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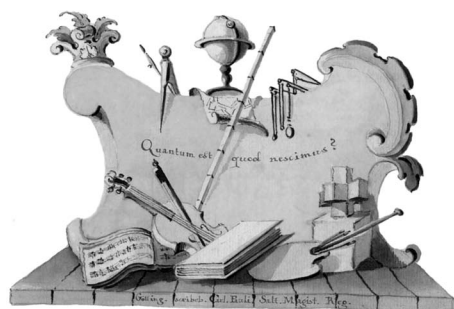
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THE SPEAKER IN THE PALAIS DU LOUVRE (1576):  
REFLECTIONS ON MANUSCRIPT THOTT 315 FOL.  
OF THE ROYAL LIBRARY OF COPENHAGEN\*

BY

FRANÇOIS ROUGET

Manuscript Thott 315 fol. in the Royal Library of Copenhagen<sup>1</sup> has been known since the publication of Édouard Frémy's *L'Académie des derniers Valois*, an old book but one which remains a pioneering work in the history of the Académie du Palais. In the absence of a book of records of the Académie du Palais, where the Court and some of the finest poets of the day met in the presence of King Henri III, there are few contemporary documents allowing us to trace the history of this institution. Accounts by French and foreign observers are not without interest, but they are not enough to document the composition of this assembly of the learned, the times and places of their meetings, or the nature of their philosophical debates.<sup>2</sup> It is to the texts themselves – transcriptions of the speeches given in the presence of the king in the Palais du Louvre in Paris, in Blois, Poitiers, Fontainebleau and Ollainville, between 1576 and 1579 – that we must therefore turn in our attempts to reconstitute the spirit which animated the Court and its speakers.

When Henri of Anjou, king of Poland, ascended to the French throne in 1575, France was still embroiled in the wars of religion that had broken out in 1562. In his endeavours to promote dialogue among the various political and religious factions, and in his conviction that by acquiring a humanist education he could strengthen his powers of judgement and extend a spirit of concord to his subjects, Henri III surrounded himself with political advisers from whom he sought to acquire the rudiments of moral philosophy. Under the leadership of Guy Du Faur de Pibrac, some of the keenest minds of their times (better known for their verse than for their oratorical skills) presented before the king

<sup>1</sup> *L'Académie des derniers Valois. Académie de poésie et de musique (1570-1576), Académie du Palais (1576-1585) d'après des documents nouveaux et inédits*. Paris, 1887 (Geneva, 1969).

<sup>2</sup> On the historical context of the Académie du Palais, the reader is referred to Robert J. Sealy's *The Palace Academy of Henry III*. Geneva, 1981, and in particular pp. 5-37, still the authoritative text on many points.

a series of speeches debating ethical questions and the moral virtues (anger, fear, envy etc.). The speeches given were certainly transcribed, and perhaps even published, either shortly after their presentation at Court or at a later stage, at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries. Thanks to the Copenhagen manuscript, which contains seventeen speeches, all of them reproduced in É. Frémy, we have a better idea of the discussions that united or divided the speakers, among whom were some of the most prestigious names of the day: such as Pierre de Ronsard, Philippe Desportes, Jean-Antoine de Baïf, Amadis Jamyn, and Jean Bertaut.

What we would like to do here is recall the historical and documentary importance of the Copenhagen manuscript by placing it in a comparative context, identifying what constitutes its interest in relation to other extant manuscript collections of the speeches given at the Académie du Palais. We will then take our historical enquiry a little further by presenting some new documents which add to the contents of the Copenhagen manuscript. Finally, we will try to identify the authors of the speeches, which for the most part have remained anonymous.

### *I. Manuscript Thott. 315 fol.: the table of speeches*

If the poets who participated in the Académie du Palais showed little interest in the editorial value of the speeches they gave in the period between 1576 and 1579, their listeners evinced a real attachment to these texts on moral philosophy which invited them to meditate on contemporary political events. In fact, only the six speeches given by A. Jamyn, and the one by Jacques Davy Du Perron, had the privilege of publication in book form.<sup>3</sup> Despite the attention lavished on their poetry by Ronsard, Baïf and Desportes, it has to be said that they did not take the same care with their speeches in prose.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps they viewed

<sup>3</sup> Jamyn corrected and collected his speeches late in his life in the *Second volume des Œuvres*, Paris, 1584. The speech by Du Perron was included in his *Diverses œuvres*. Paris, 1663 after his death.

<sup>4</sup> These were not published en bloc until the 19th century (by É. Frémy op. cit., pp. 221-368) and later, either in the respective publications of their works (*P. de Ronsard, Œuvres complètes*, ed. P. Laumonier, R. Lebègue and I. Silver. Paris, 1967, t. XVIII, pp. 451-479, and ed. J. Céard, D. Ménager and M. Simonin, Paris, Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1994, t. II, pp. 1189-1203) or in various critical studies (for Desportes, see R. Burgess: *Platonism in Desportes*, 1954, pp. 150-156, and C. Couturas, “Si tout le monde par piece...’: De la crainte ou les inflexions stoïciennes d’un discours d’académie”. *Philippe Desportes, poète profane, poète sacré, Actes du colloque international de Chartres*,

them as mere commissions, occasional pieces produced at the behest of the king, which did not deserve their place in the bulk of the poetic *Œuvres* which were destined to secure them posthumous glory. Hence the remarkable interest for the librarian and literary historian in looking again at the manuscript copy of these speeches, made by copyists in the service of dignitaries of the realm (Henri III and Marguerite de Valois, among others).

