BARTHÉLEMY ANEAU: A STUDY IN HUMANISM

BARThÉLEMY ANEAU, poet, historian, jurisconsult and educator, was one of the many interesting personages of the early French Renaissance. His interests were so numerous, his struggles so great, and his erudition so profound, that no complete history of this period of French literature can any longer neglect to give him just consideration. His influence on the Lyonnese Renaissance is incontestable, while his name is inseparably connected with the history of the Pléiade through his criticism—not always just—of the *Deffence et Illustration* of Du Bellay. As an educator, he was highly esteemed by his scholarly contemporaries. Influenced by Rabelais, for whom he did not conceal his admiration, he anticipated in many respects our modern methods of instruction. Under his able direction, the small Collège de la Trinité acquired a national reputation. He was not a poet of importance: he was merely one of the many clever versifiers, last offshoots of the dead rhetorical school. La Monnoye, though severe, is nevertheless to a great extent correct when he says that Aneau is a *pauvre écrivain soit en latin soit en français.* Conservative to the extreme in regard to literature, he was unable to foresee, as did Peletier, du Mans and others, that a new inspiration would be requisite to rekindle the dying embers of poetry. Too liberal for the times in his religious views and severe as a critic, he became rich in enemies, whose relentless attacks were not to cease even with his tragic death. But throughout his whole life, he clung to his ideals and refused to swerve from the rule of duty. For this alone, if for nothing else, he deserves to be remembered.

I

Aneau (Latinized as Anulus) was a native of Bourges. Of his parents we know nothing, save what the poet tells us himself in

1 The preparation of this study was announced in the *Revue de la Renaissance,* VIII, 1907, p. 120.
3 Cf. the passage in the *Emblèmes d’Alciat* in which he calls Bourges "ville de ma nativité."
explanation of his devise, or motto, pardurable peu durable.\textsuperscript{4} Taking for his emblem a serpent with its tail in its mouth encircling a rose, he adds:

Extraict de gens non gentilz, n'apparens,
Armes n'ay nobles de mes parens;
Mon père eut nom Aneau, ma mère Rose:
Du nom des deux ma marque je compose.\textsuperscript{5}

The date of Aneau's birth is unknown. But from the statements which he makes in the Quintil Horatian and in the preface of the Picta Poesis, we are inclined to place it not later than 1509, and probably in the vicinity of 1505. In the former work, he declares that he had translated toute l'Art Poétique of Horace y a plus de vingt ans avant Pelletier et tout autre.\textsuperscript{6} Now according to M. Chamard, the Quintil Horatian must have appeared in 1550.\textsuperscript{7} So the only conclusion possible is that Aneau must have completed his translation before 1530, more probably, if we allow for the plus in his statement, about 1528 or 1529. It would be natural to suppose that Aneau was at least twenty years of age when he accomplished such a work. Furthermore we are not sure that this was his first literary effort. Taking all these facts into consideration, as well as his aptitude for Latin, we can safely assume that 1505 approaches very closely the date of his birth. This is also quite in accord with what he tells us of himself in 1552 in the dedication.

\textsuperscript{4}The Archives of Bourges contain no information concerning the family of Aneau.
\textsuperscript{5}Imagination poétique, Lyons, 1552, p. 14. The poet continues:

L'Aneau, Serpent en soy se retordant,
Par cercle rond, queue en teste mordant;
Et en figure Hieroglyphique, Note
Qui en Aegypte, Aeternité dénote
La Rose aussi, qui flalistrit et pérít:
Dès le jour mesme auquel elle florit:
Mortalité représente. Et pourtant
Que d'âme et corps est mon estre constant:
D'un corps mortel, et d'une âme immortelle:
Armes des noms je porre en marque telle.

\textsuperscript{6}Art poétique français (of Thomas Sibilet) ... avec le Quintil Horatian, etc., Paris, 1572, p. 181.
\textsuperscript{7}La Date et l'Auteur du Quintil Horatian, Revue d'Histoire littéraire, 1898, p. 60, etc.
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atory preface of the *Picta Poesis*. He states therein (p. 3) that more than thirty years have elapsed since he has seen his friend Babo, with whom he studied under Simon Dagobert. In other words, about 1520, or when Aneau was fifteen or sixteen years of age, he was still attending the preparatory school in the famous Hôtel Jacques-Cœur.

From the above-mentioned preface we also learn that Aneau passed his youth in his native city, Bourges. Addressing his friend Philibert Babo, bishop of Angoulême, he recalls the pleasures of their childhood days, how greatly he enjoyed going to school with Babo and his three brothers—*cum tribus unda fratribus tuis apud Biturigum Metropolis in Magnifica Iacobi Cordis domo*. It was there that, along with other noble youths who afterward became celebrated men—*Aliisque nobilissimis tūm pueris, nunc autem viris ornatissimis*,—they were first instructed in letters—*primum in literis institueremur*—by Simon Dagobert, *prudentissimo et eruditissimo viro*. Aneau states furthermore that more than thirty years have elapsed since that time, when he last saw his friend—*ab illo tempore elapsis triginta et amplius annis, cum ego te numquam postea videvis*. It appears from the above that the parents of Aneau were in comfortable circumstances, inasmuch as they were able to send their son to a school held in such a magnificent *hôtel*, where he was the companion of scions of noble families.

After completing his studies with Dagobert, Aneau pursued in all probability more advanced courses in the University of Bourges, which was at that time one of the leading institutions in France. As early as 1529, the celebrated German humanist, Melchior de Wolmar, was occupying the chair of Greek in this university—a chair that was to be filled later by Amyot. The numerous biographers of Aneau are most probably correct in asserting that the elegance of his Latin and Greek verse is due to the careful training given by Wolmar. According to De Thou, Wolmar showed
wonderful talent for instructing youth; et un plus merveilleux talent encore, adds the Père Colonia, pour l'empoisonner en l'instruisant. 12 The Jesuit father is referring, of course, to Wolmar’s celebrated pupils, Calvin, Amyot, and Théodore de Bèze, whose influence, in addition to that of his teacher, caused Aneau to regard the new faith with favor. Nevertheless, we may hasten to add that he never openly professed Protestantism—in fact, nothing can be found in his works which might place him in the ranks of the reformers.

