidelle, & bonne mesnagere
comme il est escrit aux Proverbes de Salomon, chap. 31,
sur le chant du Pseaume, 15.

References to the PRECEPTES DE PLUTARQUE will be to the edition included in the present thesis.

6. *PASTORALE SUR LES MARIAGES DE TRES EXCELLENTEES PRINCESSES MADAME ELIZABET, FILLE AINEE DE FRANCE, ET MADAME MARGUERITE, SOEUR UNIQUE DU ROI, Paris, Martin L'Homme, 1559.

No copy of this edition is known today; mentioned by Du Verdier, Bibliothèques françoises, Paris, Saillant & Myon, 1772, t. II, p. 283. Reprinted in L'OLIMPE of 1560, p. 192-213, under the title Pastorale de Jaques Grévin de Cler-mont à tresillustre Princesse, Madame Marguerite de France, Duchesse de Savoye.

7. LE MEDECIN COURTIZAN, OU LA NOUVELLE ET PLUS COURTE MANIERE DE PARVENIR A LA VRAIE & SOLIDE MEDECINE. A MESSERE DORBUNO, Paris, Guillaume Barbé, 1559; B.N. Rés. Ye. 1069.

(See also my number 52.)

8. L'OLIMPE. ENSEMBLE LES AUTRES EUVRES POETIQUES DUDICT AUTEUR, A GERARD L'ESCUYER PROTHENOTAIRE DE BOULIN, Paris, Robert Estienne, 1560; B.L. C. 40. b. 2.

This contains the following poems:

Voeu.

L'Olimpe.

Les Jeux Olimpiques

Elegie à son Olimpe

Jeux Olimpiques.

La Gelodacrie

Epistre à Gerard l'Escuyer, Prothenotaire de Boulin

Sonnets.

Les Elegies

A M. Philippes Musnier Evesque de Philadelphie,

Elegie I

Sur la naissance de Typosine, Deesse tutelaire de

l'Imprimerie, Elegie II

A Jaques Pons Lionnois, Elegie III

Elegie IIII

Les Odes

A Hector de Ligniville, abbé de Saint Sauveur, & grand Ausmonier de Monsieur le Duc de Lorraine, Ode I
Sur la paix faicte l'an 1559, Ode II
A Madame Magdaleine de Suze, Dame d'Warty, Ode III
A Jaques Grevin son oncle, Ode IIII
A Anthoine de Talon, Ode V
Pour le tombeau de M. Pierre de Prong son cncle, Ode VI
Le lut, à Guillaume de la Morlaye, Ode VII
A André Thevet Angoumois, Ode VIII
L'Espée, à Philippes d'Warty, Ode IX
A la fontaine du Pied-du-mont, Ode X
Pour le tombeau de Joachim du Bellay. A Charles Utenhove Gantois, Ode XI

Pastorale à tresillustre Princesse, Madame Marguerite de France, Duchesse de Savoye

(See also numbers 60 and 61)

9. EPITAPHUM IN MORTEM HENRICI GALLORUM REGIS CHRISTIANISSIMI, EIUS NOMINE SECUNDI, PER CAROLUM UTENHOVIUM, ET ALIOS, DUODECIM LINGUIS, Paris, Robert Estienne, 1560; B.N. Yc. 2868.

This collection contains three poems by Grévin mourning Du Bellay's death.

10. LE TIGRE, SATIRE SUR LES GESTES MEMCRABLES DES GUIARDS, [s.l.] 1561.

This verse edition is reproduced in Le Tigre de 1560, reproduit pour la première fois en fac-simile d'après l'unique exemplaire connu, et publié avec des notes historiques, littéraires et biographiques par C. Read, Paris, 1875, p. 67-79. (For the evidence concerning Grévin's authorship of this pamphlet, see the present thesis, p. 55-61).

11. LE THEATRE, A TRESILLUSTRE ET TRESHAULTE PRINCESSE MADAME CLAUDE DE FRANCE, DUCHESSE DE LORRAINE. ENSEMBLE LA SECONDE PARTIE DE L'OLIMPE & DE LA GELODACRYE, Paris, Vincent Sertenas and Guillaume Barbé, 1561; B.L. 240. f. 15 (2).

This contains the following sections:

A Madame Claude de France Duchesse de Lorraine

Brief Discours pour l'intelligence de ce Theatre

Cesar, tragedie

Au Lecteur

La Tresoriere, comedie

Les Esbahis, comedie

Le Second de L'Olimpe

A treshaulte et tresnuissante Princesse Claude de France Duchesse de Lorraine. A son retour dudict pais 1559. Ode

Au Seigneur de Launay sur ses histoires prodigieuses, Ode

Epithalame de M. Jacques Charpentier Docteur en Medecine, & de Catherine Charlot, Ode

Epithalame de M. Jan Rochon Docteur en Medecine, & de Jane de Brame, Ode

A son grand conseil par alliance, Ode

Le second livre de la Celodacrye

A Gerard l'Escuyer protenotaire de Boulin

Elegie sur la misere des hommes

A Monsieur de Poix Medecin de Madame de Lorraine, Elegie

Sur la naissance de Typosine deesse tutelaire de l'Imprimerie

A Anthoine de Bertrand, excellent Musicien

A Jaques Salomon

Epitaphe de François de Bourbon, le pere: François de Bourbon, le fils: & Jean de Bourbon, Seigneur d'Anguyen: tous trois ensevelis en mesme tombeau

Epitaphe de Joachim du Bellay

Du mesme, du Latin de R. de la Haye, Conseiller du Roy

A Robert Estienne, Ode

En faveur de l'Olive

Traductions de quelques sonets, et autres opuscules de J. Grévin, par J. d'Aurat & Florent Chrestien

(See also numbers 12, 42, 47, 49, 50, 54, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64 and 65)

12. LE THEATRE, A TRESILLUSTRE ET TRESHAULTE PRINCESSE MADAME CLAUDE DE FRANCE, DUCHESSE DE LORRAINE. ENSEMBLE LA SECONDE PARTIE DE L'OLIMPE ET DE LA GELCDACRYE, Paris, Vincent Sertenas and Guillaume Barbé, 1562; B.L. 243. b.1.

There are few, and no significant, alterations from the 1561 edition.

(See also numbers 11,42,47,49,50,54,58,60,61,62, 63,64 and 65)

The Plantin-Moretus museum in Antwerp has a copy of LE THEATRE containing numerous alterations in Grévin's own hand (a microfilm copy is held by the University of California - National Union Catalog N.C. 0511367 CU).

13. SERMONS DE B.OCCHIN EN FRANÇOIS. NOUVELLEMENT MIS EN LUMIERE A L'HONNEUR DE DIEU, PROFIT ET UTILITE DE TOUS FIDELES CRESTIENS DESIRANS VIVRE SELON LA LOY DU SEIGNEUR & SES SAINCTS COMMANDEMENTS, [s.l.], 1561; B.L. 3901. aaa. 39.

This contains the following sections:

Sermons tresutiles à tous bons Chrestiens

A tresillustre Dame Madame Magdalene de Roye son treshumble & tresobeissant serviteur M.G. son Medecin desire salut & felicité eternelle

14. LE TEMPLE DE RONSARD OU LA LEGENDE DE SA VIE EST BRIEFVEMENT DESCRITE. IMPRIME NOUVELLEMENT, [s.l.], 1563; B.N. Rés. Ye. 4884.

(See also numbers 15,16 and 17)

15. SECONDE RESPONSE DE F. DE LA BARONIE A MESSIRE PIERRE DE RONSARD PRESTRE-GENTILHOMME VANDOMOIS, EVESQUE FUTUR. PLUS LE TEMPLE DE RONSARD OU LA LEGENDE DE SA VIE EST BRIEFVEMENT DESCRITE, Orleans, 1563; B.N. Rés. Ye. 1027.

This edition reappeared the same year (no alterations were made to the text of the TEMPLE DE RONSARD.)

(See also numbers 14,16 and 17)

16. *DEFENCES AUX INJURES ET CALOMNIES CONTENUES EN LA RESPONSE DE PIERRE DE RONSARD, CONTRE LES PREDICANS DE GENEVE. PLUS LE TEMPLE DE RONSARD OU LA LEGENDE DE SA VIE EST BRIEFVEMENT DESCRITE: PLUS PALINODIES DUDIT RONSARD, SUR SES DISCOURS DES MISERES DE CE TEMPS, Lyon, 1563.

F.Charbonnier, in his 'Pamphlets protestants contre Ronsard', Revue des Bibliothèques, XXXII, 1922, p. 206,

indicates the existence of this edition, which has not been located by modern scholars.

(See also numbers 14,15 and 17.)

17. LE TEMPLE DE RONSARD OU LA LEGENDE DE SA VIE EST BRIEUFVEMENT DESCRITE, [s.l.], 1564; B.N. Rés. Ye. 1913.

(See also numbers 14,15 and 16.)

18. EPISTRE D'UNE DEMOISELLE FRANÇOISE A UNE SIENNE AMIE DAME ESTRANGERE, SUR LA MORT D'EXCELLENTE & VERTUEUSE DAME, LECNOR DE ROYE, PRINCESSE DE CONDE. CONTENANT LE TESTAMENT & DERNIERE VOLONTE D'ICELLE. ENSEMBLE LE TOMBEAU DE LADICTE DAME, [s.l.], 1564; B.N. Ln. 27. 4667.

This collection contains a Tombeau de Madame la Princesse de Condé by Jacques Grévin.

(See also number 59.)

19. RESPONSIO AD J.CARPENTARII CALUMNIAS, [s.l.], 1564. B.N. Rp. 8764.
20. RESPONSE AUX CALOMNIES N'AGUERES MALICIEUSEMENT INVENTEES CONTRE J.G. SOUBS LE NOM FAULSEMENT DEGUIZE DE M.A. GUYMARA FERRAROIS ADVCCAT DE M.J.CHARPENTIER, Paris, Challot Billet, 1564; B.N. Rés. Ye. 1064.

This contains the following sections:

A M.A.Guymara, forgeron des calomnies de M.Jaques Charpentier, contre J.G.

Jehan Marchant au Lecteur

Response aux calomnies de M.A.Guymara

21. ANATOMES TOTIUS AERE INSCULPTA DELINEATIO, CUI ADDITA EST EPITOME INNUMERIS MENDIS REPURGATA, QUAM DE CORPORIS HUMANI FABRICA CONSCRIPSIT CLARISSIMUS ANDREUS VESALIUS. EIQUE ACCESSIT PARTIUM CORPORIS TUM SIMPLICIUM TUM COMPOSITARUM BREVIS ELUCIDATIO, Paris, André Wechel, 1564; B.Mazarine, 4472 A.

(See also numbers 22,23 and 37.)

22. ANATOMES TOTIUS AERE INSCULPTA DELINEATIO, CUI ADDITA EST EPITOME INNUMERIS MENDIS REPURGATA, QUAM DE CORPORIS HUMANI FABRICA CONSCRIPSIT CLARISSIMUS ANDREUS VESALIUS. EIQUE ACCESSIT PARTIUM CORPORIS TUM SIMPLICIUM TUM COMPOSITARUM BREVIS ELUCIDATIO, Paris, André Wechel, 1565; B.L. 514. 1. 6.

(See also numbers 21,23 and 37.)

23. *VIVAE IMAGINES PARTIUM CORPORIS HUMANI AERIS FORMIS EXPRESSAE, Antwerp, Plantin, 1566.

Contains the Ad Partium compositarum delineationes expositio, first published in the ANATOMES TOTIUS AERE INSCULPTA DELINEATIO.

(See also numbers 21,22 and 37.)

24. DISCOURS SUR LES VERTUS & FACULTEZ DE L'ANTIMOINE. CONTRE CE QU'EN A ESCRIT MAISTRE LOYS DE LAUNAY, MEDECIN DE LA ROCHELLE, Paris, André Wechel, 1566; B.N. 8^o Te. 151. 71.

This contains the following sections:

A Monsieur, Monsieur de Carnavalet, Chevalier de l'ordre du Roy, & gouverneur de Monsieur

Extrait sommaire du livre de Launay

Discours sur les facultez & vertus de l'antimoine, contre ce qu'en a escrit M.Loys de Launay Medecin de la Rochelle

25. PROEME SUR L'HISTOIRE DES FRANÇOIS ET HOMMES VERTUEUX DE LA MAISON DE MEDICI. A LA ROYNE DE FRANCE, MERE DU ROY, Paris, Robert Estienne, 1567; B.N. Manuscrits, Catalogue James de Rothschild, IV. 4. 1. (712).

(See also number 57.)

26. CINQ LIVRES DE L'IMPOSTURE ET TROMPERIE DES DIABLES: DES ENCHANTEMENS & SORCELLERIES: PRIS DU LATIN DE JEAN WIER, MEDECIN DU DUC DE CLEVES, & FAICTS FRANÇOIS, Paris, Jaques du Puys, 1567; B.L. 719. c. 18.

(See also numbers 36 and 44.)

27. LA PREMIERE, ET LA SECONDE PARTIE DES DIALOGUES FRANÇOIS, POUR LES JEUNES ENFANS. HET EERSTE ENDE TWEDE DEEL VAN DE FRANÇOISCHE T'SAMENSPREKINGHEN, OVERGHESET IN DE NEDERDUYTSCHEN SPRAEKE, Antwerp, Plantin, 1567; B.N. Rés. p. x. 394.

28. LES EMBLEMES DU SIGNEUR [SIC] JEHAN SAMBUCUS TRADUITS DE LATIN EN FRANÇOIS, Antwerp, Plantin, 1567; National Union Catalog, N.S. 0075299 C.Sm.H.

This work contains:

Christophe Plantin imprimeur au lecteur vertueux & debonaire Salut

Les emblesmes du Signeur Jehan Sambucus

(See also number 33.)

29. LES EMBLESMES DU S. HADRIEN LE JEUNE MEDECIN ET HISTORIEN DES ESTATS DE HOLLANDE. AU S. ARNOLD COBEL, Antwerp, Plantin, 1567; National Union Catalog, N.S. 0075299 C.Sm.H.

This work contains the following sections:

Au magnifique sieur Arnold Cobel Thesaurier
general du Roy au pais de Hollande

Emblesmes

Explication de quelques emblesmes difficiles

(See also numbers 34, 39 and 41.)

30. TRAICTE DE LA GOUTTE CONTENANT LES CAUSES & ORIGINE DICELLE, LA MOYEN DE S'EN POUVOIR PRESERVER ET LA SÇAVOIR GUERIR ESTANT ACQUISE. ESCRIT EN GREC DU COMMANDEMENT DE MICHEL PALEOLOGUE EMPEREUR DE CONSTANTINOPLÉ PAR DEMETRIUS PEPAGOMENUS SON PREMIER MEDECIN. TRADUICT EN FRANÇOIS, RESTITUE & EMENDE DE PLUSIEURS BELLES CORRECTIONS & ANOTATIONS PAR M. FEDERIC JANCT, Paris, De Roville, 1567; B.L. 1188. b. 21.

This contains a preliminary sonnet by Jacques Grévin.

31. DEUX HYMNES GENETHLIAQUES FAICTS SUR LA NAISSANCE DE MONSEIGNEUR LE CONTE DE SOISSONS, FILS DE TRESHAULT & PUISSANT LOYS DE BOURBON, PRINCE DE CONDE, ET DE TRESHAULTE & ILLUSTRE PRINCESSE FRANÇOISE D'ORLEANS. LE PREMIER, PAR MESSIRE ANTHOINE DE CARACCILO, PRINCE DE MELPHE: LE SECOND, PAR FLORENT CHRESTIEN, [s.l.], 1567; B.N. Rés. p. Ye. 398.

This contains a preliminary poem by Grévin, the Sonnet à Monseigneur le Conte de Soissons

(See also number 59.)

32. LE SECOND DISCOURS SUR LES VERTUS & FACULTEZ DE L'ANTIMOINE, AUQUEL IL EST SOMMAIREMENT TRAICTE DE LA NATURE DES MINERAUX, VENINS, PESTES & DE PLUSIEURS AUTRES QUESTIONS NATURELLES & MEDICINALES, POUR LA CONFIRMATION DE L'ADVIS DES MEDECINS DE PARIS, & POUR SERVIR D'APOLOGIE CONTRE CE QU'A ESCRIT M. LOIS DE LAUNAY, EMPIRIQUE, Paris, Jacques du Puis, [s.d.]; B.L. 546. b. 9.
33. LES EMBLESMES DU SIGNEUR [SIC] JEHAN SAMBUCUS TRADUITS DE LATIN EN FRANCOIS, Antwerp, Plantin, 1568.

Mentioned by Ruelens and De Backer, in their Annales Plantiniennes, 1865, p. 87.

(See also number 28.)

34. LES EMBLESMES DU S. HADRIEN LE JEUNE MEDECIN ET HISTORIEN DES ESTATS DE HOLLANDE. AU S. ARNOLD COBEL, Antwerp, Plantin, 1568.

Mentioned by Ruelens and De Backer, in their Annales Plantiniennes, 1865, p. 87.

(See also numbers 29,39 and 41.)

35. DEUX LIVRES DE VENINS, AUQUELS IL EST AMPLEMENT DISCOURU DES BESTES VENINEUSES, THERIAQUES, POISONS & CONTREPOISONS. ENSEMBLE LES OEUVRES DE NICANDRE, MEDECIN & POETE GREC, TRADUICTES EN VERS FRANÇOIS, Antwerp, Plantin, 1568; B.L. 778. d. 12 (1-2).

(The Œuvres de Nicandre are dated 1567.)

36. CINQ LIVRES DE L'IMPOSTURE ET TROMPERIE DES DIABLES: DES ENCHANTEMENS & SORCELLERIES: PRIS DU LATIN DE JEAN WIER, MEDECIN DU DUC DE CLEVES, & FAICTS FRANÇOIS, Paris, Jaques du Puys, 1569; B.L. 1607/819.

(See also numbers 26 and 44.)

37. LES PORTRAICTS ANATOMIQUES DE TOUTES LES PARTIES DU CORPS HUMAIN, GRAVEZ EN TAILLE DOUCE, PAR LE COMMANDEMENT DE FEU HENRY HUITIESME, ROY D'ANGLETERRE. ENSEMBLE L'ABBREGE D'ANDRE VESAL, & L'EXPLICATION D'ICEUX, ACCOMPAGNEE D'UNE DECLARATION ANATOMIQUE, Paris, André Wechel, 1569; B.L. 544. 1. 5.

(See also numbers 21,22 and 23.)

38. LETTRES ET REMONSTRANCE AU ROY, PAR FEU TRES-HAUT, TRES-PUISSANT & TRES-ILLUSTRE PRINCE DU SANG, LOUYS DE BOURBON, PRINCE DE CONDE, SUR LES CONTRAVENTIONS DE LA PAIX FAICTE & JUREE L'AN 1568. AVEC LA PROTESTATION DUDICT SIEUR PRINCE, & LE REIGLEMENT PAR LUY ESTABLI EN SON ARMEE. LETTRES DE LA MAJESTE DE LA ROYNE DE NAVARRE DE MESME ARGUMENT. ENSEMBLE, LE RECIT DU MEURDRE DESLOYALEMENT PERPETRE EN LA PERSONNE DUDICT SIEUR PRINCE, EN LA RENCONTRE DES DEUX ARMEES FRANÇOISES, LE XIII DE MARS, M. D. LXIX. AVEC PLUSIEURS EPITAPHES, [s.l.], 1569; B.L. 285. e. 41.

This contains the following poems by Jacques Grévin:

D.D. au Dieu trespon et trespuissant. J.G.D.C.
l'escrivoit avec larmes

Epitaphe de Louys de Bourbon, Prince de Condé par J.G.

Autre, par luymesme, à l'imitation de celuy de G.P.

Autre tiré du Latin par luymesme

Autre par luymesme

Autre par luymesme

Autre par luymesme

Adieu à la France par J.G.

39. LES EMBLESMES DU S. ADRIEN LE JEUNE, MEDECIN ET HISTORIEN DES ESTATS DE HOLLANDE. FAICTS FRANÇOIS ET SOMMAIREMENT EXPLIQUEZ, Antwerp, Plantin, 1570; B.L. 246. a. 37.

(See also numbers 29,34 and 41.)

40. LE PARNASSE DES POETES FRANÇOIS MODERNES, CONTENANT LEURS PLUS RICHES & GRAVES SENTENCES, DISCOURS, DESCRIPTIONS & DOCTES ENSEIGNEMENTS. RECUEILLIES PAR FEU GILLES CORROZET, PARISIEN, Paris, Galiot Corrozet, 1571; B.N. Rés. Ye. 4532.

Contains a number of excerpts from Grévin's theatre and poetry, and one poem hitherto unpublished, the Louanges communes à tous. Rondeau, Jaques Grévin

41. LES EMBLESMES DU S. ADRIEN LE JEUNE, MEDECIN ET HISTORIEN DES ESTATS DE HOLLANDE. FAICTS FRANÇOIS ET SOMMAIREMENT EXPLIQUEZ, Antwerp, Plantin, 1575; B.L. C. 59. aa. 1.

(See also numbers 29,34 and 39.)

42. CESAR TRAGEDIE PAR JAQUES GREVIN DE CLER-MONT EN BEAUVAISIS, Paris, Nicolas Bonfons, 1578; National Union Catalog, N.G. 0511349 DFO.

(See also numbers 11,12,47,54,60,63 and 64.)

43. J. DE FILLEAU, LA SAINCTE BIBLE REDUICTE EN EPITOME, PAR L'HISTOIRE DIVINE ET SACREE DE SEVERE SULPICE, COMMENÇANT DES LA CREATION DU MONDE, Paris, Jean Pinart, 1579; B.N. H. 18901.

Contains one poem by Grévin, the Sonnet de Jaques Grevin de Clermont à Severe jadis autheur du livre Latin translaté en François

44. HISTOIRES, DISPUTES ET DISCOURS DES ILLUSIONS ET IMPOSTURES DES DIABLES, DES MAGICIENS INFAMES, SORCIERES ET EMPOISONNEURS. LE TOUT COMPRIS EN SIX LIVRES (AUGMENTEZ DE MOITIE EN CESTE DERNIERE EDITION) PAR JEAN WIER, MEDECIN DU DUC DE CLEVES. DEUX DIALOGUES DE THOMAS ERASTUS, PROFESSEUR EN MEDECINE A HEIDELBERG, TOUCHANT LE POUVOIR DES SORCIERES; ET DE LA PUNITION QU'ELLES MERITENT. AVEC DEUX INDICES: L'UN DES CHAPITRES DES SIX LIVRES DE JEAN WIER; L'AUTRE DES MATIERES NOTABLES CONTENUES EN TOUT CE VOLUME, Geneva, Jacques Chouët, 1569; Bibliothèque communale d'Amiens, S and A. 2443

The first part of this work is an enlarged edition of Grévin's translation, LES CINQ LIVRES.

(See also numbers 26 and 36.)

45. POEMES CHRESTIENS DE B. DE MONTMEJA, ET AUTRES DIVERS AUTEURS, RECUEILLIES ET NOUVELLEMENT MIS EN LUMIERE PAR PHILIPPE DE PAS, [s.l.] 1574; B.N. Rés. Ye. 1827.

Contains one poem by Grévin, the Ode des biens que les fideles obtiennent par Jesus Christ, par J.G.

(See also numbers 46 and 59.)

46. L'URANIE OU NOUVEAU RECUEIL DE CHANSONS SPIRITUELLES ET CHRESTIENNES, COMPRINSES EN CINQ LIVRES, ET ACCOMODEES POUR LA PLUSPART AU CHANT DES PSEAUMES DE DAVID, Paris, Jaques Chouët, 1591; B.N. Rés. Ye. 2689.

This contains an altered version of the Ode des biens que les fideles obtiennent par Jesus Christ, par J.G.

(See also numbers 45 and 59.)

47. LA LIBERTE VANGEE OU CESAR PCIGNARDE, Rouen, Raphaël du petit Val, 1606; B. Arsenal, 13.887.

(See also numbers 11,12,42,54,60,63 and 64.)

48. HISTOIRE DU SIEGE DE BEAUVAIS L'AN 1472, Beauvais, 1762; Bibliothèque communale d'Amiens, H. 3902.

Contains La Description du Beauvoisis, first published in LES REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE. See Lelong, Bibliothèque historique de la France, nouvelle édition par Fevret de Fontelle, Paris, 1768-1778, t. I, no. 2188, p. 144, col. 2, and t. III, no. 34903, p. 365, col. 2.

(See also number 3.)

49. P.R. AUGUIS, Les poètes françois depuis le XIIe siècle jusqu'à Malherbe avec une notice historique et littéraire sur chaque poète, Paris, 1824; B.L. 2285. e. 5.

Volume V of this collection contains Grévin's La Tresoriere.

(See also numbers 11,12,58,60,62 and 65.)

50. E.L.N.VIOLLET-LE-DUC, Ancien théâtre françois, ou collection des ouvrages dramatiques les plus remarquables depuis les mystères jusqu'à Corneille, publiée avec des notes et des éclaircissements, Paris, 1854-1856; B.L. 12234. bb. 6/4.

Volume IV of this collection contains Grévin's Les Esbahis.

(See also numbers 11,12,60 and 65.)

51. M.E. TRICOTEL, 'Vingt-quatre sonnets inédits de Grévin sur Rome, publiées d'après un manuscrit de Lestoile', Variétés Bibliographiques, Paris, 1863, p. 38-60; B.N. Z. 61752 (original manuscript B.N., manuscrits, fonds français, 25560, fol. 166-174.)

(See also number 56.)

52. A. COURDE DE MONTAIGLON and J. DE ROTHSCHILD, Recueil de poésies françaises des XVe et XVIe siècles morales, facetieuses, historiques, Paris, 1875; B.L. 12234. aa. 20.

Volume X of this collection contains LE MEDECIN COURTIZAN.

(See also number 7.)

53. L. BECQ DE FOUQUIERES, Œuvres choisies des poètes français du XVIIe siècle, contemporains de Ronsard, publiées avec notice, notes et index, Paris, 1879; B.L. 2285. c. 6.

This collection contains a few examples of Grévin's love poetry.

54. G.-A.-O. COLLISCHONN, 'Jacques Grévin's Tragödie "Caesar" in ihrem Verhältniss zu Muret, Voltaire und Shakespere', Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romantischen Philologie, Marburg, 1886, t. LII, p. 49-74.

This work contains Grévin's tragedy Cesar.

(See also numbers 11, 12, 42, 47, 60, 63 and 64.)

55. L. DOREZ, 'Seize sonnets d'Angleterre et de Flandre', B.B., 1898, p. 421-434; B.N. Q. 3714 (12).

The original manuscript is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Manuscrits, fonds latins, 8143, fol. 55-58.

(See also number 56.)

56. L. PINVERT, Jacques Grévin, (1538-1570), étude biographique et littéraire, Paris, 1899.

This work contains an edition of LE CHANT DU CIGNE (original manuscript B.N. manuscrits, fonds latins, 17075, fol. 87-91), the SEIZE SONNETS D'ANGLETERRE ET DE FLANDRE, and the 24 SONNETS SUR ROME.

(See also numbers 51 and 55.)

57. A. PINVERT, Clermontois et Beauvaisis. Notes d'histoire et de littérature locales, Paris, 1901; B.L. 010168. ff. 37.

This work contains Grévin's PROEME SUR L'HISTOIRE DES FRANÇOIS ET HOMMES VERTUEUS DE LA MAISON DE MEDICI.

(See also number 25.)

58. G. PHILIPPON, 'La Trésorière', L'Idéale-Revue, 25th November 1911.

This is an adaptation in three acts of Grévin's La Trésorière

(See also numbers 11, 12, 49, 60, 62 and 65.)

59. F. LACHEVRE, 'Poésies inédites de Jacques Grévin', R.H.L.F., 1917, p. 285-295; B.N. 8° Z. 13998.

This contains the following works:

Le Tombeau d'Eléonor de Roye, femme de Louis de Bourbon, Prince de Condé (first published in the EPISTRE D'UNE DEMOISELLE FRANÇOISE A UNE SIENNE AMIE - see number 18).

Sonnet à Monseigneur le Comte de Soissons (first published in the DEUX HYMNES GENETHLIAQUES FAICTS SUR LA NAISSANCE DE MONSEIGNEUR LE CCNTE DE SOISSONS - see number 31).

Poésie amoureuse (B.N. manuscrits, fonds français, 1718).

Ode des biens que les fideles obtiennent par Jésus Christ, par J.G. (first published in POEMES CHRESTIENS DE B. DE MONTMEJA - see numbers 45 and 46).

60. Théâtre complet et poésies choisies de Jacques Grévin avec notice et notes par L. Pinvert, Paris, 1922.

This collection contains Grévin's plays, L'Olimpe and La Gelodacrye.

(See also numbers 8, 11, 12, 42, 47, 49, 50, 54, 58, 63, 64 and 65.)

61. Poètes du XVIIe siècle, texte établi et présenté par A.-M. Schmidt, Paris, 1953; B.L. 2042. h.

This collection contains 19 sonnets of La Gelodacrye.

(See also number 8, 11 and 12.)

62. Comédies du XVIIe siècle, publiées par E. Balmas, Paris, 1967; B.L. X907/8658.

This collection contains La Trésorière.

(See also notes 11, 12, 49, 58 and 65.)

63. César, édition critique avec introduction et notes par E.S.Ginsberg, Geneva, 1971; B.L. W.P. 2063/179.

(See also numbers 11,12,42,47,54,60 and 64.)

64. César, édition critique avec introduction et des notes par J.Foster, Paris, 1974; B.N. 16° Yf. 1074.

(See also numbers 11,12,42,47,54,60 and 63)

65. La Trésorière, Les Esbahis, comédies, édition critique avec introduction et notes par E.Lapeyre, Paris, 1980.

(See also numbers 11,12,49,50,58,60 and 62)

TRANSLATIONS MADE OF GREVIN'S WORKS

1. Anatomie, oft Levende beelden vande deelen des menschelicken lichaems. Met de Verclaringhe vandien, inde Nederduytsche spraecke, Antwerp, 1568.
2. Jacobi Grevini clarimontani bellovaci Parisiensis medici, et philosophi præstantissimi de venenis libri duo. Gallice primum ab eo scripti, et a multis hactenus latini desiderati, et nunc tandem opera et labore Hieremias Martii Augustanæ Reipublicæ Medici, in latinum sermonem, summa fide et diligentia, in rei medicæ studiosorum utilitatem atque commodum conversi. Quibus adjunctus est præterea eiusdem auctoris de Antimonio tractatus, eodem interprete, una cum rerum memorabilium, præcipue ad operis calcem, indice. Antwerp, Plantin, 1571.
3. Partium corporis humani, tum simplicium, tum compositarum, brevis elucidatio, Antwerp, 1572.

LOST WORKS BY GREVIN

1. INSTRUCTION CHRESTIENNE POUR FEMMES ET FILLES MARIEES ET A MARIER, Rouen, 1588.

This is the translation of a work by Juan Luis Vives, mentioned, and attributed to Grévin, by Cioranescu, in his Bibliographie de la littérature française du seizième siècle, Paris, 1959, p. 350, no. 10984.

(See the present thesis, p. 44-45.)

2. In his REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE, Grévin says, referring to Joachim de Warty, Governor of Clermont:

J'ay quelque fois par mes vers soupiré,
Et lamenté le destin de sa vie,
Qui par la mort, las! fust trop tost ravie.

(A Monseigneur Philippes de Warty, Sonnetz III, in LES REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE, p. 30, l. 7-9.) We have no knowledge today of any such poetry.

(See the present thesis, p. 46-47.)

3. LA MAUBERTINE.

In the preface to his two published comedies, Grévin mentions 'La Maubertine premiere Comedie que je mis en jeu' (LE THEATRE, p. 44, and Pinvert, p. 50).

(For a discussion on this play, see the present thesis, p. 67-69.)

4. PASTORALE SUR LES MARIAGES DE TRES EXCELLENTES PRINCESSES MADAME ELIZABET, FILLE AINEE DE FRANCE, ET MADAME MARGUERITE, SOEUR UNIQUE DU ROI, Paris, Martin l'Homme, 1559

Mentioned by G.Draudius, Bibliotheca classica, Frankfurt, 1625, p. 190; A. du Verdier, Bibliothèque françoise, Paris, 1772-1773, t. II, p. 283; J.P. Niceron, Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des Hommes Illustres, Paris, 1727-1745, t. XXVI, p. 341.

5. In his collection L'OLIMPE, Grévin mentions having written of Rome. He has, he says, already tried to describe:

Le bon-heur & malheur de la ville de Rome,
but, he continues:
Mais le Temps envieux, envieux de mon bien,
S'opposant contre moy. a converti en rien

Ce que j'avoy tracé, & d'une faulse craincte
 De l'œuvre commencé, tira la main contrainte.
 (L'OLIMPE, p. 114, l. 8 and l. 17-20.) Thus Grévin had,
 before 1560, written some poetry on Rome, which he had
 felt compelled to destroy. Not surprisingly, perhaps,
 no trace of this work remains today.

6. We learn from two works, Grévin's *RESPONSIO AD J. CARPENTARII CALUMNIAS* (p. 10) and 'Guymara's' *Ad J. Grovellum [...] admonitio* (p. 1), of a 'pantagruelistic' pamphlet by Grévin. No such work has, however, yet been attributed to this poet.

(See also the present thesis, p. 88.)

7. A certain Lenormant, who married Grévin's wife after the death of this poet, mentions, in a letter addressed to Lefèvre, the teacher of the Prince of Condé, that he had in his possession some of Grévin's poetry, which he intended to publish (Dorez, *La mort de Jacques Grévin*, Vendôme. 1899. p. 2). We cannot say whether what he possessed was poetry already mentioned in the present list, or other poetry today lost. There is no trace of Lenormant's having published any of the poetry he possessed.

CHAPTER 1.

A BIOGRAPHY.

The most comprehensive biography of Jacques Grévin to date was published by Lucien Pinvert in 1899.¹ Since this publication, however, a number of relevant sixteenth century texts have come to light, many of them by Grévin himself, and these enable a much more comprehensive study of Grévin's life and works to be made.

Yet, since Pinvert's study, only one attempt has so far been made to produce a biography of Grévin. Elizabeth Lapeyre, who included this recent but very brief study in her edition of Grévin's comedies,² unfortunately made no mention of any of the works discovered by authors of recent articles, with one exception, and this despite the fact that for most of these the attribution is beyond doubt.³ She seems, in fact, to have limited herself to reproducing, in abbreviated form, the bibliography previously established by Pinvert, adding only the relatively recent discovery of an edition of Grévin's translation, the PRECEPTES DE PLUTARQUE. Moreover, she appears to have made a few surprising errors, confusing, for example, two separate works, the RESPONSE AUX CALOMNIES N'AGUERES MALICIEUSEMENT INVENTEES CONTRE J[ACQUES] G[REVIN] and the RESPONSIO AD J. CARPENTARII

CALUMNIAS (perhaps assuming that one was a translation of the other).⁴ Even more surprisingly, she has not mentioned Grévin's SONNETS D'ANGLETERRE ET DE FLANDRE, discovered by Leon Dorez, whose article on this text appeared in the Bulletin du Bibliophile in 1898, although an edition of these poems was published by Lucien Pinvert as an appendix to his thesis.⁵

1: BIRTH OF GREVIN.

Jacques Grévin was born in Clermont-en-Beauvaisis, or more precisely, as he informs us, in the valley beneath Clermont.⁶ His family, as we learn from the RESPONSE AUX CALOMNIES N'AGUERES MALICIEUSEMENT INVENTEES CONTRE J[ACQUES] G[REVIN], came from that area.⁷ There has been some dispute among literary historians from the seventeenth century onwards concerning Grévin's date of birth. Rigoley de Juvigny⁸ and Ladvoctat⁹ both suggested 1538; Colletet, in his Vie de Jacques Grévin,¹⁰ proposed 1539; J.P.Niceron thought that he was born around 1540,¹¹ as did C.D.Goujet,¹² and Baillet suggested 1541.¹³ Pinvert, in his thesis on Jacques Grévin, opts for the date 1538:¹⁴ his evidence lies principally in a portrait of Grévin which serves as a frontispiece for LE THEATRE - both the 1561 and the 1562 editions.¹⁵ At the top of this engraving is the date 1561, and at the bottom the words IA.GREVIN.AN.ÆT.XXIII.¹⁶ Pinvert, from these lines, deduces that in 1561 Grévin was twenty-three, and must therefore have been born in 1538.¹⁷ Pinvert is, however, mistaken. Elizabeth Lapeyre, too, has repeated

the same error.¹⁸ For the words at the foot of this portrait, IA.GREVIN AN ÆT.XXIII, do not indicate that the portrait was made when Grévin was twenty-three, but, rather, in the twenty-third year of his life: in other words, the engraving was made while he was still twenty-two. Colletet, who interprets the words at the bottom of this engraving correctly, deduces that Grévin was born in 1539.¹⁹ But even this is not totally accurate. In fact, from the information that Grévin was twenty-two in 1561, one may only ascertain that he must have been born between April 1538 and March 1540 (taking into account the fact that until 1564 the year began at Easter).

Pinvert puts forward as further indication of Grévin's date of birth the fact that Grévin was allowed to take his baccalauréat in 1560:²⁰ there were, according to Corlieu,²¹ several stipulations that had to be fulfilled before these examinations could be taken - the two that interest us being, first, that the examinee must have completed four years of study and, second, that he must be at least twenty-two. These stipulations may act as a guide, helping to determine Grévin's date of birth. For, if by 23rd March 1560 old style (1561 new style), when he passed his baccalauréat, Grévin was at least twenty-two, then he could not have been born after 23rd March 1539. It is thus already possible to go further and limit Grévin's probable date of birth to between April 1538 and 23rd March 1539, and to be certain that Nicéron, Goujet and Baillet were mistaken on this point.

Confirmation that Grévin was, in fact, born between these two dates can be found in the poet's own writings - for instance in the lines of the Olimpe I of 1560:

En l'an vingtetunieme apres que je fu né
Je senty de l'Amour la premiere secousse;
Je senty son venin en la saison plus douce,
Après qu'il eut six mois dans mon cueur sejourné.

Le dixieme de Mars, me sentant estonné
Ainsi que d'un esclat que Jupiter nous poulse [...] 22

The 10th March mentioned here is the end of the six months.

These lines may be taken in conjunction with those of a later sonnet in the Olimpe II:

Cinq cens cinquante & huict, apres milles années,
Le dixieme de Mars, sur la moitié du jour,
J'entray où mes amours furent emprisonnées [...] 23

These lines tell us that on the 10th March 1558 - or, according to the modern system of dating, 1559 - Grévin was just twenty. From this we can confirm that Grévin was born at some point between March 11th 1538 and March 9th 1539.

Grévin's date of birth can be determined even more accurately if we consider the following lines, again from the Olimpe II:

Je plainoy mes douleurs lors que Henri second,
Après avoir douze ans entretenu la guerre,
Feit descendre du ciel pour le bien de sa terre
L'alme paix,

and later in this same sonnet:

Je n'ay point veu les jours de l'an vingt & deuxieme. 24

From this we may conclude that on April 3rd 1559, when the treaty of Cateau Cambrésis (to which this sonnet is referring) was signed, Grévin was still only twenty. He could not, therefore, have been born before 4th April 1538. More importantly, the line 'Je n'ay point veu les jours de l'an

vingt & deuxieme' suggests that Grévin was nearing twenty-one, and was therefore born not very long after this date of 4th April, 1538.

2: EARLY YOUTH

Grévin spent his early childhood in Clermont-en-Beauvaisis; his love of the area is frequently expressed in his poetry. One of the sonnets of the Gelodacrye II, for instance, begins:

O ville de Cler-mont, mon pays tant aimé,
Helas je te laissay dès ma premiere enfance. 25

Grévin's father was a cloth merchant²⁶ and the family was of humble origin.²⁷ He died when Grévin himself was still young, leaving the family little money, as we shall see from the RESPONSE AUX CALOMNIES N'AGUERES MALICIEUSEMENT INVENTEES CONTRE J.G.,²⁸ and from the Gelodacrye II.²⁹ A rather startling suggestion about Grévin's youth is made in the pamphlet entitled the Ad J.Grovellum [...] admonitio where we read:

Quandoquidem tu puer, sicut audio, in popinis &
lupanaribus educatus [es]. 30

The pamphlet as a whole is a violent attack on Grévin by an author who hides under the pseudonym A. Guymara, however, and one may well doubt the validity of the statement.

It would appear that from early youth a friendship sprung up between Grévin and a certain Antoine de Talon, a friendship which is described by Grévin in his Ode à Antoyne de Talon.³¹ Grévin enumerates what they have in common:

L'affinité de parentage,
 Mesme país, mesme cité,
 Mesme nourrice en un jeune aage,
 Des ayeulx la posterité. 32

Grévin mentions having two uncles; Jacques Grévin, to whom he dedicates an early ode,³³ and Pierre de Prong, whom he considered as a second father.³⁴

In an ode of the 1560 OLIMPE, Grévin has one of his uncles, Pierre de Prong, come back to him as a ghost (it follows that Pierre de Prong must have died before 1560) and tell him that he has brought him up with great care.

Addressing Grévin, Pierre de Prong says that he has cared for him:

Ainsi qu'une douce mere,
 Abbreuvant tes jeunes ans
 De la foy des anciens:
 Et dès ta premiere enfance
 Au giron de la Science
 T'aviandant aux secrets
 Des autheurs Latins & Grecs. 35

Goujet, referring to these lines, stated:

Il y a lieu de croire que le Poëte entend par la foy des anciens dans laquelle il fut élevé, le goût & la manière de penser des Anciens, 36

an opinion which is probably based in part on the fact that immediately after these words Grévin discusses the 'auteurs Latins & Grecs'. Pinvert disagrees with Goujet, suggesting that these lines refer to the religion of his ancestors - the Roman Catholic faith³⁷ - and certainly it is true that, as Pinvert notes, Grévin elsewhere praises his uncle's piety.³⁸

In the above extract from Grévin's verse, it seems likely that Grévin is using the word 'foy' in the usual sense of religious faith. Moreover, Pierre de Prong is saying here that he made Grévin drink ('abbreuvant') of the old faith, and eat

('aviandant') of the secrets of the Latins and Greeks: it seems unlikely that the two verbs would refer to the same subject. We may therefore surely accept that Grévin was brought up in the Roman Catholic faith.³⁹

3: GREVIN AT COLLEGE IN PARIS.

Around 1550 or 1551 Grévin was sent to Paris, to attend college.⁴⁰ Pinvert suggests, plausibly, that Magdaleine de Suze, Dame de Warty, the wife of Joachim de Warty, Governor of Clermont, to whom Grévin dedicates a number of his early works, may have given him the money that enabled him to study in Paris.⁴¹

Pinvert believes that Grévin went either to the college of Beauvaisis or to Boncourt, although he gives no evidence to support either claim.⁴² Elizabeth Lapeyre, too, feels that Grévin went to one of these colleges.⁴³ One might have hoped to determine which college Grévin attended on the basis of the fact that his teacher, for a while at least, was Marc-Antoine Muret. Grévin tells us this in the Brief Discours pour l'intelligence de ce Theatre, where he writes, referring to his tragedy Cesar:

Je ne veux pourtant nier que s'il se trouve quelque traict digne d'estre loué, qu'il ne soit de Muret, lequel à esté mon precepteur quelque temps es lettres humaines, & auquel je donne le meilleur, comme l'ayant appris de luy.

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However, the difficulty is that Muret taught at several different colleges. Dejob, in his biography of Muret, indicates that this humanist taught at the Collège de Guyenne

in Bordeaux until 1551,⁴⁵ the year in which Grévin probably started college, and that he went to Paris around this time. He does not express an opinion regarding the colleges at which Muret taught while in Paris, but Colletet informs us that he was at the Collège de Boncourt among other institutions,⁴⁶ and Moreri⁴⁷ and Ménage⁴⁸ state that he taught at the Collège Cardinal Lemoine. Thus it seems possible that Grévin attended one of these two colleges as a student, although one cannot rule out the possibility that he was taught by Muret at some other college.

It is also possible that Grévin was taught by Buchanan, although there is no direct mention of this in Grévin's works.⁴⁹ Ian McFarlane, in one of several articles on Buchanan, asserts, on the basis of the humanist's correspondance, that Buchanan taught at the Collège de Boncourt at some time between the beginning of 1553 and the end of 1554, which would coincide with the period spent by Grévin in college;⁵⁰ it would therefore seem possible that Grévin was taught by Muret and Buchanan at the Collège de Boncourt. Supporting evidence is provided by the fact that Grévin is known to have been a close friend of Jodelle, who went to Boncourt (see the present thesis, p.248-250). The two may well have met there. At all events, it is likely that Grévin and Buchanan were acquainted, since Buchanan wrote an eulogious preliminary poem for Grévin's Cesar.⁵¹

Grévin stayed in college for five years.⁵² In the Elegie sur la misere des hommes, he allows some of his impressions on this type of life to come to light. Pinvert says that he speaks 'sans indignation et sans rancune', which seems a

surprising description of lines which, like the whole poem, are full of bitterness:

Si tu es au college, hélas! combien de fois
 Ne manges-tu le lard apres les pois:
 Combien de fois, hélas! te mets tu dans la couche
 Quand plus la faim que le sommeil te touche.
 Encore s'il advient que tu ayes sommeil,
 Combien de fois auras-tu le reveil,
 Avant qu'un nouveau jour rentre dans sa courtine,
 Par l'esguillon d'une espesse vermine?
 Quand le froid Aquilon sifle, combien de fois
 Sans feu sans leur souffles-tu dans tes dois? 53

(The 'leur' of the last line, which Pinvert queries,⁵⁴ is presumably an alternate spelling, dictated by metrical requirements, for 'lueur'.)

In or around 1556, Grévin, after completing five years of study, received the title of 'maître ès-arts',⁵⁵ and left college to enter the University of Paris and begin his medical career. It is possible, that, as Pinvert suggests,⁵⁶ Grévin decided on a career in medicine because of a desire to emulate two eminent doctors from his native town of Clermont - the first Fernel, perhaps born in 1497,⁵⁷ whose father came from Clermont even if he himself was not born there,⁵⁸ and who became the doctor of Henry II, king of France; the second, Charpentier, born in 1524, who was later to quarrel seriously with Grévin. Whatever the reason for Grévin's interest in medicine, he began his studies in 1556, just four years (the stipulated minimum time) before taking his 'baccalauréat' in medicine.

4: GREVIN'S EARLY WRITINGS

(i) The ODE A ROBERT ESTIENNE

Grévin's first work was probably an ode addressed to Robert II Estienne. This ode was first published with two other poems, one by Florent Chrestien, the other by Camille Morel (one of the daughters of the publisher). The three poems, which together cover only one page,⁵⁹ were probably written in 1556.⁶⁰ Grévin's ode was reprinted at the end of the 1561 edition of *LE THEATRE* without alteration.

(ii) The HYMNE A MONSEIGNEUR LE DAUPHIN of 1558

In 1558 Grévin wrote a *HYMNE A MONSEIGNEUR LE DAUPHIN* to celebrate the marriage, on the 24th April, of Mary Stuart to the Dauphin of France, the future Francis II. This long poem, in which the royal bride and groom are compared with Thetis and Peleus, is preceded by two short pieces of Latin verse by an otherwise unknown writer, who signs himself G. Gourdrinius Samarobrinensis. In these poems Grévin's poetic talents are extolled.

(iii) The INSTRUCTION CHRESTIENNE attributed to Grévin.

Cioranescu, in his Bibliographie de la littérature française du seizième siècle, mentions, in his list of Grévin's writings, an *INSTRUCTION CHRESTIENNE POUR FEMMES ET FILLES MARIEES ET A MARIER*,⁶¹ the translation of a work by Juan Luis

Vives, which he lists as having been made by Jacques Grévin. I have, however, been unable to find any copy of this work dating from 1558; I have also consulted the specialists at the Enquiry Desk at the Bibliothèque Nationale who were extremely helpful, but, after a lengthy search, were unable to locate any such edition. A number of French translations of this work were made in the sixteenth century, but there seems to be no reason to attribute any of these to Grévin. As Cioranescu gives no explanation for his attribution, it is impossible to determine whether any such translation can, indeed, have been the work of our poet.

(iv) Grévin's comedy La Tresoriere.

In 1559 (new style), on 22nd January, Claude of France married Charles II, Duke of Lorraine. Jacques Grévin tells us that the king, Henry II, had ordered him to write a play 'pour servir aux nopces de Madame Claude Duchesse de Lorraine'.⁶² The play that he wrote for this occasion was La Tresoriere but, instead of being presented at this marriage ceremony, it was not staged until some days later, on 5th February 1559 at the Collège de Beauvais.⁶³ The Journal chronologique du Théâtre français⁶⁴ by Mouhy asserts that the play was staged by the Basochiens and the Enfants-sans-souci, in front of the king and the court and was very successful. But this source, although uncritically accepted by some,⁶⁵ is not generally thought to be reliable.⁶⁶

(v) LES REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE of 1559

LES REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE were probably written at the beginning of 1559 - the dedicatory epistle is dated 8th February 1558 (i.e. 1559, new style). The Description du Beauvoisis and other poems accompanied this work. In the dedicatory epistle, Grévin informs his reader that he wrote it 'ces jours passez m'estant un peu delivré de mes accoustumées estudes'.⁶⁷ These studies were Grévin's medical course, which he had undertaken in 1556. The REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE are dedicated to Magdaleine de Warty, Dame de Suze, wife of Joachim de Warty, Governor of Clermont, a noted Reformer, and the same lady who may have supported Grévin during his stay at college.⁶⁸ In the REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE we learn of an earlier work, written by Grévin, of which no trace remains today. Addressing Philippe de Warty, and speaking of this friend's father, Grévin writes:

J'ay quelque fois par mes vers soupiré,
Et lamenté le destin de sa vie,
Qui par la mort, las! fust trop tost ravie. 69

We have no knowledge today of any such poetry.

Accompanying LES REGRETZ are preliminary sonnets by Antoine de Talon, also a Reformer from Clermont and a very close friend of Grévin, by a certain Astinq Morin and by the printer Martin l'Homme himself, addressing the reader. At the end of the Description du Beauvoisis are three odes by Grévin, one dedicated to Magdaleine de Warty,⁷⁰ one to Grévin's uncle, Jaques Grévin,⁷¹ and one to Antoine de Talon.⁷² In addition, there are three sonnets dedicated to Philippe de Warty, son of

Magdaleine de Suze.⁷³ Gaston Varenne, in his work Essai sur l'œuvre de Jacques Grévin, states that, accompanying the REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE and the Description du Beauvoisis, was the HYMNE A MONSEIGNEUR LE DAUPHIN.⁷⁴ It seems likely that he is mistaken, for there are no references to any such joint publication.

(vi) The CHANT DE JOIE DE LA PAIX of 1559

Grévin next published his CHANT DE JOIE DE LA PAIX, about the treaty of Cateau Cambrésis which was signed on 3rd April 1559. The privilege of this work is dated 8th April 1559, and signed I. Bertrand, and the text itself is preceded by a sonnet by Nicolas Denisot titled Le Conte d'Alsinois à J. Grévin, in which the artist and poet asks Grévin to sing of peace rather than of love.⁷⁵ At the end of the CHANT DE JOIE DE LA PAIX, we read the lines: 'Aut nihil aut Olympus'. These are the first references to Olimpe, or Nicole Estienne, to whom Grévin dedicated so much love poetry. Grévin will tell us in his 1560 publication L'OLIMPE that he fell in love with this young woman on 10th March 1559,⁷⁶ six months after first seeing her, and less than a month before the publication of the CHANT DE JOIE DE LA PAIX. This CHANT DE JOIE DE LA PAIX was reprinted in L'OLIMPE of 1560 with few variations.

(vii) Grévin's translation of Plutarch's marriage precepts

It was probably near the beginning of 1559 that Grévin had published by Martin l'Homme, in Paris, a translation of one

of the moral treatises by Plutarch, the Γαμικὰ Παραγγέλματα or marriage precepts. In 1970, Robert Aulotte wrote an article concerning the discovery of an undated Rouen edition of this work, published, he thought, after the Paris edition, and indeed, after Grévin's death.⁷⁷ (an edition of Grévin's translation of these precepts is included in this thesis). From the preface of this edition we learn that Grévin had first translated this work as an exercise, and later re-read the translation and published it 'voyant le commun ne parler que de mariages',⁷⁸ thus probably after the treaty of Cateau Cambrésis, on 3rd April 1559, when the marriages of Margaret of France, Henry II's sister, to Emmanuel-Philibert, Duke of Savoy, and of Elizabeth of France, Henry II's daughter, to Philip II of Spain, were celebrated.

(viii) Grévin's LA PASTORALE

In 1559 Grévin also wrote a PASTORALE to celebrate the marriages of Margaret of France and of Elizabeth of France. These two marriages took place on 9th July 1559,⁷⁹ having been agreed by the treaty of Cateau Cambrésis of April 3rd 1559. According to Pinvert, this play was staged in 1560, Nicolas Denisot, Estienne Jodelle and Grévin himself playing the roles of Collin, Tenot and Jaquet respectively, but it was not well received because it brought back memories of Henry II's fatal accident.⁸⁰ Jean-Claude Margolin, too, believes that LA PASTORALE was performed in 1560.⁸¹ Pinvert, however, and presumably also Jean-Claude Margolin, although he does not state

his source, draw this information from the Journal chronologique du Théâtre François⁸² which, as we have already seen, is not trustworthy. Apart from this Journal chronologique, there is no evidence to suggest that LA PASTORALE was ever performed. In fact, one might even say that the indications given by Grévin himself suggest the contrary. He mentions that his three other plays, Cesar, La Tresoriere and Tes Esbahis, were staged, and even gives the dates of the performances.⁸³ He also says that La Maubertine, the play that was later lost, was performed.⁸⁴ Therefore, the fact that Grévin, in his publication of LA PASTORALE, does not mention any stage production of this play, is a strong indication that it was never produced.

(ix) Reasons for attributing LE MEDECIN COURTIZAN to Grévin.

In 1559 or, perhaps, early in 1560, a satire with the title LE MEDECIN COURTIZAN, OU LA NOUVELLE ET PLUS COURTE MANIERE DE PARVENIR A LA VRAYE ET SOLIDE MEDECINE. A MESSERE DORBUNO⁸⁵ appeared. Montaignon and de Rothschild, in their edition of this poem in the Recueil de poésies say that it may, perhaps, have been written by Du Bellay, mainly because of the close similarity between it and the Poëte Courtisan,⁸⁶ a satire written by Du Bellay that same year:

On retrouve, en effet, dans les deux poèmes, la même pensée générale, le même esprit, et souvent les mêmes expressions.

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Pauline M. Smith, however, in her article on the MEDECIN COURTIZAN, states, with greater plausibility, that she believes this satire to be the work of Jacques Grévin.⁸⁸ The main

argument for attributing this work to Grévin is that LE MEDECIN COURTIZAN was very probably written by a man who was both a doctor and a poet. That he was a doctor is indicated both by the detailed descriptions of medicines and medical practices, as well as, less convincingly, by the fact that, as a rule, following Lucian, those who wrote in this vein tended to satirise their own profession. That the author must have been a poet, and a good one, is indicated by the quality of this excellent poem. Grévin fits both these requirements, being both a doctor and a promising poet.

Supportive evidence, noted by Pauline M. Smith, is provided by the fact that, on the same day, a certain Bertrand signed the privilege of Grévin's OLIMPE, which was published by Robert II Estienne (25th November 1559), and also signed that of LE MEDECIN COURTIZAN, which was published by Guillaume Barbé. The printers of these two works were closely connected. Robert II Estienne, as Pauline Smith points out,⁸⁹ was married to Denyse Barbé, and, moreover, the two printers had commercial ties. Even more significantly, it was Guillaume Barbé who, just one year later (with Vincent Sertenas) published LE THEATRE for Grévin. It would, therefore, seem probable that Robert Estienne introduced Grévin to Guillaume Barbé, and even suggested, to make it less likely that Grévin, the physician, would be suspected as the author of this attack on doctors, that he ask Barbé, who had not previously published any work by him, to produce LE MEDECIN COURTIZAN.⁹⁰

Finally, it is also worth returning briefly to the similarity between LE MEDECIN COURTIZAN and Le Poëte Courtisan

by Du Bellay, a similarity first noted by Montaignon and de Rothschild. One may suppose that the author of LE MEDECIN COURTIZAN has imitated Du Bellay's poem; if we recall that Grévin was, in 1559, not very far advanced in his poetic career, and remember, too, that just one year earlier Grévin's REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE were a close imitation - sometimes almost word for word - of Du Bellay's own Tragiques Regrets, we may easily accept that Grévin would imitate Du Bellay.

This satire is dedicated to a certain Messere Dorbuno; the term 'messere' (which was frequently used to address priests) is not necessarily sarcastic or mock respectful, although it seems likely that in this case, in imitation of many of the satirical pamphlets, it is used in a derogatory sense. A. Fournier, a friend of Montaignon, suggests that Dorbuno is meant to be the Italian doctor Dordunus, from Pavia, who died during the time of Francis I.⁹¹ The similarity of names is certainly noticeable, but there seems to be no obvious connection between Grévin and this doctor.

(x) Nicole Estienne and the OLIMPE

At some point during this period, Grévin, we know, met Charles Estienne, third son of Henry I Estienne, first in the line of this family of printers. Charles Estienne was the uncle of Grévin's publisher, Robert II Estienne, and a good friend of Ronsard. He had a daughter, Nicole, with whom Grévin fell in love, and for whom he wrote the poetry of the OLIMPE. We cannot really doubt that it was to Nicole that these

sonnets are addressed when we read the anagram of her name (written by Grévin in capitals) SIEN EN ELECTION,⁹² and also when we read the passage in which Grévin asks for as many kisses as there are letters in his lover's name:

Ha! ce n'est pas assez, le nom plus en ordonne,
Pour six lettres qu'il ha, redoublez vostre don
De six baisers doublez, & huit pour le surnom. 93

Six letters might refer to the name Olimpe; but when we hear that the surname has eight letters we may be sure that Grévin is thinking of the name Nicole Estienne.

Nicole, sixteen when Grévin fell in love with her,⁹⁴ was very well educated. Du Verdier writes of her:

C'est une Dame bien accomplie, tant en gaillardise
d'esprit que grace de biem dire, à ce que j'en ai vu,
devisant une fois avec elle. 95

One work written by her after her marriage to a doctor called Liébault, which is still known today is Les misères de la femme mariée,⁹⁶ a short poem which contains many statements about marriage written in a very simple style. She relates the purported sufferings of all married women, not just of the 'femme mal mariée'.

From the sonnets of the OLIMPE we learn a great deal about where and when Grévin and Nicole met; the decisive moment, when Grévin fell in love, took place six months after they had been introduced,⁹⁷ while Grévin was acting in a play. Love, says Grévin, 'm'aperceut jouant sur un public Theatre'.⁹⁸ He also tells us, as we have already seen, the exact date when love was born within him; 10th March 1558 (new style 1559).⁹⁹

The first mention of Nicole - under the name of Olimpe - appears at the end of the 1559 CHANT DE JOIE DE LA PAIX, where

we find the line 'Aut nihil aut Olympus', to be translated in L'OLIMPE into the Greek "Ἡδ' οὐδέεν ἦδ' Ὀλυμπος". We learn from the Olimpe I that Grévin had been writing poetry for Olimpe for some nine months, presumably from 10th March until November 1559 (the date of the privilege of this work is 25th November 1559).

L'OLIMPE was not published before April 1560; otherwise, since by the old system of dating the year did not begin until April, the date of publication of L'OLIMPE would have been given as 1559. Pinvert is therefore mistaken when he writes that L'OLIMPE must have been published:

Au commencement ou, au plus tard, dans la première
moitié de l'année [i.e. 1560]: le privilège est du
25 novembre 1559. 100

We can be sure, therefore, that there was a delay of at least four months between the issuing of the privilege and the publishing of L'OLIMPE. It is possible that Grévin delayed the publication because he wished to add to this collection a long poem commemorating Du Bellay's death on 1st January 1560.¹⁰¹

L'OLIMPE, then, was probably published in the second quarter of 1560. In this collection we have four preliminary poems, by Ronsard, Du Bellay, Belleau and Antoine de Talon, all of them praising this young poet, together with a short Greek poem by Charles Utenhove. The work contains far more than just the love sonnets from which it takes its name. It also includes the Gelodacrye I, sonnets derived to a large extent from Du Bellay's Regrets and Antiquitez de Rome. In these, Grévin expresses his disillusionment with France in

particular and with mankind in general. We also find in L'OLIMPE the Jeux Olympiques,¹⁰² which consists of the Olimpiens - nine line verse - and various love poems to Nicole Estienne. There are also a number of Odes and Elegies.¹⁰³ Grévin's CHANT DE JOIE DE LA PAIX of 1559 is reprinted, under the slightly different title of Sur la Paix faicte l'an 1559, Ode II,¹⁰⁴ and with only minimal changes to the text itself. Finally, at the end of the 1560 L'OLIMPE one finds LA PASTORALE,¹⁰⁵ fortunately reprinted there, since no copy of an edition printed in 1559 has been located.

It is interesting to note that in L'OLIMPE Grévin mentions having written about Rome. He says that he had already tried to describe:

Le bon-heur & malheur de la ville de Rome. 106

But, he continues:

Mais le Temps envieux, envieux de mon bien,
S'opposant contre moy, a converti en rien
Ce que j'avoy tracé, & d'une faulse craincte
De l'œuvre commencé, tira la main contrainte. 107

Thus we learn that Grévin had written some early poetry on Rome, which he had felt compelled to destroy.

(xi) The EPITAPHUM IN MORTEM HENRICI GALLORUM REGIS
CHRISTIANISSIMI.

One of the poems first published in L'OLIMPE is also found in the 1560 EPITAPHUM IN MORTEM HENRICI GALLORUM REGIS CHRISTIANISSIMI EIUS NOMINIS SECUNDI. This is the long poem commemorating Du Bellay's death.¹⁰⁸ Two other poems by Grévin on the same subject, later to be included in this poet's publication LE THEATRE of 1561 are also printed here.¹⁰⁹

The fourth poem by Grévin included in this collection is a sonnet on the death of Henry II of France, already printed in L'OLIMPE, towards the end of the Gelodacrye I.¹¹⁰ In this poem Grévin tells his reader that Henry II's virtue will make him immortal.

(xii) Grévin's medical career.

We know from the Commentaires manuscrits de la Faculté de Medecine de Paris that in this same year, 1560, Grévin 'probavit quatuor annos sui studii',¹¹¹ in other words, that he was declared ready to sit the exams for the baccalauréat, or degree in medicine. We also learn from these same Commentaires manuscrits that later this year, on 16th November, Grévin sat, and passed, these exams, and became a bachelor in medicine.¹¹²

5: THE EPISTRE ENVOIEE AU TIGRE DE LA FRANCE

At some point between 15th March 1560¹¹³ and 20th June 1560,¹¹⁴ the EPISTRE ENVOIEE AU TIGRE DE LA FRANCE, the most bitter of all the numerous pamphlets written by various Reformers aroused by the executions which followed the Amboise conspiracy, and which pitilessly attacks Charles de Guise, the Cardinal of Lorraine, was written. It is generally considered, and with good reason, that François Hotman wrote the prose Epistre au Tigre.¹¹⁵ Lucien Pinvert has pointed out that Grévin knew the printer of this tract and that he left

France in the second half of 1560, and he intimates that Grévin may have had a hand in the composition of this prose Epistre au Tigre.¹¹⁶ However, this evidence is too tenuous to be accepted by itself, especially as there is a well-established and well-founded tradition which attributes the work to François Hotman.

A poetical paraphrase of this pamphlet, bearing the same title, was also made, although it is not known to have been printed until 1561 old style, in other words, until after the end of March 1561. The author of this verse paraphrase has never been identified with any certainty, but the circumstantial evidence which Pinvert used to link Grévin with the prose Epistre can be invoked, with other reasons and additional indications, to suggest that he may have had a hand in this poetic version. This circumstantial evidence is as follows: Grévin's early works, with only two exceptions, namely the suppositious MEDECIN COURTIZAN, published by Guillaume Barbé, and L'OLIMPE, published by Robert Estienne, were all published by Martin l'Homme.¹¹⁷ This same Martin l'Homme was suspected of being the author of the prose Epistre au Tigre when some copies of this work were found in his bookshop. De Thou, in his Histoire Universelle, tells us that Martin l'Homme was found with a copy of the Tigre, and that he was sentenced to death when he refused to name the author of the work.¹¹⁸ A. Taillandier, in 1842, discovered in the criminal registers of the Paris 'parlement' two papers which furnish us with dates relative to these events. From them we learn that Martin l'Homme was arrested on 23rd June 1560,¹¹⁹

was condemned to death on 13th July, and hanged on the 15th of the same month.¹²⁰ Thus Grévin's relationship with the printer of the prose Epistre au Tigre is well established.

The authorship of the verse EPISTRE, unlike that of its prose original, is as yet unaccounted for. But there are few poets at the time who possessed the literary ability to compose this highly accomplished version, and Jacques Grévin is an obvious candidate. It is not impossible that Martin l'Homme could have shown Grévin the prose epistle, and suggested that he write a verse paraphrase. One passage of Regnier de la Planche's account of these events is interesting. He writes of Martin l'Homme, and referring to the Tigre, that, after his arrest:

Enquis qui le luy avoit baillé, il respond que c'estoit un homme inconnu, et finalement en accuse plusieurs de l'avoir veu et leu, contre lesquels poursuytes furent faictes; mais ils le gagnèrent au pied. 121

Now we know that Grévin left France at some point in the second half of 1560, journeying to England. He may well have been forced to flee because of the pursuits - mentioned by Regnier de la Planche in the passage quoted above - following the publication of the prose Epistre au Tigre, fearful that he might be prosecuted. In the CHANT DU CIGNE, dated January 1561, he attributes his flight to dislike of civil war in France, but certain passages of this same poem suggest that there was perhaps danger for him if he remained in France:

Je me suis retiré au bort de la Tamise,
Ainsi comme ung nochier qui fuyant le dangier
Se saulve heureusement, 122

and also:

Les rochers de la guerre à fleur d'eau paroissoient,

Et d'un bort incertain les bancs me menaçoient. 123

Certainly such lines, although in no way conclusive, are consistent with the theory that Grévin was forced to flee because of his connections with Martin l'Homme and an involvement in the composition of the verse *EPISTRE AU TIGRE*.¹²⁴

There is one further passage in Grévin's works which would seem to provide strong indication that Grévin may have been involved in some way in the writing of this epistle. This passage, overlooked by Pinvert, may be found in the *Elegie sur la Misere des Hommes*. The last lines of this poem, first published in 1561, after Grévin's return to France, but evidently written while he was 'banni de liberté', read:

Je me plaignois ainsi aigrissant mon martire,
Lors qu'un caphart me vint mouvoir à rire:
Un caphart tout gourmand, un souldard de Bachus,
Un nourricier de putains & coquus.
Luy bien gras, bien refaict preschoit de l'abstinence,
D'amour divin & de la continence:
Il alloit detestant le vice des humains,
Et devant tous il en lavoit ses mains
Tout ainsi qu'un Pilate: il m'esmeut tant à rire,
Qu'en me riant je ne sceu plus rien dire.
Voyla comme je suis en plorant tourmanté
Et en riant banni de liberté. 125

Although the word 'cafard' meant basically any hypocrite, it seems to have been used more frequently in the sixteenth century to denote a religious hypocrite.¹²⁶ These lines do not permit any real certainty, but it is possible that they refer to the verse *EPISTRE ENVOIEE AU TIGRE DE LA FRANCE*, and that the 'caphart' is, in fact, the Cardinal of Lorraine himself. For, in the verse *EPISTRE*, the Cardinal is also addressed by the name of 'caphard', and his alleged excesses with prostitutes are emphasised, as indeed are those of the

unknown victim of the Elegie sur la misere des hommes. Indeed, Grévin had, just a few lines earlier in this poem, when relating the evils endured by man on earth, stated that no man who served another was ever recompensed for his labours, not even if he served 'un grand Cardinal'.¹²⁷ Although Grévin does not make it clear that the two passages refer to the same person, it is possible that on both occasions Grévin is thinking of the Cardinal of Lorraine.

The first line of the passage quoted above alludes to Grévin's publications L'Olimpe and La Gelodacrye. Since this line refers to poetry published by Grévin, it is possible that the line that follows: 'Lors qu'un caphart me vint mouvoir à rire', also refers to a publication by Grévin and this too may indicate that he was indeed the author of the verse EPISTRE AU TIGRE.

In the last two lines of this quotation, therefore:

Voyla comme je suis en plorant tourmanté
Et en riant banni de liberté,

the penultimate line would refer to L'Olimpe and La Gelodacrye, and the last to the EPISTRE ENVOIEE AU TIGRE DE LA FRANCE, and would indicate that Grévin was indeed forced to flee because he was the author of this pamphlet.

A number of passages of Grévin's work, therefore, are strongly consistent with the theory that this poet may have been involved in some way with the EPISTRE AU TIGRE, and that it was as a result of this epistle that he was forced to leave France.

Grévin's poetry published in 1561 further supports this theory in that it resembles the *EPISTRE AU TIGRE* in theme and, indeed, occasionally in style. A number of the sonnets of the Gelodacrye II, in particular, seem to be directed at the Cardinal of Lorraine, sometimes alone, sometimes together with others members of his family. One such sonnet, addressing the Cardinal and his brother François de Guise, reads:

Tout passe par leurs mains, rien ne se fait sans eux,
Ils ont sur le Royaume une pleine puissance,
On soustient qu'il leur fault porter obeissance:
Car on les a esleus plus sages & plus vieux.

Mais s'il est question d'un de ces Demi-dieux,
Sous l'ombre de l'appast d'une folle esperance,
Ils font tout, et fust-il contraire à l'ordonnance,
Tant on craint aujourd'huy de leur estre odieux.

Et cependant le peuple est pareil à la balle
Qui jamais n'ha repos: & puis rouge, & puis palle,
Ainsi qu'il est poussé par le muable vent.

On s'en joue, on le pille, on l'endort, on le lie,
Sans crainte de Celuy qui cognoist leur follie,
Et qui les punira au jour du jugement. 128

The first quatrains and, in particular, the second line, certainly seem to indicate the Guise brothers, for Reformers complained regularly that the power of these two brothers was far greater than it should have been, and that, in fact, they even controlled the king. The author of the verse *EPISTRE AU TIGRE* had said the same thing, accusing the Cardinal:

Tu as pris en tes mains de France les affaires:
Tu as tant entrepris, qu'il n'y a plus que toy
Qui gouverne et conduis les affaires du Roy. 129

Elsewhere, referring equally to the Cardinal de Lorraine and to his brother, the author of the poetical version of the *EPISTRE*

AU TIGRE writes:

[...] toy comme luy, ou bien luy comme toy,
As autant de pouvoir en France que le Roy. 130

One might, moreover, compare lines 9-10 and line 12 of the sonnet of the Gelodacrye II already quoted with the last lines of the verse EPISTRE AU TIGRE:

Mais ne voit-on pas bien, que c'est toy qui travailles
Nostre peuple françois de tributs et de tailles,
Et que tu as juré de charger tant son dos,
Qu'il n'aura pas moyen d'avoir jamais repos? 131

Finally, in the TIGRE, a reference to the hanging without trial of Gaspard de Heu at the Chateau de Vincennes on 4th September 1558, addressed to the Guise brothers: 'Rompant entre tes mains l'ordonnance françoise'¹³² may be compared with line 7 of Grévin's sonnet quoted above. This sonnet, therefore, provides several examples of similarity in both theme and style with the verse EPISTRE AU TIGRE. A number of other sonnets, although not resembling actual passages of the TIGRE, also attack the Cardinal of Lorraine.¹³³ This in itself may be considered as further evidence of Grévin's authorship of the verse EPISTRE AU TIGRE, for Grévin's dislike of these men is easily explained if Grévin was exiled by them because of the EPISTRE AU TIGRE.

6: GREVIN VISITS ENGLAND; HIS PUBLICATIONS AND ACHIEVEMENTS IN 1561

(i) Grévin's unpublished poem, LE CHANT DU CIGNE

We may be certain that Grévin was in England by the end of 1560. There he wrote a poem called the CHANT DU CIGNE, which he

dedicated to Queen Elizabeth I of England. It is dated 1st January 1560, (1561, new style).¹³⁴ We learn from this poem that Grévin was actually introduced to Queen Elizabeth I while he was in England, for he writes, referring to the queen:

[...] je sentis vostre parole humaine
 Alenter doucement ma doulleur et ma peine,
 Lors qu'il vous pleust me veoir, me faisant cest honneur
 D'avoir pour agreable ung mien petit labeur. 135

The 'mien petit labeur' may refer to the OLIMPE, which Grévin had recently published. Alternatively, it may refer to some of the poems later to be published in LE THEATRE. In the CHANT DU CIGNE, Grévin states that he intends to spend a long time in England,¹³⁶ but, in fact, he cannot have remained there longer than a few months. Indeed, it is possible that by the next month - by 16th February - he was once again in Paris, for on this date two of his plays, Cesar and Les Esbahis, were staged at the Collège de Beauvais.¹³⁷

(ii) Les Esbahis and Cesar.

According to the Bibliothèque Nationale manuscript, the Journal chronologique du Théâtre François, by Mouhy,¹³⁸ Grévin's comedy Les Esbahis and his tragedy Cesar were first performed by the Confrères de la Passion in 1558, and as soon after 14th February as possible; but there are several reasons to be suspicious of the Chevalier de Mouhy's evidence on this point. One is the note written by Grévin in the 1561 LE THEATRE, referring to Les Esbahis:

Ceste comedie fut mise en jeu au college de Beauvais à

Paris, le XVI. jour de fevrier M.D.LX. apres la Tragedie
de J.Cesar[...]

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This note states that Les Esbahis was performed on 16th February 1560 (1561, new style), after Grévin's Cesar and while the note does not preclude the possibility that these plays had been staged earlier, this seems unlikely, as Grévin might be expected to have mentioned any earlier performance. Certainly the great majority of seventeenth and eighteenth century biographers believed that Grévin's two plays were staged for the first time in 1561. The Parfaict brothers, for instance, in the Dictionnaire des Theatres de Paris, only copy what Grévin himself had written in introducing his plays; they note no earlier production than that of 16th February 1561.¹⁴⁰ The Histoire du theatre françois, too, mentions no earlier production.¹⁴¹ Pinvert suggests that Grévin may have omitted the earlier performances because they were not college productions, as was that of 1561, and a college was the centre of learning. To a member of the circle of the Pléiade, a humanist, a college production was far more illustrious than any other performance:

Les autres manifestations de ces pièces ne comptaient
pas aux yeux d'un disciple de cette Pléiade érudite. 142

This is a possible, if not a very adequate, explanation, but further evidence to suggest that the play was not shown, and was not, in fact, even written in 1558, can be found in the play itself, where Grévin writes:

[...] il vous souvient
Comme il y a trois ans passez,
Que les François furent chasses
De Saint Quentin.

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It is, of course, possible, as Pinvert suggests, that Grévin retouched this detail in order to bring the play up to date for its staging in 1561, and for its publication the same year. But when one weighs Grévin's actual words against the unsupported testimony of the Journal chronologique, one is tempted to doubt the accuracy of this work, which does, after all, provide the sole indication that either Les Esbahis or Cesar was staged, or even written, in 1558. Moreover, as this document has proved unreliable in other cases,¹⁴⁴ one may conclude that it seems likely that neither Cesar nor Les Esbahis were performed in 1558, and that February 1561 is really the date of the first presentation.

(iii) Licensed as a doctor

Even if Grévin did not return from England for the presentation of his plays, we may be sure that he was back in Paris by June 1561, for it was then that he was awarded his degree; he sat his exams on 14th June.¹⁴⁵ This was an important qualification, and meant that Grévin could now practise his profession as a doctor. In 1561 Grévin's name is mentioned several times in the Commentaires manuscrits de la Faculté de Médecine, including once for sitting the thesis, once in a list of those who had qualified as graduates, and finally in a list of those fined for not answering when called upon.¹⁴⁶ Pinvert assumes that this last case refers to one of the masses which students were obliged to attend, under the penalty of a fine; he also writes, with reference to this

entry, explaining why Grévin was absent: 'il était "au bord de la Tamise"'.¹⁴⁷ But Pinvert is surely mistaken here: this fine was one exacted from graduates, and must therefore have been imposed on Grévin after 14th June; we know that since Grévin sat his exams on 14th June he had returned to Paris by that date, if not earlier; we have no reason to believe that he would have returned to England after gaining these qualifications - especially since he would already have been occupied with publishing LE THEATRE for, two days after passing his exams, Grévin was granted a privilege for this collection of poems and plays (the date of this privilege is 16th June 1561).¹⁴⁸

(iv) LE THEATRE of 1561

The picture in front of Grévin's publication LE THEATRE shows him in his newly earned attire of a graduate.¹⁴⁹ Around it we see the Greek translation of the Latin device first found in the CHANT DE JOIE DE LA PAIX: 'Hō' οὐδέεν ἦδ' Ὀλυμπος', 'aut nihil aut Olympus'.

Grévin's LE THEATRE is addressed to Claude of France, Duchess of Lorraine, to whom he says that he had been presented by M. de Boulin, to whom he had, a year earlier, presented L'OLIMPE. Grévin also knew her doctor, Anthoine Lepois, reputed as a humanist. In an elegy to this man he praises Claudè, saying that she is:

[...] une Princesse sage,
Qui porte un meur esprit compagné d'un jeune aage. 150

He also says that this lady had listened to the 'accens de ma

voix', and given him the hope that one day he should receive many favours at her hand.¹⁵¹ Finally he asks her to protect Cesar.

From the dedication we also learn that Grévin's Cesar had been written some time earlier, for Grévin says, addressing Claude of France:

C'est pourquoy ayant long temps gardé ce Theatre (poeme non encore veu en nostre langue) je n'ay trouvé personne plus digne à qui je deusse donner Cesar, qu'à vous
[...]

152

A Brief Discours precedes these plays, in which Grévin outlines his ideas on comedy and tragedy.¹⁵³ The work also contains the Gelodacrye II,¹⁵⁴ which is, like the Gelodacrye I, a series of satirical sonnets on various subjects, and the Olimpe II,¹⁵⁵ the sequel to the earlier collection of the same title. In this collection, Grévin courts Nicole with a fervour almost equal to that displayed in the Olimpe I. We know, however, as previously indicated, that Nicole Estienne and Jacques Grévin did not marry.

Included in LE THEATRE, at the end of this collection, are the two poems in memory of Joachim du Bellay already published in the EPITAPHUM IN MORTEM HENRICI GALLORUM REGIS CHRISTIANISSIMI.¹⁵⁶ The first is the translation of the Latin epitaph that Du Bellay had written for himself, the second the translation of a Latin poem by R. de la Haye. Both these translations were to be included in the 1568 and 1597 editions of Du Bellay's verse.

One of the preliminary poems, by a certain Marguerite de Launay, is particularly interesting because it contains a list of Grévin's writings. M. de Launay mentions Grévin's

translation of Nicander, prior to its publication in 1568. She also recalls the REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE, Grévin's tragedy, comedies, the love sonnets and La Gelodacrye, and possibly the HYMNE A MONSEIGNEUR LE DAUPHIN.

LE THEATRE was so successful that another edition appeared the following year.¹⁵⁷ Above all, Grévin's play Cesar enjoyed a great success. It was re-published after the poet's death, in 1578,¹⁵⁸ and again in 1606, under the new title of La Liberté vangée ou Cesar poignardé.¹⁵⁹

(v) La Maubertine, a lost play by Grévin

In the preface to one of Grévin's two comedies published in LE THEATRE of 1561, we learn of another play, La Maubertine, which had aroused criticism from the inhabitants of the Place Maubert, the square in which this play is located, and from which it takes its name.¹⁶⁰ Grévin writes that he intends to give France pure comedy, such as Aristophanes had given to the Greeks, and Plautus and Terence to the Romans:

Ce que je me suis proposé tousjours en escrivant ce poëme [i.e. Les Esbahis], ainsi qu'ont peu appercevoir ceux qui ont veu La Maubertine premiere Comedie que je mis en jeu, & que j'avoye deliberé te donner, si elle ne m'eust esté desrobée. 161

In his edition of Grévin's theatre, Pinvert adds as a footnote:

Qu'est-ce que cette première œuvre théâtrale de Grévin dont il n'est resté aucune trace? Il n'y a pas lieu de s'arrêter à cette histoire. La Maubertine, c'est la Trésorière. 162

Explaining why he believes this, Pinvert tells us that

Grévin's comedy La Maubertine, written for Claude of France's wedding, scandalised the inhabitants of the Place Maubert: and that, for this reason, the play was not performed at the marriage celebrations (Grévin himself tells us that La Tresoriere was 'pour quelques empeschemens differée'¹⁶³) but was later staged, perhaps altered, perhaps not, under the name of La Tresoriere.¹⁶⁴

Although it is true that the comedy La Tresoriere is set in the Place Maubert, Pinvert's evidence is contradicted by Grévin's own statement that he would have published La Maubertine in his 1561 LE THEATRE, had it not been stolen from him. Hence it is not one of those published in LE THEATRE, and cannot be La Tresoriere. It seems unlikely that he made this statement only in order to hide the fact that the ladies of the Place Maubert had complained about it - for it is he who tells us about this complaint, in the Avant-Jeu of Les Esbahis.¹⁶⁵ He says, moreover, that one of his reasons for coming to the performance in person was to remind his audience of the complaint:

L'autre poinct qui m'a faict venir,
Est pour vous faire souvenir
De cest plaincte, qui fut faicte
N'aguere encontre le Poëte [...] 166

It would be difficult to understand why he should on one hand recall in print the complaints of the ladies of the Place Maubert, and, at the same time, attempt to hide his embarrassment by changing the title of his play. It is perhaps best to conclude, as does Goujet, that:

Les Auteurs de L'Histoire du Théâtre François conjecturent que la Thrésorière est la même Comédie que la Maubertine, que Grévin dit lui avoir été dérobée, mais j'aime mieux m'en rapporter au témoignage même de Grévin qui distingue

ces deux pièces.¹⁶⁷

Assuming, therefore, that La Maubertine is a separate comedy, this play must have been staged before 5th February 1559 (new style), in other words, ~~before the performance of~~ La Tresoriere, for Grévin, in his preface, calls the former the 'premiere Comedie que je mis en jeu'.¹⁶⁸

(vi) The SERMONS DE B. OCCHIN translated by Grévin

In an article published in the Bulletin du Bibliophile et du Bibliothécaire,¹⁶⁹ F. Lachèvre suggests that Grévin was the author of an anonymous translation, published in 1561, titled SERMONS DE B. OCCHIN EN FRANÇOIS. NOUVELLEMENT MIS EN LUMIERE A L'HONNEUR DE DIEU, PROFIT & UTILITE DE TOUS FIDELES CHRESTIENS DESIRANS VIVRE SELON LA LOY DU SEIGNEUR & SES SAINCTS COMMANDEMENS. This work comprises twenty-two sermons, translations of those by the celebrated Bernardino Ochino, a monk who, in 1541, became a Reformer, and who was considered the most eloquent of the Italian preachers of the Reformation.¹⁷⁰ Lachèvre's reason for believing that this translation is the work of Jacques Grévin is that, at the end, there is a short poem of twenty-four lines, written by the author of the book, and bearing the heading: A tres illustre Dame Madame Magdalene de Roye son treshumble & tresobeissant serviteur M.G. son Medecin desire salut & felicité eternelle. Lachèvre believes that the initials M.G. stand for Maître Grévin. According to his theory the latter entered into the service of Magdalene de Roye soon after returning from England, and became her doctor. Magdalene de Roye, the mother-

-in-law of Louis I of Bourbon, Prince of Condé, leader of the Reformers in France, was herself a confirmed Reformer. In order to show his gratitude towards her, Grévin, according to this theory, translated into French these sermons by Bernardino Ochino.¹⁷¹

This evidence provided by Lachèvre is interesting, if not conclusive. Certainly, if Grévin was Magdalene de Roye's doctor during these years, it would explain why he dedicated many poems to her family (to her daughter, Eleonor de Roye, Princess of Condé, and to her son-in-law, the Prince of Condé.¹⁷²); in particular it would explain why Magdalene de Roye's daughter, Eleonor de Roye, is praised so highly in the Tombeau that Grévin was to dedicate to her.