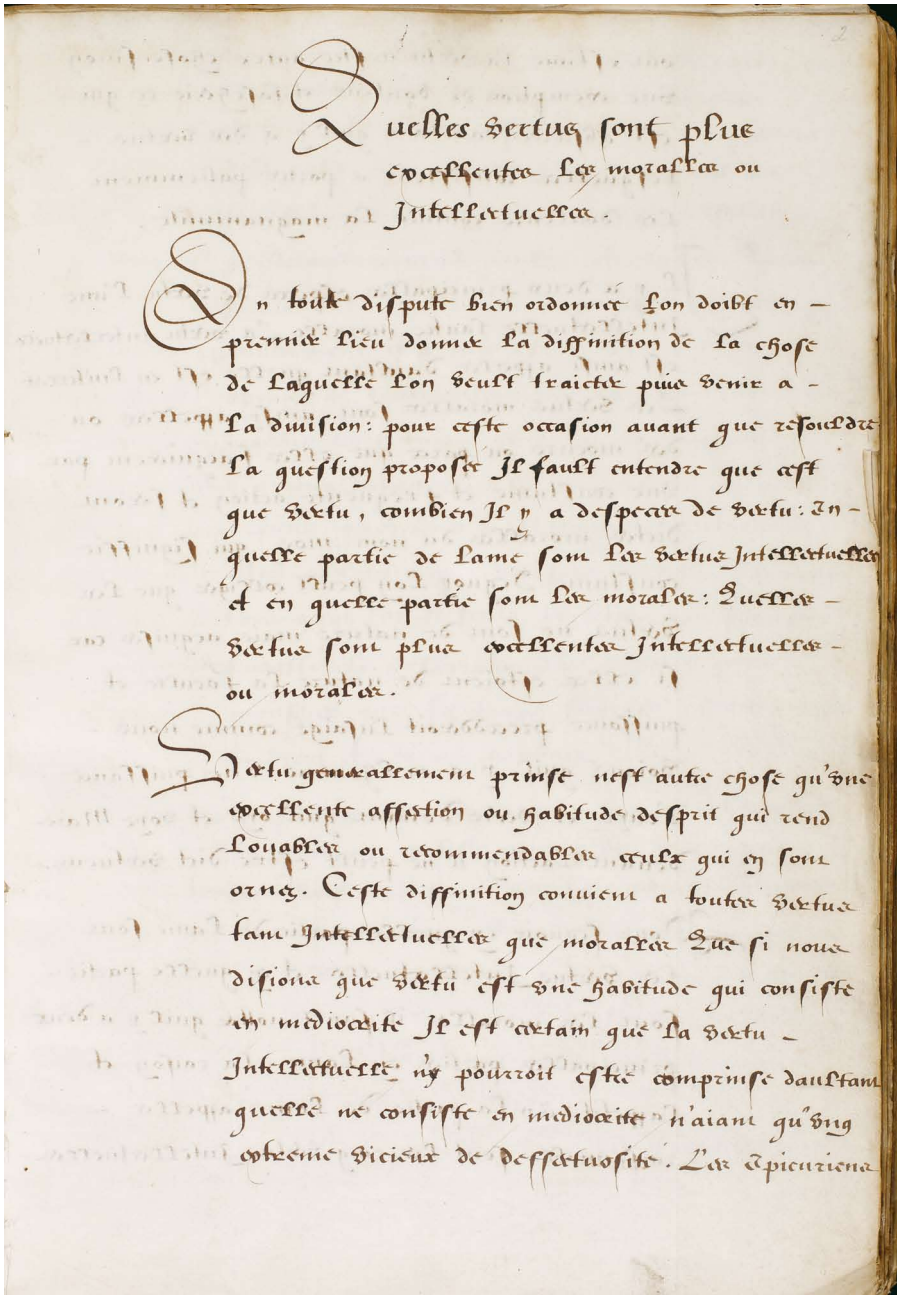
Manuscript Thott. 315 fol. in this regard constitutes a document of the first importance for the history of the Académie du Palais, for it includes a table of the speeches given between January and September 1576, i.e. the very first months of the institution. It is this manuscript – the fair copy of the various manuscript versions supplied by the speakers – which perhaps formed the basis for the copy now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Ms. du Fonds fr. 2585). The latter is missing the opening speech, which has remained anonymous (“Quelles vertus sont plus excellentes, les morales ou intellectuelles”; fig. 1, f° 2 r°), and is included in the Copenhagen manuscript. Its text does however closely follow Copenhagen manuscript, and no author’s name is appended to the speeches.<sup>5</sup> Like the Paris manuscript, the Copenhagen manuscript alternates pages filled with the writing of the speeches, classed by theme, with pages which have been left blank, probably in the expectation of receiving other oratorical contributions on the same subjects.

Manuscript Thott. 315 fol. manuscript is in folio format, comprising 195 leaves and measuring 340 x 232 x 36 mm. Bound with an original vellum cover and of unknown provenance, it was bequeathed to the Royal Library of Copenhagen on the death of Count Otto Thott, who owned a magnificent collection of manuscripts.<sup>6</sup> There follows a comprehensive listing of the contents of the Thott. 315 manuscript:

2006, ed. B. Petey-Girard and F. Rouget. Paris, 2008, pp. 46-60; for Baïf, see F. Rouget: Jean-Antoine de Baïf à l’Académie du Palais (1576), *Revue d’Histoire Littéraire de la France*, 2009, 2, pp. 385-402).

<sup>5</sup> Despite the affirmations to the contrary of R. Sealy (op. cit., p.37), who was probably misled by the attributions made or proposed by É. Frémy in his edition of the speeches. The few annotations appearing in the Copenhagen manuscript were made by a foreign hand, some time after the transcription of the texts, and concern certain the titles of the speeches, such as the second speech, attributed to Ronsard (fig. 2; f° 5 r°).

<sup>6</sup> See N.C.L. Abrahams and E.C. Werlauff: *Description des manuscrits français du Moyen Age de la Bibliothèque royale de Copenhague précédée d’une notice historique sur cette bibliothèque*. Copenhagen, 1848.



Ill. 1: Speech 'Quelles vertus sont plus excellentes, les morales ou intellectuelles'; Royal Library of Copenhagen, Ms. Thott. 315 fol., f° 2 r°.