It is also quite probable that Aneau acquired his broad legal knowledge from the great Italian jurist, André Alciat, who lectured in the University of Bourges from 1529 to 1533. 13 In a note to one of the Emblèmes of Alciat which we shall discuss later, Aneau writes the following: "Bourges . . . ville de ma nativité où le seigneur Alciat, auteur du présent œuvre, ha par plusieurs ans interprété les loix à très grande renommée et en celle université premièrement leu en France." 14 In later life the poet used to advantage the careful legal training which he received while a student at Bourges. We have not only several works touching more or less upon the law, but we may note at once his ability as an orator and the argumentative spirit of many of his poems, which reveal the tendency of his thought. When the Parliament of Savoy decided to revise their statutes, Aneau was selected to perform the task. 15 Later on, the Echevins of Lyons commissioned him to make a redaction of the laws governing festivals and fairs. 16

II

It is not known whether Aneau began his teaching at Bourges, or whether he devoted his entire time there to literary work. Nor is it ascertained at what date he was called from his native city to the metropolis of southern France. We can easily understand why he considered favorably a call from the struggling Collège de la Trinité. The brilliant coterie of scholars and poets in Lyons,

12 Colonia, op. cit., p. 668.
13 Moeller, loc. cit.
14 Emblèmes d'Alciat, Lyons, Roville, 1549, p. 17.
15 Stèle et règlement . . . dressé par la court de Parlement de Savoye, Lyons, Portonaris, 1553.
16 Ordonnances et Privileges des Foires de Lyon, Lyons, Fradin, 1560.
the religious liberty enjoyed by the city under the government of Du Peyrat and others, the intellectual prominence of the professors of the Collège de la Trinité under the direction of Claude de Cublize— all these facts had some influence upon his decision. On the other hand, Bourges was well represented at Lyons. Several of its former citizens were among the members of the city council of Lyons, and probably used their influence toward the election of Aneau.

However that may be, Claude de Cublize, immediately after his appointment as principal of the Collège de la Trinité in 1533, began to look about for capable teachers. His attention was soon attracted to young Aneau, whose reputation as a poet and scholar had already passed beyond the bounds of his native city. It was the custom in the college—as is shown by a document of 1540 discussed later on—to have one or two regents able to direct the studies of the advanced students, while the younger men, or bacheliers, performed the purely pedagogical duties. Cublize, therefore, offered Aneau a position in the college about 1533, and the young scholar accepted. Immediately after his arrival in Lyons, Aneau was placed in charge of the class in rhetoric.

As a teacher, Aneau acquitted himself with as much zeal as talent. During his long years of service in the Collège de la Trinité, he was always popular with his pupils. This was due no doubt to the fact that, as we learn from some verses in the *Imagination poétique* (p. 43), he was not possessed of the *tyrannie des magisters*, so common at that time. Beneath an engraving of a woman punishing a child, we find these characteristic verses:

"For Canappe, Raynier and other famous professors of this college, see my articles on the *Collège de la Trinité avant 1540*, in the *Revue de la Renaissance*, 1908, pp. 73-94; 1909, pp. 157-157 and 204-215.

"Claude de Bourges was Echevin of Lyons in 1532-33, the year that Aneau was probably called. Cf. Poullin de Lumina, *Abrégé chronologique de l'histoire de Lyon*, 1767, p. 351.

"The date is not certain, for there is no document in the Archives of Lyons that supplies a list of the professors of this college between 1533 and 1540. The biographers of Aneau (see the articles above) give the date 1529, which is incorrect, for we do have the faculty-list for the years 1527-33, and Aneau's name is not recorded. Claude de Ruys states incorrectly in his *Histoire véritable de la ville de Lyon* (1604, p. 381) that, at the time of his tragic death, Aneau had been principal of the college *bien trente ans*. Aneau was appointed principal, as we shall show, in 1540, and was murdered in 1561."
En cest image est pincet la manie
Des magisters, et siere tyrannie,
Qui les enfants de libre nature
Sauvage rend, par coups et par nature,
Et les Esprits qui estoient libéraux:
Prosterne en crainte, et les mue en ruraux.

And the orator was in no way inferior to the educator. In fact, his ability was so universally recognized by the citizens of Lyons that he was called upon in 1538 to deliver the doctoral oration of St. Thomas—the very formal ceremony that took place in the Eglise St. Nizier on December 21 of each year, when the newly elected Echevins were installed in their offices.20 Only once before had the Echevins of Lyons turned to the Collège de la Trinité for the orator of this occasion, and that was in 1532, when Jean Raynier, a regent of this college, was invited to speak upon the City and the State. The oration of Aneau was so well received that two years later (1540), he had the honor of being the orator for a second time—an honor that had fallen previously to but one individual, the celebrated physician Symphorien Champier, who was selected in 1504 and again in 1519.21 Though the compensation was small, the honor was sought by all of the distinguished men of the city.22

While Aneau had already translated the Ars Poetica of Horace as early as 1520—which, as we have stated, remained in its manuscript state—he published his first work in 1537.23 It was entitled

*This oration was delivered in Latin; but in the latter part of the century, French was also permitted. Cf. A. Bleton, Les Oraisons doctorales de la Saint-Thomais, Lyons, 1891.


Aneau received thirty sols for delivering this oration. Archives communales de Lyon, CC. 915, fol. 94 (Dec. 21, 1538) and CC. 940 (Dec. 21, 1540).

Claude de Rubys states (Hist. de Lyon, p. 336) that in 1513 the Swiss laid siege to Dijon and were threatening Lyons, which caused great excitement among the inhabitants of that city. This event, according to the historian, "donna subject de nostre temps à maistre Barthélémy Aneau, principal du collège de la Trinité, de representar par gauzerie, en des jeux publics, une grosse bragette qui faisait peur à un Lion." We are unable to say whether this was a play or not. If it was, it was probably never published. Did this representation take place before 1537? From the words de nostre temps used by Rubys, we would place it between 1550 and 1560, probably at the celebration in honor of national peace, which took place in May 1559. Aneau, as will be shown later, arranged the most important part of this festival.
the Mystère de la Nativité, par personnages, composé en imitation verbale et musicale de diverses chansons recueillies sur l'escriture sainte, et illustré d'icelle. According to Breghot du Lut and Demogeot, this is the same Mystère which appears in the volume entitled the Chant natal, published in 1539. This statement cannot be verified, as the edition of 1537 has become so rare that no copy can be found. However, there is no reason for doubting these bibliographers. The same poem was published a third time in 1559 (with still further additions) under the title Genethliac musical et historial de la conception et nativité de Jesus-Christ par vers et chants divers, entremes et illustres des noms Royaux, et de Princes, etc. Avec un chant Royal pour chanter, a lacclamacion des Roys. Ensemble la IVe Eclogue de Virgile intitulée Poffion ou Auguste, prophetizant la nativité de Jesus Christ, etc. This edition, however, is as rare as that of 1537, for even the careful Baudrier has been unable to discover a copy.

