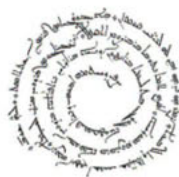


Charles de Sainte-Marthe



Charles de Sainte-Marthe

1512-1555

Caroline Ruutz-Rees



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PREFACE

THIS book attempts to give some account of the life of one of the lesser men of letters of the early Renaissance, and to describe and estimate the value of his work. Such a study should incidentally throw light upon certain aspects of an important period, and it is hoped that this also may have been here accomplished.

The preparation of the bibliography of such a subject is beset with some difficulty. If compiled to cover only works treating of the subject of the biography, its extreme paucity would be misleading; if designed to apply more extensively to the period involved, it should include the work of practically all contemporaries, and all modern studies upon each of these. I have taken refuge in a third alternative which I hope will prove more or less satisfactory. Without attempting anything so ambitious as a complete bibliography of the period involved, 1530—say—to 1550, I have included the work of such contemporaries and such modern studies as I have myself found

useful in forming a conception of the state of letters, taste, and opinion during those years.

Another difficulty confronting the student of a French subject in the first half of the sixteenth century concerns the spelling, accentuation, and punctuation of his author. Here I have somewhat sacrificed exactness to convenience. I have left Sainte-Marthe's French and Latin spelling in the main intact, only substituting *v* for *u* and *j* for *i* in the French, and resolving the abbreviations in both the French and Latin quotations. In the matter of diacritical marks, I have made no changes except to rectify obvious error, or to make my author consistent within a given work in the case of words of extremely frequent occurrence, as *à*, preposition or verb, or the feminine past participle in *ée*. Inconsistencies less conspicuous I have left untouched. In the case of the Funeral Oration on the Queen of Navarre, where my references are to its reprint by Leroux de Lincy and Montaiglon, I have naturally followed those editors. In the matter of punctuation, which in Sainte Marthe's work is extremely erratic, I have been less conservative and have made changes when the sense seemed to require it. With every care, I have doubtless not avoided all inexactness in quotation and refer-

ence. Where this occurs, I hope that my distance from the documents and my necessary dependence upon others for verification and reference may secure the indulgence of my readers.

Undertaken as part of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Columbia University, my work has been carried on under the helpful and stimulating supervision of Professor Adolphe Cohn, to whom I can never sufficiently express my gratitude, not only for patient and suggestive counsel in matters of method and style, but for that awakening of the mind to the true value of scholarship which lays a student under the profoundest obligation he can acknowledge. Only second is my indebtedness to Professor Abel Lefranc of the Collège de France, who suggested to me the subject of this study. Apart from the debt which every student who concerns himself with the earlier French Renaissance owes to the highest authority on his subject, I have to express my gratitude not only for some valuable indications of sources, but for a personal interest and encouragement which has never ceased since I first undertook the subject while a student in Professor Lefranc's course on the Literary History of the Renaissance at the École

des Hautes Études. I desire also to express my obligation to Professor H. A. Todd and to Professor C. H. Page of Columbia University for much kind help and criticism; to my friend, Miss M. E. Lowndes, author of *Michel de Montaigne*, for valuable aid; to Dr. John L. Gerig of Columbia University, who placed at my disposal an unpublished letter of much importance to my subject and has aided me with advice; to M. Arthur Labbé of Châtellerault, who generously allowed me the use of a valuable book from his library; to Mr. Rupert Taylor, who helped me with researches in the library of Columbia University; and to my fellow-students at the École des Hautes Études in 1906-7 for helpful suggestions. Finally, I would acknowledge the kindness of M. N. Weiss, director of the Bibliothèque de la Société du Protestantisme français, who gave me personal help in my researches in that library, and the courtesy and helpfulness of the officials of those other libraries where most of my work has been done,—the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Bibliothèque Mazarine, the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, the Bibliothèque de l'Institut, and the Columbia University Library in New York.

INTRODUCTORY

THE name of Charles de Sainte-Marthe is little known to the student of French literature, even to the student of the French Renaissance. A modern writer on the subject, acknowledging Sainte-Marthe as "a scholar and religious reformer of some note," dismisses him as "a bad poet and a tiresome prose writer."¹ The first half of this condemnation is undeniably justified, but the second point is more open to question, and it will be in part the object of this study to show that Sainte-Marthe's two funeral orations, on the Queen of Navarre and on the Duchess of Beaumont, entitle their author to some consideration as a graceful contributor to French prose in its formative stages. Still, it remains doubtful whether either his performance in this regard, or his somewhat overloaded Latin paraphrases of Psalms, are of sufficient value to war-

¹ Tilley, *The Literature of the French Renaissance*, Vol. I, p. 92.

rant detailed study of Sainte-Marthe's life and work. It is rather to his place in the history of literary modes that his biographer must look for justification. A devoted follower of Marot, Sainte-Marthe yet anticipated the poets of the Pléiade in several respects, notably in response to the Petrarchistic influence, of which he was one of the earliest exponents. And if he anticipated the Pléiade here, he may be said also to have forestalled the Lyonnese school in expression of that Platonism which he shared in common with them and which was so essential a part of Petrarchism during the first ten years of its existence in France. Since his *Poesie Françoise* was published in 1540, when Scève's *Délie*, usually regarded as the first-fruits of the Lyonnese school and of Platonism in France, was still circulating in manuscript among the author's friends, he may be regarded as a forerunner rather than as a member of the poetic group which gave Lyons its particular place in the literary history of the French Renaissance. Such, briefly, are the particulars upon which must rest Sainte-Marthe's claim to a place in the history of French literature.

The chief sources of his biography, apart from his own works, are a family genealogy of the seventeenth century, *Généalogie de la Maison de Sainte-Marthe*, and Scévole de Sainte-Marthe's *Gallorum Doctrina illustrium . . . Elogia*.¹ Colletet's *Ms. Vies des poètes françois* contains a not very illuminating "life"; Goujet's *Bibliothèque françoise* devotes some pages to him, and there are slight notices of him in the dictionaries of Du Verdier and La Croix du Maine, of Moréri, and of Lelong. Nicéron, Odolant Desnos, Dreux du Radier and Bréghot du Lut give brief biographies of varying accuracy; the *Biographie Universelle*, the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, and above all, Haag frères' *La France Protestante*, have useful notices. A more extended, if not wholly reliable, biography, is to be found in a recent book by P. de Longuemare — *Une famille d'auteurs aux seizième, dix-septième et dix-huitième siècles. Les Sainte-Marthe*. Buisson's *Sébastien Castellion* contains valuable notes, E. Gaullieur's *Histoire du Collège de Guyenne* gives some information, and brief notices

¹ For bibliographical details of these and the following sources, cf. p. 611 *et seq.*

are to be found here and there in other works treating of the period, for instance in Viollet-le-duc's *Catalogue de sa Bibliothèque poétique*. Scattered data are likewise to be found in the municipal archives of Bordeaux, Grenoble and Lyons; in a *plaidoyer* preserved at Le Mans; in the patent of Sainte-Marthe's appointment as *Procureur Général* of the duchy of Beaumont; in the poems of several contemporaries, — of Vulteijs, of Gilbert Ducher, of Habert, of Robert the Breton, and of Denis Faucher, as well as in letters of the two latter and of Antoine Arlier (unpublished), and in other letters included in Herminjard's *Correspondance des Réformateurs*. Finally, there are interesting indications in Théodore de Bèze's *Histoire Ecclésiastique des Eglises Réformées*, and in La Ferrière-Percy's *résumé* of the book of accounts kept by Frotté for the Queen of Navarre from 1540 to 1548.

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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

Page 107, note 2. *Rē* Villiers: a list of his compositions scattered among the collections of the time is to be found in Fetis' *Biographie Universelle des musiciens*.

Page 268, note 2. Error *rē* the refrain "Desbender l'arc ne guerit pas la playe." The translation, made by the king, occurs in Marot's *Adolescence Clementine* of 1532 in the *Chant royal dont le Roy bailla le refrain*.