(vii) Doctor of Medicine.

It seems likely that Grévin spent most of the next year, 1562, preparing for the exam which would give him the title of Doctor of Medicine; as far as we know, he published nothing and wrote no poetry. According to the Commentaires Manuscrits de la Faculté de Medecine he defended his thesis on 9th March 1562 (new style 1563) and took the 'acte final' on 16th of the same month. The president in attendance was called Millet. These Commentaires Manuscrits also mention, a little later, the sum of money he had to pay for his exams, and for the upkeep of the chapel.¹⁷³ One of this poet's duties as a 'docteur régent' was, every year, to approve the financial administration of the faculty. Thus, in November of each year,

we recognise his signature.¹⁷⁴

7: GREVIN'S AUTHORSHIP OF THE TEMPLE DE RONSARD

The years from 1563 until Grévin left France in 1567 were fruitful in the literary field. The first publication of this period was the TEMPLE DE RONSARD. Grévin must have been deeply affected by Ronsard's stand against the Reformation. Ronsard had not, in the early stages of his career, involved himself overtly in the religious quarrels, but his poetry became progressively more polemical¹⁷⁵ until, in 1562, he wrote his Discours à la Royne, probably in June of that year,¹⁷⁶ and the Continuation du Discours.¹⁷⁷ These pamphlets had a wide influence, not surprisingly if one considers that a poet, in the sixteenth century, performed many of the functions of the present day journalist, spreading important news and opinions, while at the same time displaying such specifically poetic qualities as creativity, imagination and allusiveness. The Reformers, exasperated by Ronsard's stand, began writing pamphlets which slandered not only Ronsard's beliefs, but also his poetry, and even his person. Charbonnier, in his work on the protestant polemic against Ronsard, gives a very useful chronological list of the exchange of pamphlets between Ronsard and the Reformers.¹⁷⁸

(i) Grévin's relations with the authors of the Calvinist pamphlets.

The TEMPLE DE RONSARD comprises only 240 lines. It consists

of a description of wall paintings in a church dedicated to 'Saint Ronsard', the martyr. It is a well written and interesting piece of poetry. Its most attractive quality is perhaps the way in which it picks up lines and phrases drawn from Ronsard's earlier pamphlets and turns them round to give them an entirely different meaning.¹⁷⁹ It begins with a criticism of Ronsard, including an accusation of atheism and a physical and moral caricature, and is followed by a description of the 'temple' that will be set up in Ronsard's honour, and of the seven pictures of Ronsard, embroidered in tapestry, that will decorate his temple.

The authorship of the TEMPLE DE RONSARD is the subject of controversy, and it is important for a number of reasons to establish whether or not Grévin helped to write it; the TEMPLE DE RONSARD is one of the most scurrilous, and yet one of the best written, of the pamphlets against Ronsard; it is of a type of poetry not otherwise certainly represented in Grévin's works (the attribution of the verse EPISTRE AU TIGRE is doubtful). Moreover, it has great historical interest for the author's opinions and his relationship with Ronsard.

Grévin was on very good terms with at least one of those who are known to have written some of the pamphlets against Ronsard: Florent Chrestien. There is no real doubt that Chrestien was the author of at least two of these works, one of which was the Seconde Response de F. de la Baronie, written between July and 8th September 1564.¹⁸⁰ The other was the Apologie d'un homme Chrestien,¹⁸¹ which criticises Ronsard's Epistre au Lecteur of 1563. Chrestien called Grévin his 'amy

singulier',¹⁸² and frequently praised him (as in the Greek poem included in Grévin's LE THEATRE), and would defend him against the attacks of a certain Loys de Launay, a doctor from La Rochelle, with whom Grévin quarrelled, disagreeing with him over the medical advantages of antimony. He often encouraged Grévin, and advised him, and his suggestion in 1561 that the younger poet should write in a more serious vein than in L'OLIMPE:

Magna illa certè, non tamen hæc satis,
 Supérque magna: desine mollium
 Tandem Grevine, queso, amorum &
 Parva modis tenuare magnis, 183

might have encouraged Grévin in an attack on Ronsard.¹⁸⁴

Grévin, therefore, was close to Chrestien. Of his relationship with the authors of any of the other pamphlets against Ronsard, we know nothing, although it is conceivable that Grévin may have been acquainted with some of them.

(ii) Authorship of the TEMPLE DE RONSARD

Grévin has been credited with collaborating in a number of the pamphlets against Ronsard, and particularly of writing under the pseudonyms Mont-Dieu and Zamariel. Charbonnier, dealing with the question of authorship of the pamphlets against Ronsard, has, very correctly, dismissed this suggestion.¹⁸⁵ Only in the case of the TEMPLE DE RONSARD is there evidence of Grévin's authorship.

The TEMPLE DE RONSARD was published, according to Charbonnier,¹⁸⁶ in May 1563. Pineaux, in his edition of the texts against Ronsard, suggests that it was written in the

second half of July, although his reason, that the short accompanying epistle, the Au Pauvre Patient, is dated 25th July 1563,¹⁸⁷ is not really satisfactory, since the text may well have been published earlier without the epistle.

It is generally agreed that Grévin is the author, or at least joint author, with Chrestien, of the TEMPLE DE RONSARD, despite a few dissenters, notably Pineaux who, in his Polémique Protestante contre Ronsard, attempts to prove that the author is, in fact, Chrestien alone.¹⁸⁸ Chrestien is, indeed, the only alternative author of the TEMPLE DE RONSARD suggested by critics, and it is perhaps useful first of all to examine the evidence offered by Pineaux as proof that Chrestien alone wrote this pamphlet.

Pineaux's argument relies principally on two points. First - a very weak argument - that Ronsard never attacks Grévin alone, and second that Chrestien intimates, in the Seconde Response (an attack on Ronsard) that he is the author of the TEMPLE DE RONSARD. The first of these two points is correct, although it does not in any way preclude the possibility that Grévin participated in the TEMPLE DE RONSARD, or indeed that he wrote it on his own.

Pineaux's second point, that in the Seconde Response Florent Chrestien mentions writing a 'Temple', is more interesting. It relies on the final passage of the Seconde Response:

Mais un seul point, Ronsard, me tient encor icy,
Car aussi bien que toy je suis en grand soucy
De parler de ta vie, et de tes vaillants gestes
Dont on pourroit escrire aisement des Digestes.
Puis donc que par tes vers, tu t'es eternisé,
Il fault que par les miens tu sois canonisé,

Ce que j'ai fait, Ronsard, afin que l'on entende
Que tu merites bien d'avoir une Legende.

Chrestien goes on to say that, should Ronsard die, the Pope would doubtless make him a martyr. He would have the opposite power to that of 'Saint Mathelin':

Et tout ainsi qu'on dit qu'il a ceste vertu
De guerir la folie, et que l'homme battu
De telle maladie en reçoit allegeance
Après estre foitté, tu auras la puissance
Pareillement aussi, que le fol ostiné
Qui aura tout le corps de ton saint mal miné,
T'offrira ces presents, afin que sa largesse
Luy serve de guerdon pour le mal de sagesse:
Jusqu'à tant que la mort d'un plus dangeureus dard
Le guerisse du mal de Monsieur saint Ronsard. 189

Pineaux, in his attempt to prove that Chrestien alone is the author of the TEMPLE DE RONSARD, quotes these lines, stating that they indicate that the author of the TEMPLE DE RONSARD and the Seconde Response are one and the same. Yet, there are a number of inconsistencies here. In the second and third lines of the first quotation, Florent Chrestien's tense is present, and the meaning is that he is keen to write, in the future, a satirical life of Ronsard. Yet the TEMPLE DE RONSARD, there can be no doubt, was written before the Seconde Response.¹⁹⁰ Chrestien cannot, therefore, be saying that he is planning to write the TEMPLE DE RONSARD. He is simply picking up Ronsard's line of the Response aux Injures et Calomnies, 'Or je veux que ma vie en escrit aparaisse',¹⁹¹ in much the same way as the author of the TEMPLE DE RONSARD had done in the title of his work: LE TEMPLE DE RONSARD OU LA LEGENDE DE SA VIE EST BRIEFVEMENT DESCRITE. These lines of the Seconde Response, because they indicate Chrestien's desire to write of Ronsard's life in the future, certainly suggest that Chrestien had not yet written it, and that he,

therefore, was not the author of the TEMPLE DE RONSARD.

It is rather more likely that the subsequent lines of this quotation, and in particular the reference to a 'legende', are a reference to the TEMPLE DE RONSARD. This word may, perhaps, be considered as alluding to the title of the TEMPLE DE RONSARD OU LA LEGENDE DE SA VIE EST BRIEFVEMENT DESCRITE. One might therefore assume that Chrestien is claiming responsibility, in part at least, for the TEMPLE DE RONSARD. But, alternatively, it is not impossible that the 'canonisation' of Ronsard, to which Chrestien is referring here, takes place, not in the TEMPLE, but rather in the concluding lines of the Seconde Response (included in my quotation), where Chrestien states that the Pope will make Ronsard a martyr, and that 'Monsieur saint Ronsard'¹⁹² will be able to cure men of their wisdom! The reference to a 'legende' might not, then, be a reference to the TEMPLE DE RONSARD at all: this term was commonly used in the sixteenth century to denote the lives of saints¹⁹³ and once Chrestien had canonised Ronsard, one might expect him to refer to the life of this 'saint' as a 'legende'.

Thus the lines used by Pineaux as proof that Chrestien alone wrote the TEMPLE DE RONSARD, are not proof of this at all; indeed, they do not even enable the reader to be certain that Chrestien participated in the writing of this pamphlet (although, as we shall see, Ronsard's own statements in the Epistre au Lecteur make it probable that Chrestien did participate in it). Finally, the fact that Ronsard was later reconciled with Chrestien¹⁹⁴ suggests that the part played by

this humanist in the TEMPLE DE RONSARD was probably minimal - the TEMPLE is perhaps the most virulent of all the pamphlets against Ronsard, and Ronsard would not easily have allowed a friendship to develop between himself and its author.

Thus, the evidence which has been adduced concerning Florent Chrestien's authorship of the TEMPLE DE RONSARD is highly unconvincing.¹⁹⁵ The evidence associating Grévin with this pamphlet, on the other hand, is far more conclusive.

(iii) Binet's evidence

One very important piece of sixteenth century evidence is that of Claude Binet, who writes, in his Vie de Pierre de Ronsard, that Ronsard:

a changé l'adresse [i.e. dedication] d'aucunes pieces de ses œuvres, mais ce n'a pas esté par legerté ou inconstance d'amitié mais par bonne raison, ainsi qu'il m'a raconté, et que nous voions au Sonet qui commence:

A Phebus, Patoüillet,
qui s'adressoit premierement à Jacques Grevin medecin, bel esprit certes, et l'honneur de nostre païs Beauvaisin, qui le meritoit bien, n'eust esté qu'ayant aydé à bastir le Temple de calomnie contre Ronsard en haine des Discours des miseres de nostre temps, il s'en rendit indigne, et de son amitié de laquelle il honorait son gentil esprit: Sa vengeance ne fut autre toutesfois que de raier son nom de ses escrits. 196

In Binet's view, therefore, Grévin had collaborated in the writing of the TEMPLE DE RONSARD. Unfortunately, as Laumonier points out, Binet's information is often suspect. Yet, in this case, his statement should not, perhaps, be set aside as easily as Pinæux dismisses it, for, as well as being a friend of Ronsard, Binet was also close to Grévin and, like him, had been born in Clermont-en-Beauvaisis. At Grévin's death, Binet was one of the few to remember him, despite the fact that

Grévin had not set foot on French soil since 1567; he wrote in memory of him a cordial Complaincte sur le trespas de Jacques Grévin.¹⁹⁷ Knowing him as he did, one might expect Binet to have learnt from Grévin the truth of this affair, and to have found out from him whether or not he was the author of the TEMPLE DE RONSARD. Laumonier, although he is frequently suspicious of what Binet says, does accept this information about Grévin, saying:

Grévin a certainement collaboré au Temple de Ronsard. Le témoignage de Binet, qui était son compatriote et s'entretint vraisemblablement de lui avec Ronsard, ne permet guère d'en douter. 198

(iv) Evidence in the TEMPLE DE RONSARD

A passage in the TEMPLE DE RONSARD itself may give an indication of the authorship of this work. There, the author writes that he had long grieved over Ronsard's religious indifference:

Ronsard je suis marry pour l'honneur que je doy
A la religion, aus Muses, et au Roy,
Que tu n'as discoursu en plus grand' reverence
De Dieu et de la foy, et de nostre esperance,
Que tu n'as employé la majesté des vers
Pour parler autrement des mysteres couverts,
Que tu n'as eu esgard que le sang de noz Princes
Est descendu des Roys Seigneurs de noz Provinces. 199

In the last sonnet of the Gelodacrye II, addressing Ronsard, Grévin broaches a similar theme, apparently complaining that Ronsard had advised him to conceal his religious convictions:

Que sert-il plus longtemps dissimuler un bien,
Si le dissimuler luy est du tout contraire?
Si le parler est bon, que sert-il de se taire?
Que sert-il de parler, si parler ne vault rien?

Si c'est la verité, an vain je le detien,

Et si c'est la mensonge, en vain je le veux faire
 Apparoistre au dessus, pour au monde complaire,
 Sous ombre seulement du public entretien.

Ce qui est bon de soy, mauvais ne sçauroit estre,
 Et ce qui est mauvais, mauvais se fait cognoistre,
 Or' qu'il soit déguisé du nom de verité.

C'est donc en vain, RONSARD, que ceci l'on deteste:
 Car si nous apparoist qu'il est du tout celeste,
 Croyons qu'il durera à perpetuité. 200

(v) Ronsard's own testimony

One piece of evidence which is very convincing is Ronsard's own testimony in the Epistre au Lecteur par laquelle succinctement l'auteur respond à ses calomniateurs, preceding the Premier livre du Recueil des Nouvelles Poësies,²⁰¹ which was the reply to the TEMPLE DE RONSARD and to the Seconde Response, and which attacks both Jacques Grévin and Florent Chrestien. In this Epistre au Lecteur, Ronsard lists the pamphlets which were written against him, putting the TEMPLE at the head of the list - an indication that this was perhaps the pamphlet that had annoyed and irritated him most. In three references to Grévin (which also attack Florent Chrestien), Ronsard refers to the 'vie' of Grévin and Chrestien, conceivably indicating that he considered them responsible for the TEMPLE DE RONSARD OU LA LEGENDE DE SA VIE EST BRIEFVEMENT DESCRITE. In the first of these references, Ronsard says that he had been willing to take this exchange of pamphlets lightly, but that 'cè correcteur de livres et ce jeune Drogeur (desquels la vie ne sera point mauvaise descrite) l'ont voulu autrement [...]',²⁰² These epithets refer, as M.C.Smith notes,²⁰³

to Florent Chrestien, editor of Greek books, and to Jacques Grévin, a doctor. In the second reference, Ronsard writes that he could have attacked these two had he wanted, for 'nous avons bons et amples memoires de la vie de ces deux compagnons.'²⁰⁴

In the third reference, Ronsard, addressing Chrestien, refers to 'ta vie et [...] celle de l'ignorant Drogeur, que tu voirras bien tost de la main d'un excellent ouvrier.'²⁰⁵

These three references are an indication that Ronsard held Grévin and Chrestien particularly responsible for the most scurrilous of the pamphlets against him, and that he had in mind counter-attacking by writing satirical biographies of them, doubtless as a rejoinder to the *TEMPLE* which he probably felt they had jointly written. The fact that these allusions, although not explicit, might well have been recognised by anyone who knew the characters involved, perhaps indicates Ronsard's anger on hearing that his old friend, Jacques Grévin, had written so scurrilous a pamphlet as the *TEMPLE DE RONSARD*.

Ronsard again seems to refer to Grévin's participation, with Chrestien, in the polemic against him, in the Recueil des nouvelles poésies, for which the Epistre au Lecteur had served as preface. M.C.Smith has suggested that, in the Hymne de l'Hyver, Ronsard's mention of 'ces jeunes apprentis deloyaux à leur maistre',²⁰⁶ refers to Jacques Grévin and to Florent Chrestien (as M.C.Smith indicates, Ronsard had already referred to these two as 'jeunes apprentis' in the Epistre au Lecteur).

Moreover, Ronsard was once again to criticise Grévin,

and to a lesser extent Chrestien, for writing pamphlets against him. The poem in which he does so reads:

J'oste Grevin de mes escrits,
 Pource qu'il fut si mal appris,
 Afin de plaire au Calvinisme,
 (Je vouloy dire à l'Atheisme)
 D'injurier par ses brocards
 Mon Nom cogneu de toutes parts,
 Et dont il faisoit tant d'estime
 Par son discours et par sa rime.
 Les ingrats je ne puis aymer:
 Et toy, que je veux bien nommer,
 Beau Chrestien, qui faits l'habille homme,
 Pour te prendre au Pape de Rome,
 Et à toute l'antiquité,
 Cesse ton langage effronté,
 Sans blâmer, en blasmant l'Eglise
 Que le bon JESUS auctorise
 Ceux qui t'aymoient, & plus cent fois
 Vrayment que tu ne meritois.

Vous n'avez les testes bien faictes,
 Vous estes deux nouveaux Poëtes;
 Taisez-vous, ou, comme il faudra,
 Mon Cuisinier vous respondra,
 Car de vous presenter mon Page,
 Ce vous seroit trop d'avantage. 207

Although Ronsard does not here mention the TEMPLE DE RONSARD, his reference to Grévin by name as a pamphleteer, together with his comments in the Epistre au Lecteur, confirm the impression that he considered Grévin responsible, in part at least, for the TEMPLE. This poem, perhaps even more than the Epistre au Lecteur, is an indication of the close friendship that had existed between Ronsard and Grévin, and of the sorrow and anger that Ronsard still felt, a number of years later, at having lost this friendship.

This poem is also an indication that Ronsard did not soon forget Grévin. Colletet was to note this in a commentary on the poem:

Cela s'appelle cacher et decouvrir un homme en mesme temps puisqu'il n'oste le nom de Grevin de ses œuvres que pour

l'y remettre plus avant, ce qui tesmoigne assez
clairement que c'estoit avec quelque sorte de regret que
Ronsard le traittoit de la sorte, et je suis le plus
trompé du monde si en voyant au nombre des assassins de
sa réputation ce jeune homme qu'il avoit tant aymé et qui
avoit esté comme son fils adoptif sur le Parnasse
françois, il ne luy eust dit volontiers ce que Jules
César dit à Brutus quand il vint avec la foule des
conspirateurs pour le poignarder en plein Sénat; Et tu
quoque, fili, mon fils, es tu aussi de la partie? 208

Finally, it seems unlikely that Ronsard would have
broken with Jacques Grévin at all unless he had good reason for
believing that Grévin had seriously offended him, and
authorship of the TEMPLE DE RONSARD was offence enough. As
Franchet says:

Sa rupture avec Grévin fut exceptionnelle et trop
motivée. 209

(vi) Testimony of 'A.Guymara'

Apart from Ronsard's evidence, there is other testimony
regarding the part played by Grévin in the composition of the
TEMPLE DE RONSARD. It appears in a pamphlet titled Ad J.
Grovellum [...] admonitio (a distortion of Grévin's name) in
which Grévin is attacked. Here the author accuses Grévin of
having written against Ronsard. Having advised his reader that
these two adversaries had been good friends, the author
continues, addressing Grévin himself:

Quid tu, mi homo in amicitiiis constantissime, pro his
omnibus retulisti? Assecla quidem mensæ eius quandiu ille
voluit, fuisti satis assiduus [...] interea hominis
scriptis insidiabaris. domi vero tuæ adornabas illa
præclara quæ novissime in hunc sine ullius nomine
evulgasti. 210

Although the author of these words does not reveal the name
of the pamphlet to which he is referring, the description fits

the *TEMPLE DE RONSARD*, which was certainly notorious (*præclara*), being perhaps the most important and certainly the most virulent of all those pamphlets which have appeared against Ronsard. It was at that time recent, having been published around May 1563 or perhaps slightly later - the pamphlet *Ad J.Grovellum [...] admonitio* is dated 27th August 1564. The *TEMPLE DE RONSARD* was, moreover, one of the few pamphlets to have been published anonymously; most of the attacks on Ronsard bore various pseudonyms. Certainly there is no pamphlet that Grévin would have been more anxious to hide.

One might ask how 'M.A.Guymara', the author of the *Ad J. Grovellum*, knew that Grévin was the author of this pamphlet. But he himself has forestalled this question, writing:

Qui scis, inquires? Memineris a te in aurem dictum doctori
medico viro bono, cum ad salutandum pro veteri amicitia
Ronsardus domum tuam venisset, & satis liberè suo more,
esset ingressus: interceptum te illa scribentem, sed ea
statim in sinum abiecisse. 211

This narrative certainly has the ring of truth about it.

Grévin's reply to these lines may be found in a passage of the *RESPONSE AUX CALOMNIES DE GUYMARA*, also written in 1564, which contains a disingenuous denial of responsibility for the various pamphlets against Ronsard:

J'ay tousjours recogneu Ronsard pour bon poëte,
Et pour homme de bien: la Prose qui fut faite,
(Que Dieu m'en soit vengeur) si je suis approuvant:
Ny les Pasquils aussi que tu mets en avant,
Tout cela ne fut onc forgé sur mon enclume,
Ceux le tegmoigneront qui ont cogneu ma plume. 212

Grévin omits, from the list of pamphlets he did not write, the *TEMPLE DE RONSARD* itself. Since we know that Ronsard and Binet, and almost certainly also Guymara, suspected Grévin, the most

likely reason for this omission would be that Grévin avoided mentioning it precisely because he was its author. Certainly, one would not expect him to admit responsibility for this pamphlet, and it seems that he adopted this subtle method to avoid a direct denial without really implicating himself.

(vii) Chrestien's comment on the authorship of the TEMPLE DE RONSARD.

One might finally note that Chrestien, in the Apologie ou Deffence d'un homme Chrestien, a reply to Ronsard's Epistre au Lecteur of 1563, seems to suggest that he and his

'compagnons' together wrote the TEMPLE DE RONSARD. He writes:

Si [...] nous nous sommes amusez à deschiffrer un peu ta
vie en vers, ce n'a esté que pour te monstrier que tu n'es
pas seul versificateur. 213

Grévin, Chrestien's 'amy singulier', whom Ronsard had already accused of writing the TEMPLE DE RONSARD, would very probably have been one of those designated by the term 'mes compagnons', and would therefore, according to Chrestien, have been partially responsible for the TEMPLE.

In conclusion, one may only say that the evidence that Grévin wrote the TEMPLE DE RONSARD seems overwhelming. Not only does the text itself point to him as a possible author, but four contemporary references - from Binet, Ronsard, 'Guymara' and Chrestien - all of whom knew Grévin well, concur in indicating him as the author.

8: GREVIN MARRIES

Although details are few, we know that, at some point between 1561, when Grévin was still writing love poetry for Olimpe,²¹⁴ and August 1564, Grévin married. This information comes from a number of sources, the earliest being perhaps a sonnet in the PRECEPTES DE PLUTARCH. These precepts were apparently first published in 1558, but since no copy of the first edition has been located, there can be no certainty that this poem was included in it (the only edition of the PRECEPTES known to scholars today apparently dates from after Grévin's death). In this sonnet, addressed 'A.S.F.' - possibly 'à sa femme' - Grévin speaks to a woman whom he evidently intends to marry. Lines 9-11, referring to Grévin's PRECEPTES, reads:

Prens le donc jusqu'à tant, que d'un plus grand courage,
Tu recevras de moy plus suffisant gaige
Tesmoing de l'amitié qui serre nos deux cœurs. 215

As there is no certain indication as to when this poem was written, and none at all concerning the intended recipient, this poem gives little information about Grévin's marriage. Other sources are more informative. 'Gymara', in his Ad J. Grovellum [...] admonitio (1564), says that Grévin stole: 'pecuniam [...] quam uxor tibi domum attulit'.²¹⁶ From Colletet's evidence concerning Grévin's employment as doctor to Margaret of France, we learn that Grévin, before leaving France in 1567, had already had more than one child. For, asking Grévin to become her doctor, Margaret of France 'l'appela auprès de sa personne à Turin, luy, sa femme et ses enfans'.²¹⁷ It is possible that Grévin's wife's name was

Anne, if the two love sonnets of the SONNETS D'ANGLETERRE ET DE FLANDRE,²¹⁸ written around 1567, are, as seems likely, addressed to his wife.

A final reference to Grévin's wife is made in the Commentaires manuscrits de la Faculté de Medecine, where it is recorded that, at the annual meeting of the Faculté de Medecine for the year 1568, a request was made that, Grévin being absent, a sum of money owing to him, presumably for teaching, should be paid to his wife.²¹⁹ This passage tells us little about Grévin's wife, although it does indicate that, when he went abroad in 1567 - to England, Antwerp and finally Turin - his wife remained behind, presumably only joining him in Turin, in or after 1568.

9: MEDICAL AND POETIC PRODUCTIONS 1564-1567

The years following the quarrel over the TEMPLE DE RONSARD were productive ones for Grévin, both in the poetic and, more particularly, in the medical fields.

(i) The Tombeau d'Eleonor de Roye of 1564

A Tombeau for Eleonor de Roye, first wife of the Prince de Condé, which is included in the EPISTRE D'UNE DEMOISELLE FRANÇOISE A UNE SIENNE AMIE, was shown by F.Lachèvre to be by Grévin mainly on the grounds that the Tombeau itself is signed 'J.G.'. Grévin had already used these initials in the RESPONSE AUX CALOMNIES N'AGUERES MALICIEUSEMENT INVENTEES CONTRE J[ACQUES] G[REVIN]. Moreover, the other poems in this

collection are written by friends and acquaintances of his. As Lachèvre points out, the prose EPISTRE D'UNE DEMOISELLE FRANÇOISE A UNE SIENNE AMIE, signed 'J.D.V.', was probably written by Jeanne de Vulcob, the niece of Jacques Bochetel. Jacques Bochetel, as we know from the SONNETS D'ANGLETERRE ET DE FLANDRE,²²⁰ was to help Grévin during his stay in England. Jeanne de Vulcob was also related to Jean de Vulcob, a friend of Grévin, to whom he dedicates two sonnets of the SONNETS D'ANGLETERRE ET DE FLANDRE.²²¹ The quatrains that follow the Tombeau are signed J.M. There seems little doubt that these initials designate Jan Marchant who, as Lachèvre also notes,²²² had signed with the same initials the epistle heading Grévin's RESPONSE AUX CALOMNIES.²²³

(ii) The pamphlets against Charpentier

Soon after Grévin's break with Ronsard, he seems also to have severed another friendship, this time with Jacques Charpentier, a native of Clermont like Grévin himself and, again like him, a doctor in Paris. In 1561 Grévin had published a poem in honour of Charpentier's marriage to a certain Catharine Charlot, and had spoken highly of Charpentier.²²⁴ Yet, only a few years later, a number of pamphlets appeared as a result of a quarrel between them. Three of these pamphlets are extant and there is little doubt that others are lost.

It is important first to work out the probable chronological order of publication of these pamphlets. The

first would seem to have been a comic satirical work by Grévin, later to be referred to as a 'pantagruelism'. This work, which is now lost, is referred to in one of the later pamphlets against Grévin,²²⁵ and also in one by Grévin himself.²²⁶ Although Grévin does not admit authorship of this pantagruelism, his defence of the pamphlet and approbation of the author²²⁷ suggest that he may, nevertheless, have written it. The second is probably a reply by Charpentier, also lost. Third comes the RESPONSIO AD J. CARPENTARII CALUMNIAS, which bears the date 'idib. Aug. M. D. LXIIII' - the Ides of August or 13th August, 1564. This pamphlet is anonymous, and bears no publisher's name. We may, however, be certain that it is by Grévin because the reply to it, the Ad J.Grovellum de famosis libellis contra Carpentarium editis admonitio M.A.Guymaræ, clearly identifies him.²²⁸ This RESPONSIO slanders Charpentier: Grévin does not, however, make clear the causes of their argument, nor, indeed, does he give any reason to justify his attack.

Soon afterwards, on 27th August 1564, Grévin received a reply, the Ad J.Grovellum [...] admonitio. This pamphlet, of which a copy is to be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale, has never been studied, and its connection with Grévin has not previously been known.

Finally, still in 1564, Grévin published another pamphlet against Charpentier, the RESPONSE AUX CALOMNIES DE M.A.GUYMARA. The accompanying dedicatory epistle, by Jan Marchant, a close friend of Grévin, is dated 8th September 1564.²²⁹ Elizabeth Lapeyre, in her recent edition of Grévin's comedies, seems to

have confused this pamphlet with the earlier *RESPONSIO AD J. CARPENTARII CALUMNIAS*, mistakenly assuming that both titles refer to the same work.²³⁰

In the preface to the *RESPONSE AUX CALOMNIES*, Jan Marchant informs the reader that Charpentier began the quarrel through jealousy of Grévin's medical success, and that, mistakenly thinking that Grévin had written a pamphlet against him, Charpentier slandered him.²³¹ In the *RESPONSE AUX CALOMNIES* itself, Grévin mentions that Guymara had changed his (Grévin's) surname: 'Falsifiant le nom de tout mon parentage',²³² an evident reference to the pamphlet titled Ad J. Grovellum.

The tone of the *RESPONSE AUX CALOMNIES* is violent, and his authorship of this pamphlet was to have serious consequences for Grévin, for once he left France a second time to journey to England, Charpentier was to take his revenge on him.

(iii) Grévin's medical work on anatomy

In 1564 Grévin produced his first medical work, the *ANATOMES TOTIUS [...] DELINEATIO*. This is, in fact, little more than an annotated edition of Thomas Geminus's Compendiosa totius Anatomie delineatio ære exarata,²³³ itself an edition of Vesalius's work. This work is dedicated, not by Grévin, but by André Wechel, the publisher, to Philippe de Boulainvilliers-Dammartin, Count of Courtenay and of Faucamberge. The Latin verse by Jodelle, the only dedicatory

verse written for this book, is also addressed to the same person. It is interesting, though, to note that Jodelle's name comes before that of Jacques Grévin, alongside Vesalius. Perhaps this is an indication of the extent to which Grévin's reputation suffered in medical circles as a result of his quarrel with Charpentier, and suffered also in other circles as a result of his still recent quarrel with Ronsard.

The following year²³⁴ Christophe Plantin published, in Antwerp, a work called the Vivæ imagines partium corporis humani æreis formis expressæ; this work finishes with a reproduction of Grévin's anatomical work under the title: Partium corporis tum simplicium, tum compositarum brevis elucidatio. In 1568 Plantin produced another edition, this time in Flemish: Anatomie, oft levende beelden van de deelen des menschelicken lichaems. met de verclaringhe van dien, in de neder duytsche spraecke.²³⁵

(iv) The debate about antimony

The next year, in 1566, Grévin entered upon yet another quarrel, this time over the qualities - and defects - of antimony, a drug then newly discovered, and which contained mercury. Loys de Launay, from La Rochelle, had written a work praising the attributes of antimony.²³⁶ In reply Grévin wrote the DISCOURS SUR LES VERTUS ET FACULTEZ DE L'ANTIMOINE, a work that strongly criticised antimony, calling it a poison. At the beginning of the work Grévin informs his reader that it was only with difficulty that he managed to find Loys de Launay's work; finally, after much searching, he found someone who was

willing to lend him a copy for some ten or twelve hours, and as a result he had been able to write his own DISCOURS SUR LES VERTUS ET FACULTEZ DE L'ANTIMOINE.²³⁷ Grévin dedicated it to François de Carnavalet 'chevalier de l'ordre du Roy et gouverneur de monsieur' ('monsieur' being the future Henri III, son of Henri II). François de Carnavalet was also known as M. de Kernoverry. Grévin's dedicatory epistle is dated 1st January 1566.²³⁸ On 29th July 1566, the Faculté de Medecine decreed that antimony was a poison.²³⁹ It would seem that after this decree had been passed, a certain Jean Baptiste du Mesnil, the king's advocate, said in the Paris 'parlement', holding Launay's defence of antimony in his hand, that this drug should not too rapidly be classified as a poison.²⁴⁰ Evidently, however, his case was unsuccessful, for the 'parlement' the same year forbade the use of antimony except on the advice of a doctor. Eloy, in his medical dictionary, states that this prohibition was above all due to Grévin:

Grévin regardoit l'usage intérieur de l'antimoine comme une pratique dangereuse [...] On eut égard à ses remonstrances, l'antimoine fut banni de la Médecine par un Décret de la Faculté de Paris, confirmé par un Arrêt du Parlement. 241

In retaliation Loys de Launay wrote a Response au Discours de maistre Jacques Grévin, containing an epistle which is dated 1st December 1566 and which is dedicated to Jean Baptiste du Mesnil, advocate for the king in the 'parlement', the very man who had defended Launay's first book. In this reply Loys de Launay criticises Grévin and indeed insults him frequently.²⁴²

There are references to Grévin's poetic distractions.

Addressing Grévin, Launay says:

Je ne jouay jamais farce: & ne fus jamais badin, pour
faire rire le monde. 243

or again, referring to Grévin's comments that he had wasted his time penning a reply to Launay:

Je suis bien marri, qu'il ne vous à autant agrée, que la beauté de vostre Olympe: & que n'y avez pris autant de plaisir, que à vos baisers.

or, later:

Qu'eust dit Venus, avec ses graces? qu'eust dit Cupido vostre grand patron? 244

Such criticisms, and there are many more in the same vein, were calculated to irritate Grévin.

Another passage addressing Grévin, which would seem to allude to Grévin's quarrels with Ronsard and with Charpentier, reads:

[...] estez versé à telle maledicences, & scurrulitez. 245

This, too was calculated to annoy Grévin, and it is not, moreover, the only reference made to Grévin's skill in the 'art' of quarrelling, for Launay adds, referring to his own 'fight' against Grévin:

Que feroit un pigmée, contre un hercules, un nouveau soldad, contre un vieux routier de guerre? 246

One might ask why the tone of Loys de Launay's reply is so bitter. The reason that Launay gives us is that he had been assaulted by 'injures atroces'.²⁴⁷ In his DISCOURS SUR LES VERTUS ET FACULTEZ DE L'ANTIMOINE, Grévin is certainly restrained and polite, but Launay may have considered the fact that this work was sent directly to him from Paris an insult in itself. The letters which accompanied this book, too, written anonymously according to Launay, and now, unfortunately, lost, may well have been critical and virulent.

Launay's reply did not remain unanswered. Grévin responded

some months later with a SECOND DISCOURS SUR LES VERTUS ET FACULTEZ DE L'ANTIMOINE. This work appeared without a date, but the dedicatory epistle comes from Paris, on 25th August 1567. Here Grévin defends not only his ideas, but also his poetry and his medicine, all of which had been attacked in Launay's reply. First he produces letters from four eminent doctors, Jean de Gorris, Nicolas Legrand, Simon Pierre and Guillaume Plancy. In the preface, mentioning that he received Launay's Response au Discours de maistre Jacques Grévin on 5th February,²⁴⁸ he asks himself why Launay had been so venomous, and what insults he was complaining about. He rebukes Launay for criticising the doctors of Paris, and questioning their disinterestedness.²⁴⁹ Next he maintains that the greatest men were also poets, and defends the writing of poetry.²⁵⁰ As well as defending himself, Grévin also criticises Launay. He comments on Launay's statement that, when he found himself unable to prevent his patients from dying of the plague, the idea of using antimony was suggested to him by a passer-by, adding:

Estudies donques, maistre Baudet, & vostre ignorance & malice quiteront paraventure la place qu'elles se sont acquises en vostre bestialle cervelle [...] Lisez les bons livres, & ne vous arrestez plus à suyvre l'opinion du barbier & du passant. 251

Grévin next refers to Launay's comment that he gave antimony to a barber to try out on his patients:

Mais vous avez escrit que c'estoyent pauvres de l'hospital, envers lesquels vous pouviez esprouver vostre drogue. Qui vous a donné pouvoir de les tuer? Est-ce que vous soyez advoué le bourreau public de vostre ville? 252

Despite such barbs as this, however, Launay made no further

reply, or, at least, none that has come down to us.

In his SECOND DISCOURS, Grévin mentions a poem by Du Bellay against Rivaudeau (who had, in Launay's Response, published a poem criticising Grévin) which had been given to Pierre Hamon, and had since come into Grévin's hands. Unfortunately, no trace of any such poem has been found; it may, as R. Lebègue suggests, have been lost by Grévin during his later travels.²⁵³

From this exchange of pamphlets between Grévin and Loys de Launay we gain one additional piece of information about Grévin's life. We are told that Grévin, as well as being a doctor, taught at the University of Paris. For Grévin, in his SECOND DISCOURS, mentions that he has discussed the poisonous qualities of lead 'en mes leçons'.²⁵⁴

Therefore, by 1566 at the latest, Grévin had become a teacher - since Launay indicates that Grévin was living in Paris, it seems likely that it was at the University of Paris. Launay, too, in his reply to Grévin's DISCOURS, refers to Grévin's teaching, for here, ironically stressing Grévin's 'superiority', Launay writes: 'Vous lisez aux écoles. Je ne sçay pas lire',²⁵⁵ an evident reference to this.

A book on the subject of antimony from Grévin's library has survived. This work, first discovered by Charlier,²⁵⁶ consists of five treatises by Agricola on mineralogy. There are a number of manuscript notes, written, Charlier believes,²⁵⁷ by Jacques Grévin in preparation for his DISCOURS DE L'ANTIMOINE and for his DEUX LIVRES DE VENINS, a work that was not to appear until 1568. Equally interesting is the fact

that this book also passed through Ronsard's library, for it contains this poet's signature. Presumably Grévin gave it to Ronsard before their quarrel: later Ronsard, keeping the book, seems to have attempted to scratch out Grévin's name.²⁵⁸

(v) The PROEME SUR L'HISTOIRE DES FRANÇOIS ET HOMMES VERTUEUX

Between the two publications by Grévin on the subject of antimony are a number of other productions. At the beginning of 1567 Grévin published anonymously the PROEME SUR L'HISTOIRE DES FRANÇOIS ET HOMMES VERTUEUX DE LA MAISON DE MEDICI, dedicated on 1st January 1567 to the Queen Mother. Again, we can be sure that this is by Grévin, mainly because a number of early biographers name it as his. Grudé de la Croix du Maine includes it in a list of this poet's works,²⁵⁹ as does Du Verdier.²⁶⁰ Colletet, too, mentions it, writing of Grévin:

Il composa encore un poème intitulé Proeme sur l'histoire des françois et hommes vertueux dans la maison de Médicis en faveur de la reyne Catherine femme du roy Henry second. Quoi que le nom de Grévin n'y soit pas, si est ce que je sçay par tradition que c'est une véritable production de son esprit. 261

Moreover Renouard²⁶² states that he has seen a copy bearing the lines: 'Eruditissimo viro Domino Danieli Rogers. D.D. Jacobus Grevinus medicus Parisiensis' written in Grévin's own hand.

A. Pinvert in his work Clermontois et Beauvoisais, has reproduced the PROEME.²⁶³

(vi) The CINQ LIVRES, a translation of Wier

Grévin also published his CINQ LIVRES DE L'IMPOSTURE ET TROMPERIE DES DIABLES, a translation into French of a long Latin treatise by Wier. The 'privilege du Roy' is dated 23rd June 1566, and we are informed that it was 'parachevée d'imprimer le penultime jour du mois d'Avril 1567'. In an epistle dated 12th April,²⁶⁴ Grévin dedicates his work to the Duke of Anjou, the king's brother, and the future Henry III.²⁶⁵ Grévin says that he had known the Duke's doctor Millet; this was, in fact, the very doctor who had, as Pinvert notes,²⁶⁶ presided over his doctorate. This doctor had informed Grévin that the duke was interested in the subject of sorcery, and it was because of this that Grévin undertook the translation. It was very successful, and was reprinted early in 1570. It was apparently also reprinted one year later under the title: Histoires, disputes et discours des illusions et impostures des diables, in Geneva.²⁶⁷ Grévin's work received strong praise from Colletet.²⁶⁸

(vii) Dedicatory poem for the Count of Soissons

In 1567 Grévin also wrote a preliminary poem for the DEUX HYMNES GENETHLIAQUES FAICTS SUR LA NAISSANCE DE MONSEIGNEUR LE COMTE DE SOISSONS (one of these two hymns is by Florent Chrestien, the other by Antoine de Caracciolo, Prince of Melphe). The sonnet by Grévin, which bears the title Sonnet à Monseigneur le Comte de Soissons, and was discovered by F.Lachèvre,²⁶⁹ praises the count's father, the

Prince of Condé, and mentions the hopes born in the heart of France as a result of the birth of this heir.

(viii) Preliminary sonnet to Federic Jamot, 1567

In this same year, Grévin also wrote another preliminary poem, this time a rather undistinguished sonnet for a medical treatise, the TRAITTE DE LA GOUTTE, written by a certain Jamot.²⁷⁰

(ix) LA PREMIERE, ET LA SECONDE PARTIE DES DIALOGUES
FRANÇOIS

Grévin produced other works in 1567, published by Christophe Plantin, in Antwerp. The earliest of these is LA PREMIERE, ET LA SECONDE PARTIE DES DIALOGUES FRANÇOIS, POUR LES JEUNES ENFANS. This was a book designed to teach French to Flemish school children. One copy is in the Plantin-Moretus museum, in Antwerp, and another in the Bibliothèque Nationale.²⁷¹ Preceding the dialogues is some preliminary poetry, giving several details about Plantin's own life. These poems suggest that Plantin is the author of these DIALOGUES FRANÇOIS, but we learn from Plantin's Livres de Commerce that, in fact, Grévin is the author.²⁷²

In one of these, the Journal des affaires for 1565, we are told that in June of that year Plantin paid Grévin for 'les colloques du langage françois'.²⁷³ Further evidence of this transaction, and therefore of the authorship of the DIALOGUES FRANÇOIS, can

be found in the Grand livre des Affaires,²⁷⁴ where we are also informed that 1,500 copies of this work were printed. A third manuscript, the Libro de la stampa, kept, as Pinvert tells us, by an Italian, reads:

MDLXV. Colloques françoys. Dievo dare aujourd'hui,
 4 juillet, à Christophe Plantin; L. s. 16. 8., avance
 à bon compte à M^e Jaques Grevin. 275

We may be sure, therefore, from three separate pieces of evidence, that the DIALOGUES are by Grévin, and also that he had started to write them by 1565. Pinvert believes that the introductory poems are also by Grévin; Plantin, he feels, could not have written them.²⁷⁶ He does not give his reasons, but consideration of the poems certainly suggests a style reminiscent of Grévin,²⁷⁷ and is far superior to Plantin's poetry.

The translation of the DIALOGUES into Flemish is by Peter Kerkhovius, and Corneille de Bomberghe.²⁷⁸ Towards the end of this work, a note dated 18th December 1566 states that Plantin, persuaded by some friends, decided to add four more dialogues,²⁷⁹ and these do not seem to be by Grévin.

(x) Grévin's translation of the EMBLESME DU SIGNEUR JEHAN
 SAMBUCUS

In 1567 Plantin also published Grévin's translation LES EMBLESME DU SIGNEUR JEHAN SAMBUCUS. TRADUITS DE LATIN EN FRANÇOIS, with a privilege dated 24th February 1567. In these no mention is made of the translator's name: Plantin, in the preliminary address, dated 25th October 1566, makes no reference to Grévin. There seems to be little doubt, however,

that this work is by him, mainly because most early biographers attribute it to him. Grudé de la Croix de Maine²⁸⁰ and Nicéron²⁸¹ mention the work in their lists of this poet's writings. Ruelens and de Backer further mention a second edition of this work, dated 1568.²⁸²

(xi) The EMBLESMES D'ADRIEN LE JEUNE

In 1567, Grévin's translation of the EMBLESMES D'ADRIEN LE JEUNE was published. Pinvert, in his thesis, indicates that this original volume of 1567, as mentioned by Ruelens and de Backer,²⁸³ is now lost.²⁸⁴ I have, however, been able to locate a copy in the Henry E. Huntington library in San Marino, California, bound with Grévin's translation of the EMBLESMES DU SIGNEUR JEHAN SAMBUCUS.²⁸⁵ There are a number of differences between this first edition and the copy of a later edition which was known to Pinvert, one of these being that this first copy was printed without mention of the translator's name. The preliminary epistle is not by Grévin, but by Christophe Plantin. Addressing a certain Arnold Cobel, Plantin says that:

Un mien ami, aussi medecin bien experimenté, docte es
langues, & en tous arts liberaux [...] 286

gave him this translation (there is little difficulty in identifying Grévin here).

In the 1570 edition, Grévin addresses a new dedication to M. de la Forest, the French king's ambassador in England. In it he refers to a journey to England, which is clearly distinct from the journey he had made in 1561, and also gives

a precise date, 20th October 1567,²⁸⁷ on which he was in Antwerp.

10: GREVIN IN ENGLAND AND BELGIUM

The date on which the dedicatory epistle of the SECOND DISCOURS SUR L'ANTIMOINE was signed, 25th August 1567, is the last day on which we can be sure Grévin was in France. After leaving France Grévin went to England. One important piece of evidence is the first line of the dedication of the later editions of the EMBLESMES D'ADRIEN LE JEUNE, where Grévin writes, referring to recent events:

Monsieur, lors que je partis de France pour passer en
Angleterre [...]

288

This dedication was written in Antwerp in 1567 - probably very soon after Grévin's arrival there - and therefore suggests that he went to England before going to Antwerp. We know that Grévin's journey to England must have taken place around 1567 because Grévin writes, in his SONNETS D'ANGLETERRE ET DE FLANDRE, that, during the second French civil war (which started around 26th September 1567²⁸⁹):

[...] loing des malheurs j'habitois l'Angleterre, [...]
Là je fu retiré du meilleu de mes peines,
Receu et bien-vollu par les faveurs humaines
D'un grand enbassadeur, l'honneur des Bouchetelz. 290

Bouchetelz, or Jacques Bouchetel, Sieur de la Forest-Thaumyère, was, as Dorez points out in his publication of these sonnets,²⁹¹ French ambassador in England in 1567. Thus, although this particular sonnet was probably written later, most of the others must have been composed in England during

the year 1567.²⁹² At some time between 25th August, when he was in Paris, and 20th October 1567, therefore, it seems likely, Grévin went to England. In sonnet 13 Grévin says that he left of his own free will:

France, ma douce mère, hélas! je t'ay laissé,
Non sans ung grand regret et une longue plainte,
Non sans avoyr au cœur une douleur enprainte,
Et un long pensement mille foys repensé,

Ce n'est point pour avoyr ton repos offencé,
Ou plain d'esprit vangeur et de cholère feinte
Avoyr dedans le cœur d'une poitrine attaincte
Trop inhumainement ung glayve outrepasé.

Onques je nu fus tel de fait ny de pensée,
Je n'ay point pour cella ma maison delaissée,
Pour aller demourer en ung estrange lieu:

Mais voiant le repos, o France, te desplaire,
Voiant jointe au cousteau la parolle de Dieu
Pour cella j'ay choisy ung exil vollontaire. 293

Finally, we learn from sonnet 7 of the SONNETS

D'ANGLETERRE ET DE FLANDRE that, continuing his travels abroad, Grévin visited Hainault, Brabant, Flanders and Artois.²⁹⁴

The Plantin-Moretus museum contains a copy of LE THEATRE of 1561 which had been corrected by Grévin in his own hand at some point during his stay in Antwerp.²⁹⁵ Only the three plays Cesar, La Tresoriere and Les Esbahis, were altered, and LA PASTORALE, already reprinted in the 1560 L'OLIMPE, was added. It would seem, therefore, that Grévin intended to prepare his work for a new edition of his theatre alone - neither the sonnets of the Olimpe II, nor those of the

Gelodacrye II were touched. Although most of the alterations are of little importance,²⁹⁶ several are interesting, particularly Grévin's suppression of the passage in which he mentions how much his teacher Muret²⁹⁷ had influenced him in his plays, and his increased emphasis on the influence of the Ancients.

11: GREVIN IN TURIN

We soon find Grévin on the move again, this time travelling to Turin, where he was employed by Margaret of France and her husband, Philibert-Emmanuel. Grudé de la Croix du Maine mistakenly says that he was attached to the Duchess of Ferrara, but a note by M. de la Monnoye corrects this error.²⁹⁸ We do not know exactly when he went to Turin. The dedication of the EMBLESMES D'ADRIEN LE JEUNE shows that on 20th October he was still in Antwerp; he may have left soon afterwards, for the DEUX LIVRES DE VENINS, also published in Antwerp, includes a note to the effect that this work, which was printed in October 1567, contains many faults due to 'l'absence de l'Autheur, lequel n'a peu voir les corrections'.²⁹⁹

There are a number of references to Grévin, in Turin, becoming the doctor of Margaret of France. Colletet writes, referring to Grévin:

Cette vertueuse princesse [Margaret of France] ayant connu son mérite par ses escrits, le retint pour son médecin ordinaire, l'appela auprès de sa personne à Turin, luy, sa femme et ses enfants, le gratifia d'une charge de conseiller d'estat de Piedmont et de Savoye, et se servit de son ministère en plusieurs affaires

importantes à sa personne et à son estat. 300

These lines are confirmed by a document in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Titres, where, among the Pièces Originales, is a short note about Grévin, which reads:

Marguerite de Savoye, le retint pour son médecin et le retira à sa court à Turin, sa femme et ses enfants: et le fit conseiller d'Estat de Savoie et Piedmont. 301

Originally the manuscript had had the words 'son enfant', but this was afterwards corrected.

About that sojourn in Turin little is known. Samuel Guichenon gives us one further detail. He tells us that Grévin was one of the teachers of Charles-Emmanuel, the only son of Philibert-Emmanuel, born in 1562.³⁰² His authority is a manuscript by Charles-Emmanuel himself, written in Latin.³⁰³

(i) The DEUX LIVRES DE VENINS

In 1568, while Grévin was in the service of Margaret of France, Plantin published a medical work, the DEUX LIVRES DE VENINS. This work is dedicated to Elizabeth I of England, and praises her for her love of the arts. The DEUX LIVRES contain much elegant poetic translation, for Grévin, quoting extensively from various Greek and Latin authors, translated these citations into French, sometimes entire pages. We learn from Plantin's Correspondance that the printing of the DEUX LIVRES had begun in November 1565, but was delayed due to a lack of paper until July 1567.³⁰⁴ Chapter twenty-four of book 2 of these DEUX LIVRES DE VENINS is a summary of the quarrel between Grévin and the doctor Loys de Launay, and of the former's grounds for asserting that antimony was a poison.

This publication also contains the Œuvres de Nicandre, a translation of two poems by Nicander into French. The author of the Histoire du Theatre françois assumes that Ronsard's line in the Elegie à Jacques Grévin (1561), 'Tu voulus sçavoir des herbes la nature',³⁰⁵ refers to Grévin's interest in Nicander.³⁰⁶ A more obvious reference, however, is in one of the preliminary poems in LE THEATRE of 1561, this by a certain Marguerite D.L.³⁰⁷ Here, we find the lines:

Car soit que plus gravement
Tu rendes François Nicandre [...] 308

In the preliminary epistle of the DEUX LIVRES DE VENINS, Grévin says that he had developed an interest in Nicander some six or seven years earlier (this must have been around 1561) and had decided to translate his poems. For his translation he had been forced to look at numerous other books on the same subject and eventually, deciding to make an original contribution, he wrote the DEUX LIVRES DE VENINS.³⁰⁹

At the end of this work the two poems by Nicander are placed: Grévin dedicates the translation itself to Jean de Gorris, who had been the first in France to translate Nicander. De Thou praises Grévin's translation, writing:

Il traduisit en vers françois Nicandre, dont Jean de Gorris nous avoit donné une traduction Latine très-élégante; & l'on peut dire que la traduction françoise de Grevin ne le cede en rien au grec de Nicandre ni au latin de Gorris. 310

This poetry has a separate title page, bearing the date 1567, although it does not seem to have had an edition previous to that, in 1568, with the DEUX LIVRES DE VENINS.

(ii) The 1568 meeting of the Faculté de Medecine

While Grévin was absent, on 6th November 1568, the annual meeting of the Faculté de Medecine de Paris took place. The Dean there was Jacques Charpentier, with whom, as we know, he had quarrelled. Since Grévin was away from France, a friend of his, Rousselet, spoke in his name on the subject of a sum of money owing to Grévin. Rousselet suggested that, since Grévin was absent, this sum of money should be paid to his wife. Instead of agreeing, it was demanded, and apparently as a direct result of the question, that before this money be paid, a profession of Roman Catholic faith should be made by Grévin. It was also proposed that a religious oath be taken by all 'docteurs régents' who had not already done so.³¹¹ Grévin's name is still on the list of doctors for this year, but it is the last time. Referring to the annual meeting for the year 1569, held on 10th November of that year, the Commentaires manuscrits do not include Grévin's name on the list of doctors, but there is a brief mention that the names of non-Catholics have been eradicated from the list of doctors.

It is interesting to note that the name of Jean de Gorris, who had written one of the dedicatory letters of recommendation for Grévin's SECOND DISCOURS, and to whom Grévin had just dedicated the DEUX LIVRES DE VENINS, was eradicated from this list at the same time. A doctor like Grévin, and a Calvinist, it may be that Grévin had dedicated this work to him through some sense of comradeship, since they were both then the object of discriminatory measures.

(iii) The PORTRAITS ANATOMIQUES

Even though his name had been eradicated from the list of doctors, Grévin was still able to practise his profession; when, in 1569, he published the PORTRAITS ANATOMIQUES, the French translation of the ANATOMES TOTIUS [...] DELINEATIO by Vesalius, he still wrote 'medecin à Paris'. But this work had no preliminary poetry, and no dedication. This ban must certainly have caused him much grief.

Grévin's reason for translating this work is, as he says in the Avertissement au lecteur, twofold. First he wants:

d'aider en partie, voire d'enrichir, s'il m'est possible, nostre langue. 312

The second reason is to aid those who have not learnt the classical languages, but are 'récompensez au double par un bon naturel'.³¹³ This translation is completed by an original chapter, 'La Méthodique Division et dénombrement de toutes les parties du corps humain.'

(iv) The Tombeau for the Prince of Condé

In 1569, Grévin also contributed to a Tombeau for the Prince of Condé (he had, as I have noted, previously commemorated the death of this prince's first wife in 1564.) His poems for the Prince appear in the work LETTRES ET REMONSTRANCE AU ROY, PAR FEU TRES-HAUT, TRES-UISSANT & TRES-ILLUSTRE PRINCE DU SANG, LOUYS DE BOURBON, PRINCE DE CONDE. Writing the first of the epitaphs which form the Prince's Tombeau, Grévin signs himself 'J.G.D.C.' (Jacques Grévin de

Clermont).³¹⁴ The other poems written by him are signed simply J.G.³¹⁵ This collection contains a very interesting poem, the Adieu à la France.³¹⁶ Here Grévin describes his sadness at leaving France. A number of autobiographical details are interesting. For instance, Grévin tells us that he has been wandering, absent from France, for two years:

L'œil annuel qui mipartit tousjours
 Du haut du ciel la carriere des jours,
 A veu le chef de la seconde année
 Par un long fil lentement retournée:

J'ay voyagé cà & là cependant
 Par terre & mer, l'alme paix attendant [...] 317

Since Grévin started his travels around August 1567, we can assume that this poem was written towards the end of 1569 (see 1.3 of the above quotation). The emphasis throughout is on peace. The poet begs earnestly for an end to bloodshed, and deplures the fact that he will find only torment in France.³¹⁸

(v) The second edition of the CINQ LIVRES

In 1570 another edition of the CINQ LIVRES DE L'IMPOSTURE ET TROMPERIE DES DIABLES appeared, again in Paris, published by Jacques du Puys. Although the work is dated 1569, the 'parachevé d'imprimer' is given as 13th January 1570. In this edition some, though not all, of the misprints listed in the 1567 edition have been corrected; the style of printing has been modernised, 's' replacing the older 'ʃ', and 'm' or 'n' being written instead of the nasal sign '̃'. The literary style is also adjusted on occasion. One example is in the first line of the first page, where the words 'Ayant

à expliquer [...] are replaced by 'Puis que j'ay entrepris d'expliquer [...]'. These, however, remain minimal, and there are no substantial alterations to the content.

(vi) The 24 SONNETS SUR ROMME

We know that Grévin, at some point during his stay in Turin as Margaret of Savoy's doctor, visited Rome. We do not know why he went there, although the 24 SONNETS SUR ROMME seem to suggest that it was simply through a desire to see the eternal city. These sonnets, not surprisingly, perhaps, are dedicated to Margaret of France. In the 1560 L'OLIMPE, we had learnt that Grévin had, in fact, already written about Rome:

Mais le Temps envieux, envieux de mon bien,
S'opposant contre moi, a converti en rien
Ce que j'avoy tracé, & d'une faulse craincte
De l'euvre commencé, tira la main contraincte. 319

Some 'faulse crainte', then, had caused this work to be destroyed; these poems that were destroyed could not be the surviving Sonnets sur Rome. Moreover, it seems almost certain that these were written during the time Grévin spent in Turin for, in one of the sonnets, Grévin says that he had heard so much about Rome:

Que soudain j'eus desir d'en voir la verité,
Je passay l'Appenin [...] 320

Had he been coming from France, Grévin would also have mentioned crossing the Alps - far more noteworthy than the Appennines: it seems thus almost certain that these SONNETS SUR ROMME were written between 1567 and his death.

These short poems are very attractive. As Tricotel, who

first discovered them, wrote that they are:

une des œuvres les plus remarquables de Grevin. Le spectacle des ruines de la ville éternelle lui inspire de beaux vers pleins de vigueur et d'énergie, et qui peuvent lutter sans trop de désavantage avec ceux que Du Bellay écrivait à Rome quelques années auparavant. 321

In these sonnets Grévin mentions his hatred of Rome. This is not, perhaps, surprising since already in 1561 he had expressed reservations about the eternal city, even prior to seeing it.

In the Gelodacrye II he had said that he had no wish to see Rome:

[...] je pensoy'que Romme
Fust le commencement du paradis de l'homme:
Mais comme je puis voir, j'ay bien esté trompé.

Ha! je ne veux donc plus desormais qu'on procure
De m'y faire courir, quand Patouillet m'asseure
Que celuy est heureux qui en est eschappé. 322

The whole tone of the SONNETS SUR ROMME is one of melancholy. We note disillusionment, sadness and a desire for death - this is particularly evident in the last sonnet, where Grévin says that time destroys everything, even Rome:

Je vivrai donc content entre tant de malheurs,
Que si le temps met fin à ce qui est en terre,
Possible mettra il la fin à mes douleurs. 323

While in Turin, Grévin had another child, possibly a third, as we know from Colletet that he had already had at least two children.³²⁴ This baby, a girl, was named Marguerite Emmanuelle, after Margaret of France who was, as we learn, her godmother, and after Philibert Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy. She was, moreover, his only daughter, according to Colletet, who mentions this

fille unique à laquelle elle [Margaret of France] avoit
donné sur les sacrés fants du baptême le nom de
Marguerite Emmanuelle [...] 325

12: GREVIN'S DEATH IN TURIN

According to Jacques-Auguste de Thou, Grévin died on 5th November 1570;³²⁶ Colletet dates this death on 15th of the same month.³²⁷ Most biographers accept De Thou's dating.³²⁸ A slightly different date is, however, also given in a letter sent to De Thou by a certain Lenormant,³²⁹ who, we learn from this same letter, was a close friend of Grévin, and who had married his widow. Lenormant states that Grévin died on 7th October 1570, aged 30, and that he was buried in Turin. It would seem, however, that De Thou, after receiving this letter, probably obtained more reliable information, which enabled him to determine the date of Grévin's death as 5th November.

We do not know how he died, but Grévin himself explained in his writings that he was frequently ill and subject to fevers.³³⁰ One such illness might well have been the cause of his death.

Margaret of France was, it would seem, greatly saddened by Grévin's death; she had, she said, lost a doctor for her body and a counsellor for her mind. Colletet writes:

Elle le soupira, et crut avoir perdu en lui ce qu'après le prince et sa famille elle avoit de plus cher au monde, et dans ce noble ressentiment elle prit le soin de le faire enterrer avec honneur, voire mesme avec pompe et avec magnificence, et quant à la veuve du défunt et à sa fille unique [...] elle les retint toujours auprès de sa personne autant qu'elle vesquit. 331

From Lenormant's letter we learn more about what happened to Grévin's family after his death. It would seem that Margaret of France enabled Grévin's wife to return to

France,³³² possibly with her older children, but kept his little daughter, Marguerite Emmanuelle, with her in Turin until she herself died in 1574. At this point Grévin's widow, now remarried to Lenormant, sent for her to return to France.

Only one friend back in France seems to have publicly commemorated Grévin when he died. This was Claude Binet, Ronsard's biographer, who wrote a Complaincte sur le trespas de Jacques Grevin de Clermont en Beauvaisis,³³³ in which the sincerity of his sorrow can be seen - for instance in the last two verses of this poem:

Quant à moy mon Grevin, ou soit que dans la salle
Du Dieu Plutonien tu face ton sejour,
Ou soit que ja tu sois par grace speciale
Dans le champ Elisé revoltant ton amour:

Je te voue mes vers, & fay à Dieu priere
Qu'il te veuille donner un infini repos,
Et que de ce tombeau la pierre soit legere
Et n'offence jamais la cendre de tez oz. 334

It seems likely that Grévin wrote a substantial amount of poetry which remained unpublished, and is perhaps definitively lost today. Lenormant, in his most informative letter mentioned above and addressed to Lefèvre, the teacher of the Prince of Condé, wrote that he had in his possession some of Grévin's poetry, which it was his intention to publish, but which he could instead give to Lefèvre, if Lefèvre so desired.³³⁵ It does not seem likely that Lenormant published these poems, and it is unfortunate that they are now lost. Two of Grévin's poems, however - one very short - were published posthumously, though seemingly not through Lenormant.

(i) LA PARNASSE DES POETES FRANÇAIS of 1571

LA PARNASSE DES POETES FRANÇAIS (1571) contains a number of pieces by Grévin. One of these - only four lines long - has never been included in any previous list of his works, and was unknown until the present thesis. It is called Louange commune à tous, and reads:

La louange n'est pas tant seulement à un,
De tous elle est hostesse et visite un chacun
Et sans avoir esgard³³⁶ aux biens, ni à la race
Favorisant chacun, un chacun elle embrace.

(ii) POEMES CHRESTIENS DE B. DE MONTMEJA

The collection POEMES CHRESTIENS DE B. DE MONTMEJA, ET AUTRES DIVERS AUTEURS, published by Philippes de Pas in 1574, contains one poem by Grévin, entitled Ode, des biens que les fideles obtiennent par Jésus Christ, par J.G. It is religious, relating the story of the creation of the world, and was reprinted by F. Lachèvre, who discovered it.³³⁷

(iii) Unpublished love poetry

Lachèvre published for the first time a number of love poems in his article 'Poésies inédites de Jacques Grévin'.³³⁸ These - four sonnets and one longer poem - may be found in a manuscript collection which belonged to Jean de Vulcob,³³⁹ to whom the SONNETS D'ANGLETERRE ET DE FLANDRE were also dedicated. It is impossible to say with any certainty when these poems were written. Since the SONNETS D'ANGLETERRE ET DE

FLANDRE, found in a manuscript collection which had belonged to de Vulcob, date from the last years of Grévin's life, these other love sonnets, presumably given by Grévin to de Vulcob at the same time, may well also date from the same period. They may well have been addressed to Grévin's wife.

13: GREVIN'S INTEREST IN POETRY

Pinvert frequently tells us that Grévin, after an illustrious entry into the poetic field, dedicated himself entirely to medicine, and that he considered poetry to be a secondary pursuit, simply a pastime. Referring to Grévin's words in the preface to the Nicander translation,³⁴⁰ for instance, Pinvert writes:

L'amour de la poésie a quitté son cœur avec l'amour
d'Olympe [...] Grévin n'est plus poète, il n'est plus
que médecin. 341

Gaston Varenne, too, seems to have come to the same conclusion.³⁴² It is true that a chronological list of Grévin's writings would give the impression that as the years went by Grévin dedicated himself more and more to medicine. His first years were extremely productive in poetry, with the HYMNE A MONSEIGNEUR LE DAUPHIN, the REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE, the CHANT DE JOIE, LA PASTORALE, the MEDECIN COURTIZAN, L'OLIMPE, the CHANT DU CIGNE, and LE THEATRE, including three plays. The years that followed were less productive in poetry. In 1564, it is true, the poetic TEMPLE DE RONSARD and RESPONSE AUX CALOMNIES DE M.A.GUYMARA appeared. The ANATOMES TOTIUS [...] DELINEATIO, however, is

entirely medical, as are both the DISCOURS SUR L'ANTIMOINE and the SECOND DISCOURS SUR L'ANTIMOINE.

But Grévin remained deeply attached to the Muses. The SECOND DISCOURS defends Grévin's own poetry and also the greatness of poetry in general.³⁴³ In his Abbrége de la Vie de Nicandre, Grévin again allows his love of poetry to manifest itself, for he emphasises this doctor's poetical talent far more than his medical prowess:

Il fut Medecin & Poëte tresexcellent, mis au nombre des sept, lesquels à cause de la gentillesse de leur esprit furent nommés les poëtes de la Pleiade, ou de la Poussiniere. 344

His translations of Nicander are, of course, poetic. The second of these translations, moreover, ends with a further reference to poetry. Addressing Jean de Gorris, Grévin says:

Favorise toujours le nom de ton Grévin,
Qui poursuivant les pas d'une Muse parfette
S'est fait, comme l'auteur, medecin & Poëte:
Favorise moy donc, qui premier des François
Ay montré mon langage à ce Poete Gregeois. 345

Moreover, besides the translations of Nicander, these DEUX LIVRES furnish other proofs of Grévin's love of poetry. They contain many poetic quotations - sometimes extending over two or three pages. Classical poetical quotations have here been translated into French by Grévin. He quotes, moreover, one of Ronsard's love sonnets in this work,³⁴⁶ perhaps regretting his quarrel with Ronsard over the TEMPLE DE RONSARD: he also quotes passages from his own poetry.³⁴⁷

We have, furthermore, seen that, while in Antwerp, Grévin translated into verse two emblem books, the EMBLESMES DE SAMBUCUS and the EMBLEMES D'ADRIEN LE JEUNE. His Tombeau for the Prince of Condé in 1569, and the long poem, the Adieu à la

France, also bear witness to his continuing allegiance to poetry. As we have seen, Lenormant, in the letter to Lefèvre, refers to some additional unpublished, and probably late, poetry of Jacques Grévin.

Finally, Grévin also produced two collections of sonnets during the last years of his life, the SONNETS D'ANGLETERRE ET DE FLANDRE and the 24 SONNETS SUR ROMME. Pinvert suggests that it was because he thought little of poetry that he did not publish these - but there is no evidence of this. Indeed, there are perfectly plausible alternative explanations: these poems were written towards the end of Grévin's life; the SONNETS SUR ROMME were also written in a country in which Grévin had never published any works, and quite possibly did not know any publishers. It would seem very likely that Grévin's intention was not to leave these poems unpublished, but rather to deal with them when he returned either to Antwerp or to Paris, and that only his untimely death prevented their publication.

One might ask why, if Grévin never turned away from poetry, he sometimes made disparaging remarks about it, calling the muse, for instance, a 'jouët des foux' and saying that when he was writing poetry, he was 'mal caut & sage':

Muse jouët des foux, luy résponsdi-je alors,
 Je fus tel voyrement quand les premiers efforts
 De l'amour me tenoyent, & que mal caut & sage,
 Je te donnai les vers de mon aprentissage.
 Qui furent mes esteufs, mes cartes & mes dés,
 Mes plaisirs plus aymés & les plus demandés:
 Et te trompes pourtant si tu eus esperence,
 Que de toy seulement j'auerois la connoissance. 348

Grévin may well have felt forced, because of the criticism he received for writing poetry,³⁴⁹ to claim that he placed poetry

on a lower level than he did medicine.

It seems therefore beyond doubt that poetry remained throughout his life as important as it had been in Grévin's early youth and, perhaps, as important as his medical career.

Chapter 2.

GREVIN'S RELIGIOUS ATTITUDE

Various recent critics have asserted that Grévin was a member of the Reformed Church, and, indeed, it now seems a universally accepted view.¹ None of these modern commentators, however, attempts to provide evidence in support of this claim, and comments that he was a Reformer are of little value in the absence of any real proof. It is interesting to note that, while some of Grévin's contemporaries question his Catholicism, none of them calls him a Reformer, and, for that matter, that very few of his early biographers name him as such. Neither Grudé de la Croix du Maine,² nor Du Verdier,³ who do on occasion mention the religious leanings of those they are investigating, refer to his faith.

The earliest writer to hint that Grévin could have been a Reformer is, so far as I know, the seventeenth century biographer of poets, Guillaume Colletet. Explaining Grévin's reasons for writing the *TEMPLE DE RONSARD*, Colletet states:

Soit qu'il eut dessein d'establir sa réputation naissante sur les ruines d'un autre, soit que favorisant le party huguenot, il eut entrepris ces invectives en hayne des discours de Ronsard sur le sujet des misères de son temps, soit pour quelque autre raison qui nous est incogneau
[...]

However, Colletet's wording is ambiguous here: he does not make

clear whether he believes that Grévin was a Reformer or not.

Later biographers, such as Nicéron⁵ and Baillet,⁶ still mention nothing of Grévin's religious views and, as far as I have been able to establish, the first unequivocal statement of his alleged Reformist sentiment comes from Goujet, who states, in 1748:

Quant à la religion, on a des preuves que Grevin a professé le Calvinisme, & qu'il est mort dans cette religion. 7

Goujet gives no indication of what this 'proof' may have been, but, despite the absence of any early evidence regarding Grévin's commitment to the Reformed church, subsequent biographers have accepted that he was a Reformer; in fact, no modern critic has yet entertained the idea that Grévin might not have been a Reformer at all.

In this chapter it is my intention to evaluate Grévin's religious attitudes and beliefs, using as evidence both the statements of Grévin's contemporaries, and, more particularly, Grévin's own comments in his poetry and other publications.

1: GREVIN'S WAVERING ROMAN CATHOLIC ALLEGIANCE

In this section, Grévin's statements on Roman Catholicism will be analysed in order to determine his attitudes to this faith.

(i) Professions of faith

We may be fairly certain that Grévin, born a Catholic, was

brought up within the teachings of the Roman Catholic faith. This is established by Grévin's own words in one of the Odes of L'OLIMPE of 1560, in which he addresses his uncle Pierre de Prong. Grévin has this uncle, whom he elsewhere calls his 'second père',⁸ say that he had raised him:

Ainsi qu'une douce mere,
 Abbreuvant tes jeunes ans
 De la foy des anciens:
 Et dès ta premiere enfance
 Au giron de la Science
 T'aviandant aux secrets
 Des auteurs Latins & Grecs. 9

By 'la foy des anciens' Grévin almost certainly designates the Roman Catholic religion, and is therefore stating here that he was brought up as a member of this church.¹⁰ This reading is perhaps supported by our knowledge that Pierre de Prong was a priest,¹¹ although it is, of course, true that many priests were converted to the Reformed faith. Indeed, this passage, with its use of the words 'la foy des anciens', strongly suggests that when Grévin was writing this ode (at some point before 1560) he was still sympathetic to the Roman Catholic cause - only a Roman Catholic would have called his religion the 'old' faith.

In two of the sonnets of the Gelodacrye I of 1560, Grévin indicates that he accepts the institution of the papacy. The first sonnet reads:

C'est un pesant fardeau que le siege saint Pierre,
 Et si nous y voyons un chascun aspirer:
 Un vicaire voudroit une cure attirer,
 Et puis un evesché, puis un chapeau conquerre,

Et puis la papauté, pour des amis acquerre
 Et le Pape ne fait encor' que désirer
 Bonne vie & santé, affin de n'expirer
 A l'heure qu'il se voit le plus grand de la terre.

La plus grand part, hélas! le fait pour vivre heureux,
 Sans soing & sans tourment en loisir paresseux,
 Faire tousjours grand'chere et s'addonner aux vices.

Mais lors que cest estat ne valloit que des coups,
 Des persecutions, des chaisnes & des clous,
 Les hommes lors n'estoyent friands de benefices. 12

It is significant that Grévin here describes the papacy as 'le siège saint Pierre' (line 1), a description already adopted by Du Bellay;¹³ there is no indication here that he is being ironical, and such a description suggests that, while deploring the corruption of individual popes - as he does in this sonnet - he is admitting the legitimacy of the institution. He is making a clear distinction, commonly found in the works of Roman Catholics, between the office of the papacy, which he seems at this date to have considered sacred, and its holder, who may well at times be unworthy. The last tercet of this sonnet, moreover, praising the popes of earlier centuries who had been persecuted for their beliefs, suggests that this sonnet is the work of a man who, perhaps, inclined rather to the Roman Catholic than to the Reformed faith.

The sonnet which follows the one quoted above provides further evidence of Grévin's acceptance of - and, indeed, approval of - the institution of the papacy. Here Grévin writes:

Rome avoit surmonté par ses bras belliqueux
 Et mille Gallions toute la terre & l'onde,
 Si bien qu'il n'y avoit pour la ville & le monde,
 Qu'une pareille fin qui les bornast tous deux;

Pour achever le tout, il luy restoit les Cieux:
 Pourquoi vint assaillir ceste grande arche ronde
 Avec humilité & charité profonde,
 Des pères anciens l'essin devotieux.

Or leurs bons successeurs, les braves Courtisans,

Affin de ne céder aux faicts des anciens,
Voyant que tout estoit domté dans l'univers,

Se sont tant hazardez, qu'ores courant grand'erre,
Après qu'ils ont laissé et le ciel et la terre,
Ils sont faicts heritiers du profond des enfers. 14

The second quatrain of this sonnet shows an acceptance of the Roman Catholic faith, and an approval of the popes of the past who, through their humility and charity, won eternal life in heaven.

(ii) Criticism of the corruption within the Roman Catholic church

Although Grévin, in these poems at least, seems to accept a crucial tenet of the Roman Catholic faith, he shows himself, here and in other sonnets, particularly sensitive to the abuses which Reformers were attacking. The sonnets quoted above provide examples of his criticism, not only of the Roman Catholic clergy, but also of the pope himself. Other examples are abundant. In one sonnet of the Gelodacrye I of 1560, Grévin attacks the lower orders of the clergy, as well as the pope, writing that vicars, bishops, and even the pope desire only to live happily, without work or care, and to be able to indulge in vice.¹⁵ In another sonnet, Grévin mentions the greed of certain members of the clergy, criticising those who will:

Courir les champs pour un bon benefice
Avant la mort de l'Abbé possesseur. 16

Grévin here displays contempt for those members of the clergy who, far from being pious, are motivated only by self interest.

In 1561, too, Grévin levels numerous criticisms at the Roman Catholic clergy for their dereliction of duty. Many of

these sonnets, unlike most of those of the Gelodacrye I, attack individuals rather than the general corruption of the clergy within the church. There are veiled criticisms of certain members of the Roman Catholic church, or of some of the most powerful Roman Catholics in France. In some cases the objects of Grévin's venom are no longer identifiable, but we occasionally recognise some of those whom he is attacking.

In fact, the majority of these sonnets would seem to be directed against the Guise family. One example has already been cited (see the present thesis, p. 60), but there are also others. One, placed towards the end of this collection, reads:

Dont vient que d'autant plus que l'on s'attache à eux,
Ils redoublent d'autant leur ancienne ruse?
S'ils sont attaincts au vif, ils usent d'une excuse,
Et pensent abuser les hommes & les dieux.

Un de leur faction est tant malicieux,
Qu'ores qu'il sache tout, si est-ce qu'il refuse
Le dire pleinement, tant ce Prothé s'amuse
A ces biens terriens qui luy crevent les yeux.

Ce qu'il en fait, DESNEUX, est affin que l'on die
Qu'il est le principal de ceste Tragedie,
Et qu'il ha pour les deux un tres subtil cerveau.

Il scait assurément jouer son personnage:
Mais s'il estoit un coup enfermé dans la cage,
D'autant qu'il scait jaser, d'autant il seroit veau. 17

It is in particular the words 'pour les deux' in line 11 that seem to indicate that Grévin is attacking the two most prominent of the Guise brothers. It is interesting to note that the sonnet addresses "Des Neux", presumably a member of the family of Rasse des Neux, or perhaps indeed this ardent Reformer himself, who was incidentally a collector of polemical tracts and a doctor like Grévin. In another sonnet,

Grévin seems to attack the Cardinal of Lorraine when he writes:

O estrange malheur, naissant avec les hommes,
 Nous congnoissons assez qu'immortels nous ne sommes:
 Mais nous aimons bien mieux rendre un nom immortel,

Enrichir les parens d'une impudique femme,
 Faire Evesque un soldat, et dégrader nostre ame,
 Qui sa main sacrilege a plongé sur l'autel. 18

The words 'faire Evesque un soldat' remind us of some of Du Bellay's lines in the Regrets, where he, too, mentions a man who is both a member of the clergy and a soldier:

Dy moy, quel est celui qui si bien se deguise,
 Qu'il semble homme de guerre entre les gens d'eglise,
 Et entre gens de guerre aux prestres est pareil? 19

Du Bellay's target here, as M.C.Smith indicates in his work Joachim du Bellay's veiled victim,²⁰ is the Cardinal of Lorraine. Du Bellay and Jacques Grévin both call him a soldier because he was the instigator of the French campaign in Italy of 1556-1557, led by his brother Francis.²¹

The fact that Grévin attacks the Guise brothers, and in particular the Cardinal of Lorraine, cannot be taken as an indication that he was a Calvinist; he may well have had some personal grievance against this family, or have disapproved of the power they wielded. Du Bellay, a strong Roman Catholic, also attacked him, as did Ronsard. The frequency of Grévin's attacks on the Guise family - the majority of the attacks on individuals in the Gelodacrye II are directed against them - does, indeed, suggest that Grévin is attacking this family through personal animosity rather than as representatives of the Roman Catholic church.

However, one of the poems of the Gelodacrye II would appear to be a direct attack against the supreme head of the

church and some other important figure - perhaps Charles de Guise - whom Grévin refers to as Prothé.²² The sonnet reads:

ROUSSELET, tout est plein d'un erreur vitieux
 Qui ronge nostre bien, & se paist de nostre ame:
 Ce qu'il ne peult manger est passé par la flâme,
 Tant est plein ce Prothé d'un cueur malicieux:

Il redouble sa rage, & est ambicieux,
 Il cherche le moyen qui bien tost nous affame,
 Encore d'autant croist son entreprise infame,
 Qu'il se voit advoué de Jupin otieux.

Il ha pour son canon l'esclair & le tonnerre
 Que Jupiter brandit sur les flancs de la terre,
 Et pour ses canonniers mille autres demi-dieux.

Il ha pour ses soldats les hommes qu'il enyvre
 Du venin de sa coupe, & qui ne le veult suyvre,
 S'appreste d'aller veoir s'il fait meilleur aux cieux. 23

A major difficulty in assessing religious sentiment of sixteenth century poets is their habit of referring allusively and enigmatically to these issues. This sonnet, like many others by Grévin, is difficult to interpret, but it seems likely that Jupiter is the pope himself. Du Bellay, in the Regrets, had compared the pope with this ancient god. If this is the case, then the thunder and lightning would refer to the pope's power of excommunication, as it did in Du Bellay's own sonnet.²⁴

In the 24 SONNETS SUR ROMME, written between 1568 and 1570, Grévin also criticises the clergy and the papacy. This is not, perhaps, surprising, since Grévin, being then in Rome, was bound to think frequently of the papacy, and to see the corruption of the clergy around him. One might consider, for example, sonnet 18. Rome, says Grévin, once great, is now ruined. Addressing Cleopatra, Grévin says that she may now rejoice:

Car le temps, plus puissant que ne sont les humains,
 Afin de te vanger te faict voir les Romains
 Reduits honteusement sous le pouvoir d'un moine. 25

The word 'moine' is used as a derogatory term for the pope, and, more specifically, for Pius V, who was a member of the dominican order of monks. A number of other sonnets also attack the pope. Sonnet 17, for instance:

Vous qui venez à Romme, et qui songneusement
 La cause recherchez de sa grande ruine,
 Voiez des deux Venus la sculpture divine
 Au jardin où le Pape entre secretement.

Voiez la Cleopatre, et le vieil batiment
 Du temple de Venus, de Flore, et de Faustine;
 Sachez qu'Enée estoit fils d'une concubine,
 Ainsi que Romulus qui fit son fondement.

Une seule Venus, une Helène ravie
 Firent perdre aux Troiens l'estat avec la vie,
 Et firent ruiner ce que Priam avoit.

Ne vous estonnez doncq si les rues sont pleines
 De palais ruinez, puisque dans Romme on voit
 Presqu'une infinité de Venus et d'Helenes. 26

In this sonnet Grévin is explaining how it is due to prostitution and fornication that Rome is being destroyed and, in line 4, seems to suggest that the pope himself is one of those who is destroying Rome.²⁷

It is difficult to draw any conclusions about beliefs on the strength of mere satire about individuals (the most committed Roman Catholic authors published such satire - and indeed Grévin seems often to be echoing Du Bellay, whose Roman Catholic conviction is indubitable²⁸). Nevertheless, the fact that Grévin was in Rome during the papacy of Pius V, a ruthlessly zealous reforming pope,²⁹ and still remorselessly underlined the corruption of the clergy, may suggest a certain indifference or even hostility towards the papacy.

(iii) Grévin loses sympathy with the Roman Catholic faith

On two occasions Grévin seems to indicate that he has actually abandoned the Roman Catholic faith. The first passage is found in the Gelodacrye II, published in LE THEATRE of 1561. Here Grévin tells his reader briefly how he has spent his life. He writes that:

Premierement cinq ans j'ay esté enfermé
 Dans un college, & puis sortant de l'ignorance,
 Ainsi comme le corps, croissoit mon esperence,
 Dont encontre l'erreur dès l'heure je m'armé. 30

Bearing in mind the intense topical interest in religious matters, the word 'erreur' may refer to the Roman Catholic religion, in which case the first two lines of this quatrain suggest that on leaving college, around 1556,³¹ Grévin turned away from the Roman Catholic faith. If this 'erreur' does indicate the Roman Catholic faith, Grévin's sentiments in 1561 are obvious. Unfortunately, as in much of this poet's writings, the meaning is not very clear, and we may not be at all certain that it is to religious matters that he is referring. Moreover, even if the lines are a reference to the Roman Catholic faith, the words 'encontre l'erreur dès l'heure je m'armé' in the last line mean only that he turned against the Roman Catholic faith (and, indeed, could conceivably mean simply that, like many others, he turned against what were regarded as abuses within the Roman Catholic faith). Certainly it does not prove, as some critics have suggested, that he adopted the Reformed religion.

In one of the 24 SONNETS SUR ROMME, however, Grévin seems to give a clearer indication that he is rejecting the Roman

Catholic faith. In this sonnet we read:

Romme ne pouvant plus au monde estre premiere,
DIEU l'ordonnant ainsi par juste volonté,
Voiant par les Germains l'empire transporté,
Ains plustot parvenu à sa ruine entiere,

Ne devint pour cela moins orgueilleuse et fiere,
Car elle se forgea une principauté,
Changeant le temporel en spiritualité,
Pour se faire soudain des ames l'Emperiere.

Mais ne pouvant fuir le malheur inhumain
Qui doit aneantir tout l'Empire Romain,
Elle voit son pouvoir qui ruine et empire;

Car le premier qui fut à ruine ordonné,
Fera qu'à la parfin il sera ruiné,
Puis qu'il fut le soutien de ce second empire. 32

The reference in line 8 to Rome becoming 'des ames l'Emperiere' is an evident allusion to the Roman Catholic church. In this sonnet, which is an interesting inversion of sonnet 18 of Du Bellay's *Antiquitez*, Grévin implies that the Roman Catholic faith is the work of men - thereby rejecting its claim that its foundation is divine.