The Mystère, as it appears in the Chant natal, is only six pages in length. It bears the following title (p. C r°) : Mystère de la Nativité de nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ: par personnages sur divers chants de plusieurs chansons. Et premierement, Le voyage en Bethleem, et l'enfantement de la vierge, sur le chant, Le plus sou\uent tant il m'ennuye. As the poet states in these last words, the Mystère was sung to the air of a popular song. In the opening scene, Mary addresses Joseph in the following manner:

Ioseph, cher espoux, homme iuste,  
En Bethleem nous fault aller:  
Car l'empereur Cesar Auguste  
A faict son edict publier,  
En une somme ronde,  
Pour nombrer tout le monde,  
Et ung denier offrir:  
Combien que nous confonde  
Froidure, et nous morfonde,  
Il nous comuient souffrir.

24 Lyons, Sébastien Gryphe, 1537.  
26 A Lyon, par Godfrey Beringen, 1559, 8vo, Supplement Brunet, I, 42; Baudrier, Bibliographie lyonnaise, III, 54; Breghot du Lut, op. cit., p. 197.
Like a good husband, Joseph replies:

_ Hélas, chère dame Marie,
Sur toutes pleine d’amitié,
Craintes et amour mon coeur urie,
Ayant de uostre cors pytié._

But he adds after a moment,

_ Toutesfois la contraincte
Ne fault que soit enfraincte
De l’empereur Romain._

Then Mary advises that they start at once for Bethlehem,

_ Pour ce partons de la Province,
Tirons tout droit en Bethleem._

But as they have neither *escu ne targe*, she is confident that Poverty will take them *en sa piteuse barge*, and Providence

_ . . . qui est tant large,
Ne nous delaissera._

The practical Joseph hastens to assure his *chere dame Marie* that they have *ung beuf de pasture* to accompany them, and

_ Ung asne aussi, qui la porture
De uostre tendre corps fera._

Here the poet inserts in the text the words *ils vont*, which means that, after going around the stage several times, they arrive at their destination. Joseph sets forth at once in search of a suitable lodging:

_ Quelque logis parmy la ville
Pour Dieu je m’en vais requérir,
Car nous n’avons ne croix ne pille._

He discovers a splendid *hôtel* and hastens to seek admission. Who should help the poor if not the rich? he says in his naïve way. The host, however, gives him an unexpected reception:

_ Allez-vous en, vieillard infâme!
Vous me ressemblez ung bergier._
Le logis que je baille
N'est pas pour truandaille,
Mais pour gens de cheval.
Entre vous coquinaille
N'avez denier ni maille.
Allez à l'hôpital!

Greatly dismayed by such a welcome, the good Joseph says philosophically:

La chose est notoire et visible
Que povreté n'ha point de lieu.

But fortunately he finds near-by une estable

Aux gens inhabitable,
Ou convient demourer.
Le lieu n'est pas notable
Pour Roy ou Connestable.
Il nous faut endurer.

There, at least, they meet with no rebuff. As soon as they are installed, Mary announces to Joseph:

Or maintenant l'heure est venue
De rendre le fruit précieux,

and the poet adds, icy naist Iesuschrist. Then follows the adoration of the Virgin, who says:

O Saulteour de l'humain lignaige,
Divinité soubz corps humain,
Je te rendz ma foy et hommaige
Comme un filz du Roy souverain.

Joseph also has a word to say:

Hélas, chere dame Marie,
Le filz de Dieu de vous est né,
Ainsi que par la prophétie
Auoit esté determiné.
Orgueil et felonnie
Si soit de nous bannie:
Car le uray filz de Dieu
En humble compagnie,
Mais de uertu garnie,
Nasquit en poure lieu.

Here follows the annunciation to the shepherds, which is composed 
sur le chant du second couplet extraict d'ung ancien Noel. This 
is sung sur le branle de, Iolyet est marie: avec une reprimse: et une 
quene sur le Gloria in excelsis Deo (fol. C4 r°). This song, which 
consists of six stanzas, begins thus:

Pasteurs, qui veillez aux champs,
Oyez mes dicts, et mes chants:
Je vous nonce la nouuelle
Joyeuse pour vous,
Dieu est né d'une pucelle,
Pour racheter tous.
Allez, et l'adorez à genoux:
Gloria in Excelsis Deo!

After this comes (fol. D r°) la venue et adoration des pasteurs, 
which is sung sur le chant, Sonnez my doncq quand vous irez. 
Heeding the words of the angel, the shepherds come to worship the 
Infant Jesus. The first shepherd presents Him un quartier de for-
maige, the second his bouteille d'eau, and the third his flavol si bel. 
This song, with which no doubt the edition of 1537 ended, consists 
of four stanzas, the first two of ten verses each, and the last two of 
nine.

It is true that this play does not reveal any profound poetical 
inspiration on the part of the author. But at the same time we 
must not fail to remember that it was composed for the pupils of the 
college. Aneau inaugurated in this institution the custom of 
giving plays at Christmas or at the end of the school year. "Mais 
ce n'était," says M. Brouchoud, 21 "pour les élèves chargés d'inter-
préter les rôles, que des exercices littéraires auxquels ils se livraient 
sous les yeux de leurs parents." But, as the same author remarks, 
these compositions of Aneau were the origin of the "véritables re-
présentations dramatiques" that were given later when the college 
was directed by the Jesuits. We have already noted that the My-

21Les Origines du Théâtre de Lyon, Lyons, 1865, pp. 24-25.
stère was sung as well as acted by the children. For this reason, M. Demogeot considers it as “la première idée de nos opéra comiques,” or, adds M. Delandine, “mieux, de nos vaudevilles.”

If the Mystère de la Nativité was the first work to be published in French by Aneau, his first Latin effort appeared the following year, 1538, among the epigrams of Gilbert Ducher. This poet, who was then teaching in the Collège de la Trinité, held his colleague Aneau in very high esteem. In an epigram addressed to him, Ducher speaks of the broad scholarship and versatility of his friend:

Doctrinae, encyclopaediam quod unus
Perfectam efficias, et absolutam:
Non iriuria es Anulus uocatus.