*Noniam*  
 Sire, que Je ne me soie jamais vray a -  
 Longuement discourir et que ma principale  
 vacation a este plus de sçavoir que de parler  
 et que me voyant a ce que vous m'avez commandé  
 de vous dire mon acquiescement, le mieux que Je pourray  
 et sçavoir parustant plus digne de pardon que  
 de sçavoir, Je sçay sçavoir tout nouveau et que Je  
 faire tout ce que Je puis pour vous obéir -  
 et sçavoir  
 Il me semble, que la question que vostre Majesté  
 nous propose l'autre jour nous commandant  
 de nous en ayeste est de sçavoir si les vertus  
 morales sont plus louables plus nécessaires  
 et plus excellentes que les intellectuelles. Quand  
 a moy, Je diray mon advis le plus briefvement  
 que Je pourray laissant le surplus a ceste  
 docte compagnie plus sçavoir que moy en la  
 philosophie et en part de bien dire Car mon  
 principal mestier a tousiours este la poesie.  
 Il fault entendre Sire que l'ame est divisée  
 en deux parties et facultés. L'une raisonnable  
 et l'autre irraisonnable. La partie raisonnable  
 est celle ou est l'intellect qui comme un  
 grand capitaine du hault dun tempart -

Ill. 2: Speech 'Des vertus intellectuelles et morales'; Royal Library of Copenhagen, Ms. Thott. 315 fol., f° 5 r°.

- No. 1: f° 2 r°-4 v°: *Quelles vertus sont plus excellentes, les moralles ou intellectuelles* (incipit: “En toute dispute bien ordonnée ...”; explicit: “... seront plus excellentes”)
- No. 2: f° 5 r°-10 r°: *Des vertus intellectuelles et morales*<sup>7</sup> (incipit: “Encores, Sire, que je ne me sois jamais ...”; explicit: “... qu’elles sont à preferer aux intellectuelles”)
- No. 3: f° 10 v°-12 r°: (verso blank): *Quelles sont les plus excellentes, les vertus intellectuelles ou les moralles* (incipit: Sire, j’ay tout besoing de me couvrir ...”; explicit: “... pour effectuer les autres. Sire, j’ay dict”)<sup>8</sup>
- No. 4: f° 13 r°-17 r°: *Recueil de quelques points principaux touchez par Desportes pour monstrer que les vertus intellectuelles sont plus excellentes que les moralles* (incipit: “Je laisseray la diffinition ...”; explicit: “... et les derniers bien heureux”)
- No. 5: f° 17 v°-19 v°: *Des vertus intellectuelles et moralles* (incipit: “L’ame a deux parties ...”; “... de luy sont les premieres”)<sup>9</sup>
- f° 20 r°-v°: blank
- No. 6: f° 21 r°-29 v°: *Des passions humaines, de la joie et de la tristesse, et quelle est la plus vehemente* (incipit: “Sire, le tres-grand Dieu ...”; explicit: “...d’avancer de bien en mieulx”)<sup>10</sup>
- No. 7: f° 30 r°-33 v°: *De la joie et de la tristesse*<sup>11</sup> (incipit: “Ceste docte Compaignie ...”; explicit: “... nous estouffe le cueur”)<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Title added by a second hand in fine writing. The name of Ronsard has been added in the margin.

<sup>8</sup> This anonymous speech has since Frémy (op. cit., p. 234, n. 1) been attributed to Desportes on the grounds that it constituted the first – brief – part of the speech which followed. In the author’s view, it is a separate speech – as indeed its separate transcription in the manuscripts suggests – and is the work not of Desportes but of Baïf. This attribution follows the hypothesis formulated by P. Blanchemain in: Note sur un manuscrit du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle ayant appartenu à Marguerite de Valois reine de Navarre. *Le Livre*, t. I, 1880, p. 58; see F. Rouget: Jean-Antoine de Baïf à l’Académie du Palais (1576), op. cit., pp. 391-392. Note too that this speech does not appear in manuscript N.A.F. 4655 of the BnF containing the texts by Jamyn and Desportes. See below, p. 103-104.

<sup>9</sup> This speech is by Jamyn.

<sup>10</sup> This speech is attributed to Baïf in the manuscript album of Marguerite de Valois. See F. Rouget, op. cit. pp. 392-393, and *Les orateurs de ‘la Pléiade’ à l’Académie du Palais (1576): étude d’un album ayant appartenu à Marguerite de Valois. Renaissance & Réforme*, XXXI (4), 2009, pp. 19-39.

<sup>11</sup> The title has been added at a later date in a different hand.

<sup>12</sup> This text has been attributed to Ronsard on the basis of another manuscript version of the speech written in the author’s own hand, and now preserved in the manuscripts section of the BnF (Fonds Rothschild A. XVI, 164).



- No. 8: f° 34 r°-41 r° (v°: blank): *Des passions de l'ame de la joye et de la douleur* (incipit: "Sire, ayant à discourir ..."; explicit: "... entre les mains")
- No. 9: f° 42 r°-46 v°: *Discours des passions humaines et premierement de la joye et de la tristesse* (incipit: "Pour ce que nous discourons ..."; explicit: "... se doit eslire")<sup>13</sup>
- f° 47 r°-51 v°: blank
- No. 10: f° 52 r°-60 r° (v°: blank): *De l'ire et comme il la fault moderer* (incipit: "Sire, la passion ..."; explicit: "... et extermination")
- No. 11: f° 61 r°-65 r°: *De l'ire et des moiens de la moderer* (incipit: "Sçavoir beaucoup de belles choses ..."; "... soubz leur obeissance")<sup>14</sup>
- No. 12: f° 65 v°-68 v°: *De l'Ire* (incipit: "Il me semble, Sire ..."; explicit: "... contre son Roy")
- No. 13: f° 69 r°-72 v°: *De l'ire*<sup>15</sup> (incipit: "Sire, Aristote, aux livres ..."; explicit: "... d'un homme furieux")<sup>16</sup>
- f° 73 r°-76 v°: blank
- No. 14: f° 77 r°-81 v°: *Discours de l'honneur et de l'ambition* (incipit: "L'honneur vient de Jupiter ..."; explicit: "... une eternelle gloire")<sup>17</sup>
- f° 82 r°-v°: blank
- No. 15: f° 83 r°-87 r°: *De l'ambition*<sup>18</sup> (incipit: "Sire, j'ay tousjours estimé ..."; explicit: "... vouloir tant entreprendre")
- f° 87 v°-89 v°: blank
- No. 16: f° 90 r°-95 r°: *De l'envie et des meurs contraires à icelle* (incipit: "Fuyant, s'il m'est possible ..."; explicit: "... avecques la droicte raison")
- f° 95 v°-98 v°: blank
- No. 17: f° 99 r°-104 r°: *Discours de la crainte*<sup>19</sup> (incipit: "Sire, il m'a tousjours semblé ..."; explicit: "... et tout cela en vain")
- f° 104 v°-195 v°: blank