One may conclude, therefore, that, in spite of two passages which suggest that Grévin was a loyal member of the Roman Catholic church, and although he never explicitly repudiates any of its doctrines, Grévin does not defend this faith, and openly criticises its members and its corruption. In two passages, moreover - one more clear than the other - he seems to imply that he has actually abandoned it.

2: GREVIN'S INTEREST IN THE REFORMERS

Having determined as closely as possible Grévin's attitude towards the Roman Catholic faith, it is now important to examine references made by him to the Reformed faith in order to assess his feelings concerning this group. Given his lukewarm attitude towards the Roman Catholic church, it was perhaps natural that he should consider adopting the Reformed religion. A number of passages of Grévin's work do, indeed, suggest that he displayed a certain interest in the Reformed faith.

(i) Reformers in Clermont

Fairly early in his life, Grévin came into contact with the Reformed religion, for the town of Clermont, his birthplace, contained many of its supporters. The De Warty family, in particular, were allied to the Reformation. No less a person than Magdaleine de Warty, the wife of Joachim de Warty, the Governor of Clermont, was a Calvinist³³ and, indeed, Grévin mentions her frequently in his verse. In 1559 (old style 1558), he dedicated to her the REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE. One of the odes in this publication, later to be reproduced in L'OLIMPE, was also dedicated to Magdaleine de Warty.³⁴ Moreover, in LA PASTORALE, Grévin again refers to this lady, under the rustic name of Madelon. He informs his friend,

Nicolas Denisot, that:

Elle a bien voulu quelque-fois recevoir,
Et pris à gré le son de quelque chansonnette,
Alors que j'embouchay ma première musette. 35

Also, Grévin dedicated three sonnets in the REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE³⁶ and one ode in the OLIMPE³⁷ to Magdaleine de Warty's son, Philippe, again an ardent Reformer. Grévin was acquainted with two other Reformers in Clermont. The first was Jean de Filleau, for whose publication La sainte bible reduicte en epitome, par l'histoire divine et sacrée de Severe Sulpice. Translatée par J.F., Grévin wrote a preliminary poem.³⁸ The second was Antoine de Talon, for whom Grévin wrote an ode, published in the REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE, in which he refers to the close friendship between himself and Talon³⁹ (this ode was later reprinted in L'OLIMPE⁴⁰) Moreover, Grévin dedicates several sonnets of both L'Olimpe and La Gelodacrye to this friend.⁴¹

(ii) Sympathy with the martyrs

One text, written by Grévin fairly early in his life, seems to indicate that he felt sympathy with those who were willing to become martyrs for the Reformed religion. This passage can be found in one of his odes of the REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE, published late in 1558, or during the first months of 1559. In this ode A Antoine de Talon, Grévin mentions the close friendship that existed between the two men. Towards the end of the poem, Grévin asks the question:

Quelle est donc ceste sympathie
Qui joint nos cœurs si doucement? 42

The answer he provides is that God:

Demonstrant la puissance sienne
 Plus valloir que pouvoir mondain,
 Nous fait assembler tout soubdain
 En une amytié Chrestienne. 43

These lines, and particularly the reference to 'une amytié Chrestienne' are very significant when one remembers that Antoine de Talon was a Calvinist. Equally significant, perhaps, are the lines that follow:

En nous donc toutes adventures
 Du sort humain, n'auront pouvoir,
 Ny les aultres peines futures,
 S'il nous convient en recepvoir,
 Non les effortz d'un dur martyre,
 Non la tourmante de la mer,
 Et si la mort mille fois pire,
 Ne pourra ces neudz entamer:
 Car tousjours sa bonté tressaincte
 Sera comme ancre au nautonnyer,
 Devant laquelle il fault premier,
 Faire sonner nostre complaincte. 44

The reference to 'peines futures' (line 3 of this quotation) and to 'les effortz d'un dur martyre' (line 5), in particular, are certainly religious in connotation: especially in the last months of the reign of Henry II when Reformers were being persecuted and even suffered death for their faith.⁴⁵

A second text in which Grévin seems - although perhaps less clearly - to indicate that he feels sympathy for those who were martyrs for the Reformed faith, comes in the Gelodacrye I of 1560. Here Grévin writes:

Tu ne fais rien, MARCHANT, tu ne fais rien de dire
 Que d'autant que tu vis, d'autant s'en va la foy:
 Car, sur ce point, Marchant, chascun dit comme toy;
 Ton Grévin se complaint que tout le monde empire.

Tu n'en trouveras un qui sçache contredire,
 Mais un chacun se trompe estimant trop de soy,
 Et dit qu'on feroit mieux en la place d'un Roy,
 Et si nous ne sçavons que c'est que d'un Empire.

Sçais tu bien ce qu'il faut pour bien vivre aujourd'hui?
 Voyons un malheureux, ne faisons comme luy,
 Et jusques à l'autel ensuyvons nostre Prince.

Oyons tout, parlons peu, suyvons nostre pareil,
 Et sur tout gardons nous d'ouïr mauvais conseil;
 Au demeurant vivons comme en nostre province. 46

In this sonnet he seems to be saying that, living in a wicked age, what is needed for survival is a willingness to follow the king in everything. It may be that the 'malheureux' of l. 10 refers to a Calvinist martyr, and that Grévin is saying that when one sees a wretch (i.e. Calvinist martyr) one should not follow his example, but should follow the king in everything, including religion (à l'autel, l. 11). This would therefore be a sarcastic comment on pusillanimity and, like the ode A Antoyne de Talon, would show sympathy towards the victims of persecution. This sort of sympathy was widely felt, even among Roman Catholics,⁴⁷ and cannot be taken as evidence that Grévin had become a Reformer himself.

(iii) Lack of evidence of commitment to the Reformation

What, then, are we to make of assertions of critics, notably Pinvert, that Grévin was a Reformer? Pinvert, saying that the Gelodacrye in particular displays Calvinist 'acrimonie',⁴⁸ puts forward a number of examples. In one sonnet which Pinvert cites, Grévin, addressing Pierre de Paschal, writes that he would like to relate the story of how Jupiter, having chased his own father from his home, married his sister and committed many crimes, finally causing the outbreak of war. Concluding, Grévin adds, referring to Jupiter's evil deeds:

Si je l'avoy descrit, je me tiendroy content
 Mais je redoute trop: baste, je feray tant,
 Que la France en pourra entendre une partie. 49

Evidently, Grévin is here attacking some individual, but it is difficult to be certain of whom he is speaking, and Pinvert, once again, offers no suggestion. Nor, indeed, does he explain why he sees Calvinism here. This sonnet may be an attack on the Cardinal of Lorraine, who was accused of taking over the government from the king, of committing incest with his sister and of being a warmonger; but the fact that Grévin attacks a Roman Catholic cardinal does not prove that he was a Calvinist.

The second of Pinvert's examples of 'Calvinism', also in the Gelodacrye I, is the last lines of the first sonnet of this collection, which read:

Toute chose ha son temps, l'Amour & la rancueur:
 Toutesfois je n'ay peu eschanger mon malheur,
 Car chantant le discord je deplore ma peine. 50

Certainly there is rancour here, but again there is no indication that it is inspired by Grévin's hatred of the established faith, nor by any sympathy for the Reformed religion.⁵¹

Pinvert's assertion that Grévin was a Reformer, therefore, is not satisfactorily supported by his examples. Indeed Grévin, while he, like so many others, including Roman Catholics, deplored the corruption within the church and sympathised with those Reformers who were persecuted for their beliefs, and even occasionally implied that his own attitude towards the Roman Catholic faith was at best one of indifference, provides no unequivocal evidence that he ever adopted the Reformed faith. One very interesting poem of the SONNETS D'ANGLETERRE ET DE

FLANDRE, moreover, seems to be a severe criticism of the Reformed faith. Grévin writes:

O faulce opinion, combien tu nous tourmente,
 Nous faisant desirer le faux pour verité!
 Tu es le masque feint couvert de fauceté,
 Dont l'aprehention aisement s'epouvente.

O faulce opinion, cruelle et inconstante,
 Tu donnes mille assaux à nostre infirmité,
 Tu nous fais mille foys changer de vollonté
 Et croire de leger à ce qui se presente.

Tu as les yeux bandez, et chaiscun toutesfoys
 Te suit incontinent quelque part que tu soys;
 Quelque part que tu sois, tu chasse la science.

Celluy là qui sera de te suivre contant,
 Deviendra faux, masqué, cruel et inconstant,
 N'ayant de verité aulcune cognoissance.

52

Roman Catholic pamphlets frequently evoked this 'opinion', which they saw as synonymous with 'heresy', the Greek word 'ἄρεσις' meaning 'opinion'. Ronsard, in his Discours des miseres de ce temps, in particular, introduces this monster 'opinion', 'peste du genre humain'.⁵³ Considering Grévin's sonnet in its historical context, therefore, one may perhaps conclude that Grévin is making a very strong attack - if not an explicit one - on the Reformed religion; indeed, an attack on the basis of the Reformation itself - the individual claim to judge the prevailing universal (or 'catholic') consensus. Grévin here states very clearly that he feels that those who follow this 'opinion' are following lies, and are deceived; lines 2, 3, 8 and 14 make this particularly clear. Anyone who follows this 'opinion' - and by this Grévin is very probably designating the Reformers - is 'faux, masqué, cruel et inconstant' (line 13), and has no knowledge of truth (line 14).

Grévin had frequently referred (as we shall see) to the

confusion that resulted from his attempts to use reason as a means of determining religious truth.⁵⁴ This is, however, the only occasion on which he actually expresses the same criticism already voiced by many Roman Catholics on this subject; this sonnet, perhaps more than any other, suggests that Jacques Grévin was not truly committed to the Reformation.

It is true that Grévin is very likely the author of the *TEMPLE DE RONSARD*. However, the fact that he wrote this pamphlet is not in itself proof that he was a Reformer, despite the fact that this work is considered as one of the Reformation pamphlets against Ronsard. Colletet suggests that Grévin may have written it in order to achieve some celebrity; the author of the pamphlet addressing Grévin, too, published under the pseudonym of 'A.Guymara', writes, referring almost certainly to the *TEMPLE DE RONSARD*:

Domi verò tuæ adornabas illa præclara [scripta] quæ
novissime in hunc sine ullius nomine evulgasti, 55

and later:

Age, age Grovelle sic itur ad astra. 56

(In this pamphlet Grévin is given the name of 'Grovellus'.) Evidently the author of this pamphlet assumed that the *TEMPLE DE RONSARD* was written, not because of Grévin's dedication to the Calvinist cause, but because he hoped by these means to gain immortality. We may, perhaps, agree with this assumption.

The Gelodacrye I of 1560 and the Gelodacrye II of 1561 express a number of religious sentiments, but they can certainly not be said to be Calvinist pamphlets. The Tombeau for Eleanor de Roye, although dedicated to a Reformer, is personal rather than religious. The short poems that Grévin

wrote for the Tombeau of the Prince of Condé are, it is true, dedicated to the leader of the Reformed church, and are to be found in a collection in which many confirmed Reformers expressed their regrets at his death. Grévin's own poems, however, do not suggest that he felt any real sorrow on the death of the Prince of Condé. The Adieu à la France, which accompanies these poems, does not mention religious matters, except to say that Grévin left France because of the religious wars. Only the Ode des biens que les fideles obtiennent par Jésus Christ, and the preliminary sonnet on the birth of the Conte de Soissons may be called devotional, pious poetry, and neither of these offers any clear indication of support for the Reformers.

Grévin's poetry, therefore, certainly does not corroborate claims put forward by many critics that Grévin was a Reformer.

(iv) Differences between Grévin's poetry and that of Reformers

Indeed, one finds elements in Grévin's early works in particular, but also throughout his poetry, which are uncharacteristic of Reformers (and even occasions when Grévin writes the sort of poetry that had been condemned by a number of Reformers).

One of the principal criticisms voiced by Reformers concerned the use of myths from pagan antiquity. Théodore de Bèze, for instance, in the preface to his play Abraham Sacrifiant of 1550, writes:

Que pleust à Dieu que tant de bons espriz que je cognoy
en France, en lieu de s'amuser à ces malheureuses
inventions ou imitations de fantaisies vaines &

deshonnestes (si on en veult juger à la verité)
regardassent plustost à magnifier la bonté de ce grand
Dieu. 57

It is true that in the *HYMNE A MONSEIGNEUR LE DAUPHIN*, Grévin does state that poetry should be Christian, and should praise God. He writes of poetry as follows:

[...] des haultz cieux
Nous la croyons ça bas aux humains descenduë,
A fin qu'en elle fust loüange à Dieu renduë:
Comme en usa jadis le divin Roy harpeur,
Et non pas pour priser l'adultere trompeur, 58

(the fourth line of this quotation refers to King David). But much of his poetry demonstrates a divergence from the opinions of Reformers in the matter of poetic latitude. When he praises Ronsard, for instance, he does not limit his adulation to this poet's more Christian writings, or to those which had already been praised by Calvinists. For he admires Ronsard's *Odes*, deliberately pagan in inspiration, and also the *Hercule Chrestien* (which, although Ronsard considered it to be Christian, was attacked by Reformers), and the *Hymne des Daimons*,⁵⁹ both of which were soon to be criticised by Florent Chrestien⁶⁰ and by the author of the *Remonstrance à la Royne*.⁶¹ He also refers more than once to Ronsard's projected *Franciade*⁶² (the story of Francus, the mythological founder of France), at a time when Du Bellay - possibly implicitly criticising Ronsard's project - was saying that he intended to write an *Israelide*.⁶³ Thus, Grévin praises those works of Ronsard which contained allusions to the myths of the ancients, and were condemned for this reason by the Reformers.

Grévin himself also frequently uses mythology in his early poetry. One of his odes, the ode *A Jacques Grévin son*

Oncle, is inspired by the Bible,⁶⁴ but this is exceptional. The HYMNE A MONSEIGNEUR LE DAUPHIN contains a great deal of mythology.⁶⁵ L'OLIMPE, too, is loaded with mythological imagery. The love sonnets addressed to Olimpe are, of course, full of such references: for example, Cupid, blindfolded, frequently uses his arrows to good effect against Grévin;⁶⁶ the myth of Hercules, too, is often mentioned,⁶⁷ and the name Olimpe itself invites a number of other mythological comparisons, in particular that of Grévin trying to win Olimpe being compared with giants trying to scale Mount Olympus.⁶⁸ The Gelodacrye I also contains some mythology. There is mention of Hercules,⁶⁹ of Jupiter,⁷⁰ of Protheus,⁷¹ of Venus,⁷² of Helen of Troy and the Trojan war against Greece,⁷³ and of the Harpies,⁷⁴ amongst others.

In LE THEATRE of 1561, too, Grévin includes a certain amount of poetry that would have drawn criticism from Reformers. No longer, it is true, does he praise or applaud Ronsard's supposedly pagan and licentious poetry - but his own certainly remains equally 'pagan'. His love poetry contains a substantial amount of mythology, references to which may be found in about half of the sonnets. Cupid is most frequently pictured,⁷⁵ and other mythological imagery and comparisons are also common - one might note, among others, the vision of Grévin, in love, floating between Scylla and Charybdis.⁷⁶ The Odes, too, contain some mythology, although not, perhaps, as much as the sonnets of the Olimpe II.⁷⁷ In the Gelodacrye II, too, we find some of the gods and monsters of antiquity, although again not as much as in the love poetry.⁷⁸

We also find Grévin praising the divinity of poetry and the immortality one gains from writing, and claiming total liberty for the poet, when Reformers were attacking Ronsard for making precisely such claims.⁷⁹ In the Ode au Seigneur de Launay, Grévin writes that, if someone creates a masterpiece of poetry and cherishes the 'filles de vertu' (the Muses):

Celuy certes se renouvelle
 Une aultre vie apres la mort,
 Que jamais la Parque cruelle
 Ne pourra tirer sur le bort,
 Où les ondes oblivieuses
 De l'impetueux Acheron,
 Emportent les ombres paoureuses
 La part où les conduit Charon. 80

Even Ronsard had on this point acceded to the demands of Christian critics, for, in his Hymne de la Mort, he states that God alone can give immortality.⁸¹ In all this, Grévin is much closer to the spirit of those mainly Catholic contemporaries who loved and exploited the ancient myths than he is to the more restrained and critical Reformers.

It is not only in this use of mythology that Grévin's aesthetic remoteness from the poetry of the Reformers manifests itself, but also in the field of poetic licentiousness. Many Reformers, and even some Roman Catholics, had criticised those who wrote licentious poetry, and had attacked Ronsard in particular.⁸² Indeed, although many Reformers imitated Ronsard's poetical style, they refrained from imitating his licentious poetry. As Pineaux says, the Reformers:

folâtrant moins volontiers avec Ronsard quand celui-ci
 mignarde sa belle en des chansons plus ou moins lestes.
 Car le puritanisme huguenot n'admet pas des décolletés
 aguichants ou voluptueux. 83

In the preliminary epistle of the Ceocrye de Pierre de la Meschinere, for instance, Pierre Enoc expresses the feelings

of the majority of Reformers, writing:

Cependant on ne verra en ce livre rien autre qu'une Amour chaste, comme aussi ma volonté n'estoit autre, & le but auquel je tendoy honneste, & licite par les lois Divines et humaines: & non point une impudicité effrenée, n'appetant que la jouissance, comme plusieurs d'aujourd'huy. 84

Grévin, however, does not incline to this rule; although in the Olimpe I he does not go as far as Ronsard in, for instance, his Folastries, his love poetry is usually far removed from the elevated tone of most of the Reformers' love poetry. For instance, we read such lines as:

Belle Maistresse gracieuse,
Plus belle que le beau matin,
Laissez couler sur le tetin
Ceste pauvre main desireuse, 85

or, elsewhere:

Belle, quand je veux approcher
Ma main pres de vostre mamelle [...] 86

Evidently Grévin still has no wish to subjugate poetry to the aesthetic moral demands of his Calvinist friends. He seems to believe that poetry has the right to be licentious, and that mythology and the Ancients may play their part. They need not be replaced by examples and imagery taken from the Bible. It seems unlikely that this collection could have been written by a professed exponent of the Reformed faith.

We may, then, conclude that Grévin's aesthetic remoteness from the Reformers seems to indicate that he was not a committed supporter of the Reformation. One might argue plausibly that the lack of reference in Grévin's early poetry to the views of the Reformers can be explained by the fact that between 1556 and 1560 Grévin was a student at the Ecole de Médecine in Paris, and that, in order to study there, one had

to be a Roman Catholic (Corlieu, in his L'Ancienne Faculté de Medecine de Paris, informs us that, in order to join the medical schools, one had to present one's certificate of baptism as proof of Catholicism,⁸⁷ and, moreover, during the years of study, one had to give further proof of Catholicism, attending mass at the faculty.⁸⁸ Before the final examination, one also had to attend mass, and again to provide a certificate of baptism⁸⁹). But the fact that Grévin publishes pagan and licentious poetry cannot rationally be explained by any need he may have felt to hide his religious sympathies in order to pursue his medical studies.

It is also worth noting that Grévin does not make any analysis of the various doctrines of the Reformers, nor does he speak on matters dear to the hearts of Reformers. He makes no mention, for instance, of an accident which had caused many to rejoice: of the deaths, only seventeen months apart, of the two kings Henry II and Francis II of France, even though these events coincided with the most productive period in his career as a poet. This is a significant silence, for Pineaux says: 'au milieu des cris de joie, de nombreux versificateurs réformés [...] voyaient dans la chute de ces rois une intervention manifeste de Dieu en faveur de leur cause'.⁹⁰

3: GREVIN A 'NEUTRAL' OR 'ATHEIST'.

(i) Anguished intellectual speculations

Grévin's poetry includes a number of poems on religion

which are very interesting in their implications. For they seem to indicate that Grévin finds that speculation on religious matters leads only to great confusion. In one sonnet (in the quatrains of which Grévin may be saying that he became disillusioned with some aspects of the Roman Catholic faith), Grévin may be questioning whether he was right to turn away from the Roman Catholic faith. He says, speaking of his hardships:

O ville de Cler-mont, mon pays tant aimé,
Hélas je te laissay dès ma premiere enfance
Pour apprendre à Paris, la source de science,
Ce qu'entre tous estats on a plus estimé.

Premierement cinq ans j'ay esté enfermé
Dans un college, et puis, sortant de l'ignorance,
Ainsi comme le corps, croissoit mon esperance,
Dont encontre l'erreur dès l'heure je m'armé.

Qu'ay-je pour tout-cela? un rompement de teste,
Un discours qui tousjours pour me fascher s'appreste,
Et est par le passé le futur predisant.

Plus heureux l'artisan, qui de ce soin delivre
Ne s'amuse long temps à feuilleter un livre,
Et ne s'esmeut sinon de ce qu'il voit présent. 91

He is certainly saying that intellectual speculation has got him nowhere and, if the 'erreur' he was hoping to overcome was theological (and in view of topical interests it may well have been), then he is rejecting reason as the arbiter of religious truth.

The last sonnet of the Gelodacrye II - and the only one in this collection where he addresses Ronsard - is also revealing; Grévin here talks to Ronsard about his religious views. Referring, it seems, to some religious position, Grévin writes:

Que sert-il plus long temps dissimuler un bien,

Si le dissimuler luy est du tout contraire?
 Si le parler est bon, que sert-il de se taire?
 Que sert-il de parler, si parler ne vault rien?

Si c'est la verité, en vain je la detien,
 Et si c'est la mensonge, en vain je le veux faire
 Apparoistre au dessus, pour au monde complaire,
 Sous ombre seulement du public entretien.

Ce qui est bon de soy, mauvais ne sçauroit estre,
 Et ce qui est mauvais, mauvais se fait cognoistre,
 Or' qu'il soit déguisé du nom de verité.

C'est donc en vain, RONSARD, que ceci l'on deteste:
 Car si nous apparoist qu'il est du tout celeste,
 Croyons qu'il durera à perpetuité. 92

(This poem is reminiscent of the words of Gamaliel, in Acts, 5; 38-39.) Grévin may be saying this simply in order to appease Ronsard, who, very probably, had suggested that he refrain from displaying his religious feelings. Seen, however, in the light of the other sonnets in this section, it may be interpreted as an attempt by Grévin to convince himself that it does not matter what he says, nor even whether he is able to decide, since eventually the truth will show itself clearly.

In one of the Gelodacrye II sonnets⁹³, Grévin asks God to help him to build a fortress around him as protection from the soldiers who are attacking him. Continuing, he writes (addressing God):

Les soldats ennemis qui me donnent l'assault,
 Et qui de mon rampart sont montez au plus hault,
 Ce sont les argumens de mon insuffisance:

La cause du debat, c'est que trop follement
 J'ay voulu compasser en mon entendement
 Ton estre, ta grandeur & ta Toute-puissance. 94

Grévin thus accuses himself of having tried to understand the infinity of God which in essence transcends understanding.

In a second sonnet of the Gelodacrye II, Grévin seems to be referring to this same attempt at reason, although here the

sonnet is not so explicit. He asks for God's help:

Autrement je ne puis, ne voyant que par songe,
D'avec la chose vraie esplucher le mensonge,
Qui se masque aisement du nom de verité. 95

In one of the elegies of L'OLIMPE, the Elegie à Jaques

Pons Lionnois, Grévin writes, referring to the heavens:

[...] l'homme (sot qu'il est) entreprend de le peindre
Comme s'il l'avoit veu, & là nous y veult feindre
Mille cercles roulants, comme s'il sçavoit bien
Les causes, les effects, la suyte, & l'entretien
Des corps superieurs, & bref ceste harmonie
Qui sur deux gonds se tourne en rondeur infinie. 96

In two other poems Grévin seems again to suggest that he has attempted to discern the truth through reasoning rather than simply trusting in God as he should have done. In one sonnet in particular, Grévin expresses his 'erreur'. He writes:

J'amasse quelquefois dedans mon pensement
Tous les cercles roulans, qui embrassent le monde,
J'y amasse le feu, l'air, la terre avec l'onde,
Pour rechercher l'auteur de leur commencement:

Là dedans je retire un cinquieme element,
Qui jette la semence en la terre feconde,
Et qui du plus profond de sa grande arche ronde
Fait mouvoir les saisons avec son mouvement.

Lors que je pense avoir trouvé une partie
Des causes de ce monde & de l'humaine vie,
Je n'en retire rien qu'un chaos plus souvent.

Voyla de quoy me sert la lecture assidue
D'Aristote, ou Platon, où plus souvent je sue,
Puis je me refroidis sage comme devant. 97

He here accuses himself of doing precisely what he had so severely censured in the 1560 elegy just quoted. He is saying that the human intellect is limited, and is condemning himself for attempting to understand the movements of the world and the working of the Creator.

In another sonnet, in LE THEATRE, Grévin criticises himself for speculating on religious matters:

Que me sert-il, NOYON, de vivre plus long temps,
 Puisque rien ne me plaist, & que rien je n'espere?
 Noyon, que me sert-il de passer en misere,
 En souspirs, & en pleurs mon desiré printemps?

Plus heureux j'eusse esté, si, avec mes parens,
 Content du peu de bien amassé par mon père,
 Content de la doctrine apprise de ma mere,
 J'eusse attendu le jour qui bornera mes ans:

J'eusse tousjours vescu au pied de ma montaigne,
 Sans faire ainsi qu'on dit des chasteaux en Espagne,
 Ou discourir des meurs, des peuples, des courroux:

Je n'eusse en mon cerveau conceu ce monstre estrange,
 Ny ce long pensement qui jamais ne se change,
 Et dont je suis contraint d'avorter tous les coups. 98

These sonnets are particularly significant if one considers the interesting analogy between what Grévin writes and Ronsard's attacks on curiosity when he writes of the Calvinists:

Et toutesfois, Seigneur, ils font les empeschez,
 Comme si tes segrets ne leur estoit cachez,
 Braves entrepreneurs et discoureurs des choses
 Qui aux entendemens de tous hommes sont closes,
 Qui par longue dispute et curieux propos,
 Ne te laissent jouyr du bien de ton repos,
 Qui de tes sacremens effacent la memoire,
 Qui disputent en vain de cela qu'il faut croire, 99

and if one considers also Ronsard's words in the Remonstrance au Peuple de France:

Tout homme qui voudra soigneusement s'enquerre
 De quoy Dieu fit le ciel, les ondes et la terre,
 [...]
 Il y perdra l'esprit, car Dieu qui est caché,
 Ne veut que son segret soit ainsi recherché.

Bref nous sommes mortels, et les choses divines
 Ne se peuvent loger en nos foibles poictrines,
 Et de sa prescience en vain nous devisons,
 Car il n'est pas sujet à nos sottes raisons:
 L'entendement humain, tant soit il admirable,
 Du moindre fait de Dieu, sans grace, n'est capable. 100

In all these poems, Grévin is saying that human intellect is limited, as does Ronsard. The difference would seem to be that,

whereas Ronsard's comments are accompanied by a profession of faith, which indicates that he is using his statements as an argument against the Reformers, Grévin never intimates that he is using his scepticism in favour of the Roman Catholic faith. Indeed, scepticism about the powers of the intellect, unaccompanied by any profession of faith, may well be construed as suggesting that Grévin felt that, since one could not fathom the mysteries of religion, one should not take sides in the quarrels - in other words, this scepticism may be interpreted as an indication of neutrality.

(ii) The rise of neutrals

As the two rival parties prepared to sort out their differences on the battlefield in France, many people who had hitherto found it difficult to support either party now expressed their difficulties publicly. It is at this time that condemnations of neutrality became frequent. Indeed, one may find, in and after 1560, a number of references to 'atheists' or to 'neutres'; that is, to those who, unable to choose between opposing factions, and claiming that both religious groups in France had, by recourse to violence, invalidated their claims to be truly Christian, had completely abandoned 'institutional' Christianity. The distinction between neutrality and atheism was not at all clear in many sixteenth century invectives, where both terms seem to have been used indiscriminately to mean those who remained neutral in the quarrels. In 1560, neutrality was denounced by Pierre

Viret, who declared that his purpose in writing was to confirm people in the true religion:

[...] non seulement contre la fausse religion qui peut estre en telles matieres, mais aussi contre l'atheisme, c'est à dire, contre la doctrine monstrueuse de ceus qui nient toute religion. 101

That same year, Gabriel Dupuyherbault, in his Consolation des Catholiques, also attacked neutrals. Here he advises the common people, saying:

Ne faictes comme ceux, qui se acquierent l'execrable appellation d'Atheistes, qui disent, qu'ilz tiennent le loup par les aureilles, pource que voyans en l'heresie toutes choses estre polluss, divines & sacrées, & mauvaises meurs y croistre comme herbe arrosée: & d'autre costé voyans les erreurs pullulans ne se point purger, ilz ne sçavent, disent ilz, de quel costé se tourner: à ceste cause se font ilz Neutres. 102

A certain G. du Preau, in his work Des faux prophètes, seducteurs & hypochrites of 1564, writes:

Mais combien y a-il aujourd'huy d'Atheistes, c'est à dire, d'hommes sans Dieu, qui ne sont ne Juifz, ne Turcz, ne heretiques, ne Catholiques, ne Chrestiens? Qui n'ont ne foy, ne loy, mais qui se moquent de toutes les religions, coustumes, ordonnances, & ceremonies du monde, & qui vivent come Epicuriens, sans attente d'autre vie que de ceste cy, non plus que les bestes brutes? 103

It is perhaps not too surprising either to find similar denunciations of atheists among the poets of the sixteenth century.¹⁰⁴ The frequency of such references also suggests the existence of a significant number of atheists or neutrals.

The reason for the sharp rise in the number of allusions to 'neutrality' in and around 1560, and particularly towards the end of 1561, was perhaps due to a certain extent to the conciliatory advances made towards the Reformers both by the government and by many leading Roman Catholics. In the atmosphere of conciliation flourishing at this time, many

Roman Catholics began to take a stand which was not far removed from the attitude of 'neutrals', in appearance at least. For, in their desire for conciliation, many Catholics were beginning to suggest that certain articles of faith and especially certain liturgical practices, which were considered less important, could be forfeited in the furtherance of peace. Estienne de la Boétie, a confirmed Roman Catholic, writing, in his Memoire sur la pacification des troubles, at a time when the government was striving for national reconciliation, is an example of this conciliation which may be likened in appearance to neutrality. For the fundamental idea of this Memoire is that religious unity may be achieved through compromise. La Boétie advocates concessions to the Reformers in the fields of veneration of relics and of images, concedes that sermons should be based on the text of the Bible, and advocates liturgical reforms which, he felt, could help to restore unity; for him the doctrinal differences of the Roman Catholics and the Reformers were of secondary importance since most people who had followed the Reformers out of curiosity and love of novelty did not know what these differences were anyway. It seems possible that the topical quest for conciliation based upon compromise encouraged some people to imagine that the difference between the two faiths were not profound and that it therefore mattered little which faith one followed. Montaigne, La Boétie's close friend and, like him, a confirmed Roman Catholic, expresses clearly the origin of this willingness to compromise in his Essais. Many years later, in a passage which is probably a discussion of La Boétie's

Memoire sur la pacification des troubles, he criticises the conciliatory advances made by Roman Catholics:

Or ce qui me semble apporter autant de desordre en nos consciences, en ces troubles où nous sommes de la religion, c'est cette dispensation que les Catholiques font de leur creance. Il leur semble faire bien les moderez et les entenduz, quand ils quittent aux adversaires aucuns articles de ceux qui sont en debat. Mais, outre ce, qu'ils ne voyent pas quel avantage c'est à celui qui vous charge, de commencer à luy ceder et vous tirer arriere, et combien cela l'anime à poursuivre sa poincte, ces articles là qu'ils choisissent pour les plus legiers sont aucunesfois tres-importans. Ou il faut se submettre du tout à l'autorité de nostre police ecclesiastique, ou du tout s'en dispenser. Ce n'est pas à nous à establir la part que nous luy devons d'obeissance. Et davantage: je le puis dire pour l'avoir essayé, ayant autresfois usé de cette liberté de mon chois et triage particulier, mettant à nonchaloir certains points de l'observance de nostre Eglise, qui semblent avoir un visage ou plus vain ou plus estrange, venant à en communiquer aux hommes sçavans, j'ay trouvé que ces choses là ont un fondement massif et tres-solide, et que ce n'est que bestise et ignorance qui nous fait les recevoir avec moindre reverence que le reste. Que ne nous souvient il combien nous sentons de contradiction en nostre jugement mesmes? Combien de choses nous servoyent hier d'articles de foy, qui nous sont fables aujourd'huy. La gloire et la curiosité sont les deux fleaux de nostre ame. Cette cy nous conduit à mettre le nez par tout, et celle là nous defant de rien laisser irresolu et indecis. 105

(iii) Indications of Grévin's neutrality

In 1563, there seems little doubt,¹⁰⁶ Grévin, alone or with some collaboration, wrote the TEMPLE DE RONSARD. One of the most important pieces of evidence that Grévin was a 'neutral' is the admission that he himself makes in this pamphlet, addressing Ronsard:

Mais avant que d'entrer, je veus bien que tu sache,
 Qu'une secte mauvaise en mon cœur ne se cache,
 Et que je ne suis point enyvvré de l'escrit
 De quelque Anabaptiste, ou quelqu'autre Antichrist,
 Que jusques à ce point la raison ne m'eschappe

D'avoir juré de suivre ou Calvin ou le Pape,
Je ne suis appellé pour monstrier ne prescher,
Ou pour quelque Abbaye en la fin arracher.

D'aucun troupeau sur moy la charge n'est commise,
Je suis tant seulement le moindre de l'Eglise,
Et membre toutesfois, ce qui ne'est pas de toy,
Car je sçay que tu vis sans raison et sans loy. 107

Thus Grévin admits here, taking advantage of the veil of anonymity, that he is not a Reformer, since he does not follow Calvin (l. 52, the sixth line of this quotation), nor a Roman Catholic, since he does not follow the pope (*ibid.*).

Certainly these immensely revealing and highly unusual words sound like those of a 'neutral', unattached to either side.

It should be noted that besides Grévin's own testimony, we have two accusations of atheism made against Grévin by his contemporaries, one by a Roman Catholic, the second by a Reformer. An accusation of atheism in the sixteenth century would not normally in itself be significant, as the concept was used freely as a term of abuse, but, in the case of Grévin, these accusations are of course accompanied by that significant avowal of his own, just quoted. The first accusation comes from Ronsard himself, in the Epistre au Lecteur of 1563, in which he attacks Grévin. Ronsard, addressing those who have written against him, and in particular Florent Chrestien and Grévin, writes:

Je suis esmerveillé dequoy vous qui n'avez ni foy, ni loy,
et qui n'estes nullement poussez du zelle de religion,
escrivez des choses qui ne vous apportent ny honneur, ny
reputation: car pour toutes voz mesdisances je ne seray
moins estimé des Catholiques que je suis, ny de ceux de
la religion, de laquelle vous ne faites une seule
profession. 108

Certainly Ronsard is correct, in Grévin's case at least, in saying that this young poet never, in any of his works, makes

any profession of Protestantism. Ronsard also writes, in this epistle, addressing Chrestien and Grévin:

Je sçay bien que quelques uns bien affectionnez à
religion, desquels vous n'estes. (car vos escrits, vos vies
et vos meurs vous manifestent vrays athées) diront [...]
109

In the poem of which the first line reads: 'J'oste Grévin de mes escrits',¹¹⁰ too, Ronsard accuses Grévin of being an atheist, writing:

J'oste Grévin de mes escrits,
Pource qu'il fut si mal appris,
Afin de plaire au Calvinisme,
(Je vouloy dire à l'Atheisme)
D'injurier par ses brocards
Mon Nom cogneu de toutes parts [...]

Although Ronsard accuses Grévin of being a Calvinist (l. 3), he very quickly corrects himself, saying that he meant to call him an atheist (l. 4).

The second person who accused Grévin, although perhaps less directly, of atheism, was a Reformer who wrote under the pseudonym of A. Guymara. In 1564, he wrote a pamphlet attacking Grévin, which bore the title Ad J. Grovellum [...] admonitio. Addressing Grévin, and referring to a pamphlet by this poet attacking Charpentier, in which Grévin had attempted to define the word 'atheisme', 'Guymara' wrote:

Duodecima, probare voluisti magnum te definiendi
artificem cum ἄθεον esse dixisti eum qui contra religionem
quam profitetur iis oblectatur quæ etiam legibus vetita
sunt. An te ex ista formula ἄθεον negare posses? 111

Much of Grévin's poetry indicates a disillusionment with both parties - perhaps indicative of a neutral stance - particularly insofar as the warfare and bloodshed were concerned.

Grévin seems at times to question the claims of both religions and to feel that both are equally to blame for the

suffering facing France. This feeling is clear in one of the sonnets of the Gelodacrye II, where Grévin compares the two sides, writing:

L'un presché verité, & l'autre la mensonge,
L'un deffend son bon droit, l'autre masque le sien,
L'un est nommé nouveau, & l'autre l'ancien,
L'un ne veult rien couper, & l'autre tout allonge;

L'un s'arreste au certain, & l'autre sur le songe,
L'un s'avance tousjours, l'autre traine un lien,
L'un pense estre vainqueur, l'autre n'est sans moyen,
L'un & l'autre en bon port dans la vague se plonge.

Tous deux se sont promis attaindre un mesme lieu,
Tous deux pensent vanger la querelle de Dieu,
Tous deux ont le vouloir enté dans la poictrine.

Mais tout le pis, MURET, c'est qu'en ce temps pendant,
Un chascun est la fin du discord attendant,
Voguant sans gouvernail en la haulte marine. 112

The third line of this sonnet makes it clear that Grévin is comparing the Reformed Religion, described at the time by its opponents as 'new', with the Roman Catholic faith, which its defenders claimed was the 'old' religion. Certainly, in the quatrains, Grévin's sympathy seems to lie with the Reformers rather than with the traditional faith, but in the last line of the second quatrain and in the two tercets he seems to suggest that there is little difference between the two sides; both claim that they are right, but, in fact, both are equally causing distress and confusion. Grévin goes further than those who merely pointed to vicious conduct by individuals from each side; he intimates that each party is essentially bereft of purpose and authority, like a ship drifting rudderless to its ruin.

(iv) Grévin's sadness at the religious wars

Grévin's main reason for adopting a neutral stance seems to have been his hatred of violence. The SONNETS D'ANGLETERRE ET DE FLANDRE (1567) provide some very good evidence of this. One sonnet, imitated from Du Bellay, might be quoted:

La France est aujourd'hui le publique eschaffaut
 Sur lequel la discorde insolente et hardie
 Joue, à nostre malheur, sa triste tragedie,
 Où la fureur sanglante et la mort ne deffaut.

L'avare Italien, l'Espagnol fin et caut,
 Le paresseus Angloys et la troupe estourdie
 Des mutins Allemans que la France mandie
 Regardent ce théâtre, et bien peu leur en chaut.

Le premier en nourrit sa gourmande prestrise,
 L'autre accroist ce pendant, et le tiers en devise,
 Bien joyeux que le quart se charge de butin.

Miserable François qui sert de nourriture,
 D'accroissance, de fable et de despouille seure
 A l'avare, au ruzé, à l'oysif et mutin! 113

Here, he seems to blame both Reformers and Roman Catholics alike for bringing foreign troops into France. The words:

la troupe estourdie
 Des mutins Allemans que la France mandie [...] 114

can only refer to the soldiers of Jean-Casimir who joined the Prince of Condé's army in January 1568.¹¹⁵ As Bienaimé says:

Non risparmià a cattolici e a protestanti, la
 responsabilità di tanti uccisioni. 116

The mere fact that Grévin blames both sides for violence does not, of course, in itself make him a 'neutral' (for it was possible for individuals with a genuine religious conviction on one side or the other to deplore the violence of both sides - as is the case with Montaigne). But it can be said that such sentiments are very characteristic of neutrals.

Another poem in this collection also refers to this same event, and with the same conclusion. In sonnet 8, Grévin writes:

J'escrivois la plus part de ces miens pensemens
Ce pendant qu'en la France une civile guerre
Pour la seconde foys, ainsy com'un tonnerre,
Foudroioit à l'envy mille morts et tourmens.

Lors un oraige espais de raïstres allemans
Plouvoit à gros torrens pour noier nostre terre;
Mais moy, loing des malheurs j'habitois l'Angleterre,
Ennemy de discords et de ses remuementz. 117

Evidently lines 5-6 also refer to the German soldiers joining with the Prince of Condé. Thus Grévin does not lay the blame for the religious wars only on the Roman Catholics, but equally on the Reformers. Whilst this is not in itself proof that Grévin was a neutral, it is certainly very consistent with the hypothesis.

After leaving Antwerp, where Plantin had published a number of medical works for him, Grévin went to Turin. There, in 1568, he contributed to the Tombeau of the Prince of Condé. In this work Grévin seems to regret the Prince of Condé's death only insofar as it would cause more bloodshed - it is the destruction of France that Grévin laments when he writes:

Si tu veux, France, ingrate, une tombe eslever
A Bourbon, massacré contre la foy jurée,
Fais la tienne: ains plustost, pauvre desesperée,
Fais-en une où puissiez ensemble demeurer.

Car ceux qui sont peris d'une mesme adventure,
Doivent estre enterrez sous mesme sepulture. 118

Grévin's feelings are portrayed even more clearly through the other epitaphs. Twice he mentions that peace has died with the Prince of Condé, writing, for instance, in reference to the Prince's tomb:

Dans ce tombeau couvert est la paix des François,
Mere des affligez. Bon Dieu! est-ce merveille
Que morte estant la paix la guerre se resveille? 119

Indeed, it seems that Grévin was right to feel that hopes of peace had died with Condé - De Thou, at least, indicates that this prince's death resulted in much persecution.¹²⁰

In the Adieu à la France, contained within the same collection, Grévin again expresses his sadness at the impossibility of obtaining peace, writing, for instance:

J'ay voyagé cà & là cependant
Par terre et mer, l'alme paix attendant:
Mais de malheur ell'est encor à naistre,
Ou s'elle fut, on ne la peut cognoistre.

Je l'apperceu par deux fois remonter
Au haut du ciel, & avec soy porter
Justice & Foy, qu'on banisoyt des villes,
Avec le droict des veufves & pupilles.

Las que pourroy-je attendre ici vivant,
Puis que la paix on bannit si souvent:
Et puis que ceux qui le repos demandent,
A plus grand bien qu'à l'exil ne s'attendent? 121

From such poems as these one may draw the conclusion that Grévin is unable to decide finally which of the two faiths - the Roman Catholic or the Reformed - is correct. Like many others, notably Du Bellay, whom Grévin imitates frequently in La Gelodacrye, Grévin, angered by the corruption of the Roman Catholic church, criticised the evils of its members. Realising, however, that the Reformed party was no better than that of the Roman Catholics, that both alike were calling on foreign aid, were amassing armies and causing many deaths, Grévin seems to have felt unable to commit himself to this new religion.

Ronsard, in his Remonstrance au Peuple de France, indicates that he has experienced the same feelings of attraction to

the idea of reform of abuses, followed rapidly by the realisation that the Reformation had far more sinister implications. Addressing the Reformers, he says that, had they been 'simples comme davant' and talked only of Reform, he would have followed them:

Mais voyant vos cousteaux, vos soldars, vos gendarmes,
 Voyant que vous plantés vostre foy par les armes,
 Et que vous n'aves plus ceste simplicité
 Que vous portiés au front en toute humilitié,
 J'ay pensé que Satan, qui les hommes attise
 D'ambition, estoit chef de vostre entreprise. 122

His poetry shows clearly that he disapproves of the bloodshed and considers both sides equally to blame for it. The difference between Ronsard and Grévin seems to be that Ronsard, notwithstanding a short-lived admiration for aspects of the Reformed church, consistently retained his allegiance to the Roman Catholic church, whilst Grévin seems to have drifted away from both.

(v) Grévin's translation of Bernadino Ochino

In 1561 Grévin, it seems likely,¹²³ translated a number of sermons written in Italian by Bernadino Ochino, a monk who had, in 1541, adopted the Reformed religion. Ochino, although committed to the Reformation, adopted a stance which was similar to that of 'neutrals' for, as Peter Bietenholz informs us in his work Basle and France in the sixteenth century, Ochino 'developed the fundamental conviction that dogma never mattered and often harmed'.¹²⁴ Thus, although the sermons which Grévin has translated contain nothing which can associate either Grévin or Ochino with neutrals, the very fact that

Grévin translated the work of a man who held such a conviction increases the probability that he was, indeed, a neutral.

(vi) Grévin's friendship with Plantin

In 1567, Grévin went to Antwerp. There he met Christophe Plantin, who had already published a number of works for him and who was to publish many more.¹²⁵ The fact that Grévin knew, and was apparently very friendly with, Plantin,¹²⁶ increases the likelihood that Grévin was a 'neutral', for Plantin was a member of the 'Family of Love', a sect founded by Hendrik Niclaes¹²⁷ which, as its name indicates, believed that religious faith should be founded on charity, and disapproved of the bloodshed caused by religious rifts. It was their desire that all sides should be able to live together. We learn of Plantin's attachment to this sect through the Chronique de la Maison de Charité, a chronicle written in the sixteenth century which names a number of members of this group and relates its successes and its failures. The part of this text relating to Plantin has been reproduced in Max Rooses' biography of Plantin.¹²⁸ Grévin's friendship with Plantin, therefore, considering Plantin's association with this group whose ideals seem to have been so close to Grévin's own, can be interpreted as further indication of his neutrality.

Certainly, then, one must conclude that Grévin was, for most of his adult life, a 'neutral'. He was not an atheist in the modern sense, for there is no doubt that he believed in the existence of God. On more than one occasion, Grévin praises him and claims to be a member of his church. The sonnet:

Quiconque levera la teste envers les cieux,
 Marquant les gouverneurs de ceste terre basse,
 Ainsi que chascun d'eux la nourrit et l'embrasse,
 Et la va regardant d'un bel œil radieux,

Et puis, se rabaissant sur ces terrestres lieux,
 Reviendra contempler la terre, jamais lasse
 De porter en saison, & de monstrier sa face
 Belle & reverdissante au printemps gracieux:

Celuy-la (dy-je) il fault, il fault bien qu'il confesse
 Qu'un plus puissant regit ceste gemmeuse presse
 De flambeaux attachez & de flambeaux errans:

Il fault aussi nier la chose fortuite,
 Et confesser que Dieu est la seule conduite
 Qu'une terre feconde apporte tous les ans. 129

certainly does not come from the pen of an atheist. Even in
 the TEMPLE DE RONSARD, where Grévin admits that he is neither
 a Reformer nor a Roman Catholic, he does say that he is:

[...] le moindre de l'Eglise
Et membre toutesfois [...] 130

At the end of his life, too, the ruins of Rome remind Grévin
 that 'Rien n'est eternal que la grandeur de DIEU'.¹³¹

Thus, despite an emotional attraction on various grounds
 to each faith, Grévin was neither a Calvinist nor a Roman
 Catholic. He was an atheist in the sixteenth century sense, a
 'neutral' abstaining from commitment to either side, a member
 of what must be, considering the frequency with which they
 were condemned, a fairly numerous group of people.

CHAPTER 3.

GREVIN AND RONSARD.

This chapter examines the place occupied by Ronsard in Grévin's life and works insofar as this is today discernible. Such an examination is both interesting and important, giving a clearer picture of the details of Ronsard's influence on an important contemporary and identifying many hitherto unknown sources of Grévin. It will, moreover, help an understanding of the vigour of Ronsard's reaction to the attack made on him by Grévin in the *TEMPLE DE RONSARD*.¹

1: THE PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GREVIN AND RONSARD.

The relationship between Grévin and Ronsard has frequently been mentioned by historians since the sixteenth century. Many of these stress the close bond between the two, whilst others also mention their quarrel, attributing it to several different causes, some even suggesting that Ronsard was jealous of Grévin.² But the best source of information about this relationship is in the various references made by both poets to each other, and in the writings of their friends.

The first reference to Ronsard appears in 1558 in Grévin's

HYMNE A MONSEIGNEUR LE DAUPHIN, written to celebrate the marriage of the future Francis II to Mary Queen of Scots, which took place on 24th April 1558. Here the young poet identifies his preferred writers, putting Ronsard at the head of the list, and referring by name to several of Ronsard's poems, in particular to the Hymnes:

L'un dans le Vandomois sanglotant son martyre
 Apres avoir premier fredonné sur la lyre
 Ses Odes costoyant la grace du Thebin,
 Et apres émailé d'une plus grave main
 Un Prince en tout parfaict, une Royalle vie,
 La Justice, le Temple, & la Philosophie,
 La fortune, le Ciel, les Astres, & la Mort,
 La puissance de l'Or, un Hercule plus fort
 Que ne fut le premier, & un Bacchus Phanete,
 La dame Eternité, un Calais & Zete,
 Un Castor chevalier & Polux escrimeur [...] 3

Grévin admires Ronsard's poetry, and seems to desire his friendship. Muret, who wrote a detailed and excellent commentary on Ronsard's Amours, was Grévin's teacher, and may well have encouraged him in his admiration of Ronsard.

In Grévin's PASTORALE of 1559 we find another reference to Ronsard, although his name is not actually mentioned, when Grévin praises Margaret of France, the Duchess of Savoy, for having protected a certain poet against a 'mocking tongue':

Le Poete te dira sa seure sauvegarde,
 Sa targue, qui defend une langue jazarde,
 Qui d'un parler moqueur le pensoit effrayer. 4

It seems almost certain that Grévin is here referring to Margaret's defence of Ronsard, when Mellin de Saint-Gelais, in the presence of the king, was slandering Ronsard.⁵ This passage constitutes an important defence of Ronsard.

In the 1560 edition of his works, Ronsard shows that he has already recognised the younger poet's talent, for we find

no fewer than three references to Grévin, each of them lavishing praise on this author who, at 22, was only just starting out on his poetical career. In the only new sonnet of the 1560 edition of the Amours, a sonnet that also appeared at the head of Grévin's 1560 publication, L'OLIMPE, we find Ronsard's first use of Grévin's name:

A Phœbus, mon Grévin, tu es du tout semblable
De face & de cheveus, & d'art & de sçavoir. 6

This is not the only time that Ronsard will compare Grévin with Phœbus, or Apollo, the god of both medicine and poetry. The comparison must have pleased him greatly, since he was always very proud of his medical success.

Also in this same 1560 edition of his works, Ronsard shows his admiration for Grévin when he rededicates one of his odes (originally dedicated to Charles de Pisseleu) to him.⁷

Ronsard once more mentions Grévin's name in 1560, in Les Isles Fortunées, where he places him among the number of friends who are waiting on board ship to go on an imaginary journey with Muret and himself. This poem had first been published in 1553 in the second edition of Ronsard's Amours; in this first publication, Grévin's name had not (hardly surprisingly, in view of his age at that date) been mentioned. In 1560, however, we read the lines:

Ici Grevin, ici Colet arrive
Et là Gruget s'égaye sus la rive
Avec Naviere, & Peruse & Tagault. 8

Grévin's name has replaced that of La Fare, a poet who had written a sonnet in praise of Ronsard.

In the 1560 edition of L'OLIMPE, Grévin in turn mentions Ronsard several times, especially in the collection of love

sonnets. Six of the 106 sonnets of the Olimpe I are dedicated to Ronsard, twice as many as to any other friend. By dedicating to him the third sonnet of the collection,⁹ after a sonnet dedicated collectively to the Pléiade, and just before one to Du Bellay, Grévin shows clearly that he accords the 'Prince des Poètes' pride of place, ahead of his closest rival.

In those poems that he dedicates to Ronsard, Grévin makes frequent references to his poetry. Many of these poems also echo Ronsard's own works, as we shall see later in this chapter. Such poems as these confirm the impression already given by Grévin's earlier poetry that he was well acquainted with Ronsard's writings.

In the twenty-sixth sonnet of the Olimpe I, there is a hint that Grévin's relationship with Ronsard may have been personal and not just literary:

Mon RONSARD, tu m'as dict qu'en voyant ta Maistresse
 Tu sentoies peu à peu addoucir ta chaleur,
 Ainsi comme un nocher au danger du malheur,
 Quand il peult voir de loing le port de son adresse. 10

This poem, and in particular the first line, with its more personal 'Mon RONSARD', and the words 'tu m'as dict [...]', suggests (if it can be taken literally) that, even if they were not at that time close friends, Grévin and Ronsard did, at least, already know each other and had spoken together.

In the Gelodacrye I, it is true, only one of the poems is dedicated to Ronsard,¹¹ and it seems likely that this is due to the fact that they are only occasionally inspired by him. Far more frequently they are inspired by Du Bellay; it seems reasonable that Grévin would mention Ronsard less often where, as in this collection, textual echoes of him are fewer.

But the impression left by L'OLIMPE as a whole is that Grévin's admiration for Ronsard was immense and that the young poet was hoping that the established master, having noticed his work, praised his talent, and presumably met him at the very least, would allow him into the circle of his intimate friends.

Not long afterwards, in 1561, another indication of the relationship between Ronsard and Grévin is furnished by Nicolas Ellain, a young poet and co-student of Grévin at the Faculté de Médecine, who used to receive Ronsard and his friends at his home in Saint-Marceau, not far from Paris. One of Ellain's own poems strongly indicates that Ronsard and Grévin were personally acquainted, since Ellain here says that he is not inviting all Ronsard's friends, but only Ronsard and Grévin. For Ellain suggests that they go with him to Gentilly, and addresses Grévin as follows:

Tu pourras là, si tu veulx, aysement
Arboriser, et là commodement
Ronsard pourra charpenter son navire. 12

By 1561, therefore, Ronsard and Grévin must have met several times and were probably on friendly terms. Ronsard then gives further indication that they were close friends in his Elegie de P. de Ronsard à J. Grévin, which is to be found in Grévin's 1561 publication LE THEATRE. Here, Grévin is again compared with Apollo, and more elaborately:

[...] tu appris les mestiers
D'Apollon, qui t'estime et te suit volontiers,
A fin qu'en nostre France un seul GREVIN assemble
La docte Medecine & les vers tout ensemble. 13

Ronsard also praises Grévin in this Elegie for following so

quickly and so skilfully in Jodelle's footsteps in the field of theatre, for Jodelle had, of course, been the first to write French tragedies, as Grévin himself recognises in a prefatory note in *LE THEATRE*.¹⁴ In this same elegy, Ronsard writes that Grévin has surpassed not only Jodelle but also Ronsard himself:

Et toy, GREVIN, apres, toy mon GREVIN encor,
 Qui dores ton menton d'un petit crespé d'or,
 A qui vingt & deux ans n'ont pas clos les années,
 Tu nous as toutesfois les Muses amenées,
 Et nous as surmontez, qui sommes jà grisons,
 Et qui pensions avoir Phebus en nos maisons. 15

He also examines the nature of poetry in a way which suggests that Ronsard and Grévin may, indeed, have discussed this subject between themselves in some detail. Ronsard praises those ancient Greeks who:

d'un voile divers
 Par fables ont caché le vray sens de leurs vers,
 A fin que le vulgaire, amy de l'ignorance,
 Ne comprist le mestier de leur belle science,
 Vulgaire qui se mocque, & qui met à mespris
 Les mysteres sacrez, quand il les a compris.
 Ils furent les premiers qui la Theologie
 Et le sçavoir hautain de nostre Astrologie,
 Par un art tressubtil des fables ont voilé. 16

Ronsard may conceivably have chosen to address these words to Grévin because he knew of his sympathy with the Reformers, and therefore wished to make it clear that he did not consider that his many critics among the Reformers were correct in denouncing his own poetry as pagan, but on the contrary that he believed that an authentic religious meaning lay behind the facade of myth. It is interesting to note that Ronsard's elegy to Loys de Masures, a Reformer, also defends his poetry against charges made by Reformers.

One might expect Grévin, after reading this Elegie, to

refer to Ronsard even more frequently. Such reference is, however, rare in LE THEATRE, the compilation containing Ronsard's Elegie à J. Grévin. In Grévin's Cesar, it is true, there is a discreet reference to Ronsard's as yet unwritten Franciade.¹⁷ In the second book of the OLIMPE, however, also published in 1561 in LE THEATRE, Grévin never mentions Ronsard; and he does so only once in the Gelodacrye II which also forms part of the same collection. This absence of reference to Ronsard may be due to an incipient disagreement on religious matters. Ronsard was beginning to express his Roman Catholic beliefs more openly, for in 1560 his Elegie à Guillaume des Autels¹⁸ and his Elegie à Lois des Masures,¹⁹ express Catholic beliefs and attack Reformers, and it was around this time that Grévin's own disaffection towards both sides began to manifest itself. And, indeed, the final sonnet of the Gelodacrye II - the only poem in Grévin's 1561 collection to mention Ronsard - would seem to support this theory. It is, in fact, the last reference to Ronsard by Grévin before the two were split by their religious quarrels.²⁰

The unknown author who used the pseudonym 'A. Guymara' in his pamphlet Ad J. Grovellum [...] admonitio refers to the closeness of the friendship which had existed between Grévin and Ronsard. 'Guymara' informs Grévin that he knows that he is the author of a certain pamphlet against Ronsard, very possibly the TEMPLE DE RONSARD. He knows this, he says, because Grévin once told him that Ronsard had come to see him when he was in the middle of writing this pamphlet, and Grévin had been forced to hide it quickly. The terms used by

'Guymara' demonstrate that Ronsard and Grévin were formerly old friends, for he writes:

Cum ad salutandum pro vetere amicitia Ronsardus domam
tuam venisset, & satis libere suo more, esset
ingressus [...] 21

The fact that this slightly comical anecdote is found in a pamphlet against Grévin may lead one to question its strict authenticity, but it does confirm that Ronsard and Grévin were known to be friends.

One is thus able to piece together, from references made by Ronsard, by Grévin, and by their friends and antagonists, that Grévin, once he had been accepted into the circle of the Pléiade, probably around 1560, soon became a friend of Ronsard, at least until Grévin's religious sentiments caused a rift between them.

An equally strong indication of the early intimate relationship between Ronsard and Grévin lies in the vigour of Ronsard's reaction to the criticism that Grévin was later to direct at him in the *TEMPLE DE RONSARD*. He is both angered and saddened. The very fact that Ronsard decides, in 1567, to eliminate Grévin's name from his writings is evidence of this.²²

Interestingly, after Grévin's quarrel with Ronsard over the *TEMPLE DE RONSARD*, Grévin still makes occasional references to Ronsard. It is true that in the *SECOND DISCOURS SUR L'ANTIMOINE*²³ Grévin calls Du Bellay the 'Prince des poètes françois', bestowing upon Du Bellay the title generally reserved for Ronsard, as if he no longer considered this poet worthy of comparison with Du Bellay. But, in the *RESPONSE AUX*

CALOMNIES DE M.A.GUYMARA of 1564, in which Grévin replies to the pamphlet written by 'Guymara', he praises Ronsard, writing:

J'ay tousjours recogneu Ronsard pour bon poëte,
Et pour homme de bien. 24

In the DEUX LIVRES DE VENINS, too, Grévin refers to Ronsard and quotes his poetry. Mentioning a story told by Nicander, Grévin informs his reader that Ronsard had referred to it in one of the love sonnets.²⁵ Grévin quotes the first line of this sonnet from the Continuation des Amours in the version which appeared in the 1567 edition of Ronsard's works,²⁶ which suggests that Grévin admired Ronsard sufficiently to read his most recent publications (the DEUX LIVRES were published just one year later, in 1568).²⁷ This reference to Ronsard may, in fact, have been made through a desire for reconciliation with him.

2: THE INFLUENCE OF RONSARD'S POETRY ON GREVIN

The most complete study to date of Ronsard's influence on Grévin is perhaps that of Marcel Raymond in his work L'Influence de Ronsard sur la poésie française. Raymond dedicates one complete chapter of this study to Ronsard and Grévin,²⁸ in which he outlines some of the elements of this young poet's debt to Ronsard. But his study is not a full examination of the influence of Ronsard on Grévin, only an indication of certain fairly general sources of Grévin's poetry. It is therefore necessary to attempt a more complete exposé of Grévin's debt, indicating the increasing influence

of the 'Prince des poètes' on his disciple. I shall, therefore, attempt to list all the main passages in Grévin which derive from Ronsard. In this way it will be possible, having examined the poetry in chronological order, to determine how quickly Grévin's poetry evolved away from Ronsard. In the conclusion of this chapter, I shall attempt to say what are the general features of Grévin's imitation. Here, and in the next two chapters, examining the influence of earlier poets on Grévin, I have underlined those words and phrases common to the two poets concerned, though the case for a link between Grévin's text and an earlier one is often based on more than verbal echoes.

In quoting Ronsard, I have, unless otherwise stated, used Laumonier's edition: I have also looked at the variant readings in order to try and determine which edition Grévin was using. I have, however, with the exception of Grévin's quotation of a line of the Continuation des Amours which has just been noted, found it impossible to determine this with any certainty. It seems likely that, on one occasion at least, Grévin used the original edition rather than the then recent 1560 complete edition. In the 1555 and 1557 editions of the Continuation des Amours, Ronsard had written:

Or si vous le chassés, je ne veus plus qu'il vienne
Vers moi, pour y r'avoir sa demeure ancienne

and in the 1560 edition:

Or si vous le chassez je ne veux qu'il revienne
Dedans mon estomach en sa place ancienne. 29

Grévin, in one of the love poems of L'OLIMPE, seems to imitate

the 1555 or 1557 edition, rather than that of 1560, when he writes:

Or puis qu'il ne vous plaist,
 Qu'il cherche ailleurs demeure [...]
Qu'il ne wienne à mes yeux. 30

However, this example should certainly not be taken as conclusive evidence that Grévin did not use the 1560 complete edition of Ronsard's works.

(i) The HYMNE A MONSEIGNEUR LE DAUPHIN

The HYMNE A MONSEIGNEUR LE DAUPHIN celebrates the marriage of Francis II and Mary Stuart, which took place on 24th April 1558. Raymond noted that it introduces many of the themes of Ronsard's Hymnes, and has cited one example of direct imitation. He has compared Grévin's passage:

Voici Bacchus encor' [...]
 Compagné de Sylvans, des Pans & des Menades,
 Des Satyres aussi, & des Dames Thyades
 Carollant à plains saulx au son de gros tabours,
 Faisant autour de l'asne & mille & mille tours,
 Sur lequel est monté le bon vieillard Silene
De pampre revestu, & sa teste divine
 De lierre environnée & de raisins vineux. 31

with Ronsard's lines in the Hinne de Bacus:

Son asne tallonoit le bon vieillard Silene,
 Portant le van mystiq sus une lance pleine
De pampre [...]
 A son cri sautelloient le troupeau des Menades,
Des Pans & des Sylvans, des Lenes, & Thyades,
 Et menans un grand bruit de cors & de tabours
 Faisoit trembler d'effroy les villes & les bours. 32

But several other examples of Grévin's indebtedness to Ronsard can equally well be identified. A number of Grévin's descriptions of the sea and the creatures of the sea in this

poem come from Ronsard. There is some similarity between Ronsard's description in Le Temple de Messieurs le Connestable, et des Chastillons, of those who are singing the praises of Gaspard II de Coligny, whom he calls 'le François Neptune':

Après, de la grand Mer, & des ondes liquides
L'image sera peinte, & des Sœurs Nereides,
D'Inon, & des Tritons, qui bruiront ses vertuz
Tout au sommet de l'eau dans leurs cornetz tortuz,
Flottans demy-poissons, à celle fin que l'onde
Soit pleine de son loz, aussi bien que le monde. 33

and Grévin's own description of those accompanying Neptune:

Et comme je puis veoir à ces Cornetz tortuz,
Que tiennent les Tritons d'écaille revestuz
My-hommes my-poissons, bruyans au hault de l'onde
La venue du Roy de ce grand salé-monde. 34

The description of Neptune's arrival at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis (the dauphin, the future Francis II, and Mary Queen of Scots) is partly inspired by Ronsard. Grévin writes:

Autres au chariotz accouplent les Daulphins,
Comme Glaucue & Nérée allant d'ordre en bataille,
L'un porte un Morion émaillé d'une écaille,
Et l'autre un Corselet de quelque os élevé,
De la dent d'un poisson mignonement gravé,
Neptune est au milieu, qui tient dedans sa dextre
Son Trident [...] 35

Ronsard, describing, in Le Temple de Messieurs le Connestable, et des Chastillons, how he intended to portray his Neptune, had written:

Je la peindray dessus une coche émaillée
De bleu, que trois dauphins à l'echine escaillée
Traineront sous le joug, & Glaucue qui fera
Semblant de les brider, tant bien peint il sera:
Il tiendra dans la dextre un trident venerable [...] 36

Another passage, this time from Ronsard's Les Daimons, would seem to have inspired two separate passages in this poem of Grévin's. Ronsard wrote, describing the demons that inhabit

the sea:

Pource, ilz se font nommer Naiades, Nereïdes,
Les filles de Thetis, les cinquante Phorcydes,
 Qui errent dans la mer sur le doz des Dauphins,
Bridants les eturbotz, les fouches, & les thyns,
 Aucunesfois vagant tout-au-sommet des Ormes,
 Aucunesfois au bas des abysmes profondes. 37

In the first of the two passages that Grévin draws from these lines, we read:

Thétis fille à Nerée estoit Nymphé des ondes,
 Habitant plus souvant aux abismes profondes
 Du vieillart Ocean [...] 38

The second passage is found towards the end of Grévin's HYMNE.

Here Grévin writes, describing those who are accompanying

Neptune:

Inon & Melifert, les cinquantes Phocydes [sic],
 Aretuse, Cyane avec' les Nereides [...],
 L'un les gros Eturbotz, l'autre les Fouches bride,
 L'autre a pour Gouvernail sa queue qui le guide,
 Les autres sont trainés par Ballaines & Thyns
 Autres au chariotz accouplent les Daulphins. 39

That this is borrowed from Ronsard is even more apparent if one notes that, in line 1 of the passage quoted above, we read 'Phocydes' instead of 'Phorcydes', an error also to be found in the 1555 and 1560 editions of Ronsard's Hymnes, and which was only corrected in 1567.

Turning from descriptions of the sea and of its mythological figures, Grévin's lines, addressing the Muses:

Delaissés donc' les montz d'Helicon, Pinde & Cirrhe,
Les rivages de Pimple, les Antres Thespiens,
Et les bocages d'Ascré, 40

are a fairly close imitation of Ronsard's own passage:

De Pinde, & d'Helicon, & de Cirrhe le mont,
Les antres Thespiens, & les sacrez rivages
De Pimple, & de Parnasse, & les divins bocages
 D'Ascré [...] 41

One further passage of Grévin's HYMNE A MONSEIGNEUR LE DAUPHIN may be considered as imitation of Ronsard's own Hymnes. Grévin writes, referring to Dorat, and discussing his poetic talent: 'Et puis le Limosin duquel les vers sont d'or'.⁴² This may be borrowed from Ronsard's lines in the Hymne de l'Or, in which he addresses Dorat, stating that he would be at fault if, speaking of gold:

[...] je ne parlois de toy
 Qui as le nom doré, mon DORAT, car cet Hymne,
 De qui les vers sont d'or, d'un autre homme n'est digne
 Que de toy [...] 43

Grévin also draws inspiration for this HYMNE A MONSEIGNEUR LE DAUPHIN from one passage of an earlier Hymne by Ronsard.

Grévin's lines, in which he says that Ronsard sang of love:

Après avoir premier fredonné sur la lyre
 Ses Odes costoyant la grace du Thebin 44

('La grace du Thebin' being a reference to Pindar, who lived in Thebes), appear to be drawn from Ronsard's Hymne de France, in which he writes, referring to any man who is not avaricious:

[...] il desire
 De marier ses odes à la lyre,
 Que j'apportai de Thebes jusqu'en France,
 Et la sonnai premier dès mon enfance. 45

Grévin draws very little inspiration for his HYMNE A MONSEIGNEUR LE DAUPHIN from Ronsard's other writings than the Hymnes. He does, however, seem to have imitated one passage from the Odes. His lines:

Et toy nepveu d'Atlas, ne prendras-tu la cure
 D'aller par tout le monde, ô bien disant Mercur, 46

appear to have been drawn from Ronsard's ode A Mercure:

Facond neveu d'Atlas, Mercur,
 Qui as pris le soin & la cure
 Des bons esprits sur tous les dieus [...] 47

Ronsard's influence on this work is therefore fairly substantial. Grévin, here, remains close to the original, successfully adapting Ronsard's lines to his verse, while introducing nothing particularly innovative.

(ii) The REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE

Grévin's LES REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE were published around February or March 1559, some seven months after the HYMNE A MONSEIGNEUR LE DAUPHIN. Raymond is correct in stating that the REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE were inspired by Du Bellay rather than by Ronsard.⁴⁸ The Description de Beauvaisis, which accompanied the REGRETZ, owes little to Ronsard, although Lucien Pinvert, in his thesis on Grévin,⁴⁹ does mention correctly that one description of the Nymphs, Dryads, and other divinities is borrowed from Ronsard. He compares Grévin's lines:

Dedans ces prez en simples vertugades,
 Au doux prin-temps vous verriez les Dryades [...] 50

with Ronsard's:

Dedans des Prez je vis une Dryade,
 Qui comme fleur s'assisoyt par les fleurs,
 Et mignotoyt un chapeau de couleurs,
 Eschevelée en simple verdugade. 51

Three odes accompany the REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE, the Ode à Magdaleine de Suze, the Ode à Jaques Grévin son Oncle, and the Ode à Antoine de Talon, all to be reprinted in L'OLIMPE⁵² in 1560. In these odes, only a limited amount of imitation may be found. In the first, the opening lines are certainly comparable with Ronsard's Ode de la Paix, au Roy

of 1550. Ronsard had described war as:

[...] la longue horreur
De Mars vomissant sa fureur,
Et l'âpre venin de sa rage
Sur ton país noici d'orage [...] 53

and Grévin describes Proteus, who:

[...] renouvelant sa fureur
Vomit le venin de sa rage,
Comme de l'air nouvel orage,
Contre l'entier de son honneur. 54

The ode which perhaps draws most from Ronsard is the third, A Antoine de Talon, in which Grévin describes his friendship with Talon. One might compare Ronsard's lines in his ode Au Conte d'Alsinois:

La vertu fut en partie
La corde qui nous joignit,
Et la mesme sympathie
Celle qui nous estraignit, 55

with Grévin's two lines:

Quelle est donc ceste sympathie
Qui joint nos cueurs si doucement. 56

Although the resemblance is not very close, the similarity of theme and thought does, perhaps, suggest that Grévin has here assimilated Ronsard's lines. Another passage of this same ode by Grévin seems to enlarge and develop three lines of Ronsard's ode A Melin de Saint Gelais. Ronsard had written, referring to his relationship with Saint-Gelais, that he would construct an altar, so that:

[...] ni l'oubli, ni le tans mesme,
Ni faus rapport, ni la mort blesme
Ne denouront nôtre amitié. 57

Grévin in turn had written of his friendship with Talon:

[...] Ny quelque bouche meschante
D'un affamé rapporteur:

Non le glaive meurtrier,
 Non un flateur coustumier,
 Pipeur de nostre courage,
 Pipeur des parfaicts amis,
 Ne nous fera ennemis
 A l'appetit de sa rage. 58

Apart from these examples, however, there is no real imitation of Ronsard in the odes accompanying the REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE.

(iii) The CHANT DE JOIE DE LA PAIX

Raymond has completely omitted from his survey of passages in Grévin derived from Ronsard any mention of the CHANT DE JOIE DE LA PAIX of 1559, despite the fact that it would seem to be partially inspired by Ronsard's own poem La Paix,⁵⁹ published in the first third of 1559.⁶⁰ Pinvert notes correctly that the same ideas are expressed, sometimes in the same terms; both poems tell of the end of the cruelties of war, the rebirth of love and the growth of commerce.⁶¹ He also gives a few examples of this imitation, comparing, for instance, the lines where Grévin says that men may now travel and exchange their wares:

En une estrange province
 Avec un estrange prince, 62

with Ronsard's line 'Avec les estrangers les estrangers s'accordent'.⁶³ Pinvert also compares Ronsard's lines:

On n'oit plus les canons horriblement tonner,
 Mais la lyre & le luth doucement resonner
 Aupres de sa maistresse [...] 64

with Grévin's:

Au lieu d'armets & cuirasses,
 [...] 65
 Sur le lut & sur la lyre
 L'on s'essayra de bien dire.

Although the similarity is not here as close as in Pinvert's first example, it is not impossible that this passage is inspired by Ronsard's words.

A number of other examples may, however, be found which prove rather more convincingly the debt that Grévin's poem owes to Ronsard's Ode de la Paix. One example is the similarity in the two descriptions of what the men will do now that peace has been restored. Both mention that there will be hunting instead of war, music instead of the noises of battle, and that men will dance and make love. In his La Paix, Ronsard had written:

Puis de là, sans danger les ambusches se font
 Aux cerfs qui vont portant un arbre sur le front,
 Aux dains qui son creintifz, ou de retz on enferme
 Le sanglier furieux qui cruellement s'arme
 D'une outrageuse dent, ou lon poursuit au cours
 Le chevreul qui a mis en ses piedz son secours:
 On chante, on saute, on rid par les belles preries,
On fait tournois, festins, masques, & mommeries [...] 66

Grévin, inspired by Ronsard's subject, and imitating to a certain extent his language and style, writes:

Aux lievres on chassera,
 Et par les forests feuillues
 Apres les bestes cornues
 L'embuscade on dressera,
 Ou à la seule priere
 De quelque douce guerriere,
 Sous les reluisans harnois,
Lon fera mille tournois. 67

Here, although the source is almost certainly Ronsard, Grévin, for perhaps the first time, assimilates this poet's lines more completely, producing verse that is more fully his own.

Both Ronsard and Grévin also describe in similar terms the punishment that they consider fitting for whoever attempts to disrupt the peace.⁶⁸ There is one final example from this

same poem where Grévin has closely imitated Ronsard's words.

In his La Paix, Ronsard wrote that the cruel arrogance of ambitious steel will pierce:

Aussi bien l'estomach d'une jeune pucelle,
Que celui d'un enfant qui pend à la mamelle. 69

Grévin, in his CHANT DE JOIE DE LA PAIX wrote in turn that it is wrong for:

Un enfant en la mamelle,
Une pauvreuse pucelle
Estre subjects au hazards
De la rage des soldars. 70

Evidently, then, the CHANT DE JOIE DE LA PAIX owes something to Ronsard, although Grévin has borrowed themes and ideas rather than actual words or phrases.

(iv) LA PASTORALE of 1559

Raymond has identified correctly a number of echoes of Ronsard here. He states that the passage where Grévin says that the poet exchanges his writing for heroic deeds: 'Ainsi que troc pour troc', to be found in the dedication of this PASTORALE,⁷¹ is borrowed from one of Ronsard's poems:

Prince, je t'envoie cette Ode,
Trafiquant mes vers à la mode
Que le marchand baille son bien,
Troque pour troq' [...] 72

Next Raymond says that the theme of this poem is drawn from Ronsard's own Chant Pastoral sur les nopces de Monseigneur Charles Duc de Lorraine, & de Madame Claude Fille II. du Roy,⁷³

and that in both cases the marriage is announced by a shepherd and protected by Pan.⁷⁴ He also compares Ronsard's line: 'Un chapelet de fleurs pour son chef couronner'⁷⁵ with Grévin's

lines, describing Elizabeth of France making:

Un beau chapelet de fleurs,
Pour couronner ses deux Sœurs, 76

the two sisters being, as Pinvert notes, Claude of France and Margaret of France.⁷⁷ Above all, says Raymond, we find the poetic quality of Ronsard's Eclogues: the

parfum rustique, la progression lente et sinueuse de leurs alexandrins, leur débit abondant et calme comme un fleuve, entraînent dans un même balancement cadencé les vocables du terroir et les douces métaphores latines. 78

Yet the imitation does, in fact, seem to be far more widespread than this: the development of the two poems is very similar - in both cases we meet two shepherds, one the poet and the other a good friend. In Ronsard's poem, Perot (Ronsard himself) talks with Bellot (Du Bellay), and in Grévin's, Jaquet (Jacques Grévin) talks with the painter and poet, Collin (Nicolas Denisot). In Ronsard's poem, we learn that one of these shepherds keeps goats, and the other sheep;⁷⁹ at the beginning of Grévin's PASTORALE, we learn that Jaquet - the poet himself - keeps sheep, and that Collin tends goats.⁸⁰ On hearing of the forthcoming marriage - or, in the case of LA PASTORALE, marriages - both sets of shepherds decide to compose songs in praise of the couples. Ronsard says of Claudine (Claude of France):

Comme une belle rose est l'honneur du jardin,
Qui aux rais du Soleil s'est esclose au matin,
Ainsi Claudine l'est de toutes les bergeres,
Et les passe d'autant qu'un pin fait les fougères. 81

Grévin, imitating him, writes:

Ainsi entre les bergeres
Nous voyons nostre Ysabeau,
Comme parmi les fougères
Les fleurs du printemps nouveau,

[...]
Comme parmi les fleurettes,
Descloses au chault du jour
 Un essaim de mille avettes
 Fait son plus heureux sejour. 82

Both poems mention, in similar passages, that the flocks will be able to live without fear now that they are well protected. The shepherds, too, will now be able to amuse themselves, relaxing in the shade and playing their instruments.⁸³

The influence of Ronsard's Chant Pastoral on Grévin's work, therefore, is very important. But it is not the only source of inspiration; the refrain of Collin's second song in the PASTORALE: 'Hymen, hymen, hyménée!'⁸⁴ seems to be drawn from one of Ronsard's earliest works, the Epithalame d'Antoine de Bourbon et Janne de Navarre, where we hear the refrain:

O Hymen, Hyménée:
 Hymen, ô Hyménée. 85

a refrain, according to Laumonier, already borrowed by Ronsard from Catullus and Theocritus.⁸⁶ Grévin also finds inspiration for his PASTORALE in Ronsard's Odes. The passage from Ronsard's ode Le Ravissement de Cephale:

Reveillez vous belle Aurore,
 Lente au lit vous sommeillez:
 Et avecque vous encore
Le beau matin reveillez:
 Ainsi le dolent Cephale
 Vous soit aimable, & dous 87

is evidently the source of inspiration for Grévin's lines:

Vien belle Aurore, & resveille
Le Matin qui, foible & lent,
 Et trop paresseux sommeille
 Comme Cephale dolent. 88

When Jaquet in the PASTORALE says that he would like to sing the praises of the two couples celebrated in this poem, he fears that he may be unable to do so. He tells his friend:

Collin, j'ai deux pipeaux dedans ma panetiere,
 L'anche de l'un des deux est encor' toute entiere,
 Mais, malheur! ell' ne sçait qu'une Olimpe, & l'Amour. 89

The inspiration for this passage probably comes from Ronsard's first poem of the 1555 Meslanges, where we learn that Ronsard wanted to describe Francus's journey:

Mais mon luc, pincé de mon doi,
 Ne vouloit en depit de moi
 Que chanter Amour, & Cassandre. 90

In both passages the poet's musical instrument, despite the poet's desire to turn to other subjects, is able to speak only of love.

The 578 lines of LA PASTORALE do, therefore, contain a considerable amount of imitation of Ronsard, in large part, as Raymond states, from the 1559 Chant Pastoral, but also from several earlier works.

(v) L'OLIMPE of 1560

Grévin's 1560 publication L'OLIMPE contains the first part of the Olimpe and of the Gelodacrye, as well as several odes, and a collection of short love poems called the Jeux Olimpiques. His 1561 publication, LE THEATRE, contains three plays, the second part of l'Olimpe and of La Gelodacrye, more odes and other love poems called Vilanesques, Chansons, Baisers, Amourettes and other similar titles. It is my intention to study first the poems of L'OLIMPE, and then those contained in LE THEATRE, and consequently to differentiate, as Raymond has not, between the 1560 Olimpe I and the 1561 Olimpe II. In this way it will be possible, having examined the poetry in

chronological order, to determine how quickly Grévin's poetry evolved away from Ronsard.

Starting with the Olimpe I, then, borrowings from Ronsard's own love sonnets, particularly those to Cassandre, are frequent. Raymond has set out a few examples: he notes the use of antithesis by both poets, quoting from Grévin the lines:

Je suis ferme & dispos, & ne me puis defendre,
Je suis d'un grand courage & le cueur me default,
J'ay les aesles au flanc, & ne puis voller hault,
J'ay vaincu l'ennemi, & à luy me fault rendre [...] 91

and comparing it with Ronsard's

Rien ne me plaist si non ce qui m'ennuye,
Je suis vaillant, & le cueur me default,
J'ay l'espoir bas, j'ay le courage hault,
Je doute Amour, & si je le deffie [...] 92

He also notes the similarity in some of the descriptions. When, for instance, Ronsard dreams of Cassandre, he writes:

Que de coral, que de liz, que de roses,
Ce me sembloyt, à pleines mains descloses,
Tastay-je lors entre deux manimentz?

Mon dieu mon dieu, de quelle douce aleine,
De quelle odeur estoit sa bouche pleine,
De quelz rubiz, & de quelz diamantz! 93

Grévin, dreaming of Olympe, says:

Hé bon dieu! que d'oeillets, que de liz, que de roses
Recevray-je alors à pleines mains descloses,
Si je suis compensé d'un vray accollement? 94

However these examples which Raymond gives do not show the enormous amount of imitation of Ronsard to be found in this collection. Many of the common elements of the two collections are, of course, to be found in the vast majority of love sonnets in the sixteenth century: these are the elements common to Petrarch and his imitators - the themes of beauty, poison, torment and admiration are just a few examples. But many

elements of Grévin's poetry are drawn from Ronsard alone, as can be shown by the fact that Grévin very frequently reproduces not just Ronsard's themes but, in many cases, his actual words. Imitation of themes may be found when both Ronsard and Grévin mention their mutual friend, Nicolas Denisot, the one relating his feelings on looking at a portrait of Cassandre by this artist,⁹⁵ the other asking Denisot if he will not paint his love.⁹⁶ Verbal imitation may be found, for instance, when both poets dedicate an early sonnet to the Muses - Ronsard, the first of the collection, and Grévin the third, and there is some similarity in the expressions used. Ronsard writes:

Divin troupeau, qui sur les rives molles
 Du fleuve Eurote, ou sur le mont natal,
 Ou sur le bord du chevalin crystal,
 Assis [...] 97

and Grévin in turn says:

A toy divin troupeau, qui sur le double front
 De Parnasse & de Pimple [...] 98

The 'mont natal', mentioned by Ronsard, is, of course, mount Parnassus, legendary home of the Muses, mentioned by name in Grévin's sonnet.

Both express in similar terms the idea of dying at the feet of their beloved. Ronsard appeals to his beloved in the following terms:

Vault il pas mieulx en tirer du service,
 Que par l'horreur d'un cruel sacrifice,
L'occire aux piedz de ta fiere beauté? 99

Grévin in turn begs Olimpe either to help him:

Ou faites tout au moins que je puisse mourir
Au pieds de la beauté qui m'a l'ame ravie. 100

Ronsard asks to have life and liberty returned to him:

Ren moy, ren moy ma doulce liberté
 [...]
 Ren moy ma vie. 101

Grévin echoes these terms when he says that what he wants
 Olimpe to do for him is to:

Rendre ma liberté & me donner la vie. 102

Ronsard says that love is a tyrant, and writes:

Le doulx Tyran me martela de coupz. 103

Grévin copies this, telling us that he cannot write of peace
 while:

Sentant le dur Tiran me marteler de coups. 104

Both Ronsard and Grévin say that their poetic inspiration
 comes not from Mount Parnassus, nor from the Hippocrene
 fountain, but from their lady. Here again Grévin assimilates
 Ronsard's expressions. Ronsard had written:

Je n'ay point beu dedans l'onde d'Ascrée,
 Fille du pied du cheval emplumé.
 De tes beaulx rais chastement allumé
Je fu poëte [...] 105

Grévin assimilating Ronsard's meaning rather than simply
 imitating his lines, says:

Je fu poete des lors sans longuement ronger
 La feuille du laurier, sans curieux songer
 Sur le mont de Parnasse & boire de son onde. 106

(Du Bellay's second poem of the Regrets is also reminiscent of
 Ronsard's lines.¹⁰⁷) Elsewhere, Grévin, describing his love,
 extols:

Une bouche, un corail, une rose, un œillet,
 Une levre, une freze, & un menton douillet,
 Où nichent ces Meurtriers qui font pasmer mon ame;

Une joue d'alebastre, où un beau teinct vermeil
 Fait en s'entremeslant comme un petit soleil [...]