And Ducher closes the epigram by exclaiming:

. . . si quis inter omnes,
Dignus Castalio choro uideris,
Orator bonus, et bonus poëta:
Si quisquam esse potest mihi, absque suco,
Orator bonus, et bonus poëta.29

To this Aneau replies in characteristic style, admitting modestly that he is unworthy of the encomium given him:

Est oratio, Socrati disertus
Quam scripsit Lysias periclitanti.
Hanc certe esse bonam, tamen recusans
Haudquaquam sibi conuenire, dixit.
De me sic tua, Ducheri poëta,
Valde encomia censeo bona esse,
Agnosco mihi non tamen quadrate,
Agnosco tibi conuenire: qui sis
Orator bonus, et bonus poëta.
Summam proinde tibi remitto laudem,
Multis quam cumulare nolo terbis:

28 Cf. Lyon ancien et moderne, 1838-43, 1, 414; Delandine, Cat. de la Bibliothèque de Lyon; E. Vingtrinier, Le Théâtre à Lyon avant Molière, Lyon-Revue, IV, pp. 194, etc.; Frères Parfait, III, p. 43.
One of the most intimate friends of Aneau at Lyons was the famous printer, Etienne Dolet. In 1539 Dolet published his well-known history of the reign of Francis I, to which many of his friends contributed commendatory verses. Among them we may mention, besides our poet, Jean Raynier and Guillaume Durand, both former professors in the Collège de la Trinité. Aneau remained a firm friend of the irascible Dolet throughout all his misfortunes, and in the epigram contributed to this volume he does not conceal his admiration for the scholarly printer:

Musas, quae canerent gestarum encomia rerum
Vera, Themistoclēi perplacuisse ferunt.
Sed stupidus non est mage Graeco Principe Gallus:
Et nec ab affectu Rex alienus erit.
Sic (ubi cognorit tua carmina) spero, Dolete,
Augustum tibi, te illi fore Vergilium.\(^{29}\)

The same year (1539), Dolet published a curious volume in honor of the birth of his son, Claude Dolet,\(^{30}\) whom, notwithstanding the eulogies of the friends of his father, fate has consecrated to oblivion. Among the numerous laudatory poems found at the beginning of this work, there is one by Aneau, consisting of seventy-four Latin hexameters. As this is, so far as we know, the first serious effort of Aneau, we may pause for a moment to analyze it.

The poet begins by calling upon his Muse to sing genethliac verse,

\(^{29}\) Ibid., p. 159.
\(^{30}\) Francisci Valdii Gallorum Regis Fata . . . Stephano Doletō . . . autore, Lugduni, 1539, p. 78, 4to, Bibli. nat., Réserve My111.
\(^{31}\) Genethliacum Claudii Doleti Stephani Doleti filii . . . Autore Patre . . . Lugduni, apud eundem Doletum, 1539, 4to, Bibli. nat., Rév. My276. This work was translated the same year by Dolet under the title, L'Avant-Naissance de Claude Dolet, Dolet, Lyons, 1539, pp. 46.
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But as he does not know whether the child is a boy or a girl, "si puerum canitis," he says, "puer est hic carmine dignus;" but, on the contrary, if it be a girl, "may the sacred lips of the Virgin Minerva give her the virginal auspices of light." Comparing Dolet to Cicero, the poet exclaims: "Of the second Tullius a second happier progeny, another image of the second Cicero is born." "Iam," he continues, "nova progenies magno generata Doleto."

"Pulcher Apollo presided at the birth of the child as a token of a glorious life. "May the three Graces," says Aneau, addressing the new-born babe, "and the nine Muses be thy companions; and from thee, frail boy or perhaps girl, may the Goddesses, the three Divinities of the Universe, be nowhere absent." Venus has granted to the handsome body, not a vulgar form, but one by which it shall be a Helen or another Nereus.

The poet then calls upon Pallas to take the child under her protection and to teach it sapientia verba, factaque fortia. But if Nature has made of it a girl, virgo pudicitiam Pallas conservet honestam, so that she will surpass the chaste Penelope and yet live to a better fate than Lucretia. While the skilful Minerva will teach her to paint the texture with the needle to such a point that the Lydian Arachne will yield to her in the Phrygian work.—"But if thou be a boy, O Sperate Puer," says the poet, "eris alter et ipse Doletus, tuque Doletus eris, quo non facundior alter." Then shall they pour rhetorical flowers upon his cradle, and he shall drink with his milk from the fountain of eloquence.

Symbolizing Science by the Constellation of the Goat—Sydus Olenium—the poet adds that "she shall press against thy lips her breasts filled with the milk with which she nourished Jove, her gratum alumnun." And the horn of Amalthea—κ[text in image]—shall offer itself to the child filled with both fruits and flowers, while the Apes Platonis, bearing the sweetest tokens of eloquence, will instill into its mouth their dewy honey.

When the child shall learn to read, he shall begin to study the eulogies of the heroes and the writings of his father; and "when

"Ibid., C3 r° and v°; and C4 r°."
thou shalt have embraced the career of a full-grown man,” says Aneau to the son of Dolet, “thou shalt see heroes gather about thy father, and with thy parental virtues thou shalt complete the cycle of learning.” Finally, addressing Dolet himself, the poet exclaims: “Such fate, Divine Dolce, do the wool-weaving sisters promise by their immutable law.”

Ergo nouo partu mater perfuncta dolore,
Post vbi longa nouem dederunt fastidia menses,
Gaudeat, et pulchra faciat te prole parentem.

This poem, strewn with souvenirs of classical authors—in accordance with the custom of the time—and written in the strange, but pleasing, Latin of the early Sixteenth Century, is not entirely without original inspiration. True, it is not the inspiration of a great poet, but it is indeed more profound than that of the ordinary versifier of this period. These verses reveal, to a certain degree, the versatility and breadth of learning of this professor of rhetoric.

