

Humanism under Francis I

IN the year 1514 Guillaume Budé published the 'De Asse,' his first important work; in the year 1547 Adrien Tournebus, known to scholars as Turnebus, was appointed a royal professor of Greek at Paris. These two dates, which almost exactly coincide with the beginning and the end of the reign of Francis I (1515-1547), serve to mark off that reign as a distinct epoch in the history of French humanism. Budé was a man of great learning; Turnèbe was a critical scholar. So were Henri Estienne, Lambin, and Daurat, while Vatable and Toussain, who died on the same day in 1547, were of the same type as Budé. It is this difference which distinguishes the reign of Francis I from the succeeding period, the golden age of French scholarship, which may be said to have lasted from 1547 to 1572. The humanists of the later period were specialists; devoted to some single branch of humanistic study, history or jurisprudence, or the critical construction of classical texts. The men of the reign of Francis I aspired to nothing less than the whole domain of classical learning. Rabelais was a storehouse of erudition; Postel, Du Chastel, and many others were his equals, if not his superiors, in the extent and variety of their attainments. Fernel, the great medical writer, was at one time an ardent student of mathematics and astronomy; his colleague Sylvius was the first Frenchman to publish a grammar of his native language; Peletier was a physician, a mathematician, a spelling reformer, and a poet. But whatever the branches of learning in which these ardent spirits won distinction, they nearly all built upon the same foundation, the knowledge of Greek. It is this which makes Budé, the 'restorer of Greek studies in France,' the dominant name of this period of humanism.¹

He was born in 1467, a year after his friend and rival

¹ *G. Budæi vita per Ludovicum Regium* (Louis le Roy), Paris, 1547 (a panegyric rather than a biography); Rebillé, *G. Budé, restaurateur des études grecques en France*, 1846; E. de Budé, *Vie de G. Budé*, 1884 (more laudatory than critical). *Budæi Opera*, 4 vol. (Basle, 1557), do not include his French treatise, *De l'Institution du Prince*, which was published, after his death, in 1547, nor his correspondence with Erasmus, which, with several others of his letters, will be found in Leclerc's edition of the *Opera* of Erasmus (Leyden, 1708-1706).

Erasmus. His father was a rich man, and had, for the time, a good library; he was, says his son, *librorum emacissimus*.² Guillaume's early education was of a perfunctory character. He was a student in arts at Paris, and in law at Orleans, but in neither branch of study did he reap any profit. It was not till he had reached the age of twenty-four that he was seized with a passion for learning which never afterwards deserted him. The remainder of his life was dedicated to untiring industry, and it was a current story that even on his wedding-day he worked for three hours. His first object was to learn Greek, and for that purpose he paid 500 crowns to George Hermonymus of Sparta, without, however, getting much in return. To Janus Lascaris he was indebted for occasional help and encouragement, but on the whole he was fully justified in describing himself as not only *ὀψιμαθής* but *αὐτομαθής*. It was mainly due to his indomitable perseverance, to his lavish expenditure on books and manuscripts, and his unsparing toil in studying them, that he forced his way through the narrow gate that leads to Greek scholarship. He soon began to be talked of as a zealous student of Greek, and through the chancellor Guy de Rochefort he was presented to Charles VIII, who made him one of his secretaries (1497).³ His first published works were translations from Greek to Latin, principally of treatises of Plutarch. In 1503 he was nominated a member of the mission sent by Louis XII to Pope Julius II just after his election. This mission, which lasted two years, gave him the opportunity of making the acquaintance of several of the leading scholars of Italy.⁴ His first important work was entitled 'Annotations on the Twenty-four Books of the Pandects' (1508); in this he indicated the main lines on which the reform of the study of jurisprudence ought to proceed: first, the purification of the text of the Digest from the successive strata of gloss under which it was buried; and secondly, the cultivation among students of a sounder knowledge of Latin and a purer style of writing it. But the work which raised him to a foremost place among the scholars of his day was his treatise 'De Asse et partibus eius,' published in 1514. Remarkable as the first thorough investigation of the money, weights, and measures of the ancients, it was even more remarkable for the great wealth of learning displayed in its numerous digressions. Within twenty years it passed through ten editions, a popularity which testifies, if not to the merit of the work, at any rate to the widely spreading interest in everything that related to the ancient world.

² See L. Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibl. Imp.* i. 181; iii. 358; Omont, *G. Hermonyme, suivi d'une notice sur les collections des manuscrits de Jean et G. Budé*, 1885.

³ Budé to Pace (*Op.* i. 241); Budé to Tunstall (*Erasmii Op.* iii. 245).

⁴ Budé to Tunstall (*Erasmii Op.* iii. 245).

Throughout the reign of Louis XII, Budé, except for one or more missions to Italy, had lived in retirement among his books, his duties as secretary being apparently nominal. But the author of the 'De Asse' was too famous a man to escape the notice of Francis I. In 1520 he was summoned to the court, and it became for a time his duty to attend the king on his numerous peregrinations, a duty which the hard-working scholar did not much relish. In 1522 he was appointed to the newly created office of 'master of the king's library' at Fontainebleau. Meanwhile a collection of his letters, including several written in Greek, which had been published in 1520, had definitely established his reputation as a Greek scholar.⁵ From this time he was recognised as sharing with Erasmus the primacy of European scholarship. In 1521, the Spaniard, Vives, who had recently paid a visit to Paris, writes to Erasmus in terms of the highest admiration of Budé's learning,⁶ to which Erasmus replies that the Germans 'cannot deny that he is supreme in every kind of literature.'⁷ But it was especially in Greek scholarship that he was pre-eminent, and in 1529 he gave a more convincing proof of his powers by the publication of his 'Commentarii Linguae Graecae,' a species of Greek lexicon, which Erasmus had once or twice urged him to write.⁸ Like all Budé's writings the 'Commentaries' are a mass of erudition put together without any attempt at method. Though now of little value, their appearance was a notable event in the history of French scholarship. Little is known of Budé during the last decade of his life, which he apparently passed in comparative retirement either in his *hôtel* at Paris or in one or the other of his country-houses at Marly and St. Maur. He died on 22 Aug. 1540, four years after Erasmus. The following words of Calvin express the verdict of his contemporaries: *Gulielmus Budaeus primum rei literariae decus et columen, cuius beneficio palmam eruditionis hodie sibi vindicat nostra Gallia.*⁹ The first place in the world of scholarship had passed from Italy to France, and it was mainly the work of Budé.

Budé's two most intimate friends were Louis de Ruzé, 'civil-lieutenant' (that is to say, judge of the civil court) of Paris, and François de Luines, one of the presidents of the Paris parliament.¹⁰

⁵ They were published by Badius (see E. de Budé, *Vie de G. Budé*, p. 139, n. 1), and republished at Basle in 1521. A second collection was published by Badius in 1522.

⁶ *Erasmi Op.* iii. 686; and see Vives's panegyric in his commentary on St. Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, ii. ch. xvii. (Basle, 1570, p. 123).

⁷ *Erasmi Op.* iii. 689.

⁸ *Ibid.* 680, and comp. p. 802. The first edition was published by Badius; the best is that of Robert Estienne (1548), a magnificent specimen of typography.

⁹ Calvin, *Op.* v. 54.

¹⁰ Erasmus speaks of the three men as a triumvirate (*Op.* iii. 420; and see *ibid.* 194, 210; Leroy, *Vita Budaei*, p. 40). Luines died in 1525 (*Erasmi Op.* iii. 884) at an advanced age (*ibid.* i. 1011). Brixius honoured him with a very long elegy (*Delitiae Postarum Gallorum*, i. 723).