 108

He has here assimilated Ronsard's sixth sonnet of the 1552

collection, which mentions:

Ces liens d'or, ceste bouche vermeille,
 Pleine de lis, de roses, & d'œuillets,
 Et ces couraulx chastement vermeillets,
 Et ceste joue à l'Aurore pareille. 109

Both poets, moreover, are happy to be in love with such
 beautiful women. Ronsard writes:

Je suis vrayment heureux & plusque heureux,
 De vivre aymé & de vivre amoureux
 De la beaulté d'une Dame si belle, 110

and Grévin:

On me dira heureux que si gentil erreur
 Conduit mes jeunes ans sous l'æsle du Vainqueur,
Et plus heureux encor' d'avoir si belle Dame. 111

Sea images are frequent in both collections, and here again
 Grévin imitates Ronsard. The older poet writes that his lady:

Le conduisoit du Phare de ses yeulx. 112

His young pupil begs his lady:

[...] que sois radressé du Phare de vos yeux. 113

Similarly, Ronsard's lines:

En peu de temps, le gracieux Zephyre,
 Heureusement empoupant ton navire,
 Te fit surgir dans le port amoureux. 114

are imitated by Grévin:

Brunette, si le vent empoupant ma navire,
 Me veult faire surgir au port que je desire [...] 115

Grévin describes his feelings when struck by a
 'thunderstorm', or rather by the arrival of love:

Je fus evanoui en sentant peu-à-peu
Escouler en mon ame un venin & un feu. 116

He has borrowed Ronsard's words expressing his feelings when he
 first saw his lady and love struck him:

Là je senty dedans mes yeulx voller
Un doux venin, qui se vint escouler

Au fond de l'ame. 117

These are not, by any means, the only examples of imitation to be found in the Olimpe I taken from the sonnets to Cassandre. One might also note the similarity in the way both poets address their lady, and also in the way they address their gods.¹¹⁸ It is perhaps also worth mentioning that Ronsard's use of the word 'metamorphoses', so frequent in this collection, is adopted by Grévin in his love sonnets.¹¹⁹

Grévin, as well as imitating Ronsard's 1552 and 1553 Amours, addressed to Cassandre, also imitates, although to a lesser extent, the 1555 Continuation des Amours, and the Nouvelle Continuation des Amours of 1556. The sonnet in which Grévin describes Cupid turning into an arrow¹²⁰ seems to have been inspired by Ronsard's sonnet relating how Cupid, when he ran out of arrows, himself turned into one.¹²¹ Ronsard writes in this same sonnet that Cupid called him to combat:

'courbant son arc Turquois'.¹²² Grévin, similarly, writes:

'Je me plais quand je voy courber un arc Turquois'.¹²³

Again in the Continuation des Amours, Ronsard writes:

Non, celui n'aime point, ou bien il aime peu,
Qui peut donner par signe à cognoistre son feu,
Et qui peut raconter le quart de ce qu'il aime. 124

Although Grévin does not here imitate directly, he was probably inspired by this sonnet when he wrote:

Et si n'estime point qu'on puisse declarer
Le quart des passions qui me font désirer [...] 125

There is also similarity and imitation in another sonnet of this collection. Ronsard's lines:

J'aurai tousjours en une hayne extrême
Le soir, la chaire, & le lit odieus,

Où je fus pris, sans y penser, des yeus
Qui pour aimer me font hayr moi-mesme, 126

are adapted by Grévin:

Las! pour vous trop aimer je ne m'aime moymesme,
 Car or' que je me sente estre en mon mal extreme,
 Si ne veux-je pourtant avoir aucun confort. 127

There is again little doubt that Ronsard's words to his lady:

Pour n'estre desormais une nouvelle fable
 Au peuple, il seroit temps (s'il te fust agreable)
 De me donner congé [...]. 128

inspired Grévin to write:

Je seray faict la fable à ce sot populaire
 Pour vous avoir aimé, & ne m'en repen point. 129

This expression originates in Petrarch, sonnet 1, but considering Grévin's indebtedness to Ronsard throughout the collection, it seems logical to suggest that this young poet was most probably imitating his older friend.

Ronsard's love sonnets are, therefore, an abundant source of inspiration for Grévin's Olimpe I. But Grévin's imitation of Ronsard in this collection is not by any means totally confined to the Amours and the Continuation des Amours; it may also be found in Ronsard's other love poetry in the Odes and in several other works. In the ode A Janne Impitoyable, Ronsard writes, addressing his beloved in neo-platonic language:

Et tu me fuis, & tu ne veus encore
Te joindre à ta moitié. 130

Similarly Grévin writes:

C'est vous tant seulement, c'est vous fiere Maistresse,
Qui ne voulez vous joindre avec vostre moitié. 131

Ronsard's early poem, the Fantaisie à sa Dame, also inspired one of Grévin's sonnets. The opening lines of Ronsard's poem

read:

Il estoit nuict, & le present des cieulx,
Plus doux que miel, couloit dedans mes yeux,
 Lors que par l'air je me senty ravy,
 Et transformer en nue je me vy. 132

Grévin, adapting these lines, writes:

Il estoit desja nuict, & la voulte des cieux
 Couverte d'un manteau, monstroit la claire estoille,
 Qui premiere apparoist clouée à ce grand voile,
 Brillant en toutes pars de mille & mille feux:

Le somme oste-souci respandoit dans ma moelle
 De sa douceur mielleuse, & du vent de son æsle
 Aflattant mes esprits faisoit clorre mes yeux. 133

From these examples it becomes evident that in the 1560 Olimpe I Ronsard's influence on Grévin was immense. In fact, Grévin imitated Ronsard even more in this collection than in his earlier works. All imitation, however, comes from Ronsard's love poetry, whether from the collections of sonnets or from other love poetry; without exception, all imitate with little innovation, although the derivative material is completely integrated into Grévin's own thought.

Apart from these sonnets, Grévin published in L'OLIMPE a number of other love poems - several Chansons, mingled with the sonnets of the Olimpe, and the Jeux Olimpiques themselves, a short collection of love poems of various genres. These other love poems owe a great deal to Ronsard's own love poetry. Raymond mentions them briefly, producing only one, rather tenuous, example of imitation.¹³⁴ There is a little imitation of the 1552 and 1553 sonnets to Cassandre. Both Grévin and Ronsard frequently turn to the fragility of beauty, often suggesting that their love should enjoy her youth before it is too late. In one such passage, Grévin says:

Ne vault il pas mieux ce pendant
 Que le soleil n'est point ardent
Cueillir ceste belle jeunesse,
 Qu'attendre une morne vieillesse? 135

Ronsard several times uses the image of flowers to suggest that his love's beauty would soon wither. The particular passage that seems to have inspired Grévin may be found in the ode 'Mignonne, allon voir si la rose...' where Ronsard says to Cassandre:

Tandis que vôtre âge fleuronne
 En sa plus verte nouveauté,
Cueillés, cueillés vôtre jeunesse
 Comme à cette fleur, la vieillesse
 Fera ternir vôtre beauté. 136

Ronsard, in one of the sonnets of the 1552 Amours, compares himself with a goat, who wanders far from the dangerous dogs, but is nonetheless caught by them as Ronsard himself was caught by love.¹³⁷ Grévin, in a poem that contains little direct imitation, but which does seem to have been inspired by Ronsard's words, adopts the same theme and 'movement', although comparing himself with a deer rather than a goat.¹³⁸

Grévin, therefore, borrows a little material for his love poems from Ronsard's sonnets to Cassandre. But he is rather more strongly inspired by the sonnets to Marie. Ronsard, in one of these sonnets, offers Marie his heart, and tells her:

Or si vous le chassés, je ne veus plus qu'il vienne
 Vers moi, pour y r'avoir sa demeure ancienne,
 Hayssant à la mort ce qui vous déplaira:
 Il m'aura beau conter sa peine & son malaise,
 Comme il fut paravant plus mien il ne sera,
 Car je ne veus rien voir chés moi, qui vous deplaise. 139

Grévin tells Olimpe that his heart flew towards her, hoping to be accepted by her:

Or puis qu'il ne vous plaist,
 Qu'il cherche ailleurs demeure
 [...]

Qu'il ne vienne à mes yeux
Ce meschant malheureux,
 Qui ne vous a sceu plaire. 140

In the Nouvelle Continuation des Amours, Ronsard addresses Marie as: 'Belle & jeune fleur de quinze ans.'¹⁴¹ Imitating him, Grévin says in one of the Olimpiens, that Olimpe is:

Belle, Gentille, Honeste, Gracieuse,
Fleur de seize ans. 142

Another of the Olimpiens, too, betrays Ronsard's influence: Grévin writes, again of Olimpe:

Je le sçay bien, qu'elle n'est amoureuse
Que de vertu, & de toute grandeur. 143

Ronsard, in one of the sonnets of the Nouvelle Continuation des Amours, had already written:

O toy qui n'es de rien en ton cueur amoureuse
Que d'honneur & vertu qui te font estimer. 144

Imitation of Ronsard in these love poems is therefore evident, though not as substantial as in the sonnets of the Olimpe itself.

Such imitation is, however, much less frequent in the satirical Gelodacrye I of 1560, published in L'OLIMPE, perhaps principally because Ronsard wrote very few poems of this genre. This collection, in fact, as Raymond has mentioned, owes far more to Du Bellay, both to the Regrets and to the Antiquitez, than to Ronsard.¹⁴⁵

One of the few examples of imitation of Ronsard has been noted by Raymond.¹⁴⁶ A couple of others are perhaps also worthy of mention. Both poets state that velvet clothing makes a lowly man seem important,¹⁴⁷ and the first line of one of Grévin's sonnets 'Je vay, je vien, je cours, & par tout je

tracasse',¹⁴⁸ is similar to Ronsard's line in one of the sonnets of the Nouvelle Continuation des Amours: 'Je cours, Je vays, je viens, & si ne me depestre'.¹⁴⁹ Otherwise, the Gelodacrye I has a few examples of Grévin adopting a theme or subject already expounded by Ronsard, but little close imitation.

Grévin included four elegies and eleven odes in L'OLIMPE. These, perhaps, owe almost as much to Ronsard as does the love poetry. Four of the odes had already been published earlier, and have already been discussed in this chapter (the Ode à Madame Magdaleine de Suze, Dame de Warty, the ode A Jaques Grévin son Oncle, and the ode A Antoine de Talon, all first printed in the REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE, and the CHANT DE JOIE DE LA PAIX, published separately in 1559). There are thus four elegies and seven odes published for the first time in L'OLIMPE. As Raymond notes, Grévin's Odes use the metres of Ronsard's Quatre premiers livres des Odes. The ideas, too, come from Ronsard. The first ode, with its descriptions of the Muses, the nine children of Mnémosyne,¹⁵⁰ reminds us of Ronsard's Ode à Michel de l'Hospital,¹⁵¹ and there is some similarity between Grévin's Pour le Tombeau de M. Pierre de Prong son oncle¹⁵² and Ronsard's ode A Jan d'Orat.¹⁵³

A particularly clear example of indebtedness to Ronsard is in Grévin's first elegy, which closely resembles in parts Ronsard's Hymne de la Justice. In Ronsard's work, Jupiter attempts to discover a means of bringing people back to the

Age of Gold. In Grévin's, Pluto tries to destroy the virtues displayed by mankind during the Age of Gold because, as a result of these virtues, men, unafraid of death, were going straight to heaven instead of entering the underworld. Both poems describe the virtues of the Age of Gold - and both, too, in a similar manner. One might, perhaps, compare three lines of Ronsard's description:

Le juge n'avoit sa chaire encore levée
Haute dans un Palais & debout au Parquet
Encores ne vendoit l'Advocat son caquet, 154

with a similar passage from Grévin's Elegie:

L'advocat ne vendoit au double ses escrits [...],
Le juge droicturier à la face severe
Ne se laissoit domter par quelque humble priere. 155

There is a certain similarity, in style and structure at least, between Ronsard's description of Jupiter assembling his subjects¹⁵⁶ and Grévin's of Pluto calling his subjects to the assembly,¹⁵⁷ but it is not only from this hymn that Grévin has drawn his inspiration for this poem. One might, for instance, compare his lines:

L'un chantera l'Amour, & l'autre les batailles
Les armes, les canons, les assaults des murailles, 158

with Ronsard's in the Continuation des Amours:

L'un dit la prise des murailles
De Thebe, & l'autre les batailles
De Troye. 159

Certainly Grévin's lines here are adopted from Ronsard. One passage in the Exhortation de la paix, too, has provided a certain amount of inspiration for Grévin. Ronsard, praising the age of Saturn, had written:

Que maudit soit celuy qui dechira la terre,
 Et dedans ses boyaux le fer y alla querre,

Que la nature avoit d'un art si curieux
 Au profond de son ventre eslongné de nos yeux:
 De là se fist l'espée, & la dague meurtriere,
 L'homicide cannon [...]
 Qu'heureuse fut la gent qui vivoit sous Saturne,
 Quand l'aise & le repos, & la paix taciturne,
 Bien loing de la trompette, & bien loin des soldars,
 Loing du fer & de l'or, erroit de toutes pars. 160

Grévin, on the same subject, says, in similar terms:

Je dy cest sage d'or, quand l'hyver & l'esté
 Au monde tout nouveau n'avoient encor' esté:
 Que l'or, le fer, l'airain, entrailles de la Terre,
 N'avoient entretenu les forces de la guerre:
 Que l'or n'estoit marqué pour payer les soldars,
 Le fer n'estoit forgé à l'usage de Mars,
 L'airain n'estoit fondu pour déboucher la balle. 161

although it is certainly true that this is a very ancient and
 common theme.¹⁶²

Grévin's other odes, too, contain a certain amount of
 imitation of Ronsard. One passage of his A la Fontaine de
 Pied-du-Mont, for instance, addressing the fountain itself,
 contains a passage in which a nymph, seeing a lady crying for
 her dead lover:

Feit de ces amants mignars
 Deux beaux pigeons fretillars:
 Qui or' sur ta rive molle
 D'une mignardise folle
Couple-à-couple se baisans
 Charment l'ennuy de leurs ans. 163

This passage seems to have been partly inspired by a passage in
 one of Ronsard's Amourettes:

[...] des pigeons mignards,
Couple à couple fretillards. 164

The opening lines of this same ode to the fountain Pied-du-Mont,
 too, seem to be drawn from Ronsard. For Ronsard, in his ode
A la fontaine Bellerie, had written:

Je vous prie, ma fontelete,
Ma doucelete ondelete. 165

Grévin's lines read:

Ma petite ondelette
Ma petite fontainette. 166

This whole poem is comparable with Ronsard's ode, since both are addressed to springs, and conclude with a reference to the death of the poet himself. However, Du Bellay also wrote a poem, Les Louanges d'Anjou, au fleuve de Loyre, in which he speaks, at the end, of his own death,¹⁶⁷ and it is not impossible that for the conclusion to his poem it was this, rather than Ronsard, that Grévin was imitating: this possibility is discussed in my chapter on Grévin and Du Bellay.¹⁶⁸

Grévin published in L'OLIMPE of 1560 a poem addressed to his uncle Pierre de Prong. This ode is perhaps comparable to Ronsard's Ode de la Paix au Roy. Indeed Grévin seems to have been particularly inspired by one passage of this work.

Ronsard had written:

Prince, je t'envoie cette Ode
Trafiquant mes vers à la mode
Que le marchand baille son bien,
Trocque pour troq'. 169

Grévin, imitating his lines, wrote, referring to his uncle:

Et moy je veux comme un poete
Luy payer toute la debte,
Troquant mes vers à l'argent
Ainsi qu'un poete indigent. 170

Finally, Grévin's lines, where he has his uncle say that he had had him educated:

T'aviandant aux secrets
Des autheurs Latins & Grecs, 171

may be imitated from Ronsard's lines of the Tombeau de

Marguerite de Valois:

Vous ouvrant les beaux secretz
Des vieux Latins & des Grecz. 172

These odes owe rather less to Ronsard than do the love sonnets of this collection, but are nonetheless examples of the poetic debt Grévin owed to Ronsard before 1561.

(vi) The tragedy Cesar.

Cesar, although only published in Grévin's 1561 LE THEATRE, was produced on stage on the 16th February 1560. This play owes a very great deal to Du Bellay, and in particular to his Regrets and Antiquitez¹⁷³ but is nonetheless also inspired by Ronsard. Marcel Raymond, in his work L'Influence de Ronsard,¹⁷⁴ has noted a certain similarity between Marc Antoine's invocation of the furies in Grévin's play¹⁷⁵ and Ronsard's Exhortation au camp du Roy Henry II.¹⁷⁶ Certainly this similarity does exist, but this passage also owes a great deal to Du Bellay's Hymne au Roy sur la Prinse de Callais¹⁷⁷ and also to his poem Les furies contre les infracteurs de Foy.¹⁷⁸

One or two other passages from Cesar may also be compared with Ronsard's works. The first passage is spoken by one of the soldiers of the Chorus:

[...] un champ voire plus fertile
 Se rend en la fin inutile,
 Si le soc n'est souvent caché
 Au plus creux de son dos tranché. 179

The source of these lines may be Ronsard's Bocage of 1550:

On ne voit champ tant soit fertil,
 S'il n'est poitri du labourage,
 Qu'à la fin ne vienne inutil,
Voire & le champ joignant fut-il
 Du Nil l'Égyptien rivage. 180

The second passage of Ronsard that Grévin imitates in this play is one of the Chansons in Ronsard's Amours of 1553,

addressed to Cassandre:

D'un gosier machelaurier
 J'oi crier
 Dans Lycofron ma Cassandre,
 Qui profetise aux Troïens
 Les moiens,
 Qui les tapiront en cendre. 181

In Grévin's play César we read similar lines:

Si j'ay encor' bonne memoire,
 J'ay entendu que les Troyens
 Ne feirent comte des moyens
 Dont les advertissoit Cassandre,
 Pour ne se voir reduictz en cendre
 Dont les menaçoient les Gregeois. 182

Apart from these examples, however, Grévin's plays would seem to owe nothing to Ronsard.

(vii) LE THEATRE

With the exception of the Gelodacrye I and the plays, therefore, most of the poetry written by Grévin before 1561 certainly owes a great deal to Ronsard. The same - and this is an important point not noted by Raymond - may not be said of Grévin's 1561 publication, LE THEATRE. This collection, which contains three plays, including Cesar, already discussed, the Olimpe II, the Gelodacrye II, a number of odes and various Vilanesques, Chansons, Baisers, Amourettes and a poem entitled Pyramide, reveals an important change: imitation of Ronsard is far less frequent, and even where it may be found, it is far less obvious.

This change is particularly marked in the Olimpe II.¹⁸³ Whereas the Olimpe I had contained a particularly large amount of imitation of Ronsard, there is little to be found

in the later collection. A few examples may be seen. In the Amours, for instance, Ronsard writes:

Je meurs de froid au plus chault de l'Esté,
Et de chaleur au cueur de la froidure, 184

which would seem to be Grévin's source of inspiration for the line: 'Je gele en plein esté, & je brusle en yver.'¹⁸⁵

although this was a commonplace theme. The quatrains of Grévin's sonnet:

L'automne suit l'Esté, & la belle verdure
Du printemps rajeuni est ensuyvant l'yver,
Tousjours sur la marine on ne voit estriver
Le North contre la nef errante à l'aventure:
Nous ne voyons la Lune estre tousjours obscure,
Ainsi comme un croissant on la voit arriver,
Toute chose se change au gré de la nature,
Et seul ce changement je ne puis esprouver, 186

were probably inspired by a passage from the ode A Melin de Saint Gelais, one of the odes at the end of the 1553 Amours, where Ronsard, saying, as Grévin does, that everything must change, uses the same images of the seasons and of the sea as Grévin does.¹⁸⁷

Both Grévin and Ronsard also dedicate similar sonnets to Henri II: Ronsard, in the final sonnet of the 1552 Amours, tells his reader that while he was in love, Henri II was fighting on the banks of the Rhine;¹⁸⁸ Grévin, adapting this to his own work, some eight years later, tells us that he was grieving when Henri II, after fighting for twelve years, had finally won peace.¹⁸⁹ Both poets also recall how long they had been in love; Ronsard says:

L'an est passé, & l'autre commence ores, 190

and Grévin, following him, writes:

Un an est jà passé, & l'autre recommence. 191

In one of the sonnets of the Olimpe II, Grévin calls Cupid the 'nepveu de Thetis'.¹⁹² This may have been inspired by Ronsard, who has Tethys call love 'mon nepveu'.¹⁹³ (Probably, as Laumonier suggests, Ronsard has confused Tethys, personification of the sea, with Thetis, born from the sea.¹⁹⁴ Ronsard makes this same mistake again, as Laumonier notes, in his Hymne de Charles Cardinal de Lorraine.¹⁹⁵)

The other love poems of LE THEATRE contain more imitation of Ronsard than does the Olimpe II, although they certainly do not contain as much as the short love poems of the OLIMPE of 1560. A small amount of inspiration comes from Ronsard's Amours of 1552-1553, as, for instance, Grévin's lines:

[...] quand les Cieux
Auront jugé que je meure. 196

which seem to have been inspired by Ronsard's line:

Quand ces beaulx yeulx jugeront que je meure. 197

Ronsard's Ode à Cassandre¹⁹⁸ may also have influenced Grévin to some extent in his Amourette I in LE THEATRE.¹⁹⁹ More inspiration, however, comes from the 1555-1556 Continuation des Amours. One sonnet of Ronsard's collection furnishes a line of one of Grévin's Baisers: Ronsard writes that he likes to hear the noise of the birds 'bec en bec fretillars';²⁰⁰ he had already used this same expression in an Amourette at the end of the Amours, where he had asked his love to kiss him 'bec contre bec'.²⁰¹ Grévin adopts this same expression, writing that his love had just bitten his tongue, and saying:

Il fault donc pour l'appaiser [i.e. his tongue]
Me prodiguer ce baiser,

Dont les colombes mignardes,
Bec-contre-bec fretillardes,
 Resuçotant leurs desirs,
 Se ralument au plaisirs. 202

As Raymond has already noted, Ronsard, in one of the Chansons of the Nouvelle Continuation des Amours, had greeted his love in the following way:

Bon jour mon coeur, bon jour ma douce vie
Bon jour mon œil, bon jour ma chere amye,
 Hé bon jour ma toute belle,
 Ma mignardise, bon jour,
 Mes delices, mon amour,
 Mon dous printemps, ma douce fleur nouvelle
 Mon doux plaisir, ma douce columbelle,
 Mon passereau, ma gente tourterelle,
Bon jour, ma douce rebelle, 203

Grévin, in turn, says goodbye to Olimpe in a very similar manner, writing:

Bon soir mon coeur, & ma vie,
Bon soir ma douce ennemie,
 Ma belle Olimpe, bon soir,
 Bon soir, ma plaisant'brunette.
 Ma mauvaise, ma doucette,
Bon soir jusques au revoir [...]

and then, just two lines later:

Ma tourtre, ma colombelle [...] 204

Finally, one may find an example of imitation outside Ronsard's collections of love poetry. In one of Ronsard's earlier poems, an Ode A Cassandre, the poet complains to his love, saying:

Hâ, vous m'avés maitresse
De la dent entamé,
La langue chanteresse
 De vostre nom aimé. 205

Grévin also complains of the same thing, saying:

Ha! je me suis trop avancé,
Car de ta dent tu as pinsé
 Ma pauvre langue fretillarde. 206

But, as with the Olimpe, these love poems owe much less to

Ronsard than did the 1560 Jeux Olympiques and Chansons.

The Gelodacrye II, like the Gelodacrye I, contains very little imitation of Ronsard; it is difficult to find even a few echoes of passages in Ronsard, however well assimilated. It is possible that Ronsard's lines:

[...] rien dessous le Ciel ne se void de nouveau:
 Mais la forme se change en une autre nouvelle,
Et ce changement là, VIVRE au monde s'appelle,
Et MOURIR, quand la forme en une autre s'en va, 207

inspired Grévin to write:

Rien ne meurt sous le Ciel, tout est tousjours en estre
 Ainsi que de tout temps, mesme ce changement
 Qu'on appelle en commun la Mort, n'est seulement
 Qu'un moment qui nous fait une autre fois renaître. 208

There is also some similarity between Ronsard's lines:

C'est peu de cas aussi de bastir jusque aux Cieulx,
 Des Palais eslevez d'un front ambitieux. 209

and Grévin's lines:

Pauvre homme, tu bastis ces chasteaux somptueux,
Les eslevant au Ciel, 210

The introductory elegy of the Gelodacrye II, the Elegie sur la Misere des Hommes, has a very similar title to one of Ronsard's odes, the Ode sur les miseres des Hommes.²¹¹ The elegy itself also seems to owe something to Ronsard. It bears a certain resemblance to Ronsard's Hymne de la Mort, for in both we hear of the hardships endured by man, from early youth to old age. In both we find the description of a baby, impotent at birth, able only to cry.²¹² In both, too, we hear of the misery of those who live at court, attempting to flatter the noble and powerful,²¹³ and also of the misery of old age which leads to death.²¹⁴ Although direct imitation from this

Hymne is rare, one finds one or two expressions similar to those adopted by Ronsard. Ronsard's lines:

Si nous considerions que nous ne sommes rien
Qu'une terre animée [...] 215

probably inspired Grévin to write, addressing mankind:

[...] tu fus basti de terre,
Et contre Dieu tu entreprends la guerre, 216

although it is true that the theme originates in Genesis.

One may also note a certain resemblance between Ronsard's lines in this Hymne:

Voire, & que nous passons en miserables maux
Le reste (ô crevecœur!) de tous les animaux. 217

and Grévin's lines:

Considerere avec moy, pauvre homme, considere,
Combien plus grande est la tienne misere,
Et comme doublement te sont doublez les maux
Au pris de ceux des autres animaux. 218

Another passage in this elegy is possibly imitated from Ronsard's Epitafe d'André Blondet. Ronsard had written:

En ce pendant la tremblante vieillesse
Suyt pas à pas nostre courte jeunesse,
Puis la mort vient, puis nous ne sommes plus
Qu'un vain fardeau dans un tombeau reclus. 219

Grévin writes in his Elegie sur la Misere des Hommes:

Au milieu de ces maux voici ja la vieillesse
Qui te tallonne, & comme larronnesse
(Lors que tu pense' avoir gagné le doux repos)
Sous le tombeau elle enferme tes os. 220

Apart from these few examples, mostly drawn from the Elegie sur la Misere des Hommes, I have found no other imitation of Ronsard in the Gelodacrye II. There is even less, indeed, than in the Gelodacrye I.

Of all the poems in LE THEATRE, it is perhaps the odes,

along with the love sonnets, that owe the most to Ronsard, although even these are far less reminiscent of Ronsard than are the earlier odes published in the 1560 OLIMPE. The first ode in this collection addressed to Claude of France, perhaps owes something to Ronsard's ode A Madame Marguerite.²²¹

Ronsard tells Margaret of France that the whole world praises her:

Et non pour avoir ce bon heur
D'estre Princesse, ne pour estre
 L'unique Sœur de nostre Maistre,
 Et presque esgale à son honneur:

Mais bien pour estre seule en France,
 Et la colonne, & l'esperence
 Des Muses mignonnes des Dieux. 222

Grévin says that the Muses adore Claude of France:

Non pour estre fille d'un Pere
 Roy magmanime, issu des Roys,
Ou pour avoir un Roy pour frere
 Monarque de tous les Gaulois:
Mais pour estre seule Princesse
 Premiere qui avez lié,
 Et divinement marié
 Les vertus avec la jeunesse. 223

The last lines of this quotation may also be compared with another line from this ode by Ronsard, where we read that Margaret is skilled in all fields: 'mariant les meurs au sçavoir'.²²⁴

A number of other odes in this collection, too, contain passages imitated from Ronsard. The lines of Grévin's Epithalame de M. Ian Rochon, describing dawn:

Ja tirant sa teste blonde,
 Et ses cheveux escartez
 En mille & mille beautez
Dehors de la prochaine onde. 225

imitate closely Ronsard's lines from the Ode à Diane de Poitiers:

Que hors de l'eau le petit dieu de l'onde

Jusques au col tiroit sa teste blonde. 226

The opening lines of Grévin's short poem to Antoine de Bertrand also owe something to Ronsard. Grévin writes:

S'il nous estoit permis de nier quelque chose
Des escripts des premiers [...]
Je nieroy volontiers une metempsychose [...] 227

and Ronsard:

Belleau, s'il est loisible aux nouveaux d'inventer
Cela que les plus vieus n'ont pas osé chanter,
Je dirois volontiers que l'amour n'a point d'aisles [...] ²²⁸

There is a certain similarity of theme, too, between Ronsard's lines, where he reminds his reader that Francis I had given the poet Hugues Salel protection:

Et le fit à bon droict, comme à l'un de sa France
Qui des premiers chassa le Monstre d'Ignorance. 229

and Grévin's, encouraging the Seigneur de Launay to continue writing:

[...] & pense que la France
Ja desja dessillant ses yeux
Commense à chasser l'ignorance
De qui s'arment les envieux. 230

Thus, although a number of examples of imitation of Ronsard may be found in the elegies and odes of 1561, they are not frequent, and certainly far less evident than in the 1560 OLIMPE.

(viii) The TEMPLE DE RONSARD

Grévin's next known poetical work, after the publication of LE THEATRE; is the TEMPLE DE RONSARD. This work is perhaps inspired to a certain extent by Ronsard's own Le Temple de Messieurs le Connestable, et des Chastillons.²³¹ In this

poem Ronsard says that he wants to build a temple to the Cardinal de Chastillon, and create a feast day in his name,²³² just as Grévin, having constructed a temple, tells Ronsard that he wants to celebrate his life:

Afin qu'apres ta mort on presche ton renom,
 Au jour que l'on fera feste de ton saint nom. 233

Both Chastillon and Ronsard, according to the two poems, will have a painting and a statue of themselves placed in the centre of their respective temples. In both poems, too the painting and the statue are described in detail. Ronsard in his Hymne then continues with a description of the other portraits that would hang around the temple, portraits of the Cardinal's brothers and friends, as well as of battles and camps. The TEMPLE DE RONSARD contains a description of seven tapestries of Ronsard in different 'saintly' poses. These similarities between the two poems make it likely that Ronsard's Temple de Messeigneurs le Connestable, et des Chastillons inspired Grévin when he wrote the TEMPLE DE RONSARD, although certainly there is very little verbal imitation. Grévin may also have been inspired to some extent by Ronsard's Elegie à Marie, where we hear Ronsard say:

[...] Je bastirois un temple
 De sur le bord de Loire, & ce temple auroit nom
 Le temple de Ronsard et de sa Marion. 234

and describe himself as a god. Here again, however, there is no verbal imitation to be found. It is, of course, very interesting that a diatribe against Ronsard should have been largely inspired by this poet's own work, and this in itself must have been a source of annoyance for Ronsard.

(ix) The DEUX LIVRES DES VENINS and the translation of Nicander

In the dedicatory epistle of his verse translation of Nicander, Grévin writes: 'Muses, jouët des foux'.²³⁵ These words are probably taken from Ronsard's own line: 'Muses, jouët à foux' in a sonnet A Louys des Masures Tournisien, P. de Ronsard.²³⁶

It is clear, therefore, from this examination of the amount of imitation of Ronsard by Grévin, that until 1560 Ronsard's influence was very great. L'OLIMPE of 1560 owes much to this older poet; this suggests that Grévin's admiration for Ronsard was also very great. In 1561, however, there is very little imitation of Ronsard in any of the poems of LE THEATRE: this perhaps indicates that the two had become very close friends by, or in, 1560, but that in 1561 they began to draw apart. After this date Ronsard's influence, as has been shown, was very slight.

In conclusion, therefore, it is fair to say that, in many cases, Grévin succeeds in producing a very credible 'echo' of Ronsard. His own derivative passages are generally as concise, and often as attractive, as those of Ronsard. However, he rarely introduces any very impressive variation upon what Ronsard has written; the passages imitated by Grévin are often workmanlike rather than 'inspired'.

CHAPTER 4

GREVIN AND DU BELLAY

In this chapter, I intend first to examine any reference to Du Bellay by Grévin, to discuss the influence, if any, of Grévin's break with Ronsard on his attitude towards Du Bellay, and to determine how much Grévin imitated him.

1. THE PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GREVIN AND DU BELLAY.

The relationship between Grévin and Du Bellay has not hitherto been systematically studied. Du Bellay and Grévin had little chance to know each other for long, for the elder poet died when Grévin was just twenty-two. Grévin's first mention of Du Bellay occurs in the very passage where we first find praise of Ronsard, in the *HYMNE A MONSEIGNEUR LE DAUPHIN* of 1558, Grévin's earliest publication. Here he sets down a list of those whose poetry he enjoys. Ronsard is placed at the head of this list; then, after mentioning Tahureau and Dorat, Grévin alludes to:

Jodelle, du Bellay, Baif, Tagault encor',
 Le bien dire desquelz si doctement resonne
 Que leur bruit emplumé tous les autres étonne.¹

Thus Grévin, although certainly admiring Du Bellay, considered him as one among many good poets of his time; Ronsard, he feels,

is the 'Prince des Poëtes'. This reference to Du Bellay in the HYMNE A MONSEIGNEUR LE DAUPHIN seems to be Grévin's only mention of him before the publication of L'OLIMPE, in 1560, where we find a dedicatory sonnet by Du Bellay, placed at the head of the collection. This is, in fact, Du Bellay's sole mention of Grévin:

Comme celui qui a de la Course poudreuse,
 Ou de la Luyte huylée, ou du Disque eslançé,
 Ou du Ceste plombé de cuir entrelacé
 Rapporté mainte palme en sa jeunesse heureuse:

Regarde, en regrettant sa force vigoureuse,
 Les jeunes s'exercer, & ja vieil & cassé,
 Par un doux souvenir qu'il ha du temps passé,
 Resveille dans son cueur sa vertu genereuse:

Ainsi voyant (Grévin) prochain de ma vieillesse,
 Au pied de ton Olimpe exercer ta jeunesse,
 Je souspiré-le temps que d'un pareil esmoy

Je chantoy mon Olive, & resens en mon ame
 Je ne sçay quel ardeur de ma premiere flâme
 Qui me fait souhaiter d'estre tel comme toy. 2

This sonnet, witty and characteristic of Du Bellay, resembles one of the love poems Ronsard was to write for Helene.³

Although it stresses Grévin's youth rather than his poetic talent, it does, nonetheless, suggest that Du Bellay admired him, and perhaps in particular that he wanted to praise the poems of the OLIMPE.

The first book of L'OLIMPE, for which this sonnet was written, was not published until after Du Bellay's death on the first of January 1560. In this work Grévin refers to Du Bellay more than once. In the Olimpe I, after an introductory sonnet in which Grévin states what he intends to express in his collection of love poetry, the second poem is dedicated to the Muses, the third to Ronsard, and the fourth

to Du Bellay.⁴ This order would suggest that Grévin clearly considered Ronsard to be the foremost poet, and Du Bellay a close second.

In the Gelodacrye I, Du Bellay is again addressed, in two separate sonnets. The first of these reads:

Que la condition de la vie est muable!
Et si nous fault souvent en un fascheux sejour,
Faschez de vivre tant, attendre nostre jour:
Qu'une subite mort est douce au miserable!

Mais d'autant elle fuit qu'ell' se sent miserable!
Et lors qu'on est joyeux en demenant l'Amour,
DU BELLAY, c'est alors qu'elle vient à son tour:
Ainsi dessous le ciel rien n'est ferme ny stable.

Nostre meilleur printemps & le jour plus heureux
S'enfuit, & puis soudain une triste vieillesse,
Compaigne de la mort, nous vien fermer les yeux,

Tant elle est du bon temps subite larronnesse:
Encore tous les jours nous cherchons le moyen
De courir à la mort, & perdre nostre bien. 5

It is not impossible that Grévin dedicated this sonnet to Du Bellay because a large part of Du Bellay's poetry was meditative and contemplative; therefore a poem on the changeability of life and on death would have been a suitable one to dedicate to him. The death of the older poet gave this poem and added - although no doubt fortuitous - poignancy.

The other sonnet in the Gelodacrye I that mentions Du Bellay's name also refers to Ronsard, Baïf and Petrarch,⁶ but only to name the ladies to whom these poets dedicated their love poetry - in Du Bellay's case, Olive. It sheds little light on the relationship between Grévin and Du Bellay.

One reference to Du Bellay is also found in one of the Olimpiens (a short collection of love poems of nine lines) at the end of the Jeux Olympiques. Here Grévin writes:

Mon DU BELLAY, eschangeant ton langage,
 Tu as chanté sur le fleuve Romain
 La doux erreur, dont l'Enfant inhumain
 Avoit charmé tes sens & ton courage.

Tu as chanté le mal de ton servage
 Sur les tombeaux des braves Empereurs
 Accoustumez d'ouir telles langueurs:

Et moy pauvret, estrange nouveauté!⁷
 Dedans Paris j'escry de chasteté!

These lines are inspired both by Ronsard's words to Du Bellay
 when he was in Rome:

Ce pendant que tu vois le superbe rivage
 De la riviere Tusque, & le mont Palatin,
 Et que l'air des Latins te fait parler Latin,
 Changeant à l'étranger ton naturel langage,

Une fille d'Anjou me detient en servage.⁸

and by Du Bellay's reply in sonnet 10 of the Regrets:

Ce n'est le fleuve Thusque au superbe rivage,
 Ce n'est l'air des Latins ny le mont Palatin,
 Qui ores (mon Ronsard) me fait parler Latin,⁹
 Changeant à l'estranger mon naturel langage.

This perhaps shows a deeper knowledge of Du Bellay's works
 than of the poet himself, and the same is true of the eleventh
 and last ode in L'OLIMPE, the Pour le tombeau de Joachim du
Bellay. In this ode, written after January 1st 1560, the date
 of Du Bellay's death, Grévin praises the older poet's poetic
 achievements, saying:

Voy moy ces doctes Regrets,
 Honte des Latins & Grecs:
 Voy moy dessus ceste rive
 De Loyre, la verde Olive,
 Dont ainsi comme premier
 Il emporta l'Olivier,¹⁰
 Digne ornement de sa teste,

and stating that, whereas the marble of a tomb will perish in
 time, a poet's words will live on forever. This ode suggests
 that Grévin felt a deep admiration for Du Bellay, although it
 does not suggest that they had been very friendly, for Grévin

seems more eager to initiate a discussion of poetry than to express sadness at Du Bellay's death. In fact, there seems to be little real emotion here.

No further references to Du Bellay are to be found in Grévin's 1560 publication *L'OLIMPE*. In the 1561 publication *LE THEATRE*, his name appears again, in two consecutive sonnets of the Olimpe II.¹¹ In the first, Grévin says that a man on the point of death may be favoured with the power of foretelling future misfortunes, and it would seem that Du Bellay had this power, for through his divine poetry, singing on the point of death of his own love, he predicted Grévin's love for Olimpe.¹² In the second sonnet, Grévin repeats, without mentioning Du Bellay's name, his statement that Du Bellay's love is dead, and that his own, following afterwards, has come to life. Du Bellay is in heaven, while Grévin, still on earth, endures an unrequited love for his own Lady.

The sonnets of the Gelodacrye II contain no mention of Du Bellay. At the end of *LE THEATRE*, there are, however, two short epitaphs dedicated to him. The first is the Epitaphe de Joachim du Bellay, and is the translation of the Latin epitaph Du Bellay wrote for himself.¹³ The second epitaph¹⁴ dedicated to Du Bellay, and slightly longer, is the translation of a Latin epitaph written by R. de la Haye. This poem describes how Du Bellay died: his soul, ravished by a poetic 'fureur', flew up into the heavens; once there, it was so happy that it would not return to earth. By translating these poems, Grévin reveals his deep admiration, but again the absence of any personal note indicates a certain lack of feeling for the poet

himself.

One may see from these various poems that Pinvert is correct in saying that:

antérieurement à la rupture de Ronsard et de Grévin, il exista entre Grévin et Du Bellay un commerce littéraire et amical dans lequel n'intervenait aucun autre sentiment qu'une réciproque estime. 15

The term literary 'commerce' is perhaps somewhat inaccurate, since, although Grévin dedicated several poems to Du Bellay, Du Bellay only mentions Grévin's name once in his poetry.¹⁶ It seems likely, moreover, that the main reason why the two never became very close was that Grévin only became well acquainted with the circle of the Pléiade after Du Bellay's death. As Dora Rigo Bienaimé says, Grévin:

dopo la morte di Tahureau e di Du Bellay, fu considerato uno promessa per la Pléiade. 17

Until the time of Grévin's dispute with Ronsard, there was never the slightest indication that Grévin admired Du Bellay more than he did Ronsard; he seems both to have known Ronsard better and to have put Ronsard's poetic talent above that of his close rival. After Grévin's break with Ronsard, one detects an interesting and important alteration in his attitude towards Du Bellay. Instead of seeing him as second best, behind Ronsard, he now grants him pride of place. One may already find evidence of Grévin's growing admiration for Du Bellay in the *TEMPLE DE RONSARD*. (if, as I believe, this pamphlet was written by him), for in this poem Grévin addresses Ronsard in the following manner:

J'ay bien eu quelquesfois la mesme faintaisie
Que tout seul tu estois bon maistre en Poësie,
Mais lors que j'eus cognu que les Poètes Gregeois,
Et Latins se laissoyent feuilleter sous les doigts

De ceus qui sont nourris en la langue Françoisse,
 Je pensay seulement que la Muse Gregeoise
 T'avoit enflé le cœur, êt que ce gentil art
 N'avoit esté forgé seulement pour Ronsard:
 Bellay m'en est tesmoing, Tagault me sert de preuve,
 Et possible en mes vers l'assurance s'en treuve. 18

There is confirmation of this change in attitude towards both poets in the last lines of the SECOND DISCOURS SUR L'ANTIMOINE, where Grévin calls Du Bellay the 'prince des Poètes François' ¹⁹ as if Ronsard had never existed, and, indeed, pointedly applying to him a title which hitherto had been widely conferred upon Ronsard. A feeling of deep admiration for Du Bellay can also be found in the unpublished 24 SONNETS SUR ROMME, ²⁰ for these sonnets contain a large amount of imitation of Du Bellay's Antiquitez de Rome and Regrets (as discussed below). In this assertion of the pre-eminence of Du Bellay at the expense of Ronsard, Grévin is not alone amongst those who wrote against Ronsard. Florent Chrestien, Grévin's good friend, in his Epistre à Jaques Grévin, which precedes the SECOND DISCOURS SUR L'ANTIMOINE, praises:

L'excellent Du Bellay, homme presque divin, Premier poète en France.

Both Grévin and Chrestien praise Du Bellay, not so much because of a new-found admiration for this poet, but rather in order to belittle Ronsard's reputation. Du Bellay, as Pineaux points out, had never been attacked by Reformers in their pamphlets of 1563-1564. He was considered by Reformers (and by Grévin, who associated himself with their polemic against Ronsard) as a suitable subject for praise, even though he was not one of their number: it may be that his satire of the papal court had endeared him to 'anti-papist'

writers.

Having analysed the extent of the relationship between Grévin and Du Bellay, let us now turn to Grévin's imitation of Du Bellay.

2. THE INFLUENCE OF DU BELLAY'S POETRY ON GREVIN

(i) LES REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE

There has been some debate as to whether Du Bellay's Les Tragiques Regrets de Charles V Empereur²¹ or Grévin's LES REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE EMPEREUR were written first, and, therefore, whether, in these two very similar poems, Du Bellay imitated Grévin or Grévin Du Bellay. Pinvert believes that Grévin's came first, and adds, referring to Du Bellay, that:

Visiblement, il a voulu refaire le travail de Grévin: mêmes développements, même emploi de vers de dix syllabes[...] 22

Chamard, however, in his edition of Du Bellay's poetry, disagrees with Pinvert. He points out that Grévin's work, in which the dedication is dated 8th February 1558, and where the author himself says that he has written it 'ces jours passés' was completed early in 1559 new style, whereas Du Bellay's poem must have been written between 1553 and 1556, since Du Bellay fails to mention Charles V's retirement to the monastery of Yuste (1556), the battle of Saint-Quentin (1557) and the capture of Calais (1558). Du Bellay would certainly have mentioned these events if his poem had not been finished

before they occurred,²³ particularly had he been rewriting Grévin's poem, which does mention them. Du Bellay would not have rewritten it in such a way as to make it less topical. Moreover it would seem almost inconceivable for Du Bellay to imitate to so great an extent a young poet only just starting out on his career. Thus, although Du Bellay's work appears not to have been published until 1568, eight years after its author's death, Grévin must, it seems, have known Du Bellay's text, doubtless either in a manuscript version or in some printed edition now lost.

In his edition of Du Bellay's work, Chamard offers many examples of similarity between these two poems. In his comprehensive survey he has included all the examples which I am now recalling here. In the opening lines of his poem, Du Bellay had attributed the following words to Charles V:

Terre, de moy jadis plus convoitée,
 Que de celui dont l'ardeur indontée
 S'estimoit peu de louange acquérir,
 De ne pouvoir qu'un monde conquérir. 24

Grévin writes, imitating this:

Ainsi est il de moy pauvre Empereur
 Ja parvenu au comble de mon heur,
 Par qui jadis la terre convoitée
 En maintz endroitz se veit presque domptée. 25

One may compare Grévin's lines where Charles V says that he had wanted to:

[...] Subjuguer l'Allement indomptable,
Luy mettre un jouc sur le col mal-traictable, 26

with Du Bellay's lines, again spoken by Charles V, where the Emperor says:

J'ay mis le jouc sur le col mal traictable
 De l'Allemant autrefois indomptable. 27

Grévin's lines:

Tous aultres Roys, & leurs peuples renger
Soubz les edictz d'un seigneur estranger, 28

are close to Du Bellay's:

L'Italien par moy s'est veu ranger
Dessous les loix d'un Seigneur estranger, 29

There is similarity, too, between Grévin's lines:

Pour ne laisser le François en repos,
 Lequel congneut combien pernicieux
 Est le vouloir d'un Prince ambitieux, 30

and those of Du Bellay:

Sentit combien luy fut pernicieux
 D'estre voisin d'un Prince ambitieux. 31

A passage where Grévin writes:

En premier choc la roideur d'une escorte
 Tost le priva de sa Goulette forte
 Alors Tunis de si soudaine emblée,
 Aiant la peur au double redoublée
 [...]
 Tomba d'espoir, courbant l'adversité
 Au doulx aceul [sic: for 'accueil'] de ma felicité, 32

certainly owes something to Du Bellay's lines:

Thunis aussi & sa Goulette forte
Courba le chef soubs l'oiseau que je porte, 33

although here the source is rather less obvious.

Chamard also compares the passages in both poems where the Emperor speaks of Henry II. Charles V says, in Grévin's poem, that Henry had forced him to:

Quicter le lieu dont avecques grand'suite
Contrainct je feus me saulver à la fuitte. 34

These lines certainly imitate closely Du Bellay's version, where Charles V says that he conquered many cities, and would have gone yet further:

Si combatu de la fureur du vent
 Au port d'Arger je n'eusse à peu de suyte
Esté contrainct me sauver à la fuyte. 35

The lines:

Las! c'est HENRI vangeur de ses ayeulz,
 Qui ja souvent m'a faict sentir, & veoir,
 Combien en luy vertu a de pouvoir:
 Soubz qui aussi ma fortune lassée,
 Depuis son heur n'est PLUS OULTRE passée, 36

are certainly a well assimilated, though clear, imitation of
 Du Bellay's joke about the motto 'plus ultra' of the Emperor:

L'heur de HENRI à mon bon heur contraire,
 Et son pouvoir qui pour le mien deffaïre
 Se veult par tout en croissant avancer.
 Garde mon cours de plus oultre passer, 37

although he does not manage to convey Du Bellay's irony
 regarding the crescent (1.3 of the above quotation), Henry II's
 emblem being the crescent moon, and his motto 'donec totum
 impleat orbem'. Grévin is also adding the rather clever notion
 of the second Hercules (the columns of Hercules were the
 emblem of Charles V), in the lines:

C'est ce FRANÇOIS, c'est ce second HERCULE
 Qui ores faict qu'honteusement recule,
Ayant franchi les rochers du premier, 38

which are imitated from Du Bellay:

Fauldra il doncq' que honteux je recule,
Ayant franchy les coulones d'Hercule? 39

In Du Bellay's poem, Charles V had asked in despair if he
 would always see Henry II:

Qui ja se fait de mes despouilles riche,
 Fouller l'honneur de Bourgogne & d'Autriche? 40

Grévin's Charles V, similarly, says of Henry II that he:

[...] a tant faict que son souldart est riche,

Plus que jamais des despouilles d'Autriche. 41

Grévin's lines:

C'est ce FRANÇOIS qui d'une forte main
La liberté a rendu au Germain,
 Qu'uparavant encor' tenois captive, 42

are an adaptation of Du Bellay's:

De ce costé le François redemande
 Tous les vieux droicts où ma force commande:
 De cestuy là demande le Germain
Sa liberté captive sous ma main. 43

Du Bellay in this same poem had written:

Naples, Milan, ailes de mon bon heur,
Retourneront à leur premier Seigneur, 44

and Grévin, imitating him:

Je crains aussi qu'apres tout mon bon heur,
Naples, Milan, souveraine puissance,
 Flandres, Artois, ne retourne à la France. 45

The resemblance between Grévin's lines:

Ainsi jadis l'Affrican ne peult veoir
En Scipion plus excellant pouvoir:
Ainsi Silla ne peult onc' endurer
De Marins, ne Pompée durer [sic],
 Voiant Cesar en faictz d'armes pareil.
 [...]
Il fault, il fault ou que j'aye victoire,
 Ou qu'un FRANÇOIS triumphe de ma gloire, 46

and Du Bellay's:

Il fault, il fault que par quelque victoire
Un plus heureux triumphe de ma gloire.
Ainsi jadis l'Aphrican indonté
 Par Scipion se trouva surmonté:
Ainsi encor' se vid du grand Pompée
 Sur ses vieux ans la fortune trompée, 47

is very strong. One may also note the similarity between

Grévin's line: 'Bref, ce grand ciel n'endure qu'un soleil,' 48

and Du Bellay's: 'Le Ciel ne peult endurer deux Soleilz'.⁴⁹

The similarity is again made obvious in the last lines. Du Bellay's poem ends with Charles V's appeal to God:

Voyez la fin de ma grandeur esteincte,
Et de vos pleurs accompaignez ma plaincte. 50

In Grévin's poem, Charles V's last lines are also an appeal to God, in which the Emperor says:

Aye pitié de ma grandeur estaincte:
Et toy mon filz accompagne ma plaincte. 51

Chamard's very substantial analysis therefore demonstrates how deeply this poem was influenced by Du Bellay. It must be remembered, however, that Du Bellay's poem is only 186 lines in length, whereas Grévin's is 410 lines. Indeed, only about half of Grévin's poem is inspired by that of Du Bellay. For Grévin's poem recounts Charles V's life in far greater detail; we encounter themes not mentioned by Du Bellay, for example the circumstances of this king's birth, and of his exalted parentage. Grévin analyses in rather more depth than Du Bellay, Charles V's motives and his greed. This king's intention, we hear, was to gain eternal renown:

Bref de ce tout ne faire qu'un Empire,
Si qu'en apres à bon droict l'on peult dire
Regner un Dieu, & n'avoir qu'une loy,
Par l'univers proclamer un seul Roy. 52

The final pages, as already mentioned, are devoted to events not recounted by Du Bellay, to the battle of Saint-Quentin, and to Henry II's capturing of Calais 'retournée à son premier seigneur'. We also hear how Charles V retired to:

[...] quelque hermitage,
Pour y passer le reste de mon aage. 53

A certain amount of credit must therefore be given to Grévin,

then aged only twenty, for his originality.

Three odes accompany these REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE, one addressed to the poet's uncle, one to Magdaleine de Suze, from Clermont, and the last to Grévin's close friend, Antoine de Talon. Of these only one, the Ode à Jacques Grévin son oncle, owes anything to Du Bellay, and even here, unlike in the REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE, Du Bellay's words are skilfully assimilated. This ode, in which Grévin touches on religious matters, may, in part, be based on Du Bellay's Hymne Chrestien. Du Bellay's lines:

Alors, Seigneur, d'ung clin d'œil seulement
 Tu moissonnas la terre également,
 Ne reservant de tant de milliers d'hommes
 Qu'une famille en ces lieux où nous sommes, 54

may be compared with those of Grévin's ode:

Quant les eaux estanchées
 Prindrent leur cours premier,
 Par les creuses tranchées
 [...]
 Lors de toutes personnes
 N'estoyent que huict restans,
De tant de milliers d'hommes [...] 55

This apparent reminiscence may be attributable to the common Biblical source, however, and, apart from this one possible example the odes appear to have been mainly inspired by Ronsard.

(ii) LA PASTORALE of 1559

LA PASTORALE, celebrating the marriages of Margaret of France to Philibert-Emmanuel and of Elizabeth of France to Philip II of Spain, owes little to Du Bellay. This poet had

written an Epithalame sur le mariage de tresillustre Philibert Emanuel, duc de Savoye, et tresillustre Princesse Marguerite de France,⁵⁶ but Grévin borrows nothing from this source.

Several passages in Grévin's PASTORALE are, however, based on other poems by Du Bellay. In the Hymne au Roy sur la prinse de Callais, for example, Du Bellay compares a defeat followed by victory to the stretching and releasing of a bow. Du Bellay, addressing François de Guise, says:

Avez imité l'arc qui se laisse voulter,
 Puis d'un effort plus grand tout soudain se dévoulte,
Vendant le receu plus cher qu'il ne luy couste. 57

In a very similar passage, Grévin compares Philibert-Emmanuel of Savoy's victory to a bow, saying that it is:

[...] comme l'arc, quand on tire
Se laisse à demi voulter,
Puis soudain contre la vire
 Nous le sentons despiter,
 Monstrant sa force augmentée,
 Qui au paravent voultée,
 Laissoit affoiblir son fort,
 Pour mieux vendre son effort. 58

In lines 4, 5 and 7 of this quotation, Grévin is 'personalising' the bow (an idea already implicit in Du Bellay, but developed in more depth by Grévin). Grévin, introducing an original idea, here makes something new and interesting out of his source - just as Du Bellay and Ronsard had done with theirs; as so often with sixteenth century poets, the process of 'imitation' is not servile, but dynamic and creative.

Du Bellay's Vers Lyriques provide a large amount of inspiration for Grévin's PASTORALE. Du Bellay's lines, for instance:

La vertu est meprisee,
 Qui n'est point favorisee
 Des Graces, contre ces trois,
Le Temps, la Mort & l'Envye. 59

seem to be a source of inspiration for Grévin when he asks
 Margaret of France to protect his poetry, saying:

Car seule tu le peux, or' qu'il deusse mourir,
Des Envieux, du Temps & de Mort secourir. 60

Du Bellay's Prosphonématique also provides a source of
 inspiration for Grévin, for Du Bellay's lines:

Les grans cyprez poussent bien hault sur l'herbe
 Leurs fiers sommetz à croistre exercez:
 Le grand Paris d'un tel fleuve superbe
Leve son chef sur les autres citez,
 Non autrement qu'on void parmy les nues
 Les haulx sourcils des grands Alpes chenues, 61

are most probably the source of Grévin's lines:

Comme les Alpes chenues,
 Qui bornent le parc François,
Poulsent leurs pointes cornues
 Par dessus les plus haults bois,
 Et semble que leur audace
 La terre & le ciel menace,
 Tant ells'eslevent le front
 Par dessus le plus hault mont. 62

Du Bellay is here much clearer than Grévin. His similes are
 presented distinctly, and - typical of his orderly
 'architectural' style - are given two lines each.

Finally, one may also compare the passage of LA PASTORALE
 where Grévin writes:

[...] tousjours Apollon ne sagette
 Ses flâmes & ses trets dedans les froides nues
 [...]
 Tousjours le marinier n'est au danger du vent, 63

with a passage from one of the sonnets of the Regrets:

Et je dy que la mer ne bruit tousjours son ire,

Et que tousjours Phœbus ne sagette les Grecz.⁶⁴

LA PASTORALE, therefore, although not really based on any particular poem by Du Bellay, and although it certainly owes a large amount to Ronsard, is, in details, inspired by Du Bellay.

(iii) LE MEDECIN COURTIZAN of 1559

Montaignon and de Rothschild, in their edition of LE MEDECIN COURTIZAN, compare this work with Du Bellay's Le Poete Courtisan: 'On les dirait calqués l'une sur l'autre'⁶⁵ P.M. Smith, in her article on the MEDECIN COURTIZAN, suggests that it owes little to Du Bellay, but that both poems are, rather, based independently on Lucian.⁶⁶ The truth is, perhaps, somewhere between the two. LE MEDECIN COURTIZAN is not a direct copy of Le Poete Courtisan, and Grévin had doubtless read Lucian, perhaps in translation. There is, however, little question but that Grévin owes a debt to Du Bellay. The title itself, LE MEDECIN COURTIZAN, OU LA NOUVELLE ET PLUS COURTE MANIERE DE PARVENIR A LA VRAIE ET SOLIDE MEDECINE, is a result of the combination of the titles of two poems by Du Bellay; Le Poete Courtisan and La Nouvelle Maniere de faire son profit des Lettres.

The opening lines of Le Poete Courtisan and of LE MEDECIN COURTIZAN resemble each other, although there are no textual echoes: Du Bellay tells his pupil that work is unnecessary and unprofitable for a 'poete courtisan'. Grévin, too, says that an aspiring doctor need not work.

While Du Bellay begins most of his statements with the words 'Je veulx' or 'Je ne veulx', Grévin, adopting the same device, but using different words, writes, addressing the unidentified Dorbunus, 'Il te fault' or 'Il ne te fault'.

One passage in particular of Du Bellay's opening section:

Je ne veulx que long temps à l'estude il pallisse,
 Je ne veulx que resveur sur le livre il vieillisse,
 Feuilletant studieux tous les soirs & matins
 Les exeplaires Grecs & les autheurs Latins.
Ces exercices là font l'homme peu habile,
 Le rend catareux, maladif & debile,
 Solitaire, facheux, taciturne & songeard,
 Mais nostre courtisan est beaucoup plus gaillard
 Pour un vers allonger ses ongles il ne ronge[...] 67

has inspired Grévin in his own poem:

Il ne te fault longtemps remascher le laurier;
 Il ne te fault veiller, ainsi que l'escolier,
 Jusques à la minuict; il ne te fault encore
 Te lever du matin une heure avant l'aurore;
Ce soing est trop facheux, indigne du cerveau
 De celuy qui s'efforce à fuir le tombeau.
 [...]

Quand donques tu auras espluché du Latin
 Quelques mots plus communs [...] 68
 Brief il ne fault ronger tes ongles jusqu'aux doigts. 68

It is in this case quite certain that Du Bellay is Grévin's model, despite the fact that there is relatively little verbal echo. The words 'remascher le laurier' in the first line of this quotation are also an echo of Du Bellay, who writes that whoever wants to be considered wise 'sans macher le laurier'⁶⁹ should listen to his advice.

Both poets also stress that it is at the dinner table that one is noticed by the noble and the rich, and that it is there that one should be at one's most gallant.⁷⁰ These are, however, the only real echoes of Le Poete Courtisan in LE MEDECIN COURTIZAN, and one must certainly give Grévin credit

for his originality in a poem that is basically inspired by Du Bellay.

One of the charms of Grévin's poem, as indeed of Du Bellay's, is that the poet gives a very plausible account, which suggests that he is speaking from his own experience. Indeed, Grévin must also be given credit for the originality of his idea of writing about medicine, which, bearing in mind his profession, was an ideal subject for him. His personal experience in this field allows him to describe in detail, and with satirical humour, the many ways in which a doctor may appear learned without actually knowing anything!

(iv) L'OLIMPE of 1560

L'OLIMPE contains the Gelodacrye I, the Olimpe I, a number of short love poems with the title Jeux Olympiques, and several individual odes and elegies.

The Gelodacrye I in particular owes a great deal to Du Bellay. Critics have varied in their opinions as to just how far the Gelodacrye is an imitation of Du Bellay's Regrets. Many feel, like Marcel Raymond, that the influence of the Regrets is very great:

La Gélodacrye existerait-elle sans les Regrets? Rien n'est moins sûr. Certes, le poète eût roulé de semblables pensées, mais comment les eût-il chantées? On a remarqué depuis longtemps cette influence de Du Bellay, à qui Jacques Grévin emprunte évidemment des procédés d'exposition et l'idée de plusieurs sonnets. 71

Some critics, notably Pinvert, feel, on the contrary, that the

Gelodacrye owes little to the Regrets:

Il m'est impossible [...] d'apercevoir un rapport
quelconque entre la verve fringante, animée, spirituelle
du catholique angevin, traçant des prélats et de leur
suite les croquis malicieux que l'on sait, et l'âpre et
sourde colère du huguenot, 72

Surprisingly, however, there seems to have been no real
attempt to discover just how much Grévin really owes to
Du Bellay here.

There is, for instance, a very close similarity between
two passages invoking the age-old metaphor of life - in Du
Bellay's case life in Rome - being a stage. Du Bellay writes,
in a sonnet which Grévin will again imitate in his SONNETS
D'ANGLETERRE ET DE FLANDRE:⁷³

Veulx-tu sçavoir (Duthier) quelle chose c'est Rome?
Rome est de tout le monde un publique eschafault,
Une scene, un theatre, auquel rien ne default
De ce qui peult tomber es actions de l'homme. 74

Grévin, in his turn, writes:

Qu'est-ce de ceste vie? un public eschafault,
Où celui qui sçait mieux jouer son personnage,
Selon les passions eschangeant le visage,
Est tousjours bien venu & rien ne luy default. 75

Grévin, here again, seems to be adding to Du Bellay's original.
Du Bellay, in this sonnet, says that Rome is a stage, and also
- implicitly - that those who live in Rome must become actors.
In Grévin's sonnet this is explicit, and, indeed, Grévin
seems also to add, in l.2 and 3 of the above quotation, that,
to be successful, one must be deceitful - a touch of irony
which was not present in Du Bellay.

This motif is, of course, very common, but, nonetheless,
Grévin's text is sufficiently close to Du Bellay's to suggest

indebtedness.

There is also similarity between Du Bellay's description of himself:

Je vays, je viens, je cours, je ne perds point le temps. 76

and Grévin's description:

Je vay, je vien, je cours, & par tout je tracasse. 77

In a sonnet addressed to George Buchanan, the Scottish humanist, Du Bellay says that he would spend his time praising Margaret of France:

Si j'avois Apollon facile en mon François,
Comme en ton Grec tu l'as, & Latin favorable. 78

Grévin, too, gives similar praise to a man whom he does not name, saying:

Tout ce qui s'est couvé de beau & d'admirable
Aux escrits des Romains & antiques Gregois,
Par toy nous le voyons au milieu des François,
Tant tu has le Latin & le Grec favorable. 79

Finally, one might compare one sonnet of the Regrets with one of the Gelodacrye. Du Bellay, addressing Francis II, then the Dauphin, writes:

Digne filz de Henry, nostre Hercule Gaulois,
Nostre second espoir, qui portes sus ta face
Retraicte au naturel la maternelle grace,
Et gravée en ton cœur la vertu de Vallois:

Ce pendant que le ciel, qui ja dessous tes loix
Trois peuples a soubmis, armera ton audace
D'une plus grand'vigueur, suy ton pere à la trace,
Et apprens à donter l'Espagnol & l'Anglois. 80

In one of the few poems in the Gelodacrye which appears to contain no satire, Grévin gives very similar praise, saying:

Enfant digne du pere, et portant sur ta face
Un signe de grandeur avec l'accroissement,
Et qui pour ta beauté sers d'esbayssement,

Retrayant de ta mere & les yeux & la grace:

Enfant, pour la grandeur suy ton pere à la trace,
 Suy-le pour la vertu & le saint jugement,
 Suy ta mere en douceur, retien pareillement
 Comme un riche thesor le bon bruit de ta race; 81

Although in this sonnet Grévin does not mention any name, it seems probable that, like Du Bellay's own sonnet, it is addressed to Francis II, aged sixteen in 1560.

The first four lines of this sonnet are also comparable with the first eleven lines of Du Bellay's Ode sur la naissance du petit Duc de Beaumont:

Enfant, qui dessus ta face
Portes escript tout l'honneur
 Dont les Dieux & le bon heur
 Des Roys serenent la grace,
 Autant puisses-tu avoir
 De vertueuse accroissance,
 Que le ciel nous a fait voir
 De bon heur à ta naissance. 82

From these examples of imitation of the Regrets in the Gelodacrye, it becomes evident that Du Bellay's work was an important source of inspiration, providing Grévin with his satirical style and with several of his themes.

As well as being inspired by the Regrets, Grévin's Gelodacrye I also owes a certain amount to Du Bellay's Antiquitez de Rome, in particular, and also to his other works. One of the sonnets of La Gelodacrye seems to be an adaptation of two of the sonnets of Du Bellay's Antiquitez de Rome. Grévin writes:

Rome avoit surmonté par ses bras belliqueux
 Et mille Gallions toute la terre & l'onde.
 Si bien qu'il n'y avoit pour la ville & le monde,
 Qu'une pareille fin qui les bornast tous deux:

Pour achever le tout, il luy restoit les Cieux:
Parquoy vint assaillir ceste grande arche ronde
Avec humilité & charité profonde,
Des peres anciens l'essin dévotieux.

Or leurs bons successeurs, les braves Courtisans,
Affin de ne ceder aux faicts des anciens,
Voyant que tout estoit domté dans l'univers:

Se sont tant hazardez, qu'ores courant grand'erre,
Après qu'ils ont laissé & le ciel & la terre,
Ils sont faicts heritiers du profond des enfers. 83

This poem resembles very closely the two quatrains of sonnet
no. 8 of the Antiquitez:

Par armes & vaisseaux Rome donta le monde,
Et pouvoit on juger qu'une seule cité
Avoit de sa grandeur le terme limité
Par la mesme rondeur de la terre & de l'onde.

Et tant fut la vertu de ce peuple feconde
En vertueux nepveux, que sa posterité
Surmontant ses ayeux en brave auctorité,
Mesura le hault ciel à la terre profonde,

Afin qu'ayant rangé tout pouvoir sous sa main,
Rien ne peust estre borne à l'empire Romain:
Et que si bien le temps destruit les Republicques,

Le temps ne mist si bas la Romaine hauteur,
Que le chef deterré aux fondemens antiques
Qui prindrent nom de luy, fust découvert menteur. 84

It is interesting that Grévin should exploit Du Bellay's
implicit defence of the papacy in order to write a sonnet
which seems, again implicitly, to attack the papacy. One may
see the close similarity between these two sonnets - although
the satirical tone of the very clever tercets belongs to
Grévin alone. The first lines of this same sonnet of the
Gelodacrye may equally well be compared with another sonnet
of the Antiquitez, where Du Bellay writes, referring to Rome,
that:

La nommant par le nom de la terre & de l'onde:

Ainsi le monde on peult sur Rome compasser,
 Puis que le plan de Rome est la carte du monde. 85

Such statements as these are, it is true, part of tradition, but certainly it seems that it is Du Bellay that Grévin is imitating here.

Du Bellay's Hymne Chrestien, although not to any great extent a source of imitation for Grévin, does seem to have inspired him in some of the more religious sonnets of the Gelodacrye I. At the beginning of the Hymne Chrestien, Du Bellay describes the creation of the world. Grévin, towards the end of the Gelodacrye I, does the same thing. Du Bellay writes, addressing God:

N'est-ce pas toy, qui as prefix le tour
 De l'Océan, qui nous baigne à l'entour,
 Fichant au cieux du jour la lampe clere
 Et le flambeau qui à la nuict esclaire? 86

and Grévin:

Jà le Ciel estoilé commençoit sa carriere,
 Et les feux de la nuit espendants leur lumiere
 Compagnoyent le flambeau qui nous borne les mois. 87

Although there is little real textual echo, it does seem possible that this theme, considering Grévin's indebtedness to Du Bellay elsewhere, may come from this poet rather than from the original in Genesis.

It is possible that the last lines of one of Grévin's sonnets of the Gelodacrye, where he says that there is a certain man whom he cannot admire because:

J'ay de mes anciens souvent entendu dire,
Qu'amour & majesté ne conviennent jamais, 88

is inspired by two of Du Bellay's lines in the Divers Jeux Rustiques; Du Bellay here asks a lady of high rank - Chamard

believes that this may be Diana of Poitiers - if she will not love him, saying that people of noble blood have often had lowly lovers:

Et qu'Amour et majesté
Souvent ensemble ont esté. 89

One might also mention Du Bellay's lines in his poem La Vieille Courtisane, published in the Divers Jeux Rustiques, where the courtesan boasts that:

ne se fust nul autre peu vanter
 De sçavoir mieux le Petrarque chanter. 90

Grévin, using the same expression, says:

Pensez qu'il fait bon voir de nuict en une porte
 Un poltron courtisan le Petrarque chanter. 91

It is also worth looking briefly at one of the two short poems inserted by Grévin towards the middle of the Gelodacrye I, one dedicated to a certain Anthoinette, in which the first letter of each line, read downwards, forms this lady's name, as it offers a striking similarity with one of the sonnets of Du Bellay's Olive. The first lines of Grévin's poem read:

A vant que ce grand tout eut pris sa forme ronde,
 N ature encore foible importunoit les dieux,
 T ant luy touchoit au cueur l'esper audacieux,
 H ardie s'efforceant de façonner le monde.

O res dans le Chaos la semence feconde
 J eune encore s'enfloit d'un amour gracieux,
 N e pouvant toutesfois voir le feu radieux
 E mpestré dans la terre avecque l'air & l'onde. 92

The first eight lines of Du Bellay's sonnet 44 of the Olive are very similar:

Comme jadis l'ame de l'univers
 Enamourée en sa beaulté profonde,
 Pour façonner cete grand' forme ronde
 Et l'enrichir de ses thesors divers,

Courbant sur nous son temple aux yeulx ouvers,

Separa l'air, le feu, la terre & l'onde,
 Et pour tirer les semences du monde
 Sonda le creux des abismes couvers [...] 93

Grévin's satirical Gelodacrye, therefore, contains much that is imitation of Du Bellay, in particular from the Regrets, but also from several of his other poems.

The love sonnets of this 1560 collection L'OLIMPE (these love sonnets also bear the title L'Olimpe) do not owe a very great deal to Du Bellay, although a few examples are found, almost all of them based upon L'Olive.⁹⁴ One might compare the structure and content (though not the actual words) of Du Bellay's sonnet 26, where he says:

La nuit m'est courte, & le jour trop me dure,
 Je fuy l'amour, & le suy' à la trace,
 Cruel me suis, & requier' vostre grace,
 Je pren' plaisir au torment que j'endure.

Je voy' mon bien, & mon mal je procure,
 Desir m'enflamme, & crainte me rend glace,
 Je veux courir, & jamais ne deplace,
 L'obscur m'est cler, & la lumiere obscure, 95

with one of Grévin's sonnets:

Je suis ferme & dispos, & ne me puis defendre,
 Je suis d'un grand courage, & le cueur me default,
 J'ay les æsles au flancs, & ne puis voller hault,
 J'ay vaincu l'ennemi, & à luy me fault rendre:

J'ay des moyens assez, & ne puis entreprendre,
 Je cognoy bien mon mal, & ne sçay qu'il me fault,
 Rien ne m'est denié, & de tout j'ay default,
 Je n'ay besoin de rien, & tout il me fault vendre. 96

Both Grévin and Du Bellay refer to the injuries brought about time. Du Bellay writes that:

Aucuns jadis bastirent haulx ouvrages,
 Pour se venger du temps injurieux. 97

Using a similar phrase, Grévin asks his lady to look more

kindly on his sonnets than she has on their author:

[...] qui en mes jeunes ans
Tasche de vous venger de l'injure du temps. 98

One slightly longer passage of the Antiquitez can finally be compared with two quatrains from one of the sonnets of the Olimpe. In the Antiquitez, Du Bellay refers to the Giants of antiquity, saying:

Telz que l'on vid jadis les enfans de la Terre
Plantez dessus les monts pour escheller les cieux,
Combattre main à main la puissance des Dieux,
Et Jupiter contre eux qui ses fouldres desserre:

Puis tout soudainement renversez du tonnerre
Tumber deça dela ces squadrons furieux,
La Terre gemissante, & le Ciel glorieux
D'avoir à son honneur achevé ceste guerre. 99

In the Olimpe, Grévin says:

OLIMPE, je ne veux comme Filz de la Terre
Reprenant mon audace enter par dessus vous
Les roches & les mons, essayant le courroux
Et le pouvoir des dieux pour victoire en acquerre.

Je ne veux au danger d'un foudre & d'un tonnerre
Ainsi qu'audacieux les menacer de coups;
Car je sçay fermement qu'ils ont pouvoir sur nous,
Je ne veux entreprendre une si folle guerre. 100

This example of imitation demonstrates the resilience of Grévin, who is able to take material from a meditative sonnet, and use it in love poetry.

Apart from these, however, it is difficult to find any real source of inspiration in Du Bellay for the Olimpe I.

The Jeux Olympiques¹⁰¹ again contain little imitation of Du Bellay, being also rather more inspired by Ronsard. Only one good example may be found - in one of the Chansons,

Grévin affirms that the man who loves a virtuous woman is happy, and adds:

Mais celuy qui a veu tes yeux
Sans soupirer, est plus heureux, 102

lines reminiscent of one of Du Bellay's sonnets in the Olive, in which he had, it is true, said the opposite, but in very similar terms:

O bien heureux qui void sa belle face!
O plus heureux qui pour elle soupire! 103

Grévin's OLIMPE contains a number of Odes, some of which, included in earlier works, have already been discussed. These poems contain little imitation of Du Bellay, although it is possible that Du Bellay's ode Les Louanges d'Anjou, au fleuve de Loyre,¹⁰⁴ in which the poet speaks of his own death, inspired Grévin to make a similar reference to his own death in his poem A la fontaine du Pied-du-Mont.¹⁰⁵ The OLIMPE also contains five Elegies. One of these, the Elegie à son Olimpe that precedes the Jeux Olympiques, has already been examined as part of the love poetry. The Elegie à M. Philippe Musnier¹⁰⁶ may, at least to a certain extent, be compared with Du Bellay's Musagœomachie,¹⁰⁷ for, although there is little direct imitation, Grévin seems to have been inspired by this poem. In both, there are descriptions of various monsters such as 'Cupidité', 'Orgueil' and, in Grévin's poem, 'Faulx [sic] religion'. The description of 'Cupidité' in Grévin's Elegie can also be compared with Du Bellay's description of Envy in the poem Contre les Envieux Poetes. Grévin writes:

[...] De sa bouche escumante
Bouilloit un noir venin vomî d'impurité, 108

and in Du Bellay's poem we find the description:

Parmi sa dent venimeuse
Coule une bave ecumeuse. 109

There is also a certain affinity between Du Bellay's lines of this poem:

Heureux, qui pour guide ont eu
La louange, qui est mere
Et fille de la vertu 110

and those of Grévin in the Ode A Hector de Ligniville, abbé de Saint Sauveur:

Il n'est rien plus admirable
Qu'un souvenir honorable
De ceux qui pour guide ont eu
Les Filles de la Vertu. 111

It is evident, therefore, that Grévin's Elegies of 1560 owe little to Du Bellay, relying rather on Ronsard for inspiration.

(v) LE THEATRE of 1561

On the 16th February 1561 new style,¹¹² Grévin's play Cesar, later published in LE THEATRE, was performed. This tragedy owes a great deal to Muret, but Ellen S. Ginsberg has pointed out that much of its inspiration also comes from Du Bellay. It is unnecessary to detail every example of Du Bellay's contribution to Cesar, since Ginsberg has noted them all in her edition of this tragedy. One or two examples will suffice to demonstrate clearly the extent and depth of Grévin's imitation of Du Bellay. Four lines of Cesar's opening speech in this play are drawn from Du Bellay's Antiquitez. Grévin attributes to Cesar the following words:

Ce m'est assez de voir la Romaine hauteur
 Ores estre bornée avecque ma grandeur.
 Ce m'est, ce m'est assez que de la terre & l'onde
 J'ay vainqueur limité & Rome & tout le monde. 113

Du Bellay had written:

Par armes & vaisseaux Rome donta le monde,
 Et pouvoit on juger qu'une seule cité
 Avoit de sa grandeur la terme limité
 Par la mesme rondeur de la terre & de l'onde. 114

Du Bellay's lines in the Hymne au Roy sur la Prinse de Calais:

J'oy d'un autre costé la lamentable noise
 Et les gemissemens d'une grand'troppe Angloise,
 Laquelle en maugreant d'une execrable horreur,
Invoque des Fureurs la plus grande Fureur. 115

have given Grévin the lines, spoken by Marc-Antoine:

J'invoque des Fureurs la plus grande fureur,
 J'invoque le chaos de l'eternelle horreur. 116

Many other examples are also noted by Ellen Ginsberg in her
 edition of Cesar.¹¹⁷

Du Bellay's influence on the Gelodacrye II in particular
 is marked. One of the most striking similarities between this
 collection and Du Bellay's Regrets is the emphasis that both
 collections lay on the combination of laughter and tears
 around which they are both ostensibly woven. In the
 introductory Latin poem Ad Lectorem of the Regrets, we find
 the first hint of this. Du Bellay states:

Quem, lector, tibi nunc damus libellum,
 Hic fellisque simul, simulque mellis,
 Permixture salis refert saporem. 118

The bitter gall, of anger, and the biting salt must be
 softened by honey - or, more literally, by humour. Du Bellay
 explains his intentions more clearly in his dedicatory poem
A Monsieur d'Avanson, where he writes that he intends,

through his poetry, to lessen his torment:

Et c'est pourquoy d'une douce satyre
Entremeslant les espines aux fleurs,
Pour ne fascher le monde de mes pleurs,
J'appreste icy le plus souvent à rire. 119

The first sonnet of the collection again succinctly expresses Du Bellay's desire to combine laughter and tears, for he says, referring to his verse:

Je me plains à mes vers, si j'ay quelque regret:
Je me ris avec eulx, je leur dy mon secret. 120

Grévin, in the Gelodacrye, and particularly in the Gelodacrye II, seems also to wish to combine these two elements. This is suggested firstly by the title itself, a combination of the two Greek words 'γάλας' and 'δάκρυ', and meaning a mixture of laughter and tears. This combination of laughter and tears first appears in the dedicatory poem of the Gelodacrye II, where we read:

Rire? La chose hélas! la plus desespérée.
Plourer? Et si, tout est plein de risée! 121

It is possible, moreover, in one or two of the sonnets, to find some reference to the combination implied by this poem. In one of the sonnets of the Gelodacrye II, for instance, we read the following lines, highly reminiscent of the opening sonnet of the Regrets, just quoted:

Je déplore mes ris, je me ris de mes pleurs,
Je ris mon passe-temps, je plore mes douleurs.
Tout me tire à plourer, tout à rire m'excite. 122

Another sonnet of the Gelodacrye II also speaks of laughter and tears, but in a manner that perhaps betrays a fundamental difference between the Regrets and the Gelodacrye, for Grévin writes:

Que ne suis-je eschangé en une source claire

Distillant à jamais un grand ruisseau de pleurs,
 Pour tant d'impietez, de meurtres, de malheurs,
 Qui à tousjours plourer ne me font rien qu'attraire?

Nature me devoit au costé gauche faire
 Une ratte engrossie, & de doubles largeurs,
 Pour rire incessamment les bouillantes fureurs
 De ceux-là qui tant bien se sçavent contrefaire. 123

Grévin's laughter is not normally humorous, like that of Du Bellay¹²⁴ but, rather, full of bitterness and hatred.

Nonetheless, Du Bellay's statement that he wishes to combine in his work both laughter and tears is a source of inspiration for Grévin when he expresses these same desires. Although there is not really any direct imitation in these passages, it would seem likely that Du Bellay's lines:

Je me plains à mes vers, si j'ay quelque regret:
Je me ris avec eulx, je leur dy mon secret, 125

inspired Grévin to write:

Je me ris de ce monde, & n'y trouve que rire.
Je le plore, & si rien ne doit estre ploré. 126

Apart from this basic similarity between the Gelodacrye and the Regrets, one also finds a certain uniformity of themes in these poems. For example, both aim their satire at important figures, for example courtiers, hoping to avoid retaliation by refraining from naming those they criticise.¹²⁷

It is, nonetheless, important to stress the individuality of the Gelodacrye, which lies principally in the bitterness of the tone, for although Grévin claims to laugh as much as he cries, there is no lightheartedness, or genuine humour in his verse; the first sonnet of the Gelodacrye I contains a very accurate description of this collection. Here Grévin says that fortune is changeable, and may be either generous or cruel:

C'est pourquoy, mon D'AURAT, ayant chanté l'Amour,
Je chante la discorde, & la haine à son tour,
Comme la passion & la fureur me meine.

Toute chose ha son temps, l'Amour et la rancueur;
Toutesfois je n'ay peu eschanger mon malheur,
Car chantant le discord je deplore ma peine. 128

It is paradoxical, and not a little ironic, to find that a collection titled Les Regrets offers more gaiety than tears,¹²⁹ and that the Gelodacrye, the title of which means 'laughter and tears' contains mainly sorrowful themes. One reason for Grévin's greater bitterness may, of course, be that while Du Bellay, criticising Rome, longs for his native land, Grévin is criticising France itself, and has no Utopia to dream about. For Du Bellay there is hope of escape; Grévin, seeing the evil and faults around him, finds nothing to long for, nothing to look forward to. In Du Bellay's Regrets, the melancholy is redeemed (notwithstanding some of Du Bellay's own protests to the contrary) by the poet's humour, the warmth of his personality and also by his inner serenity and confidence as a poet. The Grévin that we see through the Gelodacrye is angry and deeply wretched - although one should remember that this is only one aspect of his personality: his character should not be judged, as so many critics have mistakenly done, on the Gelodacrye alone. In the love sonnets he reveals another side - often joyful and full of hope. The Jeux Olimpiques, too, speak of hope and happiness. In the Odes we find numerous flashes of humour - in fact, despite the beliefs of some critics, humour is never totally lacking in his work, even in the Gelodacrye.¹³⁰

Another important element of Grévin's originality in this

work is, of course, the frequent references to religious matters - particularly in the 1561 Gelodacrye II. This religious element may be a prayer,¹³¹ or a comparison between Roman Catholicism and the Reformed religion,¹³² or, more simply, praise of the greatness of God.¹³³ Such elements as these are no more than vestigially present in the Regrets.

As well as being deeply inspired by the Regrets, the Gelodacrye also contains imitation of other works by Du Bellay, notably the Antiquitez. The last lines of one of the more famous of the sonnets of this collection, where Du Bellay writes:

Et Rome Rome a vaincu seulement
Le Tybre seul, qui vers la mer s'enfuit,
 Reste de Rome. O mondaine inconstance!
 Ce qui est ferme, est par le temps destruit,
 Et ce qui fuit, au temps fait resistance, 134

seem to have inspired Grévin in one of the sonnets of the Gelodacrye:

O mélange du monde! ô mondaine inconstance!
 O monde [...]
 Que tien-tu dedans toy qui tienne une constance,
 Sinon cest element, qui ha moins de moyen
 De garder entre tous l'accoustumé maintien,
 Et qui semble de soy faire moins resistance?
 [...]
 Le Xante est demouré, le Tybre coule encore. 135

Grévin's melancholy and attractive sonnet stands comparison with Du Bellay's original.