CHARLES DE SAINTE-MARTHE

(1512-1555)

A STUDY IN THE EARLY FRENCH RENAISSANCE

PART I

CHAPTER I

BIRTH; EARLY YEARS; UNIVERSITY LIFE

CHARLES DE SAINTE-MARTHE belonged to a family already distinguished, and destined after him to be still more so. Notable men of war made his ancestry illustrious, among them Charles' grandfather Louis, who followed Charles VIII to Italy;¹ and Charles, himself without descendants, was the first of a succession of brilliant men of his name worthy of a high place in the annals — above all in the literary and religious annals — of France. Until the extinction of the family name with the death of

¹ Cf. P. De Longuemare, *Une famille d'auteurs . . . : Les Sainte-Marthe*, pp. 10-19.

the last Sainte-Marthe in 1779,¹ no generation was without a noteworthy representative. Nor have tributes to their eminence been lacking:

“Si Samarthanæ quæris insignia gentis
Qualia sint, Fusos ipsa Minerva dedit,”

wrote René Michel de la Rochemaillet in the middle of the seventeenth century, quoting the second motto of the Sainte-Marthe arms;² and in the eighteenth Nicéron³ suggested to Voltaire the form of his appreciation of them: “Cette famille a été pendant plus de cent années féconde en savants.”⁴

Not the least remarkable of a remarkable family was Charles' father, Gaucher de Sainte-Marthe, “écuyer, seigneur de Villedan, de la Rivière, de la Baste-en-Coursai, de Lerné, de Chapeau et des Nandes en Aunis.”⁵ He had been

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 244.

² In *Fusos Samarthanæ Symbolum. Renati Michælis Rupemellei Poemata*, p. 60.

³ Cf. *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la république des lettres*, Vol. VII, p. 11.

⁴ *Siècle de Louis XIV*, ed. Moland, Vol. XIV, p. 127. Voltaire confused Charles with his father Gaucher.

⁵ Cf. Dreux du Radier, *Bibliothèque hist. et crit. de Poitou*, Vol. II, art. *Sainte-Marthe (Gaucher)*.

a soldier, but had "left the service of Mars to give himself wholly to Minerva."¹ He studied medicine, that is, and obtained in 1506 the post of physician-in-ordinary to the Abbess and convent of Fontevrault.² At the time of his second son Charles' birth, in 1512, he was also counsellor and physician-in-ordinary to the king, and was regarded by his contemporaries as "an oracle of medicine and a tutelary Æsculapius."³ At the abbey his situation was that of a trusted official and friend; and the Abbess often employed him in serious matters unconnected with his profession. For example, on the appointment of Louise de Bourbon, one of the Fontevrault nuns, to the abbey of Sainte-Croix, in Poitiers, he took formal possession, in

¹ *Généalogie de la Maison de Sainte-Marthe*, fol. 7 v°.

² The patent of his appointment — dated March 29th — is contained in the *Généalogie de la Maison de Sainte-Marthe*. In the *Cartul. Monasterii Fontis Ebraldi* Gaucher is mentioned as "Docteur en Médecine Ord^{re} de lad. Dame Abbessse de Céans et de son Monastère." (Vol. II, p. 359.) The family genealogy observes "il estoit premièrement au service de Charles Connestable de Bourbon qui l'aymait fort" (fol. 8 v°); but this service must have been later in his life, since the *Connestable* was born in 1490.

³ *Généalogie de la Maison de Sainte-Marthe*, fol. 8 r°.

her name. He was present as witness when the dying Renée resigned her own abbey of Fontevrault into the hands of the same Louise, and he was the messenger to carry the news of her death to the king, who forthwith reappointed him physician to her successor.¹ His estates of Lerné and of La Mare, gifts from the Abbess and the convent,² testified to the Community's appreciation of him, and he had the distinction of burial in the choir of the abbey chapel — up to that time a prerogative of kings, princes and great lords only.³ Although the Abbess and her nuns may have had ample reason to appreciate the "sense, learning, knowledge, experience and loyalty" mentioned, according to the usual formula, in the patent of their physician's appointment, Gaucher's character had other sides less agreeable. A particular interest attaches to him as the original of Rabelais' Picrochole.⁴ He seems to have been a person of

¹ Cf. *Cartul. Fontis Ebraldi*; A. Parrot's ed., *Memoriale des Abbesses de Fontevrault*, pp. 33, 45 and 47.

² Cf. *Généalogie*, fol. 9 v^o.

³ Cf. *ibid.*, fol. 19 r^o.

⁴ Cf. Abel Lefranc, *Picrochole et Gaucher de Sainte-Marthe*, *Rev. des Études Rabelaisiennes*, Vol. III, p. 241.

disagreeable and irascible temper,¹ “fort cholère” is the expression used by the rather mysterious “Sieur Bouchereau,”² who asserts that Sainte-Marthe once struck Rabelais when in consultation with him; and these faults of disposition were to become of painful importance in the life of his son Charles. Gaucher had married, two years after the Fontevrault appointment, Marie Marquet, daughter of Michel Marquet, *receveur général* of Touraine, — a marriage which connected him with the Budés as well as with other distinguished families; and he seems to have brought his wife to live actually in the abbey grounds, thenceforth the center of his family life in spite of occasional residence at Lerné or Le Chapeau. It was, in any case, at Fontevrault that Charles, the second of his twelve children, was born; and he had for his godfather Foucaud Mônier, *procureur* of Fontevrault.³

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 244; and Henri Cluzot, *Les Amitiés de Rabelais en Orléanais*; *ibid.*, p. 169.

² H. C., “*Les notes de Bouchereau dans la collection Dupuy*”; *ibid.*, p. 405.

³ Sainte-Marthe has an epitaph on him, — “Epitaphe de feu Monsieur maistre Foulcaud Mosnier, procureur de Fontevrault, et son Parrain, parlant en sa personne.” *Poesie Francoise*, p. 53.

It is not difficult to trace in the character of Charles de Sainte-Marthe the influence during his early youth of surroundings so unusual as those of the royal abbey. The simple beauty and the antiquity of the great abbey buildings, set in a fresh valley surrounded by the forest, were themselves sufficiently impressive. About the strange "tour d'Evraud" hung grim associations of treachery and murder, while the transept of the great church, the "cimetière des rois" dedicated to statues and tombs of the Plantagenets, kindled the imagination no less than did the traditions of Fontevrault. The Convent's singular rule, exacting submission of man to woman,¹ the royal blood of its abbesses, its sway over many dependent abbeys and intercourse through them with England, Spain and Flanders, — all lifted it out of the conditions of ordinary monas-

¹ "Nous avons desia dit que la soubmission des hommes envers une fille est le sceau, l'esprit, la marque et la distinction essentielle de l'ordre de Fontevrault." Honorat Nicquet, *Histoire de l'ordre de Fontevrault*, p. 318. In 1534, at Renée's death, there were thirty-four "reformed convents" under her sway. Bossebœuf, *Fontevrault, son histoire et ses monuments*. Tours, 1890, pp. 13 and 21.

tic life. To these things, however, the convent owed the least of its charm during the early years of Charles de Sainte-Marthe's life; for, through all its routine, shone the spirit of a great personality.

The boy must often, in spite of her vow of cloister, have seen Renée de Bourbon¹ in her black veil and white habit — her delicate, stunted figure, no taller than that of a child of ten, offset by a soft grace of face and bearing, "all spiritual, all ethereal"; he must have been impressed by that vivacious speech, revealing the powerful mind, already, as it seemed, almost free of the body, — speech expressing "nothing light, nothing ill-considered, nothing without modesty," as its possessor did "nothing undeliberate, nothing hasty, nothing without prudence."² His young mind was no doubt filled

¹ Twenty-third abbess of Fontevrault (1491–1534), daughter of Jean II de Bourbon, count of Vendôme and direct descendant of Louis IX. Her brother, François de Bourbon, count of Vendôme, married Marie de Luxembourg, and was father of Charles de Bourbon, first duke of Vendôme, who married Françoise d'Alençon and became the grandfather of Henri IV.

² *Cartul. Fontis Ebraldi*, Vol. II, p. 141.

with tales of Renée's vigorous reform of her monasteries and convents, — a reform carried out in the face of rebellion and discouragement and completed only after seventeen weary years, just as Charles himself was entering upon manhood. Above all, he must have been touched by the tale of her vow of cloister, solemnly taken some years before his birth, and of the sale of her treasures for the building in progress all through his childhood: "*Cum decore multo ac non vulgata magnificentia edificavit*," declare the convent records.¹ It is perhaps not too much to assume that the moral enthusiasm, the strong spirituality, even the championship of women, characteristic of Sainte-Marthe's later life, owed their beginnings to the influence of Renée de Bourbon.