This collection of speeches offers a fine example of homogeneity and variety. Bringing together the speeches given in 1576, it presents a significant selection of texts written by the leading participants of the

<sup>13</sup> This text was written by A. Jamyn.

<sup>14</sup> Text by Jamyn.

<sup>15</sup> The title has been added in a different hand.

<sup>16</sup> Text written by J. Bertaut.

<sup>17</sup> Speech composed by Jamyn.

<sup>18</sup> Title added by a different hand.

<sup>19</sup> Title added by a different hand.

Académie du Palais: Ronsard, Desportes, and Jamyn, a trio which we find in the composition of the speeches presented before the king up to 1579, and which have been partially preserved in other manuscript volumes.

*II. Other manuscript sources: an unpublished speech on the moral and intellectual virtues*

The Copenhagen manuscript forms the fullest and most coherent ensemble of the speeches given in 1576. The other speeches known to us, given from 1576 to 1579, are included in isolated manuscripts, such as Ronsard's speech *De l'envie*, discovered among the papers assembled by Claude Dupuy (BnF, Fonds Dupuy 559, f° 82-86 v°). Besides the Paris copy (BnF, Fonds fr. 2585 ; 215 ff.) already cited, and based either on the Copenhagen manuscript or on a master manuscript followed by both and which has yet to come to light (if it has survived), there exists another important collection of speeches which we have had the good fortune to discover recently. This is the album of speeches of which a copy was made at the request of Marguerite de Valois, sister of Henri III, who was in confinement in the Louvre at the beginning of 1576.<sup>20</sup> It was probably at this time that the copy was undertaken, with the transcription made on strong laid paper produced by Nicolas Lebé. It was then given a sumptuous inlaid morocco binding, in all probability the work of Ève (fig. 3).<sup>21</sup> We need not go into the detailed history and material presentation of this exceptional album, which became a part of the Wormsley Library of Sir Paul Getty.<sup>22</sup>

The actual contents of the album of speeches are equally interesting. The album is divided into two parts comprising five headings in all. First comes a series of five speeches on the debate over the intellectual versus the moral virtues. After five blank leaves, there follow four speeches on subject of "The human passions, on joy and sadness and which is the most vehement". After another four blank leaves, four final speeches undertake to provide a definition of anger. This first part of

<sup>20</sup> On this episode in the life of Marguerite de Valois, see É. Viennot: *Marguerite de Valois, la 'reine Margot'*. Paris, 2005, pp. 113-115, and the *Mémoires of Marguerite de Valois*, ed. É. Viennot. Saint-Étienne, 2004, pp. 107-110.

<sup>21</sup> G. Hobson: *Les reliures à la fanfare*. Amsterdam, 1970, pp. 81 and 109 (1st ed. 1954).

<sup>22</sup> An account is given in the author's study *Les orateurs de 'la Pléiade' à l'Académie du Palais (1576): étude d'un album ayant appartenu à Marguerite de Valois. Renaissance & Réforme*, XXXI (4), 2009, pp. 19-39.



Ill. 3: Manuscript album copied and bound for Marguerite de Valois ;  
Sir Paul Getty Collection, Wormsley Library; binding.

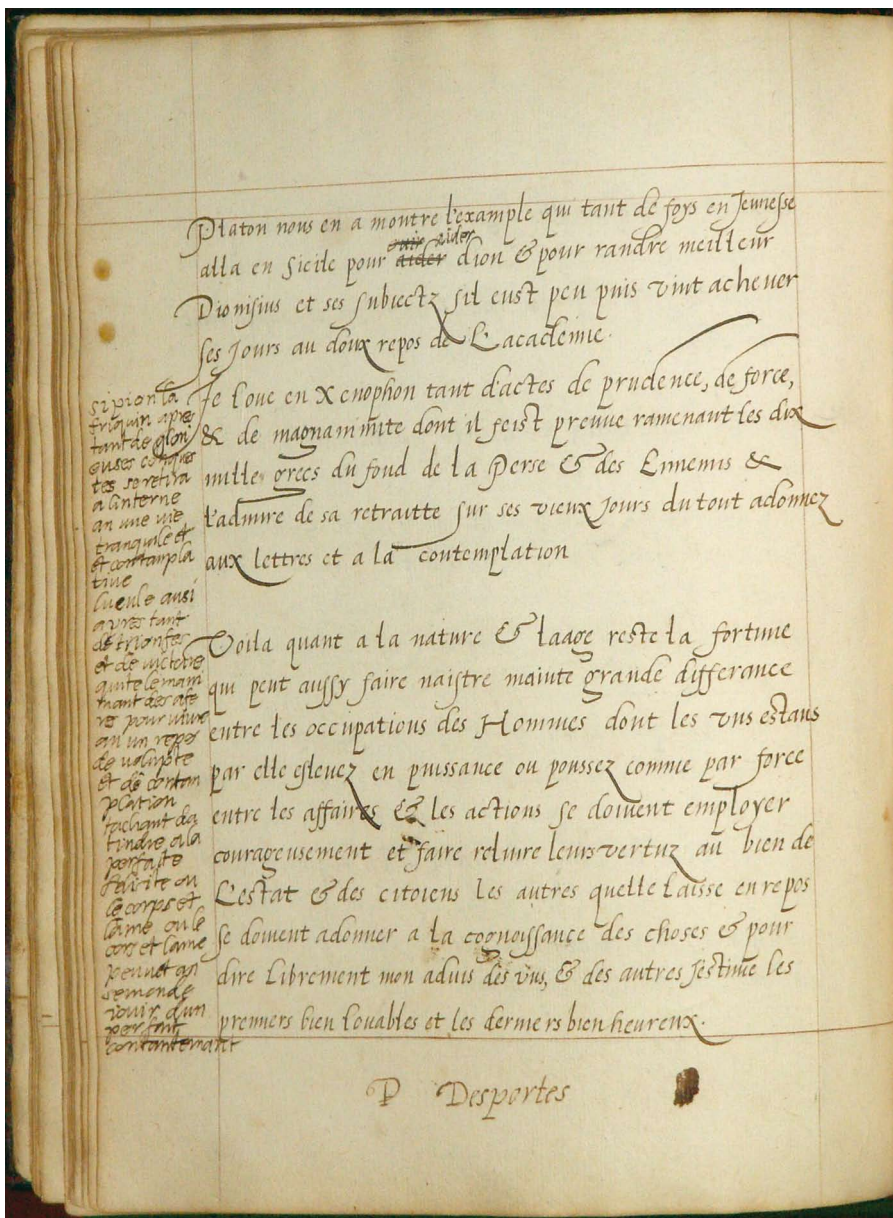
the album is transcribed in two different hands, and ends with the announcement “Fin du premier livre”. The second part opens after another three blank leaves and presents some “Definitions and axioms of physics” (61 pages) and “Definitions of metaphysics” (123 pages). The three series of speeches reproduce, in a slightly different order, the 13 speeches transcribed in the two manuscript collections conserved in Copenhagen (Ms. Thott. 315 fol.) and Paris (BnF, Ms. du Fonds fr. 2585):

