

RABELAIS

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press 978-1-316-50970-8 - Rabelais: Readings Selected W. F. Smith Frontmatter More information



RABELAIS

READINGS SELECTED

BY

W. F. SMITH, M.A.

SOMETIME FELLOW OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

WITH A MEMOIR BY SIR JOHN SANDYS, LITT.D.

CAMBRIDGE AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS 1920



CAMBRIDGEUNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781316509708

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First published 1920 First paperback edition 2015

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-1-316-50970-8 Paperback

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PREFATORY NOTE

S OON after the publication of Rabelais in his Writings, Mr W. F. Smith agreed to edit for the University Press a selection from Rabelais's great romance. As he was then living at Cheltenham, he asked me to select from the revision of his annotated translation in the library of St John's College such notes as seemed desirable for the purpose. This I gladly agreed to do. Unfortunately, the exigencies of the times made it impossible for the Press to begin the printing before last October; except for a couple of specimen pages Mr Smith never saw his book in type, and I have had to pass it through the press without his supervision. I have occasionally given the substance of his notes instead of his actual words, and in two or three places I have added a very modest quota of my own, but the notes to all intents and purposes are solely the fruits of Mr Smith's ripe learning and knowledge of his subject.

The text for Gargantua and Pantagruel is that of François Juste, Lyons, 1542, and for Books III and IV, that of Michel Fézandat, Paris, 1552. Gargantua has been printed from the new edition of the Œuvres de François Rabelais edited by Abel Lefranc and other distinguished Rabelaisians (Gargantua 1912–13), and the other books from the edition published by Jouaust, 4 vols., 1885, controlled by that of Marty-Laveaux, 6 vols., 1868–1903.

ARTHUR TILLEY.

Cambridge, *April*, 1920.

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MEMOIR

WILLIAM FRANCIS SMITH, the elder son of the Rev. Hugh William Smith of St John's College, was born on October 20th, 1842, at Brackley in Northamptonshire. Educated at Shrewsbury, he had nearly attained the age of twenty when he came into residence in October, 1862. as the holder of one of the best of the "Open Exhibitions" awarded for Classics. As an Old Salopian, he long retained a vivid memory of that great head-master, Dr Kennedy, of whom he had many a happy story to tell in the company of his College friends. Outside the walls of St John's, his closest friend was John Maxwell Image of Trinity, who was bracketed second in the Classical Tripos of 1865. W. F. Smith himself won the second place in the following year, and both were elected Fellows in the same year as myself—1867. From 1870 to 1892 he was one of my most loyal colleagues as a classical lecturer, the favourite subjects of his public lectures being Sophocles and Plato, and Aristophanes and Plautus.

On the coming in of the New Statutes, in 1882, he married a devoted and accomplished wife, who shared his wide interest in modern languages. He applied the highly-trained aptitude of a classical scholar to the acquisition of an accurate knowledge of early French literature. Among his favourite authors was Montaigne, but he concentrated all his published work on Rabelais. He was in the best sense of the term a homo unius libri. His "new translation" with notes, and with letters and documents illustrating the author's life, was published by subscription in two handsome volumes in 1893. Two selected portions of the translation were privately printed in small quarto with vellum covers, "the first edition of book iv" in 1899, and "Rabelais on Civil and Canon Law" in 1901. Shortly before 1908, when I came to the subject



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of Rabelais in the course of my History of Classical Scholarship, I was fortunate enough in inducing my friend to write on my behalf a notice of that author, as a student of the Greek and Latin Classics, which fills more than two pages in the second volume.

Late in life he produced a compact and comprehensive work entitled *Rabelais in his Writings*, published in an attractive form by the University Press in 1918. The most obviously competent notice, that in *The Lancet* of 4 May, 1918, is known to have been written by the late Sir William Osler. Two quotations from that notice must suffice:

Of these illuminating studies [those of Abel Lefranc and others in the ten volumes of Les Études rabelaisiennes], Mr Smith, himself a participator, has taken full advantage in a work just issued from the Cambridge Press. First of all a humanist, Rabelais can only be interpreted by a fellow-student who knows the highways and byways of ancient literature. It will please our French colleagues not a little to find an Englishman so thoroughly at home in every detail relating to one of their greatest authors....We trust this admirable study of the great Chinonais may awaken a renewed interest among us in the writings of a man who has instructed, puzzled, and amused the world, and who has helped "to pass on the torch of learning and literature to many leading spirits of other ages and countries."