Sainte-Marthe was well fitted, by native gifts no less of mind than of soul, to absorb the atmosphere of his early surroundings. He himself mentions his intellectual endowments with a certain naïveté: "Moreover, God gifted me," he writes, "from my earliest years with rare aptitude of wit, and so enabled me to grasp all

¹ *Cartul. Fontis Ebraldi*, Vol. II, p. 140.

the arts that there is almost none in which I do not seem to its professors to have spent most of my time. . . . I do not claim for myself absolute and complete knowledge of tongues; but, however small mine is, it is at least sufficient to require me to thank God the giver according to my might.”¹

It is probable that, despite charm of surroundings and activities of mind, Sainte-Marthe's boyhood was not wholly happy; for in later life he could find occasion for thankfulness in mischiefs and calamities with which God had tried his patience from boyhood up. Such “mischiefs” may have been connected with his father's irritable temper; but whatever miseries Gaucher de Sainte-Marthe's disposition inflicted upon his family, at least they did not include the neglect of his children's education. His eldest son Louis was sent to Loudun to study his “humanities,” to Poitiers for philosophy and law.² Charles studied law at Poitiers, but where he obtained his preliminary education remains unknown. “Après avoir fini ses hu-

¹ In . . . *Psalmum xxxiii., Paraphrasis*, p. 146.

² Cf. Longuemare, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

manités," says Dreux du Radier, vaguely enough, "il étudia le droit à Poitiers."¹ Whether at that university or elsewhere, he had obtained the degree of master of arts before 1533,² — probably a year or two earlier, since in 1550 he speaks of himself as having been "distract presque l'espace de 20 ans de la mamelle des bonnes lettres."³ For Sainte-Marthe, "bonnes lettres" included the still very unusual study of Greek. "Si est ce," so Colletet renders his famous nephew Scévole's⁴ account of him and his brother Jacques: "Si est ce que tous deux ils furent ensemble sur ce point, qu'ils se rendirent excellens dans la langue grecque et que tous deux ils s'appliquèrent profondément

¹ *Bibliothèque . . . de Poitou*, art. *Sainte-Marthe*. Sainte-Marthe's few biographers have followed Du Radier; and the latter's close connection with the "Chevalier de Sainte-Marthe," to whom he owed his data about the family, makes it probable that his account is reliable.

² When engaged as professor by Jean de Tartas in that year (cf. p. 16) he held this degree.

³ *Oraison funèbre . . . de . . . Marguerite, Royne de Navarre*, etc., p. 28.

⁴ *Rē Scévole de Sainte-Marthe*, cf. Auguste Hamon, *De Scævolæ Samarthanæ vita et latine scriptis operibus*. Paris, 1901.

à la philosophie et à la cognoissance de tous les aultres arts libéraux.”¹

The study of Greek was still new in France, and no doubt especially so at a distance from Paris. Lascaris had but just left the country — that is, in 1528 or 1529, — the circle formed by his first pupils and those of his inept predecessor, Hermonymus,² though distinguished, was small, and Budé, its greatest ornament, was but now bringing about the establishment of the royal professorships at Paris.³ The printing of Greek was younger than the century,⁴ the supply of Greek type still scant; and, if Budé had not only made but printed his translations in the very beginning of the Hellenistic movement,⁵ his example does not seem to have been followed until more than twenty years had passed.⁶ Under such

¹ *Eloges des hommes illustres*, p. 372.

² For an account of Hermonymus, cf. L. Delaruelle, *Guillaume Budé*, pp. 69–73.

³ Established in 1530. The professors entered upon their duties in March. Cf. Lefranc, *Histoire du Collège de France*, pp. 101–113, esp. p. 109.

⁴ The first Greek book was printed in 1507.

⁵ I.e. in 1503, 1505, etc. Cf. bibliography of L. Delaruelle, *op. cit.*, pp. xviii and xix.

⁶ Claude de Seyssel, *Thucydides*, 1527; Xenophon's *Anabasis*, 1529. Books XVIII–XX of Diodorus, 1530,

conditions, it would be interesting to know what turned Sainte-Marthe's attention towards a study to be pursued only with great difficulty. Was it the influence of his great kinsman Budé himself,¹ or was it the example of a man between whom and the Sainte-Marthe family there was, or was soon to be, a bitter feud?² Rabelais, who had conquered the language under far greater disadvantages, may have been in attendance at Poitiers but a few years before Sainte-Marthe entered the law-school there, and it is inconceivable that his unusual accomplishment, coupled with his unusual genius, should not have spurred others to the pursuit of the same study.

When Sainte-Marthe, his humanities acquired, entered the law-school at Poitiers, that "aulture

etc. Cf. Tilley, *Literature of the French Renaissance*, Vol. I, p. 35.

¹ Although the family genealogist asserts that Sainte-Marthe was praised by Budé, I have not been able to verify this assertion. However, Budé appears to have been in touch with Gaucher's family, particularly with Charles' younger brother Jacques, who wrote his funeral oration. Cf. Longuemare, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

² For an account of this family feud, cf. Lefranc, *Picrochole et Gaucher de Sainte-Marthe*, *loc. cit.*, p. 244 et seq.

ville d'Athènes," as Jacques de Hillerin, a later student, called it,¹ was the seat of one of the most celebrated universities of France,² and its schools, especially its famous law-school, were thronged to the doors. The discipline was lax enough, and there was a large idle element among the students, "fluteurs et joueurs de paume de Poitiers,"³ who had plenty of time for banquets "à force flacons, jambons et pasteuz."⁴ They delighted, for instance, at the performance of the mysteries, in ill-placed pleasantries and indecent shouts,⁵ as Sainte-Marthe no doubt observed for himself when the Mystery of the Passion was played there in his time.⁶ Yet

¹ 1578-1663. *Le chariot chrestien à quatre roues menant à salut dans le souvenir de la mort, du jugement, de l'enfer, et du Paradis*. Paris, 1552. *Cit.* (without loci) Auber, *Jacques de Hillerin*, *Bulletin de la Soc. des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, 1850, p. 72.

² *Cf.* Theodore de Bèze, *Hist. Eccl.*, pp. 1-63. *Cf. rē* the university generally, Auber *op. cit.*; E. Pilotelle, *Essai historique sur l'ancienne Université de Poitiers*; Méms. de la Soc. des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, 1862; Dartige, *Notes sur l'université de Poitiers*, Poitiers, 1883; Thibaudeau, *Histoire de Poitiers*, Niort, 1840.

³ Chassanée *cit.* Pilotelle, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

⁴ Rabelais, *Œuvres*, Vol. I, p. 237.

⁵ *Cf.* Pilotelle, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

⁶ On the 5th of July, 1533. *Cf.* Bouchet, *Annales d'Aquitaine*, p. 474.

such high spirits must have been often dashed by the spectacle of sudden death, since, during Sainte-Marthe's residence, the plague devastated town and university and found many victims among the young.¹

Sainte-Marthe was himself one of the more serious students, like Hillerin, who, "en sortant des grandes écoles pour retourner à son logis, prit son chemin par le palais pour se divertir à entendre plaider les causes."² He even found time to combine with the study of law that of theology, no doubt completing, either at the theological school of the university itself or at the convent of the Dominicans,³ whose courses were of older establishment and greater prestige, the theological *quinquennium* whose first two years led to the degree of Master of Arts.⁴

¹ 1531-1532. "Ces fievres estoient mortelles même-ment en jeunes gens de l'age de vingt à trente ans dont moururent plus de riches que de pauvres." Bouchet, *Annales d'Aquitaine*, p. 469.

² Auber, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

³ This convent was closely affiliated with the university, and its courses led to the university examinations and degrees.

⁴ The first of these was devoted to logic, metaphysics and ethics, the second to mathematics and physics. The

He has left us his reasons for uniting these two disciplines: "And what, it may be asked," he writes, "has the jurist to do with theology? The reply is that I wish to be no less a theologian than a jurist; as well because at one time I devoted myself wholly to this discipline, as because it is itself like an opal wherein prevail the qualities of many jewels, namely, the very delicate fire of the carbuncle, the purple of the amethyst, the green of the emerald, all, as it were, incredibly intermingled. And so, whatever succeeds in pleasing, in whatsoever 'ethnic' writers, is at the same moment found in it. Moreover, although jurisprudence is greatly to be approved, yet if we give ourselves wholly to that study, it carries away our health of mind and immediately blinds us with a certain madness of empty glory and an unmeasured lust of possession." ¹

Sainte-Marthe's studies must have been as yet incomplete, for he had not obtained the doctorate

completion of the *quinquennium* bestowed the right to enter the priesthood or to obtain benefices without the cure of souls. Cf. E. Pilotelle, *op. cit.*, pp. 310 and 311.