Both were warm partisans of the new studies, and were themselves in some repute as writers of elegant Latin. Another man in high place whose influence was always at the service of scholars was the learned Estienne Poncher, bishop of Paris, and afterwards archbishop of Sens.¹¹ Other members of this little circle of humanists were Germain de Brie, better known as Germanus Brixius, Nicolas Berauld, and the two physicians, Jean Ruel and Guillaume Cop. Brixius and Berauld at the beginning of the reign of Francis I. ranked next to Budé as Greek scholars. Brixius was one of the royal almoners and a canon of Notre-Dame. He had learnt Greek from Janus Lascaris at Venice and from Marcus Musurus at Padua. Here he made the acquaintance of Erasmus, whose most frequent correspondent he is, next to Budé, among the French humanists. He translated some of St. John Chrysostom's works into Latin and wrote Greek verse. But he was especially famous as a Latin poet, in which capacity he had a notable passage of arms with Sir Thomas More. He lived in considerable style and gave excellent dinners to his learned friends.¹² Nicolas Berauld is especially interesting as the tutor of the three Chatillon brothers. He was for some time a professor of law at Orleans, his native town, where Erasmus stayed with him in 1506 on his way from England to Italy. 'Even now,' says Erasmus in a letter to Luines, 'methinks I hear that smooth and fluent tongue, that sweetly musical and gently resonant voice, that pure and polished discourse; methinks I see that friendly face so full of human kindness, so free from pride; those charming manners, affable, easy, unobtrusive.'¹³ In 1517 we find him at Paris, on intimate terms with Poncher and the other members of the humanist circle. He had now given up the study of law for that of the ancient languages. Melchior Wolmar learnt Greek from him in 1521, and in 1525 Estienne Dolet was his pupil in Latin and rhetoric. He had a great reputation as a speaker.¹⁴ Jean Ruel is chiefly known as the author of 'De Natura Stirpium,' in which he has collected all the learning of the ancients on the subject of plants, and which may be regarded as the starting-point of the revival of botanical studies in France.¹⁵

¹¹ Poncher (1445-1524) became bishop of Paris in 1503 and archbishop of Sens in 1519. Brixius, in a letter to Erasmus (*Op.* iii. 191), is very enthusiastic in his praises, and Berauld calls him 'the distinguished and almost solitary Mæcenas of his age' (*ibid.* 308).

¹² For Brixius (b. 148-, d. 1538) see Sainte-Marthe, *Elogia*; Brixius to Erasmus (*Op.* iii. 191). For the controversy with More see *Philomorus* (2nd ed. 1878), pp. 74-78; Geiger, *Vierteljahrsschrift für vergleichende Litt.* ii. 213 ff. He is mentioned by Rabelais in *Pant.* iv. 21, a passage which seems to prove that his name was De Brie and not Brice.

¹³ *Erasmi Op.* iii. 188.

¹⁴ For Berauld (1478-1550) see Haag, *La France Prot.* (2nd ed.); Christie, *Etienne Dolet* (2nd ed. 1899), p. 15; and for tributes to his eloquence, *Borbonii Nugæ*, p. 462; *Erasmi Op.* i. 1011.

¹⁵ For Ruel (1474-1537) see Sainte-Marthe, *Elogia*. The first edition of the *De Natura Stirpium* (1536) is one of the finest specimens of Simon de Colines's press.

Guillaume Cop, a native of Basle, was the king's first physician, and of great influence at the court, which he used to further all schemes for the advancement of learning. He published some Latin translations of Hippocrates and Galen.¹⁶

Another man of learning who was in close attendance on the king was his confessor, Guillaume Petit, a Dominican, who held in succession the sees of Troyes and Senlis. He was a great book-hunter—*omnium bonorum auctorum conquisitor et indagator sagacissimus*.¹⁷ In fact, according to Budé, so far did his love for rare volumes go that he was hardly to be trusted in a library.¹⁸ Yet he was entrusted with the duty of drawing up a catalogue of the royal library at Blois, and the manuscript which contains interesting comments by him on several of the books is preserved to this day in the imperial library at Vienna.¹⁹

Lastly among the friends of the new learning whose duties brought them into immediate and continual contact with the royal person was Jacques Colin, abbot of St. Ambroise of Bourges, who held the post of reader to the king. Though hardly to be reckoned as a man of learning, he had from his position frequent relations with the leading scholars, and he was himself of some note in his day as a writer of both French and Latin verse. He was fond of a good joke and a good story, and had a witty tongue which he would have done well sometimes to restrain, as it eventually cost him his place as reader.²⁰

These men, with François du Bois (Sylvius), principal of the College of Tournai, who did much to reform the style of Latin composition in the university,²¹ Jean de Pins, bishop of Rieux,²² and Josse Bade the printer, may be said to form the first generation of French humanists. Like all pioneers, they had to contend against serious obstacles. They had either acquired Greek in Italy, like Brixius and Jean de Pins, or like Budé had overcome the many difficulties which attended the learning of it in France, where

¹⁶ Cop died 1537; the date of his birth is unknown.

¹⁷ Budæus, *De Asse* (*Op.* i. 269).

¹⁸ *Bibliothecarum pene compilator* (*Erasmii Epp.* iii. 168).

¹⁹ Michelant, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de François I* (1863). A notice of Petit will be found in Echard, *Script. Ord. Praed.* ii. 100. Budé believed him to be a relation of Jean Petit the publisher (*Erasmii Op.* iii. 168).

²⁰ For Colin (*b.* 14—, *d. circ.* 1537) see Goujet, *Bibliothèque française* (1747), xi. 398–404. A letter from Pierre Danès, then one of the royal professors, asking him to get leave of absence for him from the king, is printed in *Clarorum Virorum Epistolae*. Des Periers tells several anecdotes about him (*Nouv.* xlvi. xlviiii), and says of him that he was 'homme de bon sçavoir et bon cerveau . . . et avait une grande assurance de parler de quelques propos que ce fust, et rencontoit singulièrement bien.' See also St. Gelais, *Œuvres* (ed. Blanchemain), ii. 106, with the note by La Monnoye.

²¹ F. du Bois, elder brother of the celebrated medical writer Jacques du Bois, was a correspondent of Erasmus, who, writing to him in 1525, says 'Ego iam cursu defessus Beraldo, Brixio, tibi vestrique similibus trado lampada' (*Op.* iii. 910).

²² For Jean de Pins see *post*, p. 473.

there were no books, few manuscripts, and still fewer teachers, and where, above all, they met with constant opposition from the very body to which they had the most right to look for encouragement—the Paris University. From the very first the Sorbonne and the College of Navarre had regarded the new studies with more or less suspicion. On the eve of the reign of Francis I, the Theological Faculty, formerly condemning the *Speculum oculare* of Reuchlin, had proclaimed itself to the world as the champion of Obscurantism, as the ally of Pfefferkorn and Ortuinus Gratius.²³ The leader of these Paris obscurantists was Noël Beda, principal of the College of Montaigu, and syndic of the Theological Faculty, whose opposition both to humanists and Lutherans was carried on with a zeal which even the orthodox sometimes thought excessive.²⁴

But though the followers of Beda were in the majority in the university, they did not have it all their own way. There had always existed a feeling of considerable jealousy between the Faculty of Arts and that of Theology with regard to their respective rights and privileges, and this fact doubtless helped to dispose those colleges which had few or no theological professors in favour of the new studies. In some of the colleges there were Greek lectures; by Jean Chéradame in the College of Lisieux, by Jean Bonchamp (Evagrius) in the College of Le Moine, and by Jean le Voyer in the College of Burgundy.²⁵ The College of Lisieux under the rule of Jean du Tartas (1525–1533) became distinguished for enlightened views. But the principal home of humanism in the university was the College of Sainte-Barbe, of which the Portuguese Jacques des Govea and his nephew André were successively principals. Among its professors and students were Jean Fernel, Jacques Louis d'Estrebay (Strebaeus), Jean Gelida, who afterwards became principal of the College of Le Moine, Barthélemi Masson and Guillaume Postel, the future royal professors, and George Buchanan.²⁶ Here also from 1525 to 1528 lectured a man who perhaps more than any one helped to infuse the spirit of true humanism into the university. This was Maturin Cordier, who for nearly twenty years (from about 1524 to 1534) devoted himself to the work of reforming the education of the younger students of the Paris University.²⁷ He taught in various colleges besides Sainte-Barbe; at La Marche Calvin was one of his pupils. In 1530 he published a little treatise, 'De

²³ Argentré, *De novis Erroribus*, i. pt. ii. p. 250; *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* (Leipzig, 1869), ii. 140.

²⁴ He succeeded Jean Standouc before 1502. Beda is the latinised form of his name, which was probably Bedier (see M. Frank's edition of the *Heptaméron*, iii. 487–94).

²⁵ Dom Liron, *Singularités historiques* (1738–40), i. 470.

²⁶ See J. Quicherat, *Hist. de Sainte-Barbe*, 8 vols. 1860–64.