- No. 1: f° 1-10 v°: speech by Ronsard (= 2nd speech in ms. Thott. 315);
- No. 2: f° 11 r°-15 r°: unattributed speech (= 3rd);
- No. 3: f° 16 v°-20 v°: speech by Desportes (= 4th);
- No. 4: f° 21 r°-23 r°: speech by Jamyn (= 4th);
- No. 5: f° 23 v°-24 v°: unpublished, unattributed speech
  
- No. 6: f° 30 r°-38 v°: speech by Baïf (= 6th);
- No. 7: f° 39 r°-46 r°: speech by Desportes (= 8th);
- No. 8: f° 46 v°-51 r°: speech by Jamyn (= 9th);
- No. 9: f° 51 v°-54 v°: speech by Ronsard (= 7th);
  
- No. 10: f° 59 r°-67 v°: speech by Pibrac or Desportes (= 10th);
- No. 11: f° 68 r°-72 r°: speech by Jamyn (= 11th);
- No. 12: f° 72 v°-75 r°: speech by Ronsard (= 12th);
- No. 13: f° 76 r°-82 v°: unpublished speech by Baïf

The album of philosophy which belonged to *la reine Margot* is of the greatest interest. Occasionally annotated in the queen's own hand (fig. 4; f° 20 v°), it clearly attributes certain speeches to certain poets – a novelty to which we will return at a later point – and contains two previously-unknown speeches: one by Baïf on anger, entitled *De l'ire et de la moderation d'icelle* (“Sire, venant à parler apres tant de sçavants...”),<sup>23</sup> and another for whom the manuscript names no author. A translation of this latter speech is given below:

Sire, while still a young man Alexander the Great used to complain to his family members on seeing his father Philip make endless conquests and win land from his enemies, as if his victories were such that there would be nothing left to Alexander whereby he might show the grandeur of his courage. I would gladly do the same, having been forestalled by so many learned men that they have left me nothing to say. Nevertheless, to obey your majesty, I shall say only that the intellectual virtues, being those which are closest to divinity, have always and for all time been held in such esteem that countless great personages have spared nothing of their industry and effort in acquiring them, whence it is necessary to consider what Virgil says in the sixth book of the *Aeneid*:

<sup>23</sup> The author proposes a critically-annotated edition in Jean-Antoine de Baïf à l'Académie du Palais (1576), op. cit., pp. 397-402.



Ill. 4: Manuscript album copied and bound for Marguerite de Valois ; Sir Paul Getty Collection, Wormsley Library; f° 20 v°.

Principio cœlum ac terras camposque liquentes  
 Lucentemque globum Lunae Titanaque astra  
 Spiritus intus alit etc.<sup>24</sup>

Heaven and Earth and all things up there and down here are nourished and maintained by a Spirit which the Ancients called the Soul of the Universe, bigger than what we can conceive and of so great extent that there is nothing it cannot imbue. This has prompted many great personages to perpetuate the memory of those who were most accomplished in them, like an Atlas who was said to hold up the sky on his shoulders for a perfect knowledge of the movement of the spheres, of an Endymion who was said to have been loved by the moon for his knowledge of her course, and of an Ixion who wooed Juno because he was a great Physician and knew much about the natural causes such as Thunders, Rains, winds and other things of the Air which is represented by Juno. Which considerations as Intellectual are quite different from the Moral, which are useless if not put into action on the perishable earth, whereas the Intellectual from the excellence of their seat take what is fairest in them from eternity, which makes me think that they are much more excellent and as it were the masters of the others, which can do nothing without their aid.

Sire, Alexandre le Grand estant encore jeune avoit acoustumé de se plaindre à ses familiers voyant son pere Philippe faire une infinité de conquestes et gagner terre sur ses ennemis comme si ses victoires deussent estre telles qu'il ne luy peut rien rester où il eust moyen de montrer la grandeur de son courage, je feroys volontiers de mesme ayant esté desvancé par tant d'hommes doctes qu'ilz ne m'ont laissé rien à dire. Toutesfoys pour obeir à vostre magesté, je diray seulement que les vertus intellectuelles comme celles qui aprochent le plus de la divinité ont esté tousjours et de tout tems en telle estime que pour leur acquisition une infinité de grands personnages n'ont espargné rien de leur industrie et de leur peine où il est nécessaire considerer ce que dict Virgille au sixiesme de l'Eneide:

Principio cœlum ac terras camposque liquentes  
 Lucentemque globum Lunae Titanaque astra  
 Spiritus intus alit etc.