¹ Dedication to Jean Galbert, *In Psalmum septimum et Psalmum xxxiii., Paraphrasis*, p. 15; cf. p. 573 et seq.

of law when, in 1533, he was invited by Jean de Tartas to the newly established *Collège de Guyenne* at Bordeaux, "pour faire classe et règle à composer et prononcer oraisons, dialogues, comédies, et lire publiquement."¹ Although his agreement with Tartas² is dated December the 4th, it is probable that he actually entered upon his duties some time earlier; for in this document he is described as "à present demeurant à Bordeaux," and he may have been one of the twenty teachers who accompanied the new principal to Bordeaux and were present at the opening of the college on May the 24th of that year.³ Sainte-Marthe began his work under the most favorable auspices. Bordeaux, eager for its share of the new learning, was filled with enthusiastic expectations about the staff of the college it had so vigorously reorganized;⁴ and indeed the reputation of Tartas, "omnium Parisinorum gymnasiar-

¹ Cf. p. 589.

² *Rē* Tartas, cf. Ernest Gaullieur, *Hist. du Col. de Guyenne*, Chaps. II-IV, pp. 25-76 et *passim*.

³ Cf. Nic. Clenardi, *Epist. libri duo*, etc., *Lib.* II, p. 130. *Cit.* Gaullieur, pp. 41 and 51.

⁴ For an account of the early conditions of the *Collège de Guyenne*, cf. Gaullieur, *op. cit.*, and M. E. Lowndes, *Michel de Montaigne*. Cambridge, 1898, pp. 16-20.

charum facile princeps,"¹ warranted the brightest hopes. The instructors whom he brought with him were for the most part young men of parts and ambition lately out of college.² Several, like Matthias Itterius,³ were genuinely erudite; and one, Gentian Hervet, — afterwards a prolific controversialist on the orthodox side,⁴ — shared Sainte-Marthe's acquaintance with Greek. So perhaps did Jean Visagier,⁵ better known as Vulteius, who later on acquired no mean reputation as a Latin poet.

¹ Hervetus, *De amore in patriam oratiuncula. Orationes*, p. 88.

² *Rē* the other instructors engaged by Tartas, *cf.* Gaullieur, *op. cit.*, pp. 52–58 and 86.

³ Witness Scaliger and Breton, *cit.* Gaullieur, *ibid.*, p. 56.

⁴ "Perhumanus erat et literis græcis juxta ac latinis eruditus." *Roberti Britannii Epist. libri tres*, fol. 39 v^o, *cit.* Gaullieur, p. 53. *Rē* Hervet (1509–1594), *cf.* Gaullieur, *op. cit.*, p. 118 n.; and the *Nouveau Dict. Hist.*, Vol. IV, p. 423. The latter, however, places his appearance "avec éclat" at the Council of Trent before his tutorship at Bordeaux, which is obviously impossible. For a list of his numerous works, chiefly controversy and translations, *cf.* Nicéron, *op. cit.*, pp. 190–200.

⁵ So Copley Christie conjectures upon what seem, however, slight grounds. *Etienne Dolet*, p. 299. For the identification of Vulteius with Visagier, generally referred to as Voulté, sometimes as Faciot, *cf.* Gaullieur,

Besides the pleasure of finding himself among such colleagues under a man of great reputation, Sainte-Marthe had the satisfaction of feeling himself much considered. The circumstance that his whole salary of thirty-five *livres tournois* was paid to him in advance, before his agreement was signed, and that it was given to him "tant en robes et habillements que en or"¹ seems to indicate that the young scholar was in immediate need. His salary, however, was higher than that of any one else except Visagier.² That ill-fated poet³ and Sainte-Marthe formed a friendship which included also Nicholas Roillet, and the more distinguished Robert Breton,⁴ well known in later life as a Ciceronian and a prolific author and letter-writer. Breton and Saint-

op. cit., p. 57 ; Copley Christie, *op. cit.*, p. 298, and *M. B., Réponse, Quel est le véritable nom du poète Rémois Joannes Vulteius?* Rev. d'Hist. Litt. (1894), p. 530.

¹ Cf. p. 590.

² Cf. Gaullieur, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-57.

³ He was assassinated on December 30th, 1542, by an opponent in a lawsuit.

⁴ I have found no satisfactory account of Breton. That of Gaullieur (*op. cit.*, pp. 84-86) gives no information. For a long list of his works cf. the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Marthe had a common interest in learning. Breton, if he knew no Greek at this time, soon became interested in it, perhaps through the example of Sainte-Marthe and Hervet, and shortly set himself to master it thoroughly.¹ His affection for Sainte-Marthe was evidently lasting. The busy correspondent of Bembo, Scaliger, Guillaume du Bellay, Sadolet, Arnold le Ferron, Matthieu Pac, Dolet, Guillaume Postel, and others equally distinguished,² he found time to write affectionate letters to Sainte-Marthe, and long cherished the memory of their intercourse at Bordeaux. "My recollection of Fabrice, Duchêne, de Borsale, Bolonne and Sainte-Marthe is still alive and strong," he writes years afterward³ to his friend Pierre Cocard; "Sainte-Marthe was my colleague and friend at Bordeaux." Breton came to the college later than Sainte-Marthe, possibly to supply a vacancy, as did one or two other professors, among them André Zébédée, a

¹ Cf. *infra*, p. 50.

² Cf. his two volumes of letters: *Epist. libri tres*, 1536; and *Epist. libri duo*, 1540.

³ I.e. between 1536 and 1540, the dates of the publication of Breton's two volumes of letters. *Epist. libri duo*, fol. 14 v^o.

quarrelsome character, rash, vain, unmanageable, wholly without tact, who, later on, became at once a Protestant and a thorn in the side of Calvin.¹ He also in all likelihood entered into personal relations with Sainte-Marthe,² whose intercourse with his Bordeaux acquaintance was, however, to be but short.

The work of the new staff at Guyenne was soon interrupted by quarrels with the principal; for Tartas, whatever his experience and reputation, lacked the gifts necessary to make his direction successful.³ Something unreasonable and captious in his temper led to constant misunderstandings with his subordinates, and, in the end, to his own dismissal on April the 11th, 1534. This abrupt conclusion of his functions

¹ *Rē Zébédée*, cf. Herminjard, *Correspondance des Reformateurs*, Vol. V, p. 98, and Vols. V-IX, *passim*, and F. Buisson, *Sébastien Castellion*, Vol. I, p. 235. In 1542, when pastor of Orbe, he was capable of preaching from seven to eleven o'clock for the purpose of annoying the Catholic priest of that place — "et toujours eust sermonné si ne fust que le gouverneur de la ville le fist à descendre de la chaize."

² Cf. Breton's letter, p. 52, not, however, conclusive proof.

³ *Rē* these and following details, cf. Gaullieur, *op. cit.*, Chaps. V and VI.

involved at least a partial dispersal of the teachers Tartas had engaged. Visagier went to study law and to lecture at Toulouse, Hervet to hold a chair at Orléans, while Sainte-Marthe in all probability spent a year in various places in Guyenne. Neither principal nor teachers, however, appear to have left Bordeaux at once. Tartas, indeed, lingered on for months, and even took part, as a member of the college, in college functions after the arrival and appointment of his successor in July.¹ Sainte-Marthe's departure, of which the exact date is unknown, was also deliberate. He was still at Bordeaux at least as late as May 16, 1534; for on that day he officially received the officers come to deliver notice of a municipal ordinance forbidding collegians to bear arms in the town, an injunction suggestive of the disorder prevailing at the college.² Although he was not, like his friends

¹ *Roberti Britanni epist. libri tres*, fol. 70 r^o, *cit.* Gaullieur, p. 118.

² "Est faicte inhibition aux escholiers parlant à maistre Charles de Sainte-Marthe, de ne aller par ville avec armes sous poynne d'amende." Archives de Bordeaux, B. B. Registres de la jurade (1534), Vol. VI, p. 312; *cit.* Gaullieur, p. 76.

Breton and Zébédée, among the eight teachers officially retained under the new administration, his agreement with Tartas held him at the disposal of the college until December the 4th, 1534; and it is therefore probable that he did not leave Bordeaux until late in 1534, having seen the inception of a better régime and made some acquaintance with the new principal, André de Gouvea,¹ the object of Montaigne's admiration. He appears to have known also the devoted humanist and teacher, Maturin Cordier,² the purity and modesty of whose life was equaled only by his learning. The latter was a friend of Vulteius, who celebrated in Latin verse the sweetness of his character:

"Te docuit Christus verumque fidemque docere,
Te docuit Christus spernere divitias,

¹ *Rē Gouvea*, cf. Gaullieur, p. 72, and Chaps. V and XIV; Quicherat, *Histoire de Sainte Barbe*, Paris, 1860, pp. 130–218, 222, 228 *et seq.*; and Braga, *Historia da Universidade de Coimbra*, etc., Lisbon, 1892, Vol. I, p. 484 *et seq.*

² *Rē Cordier*, cf. Lefranc, *Hist. du Collège de France*, pp. 140 and 141. Buisson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 125–129 *et passim*; Herminjard, *op. cit.*, *passim*; Massebieau, *Les Colloques Scolaires du seizième siècle*, pp. 204 *et seq.*, *cit.* Lowndes, *op. cit.*, p. 236 n.; Weiss, *Le Collège de Nevers et Maturin Cordier*, *Revue Pédagogique*, 1891, pp. 400–411.