²⁷ 1479–1564. See Haag, *La France Protestante*; F. Buisson, *Sébastien Castellion* (2 vols. 1892), i. 124 ff.; Berthault, *M. Cordier*, 1876.

corrupti sermonis apud Gallos et loquendi latine ratione libellus' in which he waged war against the monkish jargon which passed for Latin among the students. In 1534 he edited the famous school-book Cato's 'Disticha,' with a French translation and notes; and in the same year he left Paris, and, after a brief sojourn at Nevers, joined the staff of the new College of Guienne at Bordeaux.²⁸ In 1537 he yielded to Calvin's pressing invitation to help him with the organisation of his new college at Geneva. Thence, owing to the temporary defeat of Calvin and his friends by the opposite party (1538), he went to Neuchatel and became head of the college. It was not till 1559 that he returned to Geneva, and there he died in 1564, teaching to the end. It was at Geneva, a year before his death, that his famous 'Colloquies,' a series of dialogues in Latin and French for the use of schoolboys, were published. They acquired an enormous popularity, which they retained till the present century.²⁹

The second generation of French scholars, men who had scarcely reached manhood at the time of the accession of Francis I, found on the whole a much easier task before them. In the first place they had better teaching; they could learn Greek in France, without going to Italy or trusting to the stray visits of foreign scholars. Secondly, thanks to the energy and liberality of Budé and a few others, whose example was followed by the king, Greek manuscripts were being collected and multiplied; and, though very few Greek books were as yet printed in France, they could be imported from beyond the Alps.

Foremost among this younger generation were Pierre Danès and Jacques Toussain, both of them Budé's pupils, who rapidly rose to a place among the French scholars inferior only to their master's and became the first royal professors of Greek.³⁰ Another pupil of Budé's was Guillaume du Maine, who became tutor to his children, then reader to Margaret of Navarre, and afterwards tutor to the children of Francis I.³¹ In 1523 he published a Greek-Latin dictionary in conjunction with Jean Chéradame, whom I have mentioned as lecturing in the college at Lisieux, and who had written a Greek grammar with the help of

²⁸ He had become a Protestant, and in 1535 his name appeared on the list of those who were cited to appear before the Paris parliament (*Cronique du roy François premier*, p. 130).

²⁹ The latest edition in the British Museum is of 1830 (London).

³⁰ Danès (1497-1577) joined his patron, Georges de Selve, ambassador at Venice, in 1584, and remained in Italy for three years. He represented France at the council of Trent, and was made by Henri II tutor to the Dauphin, and bishop of Lavour (Goujet, *Mémoires du collège royal*, i. 384-405). Toussain (b. 149-, d. 1547) was an especial favourite with Budé, of whose letters he published two editions (*ib.* 405-19).

³¹ Several of Budé's Greek letters are addressed to G. du Maine; see for an account of him, Dreux de Radier, *Hist. litt. de Poitou*.

Toussain.³² The latter was the author of another Greek-Latin dictionary, which was published after his death.

The diplomatist Lazare Baif, father of the poet Jean Antoine de Baif, ranked high as a writer of Latin prose.³³ His translations of the 'Electra' of Sophocles and the 'Hecuba' of Euripides into French verse are of little merit, but his three archaeological treatises, 'De re vestiaria,' 'De re navali' and 'De vasculis,' went through numerous editions. He also translated two pairs of Plutarch's Lives. Aimar de Ranconnet was a few years younger than Baif. Though he published nothing under his own name, he had the highest reputation among his contemporaries for sound learning, both as a classical scholar and as a jurist. Turnebus dedicated to him his edition of Sophocles (1553), and Cujas his notes on the 'Sentences' of Paulus. Ranconnet was born at Bordeaux, studied for a time at Toulouse, and according to the 'Pithaeana' served for twelve years as corrector of proofs to Robert Estienne. In 1539 he was made a member of the Great Council, and in 1549 a counsellor of the Paris parliament and president of the second chamber of *enquêtes*. He died mysteriously in the Bastille in 1559.³⁴ Another member of the Great Council who was also a leading humanist was Guy de Breslay, who had studied at Padua under Simon Villanovanus. He was made president of the Great Council in 1541.

In the dedicatory letter to the king, prefixed to his 'Commentarii Linguae Græcae,' Budé reminds him in very plain language of a promise he had long before made to establish a royal college for the study of ancient languages. The project, which is said to have emanated from Francis himself, but which at any rate was suggested by the college for the study of the three languages founded by Jerome Busleiden in 1515 at Louvain, had been formed as early as 1517,³⁵ and one of the reasons for desiring to attract Erasmus to France was the wish that he might take some part in the direction of the new college. But before the scheme was sufficiently matured to be put into execution Francis's attention was diverted by the war with Charles V, and it was not till after the treaty of Cambray that, sickened by unsuccessful warfare, he again turned his attention to the arts of peace. The moment chosen by Budé for his reminder was therefore an opportune one.

³² For Chéradame see Goujet (*ib.* 420-34), though he is mistaken in supposing that he was ever a royal professor; *Hist. Eccl.* (ed. Baum and Cunitz), i. p. 6.

³³ For Baif (*circ.* 1490-1547) see Hauréau, *Hist. Litt. du Maine*, 1852, iii. 1-16; L. Pinvert, *L. de Baif*, 1900; Erasmus, *Ciceronianus* (*Op.* i. 1012).

³⁴ See P. Tamizey de Larroque, *Un grand homme oublié, le Président de Ranconnet* (1871); Sammarthanus, *Elog.* p. 35; Bunellus, *Epistolae* (1581); Taisand, *Les Vies des jurisconsultes* (1721), who tells us that Ranconnet used to get up in the night and work for four hours (pp. 66, 62).

³⁵ 'Praeclari cupit esse conditor instituti'—Budé to Erasmus, 5 Feb. 1514 (*Erasmii Op.* iii. 170).

Before the end of the year 1529 the first royal professorships³⁶ were established, and by the end of 1530 there were five professors, two for Hebrew, two for Greek, and one for mathematics. Owing to the opposition of the University no professorship for Latin was founded; and that part of the original scheme which consisted in building a magnificent college and endowing it with a revenue for the maintenance of a large body of scholars was abandoned.³⁷ The first professors were as follows: for Hebrew, François Vatable, Agatho Guidacerio; for Greek, Danès and Toussain; for mathematics, Jean Martin Poblacion, a Spaniard.³⁸ Their annual stipend was 200 crowns. In 1531 a third professor for Hebrew was added in the person of Paolo Paradisi, surnamed Canossa, a converted Jew. Vatable, whose real name was Wastbled or Wastabled, was a native of Picardy. In 1508 he attended Aleandro's Greek lectures at Paris, and helped him to prepare, and eventually completed by himself, an edition of Chrysoloras's Greek grammar. He probably learnt Hebrew from Augustino Giustiniani, who came to Paris in 1516 on the king's invitation and lectured for five years.³⁹ They were the first Hebrew lectures given at Paris. In 1521 Vatable accompanied Lefèvre d'Étapes to Meaux, and remained there till 1524, helping to spread a knowledge of the Bible. But in later years his orthodoxy was beyond suspicion. He had a great reputation as a lecturer, but his only published work was an edition of the Hebrew Bible, the first printed in France, with the commentary of the celebrated thirteenth-century rabbi, David Kimchi, which he prepared for Robert Estienne (4to, 1539-1544; 2nd ed. 16mo, 1544-1546). Notes taken at his lectures were printed in the margin of the same printer's Latin Bible of 1545. He was abbot of Bellozane, a benefice afterwards held by Amyot and by Ronsard. He died in 1547, on the same day as his colleague Toussain.⁴⁰

France could boast of another native hebraist in the person of Pierre Olivetan, the translator of the protestant Bible, who, like

³⁶ See a letter from Erasmus to Toussain (1 Jan. 1530) congratulating him on his appointment (*ib.* 1851).

³⁷ Bulaeus, *Hist. Univ. Par.* vi. 221.

³⁸ See A. Lefranc, *Les origines du collège de France* in *Rev. internat. de l'enseignement*, 1890, pp. 457-81. The names of the first professors as given in the *Histoire Ecclésiastique* (p. 7) exactly correspond with the entry in the king's accounts for 30 Nov. 1531 (Cimber and Danjou, *Archives Curieuses*, 1^{re} sér. iii. 86), but probably Goujet is right in giving Poblacion as the first professor of mathematics. He can only, however, have held office for a short time, as his successor, Oronce Finé, was certainly appointed in 1530. Lefranc thinks he was never professor. He dates the first appointments from 24 March 1530, the date from which their stipends were calculated.