A friend of Aneau, Claude Bigothier, who also taught in the Collège de la Trinité, published in 1540 a very curious epic in which he discloses the source of his profound erudition. According to Bigothier, Claude de Cublize, principal of this college, and Aneau are two remarkable men. In truth, the latter is a gift of the gods—Anulus, he says, alter enim linguæ communis Mercurius, caelo nobis delapsus ab alto. Aneau is, in addition, an indefatigable worker, cujus inexhausti numquam finita laboris perdurat virtus, studiiis indefessa voluptas. He reads and composes, and verbis hortatur et urget. He reproves incessantly the lazy and curbs the over-ambitious—nec sinit ignavos vigilans torpere tyrones. He teaches constantly what is best for the youthful mind—optima docet statim. Under the direction of such a master, pupils do not become asinos, sturnosve sono picaque loquaces, but, on the contrary, homines sermone diserti. To what does Aneau owe these exceptional powers? The answer is only too obvious, says Bigothier, it is merely because he eats turnips! We may be astonished at such an answer, but all our doubts are dispelled when Bigothier informs
us that the protector of the turnip is Apollo, the same god who protects learning.\(^{84}\)

In 1539, Aneau published under the title *Chant natal*, a second edition of the *Mystère de la Nativité* with additional songs.\(^{85}\) This little volume begins (\(^{v}\) of title) with a prelude which is addressed by *B. Aneau à ses disciples*. In the margin are two verses from the Psalms,\(^{86}\) which form the motif of this introductory song. The poet commences by exhorting the children:

*Louez Enfants, le seigneur, et son nom:
Les chants qu'a vous ie dedie, chantants
Chants, mais quelz chants, de Poésie? Non,
Mais chants Natalz, que requis ha le temps:
Car des enfants, et petit allaictants
Dieu par leur bouche ha parfaict sa louange.
Et tout esprit celestial, ou ange
Chante auec vous de l'enfant la naissance
Qui faire tient de Dieu a l'homme eschange,
Donnant a vous, et a tous innocence.*

We remark at once that Aneau has made use of some of the rhyming tricks of the old rhetorical school, from the shackles of which poetry had not yet freed itself. Even Marot did not entirely overcome the influence of his early training, while Jean Bouchet was continuing, as far as his limited powers would permit, the traditions of the school of Crétin.

\(^{84}\) *Rapina seu Raporum encomium*, 1540, edition of Brossard, Bourg-en-Bresse, 1891, p. 116. Both of these editions are now very rare. According to Brossard, the *rapa* of Bigothier is the *Brassica rapa* (Species 931) of Linnaeus, which is the same as our turnip. Antoine du Pinet, in his curious translation of Pliny (*L’Histoire du Monde de C. Pline Second*) . . . Lyons, Claude Seneton, 1562 and 1566, fol., cf. Baudrier, *Bibliogr. lyonnaise*, VII, pp. 449 and 441), states that the Greeks, “vouloir faire present de bons jardinaiges à Apollo delique feirent le refert d'or, la poiret d'argent et la rare de plomb,” and furthermore that “Diocles faict grant cas de la Rave et affirme à plus qu'elle rend l'homme gentil compaignon auprès les dames.

\(^{85}\) *Chant Natal contenat sept Noels, ung chant Pastoural, et ung chant Royal, auce ung Mystere de la Nativité, par personnages. Composes en imita

The first personage who comes upon the stage is the Soul, who sings a noël ou chant spirituel à Jesus Christ, confessant la macule et laudure de son péché: et la purgation d'icelluy en la grace de Dieu, et au sang de Jesus Christ. This noël is composed, tant en la lettre que en la musique, in imitation of Marot's, Pourtant si ie suys brune. It consists of five stanzas of which the first is as follows (fol. A2 r°):

Pourant si ie suys brune
Par peché noire d'esmooy,
Dieu m'a faicte blanche, et nete,
Arrousant son sang sur moy.
L'Ange clair damné ie uoy,
Des blanches essences l'une,
Qui fussent dessus la Lune.
Doncq' au contre Lucifer:
Mieux uault blanchir estant brune,
Que noircir blanche en enfer.

The second noël is composed en suite de la Royalle chanson, Douce mémoire, en voix et parolle, reduisant en memoire a la pensée Christienne, le benefice de Dieu ouuers l'homme. The first of the five stanzas composing this song begins thus (fol. A3 r°):

Douce mémoire en plaisir consommée,
0 siécle heureux, qui cause tel sçauoir:
Nativité de Dieu tant reclamée, etc.

In the third noël the poet has imitated the song, Content desir, protestant le desir de Dieu a rachaper l'homme et le contentement de l'homme esperant en la Nativité de Jesus Christ. This song, consisting of five stanzas of four verses each, has the following opening lines (A4 r°):

Content desir, qui cause tout bonheur,
Heureux sçauoir qui tout esprit renforce:
O forte amour, qui rend enfer sans force,
Donnant secours a peine et a douleur.

Next comes a noël composed on the song, C'est une dure de-partie, declarant diuers departements d'essence et lieux, appartenants à la Nativité de nostre seigneur Jesus Christ. Et admonestant du
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dernier depart de ceste vie humaine. Of the five stanzas of this song, the last is the most characteristic:

C’est une dure departie
De l’ame et du corps forfaiture,
Le corps tourne en terre amortie,
L’ame au vouloir de son facteur:
Mais né est le médiateur
De Dieu et de la creature:
Parquoy chantons au Redempteur
Noel, pour sa bonne adventure (fol. B r°).

The fifth noël is also in imitation of Marot, sur la lettre, et le chant de la chanson: l’ay le desir content, tesmoignant l’esperance des mortels contentée, par plentitude de grace enuoyée de Dieu par son fils Jesus Christ conceu du saict esprit, et né de la Vierge. The last of the five stanzas composing this song is as follows (Br v° and B2 r°):

l’ay le desir content, et mon temps absolu,
Dist le uel Symeon de poil chenu uelu,
En tenant Iesuschrist enfant en sa brassée:
Ainsi nous, qui croyons sa naissance passée,
Ayons desir content. Et tant que l’air en tonne
Chescun de nous Noel a haute voix entonne.

This series of noels, sung each by a pupil, is followed by a chant pastoural, en forme de Dialogue, a trois bergiers, et une bergiere, contenant l’annonciation de l’ange aux pasteurs, la departie d’icenx pour aller uooir l’enfant, et l’adoration. This is composed sur le chant, et le verbe de: Vous perdez temps. The first shepherd, Rogelin, scolds his comrades for wasting time in song and dance when they should be on their way to worship the Son of God (B2 r°):

Vous perdez temps, pasteurs et pastourelle,
Corner, muser, cornemuse meschante.
Tant de plaisir n’aurez pas autour elle,
Comme a l’oiseau du ciel qui lassus chante.
Que le filz de Dieu naisce:
A uostre aduis rien n’est-ce?
N'est-ce rien de sa grace
Laissez moy ceste garce
Seule dancer la belle tire lire.
Et me suyuez courans tous d'une tire.