Te docuit Christus teneram formare Juventam,
 Te docuit Christus moribus esse bonis.
 Te docuit Christus, nulla mercede parata,
 Viva literulas voce docere bonas,
 Te docuit Christus cœlum vitamque beatam
 A se immortalī, non aliunde, dari," etc.
 — *Cit.* Buisson, Vol. I, p. 126, n. 4.

Cordier, far older than his colleagues, came to Bordeaux in flight from Paris for religion's sake,¹ making the journey as one of the five *regents* to procure whom Gouvea went to Paris at the very end of the year. If Sainte-Marthe remained until his arrival, he must have known also Jacques de Teyve,² Grouchy and Fabrice,³

¹ Cf. Preface to his *Colloques*, *cit.* Weiss, *op. cit.*, p. 401, and *La France Prot.*, 2d ed., Vol. V, col. 881.

² So Theophile Braga also concludes, but upon grounds quite incorrect. He identifies the San Martinho mentioned by Diogo de Teive in his trial in 1550 with Charles de Sainte-Marthe, from whose name (Samarthanus) he supposes that of San Martinho derived. *Op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 545, n. 1. But apart from other considerations, the San Martinho of De Teive's account was a doctor of medicine, married and settled in Paris, and was at one time tutor to the sons of two Gascon noblemen. *Ibid.*, pp. 538, 542, 545.

³ *Rē* Nicolas de Grouchy, cf. Sainte-Marthe, *Elogia*; La Croix du Maine, *Bib. Franc.*; De Thou, *Historia sui temporis*, Book LIV, pp. 715-716; Hallam, *Literature of Europe*, Vol. II., p. 44, *cit.* Lowndes, *op. cit.*, p. 236. As

and might have become acquainted also with Antoine de Gouvea, the brilliant younger brother of the principal, of immense distinction in the eyes of his contemporaries.¹ Antoine appears, however, to have been unknown to him until several years later,² and it may therefore be that he arrived later than is usually represented.

In any case, upon leaving Bordeaux, Sainte-Marthe must have spent a year in the province. He was for some time at Bazas, and went thence to Marmande, where, for a short period, — “aliquot dies” is Breton’s expression,³ — he per-

for Fabrice, the title of the extant volume of his letters is evidence of his distinction: *Arnoldi Fabricii Vasatensis Pelluhetani, viri Latinatis purioris in primis studiosi doctique, Epistolæ aliquot*.

¹ Cf. De Thou’s account of him, *op. cit.*, Book XXXVIII, *cit.* Lowndes, *op. cit.*, p. 236, and Quicherat, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 131–133.

² Cf. *infra*, p. 52, Breton’s letter. The reference might indeed have been to another brother, Martial de Gouvea, at one time professor at Poitiers; but Sainte-Marthe’s use of the singular — “nostri Gouveani” — would then remain to be accounted for. Gaullieur gives no authorities as to the time of Antoine’s arrival.

³ “Reliquit Basacum Samartanus, Marmandæ aliquot dies egit, et præfuit academix, nunc vero se ad suos recepit.” Letter to Antoine Gerot, dated Toulouse,

formed the duties of municipal schoolmaster. Such unsettled wanderings were to Sainte-Marthe pure hardship, sweetened only by his muse; "et oultre plus," he exclaims, though perhaps not on this occasion:

"Et oultre plus qu'est ce qui me soublieve
 L'adversité que je porte si grieve,
 Allant ainsi par pays tant divers,
 Que le plaisir que me donnent mes vers?
 Si le dur sort au penser me desole
 Soudainement ma muse me console,
 A mon esprit donnant tant de plaisir,
 Qu'elle met hors soudain tout desplaisir."

— *Poesie Francoise*, p. 150.

He had another consolation in friendship, for he kept in touch with his friend Breton. Breton spent the summer of 1535 in journeying in search of health to the waters of the Pyrenees. Ill and out of spirits, he at least found no solace in poetry, the proper occupation of the joyful; and he addressed to Sainte-Marthe a bitter quatrain on the subject:

December the 18th, *Epist. libri tres*, fol. 96 v°. Gaullieur (*op. cit.*, p. 76) says—and he is followed by Buisson (*op. cit.*, p. 180)—that Sainte-Marthe remained at Bazas more than a year. He gives no authority for this assertion, beyond Breton's letter, which does not appear to warrant it.

Ad Carolum Samartanum

“Carole cur laudas mea carmina, cur tua damnas?
 Hic vester fundus, podia vestra jacent;
 Iampriden ista gravis solatia mœror ademit.
 Vis apte carmen scribere? scribe hilaris.”
 — *Carm. liber unus*, fol. 15 v°.

By September, Breton had arrived, with health somewhat improved, at Toulouse, where he made a prolonged stay, and where Visagier joined him; and it was from that town that he wrote his congratulations when Sainte-Marthe at last decided to return to his own family and traveled northward, in the winter of 1535.¹ “You

¹ M. Gaullieur (*op. cit.*, p. 77) places Sainte-Marthe's arrival at home toward the end of the year 1536, as he does that of Breton at Toulouse in September of the same year, differing in this latter instance from Copley Christie, who dates Breton's arrival 1535. (*Op. cit.*, p. 299.) As Breton's letters to Sainte-Marthe and to Gerot (*cf. supra*) are from Toulouse, the date of his arrival there settles that of Sainte-Marthe's movements. Unfortunately, Breton, like a true Ciceronian, omits the date of the year, and it is, therefore, within certain limits, left open to conjecture. Copley Christie is borne out by the *achevé d'imprimer* of the volume, *Epistolarum libri tres*, 1536, from which the two letters in question are taken: “Impressum Tolose per Nicolaum Vieillardum X. Calend. Ianuarij, Anno a Nativitate Dei Millesimo Quingentesimo Trigesimo Sexto.” Since the letter to Gerot is dated December 18, its insertion in a book completed by December 22 of

have betaken yourself to your own people," he says, in his letter dated December 7; "I approve and heartily wish the same for myself. You, however, are certain to enjoy leisure before I do,¹ and I should attempt the same thing if I were seeking a settled establishment in preference to other honors. Write to me, and care for your health."

On his return, Sainte-Marthe found various changes in the convent and in his home. One of his sisters had taken the veil at Fontevrault, another at Tusson.² Two of his brothers, Louis and René, had married, and the former had left Fontevrault to settle at Loudun.³ Louis' marriage with Nicole Lefèvre, especially, allied the Sainte-Marthes with the most distinguished families in France — among others, the Briçonets and the De Thous; but the year which thus

the same year seems highly improbable. I suppose, then, that these letters were written in 1535.

¹ Or: "I have decided to try everything else (omnia) first." The meaning is not clear owing to the abbreviations. For the text, *cf.* p. 601.

² *Cf.* Longuemare, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

³ Sainte-Marthe has an epigram to this brother: *A Louys de Sainte Marthe, son frere, que Vertu n'est contaminée par detraction des meschants.* P. F., p. 11.

added to the prestige of their family left them mourning the loss of an invaluable friend. Renée de Bourbon died in the very month of the brilliant marriage,¹ “et a rendu son bien heureux esprit entre les paroles de oraison.”² Her niece and successor, however, Louise de Bourbon, was no less well-disposed to Gaucher, who retained his post as the abbey physician.

It is not clear after how long a stay at home Sainte-Marthe returned to Poitiers, no doubt to fulfil the remaining requirements for the doctorate of law. On his arrival he assuredly found the interest of the university aroused by a recent visit of Calvin.³ Whatever Calvin lacked in ordinary persuasive eloquence, his vigorous genius could not fail to produce its effect upon a town like Poitiers, long the home of thought and discussion; for, in the words of a far from friendly historian, “la science tout ainsi que la

¹ *I.e.* on October the 9th, 1534.

² Letter of announcement sent by the convent of Fontevrault to the other convents. Bouchet, *Epistres, Elegies, Epigrammes*, etc., fol. Hiiij.