³⁹ Echard, *Script. Ord. Praed.* ii. 96.

⁴⁰ For Vatable see Beza, *Icones*; Goujet, *ib.* 255-6; Teissier, *Elcges*, i. 1-4. For his residence at Meaux see Herminjard, *Correspondance des Réformateurs*, i. 71 n^o 110 n^o, 181 n^o.

Vatable, was a native of Picardy. But the most distinguished Hebrew scholar in France at the time of the foundation of the royal professorships was the Italian Dominican, Sanctes Pagnini, who came to Lyons in 1525, and died there in 1536. His Latin translation of the Old Testament, to which Olivetan was greatly indebted, appeared in 1528, having cost him twenty-five years of labour, and his Hebrew-Latin dictionary ('*Thesaurus Linguae Sanctae*') in 1529.⁴¹

Of Poblacion, the first professor of mathematics, next to nothing is known. His successor, Oronce Finé, though his knowledge seems ridiculously small when judged by a modern standard, deserves the credit of being the restorer of mathematical studies in France. He had even a harder task than Budé; in spite of the great reputation which he obtained as a professor, his whole life was a constant struggle with poverty.⁴²

The foundation of the royal professorships had from the first been hotly opposed by the obscurantist party of the university.⁴³ It is true that they no longer regarded the 'new' languages with the same horror as heretofore, or perhaps, finding it impossible to resist their introduction, they determined to submit them to a wholesome supervision; for in the year 1530, just after the first royal professorships had been founded, we find a printer, Gerard Morrhuis, a native of Campen in Holland, established in the Sorbonne itself, and issuing from his press no less than eleven Greek books. But the university professors not unnaturally looked with a jealous eye on the new professors, who, from the superiority of their teaching and from the fact that no fees were charged for their lectures, drew enormous classes. The attack was led as usual by the indefatigable Noel Beda, who in January 1534 presented to the parliament of Paris, in the name of the Faculty of Theology, a formal complaint against the delivery of public lectures on the Holy Scriptures by 'simple grammarians or rhetoricians who had not studied in any faculty.' A day having been fixed by the parliament for hearing

⁴¹ See Echard, *ib.* ii. 114 ff.; Christie, *Dolet*, p. 301.

⁴² There is a long article on Finé (1494-1555) in the *Nouv. Biogr. Gén.* The doubt which the writer throws on the story of his imprisonment for his courageous opposition to the Concordat is removed by a letter published by Herminjard (*ib.* i. 178), written 1 Jan. 1524, in which the writer speaks of having visited him in prison.

⁴³ Bulaeus, *Hist. Univ. Par.* vi.; Goujet, pp. 84-94, who quotes the following lines of Marot from his *Epistre au roy du temps de son exil à Ferrare* (1535).

Autant comme eulx, sans cause qui soit bonne,
 Me veult de mal l'ignorante Sorbonne :
 Bien ignorante elle est d'estre ennemye
 De la trilingue et noble academie
 Qu'as erigée. Il est tout manifeste,
 Que là dedans contre ton vueil celeste
 Est deffendu qu'on ne voyse allegant
 Hebrieu ny Grec, ny Latin elegant,
 Disant que c'est langage d'heretiques.—*Œuvres* (ed. Jannet).

the contending parties, Noel Beda, who appeared in person, said in the course of his speech that it was very far from his intention to object to the study of Greek or Hebrew, but that it was to be feared that the new professors, though excellent humanists, were not sufficiently versed in theology to interpret the Holy Scriptures, and criticise, as they did, the Vulgate; and that even if they were, there might be a danger of their inducing their hearers to doubt its fidelity. 'Finally,' he said, 'the greater part of the Greek and Hebrew editions which they use as text-books have been made in Germany, a country infected with heresy, either by Jews or by catholics who have turned Lutherans, who are therefore quite capable of tampering with the original text.' The actual decision of the parliament is not known, but it was no doubt favourable to the royal professors, for they continued to give their lectures, and before the end of the year a Latin professorship, to which Beda and his friends had especially objected, was established. The first professor was Barthélemi Masson⁴⁴ (Latomaeus), a native of Luxembourg and a friend of Erasmus, who had been recommended by Budé. His nationality made the appointment doubly objectionable in the eyes of the orthodox, for the affairs of the Placards had recently occurred, and all countrymen of Luther were now looked on with special suspicion. They need have had no fear of Masson on this score, for he had already shown himself to be zealously orthodox, and in this path he continued.

A few years after this the king returned to his original intention of housing his professors in a magnificent college, and a document was addressed to the treasurer of his exchequer calling upon him to provide ways and means for the building of a college on the site of the Hôtel de Nesle (19 Dec. 1539).⁴⁵ But, like many of Francis's grand conceptions, it never bore fruit. The royal professors remained without a home of their own till nearly a century later. However, an increase was made in the number of the professorships. A third chair of Greek was created and filled by Denis Coroné, who had been for many years attached to the household of the Cardinal de Tournon. The other new chairs were a second one of mathematics, one of philosophy, and one of medicine, making ten in all.⁴⁶ The first professor of philosophy was

⁴⁴ For Masson (b. 1485, d. 1566) see Goujet, ii. 326-343; Erasmi *Op.* iii. p. 1504 (Latomaeus to Erasmus), p. 1508 (Erasmus to Latomaeus). He had strongly opposed the foundation of the college of Busleiden at Louvain (Rottier, *La vie et les travaux d'Erasmus considérés dans leurs rapports avec la Belgique*), pp. 129-32.

⁴⁵ Goujet, i. 109-15; the document is printed in Baluze's notes to Galland's *Vita Castellani*, p. 154.

⁴⁶ See *Vita Castellani*, p. 150, where a list of the professors (in some cases with their names utterly misspelt) is given for the year 1545. Pierre Galland appears as professor of Latin in the place of Masson, who had resigned in 1542, and Jean Strazel in the place of Danès, who had also resigned. For Coroné see Goujet, i. 434-8, and the dedication

Vicomercato, a native of Milan; of medicine, Guido Guidi (Vidus Vidius), the great anatomist, who was a native of Florence.

The new chair of mathematics was conferred on that remarkable man, Guillaume Postel, whose early struggles in the pursuit of learning are highly characteristic of the age.⁴⁷ At the age of thirteen, having lost both his parents in childhood, he became a teacher in a village school. As soon as he had saved a little money he made his way to Paris, but, his money and clothes having been stolen by some rascal during his sleep, he was reduced to such misery that he contracted an illness which kept him in hospital for two years. On his recovery he set to work to earn some more money by harvesting, and then entered the college of Sainte-Barbe, where he supported himself by acting as servant to the professor Jean Gelida, and by giving him lessons in Greek. Meanwhile he studied with passionate ardour, and soon began to acquire some reputation as a scholar. After some vicissitudes he obtained an appointment as tutor, which relieved him from the pressure of poverty. In 1535 he went to Constantinople in the suite of the ambassador La Forest, and there he studied oriental languages. On his return he published his first book, the alphabets of eleven languages, Hebrew, Syriac, Samaritan, Arabic (including an Arabic grammar), Greek, Ethiopic, Georgian, two forms of old Slavonic which he called Servian and Illyrian, Armenian, and Latin (1538). In 1539 he was, as we have seen, appointed to the new royal professorship of mathematics; but in 1543, having become involved in the disgrace of his benefactor, the chancellor Poyet, he gave up his chair and left France. After wandering over Europe for eight years he returned to Paris in 1551, but three years later again took to a wandering life. At last in 1563 he settled down in the Cluniac monastery of St. Martin-les-Champs at Paris, and there spent the remainder of his days, visited by princes and learned men. He died in 1581, leaving a large number of published works, which are still prized by book-collectors. Many of them relate to certain mystical religious doctrines which Postel was

of the *Hieroglyphica* of Orus Apollo (Paris 1524), in which the writer, Joannes Angelus, speaks of the 'venerandum archiepiscopum Ebrodunensem, qui Dionysium Corrhonium virum utriusque linguae doctissimum, magnis exornet donetque stipendiis' (Herminjard, i. 71, n. 10). Coroné was therefore probably born before 1500. The date of his death is not known, but his successor in the chair, Pierre Galland, was appointed in 1547.