The epilogue to Mr Smith's book ends with a tantalising paragraph beginning with the words: "As he borrowed freely from other sources, ancient and modern, so his own books have supplied much matter and many ideas to writers who succeeded him." Among these writers mention is briefly made of Brantôme and Pasquier, Montaigne and Molière in France; and, in our land, of Ben Jonson and Nashe, Bacon and Burton, Sir Thomas Browne and Samuel Butler (the author of *Hudibras*), and lastly Lawrence Sterne and Walter Scott. Mr Smith might easily have written a whole chapter on these imitators, with details as to the indebtedness of each. It was only with the author of *Hudibras* that he dealt fully in the second chapter of the eighth volume of the *Cambridge History of English Literature*.



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He was also interested in the printed sources of Rabelais, and made a comprehensive collection of about 250 volumes, including facsimiles or reprints of early editions and copies of the authorities used in his writings. In 1919, by his own gift, this valuable collection found a permanent home in the Library of his College.

In the same year Mr Smith deposited with the Librarian of the College a complete revision of his annotated translation of 1893. This represents the ripe result of many years of continued study of his author, and it is much to be hoped that it may be published in a way that would be worthy of the translator's memory. After the termination of the College Lectureship in

After the termination of the College Lectureship in 1892, as the climate of Cambridge was little suited to a valetudinarian who was liable to attacks of bronchitis and rheumatism, Mr and Mrs Smith lived more and more abroad, either in Switzerland (mainly on or near the Lake of Geneva) or in Italy (chiefly in Rome or Florence). A man of alert and inquiring mind, a delightful converser, an admirable correspondent, and an accomplished linguist, Mr Smith undoubtedly gained much, in mental as well as bodily health, by not remaining permanently in Cambridge. In the cosmopolitan society of cultivated scholars in other lands his interests perceptibly expanded, while his general character mellowed and ripened during his long residence abroad.

After the outbreak of the War in August, 1914, Mr and Mrs Smith left Florence for Geneva, and ultimately for England. Their return restored Mr Smith to the full use of his books, of which he had retained only a very limited selection as his travelling library. They settled down for a time, mainly at Malvern, and also at Bath and Cheltenham, and Oxford and Cambridge.

His familiarity with Rabelais as a humanist and a physician led to his receiving kind encouragement from the late Sir William Osler, who interested himself in a proposed new edition of the translation of Rabelais.



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Mr Smith's special study of the old Greek physicians, who were among his author's sources, prompted him to form a design for translating some of the more popular works of Galen, or selections from Hippocrates. But (owing partly to weakness of sight) it was too late even to begin to carry out either of these designs, especially as, in the early summer of 1919, there was a prospect of returning to the Continent, to a drier climate than that of England, which was denounced by my valetudinarian

friend as hopelessly "water-logged."

On May 24, Mr and Mrs Smith left England for France. Mr Smith had formally applied for the necessary passport with the express purpose of visiting places connected with his continued study of the life and writings of Rabelais. Rabelais never tires of speaking of Touraine, "the garden of France." Accordingly the travellers began with Tours. They then proceeded to the author's birthplace at Chinon, and, amid intense and exhausting heat, journeyed down to the sea at La Rochelle, with its lantern-tower of old renown, "the lantern of La Rochelle," which (as Rabelais himself says) gave Pantagruel and his fellow-travellers "a good clear light." There they stayed until the middle of September, when they went on by easy stages to Pau.

Early in November I wrote to Mr Smith enclosing a copy of the proposed book-plate for his gift to the College Library, while my main purpose was to break to him the news of the death of his friend John Maxwell Image. But he was already too ill to be told of the purport of any part of my letter. At the Hôtel de Jeanne d'Arc at Pau, he had been seized with a stroke of paralysis on October 16th. While his mind was wandering, his thoughts ran much upon his books, but the only person he then mentioned was "John Maxwell." After a severe illness lasting for six weeks, during which he was constantly tended by his devoted wife, he died on Friday, November 28th, the very day on which the

I W. F. Smith's transl. vol. i, p. xxi.

2 ib. ii. 308.

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obituary notice of Mr Image appeared in the Cambridge Review. Thus these two loyal sons of Cambridge, these thoroughly patriotic and honourable Englishmen, who had been closely united for more than fifty years of an unbroken friendship which brightened and strengthened the lives of both, passed away in the same year of their age, and between the beginning and the end of the same month.