Turning to Du Bellay's other works, one finds yet more imitation in the Gelodacrye. In one of the Vers Lyriques, for instance, Du Bellay writes:

O l'homme heureux! ô l'homme riche!
 Si les honneurs ambicieux,
 Les Palaiz elevez aux cieux,
 Le doulx nectar & l'ambrosie
 Ne contentent la faintaisie [...] 136

It seems conceivable that Grévin remembered these words when he wrote the lines:

Pauvre homme, tu bastis ces chasteaux somptueux
 Les eslevant au Ciel, & tu demeure en terre. 137

One might compare a stylistic device used by Du Bellay in his poem A une Dame (although the subject is different) with one used by Grévin in the Gelodacrye. Du Bellay writes, describing various suitors:

L'un meurt de froid, & l'autre meurt de chault,
L'un vole bas, & l'autre vole hault,
L'un est chetif, l'autre a ce qu'il luy fault,
L'un sur l'esprit se fonde
L'autre s'arreste à la beaulté du corps [...] 138

Grévin, outlining the differences he sees between the Reformed religion and the Roman Catholic religion, uses a similar device, writing:

L'un presché verité, & l'autre la mensonge,
L'un deffend son bon droit, l'autre masque le sien,
L'un est nommé nouveau, & l'autre l'ancien,
L'un ne veult rien couper, & l'autre tout allonge.
L'un s'arreste au certain, & l'autre sur le songe,
L'un s'advance tousjours, l'autre traine un lien,
L'un pense estre vainqueur, l'autre n'est sans moyen,
L'un et l'autre en bon port dans la vague se plonge. 139

This same device is again used by Grévin in the last sonnet of the Gelodacrye I where, addressing Mellin de Saint Gelais, he compares astrology and poetry.¹⁴⁰

Thus, several of the sonnets of the Gelodacrye II are, like those of the Gelodacrye I, deeply influenced by the

Regrets, and also by the Antiquitez, but they also owe a debt to Du Bellay's other poetry.

The Odes of LE THEATRE of 1561 contain two examples of imitation of Du Bellay. In the ode A treshaulte et trespouissante Princesse Claude de France, Grévin praises this princess, and tells her that he is doing so:

Non pour estre fille d'un Pere
Roy magnanime, issu des Roys,
 Ou pour avoir un Roy pour frere
 Monarque de tous les Gaulois. 141

This passage is almost certainly inspired by the passage where Du Bellay praises Madame Marguerite, Duchess of Berry:

Non pource qu'un grand Roy ait esté vostre pere,
Non pour vostre degré & royale haulteur,
 Chascun de vostre nom veult estre le chanteur,
 Ni pource qu'un grand Roy soit ores vostre frere. 142

At the beginning of Grévin's ode we find a comparison between a woman waiting for her husband and France waiting for the arrival of its princess:

Ainsi qu'une femme soigneuse
 Et devote attend le retour,
 Dessus la rive perilleuse
 De l'Ocean, où fait sejour
 Son mari qui jusqu'à l'Aurore
 Passe les flots aventureux,
 Pour avoir les butins heureux
 Que nostre France tant honore.
 [...]
 Ainsi, Princesse, toute France,
 De qui vous estes le support,
 Vefue, hélas! de vostre présence
 Vous attendoit dessus le port. 143

This comparison is very similar to one made by Du Bellay, where he says:

Comme la mere au rivaige lamente,
 Prie, & fait vœux pour son desiré filz,

Qu'un vent contraire en haulte mer tourmante
 Oultre le terme à son retour prefix:
 Paris ainsi languissoit avant l'heure
 Qui a mis fin à ta longue demeure. 144

Although there is no textual echo in Grévin, the similarity of the subject is striking.

Grévin's Odes of 1561, therefore, owe little to Du Bellay.

(vi) The SONNETS D'ANGLETERRE ET DE FLANDRE

Grévin left France for a second time in 1567. While away from his native country he wrote sixteen sonnets which remained unpublished until they were printed by Léon Dorez in the Bulletin du Bibliophile. Pinvert mentions a number of examples of Grévin imitating Du Bellay in this collection. He compares, for instance, the lines:

Mais voyant le repos, o France, te desplaire,
 Voiant jointe au cousteau la parolle de Dieu,
 Pour cella j'ay choisy ung exil vollontaire, 145

with Du Bellay's lines of the Regrets:

Sortons (Dilliers) sortons, faisons place à l'envie,
 Et fuyons desormais ce tumulte civil,
 Puis qu'on y void priser le plus lasche & plus vil,
 Et la meilleure part estre la moins suivie
 [...]
 Bannissons la vertu d'un exil volontaire. 146

The last line certainly resembles Grévin's words, but perhaps Pinvert here overestimates Grévin's debt to Du Bellay. This is not the only relatively weak parallel Pinvert gives. He compares, for instance, Du Bellay's line of the Regrets:

France, mere des arts, des armes & des loix [...] 147

with Grévin's lines:

France, ma douce mère, hélas! je t'ay laissé [...] 148

These lines are not very similar, and it would be difficult to be sure that Grévin was here inspired by Du Bellay.

Similarly, Pinvert's comparison of the line:

Ce n'est point pour avoyr ton repos offensé [...] 149

with Du Bellay's:

Si pour avoir passé sans crime sa jeunesse,
Si pour n'avoir d'usure enrichi sa maison,
Si pour n'avoir commis homicide ou traison,
Si pour n'avoir usé de mauvaise finesse, 150

seems to be rather unwarranted.

On the other hand, Pinvert is on surer ground when he compares Du Bellay's lines:

Rome est de tout le monde un publique eschafault,
Une scene, un theatre, auquel rien ne default
De ce qui peult tomber es actions de l'homme, 151

which had already inspired a sonnet of the Gelodacrye I,¹⁵²

with those of Grévin:

La France est aujourd'hui le publique eschaffaut
Sur lequel la discorde insolente et hardie
Joue, à nostre malheur, sa triste tragedie,
Où la fureur sanglante et la mort ne deffaut. 153

There do not appear to be any other examples of imitation of Du Bellay by Grévin in these SONNETS D'ANGLETERRE ET DE FLANDRE.

(vii) The 24 SONNETS SUR ROMME

The 24 SONNETS SUR ROMME, however, contain far more imitation of Du Bellay. These were written at some point during Grévin's exile from France, probably during the period he spent as Margaret of France's doctor in Turin, when it would seem that he visited Rome. The 24 SONNETS SUR ROMME

remained unpublished until 1862, when Edouard Tricotel published them in the Bulletin du Bibliophile. Pinvert reproduces these sonnets in his thesis. He says that:

Les Sonnets sur Rome de Grévin ressemblent beaucoup aux Antiquitez de Rome de J. du Bellay, et, en même temps, s'en éloignent sensiblement, 154

and notes a number of similarities with Du Bellay's Antiquitez and Regrets. He points out, for instance, the close resemblance between Du Bellay's lines, comparing first a torrent, and then a lion, with Rome:

Comme on passe en aété le torrent sans danger,
Qui souloit en hyver estre roy de la plaine,
 [...]
Comme on void les couards animaux oultrager
Le courageux lyon gisant dessus l'arene,
Ensanglanter leurs dents, & d'une audace vaine
Provoquer l'ennemy qui ne se peult venger, 155

and two sonnets by Grévin. The first refers to the torrent, comparing it with Rome:

Comme on voit d'un torrent la course vagabonde
Descendre les rochers impetueusement,
Alors que le soleil plus vigoureusement
Touche le doz neigeus de la terre feconde,
 [...]
Mais lors que le soleil se retire en hiver,
Le torrent perd son bruit et ne se peut trouver,
Mais laisse seulement la campagne pierreuse. 156

The second sonnet refers to the lion, also comparing it with Rome:

Tout ainsi qu'un lion plein de cueur et d'ardeur,
 L'effroi plus redouté de la plaine Libyque,
 Se nourrit et se pait de la perte publique
 De maints troupeaus qui ont essayé sa fureur,
 [...]
 Le lion estant mort n'est rien que pourriture,
 A ceux qui le craignoit il donne nourriture,
 Et le champ est couvert de ses oz decharnez. 157

This is an interesting example of Grévin's imitation of Du

Bellay, because it is one of only a few where Grévin has expanded the older poet's lines, adding further details of his own, and thus, from six lines, creating two sonnets.

Pinvert has also noted a very great similarity between the last sonnet in Grévin's collection:

Braves coutaux, et vous ruines glorieuses,
Qui de Romme le nom seulement retenez,
Las! quel reste avez vous de tant d'hommes bien nez,
De tant d'ames jadis rares et precieuses?

Theatres mi-brisez, coulomnes ruineuses,
Triomphe somptueux de gloire environnez,
Colosses qui en poudre estes ja retournez,
Vous servez à chacun de fables ocieuses.

Car bien que pour un temps l'ouvrage renommé
Encontre le temps mesme entrepreigne la guerre,
Si doit il estre en fin par le temps consommé.

Je vivrai donc content entre tant de malheurs,
Que si le temps met fin à ce qui est en terre,
Possible mettra il la fin à mes douleurs, 158

and sonnet 7 of the Antiquitez:

Sacrez costaux, & vous saintes ruines,
Qui le seul nom de Rome retenez,
Vieux monuments, qui encor soustenez
L'honneur poudreux de tant d'ames divines:

Arcz triomphaux, pointes du ciel voisines,
Qui de vous voir le ciel mesmes estonnez,
Las, peu à peu cendre vous devenez,
Fable du peuple & publiques rapines!

Et bien qu'au temps pour un temps facent guerre
Les bastimens, si est-ce que le temps
Œuvres & noms finablement atterre.

Tristes desirs, vivez donques contents:
Car si le temps finist chose si dure,
Il finira la peine que j'endure.

There is the same idea, as Pinvert has noted, in Du Bellay's lines:

Ronsard, j'ay veu l'orgueil des Colosses antiques,
Les theatres en rond ouvers de tous costez,

Les columbes, les arcz, les haults temples voultez,
Et les sommets pointus des carrez obelisques.

J'ay veu des Empereurs les grands thermes publiques,
J'ay veu leurs monuments que le temps a dontez,
J'ay veu leurs beaux palais que l'herbe a surmontez,
Et des vieux murs Romains les pouldreuses reliques, 159

as there is in those of Grévin:

O palais enterrez dessous vos profondeurs,
Tombeaus ensevelis en vostre propre cendre,
Colomnes que le temps en poudre fait expandre,
Theatres affaissez sous vos propres hauteurs;

Arcs vaincus et rompus, et vous temples menteurs,
Colosses empoudrez comme pierre plus tendre,
Thermes que peu à peu la vieillesse demembre,
Portiques ruinez avecques vos auteurs. 160

(This sonnet perhaps also owes something to sonnet 7 of the Antiquitez, quoted above.) One might also compare, as does Pinvert, the fourth line of Du Bellay's sonnet with Grévin's phrase 'Obelisques pointus'¹⁶¹ which was probably inspired by it.

There is more than a slight similarity, as Pinvert notes, between Du Bellay's lines:

Je ne veux feuilleter les exemplaires Grecs,
Je ne veux retracer les beaux traicts d'un Horace,
Et moins veulx-je imiter d'un Petrarque la Grace,
Ou la voix d'un Ronsard, pour chanter mes regrets, 162

and those of Grévin:

Je ne veux imiter la fureur de Petrarque
[...]
Je ne veux contrefaire un sçavant Aristarque [...] 163

There is equally a great similarity between Du Bellay's famous lines:

Nouveau-venu, qui cherches Rome en Rome
Et rien de Rome en Rome n'apperçois,
Ces vieux palais, ces vieux arcz que tu vois,
Et ces vieux murs, c'est ce que Rome on nomme, 164

and those of Grévin:

Arrivé dedans Romme, en Romme je cherchois
 Romme qui fut jadis la merveille du monde:
 Ne voyant ceste Romme à null'autre seconde,
 D'avoir perdu mes pas honteus je me fachois.
 [...]
 Ores monté bien haut, regardant à la ronde,
 De voir ceste grand'Romme en Romme je taschois. 165

Pinvert also mentions very briefly the possible comparison between Du Bellay's line: '[...] Que Rome n'est plus Rome,¹⁶⁶ and that of Grévin: 'Car Romme n'est plus Romme [...],¹⁶⁷ However, he missed one example of resemblance between the Antiquitez de Rome and the 24 SONNETS SUR ROMME. Grévin compares Rome to a tree, saying:

Comm' un grand pin feuillu plus gros et plus puissant
 Fait un bruit plus hautain alors que perissant
 Le foudre a deterré sa racine profonde,

Ainsi Romme, qui fut le chef de l'univers,
 Par son bruit ruineux porté dedans mes vers,
 De merveille et d'effroi remplira tout le monde. 168

Du Bellay, too, towards the end of the Antiquitez de Rome, compares Rome to a tree, saying:

Qui a veu quelquefois un grand chesne asseiché,
 Qui pour son ornement quelque trophée porte,
 Lever encor' au ciel sa vieille teste morte,
 Dont le pied fermement n'est en terre fiché,
 [...]

Et bien qu'au premier vent il doive sa ruine,
 Et maint jeune à l'entour ait ferme la racine,
 Du devot populaire estre seul reveré:

Qui tel chesne a peu voir, qu'il imagine encores
 Comme entre les citez, qui plus florissent ores,
 Ce vieil honneur poudreux est le plus honoré. 169

(The original source is Lucan,¹⁷⁰ but Grévin is almost certainly imitating Du Bellay here). It is interesting, in studying these two sonnets, to analyse the difference in attitude of the two poets towards Rome, for, while Grévin's

tree is a 'grand pin feuillu', Du Bellay's is a rather less awesome and impressive 'chesne asseiché'.

There is little doubt that the Regrets and the Antiquitez de Rome have influenced these sonnets to a very great extent. The fact that these SONNETS SUR ROMME bear such a close resemblance to the Antiquitez is perhaps evidence of the fact that, after Grévin and Ronsard had quarrelled, Grévin turned more and more towards Du Bellay.

One may say, therefore, that Du Bellay was a very important source of inspiration for Grévin. Some collections, it is true, notably the love poems, and also the SONNETS D'ANGLETERRE ET DE FLANDRE, are little influenced by this poet. However, the sonnets of the Gelodacrye, the 24 SONNETS SUR ROMME, and, above all, the REGRETS DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE and the tragedy CESAR, are very deeply influenced by him.

Grévin's imitation of Du Bellay, as we have seen occasionally in this survey, often introduces an original element or development, which can increase the interest of the passage.¹⁷¹

It seems clear, therefore, that Grévin's imitation of Du Bellay is freer, and more original, than his imitation of Ronsard, perhaps because, while he admired Du Bellay greatly, he seems to have revered Ronsard in a way that prevented him from making any serious alterations to the material he borrowed.

CHAPTER 5.

GREVIN AND THE OTHER POETS OF THE PLEIADE.

In this chapter, Grévin's imitation of Estienne Jodelle, Jan-Antoine de Baif, Remy Belleau, Jean Dorat and Pontus de Tyard, who, along with Ronsard and Du Bellay, are normally considered as forming the group known as the 'Pléiade', will be studied.

1: GREVIN AND JODELLE

The relationship between Grévin and Jodelle was very close from early in Grévin's life: it is not impossible that the latter acted in Jodelle's Cleopatre Captive or in La Rencontre early in 1553. E. Balmas, in Un poeta del Rinascimento francese: Estienne Jodelle, has studied the relationship between these two poets closely, stating that:

Per quanto riguarda Grévin, i suoi rapporti con Jodelle ci sono esplicitamente attestati da allusioni che non è difficile rilevare nelle sue opere, oltre che da una evidente imitazione che egli fa, nella sua commedia Les Esbahis dell'Eugène del Nostro. 1

From evidence found in the writings of these two poets he concludes that they were close friends. As he points out, from 1558 onwards, at the very latest, their friendship is demonstrated by the fact that the younger poet supported Jodelle to the best of his ability after Jodelle had been disgraced in the eyes of the court, and had lost many of his other friends, following the disastrous court entertainment he had directed at the Hôtel de Ville in 1558. In his Recueil des Inscriptions, Jodelle tells us that the number of his friends had decreased sharply after this date! Referring to the title of his epistle (Estienne Jodelle à ses amis) he wrote:

J'eusse pensé avant le desastre que vous sçavés m'estre survenu, que donnant un tel tiltre à une epistre mienne j'eusse bien escrit à un plus grand nombre que je ne fay. 2

We may see how friendly Grévin must have been with Jodelle when we realise that it was not very long after this affair, early in

1559, that Grévin wrote LA PASTORALE, in which Jodelle, designated by the name Tenot, plays a leading role. Many of the references made to him in this play are very flattering. Collin, representing Nicolas Denisot, for instance, seeing Tenot (Jodelle) says to Jaquet (Grévin):

Le vois-tu bien, Jaquet? c'est celuy lequell j'ose
Vanter entre tous ceux qui jouent du flageol. 3

and in the Argument de la Pastorale Grévin also writes:

Par Tenot est entendu Estienne Jodelle, assez cogneu en
nostre France, tant pour son sçavoir que pour la grandeur
& promptitude de son esprit. 4

There is no doubt that these references to Jodelle at a time when he was in disgrace, less than one year after publishing the Recueil des Inscriptions, the privilege of which is dated the 11th June 1558,⁵ suggests a close relationship. As Enea Balmas says:

si tratta di una prova di grande amicizia, che Jacquet
offre a Tenot. 6

Grévin, moreover, dedicates one of the sonnets of the Olimpe I to Jodelle,⁷ and also mentions him admiringly in the Brief Discours that precedes LE THEATRE. Referring to tragedy and comedy, Grévin says:

Je sçay bien qu'Estienne Jodelle (homme qui merite
beaucoup pour la promptitude & gentillesse de son esprit)
à esté celuy qui les a tirées des Grecs & Latins pour
les replanter en France. 8

Moreover, at a time when Grévin was himself under a cloud, after having almost certainly written the TEMPLE DE RONSARD and having quarrelled with his old friend, Ronsard himself, Jodelle continued to support him. Jodelle's poem 'ad eundem comitem' is the only liminary poem to be placed at the head of the ANATOMES TOTIUS, AERE INSCULPTA DELINEATIO first written in 1565. Grévin

must have been grateful for such a friend at that time.

It is interesting, therefore, in the light of this friendship, to study Grévin's imitation of Jodelle.

(i) LA PASTORALE of 1559

Some imitation of Jodelle is found in Grévin's LA PASTORALE, although it is not widespread; this may have been prompted by the fact that, writing of Jodelle, and mentioning him frequently under the rustic name of Tenot, he would have been continually reminded of this poet's own works. One very close similarity proves beyond doubt that Grévin was inspired by Jodelle.

In the preface of LA PASTORALE, which is dedicated to Margaret of France, Grévin writes, addressing this princess:

La Muse te dira la Française Minerve
 Sous qui le faux Erreur, & l'Ignorance serve
 Furent jadis bannis d'aveque les François,
 Et renvoyez au sein des plus barbares Rois:
 Le Poete te dira sa seure sauvegarde,
Sa targue, qui defend une langue jazarde,
 Qui d'un parler moqueur le pensoit effrayer.
 Il dira que tu peux sous ta Gorgon muer
 Ceux qui effrontément sont venus à l'exemple
 Des corbeaux enruez, croacer dans ton temple. 9

These lines at first seem rather obscure; one may wonder to what incident Grévin is referring. A poem by Jodelle, however, which Grévin is clearly imitating, helps to clarify the meaning.

Entitled the A tres illustre Princesse Marguerite de France, Estienne Jodelle Parisien, it first appeared as preliminary verse for Ronsard's Second Livre des Hymnes of 1556;¹⁰ there, Jodelle makes a clear allusion to Ronsard and to the defence of his poetry by Margaret of France when he was attacked by Mellin

de Saint-Gelais, writing:

Si desormais vers toy, sous qui doit estre serve
 L'impudente ignorance, on adresse, ô Minerve,
 Tant d'œuvres avortez, à qui leurs peres font
 Porter effrontément ton beau nom sur leur front,
 Comme si lon vouloit sa sauvegarde faire
 Sous la targe qu'on voit au poing de l'adversaire:
 Si mesme dans ton temple impatient je voy
 Quelque enroté corbeau croulasser devant toy [...] 11

And later in the same poem, he mentions the 'brouilleurs' who were attempting to obscure Ronsard's renown:

Je les verray soudain sous mes traits s'effroyer,
 Je les verray soudain sous ta Gorgon muer. 12

One may therefore conclude that Grévin's lines, like those of Jodelle, refer to Mellin de Saint Gelais's attack on Ronsard.¹³

The text of LA PASTORALE itself also contains a possible example of imitation of Jodelle. In the long extract of Jodelle's Les Discours de Jules cesar avant le passage du Rubicon that remains to us (and which was probably written between January 1561 and March 1562¹⁴),

he writes that man would be able to comprehend everything about the world and how it works through observation and calculation:

Si pour l'aspre longueur de l'estude, la vie
 Au milieu du travail ne nous estoit ravie. 15

These lines are very similar to the lines spoken by Collin - Nicholas Denisot - at the beginning of Grévin's PASTORALE, where we read:

Jaquet, Jaquet la vie
 En la fin des travaux nous est souvent ravie. 16

(ii) L'OLIMPE of 1560

The sonnets of L'Olimpe I, the Odes and the Jeux Olympiques contain no imitation of Jodelle. Only the Gelodacrye I contains

lines reminiscent of this poet, for there is some similarity between Jodelle's lines:

Sapphon la docte Grecque, à qui Phaon vint plaire,
Chantant ses feux, de Muse aquesta le surnom:
 Corinne vray ou faulse aux vers a pris renom,
 Dont le Romain Ovide a voulu la pourtraire.

Pétrarque Italien, pour un Phébus se faire,
 De l'immortel laurier alla choisir le nom:
 Nostre Ronsard François ne tasche aussi sinon
 Par l'amour de Cassandre un Phébus contrefaire, 17

and those of Grévin:

Venus son Adonis par pleurs regrettera,
 Apollon sa Daphné, Orphé son Euridice,
 Et Petrarque sa Laure, erreur de son service,
 Du Bellay son Olive en deuil lamentera:

Et Ronsard amoureux Cassandre chantera,
 Et par mille Sonets maudira la malice
 De l'aveugle Archerot qui luy fait injustice:
 Baif de son destin la rigueur publiera. 18

(iii) LE THEATRE of 1561

Grévin's play Cesar, first performed on 16th February 1561, and published in LE THEATRE, owes a small amount to Jodelle's Didon se sacrifiant, as Ginsberg has noted. Two passages are imitated from this play; the first is where Calpurnie, at the beginning of Act III of Grévin's play, says:

Las! qu'ay-je soupçonné? Nourrice, qu'ay-je veu? 19

Didon, at the beginning of Jodelle's play, says:

Dieux! qu'ay-je soupçonné? Dieux, grands Dieux, qu'ay-je
 sçeu? 20

The second passage comes towards the end of this same scene in Grévin's play, where Calpurnie says of César:

[...] Mais ne le voy-je pas?
 Si est-ce qu'il me fault l'arrester de ce pas. 21

These lines are drawn from Didon se sacrifiant, when Didon

tries to stop Enée:

Mais ne le voici pas? [...]
Il fault que la pitié l'arreste encor ici. 22

Although Grévin's debt to Jodelle in this tragedy is not great, the younger poet had certainly read Jodelle's play and had on occasion been inspired by it.

It has been suggested by some critics that Grévin's two comedies also owe something to Jodelle. Brian Jeffery, in his French Renaissance Comedy, maintains that Grévin owes much to him in his plays. He is correct in noting that La Tresoriere and Les Esbahis resemble L'Eugene in their metre, the octosyllable, in their small scale and restricted number of scenes, and in their licentiousness.²³ Lapeyre, too, recognises Grévin's debt to this poet,²⁴ but concludes that it is not great.²⁵ Although Grévin, as these two critics point out, also owes the structure of his plays, and perhaps some of his characters, to Jodelle, there is no direct imitation of this poet in either comedy.

One can therefore conclude that, despite Jodelle's friendship with Grévin, and despite frequent mention by Grévin of Jodelle in his verse, his influence throughout remains minimal.

2: GREVIN AND JEAN-ANTOINE DE BAIF

Grévin addresses a number of his poems to Baif, despite the fact that he does not appear to have known him well. He was particularly inspired by Baif's love poetry, although he certainly admired all aspects of his work.

(i) L'OLIMPE of 1560

L'OLIMPE, more than any other collection, was influenced by Baif. The love sonnets contain a substantial amount of imitation of Baif, who had himself written a very large number of love poems - including two books of the Amours de Meline of 1552,²⁶ four books of L'Amour de Francine in 1555,²⁷ and three books of Diverses Amours, which first appeared as a collection in 1572, although many of its poems had been published individually much earlier.²⁸ Many of the love sonnets in these books are similar in style and theme to those written by Grévin. Baif, for instance, mentions in two separate poems that Nicolas Denisot - a friend of both Grévin and Baif, and an artist as well as a poet - had painted a portrait of Meline.²⁹ Grévin, too, in two separate sonnets, mentions a portrait that Denisot has painted of Olimpe.³⁰ There is little real similarity of style, but the theme here is the same. A close similarity also exists between Baif's line: 'Et du corail de ta bouche vermeille [...]',³¹ and that of

Grévin: 'Et le double corail de ses levres vermeilles [...]',³²
 although such lines abound in sixteenth century love poetry.

One is, however, left in little doubt of Grévin's
 inspiration in the following lines. The subject of the first
 line is heaven:

Ja-desja distilloit le somne gracieux,
 Le somne oste-souci respandoit dans ma moëlle
 De sa douceur mielleuse, & du vent de son æsle
 Afflatant mes esprits faisoit clorre mes yeux:
Voyci venir vers moy, voyci la feincte image. 33

These lines come from one of Baïf's own love sonnets, in
 which he, too, falls asleep, and dreams:

Un doux somne ferma d'un doux lien mes yeux.
Voyci en mon dormant une clairté des cieux
Venir l'ombre enflâmer d'une lumière pure,
Voyci venir des cieux sous l'escorte d'Amour
 Neuf Nymphes. 34

The dreams themselves are different, but the two descriptions
 are similar. Moreover, both sonnets also contain the same three
 rhymes: 'gracieux', 'cieux' and 'yeux'.³⁵

In the Olimpe I, again, one may compare the sonnets:

Petits Archers trompeurs qui de nuict voletants
A l'entour de mon lict martirez ma pensée,
 Et qui de descocher n'avez la main lassée,
 Envieux de mon bien & de mes jeunes ans:

Volez vers mon Olimpe, allez seuls jouissans
 De ce qui m'appartient, & l'ayant resveillée,
 Presentez en mon nom ceste carte esmaillee
 De plaintes, de soupairs, de pleurs, & de tormans.

Et en la presentant, dites luy: Obstinée,
 Tiendrez vous vostre grace à jamais destournée
 De celui qui pour vous vit miserablement?

Au moins, si ne voulez entendre sa priere,
 Entendez les tesmoings de sa longue misere:
 Possible vous aurez pitié de son torment. 36

with one of Baïf's sonnets of the first book of the Amours de
Francine:

Petits cousins aislez, ô d'amour les trompettes,
Qui la nuit trompetans tout alentour de moy,
 Me reveillez ensemble avecques mon é moy,
 Allez, traversez l'air, déployez vos aislettes.

Volez, & si d'amour quelque conte vous faites,
Faites conte, oyselets, pour ma si rare foy,
 De ce que je vous veu. Si tant d'heur je reço y,
 Les bons heraus d'amour à tout-jamais vous estes:

Allez pres de Poytiers, sur un valon pierreux,
Droit au dos d'un costau, qui sur un champ regarde:
 Portez à ma Francine un message amoureux.

De ce mot dans son lit allez la reveiller,
 (Pour guerdon baisez-la, O quel malheur m'en garde!)
 Baïf pour ton amour ne sçaurait sommeiller.

37

Although Baïf's sonnet is well assimilated, it is probably the source of Grévin's sonnet.

One may also note that there is a certain similarity between Grévin's lines:

Voyez, Amans, voyez quel est mon dur tourment,
Voyez Amans pour Dieu, combien grande est ma peine. 38

and Baïf's line:

Pour Dieu voyez Amans que ma peine est cruelle! 39

Finally, the first lines of two sonnets, one by Grévin, the other by Baïf, are very similar. Grévin writes, addressing Olimpe: 'Avez-vous arrêté de m'estre si rebelle?⁴⁰ while Baïf, addressing his love, asks: 'Ne cesserez-vous point de m'estre si rebelle?⁴¹ Grévin certainly seems here to have drawn inspiration from Baïf.

The Gelodacrye I, unlike the Olimpe I, is only very slightly influenced by Baïf. There is perhaps only one real example of a sonnet in this collection being inspired by Baïf.

The sonnet in question reads:

Jamais je ne veis homme estre plus amoureux,
 Ne qui fust plus esmeu en voyant une femme:
 Il ne craint pas tant Dieu qu'il redoute sa dame,

En la craignant, CHARTON, il s'estime estre heureux.

Il est pasle & desfaict, ainsi qu'un malheureux,
 Qui n'ha plus que les os environnant son ame,
 Il ne fait que parler de l'ardeur de sa flâme,
 Tant il est en aimant & fol & languoureux.

Et encore l'on veult que je l'honore & prise,
 Ainsi qu'il appartient à ceux qu'on autorise:
 Je sçay bien quel honneur on leur doit faire: mais

Une chose il y a, qui du tout m'en retire,
 J'ay de mes anciens souvent entendu dire,
 Qu'amour & majesté ne conviennent jamais. 42

This may be compared with Baïf's:

Ce Roy, bien que l'Anglois troublast tout son royaume,
 Jamais qu'à contre-cœur n'affubloit le heaume:
 Volontiers nonchalant de son peuple & de soy,
 Pour mieux faire l'amour eust quitté d'estre Roy
 Content d'estre berger avecque sa bergere. 43

and, a little further in this same poem:

Vous aimant je ne puis souffrir que l'on médise
 De Vostre Majesté, que, pour estre surprise
 De l'amour d'une femme, on accuse d'avoir
 Mis en oubli d'un Roy l'honneur & le devoir. 44

The imitation here is not very close, but it seems likely that these lines are the source of Grévin's sonnet. Apart from this one example, there is no imitation of Baïf in the Gelodacrye.

The Jeux Olimpiques and the Chansons that are interspersed among the sonnets of the Olimpe contain only one example of imitation of this poet. Baïf, in one of the poems of the Second livre des Amours de Meline, had written:

Vivons, Mignarde, vivons
 Et suivons
 Les ébats, qu'Amour nous donne. 45

Grévin seems to have adopted these lines in one of his Olimpiens - short poems formed of only nine lines - where he writes:

Vivons, Mignarde, en nos amours,
Aimons nous & vivons, Mignarde. 46

Both poems are, of course, reminiscent of Catullus's line 'Vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus,'⁴⁷ but Grévin's lines have a close textual echo which suggests that they are drawn from Baif rather than Catullus.

Apart from this example, however, there is no imitation of Baif in Grévin's Jeux Olympiques of the 1560 L'OLIMPE.

A similarity between Grévin and Baif in Grévin's Odes can be found in the two descriptions of the Golden Age. Baif had written:

Lors que Saturne entretenoit en terre
L'âge doré: lors qu'encores la guerre
Ne se nommoit, ny encor les espées
Ne se forgeoyent sur l'enclume frapées,
Ny ne tonnoyent lors les artilleries
Qu'a inventé la pire des furies,
A fin qu'eussions nostre foudre en la terre
Ainsi qu'au ciel les Dieux ont leur tonnerre [...] 48

Grévin, describing the golden age of Saturn, wrote, in turn:

Je dy ceste age d'or, quand [...] [
[...] l'or, le fer, l'airian, entrailles de la Terre,
N'avoient entretenu les forces de la guerre:
Que l'or n'estoit marqué pour payer les soldars,
Le fer n'estoit forgé à l'usage de Mars,
L'airian n'estoit fondu pour déboucher la balle,
Qui les murs & rampars à leurs fosses egalle,
Qui rasant les chasteaux, & qui semble imiter
La tempeste & l'esclair que brandit Jupiter. 49

Although these are fairly standard descriptions of the Age of Gold, both poets use the theme to stress a pacifist point, and compare artillery with Jupiter's thunder. Both, too, contain a hint of man's blasphemous presumption.

Finally, one may also compare the thoughts that both poets express at the arrival of peace. Baif writes in his Hymne de la

Paix:

Lors sans peur de damage,
De meurdre & de danger le marchand fait voyage, 50

and Grévin, in his ode Sur la Paix faicte l'an 1559:

Les Marchands pourront sans crainte
Voyager, & sans contrainte
Trafiquer à l'estranger. 51

(ii) LE THEATRE of 1561

The 1561 LE THEATRE is also inspired in part by Baïf - the Olimpe II in particular (the love sonnets of this collection) contains a substantial amount of inspiration from this poet. In one sonnet from this collection the imitation is so close that it would be difficult to say that Grévin is doing more than slightly adapting Baïf's sonnet. In the Amour de Francine, by Baïf, we read:

Si ce n'est pas Amour, que sent donques mon cœur?
Si c'est Amour aussi, pour dieu quelle chose est-ce?
S'elle est bonne, comment nous mét elle en detresse?
Si mauvaise, qui fait si douce sa rigueur?

Si j'ars de mon bon gré, d'ou me vient tout ce pleur?
Si maugré moy, que sert que je pleure sans cesse?
O mal plein de plaisir! o bien plein de tristesse!
O joye douloureuse! o joyeuse douleur!

O vive mort, comment peus-tu tant sur mon ame,
Si je n'y consen point? mais si je m'y consen,
Me plaignant à grand tort, à grand tort je t'en blame.

Amour bon & mauvais, bon gré maugré, je soufre:
Heureux & malheureux & bien & mal je sen:
Je me plain de servir où moy mesme je m'ouffre. 52

Grévin, in his turn, writes:

Las! si ce n'est amour, qu'est-ce donc que je sens?
Si c'est amour, pour Dieu, quelle chose peust-ce estre?
S'elle est bonne, comment mal en peult-il naistre?
Si mauvaise, dont vient que doux soyent ses torments?

Si je brusle à mon gré, en vain je me deffens;

Mais si c'est malgré moy qu'un tel dieu soit mon maistre,
 Comment fait-il ainsi sa grandeur apparoistre?
Peult-il tant dessus moy, veu que je n'y consens?

O nepveu de Thetis,⁵³ qu'estrangere est ta nature!
 Tu me tiens dans ta nef vogant à l'aventure,
 Privé de gouvernail pour au bort arriver:

Tu me pais de douleurs, & en riant je pleure,
 La vie me desplait & la mort en mesme heure,
 Je gele en plein esté, & je brusle en yver. 54

There is no doubt that Grévin has here imitated Baif - much of the language is identical, and the movement and allusions are very similar.

This is, however, an extreme example of Grévin's imitation of Baif. Most of the sonnets of the Olimpe II, if they imitate Baif's love poetry, are more complete assimilations of it; for example, Grévin's lines:

[...] le cueur desireux
 M'en retient en despit de celle qui le guide;
 Et tout ainsi qu'on voit un estalon sans bride,
 Porter à l'abandon le chevalier peureux,
Puis deçà, puis delà sur les monts perilleux,
 Et ores sur les bors de la grand pleine humide. 55

which imitate - less closely than the previous example - those of Baif describing mankind wandering around without any aim:

Comme un jeune cheval qui sans bride & sans selle
 Echappé de l'étable, où son desir l'appelle,
Puis deçà, puis delà leger se remuant
 Trotte, galope, court bondissant & ruant:
Ainsi le peuple fol se mocquant de la bride,
 S'egare vagabond où son plaisir le guide. 56

There is also some similarity in Baif's description:

J'atteigny l'an deuxieme apres une vingtaine:
 Et desja plus épais de barbe se frisa
Mon menton blondoyant, 57

and

[...] encore le poil n'a frisé mon menton.
 Je n'ay point veu les jours de l'an vingt & deuxieme. 58

The similarity here is certainly close enough to suggest

imitation, despite the fact that poets of the sixteenth century frequently denoted their youth by saying that they lacked a beard.

In the poem introducing the Gelodacrye II, the Elegie sur la misere des hommes, Grévin writes:

Considerere avec moy combien nature chiche
 Te cognoist moins qu'un simple fan de biche:
 Quant-&-quant qu'il est né, il ha d'elle ce don
 De s'encourir par tout à l'abandon,
 De se chercher pasture, & une seure place
 Quand le chasseur encomance sa chasse 59

and a little earlier in this same poem, again describing man immediately after he has been born, Grévin had also written:

[...] tout Roy que tu sois,
 Si n'has tu rien qu'une esclatante voix. 60

Baff, in his Vie des Chams, also describes man as a baby, when he can do nothing for himself. He also describes the same two aspects:

[...] foibles hommes,
 Qui plus chetifs que nulle beste sommes.
 La nature a doné dés leur nissance
 Aux animaux leur arme & leur defence 61

and later:

Montrant sentir par nos cris lamentables
 Que nous naissons pour vivre miserables. 62

It is true that this is a cliché,⁶³ but the similarity of treatment of the theme is evident, although Grévin seems to be rather more misanthropic than Baff.

The Jeux Olimpiques of the 1560 L'OLIMPE had contained little imitation of Baff, but one now finds Grévin in these later poems - which contain substantially less imitation of most

other contemporary poets - turning rather more towards Baïf.

One might compare the refrain of one of Grévin's Vilanesques:

Et pour guerdon donne ce don de grace
Que je pourchasse, 64

with Baïf's lines in the Premier livre des Amours de Meline:

Et me laisse le don
Du désiré guerdon
Que tout amant pourchasse. 65

One might perhaps also compare two descriptions of kisses by

these poets. Baïf, in one of the sonnets of the Amours de

Meline, writes:

QUELLE furieuse rage
Ton courage
Epoïnçone tellement,
A mordre quand je te baise,
Ha, Mauvaise,
Ma langue cruellement. 66

Grévin, inspired by these lines, writes:

Ha! Je me suis trop avancé,
Car de ta dent tu as pinsé
Ma pauvre langue fretillarde. 67

Asking his Olimpe to kiss him in the same way as birds kiss

each other, Grévin has told her that she should:

Me prodiguer ce baiser,
Dont les colombes mignardes,
Bec-contre-bec fretillardes,
Resuçotant leurs desirs,
Se ralument au plaisirs. 68

Two lines by Baïf have perhaps helped inspire these lines:

Ny les baisers lascifs des Tourtes fretillardes
N'approchent des baisers de nos bouches mignardes. 69

Although this idea and language are common, Baïf is Grévin's

probable source. Finally, in the Jeux Olympiques, one may also

note a certain similarity between Baïf's lines:

Si faut-il bien, mauvaise,
Payer ce que tu dois;
Il faut bien que je baise
Ta bouche par trois fois 70

and the lines written by Grévin:

Non, non, demain à l'Aurore
 Nous commencerons encore
 Ce dous combat mille fois:
 Mais ores que la nuict sombre
 Nous recache sous son ombre,
 Tu payras ce que tu dois. 71

In Grévin's Odes there is only one passage which is comparable with Baïf. Grévin writes of Jane de Brame, who was to marry Jan Rochon, a doctor and friend of Grévin:

Ainsi entre les pucelles
 Dont Paris est orgueilleux,
 Comme eslite des plus belles [...] 72

Baïf had already written:

Quand je te vi entre un millier de Dames,
L'élite & fleur de toutes les plus belles. 73

Apart from this example, however, there is no similarity with Baïf to be found in the Odes of LE THEATRE.

It is, thus, above all Baïf's love poetry that influenced Grévin, both in the Jeux Olimpiques and, even more strongly, in the sonnets of the Olimpe I and II. But even the early Odes and the Gelodacrye, as well as the PASTORALE, contain a little imitation of Baïf. The later poetry - the SONNETS D'ANGLETERRE ET DE FLANDRE, and the 24 SONNETS SUR ROMME - is entirely devoid of such imitation.

3: GREVIN AND BELLEAU

Belleau, almost as much as Baif, influenced Grévin: it would seem, too, that Belleau was a closer friend of Grévin than Baif. Grévin dedicates two of the early poems of the Olimpe I⁷⁴ to this poet. In the Olimpiens of the 1561 OLIMPE too, Grévin dedicates a poem to Belleau, in which he suggests that they should both go to Mount Parnassus to visit the Muses.⁷⁵ Moreover, like Ronsard, Du Bellay and Antoine de Talon, a close friend and relative of Grévin, Belleau wrote a liminary poem for the young poet's 1560 OLIMPE.⁷⁶ In this sonnet he advises Grévin to carry on writing love poetry to his mistress as long as he is young enough to feel the flame.

(i) LA PASTORALE of 1559

Grévin's LA PASTORALE is occasionally inspired by Belleau, and one finds several examples of Grévin imitating him. There is very close similarity, for instance, between Grévin's lines:

C'est Tenot, c'est luy-mesme, encor' plus il chemine
Le sentier droict à nous, allons premiers à luy
Luy donner le bon jour: Pan nous monstre aujourdhuy
Qu'il a soing de nos parcs & de nos brebiettes,
Et qu'il a pris à gré le son de nos musettes 77

and Belleau's lines in La Première Journée de la Bergerie:

Encor par ce taillis un Berger j'apperçoy,
 Qui accourt droit à nous: à voir sa panetiere,
 Ses guestres, son flageol, son chien, & sa louviere,
C'est Perot, cest luymesme, il avance le pas,
 Il nous a recogneuz, il estand ja les bras,
 Pour nous saisir au col. Pan ce jourdhuy nous monstre

Qu'il nous veult quelque bien par si douce rencontre. 78

Such close similarity could not possibly be coincidental. The final words of this same Chant Pastoral by Belleau, where we read:

Enfans, haston le pas. 79

remind us of the concluding lines of Grévin's PASTORALE, where Tenot, that is, Estienne Jodelle, says:

Enfans, hastez le pas 80

Finally in the PASTORALE, one may also find a certain similarity between Grévin's lines where he calls on dawn, saying:

Apparoy sur les montagnes,
Et bigarre nos campagnes
D'œillets, de liz, & de fleurs
Differentes en couleurs. 81

and those of Belleau:

Avril l'honneur des prez verds,
Jaunes, pers,
Qui d'une humeur bigarrée
Emaillant de mille fleurs
De couleurs,
Leur parure diaprée [...] 82

(ii) LE CHANT DU CIGNE

There is just one example in Grévin's LE CHANT DU CIGNE of a passage that would seem to be inspired by Belleau. Grévin writes:

Ainsi comme ung nochier qui fuyant le dangier
Se saulve heureusement dans le havre estrangier. 83

Belleau had written in one of his sonnets in the collection called Petites Inventions et autres poesies:

Fuyant la cruauté de ceste fiere amante,

Ainsi que le nocher sauvé de la tourmente
Se trouvant sur le port, fuit les rochs sourcilleux. 84

(iii) L'OLIMPE of 1560

L'OLIMPE contains rather more imitation of Belleau than LE CHANT DU CIGNE. It would seem that the same lines that inspired Grévin in LE CHANT DU CIGNE, also inspired him to write the lines:

Ainsi comme un nocher au danger du malheur
Quand il peult voir de loing le port de son adresse. 85

One might also note the similarity between Grévin's lines, referring to Cupid, whose bow he had just taken:

Je mei la main à l'arc, je pris à descocher,
Et luy qui est un Dieu, pour mieux me despécher
Se transforma en tret, dont j'eu l'ame percée. 86

and Belleau's own lines, also referring to Cupid:

Puis quand il eut desempli
Des trets son carquois rempli
Il se transforme en sagette [...] 87

There is also a certain similarity between Belleau's lines in his poem Vendangeurs. L'Amour rustique:

[...] sa delicate peau
Estoit comme la neige encore non touchée,
Ou le laict caillotté sur la verte jonchée. 88

and those of Grévin:

J'ay tenté d'œillader ses boulettes pareilles
A un tertre jumeau d'un beau laict cailleté. 89

This type of expression used to describe a lady's skin is not very common (Ronsard, it is true, uses it in his Continuation des Amours,⁹⁰ but there is no similarity with these passages).

It seems likely, therefore, that Belleau's lines were the source of Grévin's inspiration.

One rather longer passage in which the inspiration is obvious, may be found in the sonnet of the OLIMPE where Grévin dreams of Olimpe. The first lines of this sonnet read:

Il estoit desja nuict, & la voute des cieux
 Couverte d'un manteau, monstroit la claire estoille
 Qui premiere apparoist clouée à ce grand voile,
 Brillant en toutes pars de mille & mille feux. 91

Grévin is in these lines imitating a sonnet by Belleau, in which we read the lines:

Il estoit nuit, & la trace cornuë
 D'un beau croissant erroit parmi les cieux,
 Et peu à peu se montroit à nos yeux
 De petits feux une troupe menue. 92

The Odes to be found in this 1560 book of the OLIMPE contain a certain amount of imitation of Belleau. There is, for instance, a similarity between Grévin's lines describing the journey of the sun, and Belleau's lines on the same subject. It is impossible, he says, for mankind to stop being presumptuous:

Bien plustost en arriere
 Les chevaux porte-feux
 Feront une carriere [...] 93

Belleau, thinking of his lady, says that he wants to die in her arms:

Le soleil plustost encores
 Gallopera de coursiers mores
 Par la grand' carriere des cieux. 94

The similarity is perhaps not striking, but it does seem likely that Grévin was influenced by Belleau's lines.

One may therefore conclude that Belleau inspired Grévin in some of the love poems, but in the other collections his influence is minimal.

(iv) LE THEATRE of 1561

Turning to the 1561 LE THEATRE, the inspiration drawn from Belleau seems to be less than in the earlier poetry. The sonnets of the Olimpe in this 1561 collection are little influenced by Belleau. One might, however, note the similarity between two passages, one in the Olimpe II, the other in Belleau's sonnet describing a forge and a blacksmith. Belleau wrote:

Le Chiffre à ce beau nom [...]
 N'est fait d'or ny d'argent, ny d'un autre metal,
 Ny rougi sous le feu d'une nouvelle braise:
Amour l'a rebrasé dans sa vive fournaise
Detrempé de mes pleurs & forgé de mon mal. 95

Grévin, remembering these lines, also described Cupid as a blacksmith, writing:

Amour depuis deux ans s'est desrobé des cieux
 Pour estre Forgeron, non que forger luy plaise:
 Mais pour me tourmenter il bastit sa fournaise
 Au milieu de mon cueur dont il est envieux.
 Pour arrouser son feu, il prent l'eau de mes yeux,
 Mes soupirs pour soufflets, & mes veines pour braise,
 Mon foye pour enclume [...] 96

This is an example of clever, inventive imitation of Grévin's source. Grévin has added the idea that in love's forge, Grévin's sighs are the bellows, his veins are the embers and his liver is the anvil, thus continuing and elaborating Belleau's theme.

Finally in the Olimpe I, one notes a passage that is yet more closely imitated from Belleau. Belleau had written a short poem A sa Maistresse, in which he had said:

L'eau sont mes pleurs, & la puissance forte
Des vents, des flots, mes soupirs & mes vœux,
 La poupe, soin, & mon esprit douteux,
 Mal sain, mal caut, est la nef qui me porte.

Le mast constance, & le timon l'espoir,
Le voile erreur, Amour est le pilote,
 Ta cruauté est l'orage qui flotte
 Dessus mon chef, l'ancre est le desespoir. 97

Grévin, imitating him, wrote a very similar sonnet, in which the sea and the ship are again made up of the poet's feelings.

Grévin writes:

A chascun aviron un penser se balance,
 Qui veult & la tempeste & la mort esprouver,
 Contre le voile un vent ne cesse d'estriver
 Humide de souspirs, de desirs, d'esperance.
 Une pluye de pleurs, la n'ée de malheur
 A motillé & lasché le voile & le cordage,
 Lesquels furent tissus d'ignorance & d'erreur. 98

Grévin again shows his originality here. Belleau's lines, which form a list describing the possible comparisons between a ship at sea and Belleau's feelings of love, have been reworked. Grévin's lines are not a list; we actually see the ship striving against the wind made up of Grévin's sighs and hopes; the cloud of sadness has soaked the sails of ignorance and error: Grévin's poem contains more movement and is more active than Belleau's poem.

Apart from these examples, the Olimpe II seems relatively free of imitation of Belleau.

The Gelodacrye II, too, contains little imitation of Belleau. There is really only one of the early sonnets of this collection, which could almost be described as a hymn, that resembles the songs sung by the shepherds in praise of God at the start of the Seconde Journée de la Bergerie, and the other hymns written by Belleau. Grévin writes:

Delivre moy, Seigneur, de ceste mer profonde
 Où je vogue incertain, tire moy dans ton port:
 Environne mon cueur de ton rampart plus fort,

Et vien me deffendant des soldats de ce monde:

Envoy' moy ton esprit pour y faire la ronde,
A fin qu'en pleine nuict on ne me face tort;
Autrement, Seigneur Dieu, je voy je voy la mort
Qui me tire vaincu sur l'oubli de son onde. 99

This poem seems to have been inspired by Belleau's:

Donques, Seigneur, guide moy sur le port:
De tous costez une image de mort,
Le trait au poing va menaçant ma teste,
Reste sans plus qu'une horrible tempeste
Ne m'engloutisse & me perde en son sein,
Si je n'ay tost le secours de ta main. 100

The metaphysical use of storms is, of course, common, but it seems likely that Grévin imitated Belleau here - although, once again, his creativity in adapting Belleau's lines is evident. Apart from this example there is little imitation of Belleau in the Gelodacrye II.

In the Jeux Olimpiques II there are a number of examples of imitation of Belleau. Grévin's lines:

Il fault donc pour l'appaiser [i.e. sa langue]
Me prodiguer ce baiser,
Dont les colombes mignardes,
Bec-contre-bec fretillardes,
Resuçotant leurs desirs,
Se ralument aux plaisirs. 101

have already been quoted as an example of imitation from

Baif.¹⁰² They may, however, also owe something to Belleau's:

J'alloy cueillant un baiser savoureux,
Tel que celuy que le pigeon peureux
Prend fretillard pour appaiser sa flamme. 103

In his poem La Chasteté, Belleau asks his love to stay with him during his youth, saying:

Venez à moy pendant que la jeunesse,
Le temps, le lieu, & la belle saison
Verse dans moy l'amoureuse poison. 104

Grévin says exactly the same thing using similar language in

the Baiser II:

Non, non, pendant que la vie
 Nostre jeunesse convie,
 Passons ce temps le plus beau. 105

Finally in the Jeux Olimpiques, one may compare a passage in Belleau's work describing a wilting flower with a similar description by Grévin. Belleau, in his poem Sur la Maladie de sa maistresse, wrote:

Mais je voy las! qu'en peu d'espace
 Le teint de la rose se passe,
 Et que la grappe se flaitrist,
 Que du lis la teste panchée
 De l'ongle seulement touchée
 Tombant sur terre se pourrist. 106

Grévin's description reads:

Ne vois-tu pas, pucelette,
 Que ceste fleur vermeillette
 Languissante à la chaleur
 Perd en un coup sa couleur?
 Et desja toute flestrie
 Se panche sur la prairie? 107

This passage probably also owes something to Ronsard's Ode à Cassandre.¹⁰⁸ All three descriptions, moreover, also constitute comparisons of the dying flower with a beautiful girl who is doomed soon to grow old and ugly.

In conclusion, therefore, one may say that Belleau's influence on Grévin, although not great, is important. His inspiration is evident in LA PASTORALE, in particular, and also in the love poetry. The later poetry, however, the SONNETS D'ANGLETERRE ET DE FLANDRE, and the 24 SONNETS SUR ROMME, display no imitation of this poet.

4: GREVIN AND DORAT

Dorat and Grévin seem to have known each other well from early in Grévin's career as a poet.¹⁰⁹ In the *HYMNE A MONSIEUR LE DAUPHIN*, Dorat is included in the list made by Grévin of his preferred writers. Indeed it is very interesting to note that Dorat, 'le Limousin duquel les vers sont d'or',¹¹⁰ is placed before Du Bellay, whom Grévin admired greatly, and before Jodelle, a close friend of Grévin.

In the love sonnets of *L'OLIMPE* of 1560, Dorat is addressed once, in a sonnet in which Grévin describes the pain of love.¹¹¹ The first sonnet of the *Gelodacrye I*, in this same collection, is also addressed to Dorat; here Grévin explains why, having sung of love, he now intends to sing of discord and hatred.¹¹²

One of the love sonnets of *L'Olimpe II* of 1561 is also addressed to Dorat; again a sonnet which concentrates on the pain of love.¹¹³

Grévin makes no further mention in his other poetry of Dorat's name. However, at the end of *LE THEATRE*, one may find a short series of poems in Latin and Greek, bearing the title Traductions de quelques sonnets et autres opuscules par J.Grévin, par J. d'Aurat & Florent Chrestien. Only one of these translations is, in fact, by Dorat. This older poet has rendered into a Latin poem of sixteen lines the sonnet of the *Olimpe*, already mentioned, in which Grévin had addressed

Dorat. As far as I have been able to discover, this poem does not appear in any modern edition of Dorat's works. It is not even mentioned in the bibliography of Geneviève Demerson's recent edition of Dorat's Latin odes.¹¹⁴

Although Grévin does not name Dorat in any of his later works, and although Dorat does not seem to have dedicated any of his poetry to Grévin, it is nonetheless clear that the two were friends, and that they admired each other's poetry. It is surprising, then, that there seems to be no imitation in Grévin's works of Dorat. Perhaps it is due largely to the fact that while Dorat had taught Ronsard, Belleau and Baif, and perhaps some of the other poets in the entourage of the Plefade, Grévin's teacher, and the man who had instilled in him his love of the Classics, had been Muret, who had been Grévin's source of inspiration in his theatre, and particularly in his play Cesar.¹¹⁵

5: GREVIN AND PONTUS DE TYARD

The influence of the last of the Pleiade poets, Pontus de Tyard, is minimal. He does not seem to have been an acquaintance of this younger poet - perhaps partly because, unlike the rest of the Pleiade, he lived in Lyons - for there is no mention of his name in Grévin's work. Nor, indeed, does Pontus de Tyard ever mention Grévin.

In the OLIMPE, Pinvert has noted one example where, he believes, Grévin has imitated Pontus de Tyard. Pontus de Tyard had written:

Chante le droit, chante le gauche Pole:
Chante le pur de la voye lactée. 116

Grévin's line, the last line of one of the sonnets of the Olimpe, reads:

Veu que chez mon Olimpe est le lict des estoilles? 117

The similarity here does not really seem very close, the only likeness being that both describe the breast of their lady as stars.

Similarly the Jeux Olimpiques contain very little imitation of Tyard. One may, perhaps, compare Tyard's lines:

O forte ardeur, ô desir admirable,
Qui m'accompagne et me guide en tous lieux!
O doux tourment, ô plaisir ennuyeux,
O dueil heureux à mon cœur favorable!
O cruauté non assez rigoureuse. 118

with those of Grévin:

O doux plaisir! ô mon plaisant dommage!
O beau soleil, lumiere de mes yeux!
O mon printemps & doux & gracieux [...] 119

but such lines are very common in most love poetry of the sixteenth century and there is no real reason to believe that there is imitation here.

In conclusion, therefore, one may say that Grévin certainly drew inspiration from poets other than Ronsard and Du Bellay, although these two were the poets that he imitated most frequently. From Jodelle, Grévin drew inspiration for his PASTORALE, and to a certain extent also for his La Gelodacrye and the love poetry. From Baif, Grévin imitated in particular the love poetry, which inspired him both in the love sonnets of the Olimpe and in the Olimpiens. Belleau, after Ronsard, Du Bellay and Baif, perhaps influenced Grévin most of all. In LA PASTORALE, in particular, one finds a substantial amount of imitation of Belleau, but also in the Jeux Olimpiques and in the Odes. Neither Dorat nor Pontus de Tyard, however, can be included in the list of those who influenced Grévin.

CHAPTER 6

THE PRÆCEPTES DE PLUTARQUE1. THE POPULARITY OF THE PRÆCEPTA CONJUGALIA

IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

All of Plutarch's works, and in particular the Moralia,¹ were extremely popular in the sixteenth century. As Robert Aulotte says, in his edition of three of Plutarch's moral works, the Moralia were:

L'une des œuvres antiques les plus goûtées de tout
le XVIIe siècle. 2

Indeed, Gargantua, in his letter to his son Pantagruel, recommends, among other literary works, the Præcepta Conjugalia to his son.³ Of all the Moralia, moreover, it is perhaps the relatively short Rules on Marriage that were most frequently published.

Aulotte has produced an exhaustive list of the editions of Plutarch in the sixteenth century,⁴ indicating that there were, before 1559, only two Greek texts of the Moralia: the first, dating from 1509, published by Demetrius Ducas, normally referred to as the Aldine text,⁵ and the second

published by Froben in Basel in 1542.⁶ A number of Latin editions also appeared. The earliest Latin edition of the Præcepta Conjugalia, published some twelve years before the 1509 Aldine edition, dates from 1497: the Plutarchi præcepta connubialia Interpretæ Carolo Valgوليو Brixiano Cardinalis valentini secretario are to be found in a book containing a variety of translations by Valgulus, of which the title page is missing in the British Library copy.⁷ This translation by Carolus Valgulus was republished several times in the sixteenth century. In 1505, for instance, it was included in a collection of Plutarch's works published in Venice.⁸ In 1530 it was the text used in the first complete collection of the Moralia until then translated into Latin, published by Cratender, and commonly referred to as the Cratender text.⁹ In 1541 it also appeared in the Isingrinus edition, another collection of all Plutarch's Moralia then available in Latin translation.¹⁰ In 1549 we once again find a re-edition of Valgulus' text, this time in London.¹¹ Finally, in 1564, the same text was again used in another similar collection, published in Paris by Michel Vascosan.¹²

Apart from the numerous editions of the Valgulus text, other translations of these precepts into Latin also appeared in 1514 and 1521.¹³ Only one other Latin edition dates from before 1558. The British Museum catalogue suggests the date 1510, but the work itself gives no indication of date. We find the precepts in a book including various translations and other works. The precepts themselves cover ten leaves, without title page or pagination, and with no name of author.¹⁴ They are

given the title: Nuptialia Præcepta sive conjugalia.

Plutarchus Polliano & Eurydice bene agere. Robert Aulotte indicates, although without giving any reason for his belief, that the Latin translation is by Jean Lodé, also author of a translation of the precepts into French.¹⁵

Several French translations of the Præcepta Conjugalia were also made. The first translation of this work was by Jean Lodé. The Saltykoff-Schéderine State Public Library, in Leningrad, contains a manuscript copy, dating from 1499,¹⁶ later published in Paris in 1535 by Denis Janot, and then reprinted in 1536 and 1545.¹⁷ This translation is, in fact, very interesting since, rather than being a simple translation, it is also an expansion and explanation of the text. Many points are elaborated; sometimes a brief resumé is given.¹⁸ Elsewhere, examples are changed in order to make the meaning clearer, and a number of points have been omitted, usually because they were unnecessary or unclear.¹⁹

Shortly after the 1545 edition of this work, another French translation appeared, at the end of the work by Sperone degli Alvarotti, called De la Cure familiere.²⁰ This translation was anonymous.

In 1559 another translation was also made, this time by Jacques de la Tapie,²¹ into French verse.²²

In 1564 Jean de Marconville published a small work, called De l'heur et malheur de mariage, Ensemble les loix connubiales de Plutarque traduites en François.²³ As the title suggests, we find at the end of this work a French translation of the Præcepta Conjugalia, with the title Quarante neuf preceptes matrimoniaux ou loix connubiales de Plutarque à Pollian &

Euridice, traduites de Latin en François par le mesme de Marconville.²⁴ Pinvert notes that this work was re-edited in 1565, 1570 and 1571.²⁵ The British Library also contains a later edition dated 1578.²⁶ Marconville's translation of the Præcepta Conjugalia dates from the winter of 1563-1564 (in the dedication A tres prudente, & d'autant réputée sagesse que de grace excellente, Damoysselle Anne Brisart dame de la Bretonniere, dated 25th April 1564, Marconville calls his book 'mon travail de l'hiver passée'). The titles of the later editions, referring to the De l'heur et malheur de mariage, contain the words 'reveu & augmenté'; this does not apply to the Plutarch, in which very few changes are made, none of them significant. Marconville translates a Latin text rather than the Greek original, as he admits in the title of his work,²⁷ and the translation he has used is the Valgulus one.

Estienne de la Boétie also made a translation of the Preceptes de Mariage,²⁸ which Paul Bonnefon, in his edition of La Boétie, claims is based on the Greek edition of Basel 1542, published by Froben and Episcopius.²⁹ There is, however, a substantial amount of evidence that, as well as using the Greek text, La Boétie referred frequently to the Valgulus translation. One example which can leave no doubt that La Boétie had read the Valgulus translation can be found early in these precepts. In the introduction to his work, Plutarch had written: Ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς μουσικοῖς ἕνα τῶν ἀθλητικῶν νόμων ἵπποθρον ἐκάλουν, μέλος τι τοῖς ἵπποις ὀρμῆς ἐπεγεργτικὸν ὡς ἔοικεν ἐνδοιδόν τε περὶ τὰς ὀχεΐας.³⁰ which is the text of the two sixteenth century Greek editions

of 1509 and 1542. In Valgulus' translation the last part of this quotation is omitted, and we read instead:

is erat cantus, quo equi in certamine curuli
concitabantur. 31

Estienne de la Boëtie's version follows the Latin text very closely:

Une [chant] laquelle[...]on appelloit haste-cheval, pour
autant, je croy, qu'elle avoit quelque vertu de donner
aux chevaux courage de tirer au chariot. 32

It would then seem that, here at least, La Boëtie's source is Valgulus' translation, since no other text, Greek or Latin, seems to contain this alteration. Several other examples of Estienne de la Boëtie electing to follow the Valgulus version rather than the Greek original can also be found, and these will be indicated in my edition of the text (although it must be noted that La Boëtie, as one would expect of this Greek scholar, generally used the original Greek). La Boëtie's translation was not published until 1571³³ (the accompanying letter by Michel de Montaigne is dated 30th April 1570). It had evidently been written, however, before 1563, date of Estienne de la Boëtie's death.

Finally, in 1572, Amyot's translation of Plutarch's moral works - including, of course, the Præcepta Conjugalia - appeared, and this was republished several times. (The edition of Amyot's work that will be used in all references, unless otherwise stated, will be the facsimile reproduction of 1971, published in the French Renaissance Classics series, with an introduction by M.A.Screech.³⁴)

Such a large number of translations of these marriage precepts makes very clear the extent of their popularity during

the sixteenth century.

2: DISCOVERY OF THE TEXT

The text of the PRECEPTES DE PLUTARQUE, a translation by Jacques Grévin into French of Plutarch's Γαμικὰ Παραγγέλιατα or Præcepta Conjugalia had, until recently, been lost for nearly four centuries, although the title of this work and the name of the author, had not infrequently been mentioned. Grudé de la Croix du Maine seems to be the first of the bibliographers to mention it. In his Premier volume de la Bibliothèque (1584) he wrote that Jacques Grévin had translated Plutarch's precepts on marriage, and that they had been 'imprimés à Paris, chez Martin l'Homme, l'an 1558'.³⁵

Antoine du Verdier, who wrote his own Bibliothèque at the same time as Grudé de la Croix du Maine was writing this, makes no mention of the precepts. This is particularly interesting when one considers that Du Verdier's bibliography of Grévin's works is otherwise very complete, and that this man had dedicated four pages to a discussion of Jacques Grévin's life and works.³⁶ Evidently by 1585, the date of publication of Du Verdier's work, these PRECEPTES DE PLUTARQUE were already scarce, known to only a few people.

Later bibliographers who have mentioned Grévin's translation of the PRECEPTES DE PLUTARQUE, seem to have copied La Croix du Maine.³⁷ More recently, Pinvert, in his thesis on Grévin, giving a list of this poet's works, mentioned the

title,³⁸ copying Grudé de la Croix du Maine, and wrote elsewhere in his thesis that:

en 1558 [...] il avait publié une traduction d'un des traités moraux de Plutarque: De la manière de se conduire en mariage. 39

and in a footnote added:

La traduction de Grévin [...] semble perdue depuis longtemps. 40

Robert Aulotte, in his work on Amyot et Plutarque, also mentions the PRECEPTES DE PLUTARQUE, writing:

Nous ignorons pratiquement tout de cette traduction, aujourd'hui perdue. 41

Thus, every mention of the PRECEPTES DE PLUTARQUE before 1970 seems to have been drawn from one short reference made by Grudé de la Croix du Maine.

There is at least one copy of Jacques Grévin's translation of the PRECEPTES DE PLUTARQUE in existence today, about which an article was published in the Hommage à Marie Delcourt by Robert Aulotte, who found the text. It had been acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale from the bookseller and collector H.P.Kraus in New York on 9th June 1967, and is in the Reserve of this library, reference number Rés. p. R. 838.⁴²

This edition was published, not in Paris by Martin l'Homme, as Grudé de la Croix du Maine and many others had noted, but by Jean Chollain in Rouen (without mention of date and without the normal 'privilege du Roy'). It seems likely, as Robert Aulotte notes,⁴³ that this is a later edition, published after 1582 (the date on which Jean Chollain became a printer). The text makes no reference to any first edition, nor to the fact that Grévin would have been dead by the time this second edition was published.

3: COMPOSITION AND PUBLICATION OF THE PRECEPTES

In the preface Grévin refers to 'mes études accoustumées',⁴⁴ saying that it was when he had time to set these aside for a while that he took up the translation of these PRECEPTES DE PLUTARQUE. In the preface of the REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE, Grévin also uses the same phrase, when he tells his reader that, in order to write his REGRETZ, he had had to take some time off from 'mes accoustumées études'.⁴⁵ There can be no doubt that Grévin is referring in these REGRETZ, written in 1558, to his medical studies, which he took up at the university of Paris around 1556, and which terminated with the sitting of his exams on 14th June 1561. It seems likely that the second reference, that of the PRECEPTES DE PLUTARQUE, should refer to these same studies.

Moreover, Grévin's lines in this same epistle:

[je] me suis mis à revoir & corriger, ce que parcy devant
par maniere d'exercice, j'avois tourné en nostre
vulgaire, 46

support the likelihood that the PRECEPTES DE PLUTARQUE were revised and corrected during the four years that Grévin spent on his medical studies, for they suggest that this translation had been originally made while he was at school and before the start of his medical studies in 1556.

Finally, Grévin says that he started correcting his PRECEPTES DE PLUTARQUE 'ces jours passez, voyant le commun ne parler que de mariages'.⁴⁷ This makes it very likely that Grévin corrected his work and had it published in the first

half of 1559. For, as a result of the treaty of Cateau Cambrésis of 3rd April 1559, the double wedding of Margaret of France, the king's sister, to Emmanuel Philibert, and of Elizabeth of France, the king's daughter, to Philip II of Spain was arranged. It took place on 9th July 1559. From before the announcement of the marriages, on 3rd April, until the date of the marriages itself, and even after this date, contemporary poets were composing works celebrating the marriages and festivities. Grévin himself, of course, wrote the *CHANT DE JOIE DE LA PAIX*, celebrating the peace treaty of Cateau Cambrésis, and *LA PASTORALE*, celebrating the two marriages. Many other poets also wrote poems in celebration. To mention only the best known, Ronsard wrote, among many other poems composed as a result of the treaty of Cateau Cambrésis, a *Chant Pastoral à Madame Marguerite, Duchesse de Savoye*,⁴⁸ Du Bellay wrote an *Epithalame*,⁴⁹ and Jodelle, too, wrote an *Epithalame de Madame Marguerite*.⁵⁰ It seems likely that it is to the time preceding the wedding, or immediately after, that Grévin is referring, and that the *PRECEPTES DE PLUTARQUE*, although originally translated before 1556, while Grévin was still at college, were only published early in 1559.

4: THE TEXT USED BY GREVIN IN TRANSLATING THE
PRÆCEPTA CONJUGALIA

In the title of Grévin's *PRECEPTES DE PLUTARQUE* we read the words: 'Translatez selon la verité du Grec', suggesting

that Jacques Grévin, rather than basing his work on one of the translations, went back to the Greek, using it as his source. A comparison of Grévin's text with the original Greek of either the Aldine or the Basel editions, the only two known to be in existence when Grévin wrote his PRECEPTES DE PLUTARQUE,⁵¹ and with one of the Latin editions, that of Carolus Valgulus, first published in 1497, reveals very rapidly that it is not the Greek text that Grévin is translating, but rather the Latin of Carolus Valgulus. Throughout the text, the translation remains very close to the Latin; often, indeed, the text is translated word for word, using the same constructions, and, as far as possible, the same word order.⁵² A few comparisons of the French and Latin texts with Plutarch's Greek are more than sufficient to prove that this is the case. One might, for instance, compare the lines near the beginning of Plutarch's opening address (the text already used above to indicate that, on occasion at least, Estienne de la Boétie followed Valgulus). In these lines Grévin states similarly that the horses, aroused by the music, ran better in chariot races. His words are, however, even closer to the Latin than those of Estienne de la Boétie, for he writes:

L'on appelloit anciennement en musique, une maniere de son des flutes, HIPOTOROS, c'estoit le chant, par lequel les chevaux estoyent incitez à la course des chariots. 53

We find further proof that Grévin is translating Valgulus in the fourth precept. Here Grévin writes, referring to those women who wish to gain men's love through magic, that they do so 'pour par ce moyen assouvir leur cupidité'.⁵⁴ This is

evidently a translation of the Latin 'voluptatis causa',⁵⁵ rather than of the Greek 'χειρούμεναι δι' ἡδονῆς αὐτοῦς' - becoming conquerors of them through pleasure.⁵⁶

One may also learn, from a number of differences between the various editions of Carolus Valgulus' text, that Grévin used one of the later of these editions.⁵⁷

The PRECEPTES DE PLUTARQUE, although not without merit in places, are not entirely satisfactory as a translation. One may notice examples of carelessness; for instance, Grévin's line in precept XIV. Having said that a woman is foolish if she frowns when her husband laughs, and smiles when he is angry, he continues: 'L'un est indice de mal plaisance, & l'autre de contentement'.⁵⁸ This does not properly translate either the Latin 'tum tristis tum contemnentis',⁵⁹ or the Greek 'τὸ μὲν ἀηδίας, τὸ δ' ὀλιγωρίας' and has altered the meaning of the text.

Towards the end of the PRECEPTES DE PLUTARQUE, in precept XLV, we find a passage where, through Grévin's mistranslation, the sense of the passage has been altered. Here Grévin writes that men and women must:

[...] se garder de toute illicite, & prophane compagnie d'homme, [...] & aussi de ne semer en un lieu, duquel elles [women] ne voudroyent recevoir aucun fruit, car si quelque chose en est procréée, elles ont honte & le cachent. 61

The second half of the sentence refers only to women. In the Greek,⁶² and indeed in the Valgulus Latin translation, the sentence refers equally to men and women. By mistranslating these lines, although he has not rendered the text altogether meaningless, Grévin has made an important alteration to the

sense.

Blame for many of the faults in the text may well, of course, be due to the printer, Jean Chollain, who was probably fairly inexperienced, and who was publishing this work several years after the author's death. Chollain's most serious omission was to leave out the concluding lines of this translation, which is broken off in mid-sentence. Many misprints - noted where they occur in the present edition - also mar this work: indeed, it seems likely that a number of the textual omissions or apparent mistranslations are due to Jean Chollain's lack of care rather than to Grévin himself.

One must say, nevertheless, that in its present state this translation is not worthy of the Grévin who was to translate Nicander into French verse.

LES PRECEPTES DE PLUTARQUE,
MONSTRANT LA MANIERE COMME
IL FAUT SE GOUVERNER
EN MARIAGE.

Translatez selon la verité du Grec, Par
Jacques Grevin de Clermont.

Avec une Chanson de la femme vertueuse
& bonne menagere.

A ROEN.

Chez Jean Chollim, rüe la Court
d'Eglise prez l'Archevesché.

SAINCT PAUL AUX HEB. XIII. CHAP. 2.

Mariage est entre tous honorable,
& la couche sans macule: mais Dieu
jugera les paillards & les adulteres.

JACQUES GREVIN AU LECTEUR SALUT.

La coustume des hommes est aujourd'huy telle, que
(miserables) approuveront plustost quelque fait estranger, sous
l'ombre d'un branslement de teste, & parler incogneu, que non
pas ceux de leur país mesme: ainsi que G. Budé à bon droict se
5 plaint; sur la fin de son livre premier [de] asse: en quoy sont
grandement à reprendre nos François, qui delaissans la clarté de
leur fontaines, cherchent une perfection aux ruisseaux, portans
quasi envie à eux mesmes: qu'il ne soit ainsi, qui sera celui
tant efronté, qui niera que s'il est question de faire quelque
10 œuvre magnifique, & de longue traicte, l'on ne demande plustost
quelque faquin estranger demolissant en un jour ce qu'il aura
fait en quatre, qu'un de nos hommes qui a plus de sçavoir, &
experience au bout de son doigt (ainsi que l'on dit) que l'autre
en toute la teste? Mais c'est la pratique de maintenant, que les
15 estrangers experimentent à nos despens, ce qu'ils conçoivent
follement en leurs cerveaux, dont le plus souvent nous en
voyons les monstres enfantez, esbahissement du populaire, folie
aux hommes mieux entendus, & mescontentement des Princes: & ce
pendant les nostres demeurent enfondrez au milieu du borbier,
20 que tant s'en faut que l'on leur preste la main pour en sortir,
que plustost au premier pied levé l'on commence d'estre envieux
de la delivrance esperée: ce qui advient non seulement entre
gens de divers país, mais aussi entre ceux de mesme nation, &
ville: comme il m'est facile de prouver par plusieurs exemples,
25 si c'estoit là le but de mon intention, ce nonobstant, je ne
puis tant gagner sur moy, que je n'en donne une certaine

preuve en l'un de mes amis.

Or la chose est telle que depuis quatre ou cinq mois, la recompense du labeur & continuelle assiduité, d'un de nos
 30 françois a esté de mille brocarts, jaçoit qu'il eust parfait en quatre jours (pressé de la briefveté du temps) ce que quelque Alvaro n'eust projecté en quinze, tant s'en faut qu'il l'eust commencé. Et qu'est ce qu'on endure pour le labeur des hommes sçavans, qui ont premiers effarouché l'ignorance? Un estourdi,
 35 *Autre vilain, loing des coups, avec ses folies, resver une victoire, qu'il pense gagner au trenchant de la langue, ores deguisant son nom & tantost empruntant celui d'autruy se couvrant qui plus est du nom de Docte, comme d'un sac mouillé, nous veut faire accroire qu'il arrachera la Lune aux dents.
 40 Les autres, ses semblables, au premier coing d'œil jetté sur les escrits de ceux de leur país mesme, commencent à grumeler, jaçoit qu'ils eussent trassé, & pris la mesure, pour apres façonner plus amplement le los de leur terre: de sçavoir la raison, je ne puis sinon que le vice, duquel j'ay parlé au
 45 commencement, en soit cause, ou bien qu'ils vousissent, que parlant de la France l'on eust laissé Paris derriere, ainsi qu'il m'est advenu. Pourtant l'on ne doit laisser à poursuyvre, ains voyant l'occasion estre offerte s'efforcer de plus en plus, à illustrer nostre langue, & profiter à un chacun, se
 50 contentant de la faveur des doctes, qui est comme un tonnerre bruiant à dextre: ce qui est cause (amy lecteur) que ceste translation eschappe de nos mains, non sans conseil de mes amys, ayant plustost esgard à mon devoir qu'au grincement des

*Autre vilain né de Autre ville en Bassigny ignarement satribant le nom d'Hetropolitain.

dens des envieux que si elle n'est si parfaite que tu la
 55 pourrais demander, tu accuseras plustost la maratre pauvreté,
 qui n'endure mon cerveau se distiller en un seul labeur, ains
 de jour en jour luy donne nouvelle matière pour l'occuper:
 aussi mes études accoustumées, ausquelles je derobbe ce peu de
 temps, que j'employe au service d'un chacun, & accomplissement
 60 de mon desir: dont ces jours passez, voyant le commun ne parler
 que de mariages, me suis mis à revoir & corriger, ce que parcy
 devant par maniere d'exercice, j'avois tourné en nostre
 vulgaire, pris du Grec de Plutarque, autheur assez recommandé
 de soy mesme, & ce pour monstrier le mariage n'estre une chose
 65 que l'on doive jetter si tost en moule (comme plusieurs
 pensent), mais à cause de grans troubles à ceux, qui n'entendans
 son excellence, & primitive institution en font marché semblable
 à celui des petits enfans: & au contraire de grand contentement
 à eux, qui en usent selon les preceptes donnez par ledict
 70 autheur, conformes à nostre religion: ce qui m'a plus incité
 à le communiquer à un chacun, afin qu'elisans le devoir que
 les mariez doivent l'un à l'autre, ceux qui [sont] conjointcs
 en ceste communauté de vie en puissent user au contentement
 de leurs esprits, & à la gloire de Dieu.

75

IN JEAN LE BON FALSO

HETROPOLITANUM

Quàm benè sepè suis discordant nomina rebus?

Vir bone, tu Bonus es in nomine, re, malus es.

SONNET A.S.F.

C'est pour toy que j'ay faict Plutarque estre François,
 Non pour les envieux, dont la playe incurable,
 Fera tant qu'ils vivront leur vie miserable,
 4 C'est seulement pour toy, seulle à qui [je] le dois:

Car je veux qu'oravant ce qu'escriront mes doigts
 Soit à toy, laissant là ce Prothé mal traictable,
 Qui bien plustost suyvra quelque menteuse fable,
 8 Que ce qui a pouvoir l'esgaler aux grands Roys.

Prends le donc jusqu'à tant, que d'un plus grand courage,
 Tu recevras de moy le plus suffisant gaigne
 11 Tesmoing de l'amitié qui serre nos deux cœurs:

Et ce pendant appren dedans ce petit livre,
 Comme il faut sagement en mariage vivre.
 14 Ainsi tu dompteras les plus braves vainqueurs.

PRECEPTES NUPTIAUX, DE PLUTARQUE CHERONÉE.Plutarque à Polian & Euridice.SALUT.

Après que selon la coutume du païs, & que le grand Dieu vous a conjointes en mariage, j'ay pensé quelles bonnes admonitions, vous accordant, & prestant ayde au Dieu* Hymenée, pourroyent apporter profit, sans toutes fois déroger à la loy.

5 L'on appelloit anciennement en musique, une maniere de son des flutes, HIPOTOROS, c'estoit le chant, par lequel les chevaux estoient incitez à la course des chariots. Or comme ainsi soit que par la philosophie [y] ayt plusieurs belles exhortations pour instruire, entre autres celles sont dignes d'estre

10 apprises qui conservent le mariage, asçavoir, qui entretiennent en douceur, & obediencce [et] rendent d'un mesme consentement ceux qui sont conjoints en société de vie. De celles donc que vous aves souventes fois entendues, estant nourris es preceptes de philosophie, je vous envoie quelques sommaires

15 contenus sous briefves similitudes, afin que plus facilement se puissent imprimer au thresor de vostre memoire. Priant qu'à Venus les Muses favorisent, & assistent; que la Harpe, & le Lut ne soient mieux accordez, que les choses appartenantes à vostre mariage, & maison: que toutes choses

20 soient aptes, & accordantes, & que tant que vous vivrez, tout s'y face par commun consentement, avec raison & accord, que

*C'estoit anciennement le dieu, que l'on pensoit favoriser aux nopces.

tout aussi convienne à la philosophie, car la coustume estoit
 aux anciens, d'accompagner Venus de Mercure, voulans par là
 donner à entendre que la douceur du plaisir conjugal demande
 25 une raison, & seante eloquence, comme chose à elle necessaire.
 Priant la Deesse Persuasion, & les Graces, que tout ce que
 vous demanderez l'un à l'autre, soit sans debat ou contention,
 faict d'un commun consentement. A Dieu.

La femme doit estre honneste en son parler.

SOMMAIRE. 1.

Solon* defendoit à l'espouse, de ne coucher avec son mary,
 que premierement elle n'eust gousté d'un Coing: voulant par là
 nous donner à entendre (comme il me semble) que premier
 maintien honneste, procedant de la bouche, & voix d'une femme,
 5 doit estre bien composé, convenable, & gracieux.

La femme doit laisser toutes difficultez, & s'accommoder
 à son mari. Le mari pareillement supporter à la jeune
 femme, evitant toutes dissensions, & noises.

SOMMAIRE. II.

En Betoine, la nouvelle espouse est couronnée d'Asperge
 sauvage: car comme ceste herbe donne du milieu des espines un
 fruit amoureux & desuave liqueur, aussi nouvelle mariée,
 changeant sa premiere difficulté (non toutes-fois au refus,
 5 contre le bon gré du mari) monstrera une civile & joyeuse
 compagnie. Et qui ne peut supporter les premieres difficultez
 des jeunes filles, ressemble à ceux qui pour l'aigreur de la

*C'est celuy qui fit les Loix des Atheniens.

grappe, laissent le raisin pour autrui. Plusieurs aussi
nouvelles mariées, ne pouvans endurer de leurs maris, à cause
10 des premiers embrassemens, sont semblables à ceux qui ayans
enduré la poincture de l'Abeille, laissent le miel pour les
estrangers. Les nouveaux mariez aussi doivent au commencement
eviter, tant qu'il sera à eux possible, les controversies, &
dissentions entant que les vaisseaux nouvellement luittez
15 peuvent facilement se disjoindre: mais si l'on laisse fortifier
leurs jointures quelque espace de temps, à grand payne le feu,
ou le fer, les pourra dissoudre.

L'amour des nouveaux mariez ne peut longuement durer
s'il n'est appuyé sur bonnes meurs.

SOMMAIRE. III.

Tout ainsi que le feu s'allume plus facilement dans la
paille, & aux poils des lievres, & que d'autant plustost il est
estaint, s'il n'a quelque matiere qui le nourrisse, & entretienne,
aussi l'amour des mariez, alleché par la beauté du corps, ne
5 peut estre stable, n'y de longue durée s'il n'est fondé sur
bonnes meurs, & par prudence entretenu, prenant une vive
amitié.

De n'acquérir l'amour des hommes par art magic.

SOMMAIRE. IIII.

Par la pescherie, qui se faict avec medicaments, l'on
prend plustost, & plus facilement le poisson, mais il en est
gasté, & rendu de mauvais aliment: ainsi les femmes, qui
estudient à gagner l'amour des hommes par art, & enchantemens
5 (pour par ce moyen assouvir leur cupidité) demeureront passans

leurs eages avec gens estonnez, hors du sens, & corrompus car
 ceux qui beurent les breuvages de Circe, ne l'aiderent
 aucunement & n'en jouit selon son entente, estants transformez
 en pourceaux, & asnes: mais elle ayra d'un incredible amour le
 10 sage Ulysse, qui toute-fois conversoit prudemment avec elle.

La femme ne doit commander à l'homme.

SOMMAIRE. V.

Les femmes, qui desirent commander aux hommes hebetez, ne
 voulans obeir aux sages, ressemblent à celles qui ayment mieux
 mener les aveugles, que suivre les bien entendus & mieux voyans.

Lasciveté & paillardise est à eviter.

SOMMAIRE. VI.

Aucuns ne veulent croire, que Pasiphae* femme d'un Roy,
 ait esté esprise de l'amour d'un Taureau, combien qu'ils en
 voyent aucunes, n'endurer patiemment des hommes discrets, &
 honnestes, ains s'abandonner à gens impudiques, lascifs, &
 5 ensepvelis en leurs voluptez, semblables à boucs, & à chiens.

La femme doit estre gouvernée comme par
 un frein, selon sa dignité.

SOMMAIRE. VII.

Les delicats, qui pour l'impuissance & imbecillité de leurs
 membres, ne peuvent monter sur les chevaux les duisent à se
 baisser, & flechir le genouil: ainsi ceux qui ont pris des
 femmes nobles & riches (qui pourtant n'en sont meilleures)

*Fable poetique.

5 n'endurent qu'elles ayent autorité sur eux, ains les rabaissent & accommodent, afin qu'estant assubjecties plus aisement leurs puissent commander. Il faut aussi, que comme selon la grandeur du cheval, on baille le frein, soit pareillement (comme par un frein) conservée la dignité d'une femme.

La femme ne doit plaire à d'autres qu'à son mari.

SOMMAIRE. VIII.

5 Quand la Lune est retirée du Soleil, elle nous apparoist reluisante, & claire, mais estant proche, elle est obscurcie & cachée. Or au contraire il faut, que l'honneste femme, en presence de son mari, ne craigne à se monstrier, que s'il est absent, garde la maison, & lors se cache.