⁴⁷ The most recent account of Postel (1510-1581) is that by G. Weill, *De G. Postelli Vita et Indole*, 1892. Thevet, who knew him personally, has inserted in his *Portraits et vies des hommes illustres* (1584), a translation, with a few additions at the end, of the fragment of a Latin life printed in *Monasterii regalis S. Martini de campis historia* (by Martin Marrier), 1637, p. 558. See also Nicéron, viii. 295; Teissier, *Eloges*, i. 545 ff.; Chauffepié, *Nouv. Dict. Hist.; Nouv. Biogr. Gén.* Some very curious letters from Postel to Abraham Ortelus, the geographer, are printed in the *Epistulas Ortelianae* (ed. Hessels, Camb. 1887), i. nos. 19, 20, 81.

in the habit of preaching in and out of season, and which brought him into frequent trouble. Indeed, he might have fared worse had he not been supposed to be not altogether in his right mind.⁴⁸

Postel naturally suggests the names of two other notable eastern travellers, both naturalists, namely Pierre Gilles and Pierre Belon. Gilles was sent by Francis I in 1539 on a mission to collect Greek manuscripts and to write descriptions of Constantinople and other places. He was still in the East at the time of the king's death. His chief work, 'De animalium natura' (1533), is a compilation from Aelian and other ancient writers.⁴⁹ Pierre Belon⁵⁰ hardly falls within the limits of this sketch, being still a comparatively young and unknown man at the death of Francis I. He was born in Maine in 1517, and found a patron in the bishop of Le Mans, René du Bellay, who enabled him to study medicine at Paris. Another patron, Cardinal de Tournon, furnished him with money for a protracted tour in the East (1546-49). The account of his travels, which he published in 1553, is said to be one of the best books of the kind written in the sixteenth century,⁵¹ and his book on birds, which appeared in 1555, shows considerable personal observation and some anatomical knowledge.⁵² He was also a botanist and an ichthyologist, and he wrote a book on classical antiquities. Unfortunately, while still in the prime of life, he was assassinated in the Bois de Boulogne (1564).

The creation of the new professorial chairs was doubtless in a large measure due to Pierre du Chastel, who in 1537 had become the king's reader in the place of Jacques Colin and had succeeded Budé as his chief adviser in literary matters.⁵³ The appointment of Postel may have been due to his fellow-feeling for a man who, like himself, had been self-taught, and whose acquaintance he must have made at Constantinople in 1535. His life up to this time had been full of variety and adventure. He had been a professor in Cyprus; he had been stripped by robbers in Egypt, and had

⁴⁸ 'Fuit vere stultus, nam alioqui fuisset combustus: il courroit les rues' (*Scaligerana altera*, p. 193). For a list of his works and an account of his religious opinions see Des Billons, *Nouveaux éclaircissements sur la vie et les ouvrages de G. P.* (Liège, 1778).

⁴⁹ 1490-1555. See Nicéron, *Mém.* xxiii. 408 ff.; Delisle, *op. cit.* i. 159. In the *Epist. Ortelianae* (i. no. 5) there is a letter from P. Gilles, dated from Aleppo, April 1549, to a correspondent who, according to Ortels, is Amyot.

⁵⁰ Nicéron, xxiv. 86; Hauréau, *Hist. Litt. du Maine*, ii. 64 ff.

⁵¹ *Les observations de plusieurs singularités et choses memorables trouvées en Grèce, Asie, Judée, Egypte, Arabie et autres pays estranges*, 1558. It was several times reprinted within the next few years.

⁵² *Histoire de la Nature des Oyseaux*. See A. Newton, *A Dictionary of Birds* (1898-96), p. 5.

⁵³ For P. du Chastel (circa 1508-52) see the excellent Latin life by Pierre Galland. It remained in manuscript till 1674, when it was published by Etienne Baluze. Colin seems to have been still reader in Sept. 1536; see Guiffrey's edition of Marot, iii. 480, n. 1.

nearly died of fever at Iconium. At Constantinople he had impressed the ambassador La Forest so favourably that he sent him to France with despatches and a letter of recommendation to the king. Francis was as much impressed as La Forest, and henceforward Du Chastel's career was one of uninterrupted prosperity.⁵⁴ He became successively archdeacon of Avignon and bishop of Mâcon, Tulle, and Orleans. Scholars and men of letters found in him a sure and constant support. The king declared that he was the only man whose learning he had not exhausted in two years.

In 1540 Du Chastel succeeded Budé as master of the royal library at Fontainebleau. The post was one of great importance, for the king had for the last ten years been forming a remarkable collection of Greek manuscripts.⁵⁵ His first acquisition was made in 1529; it consisted of fifty volumes purchased for him by Girolamo Fondulo, a native of Cremona and a man of considerable learning, who was on terms of friendship with several of the French scholars.⁵⁶ In 1542 he bought the collection of Georges de Selve, and in 1545 he was given twenty-four volumes by Cardinal d'Armagnac. The chief hunting-ground for Greek manuscripts at this time was Venice, and here too the copying of manuscripts formed a regular industry among the exiled Greeks. About 1540 the most renowned of these copyists, Angelo Vergecio, was persuaded to enter the French king's service.⁵⁷ Hitherto the enthusiastic humanists who represented Francis at Venice and Rome had collected manuscripts for themselves; but when Guillaume Pellicier, bishop of Montpellier, was appointed to Venice in 1543 he received instructions to have copied, at whatever cost, any manuscripts of which there were not already copies at Fontainebleau. Unfortunately only a very few of the one hundred and eighty volumes which he collected passed to the royal library.⁵⁸

In 1544 Francis moved to Fontainebleau the library at Blois which he had inherited from his predecessor, Louis XII. It contained 1,891 volumes, including about forty manuscripts which

⁵⁴ He seems to have arrived in France during the first half of 1536; see the preface, dated 29 July 1536, to book ii. of Vulteius, *Epigrammata* (Lyons, 1536), p. 98, to which Mr. Christie kindly called my attention. He was made archdeacon of Avignon in 1537.

⁵⁵ Delisle, *op. cit.* i. 151-65 (chiefly from a manuscript account by Jean Boivin); H. Omont, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de Fontainebleau* (1889), pp. iv-viii.

⁵⁶ Tuque adeo, Fondulle, mel pars intima cordis,

Francisco per me concillate meo.—

Brixius, Elegy on F. de Luynes (*Del. poet. gall.* i. 724). Fondulo's extraordinary thinness was a constant joke (see *Joyeux Devis*, xlvii., ed. Lacour, ii. 187). He wrote an Italian comedy in imitation of Plautus (*Cat. Seillière*, no. 468).

⁵⁷ For Vergecio see the *Dict. historique* of Prosper Marchand; *Revue Critique d'hist. et de litt.* 9 March 1872, p. 159; E. Legrand, *Bibl. Hellénique*, 1885, i. clxxv ff.

⁵⁸ There are, or were, nearly a hundred in the Middlehill collection, and there are some in the Bodleian Library. See Omont, *Catalogue des MSS. grecs de G. P.* 1886.

Janus Lascaris had brought to France in 1508.⁵⁹ The great majority of these volumes consisted of manuscripts, there being only 109 printed volumes. In 1545 Vergecio made a list of the Greek manuscripts at Fontainebleau; they amounted to about one hundred and ninety.⁶⁰ In a library like this, which had a quasi-public character, manuscripts were of more service to learning at this stage of its development than printed books, for they were freely lent to various Paris publishers, and books were thus rapidly multiplied. Before 1528 hardly any Greek books were printed in France, but in that year a real start was made, and four Greek books, all of some importance, were printed. In 1530 the work received an impulse from an unexpected quarter, for, as we have seen, no less than eleven Greek books were printed in that year by Gerardus Morrius in the Sorbonne itself. One of these was a Greek-Latin lexicon.

Still greater encouragement came from the appointment of a king's printer for Greek in 1539. The man chosen for the post was Conrad Néobar. 'Distinguished men of letters,' the king is made to say in the letters-patent of his appointment, 'have represented to us that art, history, morals, philosophy, and almost all the other branches of learning, flow from Greek writers, like rivers from their source.'⁶¹ Néobar died a year after his appointment—killed, it is said, by hard work—and was succeeded by Robert Estienne, who already held the office of king's printer for Hebrew and Latin. In 1541 he was ordered by the king to procure from Claude Garamond, the typefounder and engraver, three sets of Greek types for the royal press.⁶² The two larger sizes were modelled on the handwriting of Angelo Vergecio,⁶³ and the smallest, it is said, on that of his pupil, Henri Estienne, then a boy of ten. The exquisite beauty of these types, together with the good quality of the paper and ink, makes the Greek books printed by Robert Estienne and his successors among the most finished specimens of typography that exist. Those printed by Robert included eight *éditiones principes*; the most important being Eusebius, Justin Martyr, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Appian, and Dio Cassius.