They were "pleasant in their lives, and in their death they were not divided."1

J. E. SANDYS.

I will add a few words on Smith's services to the study of Rabelais. First and foremost is his translation. It has the advantage of being modelled on one of the greatest of English translations, that of Urguhart and Motteux; but Smith brought to his task a natural gift for writing pure and nervous English and an intimate acquaintance with Elizabethan literature. The result is that he approaches Urquhart in spirit and has often independently hit upon a translation which is almost identical, word for word, with his. But his sense of scholarship has kept him closer to his text, and he has avoided the tendency to amplification which we find in Urquhart and still more in Motteux. It is a very notable piece of work, and deserves reprinting in a handier form than that in which it first appeared and with the revised notes which represent more than a quarter of a century's faithful work.

The most important feature of that work was the study of Rabelais's sources. In a letter written to me a few months ago, Smith said that he thought that he had discovered nearly all Rabelais's sources. What this means only students of that omnivorous "glutton of books" can appreciate; suffice it to say that it implies a search over nearly the whole field of classical literature (including

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I The above notice has been abridged from that in The Eagle for the Lent Term of 1920, which was an expanded version of the notice in the Cambridge Review of Feb. 6.



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medical writers like Hippocrates and Galen), over much juristical literature, and over a considerable range of literature more or less contemporary with Rabelais, both in Latin and in the vernacular. Some idea of Smith's work in this direction may be gathered from his Rabelais in his Writings, but the best example of his thoroughness is the long article on Rabelais and Erasmus which he contributed in French to the Revue des Études rabelaisiennes (VI, 215 and 375). Another important article traces the sources of "Rabelais's lists of fowls, fishes, serpents and wild beasts." This appeared in the Modern Language Review for October 1918 and is Smith's latest contribution to the study he loved so well.

A. T.

May, 1920.



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In the light of recent research François Rabelais (born about 1490) proves to be the youngest of four children of Maistre Antoine Rabelais, senior *avocat* of the Chinon district and possessor of several properties and vineyards in the neighbourhood as well as of a house in the *rue de la Lamproie* in Chinon.

As the youngest son, François was destined for the ministry and received the tonsure about the age of seven. He was sent to school at the neighbouring Benedictine convent of Seuilly, where he was educated on a system such as that set forth in the fourteenth chapter of the Gargantua. After a few years he was removed, tradition tells us, to the Franciscan seminary of La Baumette near Angers, which had been founded by René, duke of Anjou and ex-king of Sicily, on the model of one called La Baume in Provence. There he is said to have made the acquaintance of Jean Du Bellay, the second of the brothers of the great Manceau family, who possessed large estates in the neighbourhood, and of Geoffroi d'Estissac. Du Bellay afterwards became Bishop of Bayonne and subsequently of Paris, Limoges, and Le Mans, and Archbishop of Bordeaux, and Cardinal in 1535, while d'Estissac became Bishop of Maillezais, near the Franciscan monastery at Fontenay-le-Comte, where Rabelais was sent after he left La Baumette. The dates are uncertain, but his residence at La Baumette is held by some to have terminated about 1511, by some about 1519.

As a boy we may be pretty sure that he roamed about the countryside of Chinon visiting his father's various properties and taking part in the hawking and hunting parties in the neighbourhood, which being thick with forests and marshes was well adapted for such sports.

At Fontenay-le-Comte he formed a friendship with

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Pierre Amy, one of the Franciscan brethren, and as Amy was a friend of Guillaume Budé, the great French scholar, and had taken up studies in Greek, Rabelais joined him in these studies. Amy induced Rabelais to write to Budé and the result is that we have a letter from him to the distinguished scholar and two from Budé in reply, ranging in date from March 4, 1520 to January 27, 1524. Thus Rabelais and Amy were proceeding in their studies with the encouragement of the first scholar at that time in France, when their quiet was rudely interrupted by the conduct of the other brethren, who had been disturbed by the publication of the "Paraphrases" or explanation of the Pauline Epistles (Basle, 1521) by Erasmus, which were decided to be heretical, and consequently involved all Greek books in the same censure. The two students were treated with some harshness and their books confiscated: though they were afterwards restored through powerful influence, the position of the culprits could hardly be Therefore Amy made his escape and Rabelais obtained from Rome an indult permitting removal to the Benedictine house at Maillezais, under the protection of the bishop, Geoffroi d'Estissac, his former friend, who was prior there. Here he enjoyed for some time the friendship of the bishop and his friends André Tiraqueau, Jean Bouchet and Amaury Bouchard, legal luminaries living in the neighbourhood.