La femme doit estre modeste.

SOMMAIRE. IX.

5 La sentence d'Herodote, ne me semble à supporter, quand il dit, que la femme despouille sa modestie, & honte quand & quant la robbe. Mais au contraire, l'honneste femme la vestira, entant que parfaicte reverence est certain gaige du mutuel amour des mariez.

Le vouloir, & commandement de l'homme doit estre preferé à celui de la femme.

SOMMAIRE. X.

Tout ainsi que deux voix accordantes, rendent un son plus rempli, ainsi que toutes choses faictes en une maison bien regie, & gouvernée jaçoit qu'elles procedent d'un consentement des deux parties, si est-ce que tousjours en ce l'autorité, &

5 vouloir de l'homme apparoistra par sus tout.

La femme trop somptueuse, admonestée par raisons,
s'abstient facilement des choses superflues.

SOMMAIRE. XI.

Le Soleil a surmonté l'impetueux Borée*. Car un homme
agité du vent, qui redoublant sa vehemence, luy faisoit presque
quiter le manteau s'efforçoit de le retenir, & de plus en plus
le serrer. Or le vent appaisé, & la chaleur du Soleil augmentée,
5 il fust tellement eschauffé, que presque estoufant delaisa
non seulement le manteau, mais aussi le saye. Ainsi font
plusieurs femmes se courrouçans contre leurs maris, qui leurs
ostent les superfluitez, & excessives despenses, que si par
raisons, l'on leur persuade le contraire, elles laissent
10 facilement les debats, & vivent modestement.

L'homme & la femme ne doivent avoir debat ensemble
en presence d'autruy: mais les admonitions
doivent estre apertes.

SOMMAIRE. XII.

Caton priva de l'assemblée des Conseillers Romains un
bourgeois, pour ce qu'il avoit baisé sa femme en presence de sa
fille, ce qui a esté fait possible trop rigoureusement, si
est-ce que si la chose est deshonneste (comme certes elle est)
5 d'embrasser & mignarder sa propre femme en presence d'autruy:
pourquoy ne sera-il plus indecent de se provoquer par parolles
injurieuses, & avoir debat l'un avec l'autre? Or il faut que
l'embrassement, & delectation conjugale se face en secret, mais
les bonnes admonitions, corrections, & remonstrances doivent

*Galerne.

10 estre libres, & apertes.

La femme doit accorder aux meurs de son mary.

SOMMAIRE. XIII.

Tout ainsi que le mirouer enrichi d'or, & de pierreries, n'apporte aucun profit, s'il ne represente pareille stature, & trait de visage, ainsi l'on ne reçoit aucun profit de femme riche, & opulente, si sa vie, & ses meurs ne correspondent, & accordent avec celles de son mari.

La femme ne doit avoir particulieres affections.

SOMMAIRE. XIIIII.

Si le miroer rend une image triste, pour le visage joyeux, & que pour un front r'enfrongné, rende une riante face, il est certainement faux, & vicieux. Ainsi la femme folle, & inepte, monstre mauvais visage à son mari, joyeux, & qui la flatte: & au contraire, fera de la plaisante, & riblera lors qu'il traictera quelque affaire d'importance: car l'un est indice de mal plaisance, & l'autre de contentement. Mais il faut (comme les Geometriens disent) que les lignes, & extremités superficielles soyent menées, non de soy-mesme, ains avec le corps. Aussi la femme ne doit avoir aucunes affections particulieres, ains tout son soing, estude & plaisir, doit estre communiqué au mari.

Le mari doit prendre son repas avec sa femme,

& ne la priver du plaisir du lict.

SOMMAIRE. XV.

Celuy qui avec soy ne peut voir sa femme boire & manger, luy donne occasion de gourmander en derriere: celuy aussi qui

ne luy communique de franche volonté les plaisirs du lict,
l'enseigne à chercher ses propres voluptez ailleurs.

La femme ne doit estre participante de l'intemperance
du mari, doit aussi supporter ses imperfections
& ne les imiter.

SOMMAIRE. XVI.

Les Roys de Perse prennent le repas avec leurs femmes
legitimes mais quant ils veulent se resjouir, paillarder, &
prendre du vin plus que de coustume, les ayant faictes retirer,
appellent leurs filles de joye, & à bonne raison, à fin de ne
5 laisser leurs femmes participer aux yvrongneries, &
intemperances. Parquoy si l'homme privé, intemperant, &
addonné à ses plaisirs, est surpris avec quelque chambriere,
ou femme impudique, son espouse ne s'en doit mescontenter, ains
considerer, que ce qu'il en à fait à esté à sa modestie, aymant
10 mieux qu'une autre fut participante de son incontinence, &
lasciveté.

La femme ensuit les meurs de son mary.

SOMMAIRE. XVII.

Les amateurs des Muses sont plusieurs musiciens, ceux qui
d'un ardent courage embrassent l'estude des bonnes lettres,
plusieurs gens sçavans, & ceux qui prennent plaisir à l'escrime
& luitte, les puissans escrimeurs & luitteurs: ainsi l'homme,
5 qui a la beauté de son corps en recommandation, fera sa femme
poupine; le voluptueux, paillarde, & intemperante, le prudent,
& sage, modeste & pudique.

La femme ne doit refuser les plaisirs au mari, aussi
ne le doit inviter la premiere.

SOMMAIRE. XVIII.

Une chambriere Lacedemonienne interrogée de quelqu'un, si elle n'avoit encores approché de son mari, respondit que non, mais bien qu'il estoit approché d'elle, & cela certes (selon mon jugement) doit estre en une mere de famille, asçavoir de
5 ne refuser, & ne se facher, quant son mari commencera, aussi de ne l'inviter la premiere: car comme cestuy-cy soit peculier à la paillarda, & femme impudique aussi l'autre sent un desdain, & amour froid, & lent envers son mari.

La femme ne doit avoir rien particulier.

SOMMAIRE. XIX.

La femme mariée ne doit avoir amis particuliers, ains commun avec son mari: & comme ainsi soit que le Dieu le quel son mari estime digne d'estre servi, & adoré soit le souverain, il faut que la femme le reconnoisse seul, entant que toutes
5 religions curieuses, & estrangeres superstitions, sont à fuir, & doivent estre dechassées hors d'une maison: car il n'y à point de sacrifice plaisant à Dieu estant fait occultement par la femme.

Toutes choses doivent estre communes entre
la femme & le mari.

SOMMAIRE. XX.

Platon dit la cité estre heureuse, en laquelle l'on n'use des mots de mien, & tien: à cause que les citoyens doivent se servir en commun de toutes choses, estant toutes-fois estimées

par quelque pris. Donc à plus forte raison, ces mots ne
 5 doivent avoir lieu entre gens mariez & comme disent les
 medecins, les playes qui sont aux costez gauches, communiquent
 leurs douleurs aux parties dextres: aussi il ne sera
 impertinent, si la femme endure une partie des douleurs de son
 mari. Comme les neuds aussi, & liens prennent force l'un de
 10 l'autre, aussi ayans une mutuelle affection, la société de
 vie sera par eux deux entretenue: car nature nous conjoint
 par les corps, afin qu'ayans pris une partie meslée, &
 ensemble confuse, ce qui n'aistra, nous soit commun, tellement
 que ne puissions discerner, s'il est propre, ou non: telle
 15 aussi doit estre la communauté des richesses entre le mari, &
 la femme, à fin qu'ayans tout ensemble en commun avoir, ne
 puissent dire cecy estre propre, & cela à autruy, mais estiment
 tout leurs estre propre, & rien d'ailleurs.

Le mari doit avoir l'honneur par dessus la femme.

SOMMAIRE. XXI.

Tout ainsi que le vin temperé par eau (jaçoit que la
 quantité d'icelle soit plus grande) ne delaisse le nom de vin:
 aussi tout le bien, & richesse d'une famille (encores que la
 femme y eust mis le plus) sera dit estre du mari.

Le mariage de gens addonnez à leurs vlaisirs,
 ne se porte jamais bien.

SOMMAIRE. XXII.

Helene fut cupide de biens, Paris de voluptez: Ulysse
 prudent, Penelope continente: parquoy le mariage de ceux cy
 à esté à desirer, & heureux, mais celuy de Paris, & Helene, fut

cause d'une * Illiade de maux aux Grecs, & barbares.

Il faut que la femme soit obeissante au mari Item les debats,
qui viennent en mariage sont dangereux.

SOMMAIRE. XXIII.

Un Romain repris de ses amis de ce qu'il avoit repudié sa
femme, pudique, belle, & abondante en biens, monstra son
soulier, disant, ce soulier est beau & neuf, mais personne de
vous ne cognoist où il me blesse. Il ne faut donc que la femme
5 se fie au riche douaire, n'y aux patens, n'y à la beauté, mais
mette peine, qu'en ce qui touche le mari soit ou par coustume,
meurs, ou obediencie elle se monstre non rebelle, & farouche,
ains plustost facile, affable, & de bonne nature: car comme
les medecins ont en plus grand soubçon, les fiebvres
10 procedantes d'incertaines causes peu à peu assemblées que celle
dont les commencements sont manifestes, & les causes apparentes:
ainsi les offences secrettes, & debats qui surviennent de jour
en jour à la maison, entre le mari, & la femme ont plus grand
pouvoir à esbranler, & disjoindre leur compagnie.

Combien est à priser la femme de bonnes meurs.

SOMMAIRE. XXIIII.

Le Roy * Philippe aymoît une femme de Thessalie, de laquelle
estimoit estre detenu par art magic, dont Olimpias sa femme mit
toute peine de l'aprehender, & venue en sa presence, luy sembla
belle, & en parler franche, & prudente: laissons ces faux

* Combles Troyen [sic]

* Philippe Roy de Macedonne Pere d'Alexandre le grand.

5 rapports (dit Olimpias) car en ton corps mesme tu as le
 medicament. C'est donc une chose inexpugnable, que la femme
 legitime, si mettant en soy-mesme toutes choses, comme
 douaire, bonne parenté, bruvage d'amour bien conjugal, elle
 gaigne par vertu, & bonnes meurs, le bon vouloir de son mari.

Il ne se faut marier pour les biens.

SOMMAIRE. XXV.

De rechef, dit Olimpias d'un jeune courtisan, qui avoit
 pris en mariage une belle femme, mais mal famée, cestuy cy est
 insensé, car s'il eust esté sage jamais n'eust pris femme selon
 le plaisir de ses yeux. Or il faut prendre la femme non à
 5 l'appetit des yeux, ou des mains, ainsi que plusieurs font,
 regardant premierement l'ample douaire, sans considerer de
 quel gouvernement elles useront avecques eux.

Chose à louer, qu'une femme belle, si elle est temperante.

SOMMAIRE. XXVI.

Socrate admonestoit les jeunes enfans de se mirer, à fin
 que les difformes corrigeassent le deffaut de beauté, par le
 moyen de vertu, & les beaux, fussent advertis de ne se laisser
 souiller par vice: donc la mere de famille se contemplant en un
 5 miroir (si elle est laide) dira en soy mesme & puis, soit, je
 suis temperante, & pudique: si elle est belle, que sera ce si
 avec la beauté je suis honneste? Car si les difformes sont aimez,
 non pour leur face, mais à cause des bonnes meurs, certes il y
 aura quelque reverence adjoustée.

La femme ne doit estre addonnée aux habits sumptueux.

SOMMAIRE. XXVII.

Le Tiran de Sicile envoya des beaux vestemens, & riches parures, aux filles de Lisandre, ce que Lisandre refusa, disant, tels joyaux apportent plustost deshonneur à mes filles, qu'honneur: mais cecy avoit dit Sophocle, avant Lisandre. Ces
 5 riches bagues ne sont ornemens (ô malheureux) ains deshonneur, & folie de ton esprit, entant qu'ornement est ce qui embellit, comme Crates dit, ou ce qui rend la femme plus honneste, & cela ne vient point ne par or, ne par emeraudes, ou escarlate: mais par choses qui donnent certain indice, & argument d'humilité,
 10 modestie, douceur, & honte pudicque.

La cholere ne doit avoir lieu en mariage.

SOMMAIRE. XXVIII.

Ceux qui sacrifient à Junon conjugale, n'offrent jamais le fiel avec l'oblation, ains l'ayant arraché, le jettent derriere l'autel, voulant par la signifier le legislateur, qu'en mariage la cholere ne doit avoir lieu: car l'austerité de la mere de
 5 famille, doit estre utile, comme celle du vin, non amere ainsi que Aloe, ou autre medecine.

Il ne faut que la femme de petit estat,
 se tienne salement.

SOMMAIRE. XXIX.

Platon exhortoit Xenocrate severe en meurs, homme de bien &

* Roy car anciennement l'on appelloit les Roys Tirans n'estant encor ce mot odieux.

equitable quant au reste, de sacrifier aux *Graces, & moy
 j'estime les graces estre necessaires à la femme pudique,
 & continente, à fin de converser joyeusement à son mari, &
 5 n'estre difficile, à cause de la pudicité (comme disoit
 Metrodore). Car il ne faut que la femme de petit estat
 contemne netteté, & celle qui ayme son mari ne tienne compte
 de mignardise, veu que la trop grande morosité des femmes rend
 leur honneur moleste: & indecent ainsi que les ordures font
 10 hair la frugalité.

La femme ne doit craindre de se resjouir
 en la presence de son mari.

SOMMAIRE. XXX.

Celle qui en presence de son mari a honte de rire, ou
 faire quelque autre chose joyeuse, craignant d'estre veue
 incontinente, & temeraire, ressemble à celle qui ne se veut
 oindre aucunement, de peur que l'on pense qu'elle *frotte sa
 5 teste de senteur, & ne se lave, de peur que l'on ne l'estime
 user de fard.

La femme doit, tant qu'il sera à elle possible s'accommoder
 à son mari. Le mari aussi la doit doucement admonester
 si elle ne s'accorde du tout à luy.

SOMMAIRE. XXXI.

Nous voyons les pœtes, & orateurs, lesquels evitent les
 harengues molestes, offensives, & impertinentes, esmouvoir, &

* Dæesses que l'on pensoit anciennement ayder le maintien &
 beauté du corps.

* Coustume ancienne des femmes.

mener l'auditeur par choses convenantes, & d'un ordre accommodé
à leur maniere de vivre, & ce par tous moyens joyeux, &
5 delectables: ainsi les meres de familles doivent laisser toutes
choses superflues lubricques & populaires, & ensuyvre de tout
leur pouvoir une honesteté accoustmée envers leurs maris,
s'accommoder à leurs meurs, ainsi qu'il appartient, afin de
vivre en paix, & converser avec eux en tout plaisir honeste,
10 que si de leur naturel elles sont rigoreuses, opiniastres, &
rebelles, les maris les doivent doucement admonester, &
ensuyvre Phocion, qui importuné par Antipatar de quelque
chose indecente, & peu honeste, dit je ne te sçaurois servir
d'amy, & de flateur: ainsi faut il dire à la femme facheuse,
15 & rebelle, encores quelle fut pudique, je ne puis servir de
toy & d'espouse & d'amie.

Les habits sumptueux sont cause que les femmes
sortent de la maison.

SOMMAIRE. XXXII.

La coustume d'Egipte defendoit aux femmes l'usage des
souliers, à fin qu'elles n'eussent occasion de sortir de la
maison. Et plusieurs femmes demeurent en leur maison, si vous
leur ostez les souliers dorez, les brasselets, jartieres,
5 l'escarlate, & les perles.

La femme ne doit trop parler.

SOMMAIRE. XXXIII.

Theano vistant sa robbe monstra les bras descouverts, &
lors quelqu'un dit, ô les beaux bras! voire, respondit elle,
mais non communs, ny habandonnez. Or d'une femme pudicque, non

seulement les bras ne doivent estre communs, mais aussi la
 5 parole, & avoir autant de honte de descouvrir son parler à
 un chacun, que les parties de son corps, doit aussi se garder
 des estranges, pour autant que les affections, les meurs, &
 disposition du corps, se manifestent facilement par la parole.

La femme doit parler comme par la bouche du mari.

SOMMAIRE. XXXIIII.

*Phidias depeignoit aux Elées, Venus montée sur une Tortue,
 montrant par là, que l'office d'une femme est de garder la
 maison, & le silence: car la femme ne doit parler sinon avec le
 mari, ou par le mari mesme, n'estant fachée de parler plus
 5 gravement par la langue d'autrui, ainsi qu'un joueur de
 haut-bois.

Le mari doit estre maistre de la femme comme l'ame
 est maistresse du corps.

SOMMAIRE. XXXV.

Lors que les riches, & Princes ont en reverence les
 Philosophes ils se font honneur, & à eux, & quant les
 philosophes observent les princes & opulents, ils n'augmentent
 pourtant leur noblesse ains au contraire se deshonorent eux-
 5 mesmes. Cecy aussi vient communement aux femmes, lesquelles en
 obeissant, & obtemperant à leurs maris, acquierent louanges,
 mais quant elles veulent estre les maistresses, ce leur
 convient moins, qu'à ceux qui se laissent dompter. Or il faut

*Phidias l'un des plus excellent peintres de son temps.

que le mari soit maistre de la femme, non point comme des biens,
 10 mais comme l'ame est maistresse du corps, & conjointe avec luy
 en commun accord, par une conspiration naturelle: & tout ainsi
 qu'elle doit gouverner le corps, & n'obtemperer à ses voluptez,
 & apetits: ainsi il faut le mari estre par dessus la femme, en
 douceur, & bien veillance.

Le mari & la femme ne sont qu'un.

SOMMAIRE. XXXVI.

Les Philosophes disent les corps estre composez, les uns de
 choses separées, comme une armée navalle, & bataille, les autres
 de choses conjointes, comme une maison, un navire, les uns unis,
 & engendrez en mesme temps, comme un chascun des animaux. Donc
 5 le mariage, qui est faict de deux amans, est quasi une unité
 ensemble créée, & ce qui est de douaire, & des enfans, est des
 choses conjointes. Et le mariage, qui est pour le plaisir,
 est des choses separées pour autant que quelcun les pensera
 demeurer ensemble, mais non pour y vivre & mourir.

Tout doit estre commun entre les mariez.

SOMMAIRE. XXXVII.

Tout ainsi que les medecins disent la temperature des
 humeurs estre faicte universellement par toutes les parties du
 corps, ainsi le mariage, les corps, les richesses, amis, &
 affins, doivent estre conjointes ensemble, car le legislateur
 5 des Romains à defendu aux mariez, d'oser donner dons l'un à
 l'autre, non qu'il ne les vueille estre participans des biens,
 & autres choses: mais afin qu'ils estimassent toutes choses

estre entr'-eux communes.

Il faut que la femme gaigne le bon vouloir de son mari,
& ne refuse l'amitié de la belle mere.

SOMMAIRE. XXXVIII.

La coustume est en Lepte cité de Lybie, que le lendemain
des nopces, l'espouse envoie emprunter un pot de terre à la mere
de son mari, mais elle n'en donne, & assure n'en avoir: & cela
se faict à fin qu'ayant au commencement congneu les meurs d'une
5 maratre en celles de sa belle mere, s'il advenoit quelque
chose de plus grande importance l'endurast patiemment, sans en
estre fachée: ce qui est cause que la femme entendant cela
evite, & appaise les occasions: car elles ont entre elles une
naturelle emulation de bien-veillance pour à quoy obvier il y
10 a un seul moyen, à sçavoir, qu'en derriere la femme gaigne le
bon vouloir de son mari, & qu'elle ne refuse, ou diminue celle
de la belle mere.

La femme fachée se conseille plus tost aux parens
de son mari, afin que se fiant à leur foy,
elle approuve la sienne envers
sondit mari.

SOMMAIRE. XXXIX.

L'on voit les meres estre plus enclines à aymer leurs
enfants masles, que les filles, pource qu'ils sont plus aptes
à leur subvenir en necessité. Et les peres tenir plus grand
compte des filles que non pas des garçons, comme ayant affaire
5 de leur aide. Possible aussi que se voulans porter honneur
ayment ce qui est plus approchant de la parenté l'un de l'autre,

mais cecy paradventure est indifferent, & l'autre civil, sçavoir
 si la femme est plus addonnée à honorer les parens de son mari,
 que les siens propres, & que si estant fachée se conseille
 10 plustost à eux, & le cele aux siens: elle le fait à fin que
 se fiant à leur foy, elle approuve pareillement la sienne, &
 les aymant elle aussi soit aymée.

La femme se doit taire lors que le mari est faché,
& le consoler le voyant estre un peu appaisé.

SOMMAIRE. XL.

Les Capitaines, qui estoyent avec Cyrus commandoyent aux
 Grecs de recevoir l'ennemi avec silence si avec grands cris il
 se jectoit sur eux, que s'il ne disoit mot, au contraire
 l'assaillissent avec grand bruit, & fureur. Et les femmes sages,
 5 lors que leurs maris crient se taisent, & quant ils ne disent
 mot, parlent à eux, les consolant, mitigant, & invitant à
 douceur.

Il ne faut que les gens mariez se laissent l'un l'autre,
ores qu'il y eut picque entre eux doivent estre
en paix au lict.

SOMMAIRE. XLI.

A bon droict Euridipe reprint ceux qui aux banquets usent
 de harpes, car la musicque est plus propre au temps de courroux,
 & facherie, & non adjoustant joye à ceux qui sont en voluptez,
 & plaisirs: il estime donc ceux faillir, qui avec joye &
 5 voluptez, usent des dons de Venus, & ayans quelque picque
 ensemble, couchent hors l'un d'avec l'autre, lors qu'il faut
 user de l'operation venerienne, qui est en ce cas le seul, &

expert medecin, ce que le poëte enseigne en la personne de Junon.

10 Tous vos debats chassez seront par mon moyen,
Et conjoindray l'amour d'un mutuel lien,
Ordonnant entre vous un ferme mariage.

Or comme ainsi soit que la femme se doive garder de courroucer son mari, & le mari pareillement de facher sa femme, 15 cela doit estre principalement observé, lors qu'ils sont couchez ensemble & qu'ils se reposent: car la femme se complaignant à ceux qui auront esté cause du mariage dira, comment seroit-il possible, que le lict nous appaisast, veu que tout est advenu au lict: Entant que les facheries, 20 simulations; & ires que le lict à engendré, sont difficiles à dissoudre en autre lieu & temps.

La femme fachée contre son mari pour quel que chose que ce soit ne doit pourtant prester l'oreille aux mauvais rapports.

SOMMAIRE. XLII.

Hermionne semble dire vray disant l'accointance des mauvaises femmes m'a perdue, & vray est que cecy ne se fait simplement, mais quant elles ont rancune, & jalousie contre leurs maris à telles femmes non seulement elles ouvrent la 5 porte, mais aussi les oreilles: la femme sage doncques alors fermera les oreilles à tels rapports, & murmures, de peur que le feu ne soit adjousté avec le feu, & aura la sentence de Philippe en memoire, car l'on dit qu'estant incité par ses familiers, & animé contre les Grecs, respondit si leur ayant 10 fait beaucoup de biens, ils mesdisent de moy, que serace si je les provoque? quant donc quelques mesdisantes te

r'apporteront, que ton mari faict injure à toy sa pudicque amie, tu diras, que sera-ce si je commence à le hair, & mesdire de luy?

La femme jalouze ne doit repudier son mari.

SOMMAIRE. XLIII.

Quelcun poursuyvant son serviteur fuitif, & voyant qu'il s'estoit sauvé dans un * molin à bras, luy dit, où sçaurois-je mieux te trouver qu'icy. Aussi la femme voulant repudier (à cause de jalousie) son mari pourra dire où est le lieu auquel
5 mon envieuse m'aymera mieux veoir, que separée d'avec mon mari pour mon impatience esmouvoir sedition, & dissention contre luy, & delaisser ma maison & mon propre lict?

Le mariage est chose honeste & divine, entant qu'il est pour la generation d'enfans.

SOMMAIRE. XLIIII.

Les Atheniens disent qu'il y a trois labeurs sacrez, l'un en Scire, enseignement de l'ancien labourage, l'autre en Rharie, le troisieme soubs Pelin, que l'on appelle Busigie.* Mais de tous ceux là, le plus saint honorable, c'est le
5 nuptial, entant qu'il est pour la procreation d'enfans.

Le mari & la femme ne se doivent souller par fornication.

SOMMAIRE. XLV.

A bon droit certes Sophocle appelle Venus Citherée, feconde

* Lieu auquel on metoit les malfaiteurs anciennement comme aujourd'huy au Galeres.

* Scire, Rharie & Busigie sont trois terroirs labourables en Attique.

en bons fruits: parquoy les hommes & femmes doivent avec grand soing user de ce, à sçavoir de se garder de toute illicite, & prophane compagnie d'homme, à fin que leurs enfans soyent
 5 legitimes, & aussi de ne semer en un lieu, duquel elles ne voudroyent recevoir aucun fruict, car si quelque chose en est procréée, elles en ont honte & le cachent.

Celuy qui ne sçait gouverner sa maison, à grand peine
 gouvernera il la republique.

SOMMAIRE. XLVI.

Gorgias recitant en Olimpie une oraison de la paix & amitié, Melante dit, cestuy cy parle de la paix; luy qui n'a sçeu faire tant, que luy, sa femme, & sa chambriere fussent d'accord. Car il sembloit que Gorgias portast quelque amour à
 5 sa chambriere, & que sa femme en fut jalouse: Il faut donc que celuy qui veut gouverner ses amis, & la chose publique sçache bien ordonner, & sa maison, & famille entant que les fautes des femmes ne sont si tost cogneües, que celles qui se font contre les femmes.

Le mari ne doit s'addonner à autres femmes entant qu'il sçait
 la cause de la maladie des femmes.

SOMMAIRE. XLVII.

L'on dit que les Chats sont troublez par le sentiment des bonnes odeurs, que s'il advenoit que les femmes devinsent folles, pour les senteurs, certainement ce seroit mal faict aux maris si pour un petit plaisir, les laissez endurer un
 5 tel torment, ne s'abstenans de telles odeurs. Or comme ainsi soit que cela n'advienne par senteurs, mais lors que les maris

s'addonnent à autres femmes ce sera certes une chose contre
 equité s'ils les laissent en tel trouble, & impatience, & ne
 font comme les Abeilles: car il semble qu'elles repugnent à
 10 ceux qui couchent avec autres femmes: ainsi se doivent
 communiquer à leurs femmes, chastes, entiers, & nets de toute
 congnoissance d'autres femmes.

La femme ne doit cholerer son mari pour peu de chose.

SOMMAIRE. XLVIII.

Ceux qui veulent approcher des Elephans ne portent robes
 blanches, & ceux qui hastent les Taureaux n'en portent de
 rouges: à cause que par ces couleurs, tels animaux, sont
 effarouchez. Les Tigres aussi s'emouvent tellement du son
 5 des cloches, & tabours que d'eux mesmes se mettent en pieces.
 Comme ainsi soit donc, qu'aucuns hommes soyent possible fachez
 de voir le cramoisi, ou le pourpre, les autres d'ouyr tabours:
 dequoy se facheront les femmes s'ils ne veulent endurer
 telles choses? plustost qu'elles se gardent de les cholerer,
 10 & esmouvoir: ains vivent avec eux avec douceur & assurance.

La femme doit estre tousjours une envers son mari.

SOMMAIRE. XLIX.

Une femme estant sollicitée par Philippe, dict laissez
 moy, car vous sçavez que toutes les femmes sont semblables,
 apres que l'on à osté la lumiere. Et cela se peut dire contre
 les adulteres, & intemperans de nature. Mais il n'appartient
 5 à la femme mariée estre semblable à toute autre, ains plustost
 dit (lors que la lumiere est ostée) estre envers son mari
 modeste, d'un fervent amour, charitable & monstrier qu'elle est

du tout à luy.

Il faut que le mari ayt esgard à sa femme, & ne face devant elle,
ce dont il veut qu'elle s'abstienne.

SOMMAIRE. L.

Platon exhortoit les vieillards, d'avoir esgard aux jeunes, afin que iceux leurs portassent l'honneur de modestie, car où les vieilles gens n'ont honte, là les jeunes ne tiennent compte d'eux & ne leurs portent reverence. Parquoy le mari ayant
5 souvenance de cecy, ne redoubtera moins sa femme, entant que le lict doit estre la boutique d'honesteté, & non d'intemperance: Car celuy qui veut jouyr des voluptez, lesquelles il deffend à sa femme, ressemble à celuy qui luy commande de combatre les ennemis, ausquels il s'est rendu. Il te
10 faut donc mettre peine, d'apprendre & escrire en ta memoire, ô Euridice, ce que Timoxene a escrit à Aristille, touchant la temperance, discretion, & pudicité. Et toy Polian, ne pense point que ta femme s'abstienne de superfluitez, & despences extraordinaires, si premierement tu ne te monstre abstinant,
15 comme si elle t'aperçoit cupide de vases dorez, chambres sumptueusement depeintes, & de mules, & chevaux bardez. Car il est impossible de dechasser la superfluité d'une femme, en quoy le mari abonde. Donc ayans le temps de profiter és choses manifestées: & approuvées par demonstrations, façonne
20 tes meurs, & converse avec ceux qui te pourront porter profit communiquant à ta femme, par tous moyens, ce qui sera utile & à l'imitation des Abeilles, fais la participante de ce, que tu auras premierement apart toy conferé. Fais aussi les exhortations, & donne raisons familiares qui te sembleront

25 estre utiles. Car elle te doit porter honneur & reverence
comme à son pere, mere, & frere: & certes il est tout honeste
d'ouyr une femme disant à son mari. Tu es mon mari, mon
maistre, mon philosophe, & enseigneur des choses honestes &
divines. Telle doctrine & discipline aussi retire une femme des
30 choses absurdes. Car la femme aura honte de s'exerser à sauter,
si elle est touchée du desir des bonnes lettres, & n'adjoustera
aucunes potions magicques, attirée par les preceptes, &
admonitions de Platon, & Xenophon. Plustost se mocquera de
l'impudence de celuy, qui aura entrepris tirer la Lune des
35 cieux, & de la folie des femmes y adjoustant foy, entendant
les causes & raisons d'Astrologie. Aganice fille de Hegetore
Thessalien congnoissant l'eclipse de la pleine Lune, &
prevoyant le jour auquel elle devoit estre obscurcie, par
l'ombre de la terre, estonnoit l'esprit des femmes leur
40 faisant accroire qu'elle l'atireroit des cieux. Or comme ainsi
soit que jamais femme n'eust enfanté sans compagnie d'homme &
qu'elles appellent les corps imparfaicts, engendrez en elles
par quelque corruption du nom de menasse: il faut bien garder
que telles choses ne soyent faictes és esprits des femmes:
45 car si elles ne reçoivent la semence des bons propos, & ne
sont faictes participantes de l'erudition de leurs maris elles
engendrent un conseil absurd, & mauvaises pensées, & affections.
Toy donc Euridice ensuis les opinions, & sentences des femmes
prudentes, & sages, ayant tousjours les parolles en la bouche,
50 lesquelles tu as apprises de moy, lors que tu estois encore
fille, à fin que tu rejouisse ton mari, & par ce moyen enrichie
de toy mesme, tu seras en admiration à toutes autres femmes.
Car les perles des unes, & robes de soye des autres, ne

s'achètent pas sans grand argent: mais il est licite de
55 vestir pour neant les ornements d'honneur de Theano, &
Cleobuline, & de Gorgo femme de Leonide, & de Timoclée sœur
de Theagene, & de la vieille Claude, Cornille femme de Scipion,
& de toutes les autres qui ont été honorables, & illustres,
& ainsi vivre honorablement, & heureusement. Que si Sapho,
60 qui composoit des vers si beaux, s'estimoit tant que
d'escrire à une femme riche.

FIN.

DIZAIN

Feu, Femme, Mer, sont trois choses en terre,
Dont l'homme prent bien & felicité:
Chaut & deduict, & or on peut acquerre,
Contre le froit, soucy & pauvreté,
5 Mais si par fois le mal-heur revolté
Prend au rebours de sa roue la voye
Femme deçoit, feu ard, & la mer noye:
De peu de bien mal infini redonde,
Dont veu l'ennuy qui surmonte la joye,
10 Feu, femme, mer, sont les pires du monde.

Les vertus de la femme fidelle, & bonne mesnagere comme il est
 escrit aux Proverbes de Salomon, chap. 31. Sur le chant
 du Pseaume, 15. Qui est ce qui conversera, & c.

QUI est celuy qui trouvera
 Femme constante & vertueuse?
 Qui telle rencontre fera,
 Plus grand thresor rencontrera,
 5 Que nulle pierre precieuse.

Un tel mari fiance aura
 En elle & en sa diligence,
 Et à bon droit s'asseurera,
 Que jamais contrainct ne sera
 10 De desrober par indigence.

Si long temps qu'elle durera
 Elle luy cherchera son aise,
 Et si bien se gouvernera,
 Que jamais ne s'addonnera
 15 A faire rien qui luy desplaie.

Laine & filace ammassera,
 Pour entretenir son mesnage:
 Puis elle mesme filera,
 Et de ses mains besongnera
 20 Franchement & de bon courage.

A un navire semblera
 Parti de region loingtaine,
 Qui tout un pays fournira
 Quant au port elle arrivera

25 De marchandise toute pleine.
 Devant le jour se levera
 Pour voir sa despence ordonnée:
 A sa famille pourvoira,
 Aux servantes ordonnera

30 Dequoy employer leur journée.
 Les terres considerera
 Qui seront par elles achetées,
 Et de ses mains tant gaignera,
 Que [à] son gain elle acquerra

35 Vignes desja toutes plantées.
 Au travail ne s'espargnera,
 Mais plustost de toute sa force,
 Dessus ses rains se troussera,
 Et de ses bras s'efforcera

40 Tant plus la peine se renforce.
 Elle mesme regardera
 Combien son labeur luy raporte,
 Et quand la nuict arrivera,
 Adonc sa lampe esclairera

45 Pour besogner en quelque sorte.
 Sa main volontiers estendra
 Vers celuy qui vit en destresse:
 Sa main liberale tendra
 A tous ceux dont elle entendra

50 Que quelque indigence les presse.
 Vienne l'hyver quand il voudra,
 Ella ne craind froid ne gelée:

De bonne heure elle s'armera,
 Et chacun des siens munira
 55 De bonne robbe & bien doublée.
 Tapis à l'esguille ouvrera,
 Pour en voir sa maison parée:
 De lin elle se garnira,
 Et proprement se monstrera
 60 De fine escarlate accoustrée.
 Quand les Senateurs on verra
 S'assembler pour la republicque,
 Son mari sur tous apperra,
 Lors que maint homme s'asserra
 65 Parmi l'assemblée publicque.
 De fines toilles ordira
 Que puis apres sçaura bien vendre,
 De ce qu'elle devidera
 Aux marchans mesme baillera
 70 Cordons & rubens à revendre.
 Es robbes qu'elle vestira
 Luiront sa gloire & sa puissance,
 Lors qu'en fin se reposera,
 Et ses derniers jours passera
 75 Avecques toute resjouissance.
 Jamais sa bouche n'ouvrira
 Qu'avec une sagesse exquise,
 Et sur sa langue on jugera,
 (Alors que parler on l'orra,)
 80 La douceur mesme estre assise.

Cependant point ne laissera
 De son mesnage la conduite,
 Ainçois elle y regardera,
 Et son pain point ne mangera
 85 Avec oisiveté maudite.

Maint enfant qu'elle produira,
 Luy porter à grand'reverence,
 Et bien heureuse la dira:
 Son mari mesme en parlera
 90 Louant ainsi son excellence.

Il est bien vray qu'on trouvera
 Plus d'une femme mesnagere,
 Et qui des biens amassera
 Mais entre toutes qu'on sçaura
 95 Je di que tu es la premiere.

La bonne grace perira,
 Beauté est chose peu durable,
 Mais ceste-là qui Dieu craindra,
 Voila la femme qu'il faudra
 100 Sur toutes estimer louable.

Telle femme rapportera
 De ses faits recompense telle,
 Que là où l'on s'assemblera,
 Sa vie mesme preschera
 105 Par tout sa louange immortelle!

CONCLUSION

In the course of this investigation, a number of details of Grévin's life and character have been uncovered. He appears as a man of great intelligence, able, in a life-span of only some thirty-two years, to achieve success and fame in more than one field. As a physician, he gained renown at an early age, writing a number of medical works, most of which were republished several times, and even translated. He became, at the end of his life, the doctor of Margaret of France, sister of King Henry II - this is in itself sufficient indication of Grévin's medical talent. In the field of poetry and drama, too, his success was outstanding, although his publications were not numerous. His theatre is today perhaps better appreciated than his poetry, but even in this area Grévin is now beginning to achieve the recognition that he had in his own day and which he so richly deserves. Indeed this investigation has perhaps provided some indication of Grévin's merits as a poet. In particular the study of Grévin's French sources has demonstrated Grévin's originality. His imitation of Ronsard in particular, and also, on occasion, of the other poets of the Pléiade, is sometimes servile (one might note, for example, his imitation of Ronsard in the *HYMNE A MONSEIGNEUR LE DAUPHIN*, which, in places, amounts almost to plagiarism,¹ or that of Baïf's sonnet to Francine in one of the sonnets of the *Olimpe II*²). More often, however, Grévin's imitation

contains an element of originality which either transforms or extends the meaning of his source (a good example would be his imitation of Belleau in one of the sonnets of the Olimpe I, where Belleau's idea of love being a blacksmith is extended, and transformed into a very much more visual image³).

Particularly interesting in view of the opinion expressed by several critics that Grévin's poetry lacks humour, is the frequent demonstration of Grévin's sense of humour. This element is evident throughout much of Grévin's work, and in particular in such satirical compositions as LE MEDECIN COURTIZAN, imitating Du Bellay's Poete Courtisan, and certain sonnets of the Gelodacrye of 1560 and 1561. One particularly good example of Grévin's humour may, however, be found in the love sonnets of the Olimpe, where Grévin imitates Du Bellay's sonnet VIII of the Antiquitez. In this sonnet, Du Bellay had stated that Rome had conquered the earth through arms and then, through virtue, the heavens. Grévin repeats these two ideas, and then adds a third. Finding nothing left to conquer in heaven or on earth, the descendants of the Romans 'sont faicts heritiers du profond des enfers'. One may perhaps even say that Grévin has here - no mean feat - improved on Du Bellay's sonnet.⁴ Certainly evidence of Grévin's poetic excellence may be found throughout this study of his poetry.

One may also conclude from a study of Grévin's life that this poet was a man of assertive character, and indeed of an argumentative frame of mind. We know of four serious quarrels that he had with his contemporaries - both friends and rivals. The first was with a certain Jean le Bon, the second with

Ronsard, over the TEMPLE DE RONSARD, the third with Loys de Launay, a doctor from La Rochelle, and the fourth with Jacques Charpentier, whom he had deeply admired, and to whom he had earlier dedicated some of his poetry. That Grévin became involved in these quarrels perhaps demonstrates his sense of conviction and self assurance, particularly in his willingness to take on the best known poet - Ronsard - and one of the most reputed doctors of his day - Jacques Charpentier. Indeed, this self assurance might even be called temerity. His willingness to quarrel with Ronsard and with Charpentier may also demonstrate a lack of self interest, and perhaps even suggest a certain foolhardiness on Grévin's part, for these two men were influential. Indeed, it was as a result of his quarrel with Charpentier that Grévin lost the title of 'docteur-régent' of the Paris Faculté de Medecine.⁵

Grévin's religious views, too, perhaps shed some light on his character. It appears that he was one of those who, feeling that he could not support unequivocally either of the religious factions which were struggling for supremacy through violent means, abstained from either side, becoming a 'neutral'. This attitude and indeed much of his poetry suggest that, despite his obvious willingness to enter into verbal quarrels, Grévin was fundamentally a man of peace, hating the barbarity and cruelty of war.

Another characteristic demonstrated by this study of Grévin's life is the poet's loyalty, for when Jodelle, a close friend of his, was disgraced over a failed theatrical performance which he had put on for the king, Grévin

continued to support him, including his poetry in his publications.⁶ Moreover, it seems likely that Grévin's quarrel with Jean le Bon was occasioned by the latter's attack on Jodelle⁷ - another example of the strength of Grévin's friendship.

Finally, it is worth noting that Grévin, although he spent the last few years of his life abroad, travelling from England to Belgium, and then to Turin, loved his native land deeply. The Adieu à la France, one of the last pieces of his poetry that we possess today, and written shortly before his death, provides a moving piece of evidence of this.⁸

In conclusion, one may say, therefore, that Grévin appears to us today as an acutely intelligent man, typical of the Renaissance in his wide-ranging knowledge and sphere of interests: indeed, there is no doubt that he fulfils Ronsard's stipulation for a good poet, made in the preface to his Franciade:

tantost il est Philosophe, tantost Medecin, Arboriste,
Anatomiste, & Jurisconsulte, se servant de l'opinion
de toutes sectes, selon que son argument le demande. 9

He appears also as a man of strong will, positive opinions, and usually a staunch friend, especially in adversity. He is moreover revealed as a patriot, deeply disheartened by the violence then ravaging France, and saddened at having to become an exile.

There is still much scope for research on Grévin. What is most lacking today is a complete annotated edition of Grévin's works. An important preliminary to such an edition must be an accurate historical appraisal of Grévin's place in literary

history, and it is hoped that the present research may have contributed to this.

FOOTNOTES

Introduction

References in the footnotes to 'Pinvert' will be to J.Grévin, Théâtre complet et poésies choisies, ed. L.Pinvert, Paris, 1922.

¹César, ed. E.Ginsberg, Geneva, 1971, and also César, ed. J.Foster, Paris, 1974.

²La Trésorière, Les Esbahis, comédies, ed. E.Lapeyre, Paris, 1980.

³Pinvert, p. 241-348.

⁴Jacques Grévin (1538-1570), étude biographique et littéraire, Paris, 1899.

⁵N.Eloy, Dictionnaire historique de la médecine, Liège and Frankfurt, 1755, t. I, p. 424. This episode of Grévin's life will be examined in more detail in the present thesis, p. 90-93.

⁶Geneva, 1965.

⁷C.Binet, La vie de P. de Ronsard (1586), ed. P.Laumonier, Paris, 1910, p. 43-44.

⁸Texte présenté par L.Terreux, Paris, 1972; book I, ch. viii, p. 38. See also J. Du Bellay, L'Olive, texte établi par E.Caldarini, Geneva, 1974, p. 169.

⁹J. du Bellay, La Deffence et Illustration, ed. cit., book II, ch. ii, p. 68, and P. de Ronsard, Œuvres complètes, ed. P.Laumonier, révisée et complétée par I.Silver et R. Lebègue, Paris, 1914-1975, t. I, p. 44. All references in this thesis to works by Ronsard are, unless otherwise stated, to this edition.

¹⁰Ed. A.Boulangier, Paris, 1930, book I, ch. v, p. 95.

¹¹Op. cit., p. 96.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ed. cit., book I, ch. vii, p. 36-37.

¹⁴L'Olive, ed. cit., p. 49-50.

¹⁵Op. cit., p. 50-51.

¹⁶Ronsard, t. V, p. 196-197.

¹⁷J.-A. de Baif, Œuvres en Rime, ed. C.Marty-Laveaux, Paris, 1883, t. I, p. 79-80. All references in this thesis to works by Baif are, unless otherwise stated, to this edition.

¹⁸Amourette I, in LE THEATRE, p. 255-258.

¹⁹This theme of the fragility of a rose has many classical antecedents - see W.B.Cornelia, The classical sources of the nature references in Ronsard's poetry, New York, 1934, p. 47-52, and Ronsard, Sonnets pour Helene, publiés par M.Smith, Geneva, 1970; p. 100, note to l. 4.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter 1: A Biography

¹Jacques Grévin, 1899, p. 19-81.

²Grévin, La Trésorière, Les Esbahis, ed. Lapeyre, 1980, p. ix-xiii.

³These articles, and the works to which they refer, will be discussed in chronological order in the present chapter.

⁴Grévin, La Trésorière, Les Esbahis, ed. Lapeyre, p. xi.

⁵p. 421-434.

⁶Description du Beauvoisis, in LES REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTICHE, p. 25.

⁷p. 9, l. 11-12.

⁸In G. de la Croix du Maine, Bibliothèques françoises, nouvelle édition, Paris, 1772, t. I, p. 417.

⁹Dictionnaire historique et bibliographique, Paris, 1822; under 'Grévin'.

¹⁰In Vie des poètes français, B.N. Manuscrits, fonds français, nouvelles acquisitions, no. 3074, p. 336-346.

¹¹Memoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la republique des lettres, Paris, 1727-1745, t. XXVI, p. 339.

¹²Bibliothèque françoise, ou histoire de la littérature françoise, Paris, 1740-1745, t. XII, p. 152.

¹³Jugemens des savans sur les principaux ouvrages des auteurs, Paris, 1722-1730, t. VI, p. 78.

¹⁴p. 22.

¹⁵In LE THEATRE; reproduced in Pinvert, op. cit., and also in Grévin, Théâtre complet et poésies choisies, ed. Pinvert, Paris, 1922.

¹⁶The Chevalier de Mouhy mentions a portrait of Grévin in his Tablettes dramatiques, contenant l'Abrégé de l'histoire du théâtre françois, Paris, 1752 (Tableau des Auteurs, p. 15), writing:

Son portrait a été gravé en 1551 où il est représenté à l'âge de 21 ans.

If Mouhy is referring to the frontispiece of LE THEATRE, he has transcribed both figures incorrectly, writing 1551 instead of 1561 and 21 instead of 23. If he is referring to some other portrait, no longer known, he must still have made some error, for it would have been impossible for Grévin to have been 21 in 1551. Mouhy repeats this same mistake in his later work (Abrégé de l'histoire du théâtre françois, Paris, 1780, t. II, p. 185).

¹⁷Jacques Grévin, p. 22 (G. de Beauchamps, in his Recherches sur les Theatres de France, Paris, 1735, t. I, p. 416, had already come to this conclusion).

¹⁸Grévin, ed. Lapeyre, p. ix, note 2.

¹⁹'Vie de Jacques Grévin', p. 336.

²⁰ Jacques Grévin, p. 27. This information may be found in the Commentaires manuscrits de la Faculté de Medecine de Paris, t. VII, fol. 42.

²¹ L'Ancienne Faculté de Medecine de Paris, Paris, 1877, p. 35-36.

²² L'OLIMPE, p. 32, and Pinvert, p. 264.

²³ LE THEATRE, p. 238, and Pinvert, p. 309.

²⁴ LE THEATRE, p. 237, and Pinvert, p. 309.

²⁵ LE THEATRE, p. 295, and Pinvert, p. 335. Other examples are La Description du Beauvoisis, in LES REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE, A la fontaine du Pied-de-Mont, Ode X, in L'OLIMPE, p. 180, l. 1-4, L'OLIMPE, p. 18, and Pinvert, p. 256, and also L'OLIMPE, p. 50, and Pinvert, p. 278.

²⁶ RESPONSE AUX CALOMNIES, p. 11, l. 16.

²⁷ LE THEATRE, p. 224, and Pinvert, p. 298.

²⁸ p. 11, l. 17-18.

²⁹ LE THEATRE, p. 303, and Pinvert, p. 343.

³⁰ p. 12. More will be said about this hitherto unknown pamphlet further in this chapter.

³¹ In LES REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE, p. 38-41. Also reprinted in L'OLIMPE, p. 151-155.

³² LES REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE, p. 39, and L'OLIMPE, p. 153.

³³ Ode à Jaques Grévin son oncle, in LES REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE, p. 35-37, and L'OLIMPE, p. 149-151.

³⁴ RESPONSE AUX CALOMNIES, p. 11, l. 19-20. The author of the pamphlet Ad J.Grovellum [...] admonitio suggests that Pierre de Prong may, in fact, have been Grévin's real father. The lines:

Avunculum scilicet tibi fuisse (quem alii patrem
nominant) missarum mundiatiorem

(p. 14), coupled with those of one of the poems accompanying this pamphlet: 'Si pour estre sorty de la couche d'un prestre [...]' (Au Poete Olympique, in op. cit., p. 10, l. 6) and the fact that Pierre de Prong was a priest, suggest that Grévin was the son of Pierre de Prong. However, it is practically impossible to verify or disprove such a statement, and since Guymara was an enemy of Grévin, there seems no reason to accept this accusation.

³⁵ Pour le Tombeau de M. Pierre de Prong son Oncle, Ode VI, in L'OLIMPE, p. 157, l. 21-27.

³⁶ C.D.Goujet, Bibliothèque française, t. XII, p. 153.

³⁷ Jacques Grévin, p. 35.

³⁸ RESPONSE AUX CALOMNIES, p. 11, l. 24.

³⁹ For a more detailed discussion, see my chapter on Grévin's religious opinions, p. 118-119.

⁴⁰In 1560, Grévin 'probavit quatuor annos sui studii' (Commentaires manuscrits de la Faculté de Médecine, t. VII, fol. 42). Thus we may be sure that Grévin had left college for the University of Paris by 1556. Since we know that he spent five years at college (LE THEATRE, p. 295, and Pinvert, p. 335), we may be sure that he went to college in 1550 or 1551, certainly not later than 1551.

⁴¹Pinvert, op. cit., p. 294. The main text from which he draws this conclusion may be found in the preface, A Madame Magdaleine de Suze, Dame de Warty, Jaques Grévin son humble serviteur, Salut & prospérité, in LES REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE.

⁴²Jacques Grévin, p. 23.

⁴³P. ix, note 3.

⁴⁴In LE THEATRE.

⁴⁵Marc-Antoine Muret, Paris, 1881, p. 13 and 19. See also H. Chamard, 'Le collège de Boncourt et les origines du théâtre classique', Mélanges offerts à M. Abel Lefranc, Paris, 1936, p. 249.

⁴⁶'Vie de Muret', Vie des poètes français, p. 366.

⁴⁷Le grand dictionnaire historique, Paris, 1688-1689, under 'Muret'.

⁴⁸Anti-Baillet, La Haye, 1690, t. I, p. 328.

⁴⁹Marcel Raymond, in his work L'Influence de Ronsard, Geneva, 1965, t. I, p. 286, perhaps states this with more certainty than is warranted.

⁵⁰'George Buchanan and France', Studies in French Literature presented to H.W. Lawton by his colleagues, pupils and friends, Manchester, 1968, p. 231.

⁵¹Georgius Buchananus Scotus in Jacobi Grevini Cæsarem Tragœdiam, in LE THEATRE.

⁵²LE THEATRE, p. 295, and Pinvert, p. 335.

⁵³LE THEATRE, p. 287, l. 10-19.

⁵⁴Jacques Grévin, p. 24.

⁵⁵Pinvert, p. vii.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷P.-A. Capitaine, Un grand médecin du XVIIe siècle, Jean Fernel, Paris, 1925, p. 15.

⁵⁸Op. cit., p. 13.

⁵⁹This document may be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. G.Y.3. It is surprising that Lapeyre, in her bibliography of Grévin's works, does not mention this ode.

⁶⁰Pinvert, op. cit., p. 247-250.

⁶¹Rouen, 1558, mentioned in A. Cioranescu, Bibliographie de la littérature française du seizième siècle, Paris, 1959, p. 350, no. 10984.

⁶²LE THEATRE, p. 47.

⁶³Ibid. 1558 old style, and therefore 1559 new style. Both Bourciez (Les moeurs polies et la littérature de cour sous Henri II, Paris, 1886, p. 292-293) and E. Viollet-le-Duc (Ancien théâtre françois, Paris, 1854-1856, t. IV, p. 225) have confused La Tresoriere and Les Esbahis. Viollet-le-Duc writes, in his preface to Les Esbahis:

Les Esbahis furent représentés au college de Beauvais, le 16 fevrier 1560, en présence de la cour et de la jeune duchesse de Lorraine, pour les noces de laquelle cette pièce fut composée par ordre de Henry II.

Bourciez copies him, using exactly the same words.

⁶⁴T. I, p. 141.

⁶⁵See, for instance, L. Pinvert, op. cit., p. 44, and E. Faguet, La Tragédie française, p. 90, note.

⁶⁶For instance, E. Rigal (Le theatre français avant la période classique, Paris, 1901, p. 116). Pinvert himself, in his later publication of Grévin's theatre, admits that this work is unreliable (Pinvert, p. ix, note 3, end). There are, in fact, several examples of other mistakes made by the Chevalier de Mouhy about Grévin (see pages 49 and 62 of the present thesis).

⁶⁷A Madame, Madame Magdaleine de Suze, Dame de Warty, Jaques Grévin son humble serviteur, Salut & prosperité, in LES REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE.

⁶⁸See my p. 41.

⁶⁹A Monseigneur Philippes de Warty, Sonnetz III, in LES REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE, p. 30, l. 7-9.

⁷⁰LES REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE, p. 31-34.

⁷¹P. 35-37.

⁷²P. 38-41.

⁷³P. 29-30.

⁷⁴Paris, 1898, p. 19.

⁷⁵P. 1 v^o.

⁷⁶P. 32, and Pinvert, p. 264.

⁷⁷'Une version retrouvée de Jacques Grévin: les Conjugalia praecepta de Plutarque de Chéronée', Hommage à Marie Delcourt, Brussels, 1970, p. 352.

⁷⁸Jacques Grévin au Lecteur Salut, in LES PRECEPTES DE PLUTARQUE, p. 293, l. 60-61. All references to these precepts will, unless otherwise indicated, be to the edition at the end of the present thesis.

⁷⁹S. Guichenon, Histoire généalogique de la royale maison de Savoye, Turin, 1778, t. II, p. 249.

⁸⁰Jacques Grévin, p. 26-27.

⁸¹In L. Terreaux, Culture et pouvoir au temps de la Renaissance, Paris, 1978, p. 180, note 65.

⁸²T. I, p. 159.

⁸³LE THEATRE, p. 47, and p. 113.

⁸⁴Au Lecteur, in LE THEATRE, p. 44.

⁸⁵Paris, Guillaume Barbé, 1559, The title is followed by the lines:

Vis Dorbune brevi Medicinam discere cursu?

Haec Dorbune tibi pagina monstrat iter.

The work is reprinted in A. Courde de Montaiglon and J. de Rothschild, Recueil de poésies françoises des XVe et XVIIe siècles, Paris, 1875, t. X, p. 96-109.

⁸⁶La nouvelle maniere de faire son profit des lettres. Ensemble le poëte courtisan, Poitiers, 1559, reprinted in Du Bellay, Œuvres poétiques, édition critique publiée par H. Chamard, Paris, 1931, t. VI, p. 129-139. All references in this thesis to works by Du Bellay are, unless otherwise stated, to this edition.

⁸⁷A. de Montaiglon and J. de Rothschild, op. cit., t. X, p. 97.

⁸⁸'Jacques Grévin et le Medecin Courtizan', B.H.R., 1974, XXXVI, p. 108.

⁸⁹Op. cit., p. 109.

⁹⁰This possibility acquires even more weight if one considers two of the poems published in LE THEATRE - a work published by Sertenas and Barbé together. These two poems, the penultimate A Robert Estienne, Ode (p. 313-315) and the last poem of the collection, a sonnet called En faveur de l'Olive (p. 316) - the olive being the olive branch, the typographic emblem of the Estienne family - were both addressed to Robert Estienne. It is because we find these poems in a collection of poetry published by Sertenas and Barbé that we may be sure that Grévin did not change his printer as the result of some disagreement with the Estienne family, and that we may then assume that it was with the full approval of his friend Estienne that he turned to the printer Guillaume Barbé.

⁹¹A. de Montaiglon and J. de Rothschild, op. cit., t. X, p. 96-97.

⁹²L'OLIMPE, p. 40, l. 14, and Pinvert, p. 270, l. 24.

⁹³L'OLIMPE, p. 69, l. 5-7, and Pinvert, p. 292, l. 19-21.

⁹⁴Jeux Olympiques, in L'OLIMPE, p. 81.

⁹⁵Bibliothèques françoises, Paris, 1772, under 'Nicole Estienne'.

⁹⁶Reprinted in A. Fournier, Variétés historiques et littéraires, Paris, 1855-1863, t. III, p. 321-331.

⁹⁷L'OLIMPE, p. 32, l. 18, and Pinvert, p. 264, l. 18.

⁹⁸L'OLIMPE, p. 42, l. 23, and Pinvert, p. 273, l. 9.

⁹⁹LE THEATRE, p. 238, l. 12-14, and Pinvert, p. 309, l. 26-28. Raymond Lebègue, in La Tragédie française de la Renaissance, states that, with Muret, Ronsard and 'la brigade', Grévin acted in a play staged in Paris on 10th March 1559 (p. 37), although, since Lebègue does not give a source, it is impossible to know how much credence to lend to this statement.

¹⁰⁰Pinvert, p. xii, note 1.

¹⁰¹Pour le Tombeau de Joachim du Bellay, à Charles Utenhove Gantois, Ode XI, in L'OLIMPE, p. 186-191. This poem was reprinted in the 1568 and 1597 editions of Du Bellay's complete works.

¹⁰²p. 77-90.

¹⁰³p. 113-191.

¹⁰⁴p. 135-145.

¹⁰⁵p. 192-213.

¹⁰⁶p. 114, l. 8.

¹⁰⁷p. 114, l. 17-20.

¹⁰⁸Pour le Tombeau de Joachim du Bellay, à Charles Utenhove Gantois, Ode XI, in L'OLIMPE, p. 186-191.

¹⁰⁹Épitaphe de Joachim du Bellay, in LE THEATRE, p. 310-311 and Du Mesme, du Latin de R. de la Haye, Conseiller du Roy, p. 311-312.

¹¹⁰p. 112, and Pinvert, p. 331.

¹¹¹T. VII, fol. 42. This work is a very precious source of information for Grévin's progress in the field of medicine. Corlieu praises these records, saying that they are: d'incomparables annales, écrites de la main de cent quatre-vingt-quatorze doyens qui se sont succédés à la tête de la compagnie et qui y ont relaté tous les actes importants de leur administration. (l'Ancienne Faculté de Medecine de Paris, p. 155).

¹¹²T. VII, fol. 47 v^o, 48, and 48 v^o.

¹¹³The date of the Amboise conspiracy.

¹¹⁴The date of arrest of Martin l'Homme.

¹¹⁵The reasons for naming François Hotman as the author are convincing. The first is that Baudouin, the author of a contemporary Responsia altera ad J. Calvinum (Paris, Morel, 1562, p. 148) names him (see R. Dareste, Essai sur François Hotman, Paris, 1850, p. 45). A second reason is that it would seem that, at the beginning of 1562, the Duke of Guise went to Saverne, intending to prosecute Hotman for having written defamatory libels against him (Dareste, op. cit., p. 45, note 3). It seems likely that the Duke of Guise was acting against the violent EPISTRE AU TIGRE. More definitive proof may be found in two contemporary references, noted by

Daresté in his article ('François Hotman et la Conjuration d'Amboise. Deux lettres inédites de Jean Sturm', Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, 3rd Series, t. V, p. 361). Here Daresté prints two letters by Jean Sturm, founder of the Academy of Strasbourg, who had known François Hotman from 1555, when he had accepted him into his academy as a teacher of law. In these letters Jean Sturm accuses François Hotman of having written the EPISTRE AU TIGRE.

¹¹⁶Jacques Grévin, p. 38-39.

¹¹⁷It is not possible to state with certainty that the PRECEPTES DE PLUTARQUE were printed by Martin l'Homme. The only copy of this work known to scholars today was published in Rouen, by a certain Jean Chollim, but it is possible that the original edition was published by Martin l'Homme, and that this Rouen edition, as R. Aulotte suggests ('Une version retrouvée de Jacques Grévin', p. 352) is a later one. Grudé de la Croix du Maine names Martin l'Homme as the original publisher (Bibliothèques françaises, t. I, p. 416).

¹¹⁸T. III, p. 512.

¹¹⁹'Quelques mots sur le Tigre', in B.B., 1843, p. 52.

¹²⁰Op. cit., p. 53.

¹²¹Histoire de l'estat de France, tant de la république que de la religion, sous le règne de François II, publiée par E. Mennechet, Paris, 1836, t. I, p. 274.

¹²²L. 10-11, and Pinvert, op. cit., p. 351.

¹²³L. 19-20, and Pinvert, op. cit., p. 352.

¹²⁴Grévin had, it is true, in L'OLIMPE, already published a sonnet in which he stated that he was intending to leave Paris because he had no wish to see all the troubles his country was suffering. The relevant lines read:

Adieu, PARIS, adieu; [...]

J'aime mieux m'absenter, que voir devant mes yeux

Tomber dessus ton chef la tempeste des Cieux.

(p. 97, l. 1 and l. 9-10 - Pinvert has overlooked this sonnet). It is possible to infer from these lines that Grévin had already decided, before the publication of the EPISTRE AU TIGRE, that he would go abroad; if this is the case, then his departure was probably not forced, and possibly not due in any way to the EPISTRE AU TIGRE.

¹²⁵LE THEATRE, p. 289, l. 6-17.

¹²⁶Cotgrave, op. cit., under 'cafard'.

¹²⁷LE THEATRE, p. 288.

¹²⁸LE THEATRE, p. 298, and Pinvert, p. 339.

¹²⁹Ed. Read, p. 68-69, l. 46-48.

¹³⁰Op. cit., p. 75, l. 223-224.

¹³¹Op. cit., p. 75, l. 245-248.

¹³²Op. cit., p. 78, l. 329.

- 133 See the present thesis, p. 122-124.
- 134 LE CHANT DU CIGNE: reprinted in Pinvert, op. cit., p. 351-357. On the cover of the original text are the words: 'Vers du poete Grévin à la Royne d'Angleterre'.
- 135 Pinvert, op. cit., p. 357, l. 229-232.
- 136 Op. cit., p. 357, l. 226.
- 137 LE THEATRE, p. 113.
- 138 T. I, p. 145-146.
- 139 P. 113.
- 140 Paris, 1756, article 'César (la Mort de)'.
- 141 T.III, p. 320-325.
- 142 Jacques Grévin, 1899, p. 44.
- 143 LE THEATRE, p. 163, l. 15-18.
- 144 See the present thesis, p. 45, note 66.
- 145 Bienaimé is thus exaggerating when, mentioning Grévin's departure in 1560, she writes:
Verso la fine des 1560, poco più che ventenne, è costretto a un esilio quasi continuato in Inghilterra, in Fiandra, in Olanda e infine in Italia (Grévin poeta satirico, Pisa, 1967, p. 10). Grévin returned to France at the latest before 14th June 1561, the date of his medical examination (Commentaires manuscrits de la Faculté de Medecine, t. VII, fol. 58 v^o) and there is no reason to believe that he left again before 1567 - and only then, as far as we know, did he visit Flanders, Holland and Italy.
- 146 T. VII, fol. 58 v^o, 70 v^o, and 74.
- 147 Pinvert, p. xviii.
- 148 The Bibliothèque du theatre françois (t. I, p. 145) mentions a 1560 edition, but since the privilege of this work is dated 1561, and since Grévin mentions that the plays Les Esbahis and Cesar were printed in 1561 (LE THEATRE, p. 113), this is probably a mistake. Moreover, this same Bibliothèque du theatre françois refers to 'un volume intitulé L'Olimpe', Paris, 1561, and states that LE THEATRE follows this love poetry; it seems likely, therefore, that these two dates were accidentally turned round: 1561 for 1560 and 1560 for 1561. A. Renouard (Annales de l'imprimerie des Estienne, Paris, 1837, p. 160) also notes that LE THEATRE was published in 1560. This, too, is presumably an error.
- 149 Pinvert, op. cit., p. 46.
- 150 A Monsieur de Poix Medecin de Madame de Lorraine, in LE THEATRE, p. 292, l. 8-9.
- 151 Op. cit., p. 292, l. 11.
- 152 A Madame Claude de France Duchesse de Lorraine, in LE THEATRE.

¹⁵³For details concerning Grévin's ideas on theatre, as expounded by this preface, see B. Weinberg, 'The sources of Grévin's ideas on comedy and tragedy', Modern Philology, August 1947, XLV, p. 46-53.

¹⁵⁴Le Second livre de la Gelodacrye, in LE THEATRE, p. 283-316.

¹⁵⁵Le Second de L'Olimpe, in LE THEATRE, p. 223-266.

¹⁵⁶LE THEATRE, p. 310-312.

¹⁵⁷Ellen S. Ginsberg has pointed out the differences between the various 1561 and 1562 editions of this work, although none of these amount to more than corrections (Ginsberg, p. 73-78).

¹⁵⁸Cesar tragedie par Jaques Grévin de Cler-mont en Beauvaisis, Paris, Bonfons, 1578.

¹⁵⁹Rouen, Raphaël du Petit Val, 1606.

¹⁶⁰Les Esbahis, Avant-Jeu, in LE THEATRE, p. 114, and Pinvert, p. 116.

¹⁶¹LE THEATRE, p. 44, and Pinvert, p. 50.

¹⁶²Pinvert, p. 353, note 19.

¹⁶³LE THEATRE, p. 47. Lapeyre has suggested that the 'empeschemens' of which Grévin speaks in introducing this play, and which prevented the play from being staged, may have been: 'l'accident dont fut victime le roi et qui entraîna sa mort' (p. 2, note 1). The date of the staging of the play, however, proves that it would have been impossible for the king's death to have caused the delay. For the play was written, as Grévin tells us (LE THEATRE, p. 47), for the marriage of Claude of France, which took place on 22nd January 1559, and, being delayed, was finally staged on 5th February 1559. Henry II was not wounded until 29th June of the same year (De Thou, Histoire Universelle, London, 1734, t. III, p. 367).

¹⁶⁴Before Pinvert, the Parfaict brothers had, in the Histoire du Theatre français, already written that:

La Trésorier ressemble si fort à La Maubertine que Grévin annonce comme une pièce dérobée, que nous sommes tentés de croire que c'est la même, sous deux Titres. (t. III, p. 310). Since no text of the play La Maubertine can be found, and since Grévin tells us that this play was lost before 1561, it is difficult to understand how the Parfaict brothers can assume that La Trésorier closely resembles La Maubertine. They must base their opinion solely on the fact that one of the principal characters comes from the Place Maubert. The author of the Bibliothèque du theatre françois (t. I, p. 149) and M. Maloigne (Jacques Grévin, Laval, 1926, p. 26) also feel that these are the same play. On the other hand, the Chevalier de Mouhy (Abrégé, t. I, p. 307), the author of the Dictionnaire Dramatique (t. III, p. 556), Grudé de la Croix du Maine (Bibliothèques françoises, t. I, p. 417) and Goujet (Bibliothèque françoise, t. XII, p. 161) believe they are different plays.

- ¹⁶⁵LE THEATRE, p. 113-116, and Pinvert, p. 115-117.
- ¹⁶⁶Les Esbahis, Avant-Jeu, in LE THEATRE, p. 114, and Pinvert, p. 116.
- ¹⁶⁷Bibliothèque française, t. XII, p. 161.
- ¹⁶⁸LE THEATRE, p. 44, and Pinvert, p. 50.
- ¹⁶⁹'Un ouvrage inconnu de Jacques Grévin (1561)', Bulletin du Bibliophile et du Bibliothécaire, 1931, X, p. 100-105.
- ¹⁷⁰For some brief details on his life, see op. cit., p. 102, note 2.
- ¹⁷¹Op. cit., p. 102.
- ¹⁷²These poems will be discussed later in the present chapter, in chronological order.
- ¹⁷³T. VII, fol. 81 v^o, 84 and 86.
- ¹⁷⁴Op. cit., t. VII, fol. 87 v^o, 101, 122 v^o, and 149 v^o.
- ¹⁷⁵For a summary of his religious writings before 1560, see Ronsard, Discours des miseres de ce temps, publiés par M.C.Smith, Geneva, 1979, p.17, note 1, or M.C.Smith, Political and religious controversy in the work of Ronsard, Ph.D, University College, London, 1967, chapter 1.
- ¹⁷⁶Ronsard, Discours, ed. Smith, p. 14; see also p. 67, note to l. 107-114, and p. 74, note to l. 215-216.
- ¹⁷⁷Op. cit., p. 14.
- ¹⁷⁸'Pamphlets protestants contre Ronsard (1560-1577)', Revue des Bibliothèques, 1922, XXXII, p. 201-233 and 351-388.
- ¹⁷⁹One may find a number of examples of this in Pineaux's footnotes, La polémique protestante contre Ronsard, t. II, p. 305-315.
- ¹⁸⁰F. Charbonnier, La poésie française et les guerres de religion, Paris, 1919, p. 95. There are two main reasons for this attribution. First, Colletet states that it is the work of this humanist. Secondly, the case is supported by a notice inserted by a sixteenth century hand in a copy of the Seconde Response: 'Florent Chrestien, seigneur de la Baronie, qui appartient encore aujourd'huy à M.Chrestien son fils, comme il m'a conté' (B.N. Rés. Ye. 1908-1914, sixth piece, fol. 1; see Charbonnier, op. cit., p. 96).
- ¹⁸¹In J. Pineaux, La polémique protestante contre Ronsard, Paris, 1973, t. II, p. 460-502.
- ¹⁸²In the title of Chrestien's preliminary epistle in the SECOND DISCOURS.
- ¹⁸³Florentis Christiani Aurelii ode in Jacobum Grevinum Clarmontanum Bellovacum, in LE THEATRE, p. 221, l. 25-28.
- ¹⁸⁴Although not perhaps to the extent Pinvert suggests when he says:
L'amitié de Florent Chrestien fit de lui [Grévin] un homme de parti, et il rompit avec son maître [Ronsard]

sans retour
(op. cit., p. 49).

¹⁸⁵La poésie française, p. 63-66.

¹⁸⁶Op. cit., p. 31.

¹⁸⁷La polémique protestante contre Ronsard, t. II, p. 302.

¹⁸⁸P. 302-304.

¹⁸⁹L. 1375-1382 and 1395-1404, in Pineaux, op. cit., t. II, p. 394-395.

¹⁹⁰For proof, see Charbonnier, La poésie française, p. 95. Pineaux himself does not dispute this fact (La polémique protestante contre Ronsard, t. II, p. 304).

¹⁹¹In Ronsard, Discours, ed. Smith, p. 180, l. 511.

¹⁹²Pineaux, La polémique protestante contre Ronsard, t. II, p. 395, l. 1404.

¹⁹³R. Cotgrave, op. cit., under 'Legendier', and E. Littré, Dictionnaire de la langue française, Paris, 1956, under 'Legende'.

¹⁹⁴Referring to these pamphlets, and to Ronsard and Chrestien, Grudé de la Croix du Maine writes: 'J'entends qu'ils sont aujourd'hui bons amis, c'est pourquoy je passe cela sous silence' (Bibliothèques françaises, t. I, p. 198); see also M. Raymond, L'Influence de Ronsard, t. I, p. 364, note 3.

¹⁹⁵M.C. Smith, 'A 'lost' political pamphlet against Ronsard', B.H.R., XXXVII, 1975, p. 74-75 says that Pineaux's attributions are 'highly speculative'.

¹⁹⁶Ed. Laumonier, p. 43.

¹⁹⁷In Pinvert, op. cit., p. 398-401.

¹⁹⁸Binet, Vie de Ronsard, ed. Laumonier, p. 218. Colletet, too, had no doubts that Grévin helped write the TEMPLE DE RONSARD. In his life of Jacques Grévin, he writes:

Pleust aux Muses qu'il aimoit tant qu'il se fust tousjours contenté de les aymer et de les suyvre pour sa propre gloire et qu'il n'eust pas quelquefois employé leurs plus chères faveurs à ternir la gloire de celui qui estoit le plus grand et le plus illustre de leurs favoris, je veux dire que pour plaire à quelques doctes envieux de Ronsard il ne leur eust pas aydé à bastir contre luy ce fameux temple de calomnie.

(Vie des poètes français, p. 337)

¹⁹⁹L. 1-10, in Pineaux, La polémique protestante contre Ronsard, t. II, p. 305.

²⁰⁰LE THEATRE, p. 308, l. 1-14, and Pinvert, p. 348, l. 15-28. See also Raymond, L'Influence de Ronsard, t. I, p. 305.

²⁰¹Paris, 1563, in Ronsard, Discours, ed. Smith, p. 217-235. This Epistre au Lecteur had a number of successive editions. The first was in the Trois Livres du Recueil des

Nouvelles Poésies in 1563 (op. cit., p. 217, note to l. 1. See also M.C.Smith, 'The first edition of Ronsard's Recueil des Nouvelles Poésies', B.H.R., 1974, p. 613-620, in which M.C.Smith discloses his discovery of this first edition and indicates its importance). This recently discovered initial version varies from the later text in several places, and it is particularly important to distinguish between them in a study of Jacques Grévin, as it is precisely in the reference to this young poet that many of these alterations occur. The first edition of 1563 makes no mention of Jacques Grévin. Florent Chrestien alone is attacked. The ensuing editions, however, the first of which appeared very shortly after the original edition, contain the references to Grévin: indeed, it seems likely that Ronsard amended his original epistle solely in order to demonstrate his anger on learning that Grévin had had a hand in a calumny on his life and moral habits. As M.C.Smith says:

the fact that Ronsard took the trouble to revise even a prose tract against the Reformers within a short while of its original appearance, is an indication of the degree of his commitment to this polemic' ('The first edition of Ronsard's Recueil des nouvelles Poésies', p. 615). Indeed, one may assume that the harsher and angrier tone of the additions is directed at Grévin rather than at Florent Chrestien. Since Ronsard already knew that Chrestien had had a hand in these pamphlets, there was no reason for him to become suddenly more annoyed at his involvement. His anger was caused by the fact that Jacques Grévin, a close friend, had suddenly turned against him. One might ask why, on learning of Grévin's involvement in the TEMPLE DE RONSARD, Ronsard did not write a new pamphlet against this man who had been his friend. The answer, contained within the Epistre au Lecteur, is that this had been forbidden by 'l'expres mandement des plus Grands qui ont expressement defendus les libelles' (Ronsard, Discours, ed. Smith, p. 288, l. 281-282, variant reading).

²⁰² Discours, ed. Smith, p. 228, l. 276-277, variant reading.

²⁰³ Op. cit., p. 228, note to l. 276-278.

²⁰⁴ Op. cit., p. 228, l. 281, variant reading.

²⁰⁵ Op. cit., p. 233, l. 403-404, and variant reading.

²⁰⁶ M.C.Smith, 'The hidden meaning of Ronsard's Hymne de l'Hyver', Studies in honor of Isodore Silver, 1975, p. 92. See also Ronsard, t. XII, p. 69, l. 27.

²⁰⁷ Ronsard, t. XVIII, p. 362-363.

²⁰⁸ 'Vie de Jacques Grévin', p. 338.

²⁰⁹ Le poète et son œuvre d'après Ronsard, Paris, 1923, p. 90.

²¹⁰ p. 11-12.

²¹¹ p. 12.

- 212 P. 15, l. 10-20.
- 213 Pineaux, La polémique protestante contre Ronsard, t. II, p. 487-488, l. 487-490.
- 214 In LE THEATRE of 1561.
- 215 See the present thesis, p. 294, l. 9-11.
- 216 P. 15.
- 217 'Vie de Jacques Grévin', p. 336.
- 218 Sonnets 2 and 4, in Pinvert, op. cit., p. 378-380. These sonnets, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, are part of a collection which belonged to Jean de Morvilliers and his nephew Jean de Vulcob (a friend of Grévin) to whom two of these sixteen sonnets are dedicated. There can be no doubt that these sonnets are indeed by Grévin since he names himself in one of them.
- 219 Commentaires manuscrits, t. VII, fol. 172.
- 220 Lachèvre, 'Poésies inédites de Jacques Grévin', p. 286.
- 221 Sonnets 11 and 14, in Pinvert, op. cit., p. 383 and p. 384-385.
- 222 'Poésies inédites de Jacques Grévin', p. 286.
- 223 This Tombeau is reprinted by Lachèvre in his article, op. cit., p. 287-290.
- 224 Epithalame de M. Jaques Charpentier Docteur en Medecine, & de Catharine Charlot, in LE THEATRE, p. 275, l. 4-9.
- 225 B.N. Rp. 8765.
- 226 RESPONSIO AD J. CARPENTARII CALUMNIAS, p. 10.
- 227 Op. cit., p. 10-11.
- 228 Referring to the author of the pamphlet against Charpentier, Guymara mentions Grévin's slogan AUT OLYMPUS AUT NIHIL (Ad J. Grovellum, p. 9). One of the poems accompanying this pamphlet, directed at the author of the libel against Charpentier, mentions Olimpe (op. cit., p. 10, l. 10). The second mentions that the person under attack was both a poet and a doctor. The last two lines, moreover, which read:
Grovel vrayment scait tout: sinon
Qu'il ne peult bien scavoir son nom
(op. cit., p. 10, l. 21-22), allude to the name 'Grovel' or 'Grovellus' with which Grévin was 'christened' by these enemies, a distortion of his true name.
- 229 P. 4.
- 230 Lapeyre, p. xi.
- 231 Jehan Marchant au Lecteur, in RESPONSE AUX CALOMNIES, p. 3-4.
- 232 Op. cit., p. 14, l. 19.
- 233 London, 1545.

²³⁴Pinvert mistakenly gives the date as 1556 instead of 1566 (op. cit., p. 90).

²³⁵L. Degeorge, La maison Plantin à Anvers, Paris, 1886, p. 73.

²³⁶L. de Launay, De la vertu admirable de l'Antimoine, avec response à certaines calomnies, La Rochelle, Barthelemi Berton, 1564.

²³⁷DISCOURS SUR LES VERTUS ET FACULTEZ DE L'ANTIMOINE, p. 6 v^o.

²³⁸Op. cit., p. 4 v^o.

²³⁹Grévin himself tells us this in his SECOND DISCOURS, p. 101.

²⁴⁰A mon treshonoré Seigneur, Monsieur du Mesnil, Advocat pour la Majesté en sa court de Parlement de Paris, in Launay, Response au discours de Maistre Jacques Grévin, La Rochelle, Barthelemi Berton, 1566.

²⁴¹N. Eloy, Dictionnaire historique, t. I, p. 424. This work, written in 1755, is most informative and well presented.

²⁴²In the Preface, for instance, he often states that the knowledge of medicine demands many years experience, implying that Grévin, still quite young, lacked this experience.

²⁴³Launay, Response au Discours, p. 11.

²⁴⁴Op. cit., p. 13 and 43.

²⁴⁵Op. cit., p. 10.

²⁴⁶Op. cit., p. 1.

²⁴⁷Op. cit., p. 10.

²⁴⁸SECOND DISCOURS, p. 2.

²⁴⁹Op. cit., p. 4 v^o.

²⁵⁰Op. cit., p. 8-8 v^o.

²⁵¹Op. cit., p. 5.

²⁵²Op. cit., p. 5 v^o.

²⁵³'Dans l'entourage de Du Bellay', in B.H.R., 1944, IV, p. 175-176.

²⁵⁴p. 32.

²⁵⁵Response au Discours, p. 2.

²⁵⁶'Un livre de la bibliothèque de Ronsard', in Revue du XVII^e siècle, 1921, VIII, p. 133-137.

²⁵⁷Op. cit., p. 135.

²⁵⁸Op. cit., p. 134.

²⁵⁹Bibliothèques françaises, t. I, p. 416.

²⁶⁰Bibliothèques françaises, t. IV, p. 283.

²⁶¹'Vie de Jacques Grévin', p. 342.

- 262 Annales de l'imprimerie des Estienne, p. 164.
- 263 Paris, 1901, p. 83-96.
- 264 In the 1569 edition the date is given as 13th April; it is impossible to decide whether this is a misprint or a correction.
- 265 Epistre à treshaut et trespuissant Prince Monsieur le Duc d'Anjou, in CINQ LIVRES.
- 266 Jacques Grévin, 1899, p. 47.
- 267 A. Tchemezine, Bibliographie d'éditions originales et rares d'auteurs français des XVe, XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles, Paris, 1927-1933, t. VI, p. 19. Chaix, however, in his bibliography of books printed in Geneva (Geneva, 1966) mentions only an edition of 1579.
- 268 'Vie de Jacques Grévin', p. 344.
- 269 'Poésies inédites de Jacques Grévin', p. 290-291.
- 270 The title reads A Federic Jamot, Jaques Grévin medecin.
- 271 Rés. pX. 394.
- 272 All these books are kept in the Plantin-Moretus museum in Antwerp.
- 273 Register III, fol. 31 v^o, mentioned by Pinvert, op. cit., p. 53.
- 274 Register IV, fol. 94 v^o, mentioned by Pinvert, op. cit., p. 53-54.
- 275 Register I, fol. 69, mentioned by Pinvert, op. cit., p. 54.
- 276 Op. cit., p. 54.
- 277 These poems are reproduced in C. Plantin, Les rimes, publiées par M. Rooses, Lisbon, 1890, p. 20-30.
- 278 M. Rooses, Christophe Plantin, imprimeur anversois, Antwerp, 1882, p. 233.
- 279 DIALOGUES FRANÇOIS, p. 177.
- 280 Bibliothèques françaises, t. I, p. 416.
- 281 Memoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres, Paris, 1727-1745, t. XXVI, p. 343.
- 282 Annales Plantiniennes. Première partie. Christophe Plantin, 1555-1589, Brussels, 1865, p. 87.
- 283 Op. cit., p. 76.
- 284 Pinvert, op. cit., p. 9.
- 285 National Union Catalog, N.J. 0198400 C.Sm.H.
- 286 EMBLESME D'ADRIEN LE JEUNE, p. 1.
- 287 A Monsieur de la Forest, in op. cit., p. 4.
- 288 Ed. 1570, p. 3.

- 289 Around the 26th September 1567, the Reformers, led by the Prince de Condé, decided to take up arms and, in the 28th of the same month, the court fled to the fortified castle at Meaux (E. Lavissee, Histoire de la France, Paris, 1904, p 95-96).
- 290 Sonnet 8, l. 7 and l. 9-11, in Pinvert, op. cit., p. 381.
- 291 'Seize sonnets d'Angleterre et de Flandre', p. 421-434.
- 292 Dorez, who discovered these poems, argues that a number of them were written in 1561, during Grévin's first stay in England. Pinvert, however, argues convincingly that most of them were written in or around 1567 (op. cit., p. 372-374).
- 293 Sonnet 13, in Pinvert, op. cit., p. 384.
- 294 Sonnet 7, l. 2, in Pinvert, op. cit., p. 381.
- 295 Réserve 90. The University of California has a microfilm copy of this book: National Union Catalog, N.G. 0511367 Cu.
- 296 Ginsberg, p. 81.
- 297 Op. cit., p. 90, l. 49-57. His debt, in Cesar at least, was very great. For a full comparison, see G.A.O. Collischönn, Jacques Grévin in ihrem Verhältniss zu Muret, Voltaire und Shakespere, Marburg, 1886, p. 3-30.
- 298 Bibliothèques françaises, t. I, p. 416.
- 299 This is found after the index to this work.
- 300 'Vie de Jacques Grévin', p. 336.
- 301 B.N. manuscripts, pièces originales 1407, dossier Grévin, 31, 748.
- 302 Histoire genealogique de la royale maison de Savoie, t. II, p. 281.
- 303 S. Guichenon, Inventaire des titres recueillis par S. Guichenon, Lyons, 1851, fol. 60 v^o, no. 50.
- 304 Ed. M. Rooses, Antwerp, 1883-1918, t. I, p. 121-122 and p. 121 note.
- 305 L. 143, in LE THEATRE.
- 306 T. III, p. 314.
- 307 Pinvert identifies this lady as Marguerite de Launay, the wife or sister of a friend of Grévin, Pierre Boisteau, who held the title of Sieur de Launay (op. cit., p. 260).
- 308 Ode de Damoiselle Marguerite D.L., l. 25-26, in LE THEATRE.
- 309 A treshaute, trespuissante et tresvertueuse Princesse, Madame Elizabet, Royné d'Angleterre, in DEUX LIVRES DE VENINS.
- 310 Histoire Universelle, 1734, t. VI, p. 68.