Robert Estienne was a scholar as well as a printer. His *The-saurus linguae latinae*, which appeared in 1592, was, especially in

⁵⁹ It was composed of (1) the library which Louis XII had inherited from his father, the duke of Orleans; (2) the library of Charles VIII; (3) the collection of the dukes of Milan; (4) a collection of beautifully illuminated MSS. formed by Louis of Bruges; (5) additions made by Louis XII and his wife, Anne of Brittany. See Delisle, *ib.* 98-146; *Essai hist. sur la bibliothèque du roi* [by Leprince], 1782; and for the catalogue made by G. Petit in 1618, *ante*, p. 159.

⁶⁰ Printed by Omont, *Cat. des MSS. grecs de F.* pp. 355 ff.

⁶¹ The document is printed by A. Bernard, *G. Tesy*, p. 379.

⁶² A. Bernard, *Les Estienne et les types grecs de François I.* 1856.

⁶³ *Scaligerana altera*, p. 11.

the improved form of the third edition (1543), vastly superior to any Latin dictionary that had yet appeared, and may be considered as marking a distinct advance in Latin scholarship. It is, however, as an editor of the New Testament that he is best known to the world at large, and that in this country he has been nationalised under the name of Stephens. His New Testament of 1550, either in its original form or in such a slightly modified form as it assumed in the Elzevir text of 1634, remains to this day the traditional text. Though this is due rather to typographical than to critical merit, it must be remembered that it was at any rate the first edition of the New Testament which had any critical apparatus at all. Its publication involved Robert Estienne in disputes with the Sorbonne, with the result that towards the close of 1551 he fled from France to Geneva. He had been among the earliest converts in France to the new religion. His brother Charles (1504 or 1505–1564) was also a man of considerable learning. He was chiefly famous as a physician and medical writer, but his learning was greater than his science. He produced a 'Dictionarium Historicum ac Poeticum,' a sort of encyclopædia, and a 'Thesaurus Ciceronianus.' His 'Praedium Rusticum,' which continued to be a favourite book down to the end of the seventeenth century, was a collection of treatises on agriculture compiled from ancient sources and translated into French.⁶⁴ Another learned printer was Guillaume Morel.

So far we have been concerned with the various forces of humanism which had their centre in Paris; but in the reign of Francis I, when the unity of the French kingdom was but of recent date, Paris had nothing like the monopoly of learning and literature which she afterwards enjoyed. She had as rivals flourishing provincial towns, of which some, until more or less recent times, had been capitals of practically independent kingdoms. Moreover, the provincial universities were, on the whole, far more favourably disposed towards the new studies than their Paris sister. At Bordeaux, where the university was at a very low ebb, an important step was taken by the transformation of the College of Arts into the College of Guienne (1533).⁶⁵ The first principal was Jean de Tartas; but it was his successor, André Gouvea (1534), who made it into one of the most enlightened and flourishing places of education in the kingdom. Such already was its reputation when Montaigne became a scholar there in 1539. Among its earliest professors were Antoine de Gouvea, a younger brother of the principal, who attained celebrity as a jurist; Jacques de Teyva, another Portuguese; Charles de Sainte-Marthe, Robert Britannus, André Zebidée, Guillaume Guérente, Jean Gélida,

⁶⁴ I have dealt with Robert and Charles Estienne more fully in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s. v. Stephens.

⁶⁵ Gaullieur, *Hist. du Collège de Guienne*, 1874.

Nicolas Grouchy, the author of 'De comitiis Romanorum,' Claude Budin, and Maturin Cordier. George Buchanan and Elie Vinet both joined the staff in 1539. Among the councillors of the Bordeaux parliament were Briand de Vallée, the friend of Rabelais, and Arnoul le Ferron, who made his mark not only as a Greek scholar, but as a jurist and an historian. His continuation of Paulus Aemilius's Latin history of France, which begins with the reign of Louis XII, is praised by Ranke as the first history of a modern type written by a Frenchman.⁶⁶

Le Ferron's greatest friend was Julius Caesar Scaliger, who since 1525 had been residing at Agen, on the borders of Guienne. Here he lived in comparative obscurity, little known to the other scholars of his day. But he gradually acquired a vast store of knowledge, and when he died in 1558 he had the reputation of being one of the most learned men of his time.⁶⁷ He was, in point of fact, less remarkable for his learning, great though it was, than for his grasp of physical and metaphysical questions.

Closely analogous to the college of Guienne at Bordeaux was the new university of Nismes, which was founded in 1539 with a single faculty, that of arts. The first rector was Claude Baduel, a native of Nismes, who had got his religious opinions from Melanchthon at Wittenberg, and his educational views from Jean Sturm at Strasburg. The method of study which he inaugurated, and which was closely modelled on that of Sturm, proved very successful.⁶⁸ This new university owed much to the energetic patronage of Margaret of Navarre, and the same may be said of the university which in 1464 had been founded at Bourges, the capital of her duchy of Berry. It was for Bourges that she secured the services of the great Italian jurist Alciati, the founder of the new jurisprudence in France, of the study of the text of the Corpus Juris in place of the Gloss. He came to Bourges in the first half of 1528, and in the following year was appointed a professor with a regular salary.⁶⁹ *Ainsi vint à Bourges où estudia bien longtemps et profita beaucoup en la faculté des loix,*⁷⁰ says Rabelais of his hero Pantagruel, and it is almost certain that Pantagruel here spells Rabelais. Nor was it only in the field of jurisprudence that the new spirit made itself felt at Bourges. Melchior Wolmar was called from Orleans to fill the professorship of Greek, and Calvin, who was his pupil in

⁶⁶ For A. le Ferron (1515-1566) see Christie, *E. Dolet*, pp. 120-35; Ranke, *Zur Kritik neuerer Geschichtschreiber (Werke, xxxiv.)*, pp. 140-42.

⁶⁷ For J. C. Scaliger (1484-1558) see the article in the *Encycl. Brit.* by R. C. Christie. Thuanus, lib. xxi. c. 11, says: 'Vir quo superiorem antiquitas vix habuit, parem certe haec aetas non vidit.'

⁶⁸ See M. J. Gaufres, *C. Baduel et la réforme des études au XVI^e siècle*, 1880; Ménard, *Hist. de la ville de Nismes (1750-59)*, iv. 148 ff.

⁶⁹ For the dates see Mazzuchelli, *Gli scrittori d' Italia*, s. v.

⁷⁰ *Pant.* ii. c. 5.

1591, testifies to the excellence of his teaching.⁷¹ About the same time Conrad Gesner earned a scanty subsistence as teacher in the school which Wolmar had started at Orleans and still carried on at Bourges,⁷² having among his pupils Theodore Beza.

The university of Orleans ranked next to Toulouse as a school of law, and here Pierre de l'Estoile, who may be regarded as the pioneer of the new jurisprudence in France, began to lecture as early as 1512. Calvin attended his lectures in 1528, and probably Rabelais. The law school at Poitiers was also of some repute. Among the jurists educated there was André Tiraqueau, the friend of Rabelais, who calls him *le bon, le docte, le sage, le tant humain, tant débonnaire et equitable Tiraqueau*. It was as lieutenant-general of the bailiwick of Fontenay-le-Comte that he made the acquaintance of Rabelais and his friend Pierre Amy, friars in the Franciscan convent, who in the face of the opposition of their brethren were manfully pursuing their Greek studies, honoured by encouraging letters from the great Budé, and procuring books through Geoffroy d'Estissac, the neighbouring bishop of Maillezais. The bishop was also prior of Ligugé, near Poitiers, and his house, in which Rabelais, after he had left the convent, frequently resided, became the centre of the literary society of Poitiers.