Que le ciel et la Terre et toutes choses qui sont là haut ou icy bas sont nourries et entretenues d'un Esprit que les Anciens appelloient l'Ame de l'Univers outre lequel nous en avons un tel et de si grande estendue qu'il n'y a rien où il ne puisse

<sup>24</sup> Aeneid, VI, 724-726.

penetrer. Qui a esté occasion à beaucoup de grands personnages de perpetuer la memoire de ceux qui y avoient esté plus excellens comme d'un Atlas qu'on disoit soutenir le ciel sur ses espauls pour la parfaite cognoissance des mouvements des spheres, d'un Endymion qu'on disoit estre aymé de la lune pour la cognoissance qu'il avoit de son cours et d'un Ixion qui faisoit la court à Junon parce qu'il estoit grand Phisicien, se cognoissant aux causes naturelles comme aux Tonnerres, aux Pluyes, aux vents et autres choses de l'Air qui est representé par Junon. Lesquelles considerations comme Intellectuelles sont bien autres que les Moralles qui sont inutiles si elles ne sont mises en action qui sent son terrestre et ce qui est pourrissable, au lieu que les Intellectuelles selon l'excellence de leur siege tirent ce qu'elles ont de plus beau de l'eternité, qui me faict penser qu'elles sont de beaucoup plus excellentes et comme les maitresses des autres puisqu'elles ne peuvent rien faire sans leur ayde.

Who might the author have been? We know that six speeches on the theme of the intellectual and moral virtues were given at the Académie du Palais late in January 1576; five of these were hitherto known to us, and four attributed to an author. According to accounts of those present at the earliest sessions, including Agrippa d'Aubigné, Mme de Lignerolles and Mme de Retz were the first to speak. Perhaps the opening speech in the Copenhagen manuscript should be attributed to one or the other of these women?<sup>25</sup> It would be more logical, however, to attribute it to Pibrac, who was secretary to the Académie. Are we then to suppose that the 5th (unpublished and unattributed) speech in the album of Marguerite de Valois was composed either by Mme de Lignerolles or Mme de Retz? Here too we cannot be too cautious, for the start of the speech seems to suggest that the author was a male.

### *III. The Album of Marguerite de Valois and Ms. N. A. F. 4655: towards some new attributions*

The combined study of the collections of the manuscript speeches delivered at the sessions of the Académie of Henri III fails to solve the problem of certain unattributed texts, but it does sometimes entitle us to advance hypotheses regarding their authorship, or at least sets us on the right track.

Let's return to the Thott manuscript, which like its Parisian cousin has no original signature. With only a few exceptions, it does not allow us to know the identity of the speakers who gave their texts to the copyist. It was by cross-checking various sources (manuscript and

<sup>25</sup> See R. Sealy, *op. cit.*, p. 38 and *passim*.

printed) that Frémy was able to determine the authorship of some of the texts. But we cannot help viewing some of his attributions with perplexity, for certain of the hypothetical attributions advanced by Frémy are based on turns of expression and textual allusions, and he seems to have jumped to conclusions. He attributes to Desportes authorship of the 3rd speech (“Sire, j’ay tout besoin de me couvrir...”) on the evidence of the following speech (“Je laisseray la diffinition de vertu...”), in which he sees “a complement of that which precedes”.<sup>26</sup> Similarly, in his attempt to fill in the historiographical lacunae Frémy claims that speech 7 (“Ceste docte Compaignie...”) “must have been made either by Miron, or Gabrian, or another learned physician in the king’s entourage”,<sup>27</sup> and that the 8th speech (“Ayant à discourir...”) “can reasonably be attributed to Pontus de Thiard.”<sup>28</sup> In the course of his work, Frémy attempts to reconstitute the assembly of speakers on the basis of the known texts: a speech *De l’ire* (no. 12: “Il me semble, Sire, que les auteurs antiens...”), characteristic for its aggressive tone, should be attributed to the maréchal de Retz; another, on ambition (no. 15: “J’ay toujours estimé qu’entre tous les vices...”) to “a doctor or surgeon”; another, on envy, (no. 16: “Fuyant, s’il m’est possible...”) again to Pontus de Thiard.<sup>29</sup> For historians, the temptation to put a name to an unsigned text is great. Carried away by their enthusiasm, they can allow their reason to be dominated by their intuition, or even their imagination, which does after all lie at the source of the working hypotheses which subsequent research may confirm. Even Sealy is occasionally led astray by his own reasoning in following Frémy’s logic too closely.<sup>30</sup>

To avoid these lapses in judgement, the safest policy is still to fall back on the most exhaustive possible examination of the manuscript documents. The first, the album of Marguerite de Valois, offers new information on the identity of the authors of the speeches. Although not without its lacunae (texts nos. 2, 4 and 5 are not signed), this manuscript does give attributions which are absent from other manuscripts, and which occasionally contradict the accepted view. Thus the 2nd speech

<sup>26</sup> Op. cit., p. 234, note 1.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p.252, note 1. Frémy adds: “this assumption is based on the following phrase of the speech which comes after this one: ‘Ceux de ceste Compaignie, qui font profession de la medecine...’”.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 267, note 1.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., respectively p. 299, note 5, p. 313, note 1, and p. 327, note 1.

<sup>30</sup> See op. cit., for example pp. 39, 43-45 and the note on p. 186.