The Angel appears and Raguel, the second shepherd shouts:
Voy qu'est cela? C'est ung homme qui uole,
Jamais oyeau n'eut tel langaige en caige.

Ruben, the third shepherd, admits:
Oncq' Perrucquet n'eut si bonne parolle,
Et le Phoenix n'a point si beau plumaige.

But the wise Rogelin assures them that this is the messenger of God, and says to the companions: Allon ou il nous mande. So they depart. But Raguel finds the night rather cold:
Ceste nuict est bien froide
Mais il fault courir roide
Pour s'eschauffer sans robe, ou hoppelande.

Pren ton flail, says Ruben to Rogelin, et y fuble; and thus they reach the city. Addressing the shepherdess—who is called Rachel—Raguel exclaims:
Sus doncq' bergiere habile,
Nous sommes a la uille.
Je uoy le filz, la mere.
Voy la belle commere
Et le bon hom' tous trois en une grange.

At the command of Rogelin, they begin to worship l'aigneau qui tout tous les peches du monde. Raguel then remarks that:
Il gist tout nud sans drap de soye, ou laine,
Le petit filz en une pourre creiche.

To this Rachel replies:
L'asne et le boeuf l'eschaulfent de l'aleine:
Au moins s'il eust ung peu de paille fresche.

The shepherds are in doubt as to what offering they should make the child, when Rogelin closes the pastoral by saying:
Another noël is intercalated between this pastoral and the Mystère. This one is entitled Noël branlant and is composed sur la chanson, Barptolemy mon bel amy. In the margin is inserted the Biblical passage, Rubeni violens filium meum, which furnishes the theme of the song. The first of the six stanzas of this song is thus conceived (B4 r°):

Hau Rubeny, mon bel amy,
Vien si tu me euex croire:
Presque a demy, suys endormy,
Oyant de Dieu la gloire:
Clarté nous esclaire, claire,
Clarté nous esclaire:
C'est l'ange mesage saige,
C'est l'ange mesage.

The poet probably failed to express himself clearly here, for we do not believe he intended to say that sleep is synonymous with spiritual rapture. At any rate, this is not usually the case. Another stanza contains several of the rhyming tricks of the dead rhetorical school:

O Dieu, qui feis ce petit filz
D'éternité profonde
Je creu si feis, que crucifix
Il seroit pour le monde:
Sa mere fut monde au monde
Sa mere fut monde
Ainsi le fault croire, noire,
Ainsi le fault croire.19

After the Mystère and the adoration of the shepherds, which we have already discussed, there is (D v°) a chant Royal a six Roys: fait par huitains pour la syute de la chanson, sur laquelle il est fait, qui est: Si mon travail, contenant la prophétie du Roy David: la dissimulation du Roy Herodes; l'adoration et oblation des troys Roys (who are Balthasar, Jaspar and Melchior), et au renuoy la grace du Roy Iesuschrist.

19 Fol. B4 v° and C r°. The various cross-rhymes are intentionally italicized.
The last *noel* of the volume—entitled *Noel mystic* and composed on the song, *Le dueil yesu*—is especially interesting because of the references in it to Lyons (*le grand Lyon*), to Villiers (*uy lier*), to the author (*Aigneau*), and to the well-known printer, Sébastien Gryphe (*Gryphon*). For fear that the reader might overlook them, the poet has had these names carefully printed in the margin:

2

Noël, noël si haut que l’air en tonne,
Non l’homme seul, mais tout animant dict
Le grand Lyon son gros organ entonne,
Noël, noël, à haute voix bondit,
Vng chant plaisant fondé sur ung bon dict
Le Rossignol uy lier par accords,
Et ung *Aigneau* bailant luy respondit,
Noël chantant, et à criz et à cors.

Le *Gryphon* d’or y ha planté sa *gryphe*
Et maint noël engrané par escript:
Pour demonstrer, que point n’est apocryphe,
Tout ce qui est chanté de *Iesuschrist*:
Tout animant, tout homme, tout esprit
Donne louange à cest enfant nounel:
Parquoy chantons le chant que nous apprit
L’ange du ciel noël, noël, noel.

The volume closes with a *pièce de circonstance*, a literary genre for which Aneau, as we shall show later, displayed a special aptitude. This is a *dirain de la uenue de Iesus-christ, et de Charles le quint, Empereur, uenu en France, l’an 1539*, and is as follows:

Il uiendra tost, il uiient, il est uenu.
Qui? l’Empereur, le Roy, le grand Seigneur.
Sus: qu’on luy face (ainsi qu’on est tenu)
Entrée, et dons, feuz de joye, et honneur.
Qui est celluy? est-ce point l’Empereur
Venu en France? est-ce Charles d’Austriche?
Nenny, nenny, c’est bien ung aultre riche.
De beaucoup plus, et plus haute maison:
C’est l’aigneau doux, simple, sans fraude ou triche.
Charles n’en ha sinon que la toison.
It is obvious that, in his first work, Aneau is greatly indebted to his master, Clément Marot, for the form of his poems, as well as the inspiration. No more than Marot is he capable of a work de haute envergure. He has the same conversational style, and, as we shall see, excels in the pièce de circonstance. But before discussing further Aneau as a poet, let us consider for a moment the teacher.

III

We have considered elsewhere the vicissitudes suffered by the Collège de la Trinité during the administration of its fourth principal, Claude de Cublize, but, in particular, notwithstanding the remarkable increase in the numbers of its students, it was allowed by the Echevins of Lyons only trois membres of the various granges which formerly belonged to the Confrérie de la Trinité. The foundry of the royal artillery, which had occupied these buildings since 1516,—or three years before the school of the Confrérie was founded,—refused persistently to surrender any part of them for the use of the growing college. As a result, some of the professors were obliged to conduct their classes in the house où à vys, belonging to François Fornier and Claude Gravier. The noise from the foundry, which occasioned considerable difficulty in maintaining discipline, had no doubt much to do with the decline and fall of the administration of Cublize. Accordingly, on account of the mauvaise versation et train qui se tenoit et faisoit au Collège—a condition of affairs culminating in the murder of the regent de Bernod—Aneau was requested by the Echevins to take charge of the college and to draw up a formulaire et institution for its direction.

On the fourth of May, 1540, Aneau presented to the Consulate


89 Vidimus de l'acquit des deux mil vingt livres tourn, dusus par le roy des granges de la Sainte Trinité (Jan. 20, 1533-4), see Guigue: Le Livre des Confrères de la Trinité de Lyon, Lyons, 1898, p. 44.