- 311 Commentaires manuscrits, t. VII, fol. 180.
- 312 In LES PORTRAITS ANATOMIQUES.
- 313 Ibid.
- 314 Part II, p. 3.
- 315 Part II, p. 15-19 and 26-31.
- 316 Part II, p. 26-31.
- 317 Part II, p. 26-27.
- 318 Part II, p. 26.
- 319 A M. Philippes Musnier Evesque de Philadelphie Elegie I, in L'OLIMPE, p. 114, l. 27-30.
- 320 Sonnet 3, l. 8-9, in Pinvert, op. cit., p. 359.
- 321 'Vingt-quatre sonnets inédits de Grévin sur Rome, publiés d'après un manuscrit de Lestoile', Variétés Bibliographiques, Paris, 1863, p. 46.
- 322 LE THEATRE, p. 298, and Pinvert, p. 338.
- 323 Sonnet 14, in Pinvert, op. cit., p. 369-370.
- 324 'Vie de Jacques Grévin', p. 336.
- 325 Ibid.
- 326 Histoire Universelle, t. VI, p. 68.
- 327 'Vie de Jacques Grévin', p. 345.
- 328 For instance, Nicéron, op. cit., t. XXVI, p. 340, and Goujet, Bibliothèque française, t. XII, p. 158.
- 329 L. Dorez, La Mort de Jacques Grévin, Vendome, 1899.
- 330 See, for instance, the DISCOURS DE L'ANTIMOINE, p. 12 v^o, and L'OLIMPE, p. 69, l. 14, and Pinvert, p. 292, l. 28.
- 331 'Vie de Jacques Grévin', p. 336.
- 332 L. Dorez, La Mort de Jacques Grévin, p. 2.
- 333 J. de la Peruse, Œuvres, avec quelques autres poésies de Claude Binet, Beauvaisin, Lyon, Rigaud, 1577, reprinted in Pinvert, op. cit., p. 398-401.
- 334 Op. cit., p. 161, and Pinvert, Jacques Grévin, 1899, p. 401, l. 9-16.
- 335 L. Dorez, La Mort de Jacques Grévin, p. 2.
- 336 The text reads 'savoir esgara'.
- 337 'Poésies inédites de Jacques Grévin', p. 283-295.
- 338 P. 291-293.
- 339 Op. cit., p. 291, note 1.
- 340 A M. Jehan de Gorris, excellent Medecin à Paris, in Les Œuvres de Nicandre, DEUX LIVRES DE VENINS, p. 8. Grévin

says that the muse accused him of abandoning her and pursuing another woman.

³⁴¹Pinvert, op. cit., p. 105.

³⁴²Essai sur l'œuvre de Jacques Grévin, p. 76.

³⁴³p. 8-11. Grévin's tone in these passages is frequently very vehement.

³⁴⁴In Œuvres de Nicandre, DEUX LIVRES DE VENINS.

³⁴⁵p. 90.

³⁴⁶p. 89.

³⁴⁷p. 38, p. 146, p. 167 and p. 191.

³⁴⁸Œuvres de Nicandre, DEUX LIVRES DE VENINS, p. 8-9.

³⁴⁹Grévin himself refers to such criticisms in 1561, in the Elegie à Monsieur de Poix Medecin de Madame de Lorraine, in LE THEATRE, p. 290, l. 25-26.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter 2: Grévin's religious attitude

¹One might note, for instance, Pinvert, Jacques Grévin, 1899, p. 35, or Raymond, L'Influence de Ronsard, 1965, t. I, p. 286.

²Premier volume de la bibliothèque, 1584, p. 187-188.

³Bibliothèque, 1585, p. 604-608.

⁴'Vie de Grévin', in Vie des poètes français, p. 337.

⁵Memoires, 1727-1745, t. XXVI, p. 339-345.

⁶Jugemens des savans, 1722-1730, t. VI, p. 78.

⁷Bibliothèque françoise, 1740-1745, t. XII, p. 153-154.

⁸RESPONSE AUX CALOMNIES, p. 11, l. 19-20. After the death of Jacques Grévin's own father, Pierre de Prong took his brother's place in raising Grévin.

⁹Pour le Tombeau de M. Pierre de Prong son oncle, Ode VI, in L'OLIMPE, p. 157, l. 54-60.

¹⁰See the present thesis, p. 40-41.

¹¹RESPONSE AUX CALOMNIES, p. 11, l. 21.

¹²L'OLIMPE, p. 103, and Pinvert, p. 325.

¹³Regrets, sonnet 106, l. 2.

¹⁴L'OLIMPE, p. 104, and Pinvert, p. 326.

¹⁵L'OLIMPE, p. 103, and Pinvert, p. 325.

¹⁶L'OLIMPE, p. 96, and Pinvert, p. 318.

¹⁷LE THEATRE, p. 304, and Pinvert, p. 345.

¹⁸LE THEATRE, p. 299, l. 9-14, and Pinvert, p. 339, l. 23-28.

¹⁹Sonnet 63, l. 9-11.

²⁰Geneva, 1974, p. 15.

²¹Op. cit., p. 17-18.

²²In the sonnet quoted above (p.122 of the present thesis) Grévin apparently attacks Charles de Guise under the name of Proteus. He may well also be using this metaphor to attack Charles de Guise in this second sonnet. If this is the case, then this sonnet could conceivably be referring to the French campaign of 1556-1557 which, led by Charles de Guise, was strongly encouraged by the Pope, Paul IV (E.Lavissee, Histoire de la France, t. V, part II, p. 162).

²³LE THEATRE, p. 297, and Pinvert, p. 338.

²⁴Regrets, sonnet 106.

²⁵In Pinvert, op. cit., p. 367.

²⁶In op. cit., p. 366.

²⁷This is, of course, an absurd accusation to level against Pius V, pope from 1566-1572, who had been a mendicant friar and who, after becoming pope, continued his former manner of life (L.Pastor, The history of the popes, ed. R.F.Kerr, London, 1929,

t. XVII, p. 54). He waged a war against public immorality in Rome, and even threatened the death penalty for adultery (op. cit., t. XVII, p. 88-93). This poem thus suggests that Grévin knew little about the activities of the pope in Rome.

²⁸Du Bellay, like Grévin, dislikes those corrupt members of the clergy who rose to high stations (Regrets, sonnets 101 and 105): he, too, describes with deep satire the daily occupations of the clergy (op. cit., sonnets 84, 97, 113, 118 and 132). Du Bellay, like Grévin, also criticises Rome, and does not even spare direct attacks on the pontiff himself (sonnets 106 and 109).

²⁹See note 27 of the present chapter.

³⁰LE THEATRE, p. 295, l. 5-8. See also Pinvert, p. 335, l. 19-22.

³¹In 1560 Grévin 'probavit quatuor annos sui studii' (Commentaires manuscrits, t. VII, fol 42). Thus we may be sure that Grévin had left college for the University of Paris by 1556. Bienaimé, for some reason, referring to the quoted lines, infers that he became a Reformer in 1558: the explanation for this conclusion is not provided (Bienaimé, op. cit., p. 9).

³²Sonnet 10, in Pinvert, op. cit., p. 362-363.

³³Pinvert, op. cit., 292.

³⁴A Madame Magdaleine de Suze, Dame de Warty, Ode III, in L'OLIMPE, p. 145-149.

³⁵L'OLIMPE, p. 210, and Pinvert, p. 234, l. 10-12.

³⁶A Monsieur Philippes de Warty.

³⁷L'Espée, à Philippes d'Warty, Ode IX, in L'OLIMPE, p. 173-180.

³⁸Sonnet de Jaques Grevin de Clermont à Severe jadis auteur du livre Latin translaté en François, in Jean de Filleau, La Sainte Bible reduicte en epitome, Paris, 1597.

³⁹Ode à Antoine de Talon, published in 1559 in LES REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE.

⁴⁰A Anthoiné de Talon, Ode V, in L'OLIMPE, p. 151-155.

⁴¹L'OLIMPE, p. 24, 62, 96, 103, and LE THEATRE, p. 305. See also Pinvert, p. 259, 287, 318, 325 and 346.

⁴²In LES REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE, p. 39, l. 18-19.

⁴³Op. cit., p. 39, l. 26-28, and p. 40, l. 1.

⁴⁴Op. cit., p. 40, l. 2-13. This passage may be compared with Ronsard's Elegie à Robert de la Haye (Ronsard, t. X, p. 321).

⁴⁵See Lavissee, Histoire de France depuis les origines jusqu'à la révolution, Paris, 1900-1910, t. II, book 9, ch. 1, p. 209-212.

⁴⁶L'OLIMPE, p. 95, and Pinvert, p. 317.

⁴⁷Ronsard, Discours des miseres de ce temps, publiés par M. Smith, Geneva, 1979, p. 9-10.

⁴⁸Pinvert, op. cit., p. 239.

⁴⁹L'OLIMPE, p. 98, l. 12-14, and Pinvert, p. 320, l. 12-14.

⁵⁰L'OLIMPE, p. 93, l. 26-28, and Pinvert, p. 315, l. 12-14. The first line of this quotation is an echo of Ecclesiastes.

⁵¹One of the sonnets of the love poetry of the Olimpe I, it is worth noting, does discuss predestination. Here Grévin writes:

Encor' que le Destin saintement ordonné,
Dont on ne peult changer l'immuable sentence,
Ainsi qu'il est sorti de divine ordonnance,
M'eust tousjours trebuché dès le jour que fut né

(L'OLIMPE, p. 40, l. 1-4, and Pinvert, p. 270, l. 15-18). This cannot, however, be considered as evidence of Grévin's belief in the convictions of the Reformation, as the statement is not sufficiently specific.

⁵²Sonnet 6, in Pinvert, op. cit., p. 380-381.

⁵³In Ronsard, Discours, ed. Smith, p. 69. See also M.C. Smith's footnote to l. 125, which reads:

Opinion, que Ronsard dénonce ici et dans la Remonstrance (l. 235-264), se retrouve dans l'etymologie même de 'hérétique' (est hérétique, celui qui a une opinion).

⁵⁴LE THEATRE, p. 294, l. 12-14 and l. 23-28, and p. 303, and Pinvert, p. 334, l. 26-28, p. 335, l. 9-14 and p. 344.

⁵⁵Ad J. Grovellum, p. 12.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷T. de Bèze, Abraham Sacrifiant, tragédie françoise, introduction par C.R. Frankish, French Renaissance Classics, New York, 1969, p. 4. Indeed, some Roman Catholics agreed with them that poetry should be dedicated to the one true God, not to the false gods of the ancients. A typical example of such demands for a Christian poetry had come from N. Denisot, in his Cantiques du premier advenement de Jésus-Christ (Maurice de la Porte, 1553, chapter X, p. 93, quoted by C. Jugé, Nicolas Denisot du Mans (1515-1559). Essai sur sa vie et ses œuvres, Paris, 1907, p. 80). This same Nicolas Denisot, in a poem dedicated to Grévin, and published as a preliminary poem of Grévin's CHANT DE JOIE DE LA PAIX, extols Christian poetry, suggesting that Grévin write of God and the peace he has granted France (mentioned by M.C. Smith, Political and religious controversy, p. 108).

⁵⁸P. 18, l. 13-17. Many other Roman Catholics also expressed the same views, most notably, perhaps, Ronsard himself, for instance in the opening lines of the Hercule Chrestien, where he writes:

Est-il pas temps desormais de chanter
Un vers chrestien qui puisse contenter,
Mieux que devant, les chrestiennes oreilles?

Est-il pas temps de chanter les merveilles
De nostre DIEU?

(Ronsard, t. VIII, p. 207, l. 1-5). For further details on this subject, see M.C. Smith, Political and religious controversy, chapter I, p. 25-117.

⁵⁹HYMNE A MONSEIGNEUR LE DAUPHIN, p. 12, l. 14-25.

⁶⁰Seconde Response de F. de la Baronie, in Pineaux, La polémique protestante contre Ronsard, t. II, p. 367, l. 776 ff.

⁶¹In op. cit., t. I, p. 140, l. 775 ff. Pineaux believes that Rivaudeau is the author of this poem (op. cit., t. I, p. 99-102), but this attribution is uncertain.

⁶²L'OLIMPE, p. 39, l. 23-28, and Pinvert, p. 270, l. 9-14; see also L'OLIMPE, p. 1, l. 4, and Pinvert, p. 243, l. 4.

⁶³Hymne Chrestien, in Du Bellay, t. IV, p. 115-116, l. 115-122. See also M.C. Smith, Political and religious controversy, p. 80.

⁶⁴In L'OLIMPE, p. 150-151, l. 38-42.

⁶⁵Francis II and Mary Queen of Scots are referred to as: 'Ce nouveau PELEE & [...] THETIS nouvelle' (HYMNE A MONSEIGNEUR LE DAUPHIN, p. 2, l. 4). Hundreds of the gods and goddesses of Olympus attend their wedding, and Grévin's poem constitutes principally a description of these mythological figures.

⁶⁶L'OLIMPE, p. 12, 13, 16, 24, 28, 33, 36, 39, 68 and 70. See also Pinvert, p. 251, 252, 255, 259, 263, 265, 268, 269, 292 and 295.

⁶⁷L'OLIMPE, p. 10 and p. 65. See also Pinvert, p. 250 and 298.

⁶⁸L'OLIMPE, p. 9, 27, 34, 41 and 69. See also Pinvert, p. 249, 262, 266, 272 and 293.

⁶⁹L'OLIMPE, p. 111, and Pinvert, p. 331.

⁷⁰L'OLIMPE, p. 98, and Pinvert, p. 320.

⁷¹L'OLIMPE, p. 99, and Pinvert, p. 321.

⁷²L'OLIMPE, p. 103, and Pinvert, p. 325.

⁷³L'OLIMPE, p. 97, and Pinvert, p. 319.

⁷⁴L'OLIMPE, p. 111, and Pinvert, p. 331.

⁷⁵LE THEATRE, p. 235, 236 and 237, and Pinvert, p. 307, 308 and 309.

⁷⁶LE THEATRE, p. 225, and Pinvert, p. 299.

⁷⁷One might note, for instance, Au Seigneur de Launay sur ses histoires prodigieuses. Ode, in LE THEATRE, p. 270-271, l. 17-24 or l. 33-40.

⁷⁸LE THEATRE, p. 297, 304 and 306; see also Pinvert, p. 338, 345 and 346.

⁷⁹Pineaux, in his La polémique protestante contre Ronsard, lists the criticisms made by the pamphleteers against Ronsard

(t. I, p. xx-xxiii).

⁸⁰In LE THEATRE, p. 270-271, l. 17-24.

⁸¹Ronsard, t. VIII, p. 172; mentioned by M. Smith, Political and religious controversy, p. 98.

⁸²For a summary of these criticisms, see M. Smith, Political and religious controversy, p. 66-83, and p. 100-111.

⁸³La poésie des protestants de langue française, Paris, 1971, p. 55.

⁸⁴Lyon, Barthelemy Honorat, 1578.

⁸⁵L'OLIMPE, p. 86, l. 19-22.

⁸⁶Op. cit., p. 88, l. 19-20. Examples of licentious poetry are particularly common in the Jeux Olympiques; one might note, for instance, Vilanesque V, in LE THEATRE, p. 264-265, l. 28-33, and Chanson IIII, in op. cit., l. 251-252, l. 25-36. Les Esbahis, too, contains many licentious passages.

⁸⁷Paris, 1877, p. 18.

⁸⁸Op. cit., p. 21.

⁸⁹Op. cit. p. 37.

⁹⁰La poésie des protestants, p. 22.

⁹¹LE THEATRE, p. 295, and Pinvert, p. 335.

⁹²LE THEATRE, p. 308, and Pinvert, p. 348.

⁹³These are the third and fourth sonnets of the collection; see LE THEATRE, p. 294, and Pinvert, p. 334-335.

⁹⁴LE THEATRE, p. 294, l. 23-28, and Pinvert, p. 335, l. 9-14.

⁹⁵LE THEATRE, p. 294, l. 12-14, and Pinvert, p. 334, l. 26-28.

⁹⁶L'OLIMPE, p. 125, Elegie III, l. 5-10.

⁹⁷LE THEATRE, p. 303, and Pinvert, p. 344.

⁹⁸LE THEATRE, p. 303, and Pinvert, p. 343.

⁹⁹Remonstrance au peuple de France, in Ronsard, Discours, ed. Smith, p. 106, l. 25-32.

¹⁰⁰In Ronsard, Discours, ed. Smith, p. 112-113, l. 147-148 and 153-160.

¹⁰¹De la vraie et fausse religion, touchant les vœus & les sermens licites & illicites, Jean Rivery, 1560, preface, p. ix.

¹⁰²Paris, Jehan de Roigny, 1560, p. 52.

¹⁰³Paris, Jaques Macé, 1564, p. 97 v^o. The majority of the quotations cited here are drawn from M.C. Smith, Political and religious controversy, chapter 5.

¹⁰⁴J. de la Taille (Œuvres, publiées d'après les documens inédits par René de Maulde, Paris, 1878-1882, t. III, p. xxxv),

for instance, writes: 'Pour la religion, le neutre est habile homme'. See also Hercule Chrestien, in Ronsard, t. VIII, p. 220, l. 245-252, and J. Peletier, Œuvres poétiques, publiées d'après l'édition originale de 1547 par Léon Seché, Paris, 1904, p. 105.

¹⁰⁵Montaigne, Essais, book I, chapter xxvii, C'est folie de rapporter le vray et le faux à nostre suffisance. Much of the preceding information, and many of the quotations, are drawn from Malcolm C. Smith's edition of La Boétie's Mémoire sur la pacification des troubles (also misleadingly known as the Mémoire sur l'Edit de janvier), which will shortly be published by Droz.

¹⁰⁶For the reasons for this attribution, see the present thesis, p. 71-84.

¹⁰⁷Pineaux, La polémique protestante contre Ronsard, t. II, p. 306-307, l. 47-58. These lines are reminiscent of Marot, in his epistle IX, A Monseigneur Bouchart, Docteur en Theologie (C. Marot, Les Epitres, ed. C.A. Mayer, London, 1958, p. 125, l. 7-9).

¹⁰⁸In Ronsard, Discours, ed. Smith, p. 224, l. 162-168.

¹⁰⁹Op. cit., p. 223, l. 152-154.

¹¹⁰Ronsard, t. XVIII, p. 362-363.

¹¹¹P. 27. Grévin had written to Charpentier 'Si enim 'ἄθεον' appellamus eum, qui contra quam profitetur religionem, iis oblectatur, quae etiam legibus vetita sunt, reminiscete tacitus [...]'. (RESPONSIO AD J. CARPENTARII CALUMNIAS, p. 10). The fact that 'Guymara' states that this comment comes on the twelfth page may be an error (there is no pagination). Alternatively, there may, perhaps, have been another edition of this pamphlet.

¹¹²LE THEATRE, p. 296, and Pinvert, p. 336.

¹¹³Sonnet 16, in Pinvert, op. cit., p. 385-386.

¹¹⁴Sonnet 16, in op. cit., p. 386, l. 6-7.

¹¹⁵De Thou, Histoire Universelle, t. V, p. 397.

¹¹⁶Op. cit., p. 21.

¹¹⁷Sonnet 8, in Pinvert, op. cit., p. 381-382.

¹¹⁸LETTRES ET REMONSTRANCE, p. 18-19.

¹¹⁹Op. cit., p. 17; see also p. 16.

¹²⁰Histoire Universelle, ed. cit., t. V, p. 373.

¹²¹In LETTRES ET REMONSTRANCE, p. 27, l. 1-12.

¹²²Remonstrance au peuple de France, in Ronsard, Discours, ed. Smith, p. 129-130, l. 503-508. See also Smith, Political and religious controversy, p. 148.

¹²³For the reasons for this attribution, see the present thesis, p. 69-70.

¹²⁴Geneva, 1971, p. 124.

¹²⁵See the present thesis, p. 24-27.

¹²⁶The extent of this friendship is demonstrated by the fact that Grévin allowed Plantin to print a book, written by Grévin, in his own name, and even wrote preliminary poetry in Plantin's name for this book (see the present thesis, p. 97).

¹²⁷A. Hamilton, The Family of Love, Cambridge, 1981, p. 43.

¹²⁸Christophe Plantin, p. 393-400. Heather Ingman, in an article titled 'Jean de la Jessée and the Family of Love in France' to be published in B.H.R., has given some idea of the influence of the Family of Love in France, indicating the importance of the part that Plantin played in this religious sect, and also pointing out that a number of Plantin's friends - in particular Jean de la Jessée - appear to have held religious views consistent with those of members of the Family of Love.

¹²⁹LE THEATRE, p. 307, and Pinvert, p. 347, l. 15-28.

¹³⁰Pineaux, La polémique protestante contre Ronsard, t. II, p. 307, l. 56-57.

¹³¹Sonnet 15, in Pinvert, Jacques Grévin, p. 365, l. 14.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter 3: Grévin and Ronsard

¹The TEMPLE may be read in Pineaux, La polémique protestante contre Ronsard, Paris, 1973, t. II, p. 300-323.

²J.P.Niceron is one such author. He writes, referring to Grévin's poetic talent:

Sa réputation en ce genre lui a procuré de grandes louanges de la part de Ronsard, & a même excité un peu la jalousie de ce fameux poète.

(Memoires pour servir à l'histoire des Hommes Illustres, Paris, 1727-1745, t. XXVI, p. 339). A.Baillet, too, speaks of 'l'histoire de la jalousie que Ronsard conçut contre lui' (Jugemens des savans, Paris, 1722-1730, t. VI, p. 78).

³P. 12, l. 12-22.

⁴L'OLIMPE, p. 193, and Pinvert, p. 220.

⁵See P.Laumonier, Ronsard poète lyrique, Paris, 1909, p. 72-73.

⁶Ronsard, t. X, p. 235, sonnet LXCIV, p. 235, l. 1-2.

⁷See Ronsard, t. II, p. 48, note 1, and also C.Binet, La Vie de P. de Ronsard, ed. Laumonier, p. 218, note to p. 43, l. 36.

⁸Ronsard, t. V, p. 180, l. 75-79, edition of 1560 and 1567.

⁹L'OLIMPE, p. 2, and Pinvert, p. 244.

¹⁰L'OLIMPE, p. 17, and Pinvert, p. 255.

¹¹L'OLIMPE, p. 96, and Pinvert, p. 318

¹²N.Ellain, Les Œuvres poetiques, publiées par A.Genty, Paris, 1861, p. 31, l. 12-14. The last line in my quotation is probably a reference to Ronsard's Franciade.

¹³Ronsard, t. XIV, p. 119, l. 145-148.

¹⁴Pinvert, p. 5.

¹⁵Ronsard, t. XIV, p. 198, l. 133-138.

¹⁶Op. cit., p. 196, l. 89-97.

¹⁷LE THEATRE, p. 5, l. 27, and Ginsberg, p. 106, l. 124, and note 19.

¹⁸Ronsard, Discours des miseres de ce temps, ed. M.C.Smith, 1979, p. 27-41.

¹⁹Op. cit., p. 43-50.

²⁰LE THEATRE, p. 308, and Pinvert, p. 348 (See also the present thesis, p.141-142).

²¹Guymara, Ad J. Grovellum de famosis libellis contra Carpentarium editis admonitio M.A.Guymarae, Paris, Megnum, 1564, p. 12.

²²See Ronsard, t. XVIII, p. 362-363 for the poem 'J'oste Grévin de mes escrits'.

²³p. 125 v^o.

- ²⁴RESPONSE AUX CALOMNIES, p. 15, l. 14-15.
- ²⁵P. 89.
- ²⁶Ronsard, t. VII, p. 186, sonnet 69.
- ²⁷Surprisingly, however, the fourth line adopts the 1560 text rather than that of 1567. Perhaps Grévin, remembering this line, did not check it in the later edition. Alternatively, he may have chosen a combination which he preferred.
- ²⁸Geneva, 1965, t. I, p. 285-306.
- ²⁹Ronsard, t. VII, p. 159, l. 9-10.
- ³⁰Chanson V, p. 37-38.
- ³¹HYMNE A MONSEIGNEUR LE DAUPHIN, p. 27, l. 25 and l. 27-29, and p. 28, l. 1-4, in Raymond, L'Influence de Ronsard, t. I, p. 287.
- ³²Ronsard, t. VI, p. 182, l. 121-123 and 125-128.
- ³³Ronsard, t. VIII, p. 80-81, l. 165-170.
- ³⁴HYMNE A MONSEIGNEUR LE DAUPHIN, p. 28.
- ³⁵Ibid.
- ³⁶Ronsard, t. VIII, p. 78, l. 121-125.
- ³⁷Op. cit., t. VIII, p. 129-130, l. 271-176. These lines are reminiscent of Virgil, Aeneid, V, 240 (Ronsard, t. VIII, p. 129, note 3), but it is Ronsard that Grévin is imitating.
- ³⁸HYMNE A MONSEIGNEUR LE DAUPHIN, p. 4.
- ³⁹Op. cit., p. 28.
- ⁴⁰Op. cit., p. 13.
- ⁴¹Ronsard, t. VIII, p. 77, l. 104-107.
- ⁴²P. 12.
- ⁴³Ronsard, t. VIII, p. 179-180, l. 2-5.
- ⁴⁴P. 12.
- ⁴⁵Ronsard, t. I, p. 31, l. 153-156, Ronsard's lines are inspired by Virgil, Georgics, II, 490-502 (Ronsard, t. I, p. 31, note 2) but Grévin is imitating Ronsard.
- ⁴⁶HYMNE A MONSEIGNEUR LE DAUPHIN, p. 21-22.
- ⁴⁷Ronsard, t. II, p. 80, l. 1-3.
- ⁴⁸L'Influence de Ronsard, t. I, p. 286.
- ⁴⁹P. 199.
- ⁵⁰L. 73-74.
- ⁵¹Ronsard, t. IV, p. 53-54, sonnet 51.
- ⁵²Respectively the third, fourth and fifth odes in L'OLIMPE, p. 145-155.
- ⁵³Ronsard, t. III, p. 4, l. 11-14.

- ⁵⁴L'OLIMPE, p. 145-146.
- ⁵⁵Ronsard, t. III, p. 178, l. 17-20.
- ⁵⁶L'OLIMPE, p. 154, l. 11-12.
- ⁵⁷Ronsard, t. V, p. 172, l. 142-144.
- ⁵⁸L'OLIMPE, p. 152, l. 21-27 and p. 153, l. 1-3.
- ⁵⁹Ronsard, t. IX, p. 103-116.
- ⁶⁰P.Laumonier, Tableau chronologique des oeuvres de Ronsard, Paris, 1911, p. 28.
- ⁶¹See Pinvert, Jacques Grévin, p. 212.
- ⁶²CHANT DE JOIE DE LA PAIX.
- ⁶³Ronsard, t. IX, p. 111, l. 150.
- ⁶⁴Op. cit., l. 163-165.
- ⁶⁵L'OLIMPE, p. 139, l. 5-9; see also Pinvert, op. cit., p. 213.
- ⁶⁶Ronsard, t. IX, p. 112, l. 167-174.
- ⁶⁷L'OLIMPE, p. 139-140.
- ⁶⁸Ronsard, t. IX, p. 116, l. 263-268, and L'OLIMPE, p. 143.
- ⁶⁹Ronsard, t. IX, p. 110, l. 129-130.
- ⁷⁰L'OLIMPE, p. 140-141.
- ⁷¹L'OLIMPE, p. 192, and Pinvert, p. 219, l. 6.
- ⁷²Ronsard, t. III, p. 33, l. 469-472.
- ⁷³Ronsard, t. IX, p. 73-100.
- ⁷⁴Op. cit., p. 88, l. 251, and L'OLIMPE, p. 198, and Pinvert, p. 226, l. 23.
- ⁷⁵Ronsard, t. IX, p. 95, l. 384.
- ⁷⁶L'OLIMPE, p. 207, l. 2-3, and Pinvert, p. 231, l. 24-25.
- ⁷⁷Jacques Grévin, p. 358, note 79.
- ⁷⁸L'Influence de Ronsard, t. I, p. 289.
- ⁷⁹Ronsard, t. IX, p. 75, l. 5.
- ⁸⁰L'OLIMPE, p. 194-195, and Pinvert, p. 221-222.
- ⁸¹Ronsard, t. IX, p. 95, l. 379-382.
- ⁸²L'OLIMPE, p. 205, l. 6-9, and 14-17, and Pinvert, p. 230.
- ⁸³Ronsard, t. IX, p. 79, l. 65-76, and L'OLIMPE, p. 199, and Pinvert, p. 225.
- ⁸⁴L'OLIMPE, p. 211-313, and Pinvert, p. 235-237.
- ⁸⁵Ronsard, t. I, p. 9-16.
- ⁸⁶Op. cit., t. I, p. 10, note.
- ⁸⁷Le Ravissement de Cephale, in Ronsard, t. II, p. 137, l. 81-86.

- 88 L'OLIMPE, p. 202, l. 19-22, and Pinvert, p. 228.
- 89 L'OLIMPE, p. 201, l. 2-4, and Pinvert, p. 226.
- 90 A sa Lyre, in Ronsard, t. VI, p. 133, l. 4-6.
- 91 L'OLIMPE, p. 67, l. 15-18, and Pinvert, p. 291, l. 1-4.
- 92 Ronsard, t. IV, p. 16, sonnet 12, l. 5-8, quoted by Raymond, op. cit., p. I, p. 293.
- 93 Op. cit., t. IV, p. 152, sonnet 159, l. 9-14.
- 94 L'OLIMPE, p. 63, and Pinvert, p. 288. Raymond also quoted a complete sonnet by Grévin, which, as he says, is inspired by one of Ronsard's own sonnets, although the imitation is not obvious (L'OLIMPE, p. 52, and Pinvert, p. 279, and Ronsard, t. IV, p. 54-55, sonnet 52, quoted in op. cit., t. I, p. 294-295).
- 95 Ronsard, t. IV, p. 13-14, sonnet 9, l. 10-14.
- 96 L'OLIMPE, p. 20, and Pinvert, p. 258, l. 15-18.
- 97 Ronsard, t. IV, Vœu, p. 4, l. 1-4.
- 98 L'OLIMPE, p. 2, l. 1-2, and Pinvert, p. 244, l. 1-2.
- 99 Ronsard, t. IV, p. 12, sonnet 7, l. 12-14.
- 100 L'OLIMPE, p. 5, l. 27-28, and Pinvert, p. 247, l. 27-28.
- 101 Ronsard, t. IV, p. 156, sonnet 164, l. 3 and 5.
- 102 L'OLIMPE, p. 5, l. 25, and Pinvert, p. 247, l. 25.
- 103 Ronsard, t. IV, p. 150, sonnet 157, l. 11.
- 104 L'OLIMPE, p. 61, l. 27, and Pinvert, p. 286, l. 27.
- 105 Ronsard, t. IV, p. 137, sonnet 142, l. 3-6.
- 106 L'OLIMPE, p. 48, l. 23-25, and Pinvert, p. 277, l. 9-11.
- 107 Du Bellay, Regrets, sonnet 2, l. 1-4.
- 108 L'OLIMPE, p. 40, l. 23-26, and Pinvert, p. 271, l. 9-12.
- 109 Ronsard, t. IV, p. 10-11, sonnet 6, l. 1-4.
- 110 Op. cit., t. IV, p. 171, sonnet 181, l. 9-11.
- 111 L'OLIMPE, p. 55, l. 23-25, and Pinvert, p. 283, l. 9-11.
- 112 Ronsard, t. IV, p. 48, sonnet 45, l. 14. Ronsard had here imitated Petrarch (See Ronsard, t. IV, p. 48, note 3), but Grévin's inspiration comes from Ronsard.
- 113 L'OLIMPE, p. 46, l. 14, and Pinvert, p. 274, l. 28.
- 114 Ronsard, t. IV, p. 92, sonnet 92, l. 9-11.
- 115 L'OLIMPE, p. 46, l. 9-11, and Pinvert, p. 274, l. 23-25.
- 116 L'OLIMPE, p. 49, l. 23-24, and Pinvert, p. 278, l. 9-10.
- 117 Ronsard, t. IV, p. 54, sonnet 51, l. 9-11.
- 118 Both poets address their lady as an 'Angelette' (Ronsard, t. IV, p. 127, sonnet 131, l. 1, and L'OLIMPE, p. 68,

l. 15 - Pinvert, p. 292, l. 1), as 'ma moitié' (Ronsard, t. IV, p. 155, sonnet 143, l. 13, and L'OLIMPE, p. 15, l. 28 - Pinvert, p. 254, l. 14), as a 'douce guerrière' (Ronsard, t. IV, p. 151, sonnet 158, l. 3, and L'OLIMPE, p. 1, l. 14 - Pinvert, p. 243, l. 14, both echoing Petrarch). Both, moreover, address Apollo as 'le Dieu medecin' (Ronsard, t. IV, p. 153, sonnet 161, l. 5, and L'OLIMPE, p. 63, l. 16 - Pinvert, p. 288, l. 16). Although they are common in Renaissance poetry, Grévin's use of these epithets may owe something to Ronsard since Grévin follows Ronsard in so many other areas.

¹¹⁹ For example, Ronsard, t. IV, p. 53, sonnet 50, l. 8; p. 76, sonnet 75, l. 4 and p. 100, sonnet 101, l. 11; t. V, p. 109, sonnet 41, l. 5; and L'OLIMPE, p. 9, l. 8 and p. 59, l. 22 - Pinvert, p. 248, l. 22 and p. 284, l. 22.

¹²⁰ L'OLIMPE, p. 33, l. 13-14, and Pinvert, p. 265, l. 13-14.

¹²¹ Ronsard, t. VII, p. 117, sonnet 2, l. 9-11.

¹²² Loc. cit., l. 2.

¹²³ L'OLIMPE, p. 33, l. 16, and Pinvert, p. 265, l. 16.

¹²⁴ Ronsard, t. VII, p. 142, sonnet 24, l. 12-14. This is itself imitated from Petrarch (Ronsard, t. VII, p. 142, note 3), but Grévin seems to be imitating Ronsard rather than this earlier poet.

¹²⁵ L'OLIMPE, p. 67, l. 12-13, and Pinvert, p. 290, l. 26-27.

¹²⁶ Ronsard, t. VII, p. 154, sonnet 37, l. 1-4.

¹²⁷ L'OLIMPE, p. 66, l. 9-11, and Pinvert, p. 289, l. 23-25.

¹²⁸ Ronsard, t. VII, p. 232, l. 25-27.

¹²⁹ L'OLIMPE, p. 66, l. 15-16, and Pinvert, p. 290, l. 1-2.

¹³⁰ Ronsard, t. II, p. 34, l. 19-20.

¹³¹ L'OLIMPE, p. 15, l. 27-28, and Pinvert, p. 254, l. 13-14.

¹³² Ronsard, t. I, p. 35, l. 1-4.

¹³³ L'OLIMPE, p. 63, l. 1-8, and Pinvert, p. 288, l. 1-8.

¹³⁴ Raymond compares Ronsard's attempts to wake up Marie: 'Ja la gaye alouette au ciel a fredonné' (Ronsard, t. VII, p. 140, sonnet 23, l. 2) with Grévin's words to Olimpe in one of the Jeux Olympiques:

Hé! mon-dieu voyla l'alouette
 Qui ja degoise sa chanson,
 Sus sus de bout, mon Amelette,
 Allons ouir sa chansonette,
 Allons ouir son plaisant son:
 Elle est desja dedans la nue,
 Helas! Je l'ay perdu de veüe,
 Je me suis trop tard avancé:
 Hé qu'un plaisir est tost passé!

(L'OLIMPE, p. 88, quoted in L'Influence de Ronsard, t. I, p. 299).

- ¹³⁵ Olimpien, in L'OLIMPE, p. 85.
- ¹³⁶ Ode à Cassandre, in Ronsard, t. V, p. 197, l. 14-18.
- ¹³⁷ Op. cit., t. IV, p. 52, sonnet 49, Ronsard's source is Bembo, but it is Ronsard that Grévin is imitating.
- ¹³⁸ Elegie à son Olimpe, in L'OLIMPE, p. 75.
- ¹³⁹ Ronsard, t. VII, p. 159-160, sonnet 42, l. 9-14.
- ¹⁴⁰ Chanson V, in L'OLIMPE, p. 37-38.
- ¹⁴¹ Ronsard, t. VII, Chanson, p. 248, l. 1.
- ¹⁴² Olimpien, in L'OLIMPE, p. 81. This imitation has been noted by Raymond, L'Influence de Ronsard, t. I, p. 297.
- ¹⁴³ Olimpien, in L'OLIMPE, p. 81.
- ¹⁴⁴ Ronsard, t. VII, sonet, p. 252, l. 1-2.
- ¹⁴⁵ L'Influence de Ronsard, t. I, p. 300.
- ¹⁴⁶ Op. cit., t. I, p. 301-302; Raymond compares Ronsard, t. X, p. 333, l. 1-4 with L'OLIMPE, p. 94, l. 1-4, and Pinvert, p. 316, l. 1-4, although Grévin's passage seems to owe more to Du Bellay than to Ronsard (See the present thesis, p. 223).
- ¹⁴⁷ A luy mesmes sur ses ordonnances faictes l'an 1550, in Ronsard, t. III, p. 93, l. 55-59, and L'OLIMPE, p. 94, l. 15-28, and Pinvert, p. 316, l. 15-18.
- ¹⁴⁸ L'OLIMPE, p. 96, l. 15, and Pinvert, p. 318, l. 15.
- ¹⁴⁹ Ronsard, t. VII, sonet, p. 257, l. 3.
- ¹⁵⁰ A Hector de Ligniville, in L'OLIMPE, p. 130-135.
- ¹⁵¹ Ronsard, t. III, p. 118-163, ode 8.
- ¹⁵² L'OLIMPE, p. 155-163.
- ¹⁵³ Ronsard, t. I, p. 126-128.
- ¹⁵⁴ Ronsard, t. VIII, p. 51, l. 68-70.
- ¹⁵⁵ L'OLIMPE, p. 115.
- ¹⁵⁶ Ronsard, t. VIII, p. 59, l. 235-243.
- ¹⁵⁷ L'OLIMPE, p. 117.
- ¹⁵⁸ Op. cit., p. 113.
- ¹⁵⁹ Ronsard, t. VII, p. 193, l. 1-3.
- ¹⁶⁰ Op. cit., t. IX, p. 21-23, l. 123-128 and 147-151.
- ¹⁶¹ L'OLIMPE, p. 114-115.
- ¹⁶² A.E. Armstrong, in her work Ronsard and the age of Gold, Cambridge, 1968, lists many examples of this theme, both in Ronsard and in other contemporary and ancient poets.
- ¹⁶³ L'OLIMPE, p. 183.
- ¹⁶⁴ Ronsard, t. IV, p. 178, l. 39-40.
- ¹⁶⁵ Op. cit., t. V, p. 242, l. 187-188.

- 166 L'OLIMPE, p. 180.
- 167 Du Bellay, t. III, p. 7-8, l. 83-98.
- 168 See the present thesis, p. 231.
- 169 Ronsard, t. III, p. 33, l. 469-472.
- 170 L'OLIMPE, p. 156; see also the present thesis, p. 176.
- 171 Op. cit., p. 157.
- 172 Ronsard, t. III, p. 48, l. 101-102.
- 173 Many examples may be found in Ginsberg, p. 33, and in footnotes of the edition itself.
- 174 Raymond, L'Influence de Ronsard, t. I, p. 304, note 1.
- 175 LE THEATRE, p. 40-41, and Ginsberg, p. 162-163.
- 176 Ronsard, t. IX, p. 1-11.
- 177 Du Bellay, t. VI, p. 20-30.
- 178 Op. cit., t. VI, p. 143-158. For comparisons, see the present thesis, and Ginsberg, p. 162-165.
- 179 LE THEATRE, p. 12, and Ginsberg, p. 115, l. 285-289.
- 180 Ronsard, t. II, p. 175-176, l. 13-17.
- 181 Op. cit., t. V, p. 134-135, l. 1-6.
- 182 LE THEATRE, p. 32, and Ginsberg, p. 148-149, l. 848-853.
- 183 LE THEATRE, p. 223-266, and Pinvert, p. 297-313.
- 184 Ronsard, t. IV, p. 137, sonnet 141, l. 13-14.
- 185 LE THEATRE, p. 234, l. 28, and Pinvert, p. 306, l. 14.
- 186 LE THEATRE, p. 240, l. 15-22, and Pinvert, p. 312, l. 1-8.
- 187 Ronsard, t. V, p. 165, l. 1-12.
- 188 Op. cit., t. IV, p. 172, sonnet 182, l. 1-8.
- 189 LE THEATRE, p. 237, and Pinvert, p. 309.
- 190 Ronsard, t. IV, p. 98, sonnet 98, l. 9.
- 191 LE THEATRE, p. 240, l. 23, and Pinvert, p. 312, l. 9.
- 192 LE THEATRE, p. 234, l. 23, and Pinvert, p. 306, l. 9.
- 193 Ronsard, t. VII, p. 181, sonnet 63, l. 11.
- 194 Ibid.
- 195 See Ronsard, t. IX, p. 41, l. 210 and note 3.
- 196 Vilanesque IV, in LE THEATRE, p. 254.
- 197 Ronsard, t. IV, p. 54, sonnet 52, l. 1.
- 198 Ronsard, t. V, p. 196-197.
- 199 P. 255-256, l. 1-20.

- 200 Ronsard, t. VII, p. 177, sonnet 60, l. 7.
- 201 Op. cit., t. IV, p. 178, l. 35.
- 202 Baiser I, in LE THEATRE, p. 246.
- 203 Ronsard, t. VII, p. 247, l. 1-9.
- 204 Chanson II, in LE THEATRE, p. 242, noted by Raymond, L'Influence de Ronsard, t. I, p. 297.
- 205 Ronsard, t. I, p. 190, l. 13-16.
- 206 Baiser IV, in LE THEATRE, p. 261.
- 207 Hymne de la mort à P. de Paschal, in Ronsard, t. VIII, p. 178, l. 326-329.
- 208 LE THEATRE, p. 300, l. 1-4, and Pinvert, p. 340, l. 15-18.
- 209 Ronsard, t. VIII, p. 331, l. 81-82.
- 210 LE THEATRE, p. 299, l. 1-2, and Pinvert, p. 339, l. 15-16.
- 211 Ronsard, t. V, p. 192-196.
- 212 Ronsard, t. VIII, p. 173, l. 221-223, and LE THEATRE, p. 286.
- 213 Ronsard, t. VIII, p. 174, l. 235-236, and LE THEATRE, p. 288.
- 214 Ronsard, t. VIII, p. 174, l. 237-250, and LE THEATRE, p. 288.
- 215 Op. cit., p. 169, l. 142-143.
- 216 LE THEATRE, p. 286.
- 217 Ronsard, t. VIII, p. 170, l. 145-146.
- 218 LE THEATRE, p. 286.
- 219 Ronsard, t. X, p. 310, l. 39-42.
- 220 LE THEATRE, p. 288.
- 221 Ronsard, t. III, Ode III, p. 98-116.
- 222 Op. cit., t. III, p. 98, l. 3-9.
- 223 LE THEATRE, p. 269.
- 224 Ronsard, t. III, p. 99, l. 24.
- 225 LE THEATRE, p. 276.
- 226 Ronsard, t. VII, p. 82, l. 15-16.
- 227 LE THEATRE, p. 309.
- 228 Ode à Remy Belleau, in Ronsard, t. VII, p. 196, l. 1-3.
- 229 Op. cit., t. VI, p. 33, l. 37-38.
- 230 LE THEATRE, p. 273.
- 231 Ronsard, t. VIII, p. 72-84.

²³²Op. cit., p. 73, l. 6-7.

²³³Pineaux, La polémique protestante contre Ronsard, t. II, p. 309, l. 105-106.

²³⁴Ronsard, t. X, p. 239, l. 28-30.

²³⁵A M. Jehan de Gorris excellent medecin à Paris, in Nicandre, DEUX LIVRES DE VENINS, p. 8.

²³⁶Ronsard, t. X, p. 163, l. 13.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter 4: Grévin and Du Bellay

- ¹ p. 12.
- ² This poem may also be found in Du Bellay, Œuvres, ed. Chamard, t. II, p. 216, sonnet 5.
- ³ M.C. Smith has noted this in his edition of Ronsard's Sonnets pour Helene (Geneva, 1970, p. 144-145, book II, sonnet 39, note to l. 14).
- ⁴ L'OLIMPE, p. 3, and Pinvert, p. 245.
- ⁵ L'OLIMPE, p. 101, and Pinvert, p. 323.
- ⁶ L'OLIMPE, p. 103, and Pinvert, p. 325.
- ⁷ L'OLIMPE, p. 80.
- ⁸ Ronsard, t. VII, p. 118, l. 1-5.
- ⁹ L. 1-4.
- ¹⁰ P. 190-191, l. 133-139.
- ¹¹ P. 239 and p. 240, and Pinvert, p. 311.
- ¹² See the appendix to the present thesis concerning this poem by Grévin - p. 435.
- ¹³ LE THEATRE, p. 310-311.
- ¹⁴ Epitaphe de Joachim du Bellay du Latin de R. de la Haye, Conseiller du Roy, in LE THEATRE, p. 311-312. The Latin epitaph from which this poem is taken is in Du Bellay, Les Œuvres françaises, Lyon, Antoine de Harsy, 1575.
- ¹⁵ Jacques Grévin, 1899, p. 335.
- ¹⁶ There seems to be no basis for Goujet's unsupported statement that in Du Bellay's poetry: 'on lit souvent [le nom] de Jacques Grévin, qui luy a survecu, & qui a jetté des fleurs sur son tombeau' (Bibliothèque française, 1740-1745, t. XII, p. 152.)
- ¹⁷ Bienaimé, Grévin poeta satirico, Pisa, 1967, p.5, note 1.
- ¹⁸ Pineaux, La polémique protestante contre Ronsard, Paris, 1971, t. II, p. 305-306, l. 23-32.
- ¹⁹ Fol. 125 v^o-126.
- ²⁰ Pinvert, op. cit., p. 358-370.
- ²¹ Du Bellay, t. V, p. 328-337.
- ²² Jacques Grévin, p. 205.
- ²³ This is the argument used by Henri Chamard in his edition of Du Bellay, t. V, p. 328, note 1.
- ²⁴ Op. cit., t. V, p. 328-329, l. 1-4.
- ²⁵ LES REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE, p. 9.
- ²⁶ Op. cit., p. 19.
- ²⁷ Du Bellay, t. V, p. 329, l. 9-10, and note 3.
- ²⁸ LES REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE, p. 12.

- ²⁹Du Bellay, t. V, p. 329, l. 11-12.
- ³⁰LES REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE, p. 13-14.
- ³¹Du Bellay, t. V, p. 329-330, l. 15-16.
- ³²LES REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE, p. 16
- ³³Du Bellay, t. V, P. 330, l. 17-18.
- ³⁴LES REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE, p. 9.
- ³⁵Du Bellay, t. V, p. 330, l. 20-22, and note 5.
- ³⁶LES REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE, p. 20.
- ³⁷Du Bellay, t. V, p. 330, l. 29-32. For details on the motto and emblem of Charles V, see A. Henkel and A. Schöne, Emblemata, Handbuch zur sinnbildkunst des XVI und XVII Jahrhunderts, Stuttgart, 1967, col. 1197-1198.
- ³⁸LES REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE, p. 19.
- ³⁹Du Bellay, t. V, p. 331, l. 41-42.
- ⁴⁰Op. cit., t. V, p. 331, l. 45-46.
- ⁴¹LES REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE, p. 20.
- ⁴²Op. cit., p. 19.
- ⁴³Du Bellay, t. V, p. 332, l. 61-64.
- ⁴⁴Op. cit., t. V, p. 333, l. 79-80.
- ⁴⁵LES REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE, p. 22.
- ⁴⁶Op. cit., p. 21.
- ⁴⁷Du Bellay, t. V, p. 334, l. 101-106.
- ⁴⁸LES REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE, p. 21.
- ⁴⁹Du Bellay, t. V, p. 335, l. 135.
- ⁵⁰Op. cit., t. V, p. 337, l. 185-186.
- ⁵¹LES REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE, p. 22.
- ⁵²Op. cit., p. 12.
- ⁵³Op. cit., p. 21.
- ⁵⁴Du Bellay, t. IV, p. 113, l. 51-54 (Du Bellay's lines are themselves reminiscent of Virgil, Aeneid, I, 94 - Du Bellay, p. 113, note 1 - but Grévin is imitating the later poet).
- ⁵⁵LES REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE, p. 34, and L'OLIMPE, p. 149.
- ⁵⁶Du Bellay, t. V, p. 200-226.
- ⁵⁷Du Bellay, t. VI, p. 21, l. 20-22.
- ⁵⁸L'OLIMPE, p. 203, and Pinvert, p. 228-229.
- ⁵⁹A la Royné, Ode I, in Du Bellay, t. III, p. 87, l. 7-10.
- ⁶⁰L'OLIMPE, p. 193, and Pinvert, p. 220.

- ⁶¹Du Bellay, t. III, p. 69, l. 121-126.
- ⁶²L'OLIMPE, p. 204, and Pinvert, p. 229.
- ⁶³L'OLIMPE, p. 200, and Pinvert, p. 226.
- ⁶⁴Du Bellay, Regrets, sonnet 77, l. 7-8. Du Bellay's passage is inspired by Horace, Carmina, II, 10, 19-20 (See Du Bellay, Regrets, ed. Screech, p. 147, note to l. 8), but it is Du Bellay that Grévin is imitating.
- ⁶⁵Montaignon and De Rothschild, Recueil de poésies françaises des XVe et XVIe siècles Morales, Facétieuses, Historiques, Paris, 1875, t. X, p. 97.
- ⁶⁶'Jacques Grévin et le Medecin Courtizan', B.H.R. 1974, XXXVI, p. 106.
- ⁶⁷Du Bellay, t. VI, p. 131, l. 21-29.
- ⁶⁸Montaignon and De Rothschild, op. cit., t. X, p. 102, l. 6-11 and 14-15, and p. 103, l. 21.
- ⁶⁹Du Bellay, t. VI, p. 132, l. 37.
- ⁷⁰Op. cit., t. VI, p. 135, l. 97-104, and Montaignon and De Rothschild, op. cit., t. X, p. 106-107.
- ⁷¹L'influence de Ronsard, Geneva, 1965, t. I, p. 300.
- ⁷²Jacques Grévin, p. 241.
- ⁷³See the present chapter, p. 241.
- ⁷⁴Sonnet 82.
- ⁷⁵L'OLIMPE, p. 94, l. 1-4, and Pinvert, p. 316, l. 1-4.
- ⁷⁶Regrets, sonnet 15, l. 5.
- ⁷⁷L'OLIMPE, p. 96, l. 15, and Pinvert, p. 318, l. 15.
- ⁷⁸Regrets, sonnet 187, l. 3-4.
- ⁷⁹L'OLIMPE, p. 105, l. 15-18, and Pinvert, p. 327, l. 15-18.
- ⁸⁰Sonnet 172, l. 1-8.
- ⁸¹L'OLIMPE, p. 105, l. 1-8, and Pinvert, p. 327, l. 1-8.
- ⁸²Du Bellay, t. V, p. 282-283, l. 1-8.
- ⁸³L'OLIMPE, p. 104, and Pinvert, p. 326.
- ⁸⁴Sonnet 8 (this poem is itself reminiscent of Virgil - see Du Bellay, Regrets, ed. Screech, p. 281). One might also note some resemblance between Grévin's poem and Du Bellay's Antiquitez, sonnet 18.
- ⁸⁵Sonnet 26, l. 12-14.
- ⁸⁶Du Bellay, t. IV, p. 112, l. 27-30.
- ⁸⁷L'OLIMPE, p. 107, l. 9-12, and Pinvert, p. 329, l. 9-12.

- ⁸⁸L'OLIMPE, p. 100, l. 13-14, and Pinvert, p. 322, l. 13-14.
- ⁸⁹Du Bellay, t. V, p. 84, l. 53-54.
- ⁹⁰Op. cit., t. V, p. 168, l. 351-352.
- ⁹¹L'OLIMPE, p. 99, l. 1-2, and Pinvert, p. 321, l. 1-2.
- ⁹²L'OLIMPE, p. 109, l. 1-8.
- ⁹³Du Bellay, t. I, sonnet 64, p. 81, l. 1-8. The source of this sonnet is C.Zancaruolo (Giolito, t. II, fol. 9 and 9v^o) - see Du Bellay, L'Olive, ed. E.Caldarini, Geneva, 1974, p. 119 - and perhaps also Ovid, Metamorphoses; but Grévin is imitating Du Bellay rather than these two.
- ⁹⁴Du Bellay, t. I, p. 1-124.
- ⁹⁵T. I, sonnet 26, p. 49, l. 1-8. As Caldarini notes, this succession of antitheses is typical of petrarchism (Du Bellay, ed. Caldarini, p. 82).
- ⁹⁶L'OLIMPE, p. 67, l. 15-22, and Pinvert, p. 291, l. 1-8.
- ⁹⁷T. I, sonnet 34, p. 55, l. 3-4.
- ⁹⁸L'OLIMPE, p. 38, l. 16-17, and Pinvert, p. 269, l. 6-7.
- ⁹⁹Sonnet 12, l. 1-8.
- ¹⁰⁰L'OLIMPE, p. 27, l. 15-22, and Pinvert, p. 262, l. 15-22.
- ¹⁰¹Under the title Jeux Olimpiques, I have, for convenience, included the few Chansons that are interspersed among the sonnets of the Olimpe I and II, and the love poems that follow the Olimpe II, as well as the collection called the Jeux Olimpiques, which follows the Olimpe I.
- ¹⁰²L'OLIMPE, Chanson VII, p. 50, l. 7-8.
- ¹⁰³T. I, sonnet 67, p. 85, l. 13-14. Du Bellay himself is here imitating Petrarch (See Du Bellay, ed. Caldarini, p. 122, note to l. 14), but Grévin's inspiration seems to be Du Bellay.
- ¹⁰⁴T. III, p. 7-8, l. 83-89.
- ¹⁰⁵L'OLIMPE, p. 183. See also the present thesis, p.191.
- ¹⁰⁶L'OLIMPE, p. 113-123.
- ¹⁰⁷T. IV, p. 3-26.
- ¹⁰⁸L'OLIMPE, p. 121, l. 228-229.
- ¹⁰⁹T. IV, p. 49, l. 128-129.
- ¹¹⁰T. I, p. 44, l. 10-12.
- ¹¹¹L'OLIMPE, p. 130, l. 5-8.
- ¹¹²LE THEATRE, p. 113.
- ¹¹³Op. cit., p. 2, and Pinvert, p. 12.

- ¹¹⁴Sonnet 8, l. 1-4 (this is also reminiscent of Virgil, Aeneid, VI, 782 ff. - see Du Bellay, Regrets, ed. Screech, p. 281, note to l. 4). See also Grévin, Cesar, ed. Ginsberg, p. 101, note 6.
- ¹¹⁵Du Bellay, t. VI, p. 29, l. 133-136.
- ¹¹⁶LE THEATRE, p. 40, and Grévin, Cesar, ed. Ginsberg, p. 162, l. 1057-1058.
- ¹¹⁷Grévin, Cesar, ed. Ginsberg; see the footnotes to her edition of Grévin's tragedy.
- ¹¹⁸L. 1-3.
- ¹¹⁹Regrets, ed. Screech, p. 51, l. 81-84.
- ¹²⁰Sonnet 1, l. 9-10.
- ¹²¹Elegie sur la misere des hommes, in LE THEATRE, p. 285, l. 21-22.
- ¹²²LE THEATRE, p. 296, l. 23-25, and Pinvert, p. 337, l. 9-11.
- ¹²³LE THEATRE, p. 301, l. 15-22, and Pinvert, p. 342, l. 1-8.
- ¹²⁴For, as Du Bellay himself says: 'J'appreste icy le plus souvent à rire' (A Monsieur d'Avanson, l. 84, in Regrets, ed. Screech, p. 51).
- ¹²⁵Du Bellay, Regrets, sonnet 1.
- ¹²⁶LE THEATRE, p. 296, l. 15-16, and Pinvert, p. 337, l. 1-2. Pinvert has mistakenly written 'Je ne ris [...]' instead of 'Je me ris [...]'.
- ¹²⁷One might take as examples Du Bellay, Regrets, sonnet 150, and L'OLIMPE, p. 95, and p. 104, and Pinvert, p. 317 and p. 326.
- ¹²⁸L'OLIMPE, p. 83, l. 23-28, and Pinvert, p. 315, l. 9-14. The fourth line of this quotation is reminiscent of Ecclesiastes 3: 1-9.
- ¹²⁹Du Bellay himself recognises this when he writes:
Mais tu diras que mal je nomme ces regretz,
Veu que le plus souvent j'use de mots pour rire
(sonnet 77, l. 5-6).
- ¹³⁰For instance, LE THEATRE, p. 295, and Pinvert, p. 336 is a rather humorous sonnet.
- ¹³¹LE THEATRE, p. 294, and Pinvert, p. 334 and 335.
- ¹³²LE THEATRE, p. 296, and Pinvert, p. 336.
- ¹³³LE THEATRE, p. 307, and Pinvert, p. 347.
- ¹³⁴Sonnet 3, l. 10-14.
- ¹³⁵LE THEATRE, p. 300, and Pinvert, p. 341, l. 1-2, 5-8 and 12.

- 136 Contre les avaritieux, in t. III, p. 118, l. 50-54.
- 137 LE THEATRE, p. 299, l. 1-2, and Pinvert, p. 339, l. 15-16.
- 138 T. IV. p. 210, l. 113-117.
- 139 LE THEATRE, p. 296, l. 1-8, and Pinvert; p. 336, l. 15-22.
- 140 L'OLIMPE, p. 112, and Pinvert, p. 332.
- 141 LE THEATRE, p. 269, l. 65-68.
- 142 Regrets, sonnet 175, l. 1-4.
- 143 LE THEATRE, p. 267-268, l. 1-8 and l. 33-36.
- 144 T. III, p. 63, l. 31-36. This is reminiscent of Horace, Carmina, IV, v, 9-16 (Du Bellay, t. III, p. 63, note 3).
- 145 Jacques Grévin, p. 384, sonnet 13, l. 12-14.
- 146 Sonnet 50, l. 1-4 and l. 11, mentioned by Pinvert, op. cit., p. 384, note 3.
- 147 Sonnet 9, l. 1.
- 148 Pinvert, op. cit., p. 384, sonnet 13, l. 1 and note 1.
- 149 Op. cit., p. 384, sonnet 13, l. 5 and note 2.
- 150 Regrets, sonnet 44, l. 1-4.
- 151 Du Bellay, Regrets, sonnet 82, l. 2-4.
- 152 See the present thesis, p. 223.
- 153 Pinvert, op. cit., p. 385, sonnet 16, l. 1-4 and note 1.
- 154 Jacques Grévin, p. 74.
- 155 Antiquitez, sonnet 14, l. 1-2 and 5-8.
- 156 Pinvert, op. cit., p. 362, sonnet 9, l. 1-4 and 9-11.
- 157 Op. cit., p. 363-364, sonnet 12, l. 1-4 and 9-11.
- 158 Op. cit., p. 369-370, sonnet 24.
- 159 Regrets, sonnet 181, l. 1-8.
- 160 Pinvert, op. cit., p. 360, sonnet 6, l. 1-8 and note 1.
- 161 Op. cit., p. 369, sonnet 23, l. 3 and note 1.
- 162 Regrets, sonnet 4, l. 1-4.
- 163 Pinvert, op. cit., p. 358, sonnet 1, l. 1 and note 2.
- 164 Antiquitez, sonnet 3, l. 1-4.
- 165 Pinvert, op. cit., p. 359, sonnet 4, l. 1-4 and l. 7-8 and note 2. M.C. Smith, in his article 'Looking for Rome in Rome. Janus Vitalis and his disciples' has mentioned the similarity between these two sonnets, and concludes that it is impossible to say whether Grévin imitated Vitalis or Du Bellay. Grévin's frequent imitation of Du Bellay in all these

SONNETS SUR ROMME may perhaps suggest that it is indeed Du Bellay that Grévin is imitating.

¹⁶⁶Regrets, sonnet 131, l. 7.

¹⁶⁷Pinvert, op. cit., p. 359, sonnet 3, l. 12.

¹⁶⁸Pinvert, op. cit., p. 358, sonnet 1, l. 9-14.

¹⁶⁹Sonnet 28, l. 1-4 and 9-14.

¹⁷⁰Lucan, Pharsalia, book I, l. 135 ff. See Du Bellay, Regrets, ed. Screech, p. 302, note 1.

¹⁷¹See, for example, the comparisons and comments on pages 214 and 226 of the present thesis.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter 5: Grévin and the other poets of the Pléiade

¹E. Balmas, Un poeta del rinascimento francese: Etienne Jodelle, Florence, 1962, p. 285.

²Le Recueil des Inscriptions, in E. Jodelle, Oeuvres complètes, ed. E. Balmas, Paris, 1965, t. II, p. 219-220.

³LA PASTORALE, in L'OLIMPE, p. 207, and Pinvert, p. 232. A full study of the relationship between Grévin and Jodelle as seen through LA PASTORALE and the other works of these two poets may be found in Balmas, op. cit., p. 287-294.

⁴L'OLIMPE, p. 193.

⁵Balmas, op. cit., p. 293.

⁶Op. cit., p. 294.

⁷L'OLIMPE, p. 59, and Pinvert, p. 284.

⁸LE THEATRE, and Pinvert, p. 5.

⁹L'OLIMPE, p. 193, l. 5-14, and Pinvert, p. 220, l. 1-10.

¹⁰Ronsard, t. VIII, p. 241-245.

¹¹Jodelle, ed. Balmas, t. I, p. 99, l. 7-14.

¹²Op. cit., p. 101, l. 33-34.

¹³This incident is described by Ronsard himself in a poem addressed to Margaret of France (Ronsard, t. III, p. 106, l. 145-150). See also Laumonier, Ronsard, Poète lyrique, Paris, 1909, p. 81.

¹⁴Jodelle, ed. Balmas, t. II, p. 479.

¹⁵Op. cit., t. II, p. 303, l. 14-15.

¹⁶L'OLIMPE, p. 196, l. 9-10, and Pinvert, p. 222, l. 33-34.

¹⁷Jodelle, ed. Balmas, t. I, p. 361, l. 1-8.

¹⁸L'OLIMPE, p. 103, l. 1-8, and Pinvert, p. 325, l. 1-8.

¹⁹LE THEATRE, p. 24, and Ginsberg, p. 134, l. 613.

²⁰Jodelle, ed. Balmas, t. II, p. 162, l. 1.

²¹LE THEATRE, p. 28, and Ginsberg, p. 142, l. 745-746.

²²Jodelle, ed. Balmas, t. II, p. 162, l. 17-19 and l. 25.

²³B. Jeffery, French Renaissance Comedy, 1552-1630, Oxford, 1969, p. 14-15.

²⁴Lapeyre, p. xxxv.

²⁵Op. cit., p. xli.

²⁶Jan Antoine de Baif, Euvres en rime, ed. Marty-Laveaux, Paris, 1883-1890, t. I, p. 12-91.

²⁷Op. cit., p. 93-279.

²⁸Op. cit., p. 281-395.

²⁹Op. cit., p. 29, l. 37 and p. 42, l. 24. This idea may also be found in Ronsard; see the present thesis, p. 181.

- ³⁰L'OLIMPE, p. 20, and p. 24, l. 28; see also Pinvert, p. 258 and p. 259.
- ³¹Baïf, t. I, p. 30, l. 35.
- ³²L'OLIMPE, p. 60, l. 18, and Pinvert, p. 285, l. 18.
- ³³L'OLIMPE, p. 63, l. 5-9, and Pinvert, p. 288, l. 5-9.
- ³⁴Baïf, t. I, p. 94, l. 34-36, and p. 95, l. 1.
- ³⁵Op. cit., t. I, p. 94, l. 30, 34 and 35, and L'OLIMPE, p. 63, l. 1, 5 and 8. See also Pinvert, p. 288, l. 1, 5 and 8. Another poem by Baïf which might have helped Grévin to write these lines contains the passage:
Laissez sous mes paupieres
Se couler dans mes yeux
Le somme gracieux
(Baïf, t. I, p. 217, l. 35-37).
- ³⁶L'OLIMPE, p. 36, and Pinvert, p. 268.
- ³⁷Baïf, t. I, p. 129, l. 7-20.
- ³⁸L'OLIMPE, p. 65, l. 13-14, and Pinvert, p. 289, l. 1-2.
- ³⁹Baïf, t. I, p. 109, l. 31.
- ⁴⁰L'OLIMPE, p. 34, l. 15, and Pinvert, p. 266, l. 15.
- ⁴¹Baïf, t. I, p. 144, l. 15.
- ⁴²L'OLIMPE, p. 100, and Pinvert, p. 322.
- ⁴³Baïf, t. II, p. 92, l. 25-27, and p. 93, l. 1-2.
- ⁴⁴Op. cit., t. II, p. 93, l. 22-25.
- ⁴⁵Op. cit., t. I, p. 60, l. 15-17.
- ⁴⁶L'OLIMPE, p. 84, l. 15-16.
- ⁴⁷Catullus, A Commentary by C.J. Fordyce, Oxford, 1961, p. 4-5. For a list of poems written by Ronsard as a result of the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, see David Hartley, Poetic reaction in France to events of the reign of Henri II (1547-1559) with particular reference to the works of Ronsard and Du Bellay, Ph.D. University College, London, 1978, p. 169-267.
- ⁴⁸Baïf, t. II, p. 42, l. 24-31.
- ⁴⁹L'OLIMPE, p. 114-115, l. 39-48.
- ⁵⁰Baïf, t. II, p. 225, l. 23-24.
- ⁵¹L'OLIMPE, Ode II, p. 140, l. 13-15.
- ⁵²Baïf, t. I, p. 102.
- ⁵³Cupid.
- ⁵⁴LE THEATRE, p. 234, and Pinvert, p. 306.
- ⁵⁵LE THEATRE, p. 235, l. 3-8, and Pinvert, p. 306, l. 18-22.
- ⁵⁶Baïf, t. II, p. 378, l. 11-16 (Baïf's lines are themselves based on Ronsard's Discours à la Royné - see Ronsard, Discours, ed. Smith, p. 72 and notes).

- ⁵⁷Baff, t. I, p. 96, l. 29-31.
- ⁵⁸LE THEATRE, p. 237, l. 22-23, and Pinvert, p. 309, l. 8-9.
- ⁵⁹Op. cit., p. 286, l. 21-26.
- ⁶⁰Op. cit., p. 286, l. 15-16.
- ⁶¹Baff, t. II, p. 36-37, l. 9-12.
- ⁶²Op. cit., t. II, p. 37, l. 23-24.
- ⁶³Montaigne, in his Apologie de Raimond Sebon, refutes the idea that nature is less generous to man than to other animals (Montaigne, Essais, t. II, chapter 12). The same theme may be found in a number of other sixteenth century poets.
- ⁶⁴LE THEATRE, Vilanesque III, p. 245, l. 18-19.
- ⁶⁵Baff, t. I, p. 36, l. 19-21.
- ⁶⁶Op. cit., t. I, p. 78, l. 3-8.
- ⁶⁷LE THEATRE, Baiser IIIII, p. 261, l. 9-11.
- ⁶⁸Op. cit., p. 246, l. 22-26.
- ⁶⁹Baff, t. III, p. 73, l. 16-17.
- ⁷⁰Op. cit., t. I, p. 264, l. 22-25.
- ⁷¹LE THEATRE, Baiser II, p. 248, l. 12-17.
- ⁷²Op. cit., p. 276-277, l. 13-15.
- ⁷³Baff, t. I, p. 25, l. 21-22.
- ⁷⁴L'OLIMPE, p. 9 and p. 15, and Pinvert, p. 249 and p. 252.
- ⁷⁵L'OLIMPE, p. 82, l. 1-9.
- ⁷⁶Remy Belleau, OEuvres poetiques, ed. Marty-Laveaux, Paris, 1878, t. II, p. 465.
- ⁷⁷L'OLIMPE, p. 208, l. 6-10, and Pinvert, p. 232, l. 20-24.
- ⁷⁸Belleau, t. I, p. 187, l. 29-35.
- ⁷⁹Op. cit., t. I, p. 193, l. 15.
- ⁸⁰L'OLIMPE, p. 213, l. 22, and Pinvert, p. 237, l. 18-25.
- ⁸¹L'OLIMPE, p. 202, and Pinvert, p. 228.
- ⁸²Belleau, t. I, p. 201, l. 7-12.
- ⁸³Pinvert, Jacques Grévin, 1899, p. 351, l. 11-12.
- ⁸⁴Belleau, t. I, p. 143, l. 7-9.
- ⁸⁵L'OLIMPE, p. 17, l. 4-5, and Pinvert, p. 255, l. 17-18.
- ⁸⁶L'OLIMPE, p. 33, l. 12-14, and Pinvert, p. 265, l. 12-14.
- ⁸⁷Belleau, t. I, p. 16, l. 15-17.
- ⁸⁸Op. cit., t. I, p. 234, l. 5-7.
- ⁸⁹L'OLIMPE, p. 60, l. 19-20, and Pinvert, p. 285, l. 19-20.
- ⁹⁰Ronsard, t. VII, p. 127, sonnet 10, l. 10.

- ⁹¹L'OLIMPE, p. 63, l. 1-4, and Pinvert, p. 288, l. 1-4.
- ⁹²Belleau, t. I, p. 268, l. 15-18.
- ⁹³L'OLIMPE, p. 151, l. 8-10.
- ⁹⁴Belleau, t. II, p. 109, l. 16-19.
- ⁹⁵Op. cit., t. II, p. 106, l. 23 and l. 25-28.
- ⁹⁶LE THEATRE, p. 235, l. 15-21, and Pinvert, p. 307, l. 1-7.
- ⁹⁷Belleau, t. I, p. 117, l. 4-11.
- ⁹⁸LE THEATRE, p. 225, l. 5-11, and Pinvert, p. 299, l. 5-11.
- ⁹⁹LE THEATRE, p. 294, l. 15-22, and Pinvert, p. 335, l. 1-8.
- ¹⁰⁰Belleau, t. II, p. 32, l. 5-10.
- ¹⁰¹LE THEATRE, p. 246, l. 15-21.
- ¹⁰²See the present thesis, p. 262.
- ¹⁰³Belleau, t. I, p. 140.
- ¹⁰⁴Belleau, t. I, p. 225, l. 28-30.
- ¹⁰⁵LE THEATRE, p. 249, l. 12-14.
- ¹⁰⁶Belleau, t. I, p. 115, l. 13-18.
- ¹⁰⁷LE THEATRE, Amourette I, p. 256, l. 9-14.
- ¹⁰⁸Ronsard, t. V, p. 196-197.
- ¹⁰⁹Appendix II of the present thesis, "Two Latin poems by Jean Dorat", discusses the translations by Dorat of Grévin's love poetry.
- ¹¹⁰HYMNE A MONSEIGNEUR LE DAUPHIN, p. 12, l. 26.
- ¹¹¹L'OLIMPE, p. 19, and Pinvert, p. 257.
- ¹¹²L'OLIMPE, p. 93, and Pinvert, p. 315.
- ¹¹³LE THEATRE, p. 235, and Pinvert, p. 307.
- ¹¹⁴Jean Dorat, Les Odes Latines, ed. Demerson, Clermont-Ferrand, 1979. Dorat's translation, fairly accurate, reads:
- Anus ab hinc alter, cum cælo diisque relictis
 In terras venit quo faber esset Amor.
 Non illi ars placuit, placuit cruciare per artem
 Hanc sibi me, fornax factus & eius ego.
 Utitur ille meis, quò flammæ mulceat, imbre
 Ex oculis, gemitus at vice follis habet.
 Venæ sunt illi carbones, est iecur incus,
 Spicula mille gravi qua lita tabe quatit.
 Nec modus aut requies, sed sansus mentis ibidem
 Usque sonum lima non faciente terit.
 Usque ibi præteritas aerumnas expolit, usque
 Venturas aptat credulitate levi.
 Quòdque magis durum est, Aurate, rudis faber ille
 Nostra rudimentum pectora subter agit.
 Et quodcunque sua peccavit in arte fabrili,
 Non sua peccanti, sed mihi culpa nocet.
- The fact that Dorat, a very well known poet, made a translation of a poem by Grévin, demonstrates that he was highly regarded

by his contemporaries.

¹¹⁵Ginsberg, in her edition of Cesar, lists the numerous passages where Grévin has imitated Muret (Ginsberg, p. 99-166).

¹¹⁶Pontus de Tyard, Œuvres poétiques complètes, ed. J.C.Lapp, Paris, 1966, p. 164, l. 40-41, and Pinvert, op. cit., p. 244.

¹¹⁷L'OLIMPE, p. 10, l. 14, and Pinvert, p. 249, l. 28.

¹¹⁸Pontus de Tyard, ed. cit., p. 22, l. 5-9.

¹¹⁹L'OLIMPE, Olimpiens, p. 78, l. 1-3.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter 6: The PRECEPTES DE PLUTARQUE

¹Under the title 'Moralia' are included in all of Plutarch's works with the exception of his εἰς τὸν παραλληλοῖς.

²Plutarque en France au XVIIe siècle. Trois opuscules moraux traduits par Antoine de Saix, Pierre de Saint-Julien et Jacques Amyot, Paris, 1971, p. vii.

³F. Rabelais, Pantagruel, édition critique sur le texte original par V.-L. Saulnier, Paris, 1969, p. 64.

⁴Amyot et Plutarque. La tradition des Moralia au XVIIe siècle, Geneva, 1965, p. 325-326.

⁵Plutarch, Plutarchi opuscula LXXXII. Index Moralium omnium, & eorum quæ in ipsis tractantur, habetur hoc quaternione, Venice, Manutius, 1509. The Præcepta Conjugalia are on p. 119-126.

⁶Plutarch, Plutarchi Chaeronei moralia opuscula, multis mendarum milibus expurgata, Basel, Frobenius and Episcopius, 1542. The Præcepta Conjugalia are on p. 101-107.

⁷Plutarch, Plutarchi Præcepta connubialia Interpretate Carolo Valgulo Brixiano, Brixia, Bernardinus, 1547.

⁸Plutarch, Moralia Plutarchi traducta, Venice, Bernardinus Venetus, 1505.

⁹Plutarch, Plutarchi Chaeronei, philosophi historicique clarissimi, Opuscula (quæ quidem extant) omnia, undeaque collecta, & diligentissime iampridem recognita, Basel, Cratender, 1530.

¹⁰Plutarch, Plutarchi Chaeronei Philosophi et historici clarissimi opera moralia, quæ in hunc usque diem latine extant, universa. Basel, Isingrinus, 1541.

¹¹Plutarch, Plutarchi Chaeronei philosophi, historicique clarissimi opuscula moralia, London, Gryphium, 1549.

¹²Plutarch, Plutarchi Chaeronei, Philosophi & Historici gravissimi, ethica, seu moralia opuscula quæ quidem in hunc usque diem è græco in latinum conversa extant, universa, Paris, Vascosanus, 1564.

¹³R. Aulotte, Amyot et Plutarque, p. 325-326.

¹⁴This translation may be found towards the end of a work by Nicolaus Beraldus, Sideralis Abyssus.

¹⁵Amyot et Plutarque, p. 329.

¹⁶Ms. fr. Q. Vélins III. 3., mentioned by R. Aulotte, Amyot et Plutarque, p. 347.

¹⁷R. Aulotte, Amyot et Plutarque, p. 347.

¹⁸Plutarch, Plutarque de Cherone Grec, ancien Philosophe historiographe, traictant entierement du gouvernement en mariage nouvellement traduit de Grec en Latin et de Latin en vulgaire Francoys par maistre Jehan Lodé Licencié en Loix natif du doicese de Nantes au pays de Bretaigne à l'honneur & exaltation de toutes gens, conjointz en mariage, Paris, Janot, 1536, p. 5 and 38.

- ¹⁹Op. cit., p. 74.
- ²⁰Lyon, De Tournes, 1546.
- ²¹Préceptes nuptiaux de Plutarque, nouvellement traduitz et faitz en rythme françoise, 1559.
- ²²Being a translation into French verse rather than prose, this work necessarily bears rather less proximity to the original text, and is therefore less useful in a comparison of Grévin's text with other contemporary translations.
- ²³Paris, Dallier, 1564.
- ²⁴Op. cit., p. 73-83.
- ²⁵Pinvert, Jacques Grévin, p. 31, note 1.
- ²⁶B.L. 525. a. 39.
- ²⁷Marconville, p. 73.
- ²⁸Les Regles de Mariages de Plutarque, in E. de la Boëtie, Œuvres complètes, publiées avec notice biographique, variantes, notes et index par P. Bonnefon, Paris, 1892, p. 161-184.
- ²⁹Op. cit., p. lvi.
- ³⁰Aldine, p. 119. 'For, in music, they called one of the conventional themes for the flute 'hippotoros', a certain song which, it seems, stimulated an eager desire in horses, imparting it to them in the breeding season'.
- ³¹Isingrinus, p. 22, l. 5-6. Where there are no differences between the various editions the reference to the Isingrinus text alone will be given.
- ³²La Boëtie, ed. Bonnefon, p. 161.
- ³³Op. cit., p. lvii.
- ³⁴Plutarch, Les œuvres morales & meslées de Plutarque. Translatées du Grec en François par Messire Jacques Amyot, à present Evesque d'Auxerre, Paris, Vascosan, 1572. Introduction by M.A.Screech, New York, 1971.
- ³⁵F. Grudé de la Croix du Maine, Premier volume de la bibliothèque du Sieur de la Croix du Maine, Paris, L'Angelier, 1584, p. 187, under Jacques Grévin.
- ³⁶A. du Verdier, La Bibliothèque d'Antoine du Verdier seigneur de Vauprivias, Lyon, Honorat, 1585, p. 604-608.
- ³⁷Baillét (who did not mention Grévin's translation either in the first edition of his work Jugemens des Sçavans sur les principaux ouvrages des auteurs, Paris, Dezallier, 1685-1686, t. IV, part 3, p. 307-310, or in his second treatise Des enfans devenus celebres par leurs études ou par leurs écrits. Traité historique, Paris, Dezallier, 1688, p. 140-143, in which a number of Grévin's other works are named) lists this work in his section on French translators in the later, augmented edition of the Jugemens des Sçavans (ed. 1722-1730, t. III, p. 110, under Jacques Grévin), giving the title as LES PRECEPTES DE PLUTARQUE SUR LA MANIERE DE SE

GOUVERNER EN MARIAGE, without mentioning any date, or stating whether or not he has seen the text. M. de la Monnoye, in a footnote to this later edition of Baillet's work, makes it clear that he has not seen the text, for he writes, referring to the PRECEPTES DE PLUTARQUE:

Comme on ne doutera pas que Grévin n'ait traduit en prose cet opuscule de Plutarque [...]

(op. cit., p. 110, note 5). Had he seen the work, he would not have written 'on ne doutera pas', for he would have known beyond doubt that this was a prose version. Nicéron, in his Memoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres (1727-1745, t. XXVI, p. 343) like Baillet, repeats simply the information furnished by Grudé de la Croix du Maine, mentioning in addition that Du Verdier makes no note of this translation. Goujet also mentions the PRECEPTES, although giving no additional information (Bibliothèque française, 1740-1745, t. XII, p. 165).

³⁸Pinvert, op. cit., p. 2.

³⁹Op. cit., p. 30.

⁴⁰Op. cit., p. 31, end of note 1.

⁴¹p. 59-60.

⁴²LES PRECEPTES DE PLUTARQUE, MONSTRANT LA MANIERE COMME IL FAUT SE GOUVERNER EN MARIAGE. TRANSLATEZ SELON LA VERITE DU GREC. PAR JACQUES GREVIN DE CLERMONT. AVEC UNE CHANSON DE LA FEMME VERTUEUSE & BONNE MENAGERE, Rouen, Jean Chollim, [s.d.]

⁴³'Une version retrouvée de Jacques Grévin', p. 352.

⁴⁴p. 293, l. 58.

⁴⁵LES REGRETZ DE CHARLES D'AUSTRICHE, p. 3.

⁴⁶p. 293, l. 61-63.

⁴⁷p. 293, l. 60-61.

⁴⁸Ronsard, t. IX, p. 174-192.

⁴⁹Du Bellay, t. V, p. 199-226.

⁵⁰Jodelle, t. I, op. cit., p. 170-185.

⁵¹Wytttenbach (in his edition of Plutarch: Plutarchi chæronensis moralia, id est opera, exceptis vitis, reliqua, Oxford, 1795-1830) has compared the differences between the Aldine and Basel editions of the Greek text, and come to the conclusion 'Immo rara sunt: at sunt tamen'. (Vol. I, p. lxxxviii). He has not, however, noted any textual differences as far as the Præcepta Conjugalia are concerned. There is, in fact, one difference, albeit very slight; in the Aldine edition, p. 125, l. 12, one reads 'κόλιον'. In the Basel edition the word given is 'πέλιον' (noted in Plutarch, Moralia, Loeb Classical Library, London, 1927-1969, t. II, p. 330, note 3).

⁵²The only important difference between the two texts comes at the end. Grévin, for some reason, omits the last few lines of the Valgulus text, breaking off in mid-sentence.

⁵³P. 295, l. 5-7.

⁵⁴P. 297, Sommaire IIII, l. 5.

⁵⁵Isingrinus, p. 22, l. 38.

⁵⁶Aldine, p. 126. The many other examples will be indicated in the edition of Grévin's translation itself.

⁵⁷Proof will be given in the present edition of the text whenever there is a difference between any of the Valgulus editions.

⁵⁸P. 301, Sommaire XIII, l. 6-7.

⁵⁹Isingrinus, p. 22 v^o, l. 32.

⁶⁰Aldine, p. 121.

⁶¹P. 316, Sommaire XLV, l. 3-7.

⁶²Aldine, p. 126.

⁶³P. 331, Sommaire.L, l. 53-55.

⁶⁴This work was not published until 1568, when it appeared with the DEUX LIVRES DES VENINS - the Damoiselle Marguerite D.L. writes in a preliminary poem to be found at the head of the 1561 LE THEATRE that one of the works Grévin had already written was the translation of Nicander (Ode de Damoiselle D.L., in LE THEATRE).

⁶⁵In L'OLIMPE and LE THEATRE.

FOOTNOTES

The text of the PRECEPTES DE PLUTARQUE

P. 289, l. 5:

Despite this claim, the PRECEPTES DE PLUTARQUE are, in fact, a translation of the Latin of Carolus Valgulus Brixianus (see P. 285-287 of the present thesis). Marconville, who translated the same Latin text, states in his title, rather more honestly, that his Preceptes are: 'traduictes de Latin en François' (Marconville, ed. 1564, p. 73 - unless otherwise stated, all references to Marconville's translation will be to this edition).

P. 289, l. 10-11:

It seems probable that this Chollim is Jean Chollain, of Rouen, whose career as a printer is mentioned by Georges Lepreux (Gallia typographica ou réertoire biographique et chronologique de tous les imprimeurs de France, Paris, 1911, t. III, part II, p. 83-85).

P. 290:

Grévin himself seems to have selected this quotation, for it does not appear in any previous edition or translation. It is interesting to note, however, that it is adopted by Jean de Marconville in his later 1578 text, although it does not appear in the first edition, dating from 1564. Marconville, presumably after reading Grévin's text, cites the first half of this quotation (ed. 1578, title page).

P. 291, l. 2-3:

Grévin uses the expression 'sous l'ombre de [...]' again in the Gelodacrye II, where he writes: 'sous l'ombre d'un Ergo' (LE THEATRE, p. 305, l. 20 and Pinvert, p. 346, l. 6). The meaning in these PRECEPTES DE PLUTARQUE is probably that men will pretend to nod approval of what they cannot understand.

P. 291, l. 4-5:

Guillaume Budé, De Asse et Partibus eius Libri quinque Guliemo Budeo Parisiensi a Secretis Regis Francie, auctore, Paris, 1557, p. 20ff. (see Aulotte, 'Une version retrouvée de Jacques Grévin', Hommage à Marie Delcourt, 1970, p. 353).

P. 291, l. 11:

Faquin: 'any base-conditioned fellow' (R.Cotgrave, A French-English Dictionary, London, 1611).

P. 291, l. 11-12:

Grévin, in La Gelodacrye, again uses a very similar phrase, referring to 'un poltron courtisan'. He writes:

Il fait dans son cerveau mille & mille discours,
Il basiti en un mois ce qu'il rompt en trois jours.