The most celebrated law school in France was Toulouse, but it was the sanctuary of medieval jurisprudence. Accursius and Bartholus were revered names in its lecture-rooms.⁷³ There were, however, some enlightened spirits in the ranks of its professors, notably Jean de Boyssonne, who introduced the new jurisprudence into this conservative stronghold. In 1532 he was accused of heresy along with his colleague Jean de Caturce, but being, like his friend Rabelais, a martyr *jusques au feu exclusivement*, he recanted, while his friend was burnt. Among the students with humanistic proclivities were Voulté, Dolet, and Matthieu Pace and Pierre Bunel, both of whom had to leave the city under stress of persecution for heretical opinions. But the pillar of humanism at Toulouse was the learned and accomplished bishop of Rieux, Jean de Pins, who generally resided there and extended a ready patronage to any promising scholar who was brought to his notice. He had studied at Bologna under Beroaldo the elder and Urceus Codrus, and according to Erasmus might have reached perfection as a writer of Ciceronian Latin, had he not been diverted from study by his public duties. He was ambassador at Venice from 1516 to 1520, and at Rome from 1520 to 1523, and was on terms of intimacy with the

⁷¹ For Wolmar see Herminjard, *op. cit.* ii. 280, n. 7.

⁷² *Bibl. Univ.* (1545), p. 180; Hanhart, C. Gesner (Winterthur, 1824), pp. 25-27.

⁷³ See Christie, *ib.* cc. iv. v. for an excellent account of Toulouse at this period, and pp. 80-89 for J. de Boyssonne. Selections from his Latin correspondence have been printed by J. Buche in *Rev. des langues romanes*, xxxviii. (1895), 176 ff., 209 ff.; xxxix. 71 ff., 81 ff., 138 ff., 355 ff.; xl. 177 ff.

leading Italian scholars.⁷⁴ His tastes were shared by Jacques de Minut, the first president of the Toulouse parliament, and by Jean Bertrandi, the second president.

Montpellier, the other important university in the south of France, was famous for its school of medicine. Here Vesalius began his medical studies; here Rondelet, the ichthyologist, studied and lectured;⁷⁵ here Sylvius came to take a doctor's degree, but, grudging the expense, went back to Paris without it; here Rabelais took his bachelor's degree in 1530 and his doctor's in 1537, and lectured on the Greek text of Hippocrates and of Galen. Like Toulouse, Montpellier had the advantage of a humanist bishop in its midst, namely Guillaume Pellicier, the friend and correspondent of Rabelais, who, though a most negligent bishop, was an ardent humanist. He was a student of natural history, and contemplated an edition of Pliny, and he had a particularly fine library, the Greek manuscripts alone being 1,104 in number and filling over two hundred volumes.⁷⁶

Of all the provincial towns of France none equalled Lyons as a centre of learning and letters.⁷⁷ In the activity of its intellectual life, in the number of scholars and men of letters that congregated there, in the books which issued from its presses, it fell little, if at all, short of Paris. In some respects it was a more desirable place of residence for scholars, for it breathed an air of greater intellectual freedom, untainted by the blighting influence of the Sorbonne. It was half Italian in character. Already in the fifteenth century Italian merchants had begun to settle there; in 1528 Andrea Navagero wrote that more than half the inhabitants were foreigners, and that nearly all of these were Italians.⁷⁸ For the first thirty years of the sixteenth century the governorship of the city was held by members of the Milanese family of Trivulzi, all of whom warmly sympathised with every form of intellectual progress. In 1535 Pomponne de Trivulce was succeeded by the bigoted cardinal de Tournon, who seems to have shown less severity here than elsewhere towards heterodox opinions, and whose patronage of men of letters was as liberal as that of his predecessors.

⁷⁴ For J. de Pins (1470-1537) see Christie, *ib.* 60-73.

⁷⁵ 1507-86. His great work, *De piscibus marinis*, partly based on personal observations in the Mediterranean, was published at Lyons in 1554. He was one of the few medical professors of that time who had ever dissected; it was at his instance that a theatre of anatomy was built at Montpellier by order of Henri II.

⁷⁶ For Pellicier (circ. 1490-1568) see J. Zeller, *La diplomatie française vers le milieu du XVI^e siècle d'après la correspondance de Pellicier*, 1881; Montfalcon, *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum*, li. 1198 ff., who prints a catalogue of the Greek MSS.; Omont, *op. cit.*

⁷⁷ There is an excellent account of Lyons in Christie, *E. Dolet*, c. ix. See also Colonia, *Hist. litt. de la ville de Lyon* (2 vols. 1728-30), ii. 459-517; Perneti, *Recherches pour servir à l'hist. de L.*, 2 vols. Lyons, 1757; Bregnot du Lut, *Mélanges Biogr. et Litt. pour servir à l'hist. de L.*, 2 vols. Lyons, 1828-31; Monfalcon, *Hist. de la ville de L.* (2 vols. 1847) i. c. 6; Buisson, *S. Castellion*, c. ii.

⁷⁸ Tommaseo, *Réc. des amb. vén.* i. 36.

Among the distinguished men who inhabited Lyons during the reign of Francis I were Symphorien Champier, a bad poet, but a good physician and writer on medical subjects, an eager antiquarian and editor of ancient chronicles and records of chivalry, and a warm sympathiser with the new studies;⁷⁹ the three brothers, Matthieu, Georges, and Jean de Vauzelles, and their friend Jacques de Vintimille, the translator of the 'Cyropaedia';⁸⁰ Sanctes Pagnini, the hebraist; Guillaume de Choul, the archæologist; Benoist Court, the witty commentator of the 'Aresta Amorum'; the physicians Pierre Tolet and Jean de Canappe; Maurice Scève and his brother Guillaume; and the architect Philibert Delorme, who adorned his native town with various buildings until he was carried off to Paris by cardinal du Bellay.

Lyons did not possess a university, but in 1529, partly through the exertions of Symphorien Champier, a college was founded of the same character as the college of Guienne at Bordeaux. It was called Trinity College, and from the first had a great influence on the development of humanistic studies. The first principal of any note was Jean Raynier, a native of Angers; but Barthélemi Aneau, the professor of rhetoric since the foundation of the college, was its guiding spirit. He became principal in 1553.⁸¹

Another illustrious native of Lyons was Jean Grolier de Servier, vicomte d'Aguizy. Budé's 'De Asse' was dedicated to him, and it was at his expense that an edition of it was printed at the Aldine press (1522). His library, containing over three thousand volumes, must have been the finest private library in France.⁸² Jean de Vauzelles and Guillaume de Choul had also good libraries.

The chief printer and publisher of Lyons was Sebastian Gryphius, whose services to humanism were inferior to those of no other French printer. Himself a good Latin scholar he especially devoted himself to the printing of Latin classics, which he was the first to issue largely in pocket editions. He was the publisher of Pagnini's Hebrew lexicon and Dolet's 'Commentaries on the Latin Tongue.' Dolet and Rabelais were both employed as correctors to his press.⁸³

⁷⁹ For S. Champier (1471-2—circ. 1538) see Allut, *Étude sur S. C.* (Lyons, 1859).

⁸⁰ See notices by L. de Vauzelles of M. de V. (Lyons, 1870), J. de V. (Lyons, 1872), Jacques comte de Vintimille (Orleans, 1865).

⁸¹ For the college and for B. Aneau see Buisson, *ib.* pp. 17-24; Bregnot du Lut, *ib.* pp. 189 ff. Aneau wrote Greek and Latin verses, and translated the third book of the *Metamorphoses*, the *Emblems* of Alciat, and More's *Utopia*. He was murdered by the populace in 1561 on the suspicion that he was a protestant.

⁸² For Grolier (1479-1565) see Thuanus, lib. xxxviii. c. 14; Le Roux de Lincy, *Recherches sur Jean Grolier*, 1866. His library was preserved in the Hôtel de Vic till 1876, when it was sold by auction. His copy of the Aldine *De Asse* is in the Rylands (late Althorp) library.

⁸³ Inter tot nōrunt Libros qui cadere, tres sunt
Insignes : languet caetera Turba fame.
Castigat Stephanus, sculpsit Colinaeus, utrumque
Gryphius edocta mente manūque facit.