A curious matter occurred about this time in this small literary world. Tiraqueau had published in 1513 and 1516 a book entitled de legibus connubialibus, in which women had been held up to disrespect, and Bouchard had published a reply in 1522. To this Tiraqueau had replied in 1524, and it is believed that a kind of court was held in which Rabelais and Amy were called in as arbitrators. In all probability this was the motive which induced Rabelais to take up the dispute later (1545) in his Third Book. An enlarged edition of Tiraqueau's book (1546) came out at the same time. Rabelais's Third Book at the end is greatly indebted to Tiraqueau's book, and it is



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very probable that Rabelais saw it at the printers, while it was being produced, if he did not actually correct the proofs. But this is anticipating.

The restless roving spirit of Rabelais now impelled him in the search of knowledge to visit the principal seats of education and learning—the Universities of France. Starting from Bordeaux, he passed by Toulouse and Montpellier-where perhaps he made his first essay of medical study—up the Rhone to the North-west, where it is probable that he studied law at Bourges and Orléans, and almost certain that he took up medical studies in earnest at Paris (1528–30). Thus he was able to take his degree as bachelor of medicine at Montpellier after only two months' residence, studies at the University of Paris being recognized at Montpellier as qualifying for a degree. At Montpellier he soon made himself a name by his courses of lectures as a bachelor of medicine, and two years later (1532), when he migrated to Lyons to get his lectures published by Sebastian Gryphius, the great printer, he was cordially welcomed and appointed physician to the Hospital in October at 40 livres a year instead of the usual 30. He now published an edition of Hippocrates's Aphorisms, and besides this an edition of the medical letters of Manardi, a distinguished Ferrarese physician. dedicated to Tiraqueau; an edition of the Testamentum Cuspidii, and a Roman contract of sale as specimens of genuine Roman antiquity. They turned out afterwards to be essays of the scholars Pomponius Laetus and J. Jovianus Pontanus, a fact revealed in a posthumous work of 1587 by Antonio Agustín, Archbishop of Tarragona. November 30 of the same year (1532) Rabelais wrote a letter to Erasmus overflowing with thanks to the great scholar for the help he had supplied to an unknown reader, and also warning him that an attack made on his Ciceronianus was not by Aleander but by J. C. Scaliger. By a strange chance this letter till recently has been looked upon as addressed to an unknown "Bernard Salignac," and has been a puzzle till the real addressee



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was made out by Prof. Ziesing of Zurich, where a copy of the original is preserved.

In October 1532 Rabelais entered on his duties as physician to the Rhone-Hospital at Lyons, but it is almost certain that a month or so before this he had paid a visit to his native Touraine. He had nearly finished a giantstory, Pantagruel, to which he now added the final chapter or two and the Prologue. While he was on this visit a long and embittered lawsuit between his father Antoine Rabelais, as leader of the party of riparian owners on the Vienne and the Loire, culminated in a brawl between the shepherds of Antoine Rabelais (Grandgousier) and the cake-bakers of Lerni who were tenants of Scévole, or Gaucher, de Sainte-Marthe (Picrochole), physician to the Abbess of Fontevrault, only a few kilometres distant. This seems to have fired Rabelais with the idea of writing another giant-story in which this contentious lawsuit should be represented in the guise of a tremendous war. The story was afterwards published under the title of Gargantua in 1534.

While following his occupation as physician at Lyons Rabelais devoted his leisure to humanistic studies as reader of the proofs to Gryphius, and to composing his Gargantua, employing in its composition a crude fabliau entitled Les grandes Cronicques du grant et enorme geant Gargantua which had a very large sale towards the end of 1532. This is recorded in the Prologue to the Pantagruel (published November 3, 1532) as most successful and admirable. The *Pantagruel* is advertised as a book of the same kind, but more worthy of credit. But it nowhere says that the author is the same in the case of both books, though many critics have inferred that he is. The Pantagruel is a giant-story of the usual kind, but interlarded with incidents derived from a curious book in macaronic verse by Merlin Cocai, the pseudonym of Theofilo Folengo, a monk who had emerged from the cloister and written a quantity of burlesque verses. There are also