90 The above vidimus shows also that the royal foundry had not paid any rent for these buildings until Dec. 11, 1533, when Francis I ordered Anthoine Gondy, receveur ordinaire de Lyonnais, to pay 2000 livres to Claude Gravier, notary and secretary of the Consulate, who had petitioned for this sum in behalf of the pauvres malades de l'hôpital dud. Lyon.

91 Revue de la Renaissance, 1909, pp. 150-3.
his formulary, which, to quote the words of the secretary, Claude Gravier, "il s'est offert entretenir selon sa forme et teneur, et pour ce faire aller expressément à Paris pour amener avec luy régentz propres et commodes à ce faire." The Echevins, on their part,

"après avoir bien et au long débatu de la matière, ont retenu ledict M° Barthélémy Aignel pour principal dudit collège, aux actes, paches (sic) et conditions contenuz en ladicte institution, moyennant ce que ledict M° Barthélémy a promis observer de poinct en poinct ladicte institution, et ce tant qu'il plaira audit consullat, et qu'il fera bien."

In the first section of his formulary, Aneau treats of the attributes of the principal: he should be scholarly and impartial, able to direct his regents and to inspire his pupils with love or fear as the occasion may require.

"Soit ordonné," he says, "pardessus tous un principal, homme de bonnes meurs, ayant ung sens commun et jugement sans suyvre ses privées affections; qui soit aussi de bonnes letres pour scavoir discernir la qualité de ses régens et le devoir qu'ilz font vers leurs disciples. Lequel aussi estant docte sera plus révéré, crainct, et aymé, tant de ses régens que des escolliers, que s'il est inférieur à eux es choses susdites."

The principal must also be a man of both authority and dignity, otherwise he may be exposed to ridicule. Here no doubt Aneau is referring to the fact that the failure of his predecessors in the accomplishment of their duties was often caused by the improper interference of the Consulate. Let the principal, he continues, have authority,

"laquelle en partie luy peut estre donnée par messieurs les collateurs dudit colliège qui sont messeigneurs les consulz de la ville, en partie le peut avoir de luy en composant son estat et maintien selon la dignité à luy donnée; car la dignité, adjoustée auctorité y accorde leur gravité, laquelle sans auctorité est ridicule, voire haineuse."

The next section deals with the regents. Of the first two Aneau requires broad scholarship. We see the effect of his training under

"Archives communales de Lyon, Registres consulaires, BBès8, fol. 61. It was from Paris that Aneau brought the poet Charles Fontaine to Lyons."
Wolmar and others in his predilection for the humanities and interpretation of authors. Let us quote his words:

"Ledict principal, quant au fait de l'institution littéraire de la jeunesse à luy commise, aye quatre bons régens, tant en meurs qu'en doctrine, desquels le premier et second soient gens éloquens et savants en deux langues: grecque et latine; en dialectique, les mathématiques et autres à ce requis, interpretation des auteurs et hommes de bonne tradition et bons jugemens."

The third regent must be, above all, an excellent teacher of secondary work, so as to give the children a good foundation.

"Le tiers," continues our author, "soit savant et propre en langue latine, bon grammaire pour fonder les enfants à cette fin que les premiers fondements soient imbuz de sincère et propre doctrine, tellement que les enfants montans de classe en autre tous les ans au jour de la Saint Remy, selon la coutume parisienne, avec l'avis du principal, jugeant du proufit et l'avancement d'icelx par compositions et interrogatoires, soient bien préparé par leurs premiers fondateurs à monter aux édificateurs."

But, as most of the pupils of the Collège de la Trinité were small children, Aneau lays particular stress on primary instruction. He first insists on the clear pronunciation of the primary teacher:

"Le quatrièsme régent, que l'on dicit icy bachelier, soit non ignorant, mais surtout bien accentuant et prononçant bien distinctement et articulement, pour la bonne lecture, accent et pronunciation accustomer dès le premier commencement qui tient à jamais la langue formable des enfants; pour laquelle chose faire plus commodément, attendu que c'est la principale partie de la bonne institution que la première forme et aussi que la plus grande partie des escoliers lionnois est de celle basse classe."

After learning their hours and the alphabet, the children must read books in French. This is an important fact, for by urging the teaching of French, Aneau, is paving the way for the Pléiade. He foresaw without doubt that French was destined to become the language of the schools. It was only a year or two before that the edict of Villers-Cotterets was issued, ordering all documents to be written in French; but most of the schools had not yet reserved a place for the mother tongue in their curriculum. Thus, in this re-
gard, Aneau is a pioneer, as well as in his attempt to improve the methods of instruction, which the following citation shows:

"Semble bon que tous les petitz enfans fussent apprenantz en heures et abcez de mesme usage et semblablement abcez et livres en françois de mesme histoire; les instruisans par telle manière que point ilz ne vissent réciter leur leçon, l'ung après laultre, à l'oreille du bachelier comme la coustume est, ont souvant le maistre dormant, ilz sont passez par la grosse estamine, mais sans bouger de leurs places; répétant à claire et haute voix, distincte et articulée leur leçon, tous les auttres escoutant en grand silence."

The remainder of the class should correct the mistakes of the pupil who has recited; and in order to encourage them to do this, the teacher should award certain honors.

"Et sera permis aux auttres de la mesme leçon," continues Aneau, "escoutant le rendant, le reprendre s'il fault; et par celle reprehension leur sera quelque petite gloire adjugée par le précepteur; de laquelle ses petitz esperitz juveniz excités, seront plus ententifs à leur leçon et mieulx cognoissant leur faulte, tousiours souz le jugement du précepteur." All of which is excellent pedagogy!

Each pupil is to recite his lesson during the hour; and as for the very small ones, the master should take them on his knee and gently encourage them to do the same:

"Ainsi répéteront tous l'ung après laultre une briefve leçon mais bien entendue tant que durera une bonne heure à chacune entrée de classe. Pour lequel moien n'aura pas tant de peine le régent et les enfans, estude plus aleigre, les bien petitz qui encore ne pourront faire cella sans adresse du maistre, il les enseignera premièrent en son giron."

Realising the benefit derived from argumentation, Aneau reserves time for debates among the pupils both in the presence of their teachers, who are to act as judges, and later on, after dinner or supper, when no member of the faculty may be at hand. In this, of course, he adheres to the old scholastic method, which, as we now understand, was not without its advantages.