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par toute la terre. Or entre les biens qui sortirent de la boîte  
 estoit la Joye qui deuant que de sen retourner du tout voulut un  
 peu voir le monde et commença a voyager de prouince en prouin-  
 ce. Mais elle ne fut sj tost conueue des hommes qu'oubliant toutes  
 choses ils commencerent a la suiure et mepriserent tout sans plus  
 se soucier des autres Dieux. Dont Iupiter couroussé voyant que  
 ses autels ne fumoient plus enuoya les Muses et Apollon qui sau-  
 rent tellement enchanter la Joye qu'ils la ramenerent au ciel  
 mais de haste quelle eut elle laissa tomber son manteau. La Dou-  
 leur erroit cependant miserable fuyte et aduassée de tout le monde  
 qui lors par fortune vint a rencontrer ce manteau dont elle se  
 couurit et dequisa. Cependant les hommes apres le partement de  
 la Joye ne sachant quel se estoit deuenue la Esperance par tout  
 et trouuerent la douleur ainsi dequisee laquelle depuis ils ont  
 tousiours suruue comme la vraye Joye bien que s'en soit seulement  
 le manteau. Il ne faut donc point que nous en esperions en terre  
 qui soit certaine : mais seulement au ciel ou elle se est retirée et ou  
 nous la reuerrons quelque iour par la grace de Dieu apres nous estre  
 fidelement et soigneusement acquitez de nostre deuoir Esacun selon  
 sa profession et faut proufiter le talent que ce bon pere nous a mis  
 entre les mains .

Des-portes

Ill. 5: Manuscript album copied and bound for Marguerite de Valois ; Sir Paul Getty Collection, Wormsley Library; f° 46 r°.

(“Sire, j’ay tout besoin...” can reasonably be attributed to Baïf,<sup>31</sup> as should speeches nos. 6 (“Sire, le tres grand Dieu...”) and 13 (“Sire, venant à parler”). The 7th speech (“Sire, ayant à discourir...”) should be attributed to Desportes, as indicated by the signature at the end of the text (fig. 5; f° 46 r°), as should the 10th speech (“Sire, la passion dont nous avons à discourir...”) which most historians attribute to Pibrac.<sup>32</sup> Finally there is the 12th speech (“Il me semble, Sire, que les auteurs antiens...”) which is Ronsard’s.<sup>33</sup> The rediscovery of the album of Marguerite de Valois is therefore of the first importance, for it sheds new light upon what we already knew about the composition of the assembly of speakers and the number of their speeches.

Taken together with the Copenhagen and Paris (Fds. fr. 2585) manuscripts, the album is a mine of information. However, another manuscript, now in the BnF (Nouvelles Acquisitions Françaises, n° 4655), also deserves examination. The historians of the Académie du Palais have given unequal attention to this manuscript,<sup>34</sup> despite the new information it contains. Probably copied in the early 17th century by a scribe in the service of the king, this album has ten of the 17 speeches contained in the Copenhagen manuscript. With numerous errors of transcription, it also reveals traces of textual amendments, made either by the authors themselves or by the copyist in an attempt to efface the original oral elements of the speeches and give them the aspect of written texts designed for silent reading.

This album from the royal library must have been composed from a source different to that on which the Copenhagen and Paris (Fds. fr. 2585) manuscripts are based – or from multiple sources – for it contains a selection of ten speeches, seven of which are also to be found in the Copenhagen and Paris collections, and five in the collection of Marguerite de Valois. Its contents are as follows:

<sup>31</sup> See Jean-Antoine de Baïf à l’Académie du Palais (1576), op. cit., pp. 391-392.

<sup>32</sup> See Frémy, op. cit., p. 274; Sealy, op. cit., pp. 44-45, and L. Petris: Le magistrat gallican et l’Académie du Palais: le Discours de l’Ire, et comme il la faut moderer de Guy Du Faur de Pibrac (étude et édition). *Nouvelle Revue du Seizième Siècle*, n° 22/2, 2004, pp. 57-82 (the speech is on pp. 65-82).

<sup>33</sup> On this attribution, confirmed by internal analysis of the speech, see F. Rouget: *Ronsard et le livre. Étude de critique génétique et d’histoire littéraire. Première partie: lectures et textes manuscrits*. Geneva, 2010, pp. 130-138.

<sup>34</sup> See in particular R. Sealy, op. cit., pp. 37-38 and 179.

- f° 1 v°: “La vertu est une habitude ...”: introduction (definition, outline)
- No. 1: f° 2-5: *Des vertus intellectuelles et morales* (“L’ame ha deux parties ...”) (Jamyn)<sup>35</sup>
- No. 2: f° 5 v°-13: *Autre discours ...* (“Je laisseray la definition de vertu ...”) (Desportes)
- No. 3: f° 13 v°-20 v°: *De la joie et de la tristesse* (“Pource que nous discourons ...”) (Jamyn)
- No. 4: f° 20 v°-33: *De la joye et de la douleur* (“Ayant à discourir ...”) (anonymous: Desportes)
- No. 5: f° 33-50: *De l’Yre ...* (“La passion dont nous avons à discourir ...”) (anonymous: Pibrac?/ Desportes)
- No. 6: f° 50-63: *De l’ambition* (“Suivant le commendement ...”) (anonymous)
- No. 7: f° 63-73: *De la crainte* (“Quelques anciens souleyent dire ...”) (Desportes)
- No. 8: f° 73 v°-78 v°: *Autre traicté de la crainte* (“Je prens un bon augure ...”) (Jamyn)
- No. 9: f° 78 v°-80 v°: *De l’ire ...* (“Sçavoir beaucoup de belles choses ...”) (anonymous: Jamyn)
- No. 10: f° 81-86: *Discours de l’honneur et de l’ambition* (“L’Honneur vient de Jupiter ...”) (Jamyn)

What strikes us in the attributions of the speeches is that the authors are identified for only six of them. Of the remaining four unattributed speeches in album N.A.F. 4655, only one (no. 9) has been identified as by Jamyn, for it was published in the *Second volume des œuvres* in 1584. Text no. 5, as we have seen, must be by Desportes despite its former (erroneous) attribution to Pibrac.<sup>36</sup>

Now that names have been put to three of the unattributed speeches contained in this collection, nearly all the authors have been identified. Only one text (no. 6) remains an orphan. Interestingly, there are only two authors, Desportes et Jamyn, in this collection, which gives it an agreeable homogeneity. And it should also be noticed that the distribution of the texts seems to follow the order of themes already observed

<sup>35</sup> In the manuscript, this author is designated by his first name, Amadis, in keeping with the conventions of the time.