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At the beginning of 1534 Rabelais accompanied Bishop Du Bellay to Rome, as his physician and trusted secretary. They were there three months (January—March, 1534). Du Bellay failed in his mission of retarding the excommunication of Henry VIII, while Rabelais succeeded in getting the taint of his "apostacy" removed, in having laid aside his monastic habit and gone abroad in the world. After their return Rabelais resumed his duties at the hospital and finished his Gargantua, which was published in October 1534, probably a little before the affair of the "Placards," when heretical notices were posted up publicly and even in the King's palaces. This brought about reprisals and persecutions of a terrible kind, and Rabelais, whose *Pantagruel* had been censured and whose Gargantua had just been published, or was on the eve of publication, was fain to go into hiding. The journey to Rome and this absconding probably account for the charge against him for being twice absent from his pro-fessional duties at the hospital. For this he was superseded March 5, 1535. In July of that year he proceeded with Bishop Du Bellay to Rome, where the latter received his Cardinal's hat. On the way they halted at Ferrara, to reconcile the Duke with the Duchess, Renée of France, who was more than suspected of Protestant leanings.

While in Rome Rabelais maintained a correspondence with Geoffroi d'Estissac (at whose home he had probably been in hiding), of which we have three letters to the Bishop. They are full of interest, as giving a lively account of affairs in Rome before the triumphal entry of Charles V after his victory over the Infidels at Tunis, and especially in foreshadowing the coming Council of Trent. We have a copy of the petition and of the pardon which he obtained from Paul III for his "apostacy" in quitting the monkish habit, and straying into the world, when he took up the study and practice of medicine.

Before the Emperor came to Rome, Du Bellay left hurriedly (February 29, 1536), perhaps by the advice of the Pope, who gave a safe-conduct to the Cardinal's suite



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dated April 11, while the baggage was to go by sea. It seems possible that Rabelais accompanied the baggage on a coasting voyage to Marseilles. If so, this would account for the Italian terms he uses for the sails and the tackling of the ships in his description of the Storm in the Fourth Book. In any case, whether he went by sea or land, he went on to Lyons and afterwards to Paris, where he joined the Cardinal, who about this time was made Lieutenant General of Paris and l'Isle-de-France. The attack on Provence by the imperial troops was defeated by the Constable Montmorency retreating before them, devastating the country as he went, and the advance in the north was checked at Péronne.

At the end of 1536 Rabelais took part in Paris at a banquet in honour of Étienne Dolet, the Lyons printer, at which were present the élite of French literary society. He went a little later to Montpellier, where he obtained his licentiate, and doctorate May 22. After this his movements are uncertain, excepting that he was at Lyons some days and at Aigues Mortes. He seems to have wandered about in the south of France (perhaps visiting mes isles Hières) till 1539, when he took service with Guillaume Du Bellay, Viceroy of Piedmont, with whom he was till January 10, 1543, when Du Bellay died near Lyons while on the way to Paris. Rabelais assisted at the embalming of the body and accompanied the cortège to Le Mans, where the great soldier and statesman was laid to rest.

Two or three months later, Rabelais was sheltered at Saint-Ayl, near Orléans, by Étienne Lorens, Seigneur de Saint-Ayl, remaining there from March 1543 till the autumn of 1544, when he was again with Cardinal Du Bellay at his newly-built château at St Maur-des-Fossés. Here he finished his *Third Book*, which he had begun at Saint-Ayl. This book had no relation with the *Gargantua* but takes up the thread from the end of the *Pantagruel*, where Anarchus, the wicked king, meets with his due punishment. The evil ruler is now held up to reprobation



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and under the allegory of debtors and lenders the selfish and unselfish characters are described. The adages of Erasmus supply the text, *Homo homini deus* and *homo homini lupus*, the man who lives for others and the man who lives for himself. The book goes on now to consider in the person of Panurge the arguments for and against marriage as one of the critical points in his life. All kinds of divination are put to the test without satisfactory results for Panurge, and as a last resort a determination is made to travel to Utopia to consult the oracle of the Holy Bottle. This voyage and the various stopping places occupy the *Fourth* and *Fifth Books*.

When it was published the *Third Book* was immediately pounced upon and censured by the Sorbonne on the ground that Rabelais had written asne for âme, and

that it was heretical.