"L'ordre des leçons," he says, "sera tel que, à la généralité universele des venans et allans, sera leue ou répétée quatre foys le jour, chacune foys une bonne heure, sans les questions, où assiste-

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rrent les régentz jugeans des controverses de leurs disciples; aux portionnistes seront faictes deux réparaisons d'avantage, après disner et après soupper, sans que particulièrement leurs régentz et pédagogues seront en chambre." Once a week there are to be inter-class debates, and a prize must be awarded to winners. "Item, une foys la sepmaine, qui sera le sabmedi, seront mises conclusions et disputations faictes de classe contre classe, pris proposé aux vainqueurs."

The next two articles show especially the influence of the theories advanced by Rabelais some six or seven years before. Here, indeed, Aneau is far in advance of the spirit of his times. He points out, first, how the pupil shall use advantageously his leisure hours; and, then, how his games shall be organized for the purpose of instruction. It is interesting to note the high consideration which this teacher has for his profession, even in its minutest details, differing essentially from Peletier du Mans, who, on the contrary, was inclined to regard it with disdain.43

"Au lieu de jouer le mardy, qui seroit jeu trop fréquent, ilz composeront toute l'après disner et rendront leurs compositions qui seront émanées au lieu de leçon, et les petitz escriront exemples. Le jeudy, après disner, auront depuis la réparaison jusques à la dernière leçon, l'espace de trois heures, lesquelles ilz employeront en toutes manières de jeux libéraux que leur prescripront mesmes leurs maistres et régentz, comme à jeux de nombre, de pellotes et balles, à jeux de percic, à chanter en musique, à certains gectz de pierres ou pièces de boys où seront entallées les lectres grecques et latines, bactaillant les uns contre les autres; et ainsit en jeux mesmes apprendront, en ostant tous villains jeux caignardiers de perte ou de dangier; et aucunes foys seront menez au champs par beau temps."

And to think these are not the theories of a Rabelais or a Montaigne, but the actual methods of an educator!

The following paragraph discloses the humanist, esteeming Greek above all, as well as the patriot who dares to protest against the obsolete methods of the scholiasts, still in vogue in the majority of the schools of France.

"Tant en jeu que hors jeu," he says, "sera non pas du chef, mais de la diverse partie, parler autre langue que grecque ou latine,

sinon ès bien petitz enfans, lesquelz vault m'ieulx qu'ilz parlent bon lionnois que de s'accoustumer à mauvay; et barbare latin, qui jamais ne se fracineroit. Et est une très mauvaise chose en toutes escalles jusques à ce qu'ilz ayent aprins en escoutant les bien parlans; et mieulx vauldroit que par aucun temps ilz tinsent le silence pitagoric que se enhardir à parler latin corrompu."

However, those who are able to speak Latin or Greek should be obliged to do so.

"Aux autres qui pourront et seauront parler latin ou grec sera ordonné reigle, non seulement de latinité ou grécisme, mais aussi de plus éloquemment parler l'un que l'autre. Et aussi des meurs comme de jugement, injure, default, et semblables. En laquelle reigle seront notables et comptables par censure escolastique."

In the next section, Aneau outlines the duties of the principal. According to his conception, the principal is a sort of director, resembling to a certain extent the modern college president. He is not to conduct any particular course, but must take, from time to time, the classes of his regents in order to find out if they have proper discipline and are doing satisfactory work. This is exceptional for the time, inasmuch as the principal was usually nothing more than a professor.

"Le principal," says Aneau, "pour donner ordre à son réconomie ne fera point de leçon certaine, mais tous les jours en fera une telle qu'il vouldra choisir aucune foys la grande, aucune foys la moindre, aucune foys la moyenne, selon son arbitre, en envoyant esbatre le régent duquel il fera la leçon; car en ce faisant, il tiendra ses disciples en crainte révérentielle et les régentz en leur devoir, craignant que à l'improveu ilz ne soient surprins malversant en leur office. Aussi pourra faire ledict principal les jours de feste une leçon publicque de quelque bon authaur de haute gresse.

Aneau appreciated the spirit of the truism, mens sana in corpore sano, whether or not he was acquainted with the signification that we are now accustomed to give to the celebrated maxim. For that reason he inserts a paragraph concerning the nourishment of his pupils, which is as interesting as it is unusual.

"Quant à l'oeconomie et nourriture des enfans," he continues, "ilz seront nourrizz souffisamment et plus homestement que superfluement, et entretenuz nectement, tant pour l'éducation que pour
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la faute. Pour laquelle chose faire n'y aura point de femmes; car c'est une poste en ung college; mais ung bon proviseur ou dispenser, ung cuysinier net et rez de tout poil avec ongles; et deux marmitons à faire les lietz, servir à table, et laver la vaisselle."

Finally, with two more items—one which concerns the protection of the pupils, and the other their conduct in public—Aneau brings his interesting formulary to a close.

"Item, ung portier à garder une seule porte qui sera la porte moyenne de l'alle vers rue Neuve en droict de la court du puys, auquel lieu fauldra édifier une petite loge audict portier à la mode de Paris par les fenestres de la première classe, et aussi veoir les allans et venans. Aux actes publicques, comme allant à la messe, au sermon, en procession, mettre ledict principal si bon ordre avec ses régens que les disciples, estans exposez aux yeux du publicq, ne causeront ny scandelle ne deshonneur." And he closes with these words: "A l'ayde de Dieu, donateur de toutes graces."

After reading this remarkable document, we can easily understand why Aneau was so highly esteemed by the Echevins of Lyons, in spite of the attacks of his implacable enemies. Only two months later, Charles de Sainte-Marthe—Sarmatanis—who was then a regent in the Collège de la Trinité, "est venu au présent Consulat exhiber certains articles contenans la forme de régir et gouverner ledict college." The Consulate ordered him "le conférer avec les articles qu'a baillés M'r Barthélemy Aneau."44

For twenty-one years, with slight interruptions, Aneau remained at the head of the Collège de la Trinité and enjoyed the respect of his students and the esteem of the Consulate until his death. After that, the Echevins were careful to insert in their contract with the Jesuits, to whose care the college was then confided, many of the articles of the above formulary. Whatever may be our opinion of Aneau as a poet, we must confess our frank admiration for him as a scholar and educator. He devoted his greatest efforts to the development of the college and to the instruction of his students, who remained faithful to him until the end.

(To be continued.)

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"Archives communales de Lyon, BBg8, fol. 88. For Sainte-Marthe, see the scholarly thesis of Dr. C. Ruutz-Rees, Columbia Univ. Press, 1910."