<sup>36</sup> The start of the speech (“La passion dont nous avons à discourir...”) also has a similarity of style with the previous speech (“Ayant à discourir devant...”).

in the other manuscripts: 1. the intellectual and moral virtues (preamble; texts nos. 1 and 2); 2. joy and sadness (texts nos. 3 and 4); 3. two parallel divisions on anger, ambition and fear: 3a: texts nos. 5-7, and 3b: texts nos. 8-10. A logical progression seems to be discernable in the transcription of the speeches: in the first two parts of the manuscript, Jamyn and Desportes are always paired. In the third part, equitably subdivided, the speeches on the second theme (texts nos. 8-10) are all by Jamyn, while the first contains two speeches attributed to Desportes. The reader will have guessed where this is leading: surely text no. 6, *De l'ambition*, published by R. Sealy but with no attribution of authorship,<sup>37</sup> is by Philippe Desportes.

All the indications – its place in the collection, the style of the text – concur to suggest that the favourite poet of Henri III was indeed the author of this speech. Manuscript N.A.F. 4655, containing texts only by Jamyn and Desportes, two poets in high favour in 1576-1580, seems to have been a commission, perhaps for Henri III, or another court dignitary, or even for one of the two speakers whose texts are copied in the manuscript. What it is beyond doubt is a selection taken from all the other known texts and retaining only the speeches addressing the moral virtues, composed by the two secretaries to the king who had most assiduously participated in the sessions of the Académie du Palais, and whose opinions in such philosophical debates nearly always concurred.

A careful examination of manuscript N.A.F. 4655 alongside the Copenhagen, Paris (Fds. fr. 2585) and Wormsley (the album of Marguerite de Valois) manuscripts, therefore throws some decisive light on the role allotted to the speakers, the extent of their engagement with this royal institution, and the nature of the convictions held by each one. Research into and examination of the manuscripts of this period serve a useful reminder to researchers that no scientific progress is possible without a return to the authentic, documentary sources.

<sup>37</sup> Op. cit., Appendix IV, *De l'ambition*, pp. 187-92.

## RESUME

FRANÇOIS ROUGET: "Taleren i palæet Louvre (1576). Betragtninger omkring håndskriftet Thott 315 fol. i Det Kongelige Bibliotek i København".

Da Henrik af Anjou i 1575 efter at være vendt hjem fra Polen blev kronet som Henrik III, konge af Frankrig, samlede han et akademi omkring sig. Henrik III var overbevist om, at han ved at erhverve en humanistiske kultur ville kunne befæste sin dømmekraft og udbrede en følelse af samdrægtighed til sit folk, der siden 1562 havde været plaget af borgerkrig mellem katolikker og protestanter. Håndskriftet Thott. 315 fol. i Det Kongelige Bibliotek i København indeholder de moralfilosofiske forelæsninger, som digterne Pierre de Ronsard, Philippe Desportes, Jean-Antoine de Baïf, Amadis Jamyn, Jean Bertaut holdt ved Akademiet i 1576.

I sin artikel præsenterer Rouget håndskriftet og beskriver dets historiske betydning gennem en sammenligning med de andre tekstsamlinger, der indeholder Paladsakademiets forelæsninger. Rouget inddrager nye dokumenter og identificerer forfatterne til de forelæsninger som hidtil har været anonyme.

Thott. 315 fol. var blandt de håndskrifter, som Det Kongelige Bibliotek ved testamentarisk bestemmelse arvede fra Grev Otto Thott i 1795, og der vides intet om dets tidligere proveniens. Det består af 195 blade, målet 340 x 232 x 36 mm. og er indbundet i samtidigt lyst kalveskind. Håndskriftet indeholder sytten moralfilosofiske forelæsninger om emner såsom forholdet mellem de moralske og de intellektuelle dyder, om glæde og nedstemthed, om vrede, om ærgerrighed, om misundelse og om frygt.

Thott. 315 fol. udgør den mest kohærente og righoldige samling af de taler, der blev holdt i 1576 og det blev derfor af Édouard Frémys benyttet som kildetekst til udgivelsen af forelæsningerne i det banebrydende værk *L'Académie des derniers Valois. d'après des documents nouveaux et inédits*, i 1887. Der findes også andre tekstkilder. På det franske nationalbibliotek findes et håndskrift, der mangler den første tale, og som enten stammer fra det københavnske håndskrift eller fra en fælles apograf (BnF, Fonds fr. 2585). Derudover findes håndskrifter med enkelte af forelæsningerne, som fx Ronsards forelæsning om *De l'envie* (Om misundelse, BnF, Fonds Dupuy 559).

François Rouget har for nylig genfundet et håndskrift, der ligeledes indeholder forelæsningerne, og som blev fremstillet på bestilling af Marguerite de Valois, kongens søster - også kendt som La Reine Margot - der i 1576 befandt sig i overvåget ophold på Louvre. Håndskriftet, der nu befinder sig i Sir Paul Getty's Wormsley Library i England, er indbundet i en luksuøs mosaik maroquin indbinding og indeholder dronningens håndskrevne noter. Håndskriftet er blevet præsenteret af Rouget i *Renaissance & Réforme*, XXXI (4), 2009, pp. 19-39.

I Thott. 315 fol. er forfatterne til de enkelte tekststykker med få undtagelser ikke angivet. Der findes i Paris et senere håndskrift fra begyndelsen af det 17. århundrede (BnF (Nouvelles Acquisitions Françaises, n° 4655) der indeholder ti af det københavnske håndskrifts sytten forelæsninger. Gennem en sammenligning af de eksisterende håndskrifter lykkedes det Rouget at rette op på Frémys identifikation af forfatterne og identificere forfatterne til alle de eksisterende forelæsninger fra Paladsakademiet.

Til sidst konkluderer Rouget, at undersøgelsen minder om, at forskningsmæssige fremskridt kun er mulige ved at gå tilbage til kilderne.