Fortunately he was able to escape at once to Metz, where he was again under the protection of the Seigneur de Saint-Avl. He was soon made physician to the hospital at Metz at a salary of 120 livres a year; after a time he was presented by some Paris courtiers with a silver flask in the shape of a breviary, which he acknowledges in the Prologue to the first instalment of his Fourth Book; the deputation also begged him to continue his writings, which they declared had given them pleasure. Accordingly he set to work and wrote ten chapters with the help of the scanty library which he had been able to keep together. A letter from Metz to Cardinal Du Bellay dated February 5, 1547, is preserved, asking for pecuniary assistance. The Cardinal replied by inviting the writer to come with him to Rome. After the coronation of Henry II at Reims Cardinal Du Bellay and Rabelais were in Paris on July 10 (the date of the celebrated duel of Jarnac and Chataigneraye) and soon afterwards they proceeded to Rome, where Du Bellay had been appointed Plenipotentiary of France. They reached Rome September 27, 1547, and remained till September 22, 1549, at the Palazzo SS. Apostoli. On March 14, 1549, Du Bellay caused the



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representation of a sham fight (sciomachia) in the Piazza where he resided. It was a display of great magnificence and attended by all the influential people in Italy. The purpose was to celebrate the birth of a French prince (Louis). who died however in early childhood. Notwithstanding the efforts and ability of the Cardinal he was superseded as "Protector of the affairs of France" by Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, in consequence of an intrigue. He was not released from attendance however till about September 15, when he left Rome with Rabelais and some of his suite for Lyons. Scarcely had he arrived there than the death of Paul III necessitated his return to take part in the conclave which resulted (February 7, 1550) in the election of Cardinal del Monte, Julius III. Rabelais being left behind at Lyons occupied himself in editing and enlarging the despatch he had sent to Cardinal de Guise descriptive of the *sciomachia* and in preparing an almanack for 1550.

After the return of Cardinals Châtillon and Du Bellay from the conclave Rabelais while at Lyons was approached by the former with a suggestion that he should finish his Fourth Book, and again afterwards, when he had rejoined Du Bellay at St Maur-des-Fossés he was urged by the two Cardinals together and induced to continue it for the purpose of supporting the influence of the Du Bellay family and also to maintain the action of the French king in resisting the dictation of the new Pope, who insisted that Parma should remain in the hands of Ottavio Farnese, the grandson of Paul III. He had married Margaret the widow of Alessandro de' Medici, duke of Florence (a natural daughter of Charles V), while the claim of Orazio Farnese a younger brother, who had married Diane, a natural daughter of Henry II, was supported by Henry II. Rabelais finished the Fourth Book on those instructions. This accounts for the exceedingly anti-Roman note in several parts, as well as for the touching story of the decease of Guillaume Du Bellay in c. 27. The book itself is an account of Pantagruel's fleet and its voyage from St Malo to Utopia, and its various stopping places. The



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"Islands," where they land, allow of burlesque descriptions, more or less transparent, of various places and persons concerned in political or ecclesiastical squabbles and

contemporary events.

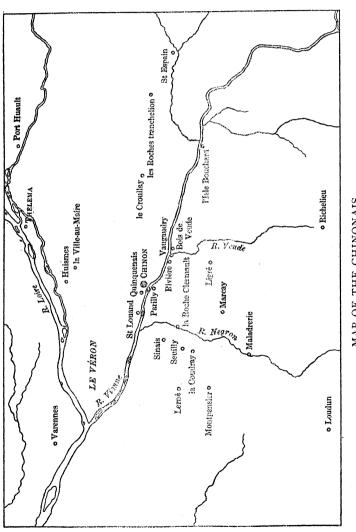
The complete Fourth Book was published March I, 1552 (n.s.), and very soon the publisher was cited before the Council of the Parlement de Paris (of which Tiraqueau was a member) and forbidden to sell any more copies till the King's good pleasure should be known. On the King's return from Metz the prohibition was removed, but it seems that, the difference with Rome having passed, Rabelais was soon after given up to his enemies. The formal resignations of his two cures at Meudon and Jambet, dated January 9, 1553, are still preserved, and there is a tradition that he died in April of that year and that he was buried in the cemetery of St Paul in the rue des jardins at Paris.

The Fifth Book was published posthumously. In 1562 appeared l'Isle Sonante, consisting of sixteen chapters and in 1564 an edition of 47 chapters, while a sixteenth century MS. containing 48 chapters was discovered in the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1840. There are differences in all these editions, and much difference of opinion obtains as to the authenticity. Generally at present it is allowed to be the work of Rabelais with some interpolations and adaptations. The subject of the book is the continuation of Pantagruel's voyage, the consultation of the Holy

Bottle and the safe return of the travellers.

W. F. S.

More information



MAP OF THE CHINONAIS



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