³ The exact date of Calvin's stay in Poitiers is undetermined. It was between November, 1533, and May, 1534, — a period during which his movements are obscure. Cf. A. Lefranc, *La Jeunesse de Calvin*, p. 116.

vertu fait bientost aimer et cherir, et les excellens esprits, soit au mal soit au bien, disoit Philon, paroissent incontinent, et n'ont besoin du temps pour estre cogneus. C'est un commerce qui unit et ralie les personnes les plus estrangeres. Elle fut cause que Calvin, ayant donné quelques mois a avancer ses cognoissances, eust en peu de temps fait provision d'amis."¹ The young apostle's friends and converts had been chiefly men of the university, "hommes de lettres," "gens d'eschole," but there had been also certain persons of higher quality, notably Regnier, the lieutenant-general in whose garden Calvin had ceased to talk, as at first, "a demi-mot," and had openly expounded his doctrine. There, "comme nos premiers peres furent premierement enchantez et deceus dans un jardin, aussi dans ce jardin du lieutenant a la rue des Bassestreilles, cette poignée d'hommes fut enjollée et coiffée par Calvin."² It is easy to imagine the effect of the talk about Calvin upon a student of Sainte-Marthe's caliber. We

¹ Florimond de Ræmond, *Histoire de l'heresie de ce siècle*, Book VII, pp. 890-891.

² *Ibid.*, p. 892.

have seen among what earnest and spiritual influences his early life was passed. Reform, if in a moral sense merely, was a word familiar to him from his childhood up, — it had been the preoccupation of the people who surrounded him from his earliest years, — and indications are not lacking that the *Collège de Guyenne*, if not yet that “foyer de la propagande” it has been called,¹ shared, even so early as the time of his residence there, in that religious unrest² which marked the beginning of the century when “tout se desunit et devisa en schismes et heresies.”³ Sainte-Marthe’s mind was by circumstance, then, predisposed to the consideration of religious matters,⁴ and his natural instincts heightened

¹ Buisson, *Sebastien Castellion*, Vol. I, p. 127.

² Some of the early regulations of Gouvea seem to imply that such uneasiness of feeling had existed in the college even before his arrival: “Premierement les escoliers seront religieux et craignant Dieu. Ils ne sentiront ou ne parleront mal de la religion Catholique ou orthodoxe.” Rules placarded by Gouvea in the chief hall of the college. Gaullieur, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

³ Florimond de Ræmond, *op. cit.*, Book VII, p. 6.

⁴ Gaullieur (*op. cit.*, p. 77) says that Sainte-Marthe entered into relations with Vernou, whom Calvin had left “pour gagner le plus qu’il pouvait d’escoliers dans sa ville de Poitiers,” but I find no data for this.

the predisposition. "Homme de gaillard esprit" as Theodore de Bèze calls him,¹ he added to impulsiveness an actual thirst for a pure spiritual life, a longing likely to incline him towards the reforms that Calvin had lately preached in Poitiers.

The particular circle in which the young poet found himself must have been singularly at variance on the subject of the new doctrine. An obscure *dixain* addressed by Sainte-Marthe to Gabriel de Pontoise, who married his sister Louise, perhaps refers to this division of opinion.² To the indefatigable rhymester, Jean Bouchet, *procureur* of the town, a common interest in Fontevrault must have made Sainte-Marthe known; and Bouchet, however his relations with Rabelais may have enlarged his views, was uncompromisingly orthodox. So, probably, were René Lefèvre,³ dean of the cathedral and teacher in the university, and another *regent*, Charles de

¹ *Hist. Eccl.*, p. 63.

² *P. F.*, p. 15; *cf.* p. 532.

³ *Rē Lefèvre* (1502–1569), *cf.* Dreux du Radier, *Bib.* . . . *de Poitou*, and *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. II, col. 1218 D. For Sainte-Marthe's epigram to him, *cf.* p. 531.

la Ruelle,¹ doctor of law and father of the better-known Louis de la Ruelle — both connected with Sainte-Marthe by marriage. On the other hand, Sainte-Marthe seems to have counted on the sympathy of his cousin Jean de Sainte-Marthe;² Roillet (or Rouillet)³ and the untiring bookworm Fabrice⁴ — both, it seems likely, now at Poitiers — must have been at least open-minded; while Calvin's friend Laurent of Normandy⁵ and that member of the Etienne family — possibly Robert himself⁶ —

¹ *Rē De la Ruelle*, cf. Du Radier, *op. cit.*; Bouchet, *Annales d'Aquitaine*, p. 68; and *Actes de François I.* He was tutor in the University of Poitiers, had been appointed in 1531 "conseiller en la Sénéchaussée de Poitou," and was at one time mayor of Poitiers. He married Isabelle Lefèvre, a sister of René Lefèvre. Sainte-Marthe addressed a poem to him — *A Charles de la Ruelle, Que toute Amytié doibt estre fondée sur Vertu. P. F.*, p. 12.

² For Sainte-Marthe's verses to him, cf. p. 532.

³ *Rē Roillet*, cf. Breton's letter, *infra*, p. 36. I suppose Rouilletus and Roillet identical. Possibly it was he Marot attacked in an epigram "A Rouillet." *Œuvres*, Vol. III, p. 93.

⁴ "Fabritius (ut audio) agit Pictavi: et totos dies cum libris, necdum ab illo inexhausto, nec iniucundo sibi legendi, et scribendi labore discessit." *Rob. Brit. Epist. libri duo*, fol. 14 v^o.

⁵ *Rē Laurent of Normandy — Normandius — cf. Lefranc, La jeunesse de Calvin*, pp. 106, 127 seq., et passim.

⁶ Cf. *infra*, p. 43.

whom Sainte-Marthe counted among his friends were doubtless already leaning as strongly towards "reform" as the unsavory Jean Ferron.¹ Only undiscerning ardor in friendship can account for Sainte-Marthe's intimacy with a man of Ferron's stamp. He was a plausible rascal, of a character to precipitate any trouble which was brewing — and trouble was at least in the air. The prominence of his family in the province made Sainte-Marthe a conspicuous figure in the little university town, and, in view of his obvious sympathies, he could not escape the attacks of envious detractors.² He refused, from Christian motives mingled with pride, to reply to them, he tells Ferron:

¹ Sainte-Marthe wrote him a rhymed epistle in the form of a *coq à l'âne* — "A Jean Ferron. Coq a Lasne." *P. F.*, p. 141. I suppose him identical with the Jean Ferron of Poitiers called to Geneva in 1548 and deposed the following year on account of his scandalous life. He was one of the informers who reported conversations of La Mare, convicting him of animosity toward Calvin, in consequence of which the latter insisted upon La Mare's deposition from the ministry. Cf. *La France Prot.*, 2d ed., Vol. VII, p. 238; Buisson speaks of Ferron as in Geneva in 1544, and mentions also his deposition. *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 212 and 218.

² Cf. Breton's "I too," *infra*, p. 35.

"On s'ebahist que ie n'ay respondu
 Par mes escripts à tous mes Envieux :
 Et je responds que Dieu a defendu
 Pour se venger, dicts contumelieux.
 Quand l'eust permis, encore j'ayme mieux
 Ne faire d'eulx aulcune mention,
 Et, en celà, c'est mon intention,
 Les mesprisant, maintenir ma coustume.
 Je sens aussi, que telle nation
 Est en tout cas indigne de ma plume."

— "*A Jean Ferron, pourquoy n'a respondu a ses adversaires,*" *P. F.*, p. 15.

Unfriendly rumors did not prevent Sainte-Marthe from obtaining his theological degree, probably early in 1537,¹ and he was also received doctor of law, having first distinguished himself brilliantly in those public arguments which were the necessary preliminary to that step.² Congratulations on this honor were offered him by Robert Breton, with whom he at this time renewed

¹ Had the letter in which Breton refers to it been written during 1536, unless at the very end, it would probably have been included in the volume published in that year. Moreover, his phrase, "*multis annis,*" referring to the period during which he had lost sight of Sainte-Marthe, seems to imply at least more than a fraction of one. They had been in touch in December, 1535.

² Dreux du Radier, *loc. cit.*

relations. Sainte-Marthe seems to have written a warning or remonstrance to his friend on courses which were being harshly condemned. "It is little to be wondered at," Breton writes in his reply, "that I have not been able to get you out of my memory, since I ever lived most pleasantly and desirably with you at Bordeaux. The thing at which I cannot sufficiently marvel is this, that you could have come to fear that this could ever happen; but the defense of this whole doubt is easy and obvious, since for many years past" — this appears to be an affectionate exaggeration on Breton's part — "for many years past you did not know where I was; nor was I myself certain where you were living. What you write, that my doings are blamed by many, I bear with ease, and so far endure without annoyance. For it is difficult to 'disarm Momus.' I too have had my ears beset with the insolence of detractors who, from day to day, try to inspire fear not only by their will to harm, but by their weight and number and the very amplitude of their resources. I have decided, however, to bear all that can be borne; but if I find myself invaded and overwhelmed by them

with greater outrage, I shall take courage, and, so far as modesty permits, make answer to them in such measure as may suffice. It is naturally a joy to me that you have been elected into the body of theologians. It were pleasanter still should your work, in explaining that divine and excellent art, gain abundant fruits, not only of other things praiseworthy and greatly worth seeking, but also of honor and glory.