(L'OLIMPE, p. 99, l. 13-14, and Pinvert, p. 321, l. 12-13).

P. 291, l. 8-14:

Perhaps a reference to the Italian architects employed by Catherine of Medici. Grévin frequently complained of the preference shown to foreigners, and particularly Italians. In LA PASTORALE, for instance, he discusses the lack of rewards given by the rich to the 'shepherds', and adds the lines:

Et qui plus est, Collin, ces bavars estrangers
Sont venus augmenter le nombre des bergers:
Si bien que maintenant le meilleur pasturage
(Qui de droict nous est deu) leur est comme heritage.

(L'OLIMPE, p. 197, and Pinvert, p. 223). Messere Panthaleone, in Les Esbahis, moreover, represents the typical caricature of the Italian, who professes a love he does not really feel, and is a coward, although full of brave words (LE THEATRE, p. 112-219, and Pinvert, p. 115-217).

P. 292, l. 27:

Unfortunately Grévin does not say to whom he is referring

here. It is perhaps, however, a reference to Jodelle, and to the problems encountered by him while trying to stage a show at the Hôtel de Ville in Paris in 1558.

P. 292, l. 35:

Autre: the text reads Outre.

P. 292, l. 35, note:

Ne: the text reads n'ay. The note furnished by Grévin to these lines leaves no doubt that this is a reference to Jean la Bon, born in a town called Autreville, near Chaumont-en-Bassigny in the Haute-Marne. Jean le Bon used the pseudonym of l'Hétropolitain (ἕτερος - other, and πόλις - city), as in his work: Therapia Puerperarum, per Johannem le Bon.

Hetropolitain, medicum, Paris, Jacques du Puys, 1554

(mentioned by A.Benoît, Notice sur Jean le Bon, Paris, 1879, p. i). It seems likely that the word 'ignarement' refers to the error made by Jean le Bon in the spelling of his pseudonym. This error is pointed out by M. de la Monnoye, who, in a footnote, writes:

Hétropolitain est dit pour Hétéropolitain, mais l'abréviation d'ἕτερος pour ἕτερος en ce mot-là est sans exemple.

(Grudé de la Croix du Maine, Bibliothèques françoises, 1772, t. I. p. 456).

P. 292, l. 37:

Deguisant son nom: this probably refers to the pseudonym Nobel - Le Bon spelt backwards - used by Jean le Bon in his Oraison ou Invective contre les Poëtes confrères de Cupidon et Rithmailleurs François de nostre temps, par Jean Nobel, Rouen, 1554 (mentioned by A.Benoît, op. cit., p. i).

P. 292, l. 37:

Empruntant celui d'autrui: Jean le Bon, who came from the Vosges, adopted the pseudonym of 'Solon de Vosge', after Solon of Athens (c. 638-558 b.c.), poet and philosopher. Le Bon uses this name, for instance, in his work: Adages et Proverbes de Solon de Vosge (mentioned by A.Benoît, op. cit., p. i). In his work on the 'Bains de Plombières' (Abbrégé de la Propriété des Bains de Plommières, mentioned in A.Benoît, op. cit., p. iv) he had already announced that he would publish this work, but had given the pseudonym Salomon de Vosge instead (Benoît, op. cit., p. v).

P. 292, l. 38:

Se couvrant [...] comme d'un sac mouillé: giving a bad excuse, using a poor argument (Huguet, Dictionnaire de la langue française du seizième siècle, Paris, 1925-1967). Here, therefore, Grévin is stating that Jean le Bon is lying by calling himself learned - which he has done implicitly by naming himself Solon, and even more so by adopting the name of Solomon, legendary for his wisdom. Grévin uses this same expression again in his DISCOURS SUR L'ANTIMOINE, p. 21 v^o.

P. 292, l. 39:

In other words, that he would be able to do the impossible. Ronsard uses a similar phrase in his Hymne de la Philosophie, when he writes:

Et comme on voit la sorciere importune
Tirer du Ciel par ses charmes la Lune [...]

(Ronsard, t. VIII, p. 89, l. 59-60).

P. 292, l. 42:

Jaçoit que: albeit that (the text reads 'jaçois').

P. 292, l. 46-47:

From these lines it would seem that Grévin was not in Paris when he wrote these precepts.

P. 292, l. 51:

Bruyant à dextre: sometimes a good omen (see Ronsard, Amours, ed. H. Weber et C. Weber, Paris, 1963, p. 14 and note to sonnet 19, l. 5).

P. 293, l. 55:

Grévin not infrequently complains about his poverty. In LA PASTORALE, for instance, he tells of his fear of still being poor in his old age (L'OLIMPE, p. 198, and Pinvert, p. 224). In the RESPONSE AUX CALOMNIES DE GUYMARA, too, he tells his enemy, Charpentier, that both their families (his and Charpentier's) were poor (p. 11, l. 17-18).

P. 293, l. 58:

These studies were, almost certainly, the medical studies which Grévin started in 1556, and for which he sat his exams on 14th June 1561 (see pages 40 and 64 of the present thesis).

P. 293, l. 60-61:

These lines suggest that Grévin corrected his translation of the PRECEPTES DE PLUTARQUE, written some time earlier, while the preliminaries for the double wedding of Margaret of France and Elizabeth of France were taking place - around the time of the peace treaty of Cateau Cambrésis, on 3rd April 1559, when it was decided that the weddings would take place, and of the weddings themselves, on 9th July 1559.

P. 293, l. 62:

Par maniere d'exercice: these lines suggest that it was probably while still in school, studying Latin (for his

translation, as we have seen, is based on the Latin edition) that Grévin first composed this work; very probably, therefore, in or around 1556.

P. 293, l. 63:

Here again, as in his title (see my note to p. 289, l. 5) Grévin claims to be translating the Greek original rather than the Valgulus Latin translation, which he is, in reality, using.

P. 293, l. 65:

Jeter si tost en moulle: carry out quickly.

P. 293, l. 67:

Faire marché de: consider worthless.

P. 293, l. 70:

Conformes à nostre religion: it seems likely that Grévin here means simply the Christian Faith, and that although Plutarch was not a Christian, his rules conformed with Christian belief.

P. 293, l. 75-76:

On this pseudonym, see note to p. 292, l. 35, note.

P. 294, title:

A.S.F.: it is not clear to whom the initials S.F. refer. The sonnet itself tells us only that Grévin is addressing a woman, and one he intends to marry. We cannot be sure of the date of this sonnet. Aulotte believes that it may be different from that of the translation (see 'Une version retrouvée de Jacques Grévin, p. 355-356).

P. 294, l. 2:

Grévin is perhaps referring to the 'envieux' he had described in his epistle Jacques Grévin au lecteur Salut, p. 291, l. 18-27, and probably also, more directly, to Jean le

Bon and 'les autres, ses semblables' (p. 292, l. 40).

P. 294, l. 6:

Proteus, son of Oceanus and Tethys, had the power of revealing fate. He was also - and it is to this that Grévin is referring - able to change his form at will.

P. 295, title:

Nothing is known of Pollian, to whom Plutarch dedicated these Præcepta Conjugalia. Eurydice had been the philosopher's pupil. Jonsius states: 'Euridice videtur filia Plutarchi fuisse, cui & Polliano marito conjugalia præcepta inscripsit' (De Scriptoribus historiæ philosophicæ Libri IV, book III, ch. 6) but he does not substantiate this claim. Modern editors add nothing to this.

P. 295, l. 1:

Plutarch's exact words were 'ἡ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱέρεια' (Aldine, p. 119) - 'the priestess of Demeter'. Amyot, translating precisely Plutarch's original text, writes: 'La prebstresse de Ceres' (t. I, p. 145) as does Estienne de la Boëtie (p. 161). Grévin, unusually, here deviates from the Valgulus Latin, which reads: 'Cereris sacerdos' (Isingrinus, p. 22, l. 1). The words 'le grand Dieu' presumably refer to the 'Dieu Hymenée' whom Grévin later mentions (p. 295, l. 3).

P. 295, l. 2:

Conjoincts en mariage: a precise translation of the Valgulus Latin 'connubio copulavit' (Isingrinus, p. 22, l. 1-2). The Greek, however, reads: 'συνεργυυμένους ἐφῆρμοσεν' - 'when you were shut up together' (Aldine, p. 119) translated by Amyot as 'en vous enfermant ensemble' (t. I, p. 145). Estienne de la Boëtie, who had evidently read

either the Valgulus Latin or, less probably, Grévin's own translation, writes: 'lors que vous fustes joints par mariage' (p. 161).

P. 295, l. 2-3:

These lines are very different from the Greek original
'καὶ τὸν λόγον ὁμοῦ συνεφαπτόμενον ὑμῶν
καὶ συνυμεναλιούντα' - 'and the discourse, bringing you
together and joining in the bridal hymn [...]' (Aldine, p. 119),
but are an exact translation of the Valgulus text:

'Orationem quoque, quæ simul vos concinnet, simulque
Hymanæum ope prosequatur' (Isingrinus, p. 22, l. 2-3).

P. 295, l. 6-7:

Here again, Grévin is following the Valgulus Latin: 'is
erat cantus, quo equi in certamine curuli concitabantur',
(Isingrinus, p. 22, l. 5-6). These lines are very different
from the Greek original: 'μέλος τι τοῖς ἵπποις ὀρμῆς
ἐπεγερτικὸν [...] ἐνδιδόν τε περὶ τὰς ὀχεῖας.'

' a certain song stimulating an eager desire in horses,
imparting it to them in the breeding season' (Aldine, p. 119).

La Boétie, too, adopts the Valgulus version, writing: '[une
chant] laquelle [...] on appelloit haste-cheval, pour autant,
je croy, qu'elle avoit quelque vertu de donner aux chevaux
courage de tirer au chariot' (p. 161). In Paul Bonnefon's
edition of the works of Estienne de la Boétie, a note by
Renhold Dezeimeris reads: 'La Boétie altère le sens
volontairement. Le traité de Plutarque étant dédié à une
mariée, La Boétie, avec beaucoup de tact, a senti que notre
langue, en telle condition, se refusait à dire certaines
choses et à tolérer certaines comparaisons' (p. 350).

Evidently neither Reinhold Dezeimeris nor Paul Bonnefon has noticed that this alteration originated in the Latin text. Marconville, who, like Grévin, translates Valgulus' Latin, has omitted the whole of this initial passage (p. 73).

P. 295, l. 14-16:

Grévin here departs from the Valgulus text, and also from the Greek, omitting to say that these precepts are a gift 'commune utrique donum' (Isingrinus, p. 22, l. 12). The meaning, however, remains unchanged.

P. 295, l. 17:

As with all the names of gods and goddesses, Valgulus (Isingrinus, p. 22, l. 13) has adopted the Latin version rather than the Greek, here Aphrodite (Aldine, p. 119).

P. 295, l. 17-19:

These lines are very close to the Latin from which they originate: 'Precans Muses Veneri adsint ac faveant, ut nullam lyram, nullamve citharam magis sibi consonam præstant, quam quæ ad nuptias domumque vestram pertinent', (Isingrinus, p. 22, l. 12-14). The construction, and to a large extent the word order, used by Grévin is identical, a clear indication that he is translating the Valgulus text.

P. 295, l. 20:

Aptes: the original reads apres.

P. 296, l. 22:

In Lodé's translation, the passage about Venus and Mercury is marked as the first precept (p. 4). Marconville, too, makes this passage part of his first precept (p. 73).

P. 296, l. 22:

Marconville omits most of this introduction, beginning

with the passage about Venus and Mercury (p. 73).

P. 296, l. 23:

The Greek, not surprisingly, reads Hermes.

P. 296, l. 25:

Raison: wit, discourse (Cotgrave, op. cit.).

P. 296, l. 26:

La Deesse Persuasion: also called Pytho. Amyot names her 'Suadelle', the goddess of eloquence (p. 145 v^o).

P. 296, l. 26-28:

Marconville has omitted the last passage of this introduction (p. 73).

P. 296, Sommaire I:

In the earliest Valgulus text the first summary begins at the very start of these precepts; thus what in Grévin's text constitutes the introduction and the first 'sommaire' are, in the 1497 and 1505 texts, all part of the first passage (1497, p. 1 and 1505, p. 1). All the later texts (1530, 1541, 1549 and 1564) begin the first passage in the same place as Grévin: Grévin is certainly using one of these later editions.

P. 296, Sommaire I, l. 1:

Lodé, amplifying the text, explains that Solon is a 'grand & excellent philosophe & legislateur D'Athenes' (p. 5). Plutarch mentions this same story about a wife eating a quince again in the Quæstiones Romanæ, ch. 65 (279), and in his Life of Solon, ch. 22:3. The 1497 text here reads 'Solon videbat sponsam' (Valgulus, ed. 1497, p. 1). This was corrected in all the following editions to 'Solon iubebat sponsam' (Isingrinus, p. 22, l. 19). It is this correction that Grévin translated by the verb 'defendoit à [...]'

P. 296, Sommaire I, l. 2:

Coing: the quince, a fruit originating in Asia, was prized by the Greeks for its medicinal properties. Marconville's phrasing here is remarkably similar ('qu'elle n'eust premierement gousté d'un coing' - p. 73). It is possible that he is imitating Grévin, although one may not rule out the possibility that both arrived at the same translation independently.

P. 296, Sommaire II, l. 1:

Betoine: Boeotia (see Aulotte, 'Une version retrouvée de Jacques Grévin', p. 356).

P. 297, Sommaire II, l. 12:

Estrangers: the original reads estrangler.

P. 297, Sommaire II, l. 14:

Grévin has omitted to translate the Latin 'quacunque causa' (Isingrinus, p. 22, l. 30-31) present in every edition of the Valgulus text.

P. 297, Sommaire II, l. 16-17:

The 1497 and 1505 texts both read 'vix igni aut ferro dissolvi videant' (Valgulus, ed. 1497, p. 2, and 1505, p. 2). The last word was corrected by the later texts to 'valeant' (Isingrinus, p. 22, l. 32), and it is this word that Grévin has translated.

P. 297, Sommaire III, l. 1-3:

Estienne de la Boétie's translation: 'Ainsi que le feu s'allume aisément à la paille, & au poil de lievre, & aussi tost est il esteint' (p. 163) is similar to Jacques Grévin's text. It is, not, of course, impossible that La Boétie imitated Grévin, but it seems more likely that it is rather

to the Latin (Isingrinus, p. 22, l. 32-33), which Grévin translated, that La Boétie referred.

P. 297, Sommaire IV, l. 4:

Grévin is translating the Latin 'voluptatis causa' (Isingrinus, p. 22, l. 38) rather than the Greek 'χειρούμεναι δι' ἡδονῆς αὐτῶν' - 'becoming conquerors of them through pleasure' (Aldine, p. 120).

P. 298, Sommaire IV, l. 7:

As usual, Lodé, expanding the text, gives an explanation: 'Circe, que les poètes faignent par enchantemens avoir mué & transformé les compagnons de Uliesses en bestes brutes & monstrueuses, diceulx jamais ne se aida' (p. 11).

The Valgulus Latin, too, mentions the 'breuvages de Circe': 'Neque enim Circen ab ea potionati quique iuverunt' (Isingrinus, p. 22, l. 39-40), whereas the Greek merely says: τῆν κίρκην [...] οἱ καταφαρμακευθέντες' - 'those having been bewitched by Circe' (Aldine, p. 120). La Boétie here, too, had translated the Latin rather than the Greek: 'Circé ne receut nul plaisir de ceux qu'elle transforma avec ses breuvages' (p. 164)..

For the story of Circe, see Homer, Odyssey, book X, l. 136ff.

P. 298, Sommaire IV, l. 9-10:

La Boétie had interpreted these lines differently, writing: 'mais à bon droit & sagement porta celle grande affection à Ulysse, homme d'entendement, qu'elle tint en sa compagnie' (p. 164). Both the Greek (Aldine, p. 120) and the Valgulus Latin (Isingrinus, p. 22, l. 41-42) indicate that it was Ulysses rather than Circe who was prudent.

P. 298, Sommaire V, l. 1:

Hebetez: Lodé adds the words 'ainsi abestis' (p. 12) to his description of the men, thus drawing a closer tie between them and Ulysses' companions.

P. 298, Sommaire V, l. 3:

Marconville, translating the Valgulus Latin, has apparently misinterpreted these lines, writing: '[...] suivre un aveugle, qu'un autre clair voyant' (p. 74).

P. 298, Sommaire VI, l. 1-2:

Both the Valgulus Latin (Isingrinus, p. 22, l. 44) and Grévin's translation fail to note the emphasis laid by Plutarch on the fact that it is women (and, according to both Estienne de la Boétie - p. 164 - and Amyot - p. 145 v^o - those women who prefer to lead the stupid than to follow the wise) who are unable to believe that Pasiphæe fell in love with a bull (Aldine, p. 120).

Pasiphæe: Lodé adds the words: 'femme de Minos roy de Crete' (p. 13). Virgil refers to this story in his Eclogues, saying:

et fortunatum, si numquam armenta fuissent,
Pasiphaen nivei solatur amore iuveni,

(VI, l. 45-46). Hyginus, too, mentions it in his Fabulæ, 40.

P. 298, Sommaire VI, l. 1-5.

Marconville has altered the order of this passage: those who prefer intemperate men, he says, are like Pasiphæe (p. 74). The meaning, however, remains unchanged.

P. 299, Sommaire IX, title:

Lodé does not include this as one of his precepts, giving it instead the title Reprehension contre Herodote (p. 15-16).

P. 299, Sommaire IX, l. 5:

Between precepts IX and X Lodé presents an 'Addition au precedent precepte adjousté par le traducteur' (p. 16). Here Lodé informs his reader that Herodotus tells the story of a king of Sardinia who, having mentioned his wife's beauty to his servant Gyges, suggested that he see her naked. Gyges, though unwilling, was forced to do this: when he had seen her, she called for him and said that either he must kill the king, her husband, or she would have him (Gyges) killed. Given these two alternatives, Gyges killed the king (p. 16-19).

P. 299, Sommaire X, l. 1-2:

This is a translation of the Latin 'gravior is fit cantus' (Isingrinus, p. 22 v^o, l. 12). The Greek has a similar meaning: ' τοῦ βαρυτέρου γίνεται τὸ μέλος' - 'the tune is produced by the bass' (Aldine, p. 121). Grévin's translation 'rempli' does not really indicate the sense of the original Greek, that it is the bass, or husband's voice, that prevails: Amyot's translation 'L'on entend tousjours plus celuy du bas' (p. 146) is far more satisfactory.

P. 299, Sommaire X, l. 3:

Jaçoit: the text reads jaçois.

P. 299, Sommaire XI, l. 1:

A very similar story is told by Babrius in his fable 18, The North wind and the Sun. The same story is also found in Æsop's fable 73 Βορέας καὶ Ἥλιος, although in both we are told, in addition to what we learn here in Plutarch, that the north wind and the sun were having a contest.

P. 299, Sommaire XI, l. 1:

Lodé, like Grévin, adds a footnote stating that the north

wind is commonly called 'Galerne' (p. 20).

P. 300, Sommaire XI, l. 1-4:

This sentence is very complicated in Grévin's version. La Boétie's rendering, although rather similar to that of Grévin, is far clearer: '[...] car l'homme, quant le vent le vouloit forcer avec ses grandes soufflées de laisser le manteau, il le serroit tousjours plus fort, & retint ainsi son habillement' (p. 165).

P. 300, Sommaire XII, l. 1:

This story is again told by Plutarch in his life of Marcus Cato, 17:7. The 'bourgeois', as we learn there, is Cato himself.

P. 300, Sommaire XII, l. 2-3:

Marconville's translation is very close to Grévin's here (p. 75). This is not, however, necessarily imitation, for Marconville, translating Valgulus' Latin, may well have independently given an identical rendering.

P. 300, Sommaire XII, l. 6:

Here the 1497 and 1505 texts both read 'cur turpius nomen coram aliis iurgiis contumeliisque sese vicissim lacessere?' (1497, p. 3 and 1505, p. 4). All the later texts have replaced 'nomen' with 'non est' (Isingrinus, p. 22 v^o, l. 22); it is this version that Grévin has translated.

P. 300, Sommaire XII, l. 9-10:

The 1497 and 1505 texts both read: 'admonitiones vero ac reprehensiones libera licentia aptaque esse debent' (1497, p. 4 and 1505, p. 4). The later texts replace 'aptaque' with 'apertaque' (Isingrinus, p. 22 v^o, l. 25), translated by Grévin as 'apertes'.

At the end of this precept Grévin seems to oppose his previous statement, saying now that quarrels should be open. This is an exact translation of the Valgulus Latin (Isingrinus, p. 22 v^o, l. 23-25). Plutarch had, however, phrased this sentence as a question: 'πῶς οὐκ αἴσχιον ἑτέρων παρόντων λοιδορεῖσθαι καὶ διαφέρεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐντεύξεις καὶ φιλοφροσύνας ἀπορρήτους πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα ποιεῖσθαι, νουθεσία δὲ καὶ μέμψει καὶ παρρησία χρῆσθαι φανεροῦ καὶ ἀναπεπταμένη;' - 'surely it is more dishonorable to reproach each other and quarrel with each other openly: to be intimate and friendly towards the wife in secret, and to deal with admonition and censure and frankness openly and explicitly?' (Aldine, p. 121). Marconville, who, like Grévin, translated the Latin text without reference to the Greek, has made the same mistake (p. 75).

P. 301, Sommaire XIII:

This precept is a very close rendering of the Valgulus Latin: 'Ut speculum auro, gemmisque ornatum utilitatem nullam affert, nisi similem speciem referat: sic opulentiae uxoris nullus fructus est, ni vitam moresque praestet cum vita & moribus viri congruentes & consentaneos' (Isingrinus, p. 22 v^o, l. 25-28).

P. 301, Sommaire XIV, l. 5:

The 1497 text reads 'videt' (Valgulus, ed. 1497, p. 3), corrected by all the following texts to 'ridet' (Isingrinus, p. 22 v^o, l. 31), and translated as 'joyeux'.

P. 301, Sommaire XIV, l. 7:

Contentement: The Latin text reads 'tum tristis, tum

contemnentis' (Isingrinus, p. 22 v^o, l. 32), and the Greek 'τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀηδίας, τὸ δ' ὀλιγωρίας' - 'the one of unpleasantness, the other of contempt' (Aldine, p. 121).

Surprisingly Marconville, who usually remains close to the Latin, here strays from the text, although his meaning remains the same. For he writes: 'car toutes les choses là ne sont qu'indices d'un esprit volage' (p. 75 v^o).

P. 301, Sommaire XV, l. 2:

En derriere: secretly. Amyot uses this same phrase in his translation Comment on pourra descerner le flatteur d'avec l'amy, 24 (t. I, p. 49 v^o) - 'Soubs main & en derriere il vous jettera et semera des calomnies'. The meaning in Grévin's text is, therefore, that, if a husband does not eat with his wife, she will gluttonize in secret.

Grévin has here omitted to translate the words: 'Nec jocos, risumque communicant' (Isingrinus, p. 22 v^o, l. 36-37).

P. 302, Sommaire XVI, l. 1-6:

Plutarch again mentions this custom in his Quæstiones conviviales, book I, question 1 (613), where he says that the Persians are commended for this action.

P. 302, Sommaire XVI, l. 8:

Femme impudique: the text reads 'femme pudique'. Valgulius wrote 'Scorto aut ancilla' (Isingrinus, p. 22 v^o, l. 42).

This complete passage (l. 8-11) is omitted by Marconville, who writes instead: 'les femmes ne doibvent point veoir mais les supporter gracieusement & sans en faire bruict' (p. 76).

P. 302, Sommaire XVII, l. 1:

This is a close rendering of the Latin 'Cultores Musarum' (Isingrinus, p. 22 v^o, l. 45). The Greek text, however, reads: 'οἱ φιλόμουσοι τῶν βασιλέων' - 'those among kings who love music' (Aldine, p. 121).

P. 302, Sommaire XVII, l. 2:

D'un ardent courage: these words are added by Grévin; they do not have any equivalent in the Latin or Greek texts.

Amyot's rendering explains more clearly the meaning of these first lines. He writes: 'Quand les Roys aiment la musique, ils sont cause que de leur regne il se fait plusieurs bons Musiciens' (t. I, p. 146 v^o).

P. 302, Sommaire XVII, l. 5-6:

Femme poupine: the Greek text here reads: 'καλλωπίστριαν γυναῖκα ποιεῖ' - 'he makes his wife a dandy' (Aldine, p. 121), and the Latin states that such a husband 'uxorem compticem facit' (Isingrinus, p. 22 v^o, l. 47-48). Lodé has explained the meaning most clearly, writing: '[...] sa femme se mire & farde contre l'honesteté du sexe muliebre' (p. 27). The adjective 'poupin' means 'gracious' or 'pretty' (Huguet, op. cit.).

P. 302-303, Sommaires XVII-XVIII:

At the end of precept XVII Lodé adds the words: 'Comment o'est signe de intemperance à la femme solliciter, & exiger de son mari le devoir de nature, & au contraire le refuser quant il le requiert' (p. 27), thus establishing a stronger relationship between precepts XVII and XVIII.

P. 303, Sommaire XVIII, l. 1-2:

Marconville seems to have misunderstood the meaning of this

sentence. He writes that the girl was asked 'si elle estoit allée beaucoup de fois à son mary' (p. 76), which creates a rather different nuance.

P. 303, Sommaire XVIII, l. 1-3:

Exactly the same story is again recounted by Plutarch in his Lacænarum Apophthegmata, ch. 25 (242).

P. 303, Sommaire XVIII, l. 6-8:

The lines Grévin translated are found in the 1530, 1541 and 1549 texts: 'ut enim hoc meretricis est atque impudentis, sic & illud fastuosæ, nec virum amantis' (Isingrinus, p. 22 v^o, l. 53, and p. 23, l. 1). They are, however, not found in the 1497 or 1505 texts (Valgulius, ed. 1497, p. 4 and 1505, p. 5).

P. 303, Sommaire XIX, l. 3:

The relationship between the comment on friends (l. 1-2) and the following statement on religion is not made clear in Grévin's text. In the Greek original the relationship was evident, for the comment on religion started with the words: 'οἱ δὲ θεοὶ φίλοι πρῶτοι καὶ μέλιστα' - 'the gods are the closest and best friends' (Aldine, p. 122)..

P. 303, Sommaire XIX, l. 2-8:

Marconville has here totally altered the meaning of the text, writing: 'Car l'homme qui cognoist que Dieu seul & devant toutes choses doibt estre honoré, & qu'à luy seul appartient de cognoistre la femme, il ne doibt laisser sa femme suivre des religions curieuses, & estranges superstitions lesquelles l'homme ne doibt souffrir en sa maison' (p. 76 v^o). His alteration is perhaps due in large part to the fact that he was writing his translation in 1564, at a time of

religious turmoil. He doubtless felt that, in a work which set out examples of how the common people should behave, he should stress the need to prevent one's wife from following 'strange superstitions', where Plutarch had only said that the wife ought to adopt her husband's beliefs: Plutarch's words are far less forceful.

P. 303, Sommaire XX, l. 1:

Lodé, as he often does, adds a further explanation, calling Plato 'Le dieu des philosophes' (p. 30).

P. 303, Sommaire XX, l. 1-2:

Plato states this in his Republic, book V, ch. X.

P. 303, Sommaire XX, l. 2:

Mien & tien: this translates the Latin 'meum, non meum' (Isingrinus, p. 23, l. 6). The Greek, too, reads 'τὸ ἐμὸν καὶ τὸ οὐκ ἐμὸν' - 'what is mine, and what not mine' (Aldine, p. 122). Marconville, perhaps after reading Grévin's text, has also written 'Cecy est mien, cela est tien' (p. 76 v^o). It is more likely, however, that the two made this same minor alteration independently from each other.

P. 304, Sommaire XX, l. 8-9:

Grévin, in his translation, alters the meaning of the Latin text, because he has not translated the words: 'et virum uxoris' (Isingrinus, p. 23, l. 10). Not only, says the Latin, should a wife endure her husband's wounds, but the husband should also endure those of the wife. In fact Amyot, in his translation, stresses the second half of the sentence: 'aussi la femme doit ressentir par compassion les maux de son mary, & le mary encore plus ceulx de la femme' (p. 146 v^o). Lodé, it is interesting to note, also omits the second half of the

phrase (p. 31).

P. 304, Sommaire XX, l. 9-10:

The meaning of these lines is not immediately clear. In the Greek original we read: 'ὥσπερ οἱ δεσμοὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπέλλαξιν ἰσχυρὸν δι' ἀλλήλων λαμβάνουσιν' - 'even as ropes gain strength from each other by being intertwined' (Aldine, p. 122).

Estienne de la Boétie's translation '[...] comme les neuds par l'entrelassement prenant la force l'un de l'autre' (p. 168) is similar to Grévin's, but far clearer.

P. 304, Sommaire XX, l. 9-14:

This whole comparison between ropes and nature is omitted by Marconville (p. 76 v^o).

P. 304, Sommaire XXI, l. 1:

Jaçoit: the original reads 'jaçois'.

P. 304, Sommaire XXII:

Lodé has completely omitted Sommaire XXII.

P. 304, Sommaire XXII, l. 1:

Paris, the Trojan prince, by abducting Helen from Sparta, had brought about the war between Greece and Troy, recounted by Homer (causing an 'Illiade de maux'). The story of Ulysses, or Odysseus, is, of course, related in the Oddyseey, the sequel to the Iliad. Penelope, at the end of the Oddyseey, is extolled for her loyalty to her husband throughout the twenty years she awaited the return of Ulysses.

P. 305, Sommaire XXII, l. 4:

Estienne de la Boétie has replaced the word 'barbares' with 'Troyens' (p. 169). It was, of course, the war between Greece and Troy that Paris started by abducting Helen, as we are told in Homer's Iliad.

P. 305, Sommaire XXIII, l. 1:

This story is again told by Plutarch in his life of Æmilius Paulus, ch. 5; 2, although we are not told who the Roman concerned might be.

P. 305, Sommaire XXIII, l. 4-8:

Marconville had omitted this complete passage (p. 77).

P. 305, Sommaire XXIII, l. 12:

Grévin has omitted the Latin adjectives 'plerosque, parvæque, & frequentes' (Isingrinus, p. 23, l. 31), all of them describing the 'offences & [...] débats'.

P. 305, Sommaire XXIV, l. 4:

Lodé interprets the text in a different way. It is not, he feels, the Thessalian girl who speaks well, but Olimpias, for he writes: 'Lors [Olimpias] commença à disputer avecques elle moult sagement & elegantement' (p. 35).

P. 306, Sommaire XXIV, l. 4-6:

Lodé has apparently misunderstood the meaning of these lines when he writes: 'Postposée tout injure & calumnie tu es femme remplie de poyson & venin, & uses de enchantemens & art dyabolique, par quoy te prohibe, & deffenz que ne atouches ne blesses par aulcune poyson ou infection mon mary & espoux. Autrement je te feray mourir de mort cruelle & ignominieuse' (p. 35). Translated in this way, it is impossible to draw from this story the moral given to it at the end of the precept.

P. 306, Sommaire XXIV, l. 6-9:

The meaning of this last sentence is that a wife will win her husband's heart if, as well as her dowry, good family, etc., she uses what charms she can. Amyot's translation of the

beginning of this sentence is very similar to Grévin's: 'C'est doncques une force inexpugnable qu'une femme espousée & legitime, qui mettant en elle mesme toutes choses [...]'
(t. I, p. 147). It is unlikely, however, that this constitutes imitation.

P. 306, Sommaire XXIV, l. 8:

Grévin has not translated the Latin word 'cingulum' (Isingrinus, p. 23, l. 38) in the list of a wife's attributes. Marconville and Estienne de la Boétie have not translated it either (Marconville, p. 77 v^o, and La Boétie, p. 170).

P. 306, Sommaire XXIV, l. 7-9:

Lodé has completely omitted the last few lines of this translation.

P. 306, Sommaire XXVI, l. 1:

Diogenes Laertius, in his section on Socrates in his Lives and opinions of eminent philosophers (II 33), mentions this recommendation.

P. 306, Sommaire XXVI, l. 1:

Lodé adds, after the word 'Socrates': 'Precepteur & maistre de Platon' (p. 36).

P. 306, Sommaire XXVI, l. 5-6:

In translating this line, Grévin seems to have misinterpreted the Valgulus Latin text, which reads: 'Quid ni temperans & pudica sim?' (Isingrinus, p. 23, l. 46), and which is itself a fairly close rendering of the Greek: 'τί οὖν, ἄν' μὴ σώφρων γένομαι' - 'What, then, if I am not chaste?' (Aldine, p. 122). The meaning, however, is not greatly changed by this alteration.

P. 306, Sommaire XXVI, l. 6-7:

This sentence is omitted in Estienne de la Boétie's

translation (p. 171).

P. 307, Sommaire XXVII, l. 1:

Tiran: the text reads titan.

P. 307, Sommaire XXVII, l. 1:

Plutarch tells the same story in his moral work: Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata, Lysander (190c) and in his Apophthegmata Laconica, Lysander (229a), giving the tyrant's name as Dionysius. In this same work he also suggests, however, that it was to the daughters of Archidamus that Dionysius sent his gifts: Archidamus, 7 (218e).

P. 307, Sommaire XXVII, l. 3:

These words about Sophocles are omitted by Marconville (p. 78).

Lodé here greatly expands the text: 'Sophocles en argueant & corrigeant ung jeune adolescent ainsi voloptueusement vestu & acoustré disant, "O miserable! Dissoultz habillements ne accroissent en rien ta dignité & ton honneur, mais sont indices, & argumens manifestes de l'impurité & ordure de ton âme"' (p. 38). Both Amyot and Estienne de la Boétie write the quotation as poetry (Amyot, p. 147 v^o, and La Boétie, p. 171). Leon Feugère, in his edition of Estienne de la Boétie's works, notes that these lines are known only through the precepts (La Boétie, ed. Feugère, p. 293, note 4).

P. 307, Sommaire XXVII, l. 6:

Crates was a cynic, the disciple of Diogenes.

P. 307, Sommaire XXVIII, l. 1:

Juno, or Hera, is considered as the protectress of wedlock.

Marconville has, instead of Juno, written 'Juppiter Gamelien ou nuptial' (p. 78).

P. 307, Sommaire XXVIII, l. 3:

Le legislateur: the instigator of the ritual.

P. 307, Sommaire XXVIII, l. 6:

Aloe: the expression 'amer comme l'aloès' is still used today. Aloe is a plant from Asia and Africa, from which a resin, useful for medicine, may be drawn (La Boétie, ed. Feugère, p. 294, note 3).

P. 307, Sommaire XXVIII, l. 6:

Grévin, like all the other translators into French with the exception of Lodé, has added the words 'ou autre medecine', which are not found in either the Latin or the Greek.

P. 307, Sommaire XXIX, l. 1:

This advice is again found in Plutarch's Life of Caius Marius, ch. 2, and in his Amatorius, ch. 23 (769d).

P. 307, Sommaire XXIX, l. 1:

Severe en meurs: La Boétie's translation 'qui avoit un peu la façon rude', is perhaps a little clearer (p. 172).

P. 308, Sommaire XXIX, l. 6-7:

La Boétie's translation reads: 'bien qu'une femme soit mesnagère' (p. 172). The Greek reads: 'τὴν εὐτελεῆ' - 'a thrifty woman' (Aldine, p. 123).

P. 308, Sommaire XXIX, l. 8:

Rend: the text reads 'tend'.

P. 308, Sommaire XXIX, l. 10:

Frugalité: the text reads 'fragalité'.

P. 308, Sommaire XXXI:

The precepts XXX and XXXI of Grévin's text are included as one precept in the Valgulus texts (Isingrinus, p. 23 v^o, l. 17). This is the only alteration made by Grévin to the Latin

edition in the numbering of these precepts.

P. 309, Sommaire XXXI, l. 12:

Plutarch recounts the same story about Phocion and Antipatar in his life of Phocion, ch. 30, and also in his life of Agis, ch. 2.

P. 309, Sommaire XXXI, l. 15:

Ne: the text reads 'me'.

P. 309, Sommaire XXXII, l. 1-2:

This is not borne out by Sophocles, who, in his play Oedipus at Colonus, writes (l. 337-341):

ὦ πάντ' ἐκείνω τοῖς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ νόμοις
 φύσιν κατεικασθέντε καὶ βίου τροφάς·
 ἐκεῖ γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἄρσενες κατὰ στέγας
 θακοῦσιν ἰστουργοῦντες, αἱ δὲ σύννομοι
 τάξῳ βίου τροφεῖα πορσύνουσ' αἰεὶ.

P. 309, Sommaire XXXII, l. 4:

Feugère notes that the word 'περιοκελίδας' means not only garters, but also luxury objects such as jewellery. The Greeks and Romans gave the name 'periscelis' to the precious stone worn by women around their ankles (La Boëtie, ed. Feugère, p. 298, note 1).

P. 309, Sommaire XXXIII, l. 1:

William Smith, in his Dictionary of Greek and Roman biography and mythology, London, 1844-1849, under 'Theano', says that she 'the most celebrated of the female philosophers of the Pythagorean school, appears to have been the wife of Pythagoras'.

P. 310, Sommaire XXXIII, l. 5-6:

Marconville had omitted this passage from his translation (p. 79).

P. 310, Sommaire XXXIV, l. 1:

Elées: Elis was famous in Greece for the masterpieces it possessed.

P. 310, Sommaire XXXIV, l. 1:

In his work De Iside et Osiride, 75, Plutarch again describes this same statue, and gives it the same meaning (381e).

Lodé's description of this statue is slightly different; he describes 'Venus, laquelle tenoit sous ses pieds ung limax avecques sa teste' (p. 47).

P. 310, Sommaire XXXIV, l. 5-6:

Joueur de Haut-bois: the 1497 and 1505 texts of the Valgulus Latin read 'athleta', which renders the text meaningless (1497, p. 7 and 1505, p. 9). The later texts, however, all read 'tibicen' (Isingrinus, p. 23 v^o, l. 37), which accurately translates the Greek 'αὐλητής' - 'flute player' (Aldine, p. 123).

P. 311, Sommaire XXXVI, l. 1-4:

These are stoic doctrines. In his De defectu Oraculorum, ch. 29, Plutarch mentions the first of these alternatives, suggesting that it was Chrysippus, the Stoic philosopher (280-205 B.C.), who first made this statement (426a).

P. 311, Sommaire XXXVI, l. 2:

Bataille: 'army'; thus translating the Latin 'exercitum' (Isingrinus, p. 23 v^o, l. 48).

P. 311, Sommaire XXXVI, l. 3:

Lodé adds here 'unis par une société, & affinité naturelle entre elles, & comme ensemble nées & produictes

ainsi que voions es bestes chascune en son espee' (p. 50).

P. 311, Sommaire XXXVI, l. 7:

Pour le plaisir: this translates the Latin 'concombendi causa' (Isingrinus, p. 23 v^o, l. 51) changing the meaning slightly.

P. 311, Sommaire XXXVI, l. 8-9:

La Boëtie, in his translation, writes the opposite:

'd'aucuns qu'il y en a qui ne couchent point ensemble' (p. 175).

P. 311, Sommaire XXXVII:

Lodé, at the beginning of this summary, adds the comment, not found in Plutarch; 'Les Phisiciens, c'est à dire ceulx qui disputent & ont la cognoissance des choses naturelles' (p. 51).

P. 311, Sommaire XXXVII, l. 1-2:

In other words, the mixture of liquids (temperature: 'mixture' - Huguet, op. cit. - and humeurs: 'liquids' - ibid.). Thus Grévin is saying that, as liquids may be completely mixed together, so husband and wife, together with all they posses, should be entirely mixed together, until it is impossible to tell the two apart.

P. 311, Sommaire XXXVII, l. 4:

Affins: 'close friendship' (Huguet, op. cit.).

P. 311, Sommaire XXXVII, l. 5-6:

This is one of the points about Roman customs explained by Plutarch in his Quæstiones Romanæ, 7. The reason why a man cannot receive a gift from his wife, or vice versa, given in the Præcepta Connubiala, is the last of the four possible reasons given by Plutarch (265e).

P. 312, Sommaire XXXVIII, l. 1:

L. Feugère, in his edition of La Boétie's works, notes that two towns in Africa had this name; Leptis major, called Lebida, and Leptis minor, today called Lempta. Both are on the Mediterranean coast (La Boétie, ed. Feugère, p. 302, note 3).

P. 312, Sommaire XXXVIII, l. 4-5:

Amyot's translation is close to that of Grévin: 'à fin que [...] la nouvelle espouse apprist que la belle mere tient un peu de la marastre' (t. I, p. 148). These are the only two French translators to retain the word 'step-mother', although this is exactly what the Greek says - 'μητρειῶδες' (Aldine, p. 124). The Latin reads 'socru'.

P. 312, Sommaire XXXVIII, l. 5-6:

i.e. if her step-mother refused her something more important.

P. 312, Sommaire XXXVIII, l. 8-9:

Une naturelle emulation de bien-veillance: there is, between mother and wife, competition and jealousy over their affection for their son and husband. Amyot has perhaps expressed this more simply, writing of: 'la jalousie de la mere, pour l'amitié que son fils luy [à sa femme] porte' (t. I, p. 148).

Marconville's translation is very similar to Grévin's. He writes: 'entre la belle mere & la bruz il y a une emulation naturelle de benevolance' (p. 80 v^o). This is unlikely to be imitation of Grévin, however, for both are exact translations of the Latin: 'est enim naturalis æmulatio quædam inter ipsas benevolentiaë [...]' (Isingrinus, p. 24, l. 10-11).

P. 312, Sommaire XXXVIII, l. 10:

See my note to p. 301, Sommaire XV, l. 2.

P. 312, Sommaire XXXIX, l. 2:

Enfans masles: the 1497 and 1505 texts both read 'liberos' (1497, p. 8 and 1505, p. 10). The later texts all make the meaning clearer by saying 'filios' (Isingrinus, p. 24, l. 12).

P. 312, Sommaire XXXIX, l. 4-5:

i.e. because they need their son's aid. Marconville, translating this line, uses exactly the same words (p. 80 v^o). This does not necessarily mean that he was imitating Grévin; they are both translating very closely the Latin text which they used as their source ('quasi eorum præsidio indigentes': Isingrinus, p. 24, l. 14).

P. 312, Sommaire XXXIX, l. 5-6:

Marconville, in his translation, omits this passage (p. 80 v^o).

P. 312, Sommaire XXXIX, l. 6:

Grévin has not translated the end of this sentence, which, in Latin, reads: 'amplecti charitate magisque diligere videri volunt' (Isingrinus, p. 24, l. 16).

P. 313, Sommaire XXXIX, l. 7:

This is a close rendering of the Latin: 'Sed hoc est fortasse indifferens, illud vero perurbanum' (Isingrinus, p. 24, l. 16-17), although the word 'civil' is not perhaps an adequate translation of the word 'perurbanum'. In neither text, however, is the meaning made clear. The Greek text is more easily comprehensible: 'καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἴσως διάφορόν ἐστιν, ἐκείνο δ' ἄσπετον [...]' - 'on the one hand there is perhaps a difference in this, but on the other hand it is

charming [...] (Aldine, p. 124). Valgulus' word 'indifferens' is either a mistake or a misprint. It should read 'differens'.

P. 313, Sommaire XL, l. 1:

Lodé tells this story rather differently, for he writes: 'Les Capitaines & chefz de guerre de Grece envoiez pour resister à la puissance du Roy Cyrus [...]' (p. 55).

P. 313, Sommaire XLI, l. 1:

Euripides states this in his play Medea, l. 190-203.

P. 313, Sommaire XLI, l. 1:

Aux banquets: these words translate the Latin 'in poculis' (Isingrinus, p. 24, l. 25), giving it a slightly different meaning.

P. 313, Sommaire XLI, l. 4:

Grévin has changed the subject of this sentence. The Latin text reads: 'Existimate vos' (Isingrinus, p. 24, l. 26).

P. 313, Sommaire XLI, l. 7:

L'operation Venerienne: so called because Venus is the goddess of love.

P. 314, Sommaire XLI, l. 8:

The poet is Homer (Iliad, ch. XIV, l. 205-209). Lodé is, therefore, mistaken when he writes: 'ainsi que le poete Virgile donne à cognoistre introduisant la deesse Juno parlant au premier livre de gestes de nee [i.e. d'Enée] [...]' (p. 56-57).

P. 314, Sommaire XLI, l. 10-12:

The original 1497 text of Valgulus' Latin (p. 10) and also the 1505 edition (p. 11) write these lines of poetry as part of the text: Grévin, using one of the later editions

(Isingrinus, p. 24, l. 30-31), translates these lines as poetry.

P. 314, Sommaire XLI, l. 11:

In the original text the last word of this line is 'lieu'. This is evidently a misprint: in order to rhyme with 'moyen', and for the sense of the poem, one must read 'lien'. The printer presumably put in the 'n' upside down.

P. 314, Sommaire XLI, l. 16-19:

These lines are omitted in the Marconville text (p. 81).

Both Amyot and Estienne de la Boëtie have interpreted these lines in a different way. Amyot writes: 'car comme disoit la femme grosse preste d'accoucher, & ja sentant les douleurs de son travail, à ceux qui la vouloient coucher dessus son lict: comment est-ce que le lict pourroit guarir ce mal, veu que ç'a esté sur le lict qu'il m'est advenu?' (t. I, p. 148 v^o). La Boëtie, although using different words, writes the same thing (p. 177). Marconville, on the other hand, writes substantially the same thing as Grévin (p. 81). This is because La Boëtie and Amyot are translating the original Greek, which refers to a woman in labour (Aldine, p. 124), whereas Grévin and Marconville are translating the Latin, and Valgulus, perhaps feeling that such a subject should not be included in marriage precepts, has altered the passage (Isingrinus, p. 24, l. 32-35). Lodé, too, has omitted any mention of this passage (p. 57), despite the fact that his translation was made before the first Valgulus text appeared, and could not, therefore, have been influenced by it. Perhaps he, like Valgulus, although independently, decided that it would be better not to refer

to a woman in labour.

P. 314, Sommaire XLI, l. 20:

Simulations: 'enmity' (Huguet, op. cit.).

P. 314, Sommaire XLII, l. 1:

Hermionne: Amyot gives a more precise reference, saying:

'Il semble que Hermione dit vray en une Tragedie d'Euripide [...]' (t. I, p. 148 v^o), and, indeed, these lines are found in the play Andromache, where Hermione says:

κακῶν γυναικῶν εἴσοδοί μ' ἀπώλεσαν,
αἷ μοι λέγουσαι τοῦσδ' ἔχαύνωσαν λόγους·
οὐ τὴν κακίστην αἰχμάλωτον ἐν δόμοις
δοῦλην ἀνέξει σὶ λέχους κοινουμένην;

(l. 930-933).

P. 314, Sommaire XLII, l. 3-5:

Marconville does not include these lines in his translation (p. 81).

P. 315, Sommaire XLIII, l. 1:

Grévin's translation of Valgulus' Latin is exact (Isingrinus, p. 24, l. 46-47). The Latin is, however, little more than an abbreviation of the Greek (Aldine, p. 124). Amyot (t. I, p. 149) and La Boëtie (p. 178) have both copied the Greek in full. Amyot, for instance, writes: 'Une maistre aiant apperceu son esclave fugitif, qui s'en estoit fuy long temps y avoit, se meit à courir apres pour le reprendre.'

P. 315, Sommaire XLIII, l. 2:

Terence, in his play Andria, refers to the 'pistrina' or pounding mill, writing:

si senserit, perii: aut si lubitum fuerit, causam ceperit
quo iure quaque iniuria praecipitem [me] in pistrinum
dabit.

(Act I, scene 3, l. 213-214).

P. 315, Sommaire XLIII, l. 2-3:

A similar remark is attributed to Phocion by Plutarch in his Regum et Imperatorum Apophthegmata: Phocion, ch. 7 (118b).

P. 315, Sommaire XLIII, l. 4:

Grévin has omitted to translate the words 'indignata secum ipsa' referring to the wife (Isingrinus, p. 24, l. 49).

P. 315, Sommaire XLIII, l. 5:

The earlier 1497 and 1505 texts here read 'voluissem' (Valgulius, ed. 1497, p. 10 and ed. 1505, p. 12) altered by all the later texts to 'maluissem' (Isingrinus, p. 24, l. 48). Grévin, as always, has translated the later rendering with his words 'aymera mieux'.

P. 315, Sommaire XLIII, l. 7:

At the end of this summary Lodé has added the lines: 'Au contraire quel plus grand despit luy puisse je faire que me rendre pacifique concorde, & unamine avecques luy' (p. 61).

P. 315, Sommaire XLIV, l. 1:

Labeurs: presumably ploughing. The Latin reads 'arationes' (Isingrinus, p. 24, l. 52).

P. 315, Sommaire XLIV, l. 2:

Amyot writes a long explanation here, saying that Scirum is sacred 'en memoire de la premiere invention de labourer la terre & de semer, dont ils ont esté inventeurs' (t. I, p. 149).

P. 315, Sommaire XLIV, l. 3:

This line has been interpreted differently. Amyot, in particular, writes 'le troisieme celui qui se fait joignant la ville & l'appelle l'on Buzygion' (t. I, p. 149).

Presumably he is translating the Aldine 1509 Greek text which reads 'ὅπὸ πόλιν' rather than the Basel edition, which

reads 'ὄπιθ' πέλιυ' (see the present thesis, p. 387, note 51). No area of the name of Pelin is known in Attica.

P. 315, Sommaire XLIV, l. 4-5:

i.e. the most sacred ploughing is marriage (Valgulus writes: 'sacratissima est nuptialis satio atque aratio', Isingrinus, p. 24 v^o, l. 2).

P. 315, Sommaire XLV, l. 1:

According to L. Feugère, the passage of Sophocles in which this epithet was given to Venus is now lost (La Boétie, ed. Feugère, p. 309, note 4).

P. 315, Sommaire XLV, l. 1:

Lodé writes: 'La deese Venus adorée en la montaigne de Citeron Eucarpon, qui est ung mot grec autant sonnante en françoys comme productrice de bons fruitz' (p. 62).

P. 316, Sommaire XLV, l. 4:

Compagnie d'homme: this is a rendering of the Latin 'in alios consuetudine' (Isingrinus, p. 24 v^o, l. 5-6). The 1497 and 1505 versions of this text, however, read 'Amatorum consuetudine' (1497, p. 10 and 1505, p. 12), not greatly different in meaning. Grévin's translation, whichever text he is using, is inaccurate, for he stresses that it is for women to avoid love affairs, whereas both the Latin and the Greek address men and women equally. This inaccuracy is stressed by Grévin's later lines: 'elles en ont honte & le cachent' (l. 6), whereas in Valgulus' translation we read: 'pudent et celant' (Isingrinus, p. 24 v^o, l. 7). There is no indication that these lines refer to women rather than to men. Grévin may deliberately have addressed this remark to women because his translation was dedicated to the woman he

intended to marry (see p. 294 of the present thesis).

P. 316, Sommaire XLVI, l. 1:

Gorgias is one of the men mentioned by Philostratus in his Βίαι Σοφιστων book I, ch. 9.

Lodé, expanding the text, calls Gorgias 'un grand rhétoricien' (p. 63). Gorgias was a sophist who visited Athens in 427 B.C. He is the Gorgias of Plato's Dialogues.

P. 316, Sommaire XLVI, l. 1:

Marconville, Amyot and La Boétie have all here referred to the 'Jeux Olympiques' (Marconville, p. 82, Amyot, t. I, p. 149, and La Boétie, p. 179).

P. 316, Sommaire XLVI, l. 2:

Melanthius was a tragic and elegiac poet of Athens, contemporary of Aristophanes and Plato.

P. 316, Sommaire XLVI, l. 5:

The Latin lines: 'Recte domum & familiam ab eo componi oportet, qui sit & senatum & amicos moderaturus' (Isingrinus, p. 24 v^o, l. 11-12) are missing from both the 1497 and 1505 texts (1497, p. 10 and 1505, p. 13). Clearly, Grévin did not use either of these two earlier editions.

P. 316, Sommaire XLVI, l. 6:

La chose publique: the text reads 'pudicque' - the Latin of Valgulius reads 'senatum' (Isingrinus, p. 24 v^o, l. 12).

P. 316, Sommaire XLVI, l. 8-9:

Lodé, clarifying these last lines, wrote: 'd'autant que la presumption d'amour dudit Gorgias vers sa chambriere estoit plus patente que jalousie de sa femme vers ladite chambriere' (p. 64).

P. 317, Sommaire XLVII, l. 9-10:

Grévin suggests that bees can identify adulterous beekeepers. Amyot, translating this passage differently, writes: 'ceulx qui ont à s'approcher des abeilles, lesquelles s'abstiennent de toucher mesmes à leur propres femmes, pour ce que l'on dict que les abeilles les haïssent, & leur font plus la guerre qu'aux autres' (t. I, p. 149). Lodé, again differently, interprets this as applying to the bees themselves rather than to the men who approach them, for he writes that the bees 'ne permettent aucunes soy coupler avecques elles qui se sont nouvellement couplées avecques aultres' (p. 65).

Marconville omits any reference to bees (p. 82 v^o).

P. 317, Sommaire XLVII, l. 10-12:

These last lines are omitted in Lodé's translation (p. 65).

P. 317, Sommaire XLVIII, l. 1-2:

Plutarch makes the same comment about elephants and bulls in his De Alexandri magni fortuna aut virtute, I:8 (330b). He also mentions tigers, saying the same thing about them in his De Superstitione, ch. 5 (167c).

P. 317, Sommaire XLVIII, l. 4-10:

This passage is omitted in Lodé's translation (p. 66).

P. 317, Sommaire XLVIII, l. 7:

Feugère believes that this is an allusion to some foreign worship like the cult of Cybele (La Boétie, ed. Feugère, p. 312, note 2). Lucretius, in a similar passage in his De Rerum Natura, certainly alludes to such a religion (book II, l. 618ff).

P. 317, Sommaire XLIX, l. 1-3:

Lodé, in an expansion of these lines, adds: 'Comme si elle vouloit dire que aussi bien laides que belles peuvent contenter le desir, & ardeur de charnalité en l'homme' (p. 67).

P. 317, Sommaire XLIX, l. 6:

Lors que la lumière est ostée: this translates the Latin 'quum corpus non videtur' (Isingrinus, p. 24 v^o, l. 31-32). The meaning, however, remains unchanged.

P. 318, Sommaire L, l. 1:

Plato says this in his Laws, book V.

P. 318, Sommaire L, l. 9:

Marconville ends his translation here, omitting the long final passage in which Plutarch addresses Pollian and Eurydice personally (p. 83).

P. 318, Sommaire L, l. 11:

It is not certain who Aristilla and Timoxena are. Timoxena is the name of Plutarch's wife, and it is possible that the reference is to her.

P. 318, Sommaire L, l. 14:

This phrase is a rather inaccurate translation of the Latin: 'si te hæc minime in aliis contemnentem conspiciat' (Isingrinus, p. 24 v^o, l. 42-43). The meaning, however, remains unaltered.

P. 318, Sommaire L, l. 21-23:

Grévin is here suggesting, as does the Valgulus text (Isingrinus, p. 24 v^o, l. 47-50) that Pollianus, imitating the bees, should give his wife what he has gathered together. In the Greek, however, the words: 'ὥσπερ αἱ μέλιτται' - 'as do the bees' (Aldine, p. 126), refer not to the giving of

the information but to the gathering. He must work:

'πανταχόθεν τὸ χρήσιμον συνάγων ὥσπερ αἱ μέλιτται' -

'gathering together what is useful from all quarters, as do the bees.'

P. 318, Sommaire L, l. 23:

Apart toy conferé: this is a translation of the Latin 'quæ tu in teipso collocaris' (Isingrinus, p. 24 v^o, l. 48).

P. 318, Sommaire L, l. 23-26:

Grévin does not seem to have noticed that this is, in fact, a quotation from Homer's Iliad, book VI, l. 426. Amyot has, in fact, translated these lines into verse (t. I, p. 149 v^o).

P. 319, Sommaire L, l. 25-26:

This is not exactly what the Latin says ('Pater enim illi est venerandaque mater ac frater'; Isingrinus, p. 24 v^o, l. 50), but certainly there is no important change in the meaning.

P. 319, Sommaire L, l. 26:

This is the first of only two examples of variation between the three later texts of the Valgulus translation. The 1541 Isingrinus text reads: 'venerabile est' (Isingrinus, p. 24 v^o, l. 52), whereas the 1530 and 1549 texts read (as do the 1497, p. 11, and the 1505, p. 14) 'venerabilius est' (1530, p. 25, l. 25, and 1549, p. 121). Unfortunately, it is impossible to draw any conclusions from this difference as to which of the later texts Grévin used.

P. 319, Sommaire L, l. 36:

This passage about Aganice appears to be an abrupt change of subject. Here the Greek text reads, referring to a learned wife: 'καὶ περὶ Ἀγανίχης ἀκηχούτα' - 'and, having heard about Aganice' (Aldine, p. 126), explaining the

connection. These words were, however, omitted by Valgulus in his translation (Isingrinus, p. 25, l. 5). Hence Grévin's omission.

P. 319, Sommaire L, l. 37-38:

This is the second of the two examples of differences between the later texts; the 1530 Cratender text and the 1549 edition read: 'Plenilunorum defectuum' (1530, p. 25, l. 31, and 1549, p. 122), whereas the 1541 Isingrinus text reads: 'defectuum pleniluniorum' (Isingrinus, p. 25, l. 6). Again, however, it is impossible to decide from this which text Grévin used.

P. 319, Sommaire L, l. 42-43:

Grévin has here omitted to translate the word 'carnem' from the Latin: 'informesque partus, & carnem, & aliquid in semet ex corruptione conceptum, molas appellabant' (Isingrinus, p. 25, l. 9-10). Otherwise this translation is very close. The Latin is, in fact, an abbreviation rather than a translation of the Greek:

'τὰ δ' ἄμορφα κνήματα καὶ σαρκοειδῆ καὶ οὐότασιν

ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἐκ διαφθορᾶς λαμβάνοντα μύλας καλοῦσι' -

'misshapen, fleshlike swellings, gaining solidity of themselves from some illness, are called 'moles' (Aldine, p. 126).

P. 319, Sommaire L, l. 40-43:

Lodé has completely mistranslated this passage, perhaps deliberately, feeling that such a subject was not suited to a work on marriage; instead he has written, referring to Aganice: 'Oultre leur faisoit acroire qu'elle avoit conceu & enfanté ung filz sans couple & mutuelle cohabitation d'homme'

(p. 72-73).

P. 319, Sommaire L, l. 48-49:

Grévin has probably here misunderstood the Valgulus Latin translation, which reads: 'Enitere sententias sapientum bonarumque mulierum habere familiares' (Isingrinus, p. 25, l. 13-14).

P. 319, Sommaire L, l. 51:

The lines: '& tu usqueadeo egregie, adeo graviter' (Isingrinus, p. 25, l. 15-16) present in all the editions of the Valgulus Latin, are missing from the French.

P. 320, Sommaire L, l. 55:

Theano was the wife of Pythagoras.

P. 320, Sommaire L, l. 56:

Cleobulina or Eumetis, daughter of Cleobulinus, called Cleobulina after her father - see, for instance, the Septem sapientum convivium, ch. 3, (148d).

P. 320, Sommaire L, l. 56:

Gorgo was the daughter of Cleomenes, king of Sparta, and wife of Leonidas, renowned for her sagacity.

P. 320, Sommaire L, l. 56:

Plutarch tells us of Timocleia's intrepid behaviour after the battle of Chæroneia in his Mulierum Virtutes, ch. XXIV (259d-260d).

P. 320, Sommaire L, l. 57:

Claudia was a Roman maiden who, because of her chastity, was allowed to move the vessel containing the image of Cybele when it stuck fast in the Tiber.

P. 320, Sommaire L, l. 57:

Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio Africanus, better known

as the mother of the Gracchi and an example of virtue and dignity.

P. 320, Sommaire L, l. 55-57:

Rather than naming all these women, Lodé has simply written: 'adorne toy de tels & semblables vestemens que souloient les chastes anciennes romaines' (p. 74).

P. 320, Sommaire L, l. 59:

Sappho came from Mitylene, a town in Lesbos.

P. 320, Sommaire L, l. 61:

The last four lines of these marriage precepts are missing from Jacques Grévin's translation. The Latin reads: 'Nam si Sappho quod pulchra carmina componeret se tanti faciebat, ut ad divitem quandam scripserit: Mortua jacebis, nec ulla unquam tui extabit memoria: non enim filium habes, rosam ex Pieria; cur non tibi magis gloriandum erit, si non rosas, sed fructus eos perceperis, quos Musæ ferunt & largiuntur his qui disciplinam & studium sapientæ admirantur?' (Isingrinus, p. 25, l. 23-26). There is no evident explanation for this omission, presumably due to his printer's carelessness.

P. 321, Dizain, l.6:

La roue: the wheel of fortune.

P. 321, l. 10:

This misogynistic feeling, perhaps rhetorical, is also expressed elsewhere by Grévin. In the Gelodacrye I, for instance, he writes the lines:

Mon BEAUMAIS, que la femme est une beste estrange!
Ainsi comme elle veult ell'fait l'homme changer,
Ell'le fact veritable, ell'le fait mensonger,
Et quand on luy fait tort, lors au double se vange.

(L'OLIMPE, p. 111, l. 11-14, and Pinvert, p. 331, l. 1-4).

An even better example is perhaps the bitter sonnet of the Gelodacrye II, in which Grévin tells us to what he is referring only in the last line. This sonnet is worth quoting in full:

Trop heureux nous fussions sans ceste beste estrange,
 Qui l'homme accompagna des le commencement,
 Et comme le fleau dont on bat le fourment
 Indiscrete tousjours dessus l'homme se vange.

Sans elle, mon PASCHAL, l'homme seroit un Ange,
 L'homme seroit parfaict de corps, d'entendement,
 Mais à son deshonneur ell'luy sert de torment
 Quant à son appetit elle en fait un eschange.

Alors qu'il pense faire à son aise un discours,
 Ou que dans son cerveau rememorant ses jours,
 Il repare son bien de sage pourvoyance,

C'est à l'heure qu'il sent ses plus cruels efforts
 Martirer à grands coups son esprit & son corps,
 Tant la femme sur luy a gaigné de puissance.

(LE THEATRE, p. 305, and Pinvert, p. 345).

P. 322, Les vertus de la femme fidelle:

This poem is, as Grévin says, a verse translation of Proverbs, 31:10ff.

FOOTNOTES

Conclusion

¹See p. 168-172 of the present thesis.

²See p.259 - 260 of the present thesis.

³See p. 268 of the present thesis. For further examples of Grévin's originality, see p.214 and 218 of the present thesis.

⁴See p.225 - 226 of the present thesis.

⁵See p.105 of the present thesis.

⁶See p.248-250 of the present thesis.

⁷See p.292 and p.391-392 of the present thesis.

⁸See p.107 of the present thesis.

⁹Ronsard, t. XVI, p. 336.

APPENDIX I

L'OLYMPE BY JOACHIM DU BELLAY?¹

There are, in two highly regarded bibliographies, references to a collection of sonnets by Joachim du Bellay titled L'Olympe. No such collection of sonnets appears to be known to Du Bellay scholars, nor indeed is it included in Guillaume Aubert's 1568 edition - supposedly complete - of the works of Du Bellay. It is my intention here to review evidence which suggests that Du Bellay did, indeed, write such a collection which has not, as yet, been discovered.

The first reference, in Jacques Charles Brunet's Manuel du Libraire et de l'amateur de livres, reads:

La Deffence et illustration de la langue françoise, par I.D.B.A., Paris, Arnoul l'Angelier, 1549; cette première édition se trouve ordinairement réunie au Recueil de poésie, et à L'Olimpe de Du Bellay, imprimés la même année.²

It is only in the 1860-1865 edition of Brunet, the fifth and last, that one finds this reference. The first edition of the Deffence et Illustration was indeed published in 1549 by Arnoul l'Angelier. However, the remainder of the information given by Brunet conflicts with the details of all known copies of the Deffence et Illustration. In fact, as Henri Chamard, in his "Bibliographie des éditions de Joachim du Bellay",³ and Van Bever in his "Bibliographie de Joachim de Bellay",⁴ pointed out, the Deffence et Illustration was published in 1549 with the Olive. The Recueil de poésie was always published - in 1549 and later - separately, until it was included in Guillaume Aubert's collective edition of 1568.⁵ It is, of course, always possible that Brunet knew of some publication, now lost, but

one's instinct would be to treat his remarks with caution, to surmise that he may well have been thinking of the Olive collection and that his reference to Olimpe is a mistaken one.

However, a second reference to a publication by Du Bellay titled L'Olympe is found in a study of the life and works of the printer Fédéric Morel, published in 1901 by Joseph Dumoulin.⁶ Dumoulin indicates that a collection called L'Olympe, by Du Bellay, did indeed appear. He mentions Brunet's reference, and adds that L'Olympe was reprinted twice, once by Gilles Corrozet in 1550 and then again by Fédéric Morel in 1561.

Dumoulin makes three references to the Morel edition. The first is a mention simply of the title L'Olympe by Du Bellay in a list of works by Du Bellay published by Morel after this poet's death. The second reads:

Fédéric Morel édita pour la première fois, cette année [1561], L'Olympe par Joachim du Bellay. Il imprima aussi du même auteur L'Olive.

The fact that Dumoulin mentions here both L'Olympe and L'Olive is indication that he was not confusing these two titles, as Brunet might be thought to have done. Dumoulin's third reference to L'Olympe is in the bibliography of all works published by Morel:

No. 65: L'Olympe par J. du Bellay, 1561. in -4.

A footnote to this bibliography reads:

Les articles qui ne sont suivis ni de description, ni de référence à un autre article, concernent des ouvrages que nous avons vus mentionnés en divers recueils bibliographiques sans pouvoir recourir à l'exemplaire original rarissime ou disparu.

The entry headed L'Olympe is among those which are not followed by any such comment, and is therefore probably one of those books which Dumoulin has not seen. Unfortunately, Dumoulin does not

provide a comprehensive list of those bibliographies he has consulted, and I have been unable to discover the source of his reference.⁷ However, the fact that he refers three times to the Olympe (and clearly cannot have confused it with L'Olive) lends some support to the hypothesis that the collection existed and, although he has most unfortunately not provided verifiable evidence, his work is, in general, meticulous and, it seems, reliable.

It is always dangerous to rely implicitly on bibliographers who refer to works they have not seen. In this case, however, possible corroboration of the existence of a collection by Du Bellay titled L'Olympe can be discerned in a sixteenth century source. In 1561, in a collection of love sonnets by Jacques Grévin which also bears the title L'Olimpe, the following sonnet, addressed to Du Bellay, seems significant:

L'esprit divin, dont l'immortelle essence
Premierement vint de la main des dieux,
Se voyant prest de s'envoler aux Cieux,
Pour à jamais y faire demeurance,

Avant sortir, comme ayant jouissance
De ce qu'il a désiré pour son mieux,
Predit souvent le malheur envieux,
Et nous en donne une ferme assurance.

Ainsi jadis l'amoureuse Didon
Prophetisa les flammes du brandon,
Qui alluma la gent Phenicienne:

Ainsi a faict l'honneur des Angevins;
Car en mourant, par ses vers plus divins⁸
Chantant sa flamme, il a predict la mienne.

Du Bellay, says Grévin, when he was about to die (l. 13), predicted Grévin's love for Olimpe in verse of his own, singing of his own flame (l. 13-14). What are these poems by Du Bellay which predict Grévin's love for a woman called Olimpe? The mystical tone of Grévin's sonnet is reminiscent of the meditative sonnets at the end

of Du Bellay's Olive (107-113), but the allusion cannot be to L'Olive since the work in question, says Grévin, was written by Du Bellay in his last days, and the Olive collection had appeared as far back as 1549. The only other known collection of love poems written towards the end of Du Bellay's life is the compilation of love poetry dealing with Faustina,⁹ but these poems can in no sense be regarded as prophesying anything I have found in Grévin, and furthermore they were written at least two years before Du Bellay's death. However if, towards the end of his life, Du Bellay did, indeed, write the Olympe alluded to by Dumoulin (and Dumoulin dates Morel's publication at 1561, the year following Du Bellay's death) then Grévin's allusion to a text by Du Bellay prophesying his own love for a woman called Olimpe becomes totally meaningful: Du Bellay's collection, by its mere title, offered a premonition of Grévin's own poems bearing the same title. Grévin knew Du Bellay's work intimately, and might therefore be expected to know of any such collection, if it existed.

A second sonnet by Grévin, immediately following the one already quoted, treats the same subject, emphasising Du Bellay's dying prophesy. This sonnet reads:

Sa flamme est morte & la mienne a pris vie,
Ainsi qu'on voit l'abrisseau renaissant
Au pied du tronc qui s'en va perissant
Sous le ridé de l'escorse pourrie:

Il est au Ciel hors de danger d'envie,
Et je suis cy, après vous languissant,
Craignant tousjours l'envieux palissant,
Et le venin d'une langue ennemie.

Et d'autant plus il surpasse mon heur,
Que par sus tout est grande ma douleur,
Et mes desirs chassant si belle proye:

Mais si voulez serener vos beaux yeux,
Vous pouvez bien me rendre autant heureux
Sans que je sois envieux de sa joie.¹⁰

As a new tree grows, says Grévin, at the foot of an old, dead one (l. 2-4), so Grévin's new love was born besides Du Bellay's dead one (l. 1). Grévin here adds little to the sonnet already cited but, significantly perhaps, juxtaposes Du Bellay's love (for Olympe?) and his own.

One further complication in a discussion of Du Bellay's authorship of an Olympe is a sonnet that he himself wrote to Grévin, and which appeared in Grévin's collection L'Olimpe of 1560.¹¹ This sonnet reads:

Comme celuy qui a de la Course poudreuse,
 Ou de la Luyte huylée, ou du Disque eslançé,
 Ou du Ceste plombé de cuir entrelacé
 Rapporté mainte palme en sa jeunesse heureuse:

Regarde, en regrettant sa force vigoureuse,
 Les jeunes s'exercer, & ja vieil & cassé,
 Par un doux souvenir qu'il ha du temps passé,
 Resveille dans son cueur sa vertu genereuse:

Ainsi voyant (Grévin) prochain de ma vieillesse,
 Au pied de ton Olimpe exercer ta jeunesse,
 Je souspire le temps que d'un pareil esmoy

Je chantoy mon Olive, & resens en mon ame
 Je ne sçay quelle ardeur de ma premiere flame
 Qui me fait souhaiter d'estre tel comme toy.

Read literally, this excellent sonnet, in which Du Bellay associates the name of Grévin's love with the Olympic Games of Ancient Greece, suggests that Du Bellay did not write a collection of love poetry called L'Olympe, for he says, referring to Grévin's love, that he feels a certain eagerness "Qui me fait souhaiter d'estre tel comme toy" (l. 14), thus suggesting that he was not in the same position as Grévin - that he was not in love. It is possible, however, that this sonnet is not intended to be read literally. If Du Bellay did, in the last days of his life, write a collection of love poetry called L'Olympe, then this sonnet acquires a new meaning - as a witty, playful, tongue-in-cheek disavowal of any ability to do

precisely what he was doing, namely, write love poetry.

Neither Chamard nor Van Bever, in their bibliographies of Du Bellay make any reference to an Olympe. But these bibliographies are incomplete: they do not, for instance, mention Du Bellay's Veronis in fontem sui nominis.¹² That these works make no mention of an Olympe by Du Bellay is not, therefore, indication that such a collection never existed. One cannot state categorically that shortly before his death Du Bellay wrote an as yet undiscovered collection of love poetry called L'Olympe, but it seems distinctly possible.

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¹I am at present working on a Ph.D. for London University (Bedford College) titled A study of the life and literary works of Jacques Grévin with particular reference to his relationship with the Pléiade poets. The material in this article will be included in it.

²Paris, 1860-1865, t. I, p. 750, under the heading "Du Bellay".

³Bulletin du Bibliophile, 1949, p. 400-415 and 445-463.

⁴Revue de la Renaissance, 1912, p. 176-188 and p. 240-244.

⁵See Joachim du Bellay, Œuvres poétiques, édition critique publiée par Henri Chamard, Paris, 1912, t. III, p. 56.

⁶Vie et Œuvres de Frédéric Morel, imprimeur à Paris depuis 1557 jusqu'à 1583, Paris, 1901, p. 34, 39 and 176.

⁷In introducing his study on Morel, Dumoulin lists the main works he has consulted. The list reads:

"Le testament de Claude Morel", Annuaire Historique de la Marne, 1876.

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| A. CHEVILLIER | <u>L'Origine de l'imprimerie de Paris</u> , Paris, 1694. |
| A. DU VERDIER | <u>Bibliothèque</u> , Lyon, 1585. |
| C.-P. GOUJET | <u>Mémoire historique et littéraire sur le collège Royal de France</u> , Paris, 1758. |
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consulted without success a number of other relevant bibliographies, some of them written after Dumoulin published his study:

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⁸Jacques Grévin, Le Theatre, Paris, 1561; B.L. 240.f.15(2).

⁹This was published in the collection Poematum libri quatuor: quibus continentur Elegiæ, varia Epigrammata, Amores, Tumuli, Paris, Morel, 1558 - reprinted in Poésies Françaises et latines, avec notice et notes par E.Courbet, Paris, 1918.

¹⁰J.Grévin, Le Theatre, p. 240.

¹¹Paris, Sertenas, 1560; B.L. C.40.b.2.

¹²See M.C.Smith's article "An early edition of Joachim du Bellay's Veronis in fontem sui nominis", in Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 1977, p. 295-301.

APPENDIX II

TWO LATIN POEMS BY JEAN DORAT

An excellent edition of Dorat's Latin odes has recently been published (Les Odes Latines, préface de V.-L.Saulnier, texte présenté, établi, traduit et annoté par Geneviève Demerson, Clermont-Ferrand, 1979). In the introduction, Geneviève Demerson has tackled the very difficult task of determining what constitutes an ode. The subject of an ode, she concludes, is frequently love, although many other subjects are also very acceptable. And any attempt to define an ode in metrical terms meets with a similar diversity; Demerson names a number of acceptable metres, and indeed Joachim du Bellay maintained that a hallmark of the ode was that it could be in any metre (La Deffence et Illustration de la Langue Françoise, Book I, chapter iv).

This passage of Du Bellay's draws attention to the similarity between sonnet and ode:

Sonne moy ces beaux sonnetz, non moins docte que plaisante invention Italienne, conforme de nom à l'ode et differente d'elle seulement pource que le sonnet a certains vers reiglez et limitez, et l'ode peut courir par toutes manieres de vers librement, voyre en inventer à plaisir, à l'exemple d'Horace, qui a chante en XIX. sortes de vers.

Du Bellay is here alluding, as Chamard observes in the excellent note in his edition (*Société des Textes Français Modernes*, 1948) to the respective etymologies of "sonnet" and "ode" ("sonare" and "ὤδελν").

Given the fluidity of the concept of the ode, and given

the parallel between sonnet and ode, two Latin translations by Jean Dorat of sonnets by Jacques Grévin seem to me candidates for inclusion among Dorat's odes.

The first of these two translations (neither of which is in Demerson's edition - nor, indeed, in A.M.M.Dekker's more recent article "Dix odes latines inconnues de Jean Dorat", Humanistica Lovaniensia, XXX, 1981, p. 131-193) is of the following sonnet:

Amour depuis deux ans s'est desrobé des Cieux
 Pour estre Forgeron; non que forger luy plaise,
 Mais pour me tourmenter il bastit sa fournaise
 Au milieu de mon cueur dont il est envieux.

Pour arroser son feu, il prent l'eau de mes yeux,
 Mes soupirs pour soufflets, et mes veines pour braise,
 Mon foye pour enclume, où il forge à son aise
 Sans jamais se lasser, mille trets venimeux;

Là d'une lime sourde il ronge ma pensée,
 D'un espoir il polit ma misere passée,
 Et à la folle attente il attache mes maux:

Qui plus est, mon D'AURAT, ce Forgeron peu sage
 Dedans mon pauvre corps fait son apprentissage,
 Et des faultes qu'il fait j'endure les travaux

(Le Theatre, Paris, 1561, British Library, 240.f.15(2), p. 235 - the last line is, of course, a clever pun on the labours of a blacksmith and the sufferings of a lover). Dorat's text, included at the end of this same publication with its heading:

Amour depuis deux ans s'est desrobé des Cieux.
 Du II. de l'Olimpe, page 235.
 I.AURATUS

Annus ab hinc alter, cum cælo diisque relictis
 In terras venit quo faber esset Amor.
 Non illi ars placuit, placuit cruciari per artem
 Hanc sibi me, fornax factus et eius ego.
 Utitur ille meis, quo flammæ mulceat, imbre
 Ex oculis, gemitus et vice follis habet.
 Venæ sunt illi carbones, est iecur incus,
 Spiculâ mille gravi qua lita tabe quatit.
 Nec modus aut requies, sed sensus mentis ibidem
 Usque sonum lima non faciente terit.
 Usque ibi præteritas ærumnas expolit, usque
 Venturas aptat credulitate levi.
 Quodque magis durum est, Aurate, rudis faber ille
 Nostra rudimentum pectora subter agit.

Et quodcunque sua peccavit in arte fabrili,
Non sua peccanti, sed mihi culpa nocet

(op. cit., p. 317). Dorat's poem is a fairly close translation of Grévin's sonnet; deviations in meaning are few, and add nothing to the sense of Grévin's original. Moreover, Dorat's Latin is - surprisingly, considering the normally compact nature of the Latin language - less succinct than Grévin's attractive poem.

A translation of this same poem into Greek was made by Florent Chrestien, editor of Greek books and a good friend of Grévin (he calls Grévin his "amy singulier" in an Epistre à J. Grévin published in Grévin's Second Discours sur les vertus et facultez de l'antimoine, Paris, s.d.; British Library, 546.b.9).

Chrestien's translation reads:

LE MESME EN GREC PAR
Florent Chrestien

Ἄστρα θεοῦς τε λιπὼν μετὰ διχθαβίου λυκάμαντας,
Ὡς ἂν ἔος τέκτων, ἵκητο γαῖαν ἔρως.
οὐδέ πυρίβλητος κείνῳ τόσον ἔυαδε τέχνη
Ὅσον ἐμέ τρύχειν ἢς διὰ τεχνοσύνης
λαδὲι ὄν ἐμῆ χοάνον κραδίηφι πυρίπνοον ἴσε,
Ἐργοπόνου θῶκῃ ἡμεροέντι τέχνες.
Ἡμετέροις ἄρδαι τοίου φλόγας ἔσχαρεῶνος
Ἐτέλοις δακρύοις, ὄμμαος χρησάμενος.
Πυκνάς δέ στοναχάς τεύχει φυσήτορας ἄσμοις,
καί φλέβες οἱ, ὡπερ ἀνθρακες, εἰοῖν ἐμαί.
Ἡπαρ ἐμόν οἱ ἄκμων πέλει, ἦχι βέλεμνα πταίνων
Μυρία νωλεμέως φαρμακιδεντα κάμε.
Ἐνθα οἱ ἐμοὶ καφῶ ἀπαλάς φρένας ἔξεσε δινῆ,
Θελγόμενος προτέρας ἐλπίδι μὲν ὀδύνας,
Ευσομέναις δέ κεναίς πάλι προσδοκίησι προούφαις·
καί, τό γε τῶν πάντων ἐστ' ὀϊζυρότερον,
Κεῖνος ὁ νηπίαχος, κακομήχανος, αὔρατε, τέκτων,
Πεῖραν ὄν ἡμετέρῳ σάματι τεχνοσύνης
ἄν πρῶτῃν ποίησε, καί ὅττι κεν αὐτός ἀμαρτῶν
Τεχνᾶται, μούνῳ φῆυ! ἀνιηρόν ἐμοί.

(Having, in the middle of the second year, left the stars and the Gods, love came to earth so that he might be a blacksmith. Not because that man's fiery skill delighted him, so much as to torment me through that skill. Carefully, he makes a fiery smelting pot of my heart, desiring an abode for his craftsman's skill. He waters the flames of this forge with my rain-bringing tears, having borrowed my eyes. But he turns my regular sighs into fans for his bellows, and, alas! my

veins even into charcoal. My liver becomes an anvil on which he continuously forges countless darts and smears them with poison. There, alas! he wears away my tender heart with a file, while I am silent, enchanting past hardships on the one hand with hope, on the other with empty belief; and this is the most wretched thing of all, Dorat - that mischievous, childish craftsman now makes his first attempt in his craft, using my body; and whatever he commits in the way of errors is, alas! painful to me alone).

The second poem by Dorat, again translating one of the love sonnets of Grévin's Le Theatre, exists, as far as I know, only in manuscript form. It is found, in Grévin's own hand, in a copy of Grévin's Le Theatre in the Plantin-Moretus museum in Antwerp (Rés. 90). It seems likely that it was when Grévin was in Antwerp, in 1567, that he added the translation to this copy of Le Theatre (this copy also contains many manuscript corrections to his own poems). Presumably he intended, having completed the corrections, to republish this work, including in it this second translation by Dorat. Two other manuscript copies of Dorat's poem are found in a sixteenth century collection of poetry: these two copies are virtually identical (Bibliothèque Nationale, manuscrits, fonds latin, no. 8138, fol. 76 and no. 8139, fol. 121; mentioned by L. Pinvert, Jacques Grévin, Paris, 1898, p. 339).

Grévin's poem, which Dorat has translated, reads:

Cruelle, qu'as tu fait? qu'as tu fait, ennemie?
N'ay je pas veu sortir un humeur de tes yeux,
Esclairant et bruslant, subtil et doucereux,
Qui en un mesme instant s'est saisie de ma vie?

J'en ay le sang bruslé, et la face blesmie,
J'en ay le cueur en cendre et le corps langoureux,
Et comme si ce fust un mal contagieux,
Il a dessus mon tout desserré sa furie.

Ainsi qu'il estoit cler, tous mes pauvres esprits
En furent à l'instant facilement surpris,
Ainsi qu'il estoit chault il attiza sa force,

Comme il estoit subtil il entra dans mon cueur,
Puis dedans tout le corps, et or', par sa douceur,
Il sert à mon martire et d'appas et d'amorce

(Le Theatre, ed. cit., p. 231). Dorat's Latin translation in the Antwerp edition reads:

Du second de l'Olympe
Cruelle qu'as tu faict
J.AURATUS

Sæva quid egisti facinus quod est ausa maligna
Heu! quid es ex oculis evaculata tuis?
Non rutilum, calidum, ferme blandumque vaporem
Vidi ego se membris insinuare meis?
Nec mora fulgureis penitus velut ignibus arsit
Sanguis, et exanguis fugit ab ore color.
Cor fluit in cineres: corpus collabitur ægrum.
Incubuit subiti vis mihi tanta mali.
Fulgor ab igne micans sensus perstrinxit, at auram
Vitalem extinxit flammeus ille calor.
Quod subtile fuit penetravit ad usque medullas,
Per animæ latebras cordis et ima furit.
Denique quæ fuerat fallacis blanda veneni
Dulcedo, morbi blanda fit esca mei.

(The only deviation from the two manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale is found in line 3 which, in these manuscripts, reads: "Non rutlium, calidum, tenuem, blandumque vaporem".) This translation is again a reasonably close rendering of Grévin's original, although lines 9-11 express Grévin's ideas in a different way. It is also more compact than Dorat's other translation, being only fourteen lines in length.

Grévin and Dorat seem to have known each other well from early in Grévin's career as a poet. Dorat was placed second in a list made by Grévin in his Hymne à Monseigneur le Dauphin (Paris, of his preferred writers, second only to Pierre de Ronsard (even Du Bellay, whom Grévin admired greatly, was placed after Dorat). But none of Grévin's extant works appears to have been influenced by Dorat's poetry. This is rather surprising since, as I hope to have shown in my recently completed University of London Ph.D thesis ("A study of the life and literary works of Jacques Grévin with particular reference to his relationship with the Pléiade

poets"), Grévin made considerable use in his poetry of work
by almost all the other poets in the Pléiade group.

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