Other Lyons printers of note with humanistic sympathies were Guillaume Roville, who married Gryphius's daughter; Jean de Tournes, for many years his foreman; and Jean Frelon. Above all there was Estienne Dolet, who set up a press in 1538. The life of this interesting man has been told by Mr. Christie⁸⁴ with such a rare combination of accurate learning, searching criticism, and generous sympathy, that there is no French humanist about whom we have such complete information. If his tragic fate has given him an interest somewhat greater than either his character or his attainments deserve; if his vanity, egotism, and quarrelsome temper make it difficult to accord him unreserved sympathy, still the high enthusiasm for learning and sincere devotion to its interests, which make him so typical a figure of the Renaissance, must at any rate command our admiration. His 'Commentaries on the Latin Tongue' (1536-38) are a solid piece of work, and in the words of Mr. Christie 'one of the most important contributions to Latin scholarship which the sixteenth century produced.'⁸⁵

One of Dolet's most virulent and indecent attacks was made upon Erasmus⁸⁶ in answer to the 'Ciceronianus,' in which Erasmus had justly criticised the slavish admiration entertained by many Italian scholars for Cicero's style. His book took the form of a dialogue between Sir Thomas More and Simon Villanovanus in defence of Longolius. In fact, Villanovanus and Longolius were almost the only two scholars born this side of the Alps who had any reputation as Ciceronians, and whose letters were thought worthy of being printed with those of Sadoletto and Bembo. They were both Flemings, and both died young in the first half of Francis I's reign. Christophe de Longueil began life as a professor of law at Poitiers, but he renounced the law in order to devote himself to the study of Pliny the elder. With that object he learnt Greek, and read every ancient author who had written on natural history. Then he travelled over various countries in Europe in order to verify Pliny's geographical statements. But, coming to Padua in 1518, he was persuaded to devote himself to the study of Cicero, and for the rest of his life he read no other author. He died at the age of thirty-two in the house of Reginald Pole, the future cardinal, who wrote his life.⁸⁷ He held an unofficial professorship of Latin, in which he was succeeded by Simon Villanovanus, a man

⁸⁴ *Etienne Dolet*, 1880; new and revised edition, 1899. I know no single book which gives so graphic and so faithful a picture of French humanism; see pp. 175-8 for S. Gryphius. ⁸⁵ For a full account and estimate see *ib.* 242-88.

⁸⁶ See for the whole controversy Christie, *ib.* c. x. Dolet's book was not published till seven years after the *Ciceronianus*, i.e. in 1535.

⁸⁷ The life, which is anonymous, was published in 1524, together with Longolius's orations and four books of his Latin letters. The volume also comprised a book of letters by Bembo and Sadoletto. Erasmus's copy is in the Cambridge University library.

of considerable reputation in his day, not only as a Ciceronian, but generally as a scholar. He died in 1530, at the age of thirty-five, to the great grief of Dolet, who for three years had attended his lectures and lived with him in the closest intimacy.⁸⁸

Neither of these two Ciceronians was, as we have seen, strictly a Frenchman. The only man born in France proper who attained to fame as a writer of Ciceronian prose was Pierre Bunel, who was attached to the suite of Georges de Selve at Venice, and afterwards lived with him at Lavaur till his death in 1541.⁸⁹ He died himself at Turin not long afterwards, and a collection of his Latin letters was published by Charles Estienne.⁹⁰ To Bunel, perhaps, may be added Robert Britannus, a native of Arras, and a professor at Bordeaux, who was a great admirer of Cicero, and, without being a Ciceronian, a writer of Latin prose. His letters, published in 1540, are one of the sources of information for the progress of humanism at Bordeaux and elsewhere.⁹¹

The first place among French writers of Latin verse—at any rate, after the death of Brixius—was deservedly held by Jean Salmon, a native of Loudun in Poitou, who, having been nicknamed Maigret on account of his thinness, latinised his name into Salmonius Macrinus. His admirers spoke of him as the French Horace. He seems to have had less ambition and greater modesty than most of his brother Latin poets, and was content to lead a quiet domestic life, writing his best lyrics to his wife, who in return bore him twelve children. In one of his odes he enumerates the chief Latin poets of France as follows:—

Iam suo gaudet Genabum Doletō,
Brixio fratres Hedui, Latinis
Borboni salsis elegis tumescunt
Vandoperani.
Dampetro flavus Liger et iugosi
Bloesii, Rhemi tuo honore, Vultei,
Versibus tellus quoque gloriatur
Julia nostris.⁹²

Jean Dampierre lived in the neighbourhood of Toulouse; he practised for some years with success as an advocate, but took

⁸⁸ See Christie, *ib.* 27–35. From the fact that P. Bunel calls him ‘Belga,’ Mr. C. conjectures that he was a native of Neufville in Hainault, and rightly points out that this is no objection to his being identified with *le docte Villanovanus François* who is mentioned by Rabelais as a man who never dreamt (*Pant.* iii. c. xiii.).

⁸⁹ P. Bayle has an interesting article on Bunel (1499–1546); he was a friend of Montaigne’s father. See also Sammarthanus, *Elogia*.

⁹⁰ *P. Bunelli familiares aliquot epistolae*, 1550. His letters were republished by H. Estienne in 1581 with those of Paulus Manutius, Longolius, Bembo, Sadoletto, and others.

⁹¹ *Roberti Britannii Atrebatensis Epistolarum libri duo*, Paris, 1540.

⁹² Another ode begins:

Brixii, Dampetre, Borboni, Dolete,

Vultei que operis recentis author.—*Del. poet. gall.* ii. 478.

Joseph Scaliger said ‘Macrinus *ὁδῶν* scriptor optimus,’ but ‘Doletus et Borbonius poetæ nullius nominis’ (*Prima Scaligerana*).

orders and became director to a convent of nuns.⁹³ Nicolas Bourbon of Vandœuvre in Champagne is interesting to Englishmen as the tutor of Lord Hunsdon and the Dudleys, and as the friend of Bishop Latimer and Dean Boston.⁹⁴ He was afterwards tutor to Jeanne d'Albret. Vulteius's real name was Jean Visagier. After studying at the college of Sainte-Barbe and holding for a short time a post as lecturer in the new college of Guienne at Bordeaux he studied law and practised as an advocate at Toulouse. He was assassinated in 1542 at the age of thirty-two.⁹⁵ Of less repute than the above, but scarcely inferior in merit, were others whose poems find a place in Gruter's collection, such as Antoine de Gouvea, Gilbert Ducher,⁹⁶ Simon Vallambert, a Burgundian doctor, and Claude Rousselet, a Lyons lawyer.⁹⁷ But the best Latin poetry written in France during this period, except Macrin's and perhaps Voulté's, was that of Theodore Beza. It may be noticed that with the exception of the 'Carmina' of Brixius, which appeared in 1519, none of his Latin poetry was published before 1528, and that a large proportion of it belongs to the two years 1537 and 1538. After 1540 there was a cessation, until Beza's 'Poemata' appeared in 1548.

The solid fruits of French humanism during the reign of Francis I were the establishment of royal professorships providing gratis the best available teaching; the systematic collection and multiplication of Greek manuscripts, and the printing of Greek books; the publication of Budé's 'Commentaries'; the foundation of a new university at Nismes and two new colleges at Bordeaux and Lyons, in which the teaching was based on humanistic principles. Three of these important events belong to the year 1529; it was in the same year that Francis I made his first acquisition of Greek manuscripts, and it was in the preceding year that the work of printing Greek books made a definite start. The college of Guienne was founded in 1533, and the university of Nismes in 1539. It is therefore to the year 1529 that we may assign the successful issue of the work that Budé and his friends had carried on so gallantly. Budé might now have sung his 'Nunc dimittis.' Some years were still to elapse before France could boast of really critical scholars, such as Turnebus and Lambinus, Cujas and Henri Estienne. But teachers, dictionaries, manuscripts, and printed books had been provided; the whole field of antiquity had been turned up; there was a passionate enthusiasm in the workers; everything presaged a rich harvest.

ARTHUR TILLEY.

⁹³ See Vulteius, *Hendecasyllaborum* lib. iv. (1538) 22 v*.

⁹⁴ See G. Carré, *De Vita et Scriptis N. Borbonii*, 1888.

⁹⁵ For Vulteius (c. 1510-1542) see Bouillet, *Biographie ardennaise*, 2 vols. 1830. For his real name see *Revue d'hist. litt. de la France*, i. 530. Gaullieur had already suggested the possibility of this (*op. cit.* 119, n. 2).

⁹⁶ For Ducher see Buisson, *op. cit.* pp. 29-32.

⁹⁷ For Rousselet see Breghot du Lut, *op. cit.* ii. 349 ff.