“What shall I say of myself? You inspired me with no slight desire of imitating you when you set off to your own country. I think, I know not why, only of that one thing, abandoning my other chosen interests, which are very considerable. And, in a manner, I rejoice to think that ‘nothing is sweeter than a man’s country and father and mother.’ Soon, however, I hope to see you. If Rouillet happens to be at Poitiers, greet him for me; I should have written to him, were I certainly assured that he were there. Farewell.”¹

¹ For the text, *cf.* p. 602 *et seq.*

CHAPTER II

PROFESSORSHIP; DISGRACE; SOUTHERN PEREGRINATIONS

THE wish expressed by Breton was to be almost immediately fulfilled. Sainte-Marthe shortly obtained the post of Regius Professor of theology at the university, after a flattering interview with Francis I and his sister. He had seen the King and Marguerite as a child, on the occasion of a royal visit to Fontevrault in 1517,¹ when Francis, accompanied by the Queen of Navarre and her husband, Louise de Savoie and the Queen, brought his illegitimate sister, Magdeleine d'Orléans, Abbess of Jouarre, to Fontevrault to profit by the reforms there accomplished; and now, at the opening of his career, he was again brought to the notice of the Queen, who exercised so potent an influence on his life and of whom he has left so vivid a picture. About this time Sainte-Marthe also engaged the interest of the

¹ *Cart. Fontis Ebraldi*, cit. *supra*, fol. 355 r°.

King's daughter, Marguerite de France; for in 1540 he writes to remind her of her promise to him four years earlier :

“Je ne scay point, Madame, si depuis
 Qu'en ceste croix (quatre ans a) tumbé suis
 Si grand malheur m'est bien peu advenir
 De n'estre plus en vostre soubvenir.
 Il est possible (ainsi qu'un long espace
 Communement nostre memoire efface)
 Possible est (dy je) aussi, que ne scavez
 Le serviteur que retenu avez.”

— *A Madame Marguerite, fille unique du Roy, P. F.*,
 p. 123.

Whatever hopes Sainte-Marthe may have founded upon her interest were unfulfilled, —

“ . . . ce grand heur ne m'est onq' advenu
 Que j'ays esté des vostres retenu,”

— *Ibid.*, p. 124.

but at least he had cause to realize Marguerite's kindness of heart,

“Qu'il n'y a rien dans vostre noble cœur
 Qu'humanité et toute grand douceur;”

— *Ibid.*, p. 123.

and it may well be that her interest had its weight in inclining her father to look favorably upon the young scholar. The actual date

of the appointment is uncertain, as is the place of the interview, which possibly took place at or near Amiens in March, 1537, for the King was in that vicinity, and his sister, in all probability, joined him there in the course of the month.¹

Established in his chair and "girded for the performance of his calling," Sainte-Marthe gave himself up to the composition of a theological work and also began his lectures. And now, encouraged by the liberal trend of thought in the university and the religious leanings of some of its professors, relying also, no doubt, upon the security of his own position as direct appointee

¹ Cf. *Catalogue des Actes de François I*; Génin, *Nouvelles Lettres de la Reine de Navarre*, nos. 80 and 81; and *Lettres de Marguerite d'Angoulême*, nos. 132 and 133. The dates of the letters, however, are the editor's, and not wholly reliable. It is possible that Sainte-Marthe received his appointment in 1536; but, among other things, the omission of all three of Breton's letters of congratulation (cf. pp. 36, 48, and 49) from his volume of 1536 and their insertion in that of 1540 make against this. In this case the interview would have been in the south, where the king spent the year campaigning and where his sister joined him more than once, as for instance in July at Lyons. Archives de la ville de Lyon. BB. Reg. 55, *cit.* La Ferrière-Percy, *Marguerite d'Angoulême*, etc., p. 5, and Génin, *Lettres de Marguerite d'Angoulême*, nos. 115, 116, 121, 127.

of the king, he threw discretion to the winds and gave just cause of complaint to minds already exasperated against him. So we learn from a letter,¹ inspired by news of the publication of the *Religionis Christianæ Institutio*,² which he despatched to Calvin in April. Nothing could better illustrate his entire absence of caution. "There are many considerations, most learned Calvin," he writes, "which might, with the best reason, check me as I prepare to write to you, and dissuade me altogether. These, should I name them, you will perchance hold to be vulgar and customarily offered in this sort of self-accusation; still, they are of weight to me who, profoundly conscious of them, perceive well enough how he makes traffic of his repute who dares in letters to chatter to men of your sort, so intelligent, so keen of perception, so accomplished in all work, and to interrupt serious studies and importune in this

¹ *Carolus Sammarthanus sacrarum literarum in Pictaviensi Achademia regius professor, D. Joanni Calvino Lausanensi Ecclesiastæ, viro pio juxtà et erudito.* Herminjard, *Correspondence des Réformateurs*, Vol. IV, No. 625.

² The first (Latin) edition had appeared at Basle in March, 1536.

manner ears so delicate. For, besides being known to you neither by sight nor by name, I feel that I lack everything most needful to writing and speaking. And yet, I am at such a point of daring that I doubt nothing less than the satisfaction of my wishes, since our common friend Normand, who is responsible for the daring, assures me of satisfaction on the ground of your singular humanity. This I hope will be propitious to me in the common name of letters, and because of the closer bond of the same studies, — to which add the burning desire of piety. Nor is it likely that any man who is in himself gracious and very humane will refuse what does not violate the law of Christian friendship. Besides, what I seek from you by letter looks only to Christ and to the majesty of his word, namely, that, since in the same profession there is the same will and conjunction of spirits, you will certainly write down Sainte-Marthe in the number of your friends and with that medicine will refresh him in his sickness.

“It shall not be my care now, in the manner of the carnal, to make straight for myself the way to your love with praise of your divine

virtue and piety, whereby moved you held as nought kinsfolk and country and wealth, and made yourself naked, that you might make others rich, in great peril of your life the while. And, although I cannot doubt that it must turn out for those like you as for you — that is, happily, — still, for my part, I should wish that there were many Calvins, many with Calvin's talents, many even who would thus kindly receive the imitators of Calvin. I envy you nothing, but I am afflicted for this only, that you were snatched away from us,¹ and that that other speaking Calvin, namely the *Institutio Christiana*, has not reached us. I envy Germany because we cannot obtain what she can. There is perhaps this comfort here, that our academy is free and full of pious and learned men; but meanwhile, here and there, the hydra is born again and rises by night to sow tares, although I gird myself by the gift of the grace of Christ for the office of my calling. This, partly by reason of my

¹ Herminjard regards Sainte-Marthe's silence on the subject as evidence that Florimond de Ræmond, Merle d'Aubigné and Bonnet exaggerated Calvin's previous relations with Poitiers evangelicals. *Op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 223.

new dignity and my youth, and also of my zeal for doctrine, has brought forth informers against me, cowed and aghast at phantoms, most desperate portents of fate, to whom I shall so little yield that I will set even life itself against the compunction of the spirit whenever the Lord allows. We pray the Lord that your most happy fortune may progress in the right way. For your part, intercede for us that the spirit of Christ may be given to us to preach worthily and courageously, amid flames and enemies, that gospel of whose progress here you shall learn from Estienne,¹ bearer of this letter, — a man learned in Greek and Latin, modest and eloquent, a lover of truth, on his way to you that he may have leave to speak and learn freely. Him, in the name of country and the piety of the gospel, I piously commend to you. Conciliate for us where you are the same friends,

¹ Were it not that so reliable an authority as Herminjard notes this Stephanus as unidentified, one would be tempted to suppose that Robert Estienne took steps towards retiring to Geneva at this early date, thirteen years before actually doing so. The combination of the name with classical erudition and evangelical leanings is, at least, singular.

and approve our daring. Jesus our Lord God support your deeds and long preserve you, filled with his grace, safe to preach his gospel. Poitiers. In haste. April the 10th, 1537. Your brother in Christ, C. Sām."

This letter leaves no doubt as to the state of Sainte-Marthe's sympathies, and its concluding words imply that the writer had foreseen the consequences of his own course and was prepared to meet them. Yet such — as his later life shows — was hardly the case. Enthusiastic and impulsive, one of Calvin's despised "Nicodemites" moreover, who "convertissent à demy la chrestienté en philosophie," and "imaginent des idées platoniques en leur têtes,"¹ Sainte-Marthe was chiefly preoccupied with the spiritual life and no doubt, like others, failed to apprehend the full import or even the general tendency of Calvin's teaching. The *Religionis Christianæ Institutio* was not yet, we see from Sainte-Marthe's letter, in general circulation. Its editions had been almost immediately exhausted²

¹ *Excuse . . . à Messieurs les Nicodemites*, col. 600.

² For the rapid exhaustion of the editions of the *Chris. Rel. Inst.*, cf. Herminjard, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 223, note 5.

and it was not readily accessible. A certain vagueness, which the "Lycurgus of Christianity"¹ had in that work swept away forever, was at this date still possible; and even when its content was apprehended, the question was still to many minds one of a return to the true sources in religion as in literature. To those engaged in it, the religious struggle must have appeared a battle less between reformers and constituted authority than between two parties within the Catholic church. Indeed the "evangelicals" counted among them many of authority in church and state. From time to time, it is true, men who favored reform fell victims to the vacillating policy of persecution, not defined nor consistent until the decade which ended with François' death;² but this seemed to the innovators the fruit of misunderstanding, the work of "enemies," not the active arm of authority dealing with rebels. In 1535 Calvin could still appeal to the king against the fury

¹ "Le Christianisme eut son Lycurgue." Lerminier, *Rev. des deux Mondes*, 1842, p. 515.

² *I.e.* after the interview at Aigues Mortes in July, 1538. For the king's general policy in regard to the religious situation, *cf.* Buisson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 66-77.

of "aucuns iniques," could still feel that François would not proceed severely, once he understood it, against "la doctrine laquelle ils estiment devoir estre punie par prison, banissement, proscription et feu";¹ and this in the dedication of the very book which was to define the new doctrine with a clearness leaving a man in no possible doubt as to whether or not his opinions coincided with those of the new "reform." At the time Sainte-Marthe lectured in Poitiers, recollections of the "affair of the placards"² was still fresh in men's minds; but, though the innocent had suffered, the provocation was great even in the eyes of the

¹ *Au Roy de France treschrestien*, etc.; *Institution de la Religion Chrétienne*, cols. 9 and 10. The first Latin edition was published in 1536. The dedicatory letter, when prefixed to the French version of 1541 (based on a Latin edition of 1539), retained the date 1535. In fact its date, "le premier jour d'Aoust," is three weeks earlier than the original, "x Calendas Septembres."

² Of the 29th of January, 1535. Cf. on this subject, *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, pp. 441-447. On the same day the king issued an edict against heretics, condemning those who harbored them to the same punishment as they, and promising informers a quarter of their confiscated possessions. *Actes de François I*, no. 7486.

“evangelicals,”¹ and since then the cruel edict of January, 1535, had been annulled² and a period of leniency had followed, — the period of the letter to Melancthon,³ of Marot’s recall from exile and of conciliatory edicts concerning heretics.⁴ Caution, then, was lulled, and it is probable, besides, that Sainte-Marthe was hurried farther than he had foreseen by enthusiasm for his subject and by the excitement of the applause aroused by his rhetorical gifts; for he was “auræ popularis avidior”⁵ according to his nephew Scévole.

In any event, the young lecturer was undisturbed for some months. In October he received another letter from Breton, written from Bordeaux. Breton had, it appears, written meanwhile asking advice or help. He had now heard the bare news of his friend’s appointment

¹ Sturm spoke of the authors of the outrage as “furiosi” and “stultissimi homines,” *cit.* Chastel, *Histoire du Christianisme*, Vol. IV, p. 107.

² By the edict of Coucy, July 16, 1535. *Actes de François I*, no. 7990.

³ Of June the 23rd, 1535. *Cf.* Herminjard, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 301.

⁴ Of May the 31st and June the 30th, 1536. *Actes de François I*, nos. 8476 and 21,077.

⁵ *Gallorum . . . illustrium . . . Elogia.* *Cf.* p. 515.

and offered congratulations: "Although, while awaiting your opinion on those matters concerning which I begged it in my previous letter, I ought not to trouble you with a new one, yet, since a man most devoted to both of us, though principally filled with love of you, is setting off in your direction, I cannot bring myself not to send you anything of a letter. You will decide about my affairs, as I wrote to you lately. Whatever you do will be as grateful as if it were the most agreeable. I congratulate you on your professorship. That brilliant honour of yours refreshes me daily more and more. Farewell. Bordeaux. Oct. 12th." ¹

Who was the friend who brought this letter? Conjecture at least suggests Visagier, who published a volume of epigrams in Paris in 1538, and may have been on his way there to attend to this.² That volume contains an epigram addressed to Sainte-Marthe. It speaks of the advantages of Sainte-Marthe's situation and of

¹ For the text, *cf.* p. 603.

² All that is known of Visagier's movements at this time is his presence at the banquet to Dolet in Paris in March, 1537, his probable presence in Lyons about the middle of the year, when he published his second book

the writer's affection for him. It would be carrying logs to the forest, Visagier assures him, to give Sainte-Marthe money, — gems, too, weigh down the latter's fingers, whereas no single one gleams upon his own hand. As for books, his library holds few books and he has none which his friend has not. Garments? He has only one, and that not fitted to Sainte-Marthe's shoulders. Even his heart, he concludes, is already his friend's. He can give nothing but this assurance that he is unable to give.¹

Meanwhile Sainte-Marthe had answered Breton's earlier letter, giving him, it would appear, the advice asked, adding an account of the details of his own appointment and mentioning his theological work. Breton replied in an undated letter² delivered to Sainte-Marthe by no less a person than the younger Gouvéa. "You write to me," he says, "that you were received with incredible honor and warmth by the king and his sister that most admired and elect of epigrams there (Copley Christie, *op. cit.*, p. 314), and his equally conjectural presence, for the same reason, in Paris in 1538.

¹ For the text, *cf.* p. 610.

² For the text, *cf.* p. 603 *et seq.*

woman, Marguerite. This was extremely grateful to me, not only because I have always considered you most worthy of honor on account of the scope of your intelligence, but because, considering your habit and life and very accomplished style, I am, as it were, refreshed and revived when I hear that those things have befallen you which are due by common consent to the virtue and constancy of the excellent and modest. That, in truth, delighted me much, as indeed was natural, but still more, that the same king honorably, and no less kindly, invited you to the profession of sacred letters, adding a very sufficient and honorable wage for the reward of your glorious labors. It is a profession full of consideration, dignity and credit, and by it we are reconciled not only to men, which in itself however, is a great thing, but, what is far greater, to divine providence. The thing you urge upon me, to devote myself to this study, I am in fact sedulously engaged upon; but I shall do so more exactly and zealously after I seem to have made sufficient progress in Greek literature. 'Fool,' say you, 'who neglect this most easy study for the sake of one so weighty and prolific.' Not in

the least. I am neither doing this with the thought of abandoning the one for the sake of the other, nor do I consider such a course in any wise tolerable. But, since I seem likely more easily to excel in the first if I know the other study, I have decided to give a little more time to it. When I have done this, I shall return to theology as to the safest and best port for all cares and anxieties. I approve what you say of my business, for I greatly wished that it might so turn out, and it seemed likely to be of the utmost importance in my affair. Still I beg you again and again not to neglect it. Possibly, if it is convenient, I shall shortly hasten to you on my way straight to Paris, and then all can be freely discussed between us. As to the theological book which you mention at the same time, I earnestly desire you to give it to me as soon as it is reproduced and published. Of myself I can write nothing further than what I have mentioned above ; that I am thinking daily of Paris, but various rumors of war have alarmed me, lest I can hardly effect what I have set myself to do. Everything in good time however.

“The last thing is one you wish to know, whether the report of the death of Durasius be true. Know that he is at Bordeaux and was never in better health; but I believe that men not without wit, nor altogether lacking literature, continually spread this report because he lately failed in a lawsuit. The controversy was about his wife. Now, because he is cast down from that hope which he set before himself and so greatly embraced, they feign that he is dead. That saying of Cato’s is known to us and not, I think, unheard of by you, that the soul of a lover lives in the body of another. I would commend to you my messenger, were not his learning and talent, and even, by Hercules, that elegance, which is at its greatest in him, enough to commend him. He is the brother of our Gouvéa. I have given your letter to Cordier and Zebedée. I hope that you will write to me as often as possible. If I remain — and so far, as I said, I have no certainty about this — I shall overwhelm you with the frequency and prolixity of my letters. Farewell.”

It is probable that the friends did not meet; for it must have been shortly after this that