HUMANISM AS CIVIC PROJECT
THE COLLÈGE DE GUYENNE 1533-1583

by

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ABSTRACT

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Que disciplina adhuc observata in suo Burdigalen Gymnasio notior evadat, nec facile usquam depravetur.

Thus, in 1583, the Jurade, the city council, of Bordeaux concluded its endorsement of the publication of Elie Vinet's Schola Aquitanica, the school programme of the Collège de Guyenne. This thesis examines the humanist programme at the Collège de Guyenne in Bordeaux from 1533 to 1583. Most studies of the Collège have focused on its foundation and institutional structure. Since Ernest Gaullieur's institutional history in 1874, research into Renaissance, Reformation, and educational history have made significant advancements, all of which shed additional light onto the Collège's history and its role as a source of civic identity in a growing national context. Additionally, the application of Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus grants insight into the social climate of academics in the sixteenth century.

This thesis contributes to our knowledge of the Collège's and the regents' place in the development of Bordelais and French identity, but it also elucidates the regents' impact on the students who attended there, particularly Michel de Montaigne, a well-known writer who was apparently self-disclosing, whose education at the Collège shaped him into a prudent thinker with the capacity to see all sides of an issue. This study relies on sources published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century as part of French national studies. These sources include
foundation charters, notarial and royal records, letters, sixteenth-century publications, Inquisitorial trials, and material sources. The central argument of this thesis is that the regents at the Collège de Guyenne found a balance between stasis and change amidst the turmoil of the sixteenth century as they contributed to the emerging Renaissance identity of a resurgent French city. Moreover, this thesis examines the Collège de Guyenne as a political institution during a period of upheaval and transformation. The regents at the Collège de Guyenne embraced the diversity of Bordeaux and, in 1583, the Jurade endorsed the programme at Guyenne and declared that "[il] ne pût jamais s'alterer facilement."
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I conclude my thesis with a discussion of Michel de Montaigne and the influence the regents at the Collège de Guyenne had on him. It is my conviction that we are all shaped by those who teach us. I have had many teachers throughout this journey and I am profoundly grateful for their interest, feedback, compassion, and support.

The most obvious teacher on this journey has been Dr. Peter Goddard. We had lengthy conversations about sixteenth-century France, intellectual, religious, political, and cultural history. Peter's diligence in providing me feedback and helping to refine my thought and writing process has been invaluable. Beyond this, Peter's wisdom and breadth and depth of knowledge inspire me. My identity as an historian bears the mark of Peter's guiding hand, and I am grateful.

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I also want to thank, Dr. Renée Worringer and Dr. Steven Bednarski, whose encouragement and support through the ups and downs of the doctoral degree kept me grounded.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

In the wake of the 2008 financial crisis, business leaders in Bordeaux were concerned with what they perceived as a lack of moral education which, in their view, had contributed to the economic crisis.\(^1\) Thus, they opened the Bordeaux MBA, whose curriculum focused on three main components: Business and markets, the humanities, and personal efficacy and development. To endorse their emphasis on moral and ethical education, they aligned themselves with the heritage of the Collège de Guyenne, which, according to their website, had existed in one form or another from the third to the eighteenth centuries in Bordeaux, and had now been revived in the twenty-first.\(^2\) In relation to the history of the Collège de Guyenne, on their website, they invoke the name of Ausonius (c. 310-395), the poet turned professor, and Fernando Gouvea (1497-1548), the Portuguese professor who, at the invitation of the Jurade of Bordeaux, left the Collège de Sainte Barbe in Paris to teach at Guyenne. They name Michel de Montaigne as "le plus illustre de nos anciens élèves, qui nous parle et nous inspire encore aujourd'hui avec ses Essais."\(^3\) This history contains several errors. The first is the direct connection of the sixteenth-century Collège de Guyenne to the Roman educational institutions of both the third century and fourth century when Ausonius lived and taught at Bordeaux. The second error is in the name Fernando Gouvea, who was actually André de Gouveia. Despite these errors, the portrayal of the history of the Collège de Guyenne recorded on l'École de Commerce Humaniste's website is a reminder that beliefs about the Collège de Guyenne's antiquity and greatness have persisted in Bordelais imagination. More importantly, it demonstrates the view that education is a solution to contemporary problems, which Bordeaux

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\(^2\) http://www.bordeaux-mba.fr/parents/notre-histoire.html
\(^3\) http://www.bordeaux-mba.fr/parents/notre-histoire.html
did in 2008 and in 1533. The Collège de Guyenne and the regents who taught there provide insight into college education in the sixteenth century. The educational work at the Collège de Guyenne followed the larger trends of the early modern European context. Yet, the Collège de Guyenne was unique to the context of Bordeaux. While the regents implemented the *modus parisiensis*, the widely exported educational programme based on that of the colleges at Paris, they adapted it to fit the political vision of the city of Bordeaux. The Collège de Guyenne was a local college, yet it operated in a vibrant community that functioned at the intersection of an international network. The experience at Bordeaux, which was in many ways specific to its context, provides insight into broader civic and national transitions experienced across France in this period. This dissertation aims to address the issue of sixteenth-century education as a solution to contemporary problems by investigating the relationship of the regents at the Collège to the city of Bordeaux to understand their roles as teachers, scholars, citizens, and how they balanced the competing drives for stasis and change. More importantly, this thesis examines the Collège de Guyenne as a political institution during a period of upheaval and transformation.

L'École de Commerce Humaniste's website, which signals widespread concerns about the value of education in times of crisis, demonstrates the relevance of a new investigation into the Collège de Guyenne, with a particular focus on 1533 to 1583, the first fifty years of the Collège, when it was at its apex. While the Collège provided education to the city's elite until it closed in 1793, it was during the Collège's first fifty years that it experienced the heightened excitement of the Renaissance, the fear, uncertainty, and violence of the Reformation, the shifting priorities of the French monarchy, and the economic and political transitions of Bordeaux. Throughout this period of intensive change and uncertainty, the regents at the Collège had to establish their place in the educational, intellectual, political, and religious dynamics of a transforming world.
Historical Context

Central to the curriculum at Guyenne was the *studia humanitatis*, which emerged in Italy at the turn of the fifteenth century. This "study of humanity" became the cornerstone of the Renaissance as it launched a reforming movement led by civic leaders, scholars, and teachers who became known as "humanists." These "humanists" connected their teaching and classical scholarship to their study of Ancient Christianity and biblical texts.\(^4\) The new educational emphasis of the Renaissance moved away from the pre-professional education offered in the medieval scholastic system and devised an approach to education that emphasised moral purpose and the formation of those who would assume positions of leadership in cities and courts.\(^5\) The humanist approach dismissed medieval views of history as "barbarous" and strove to revive Ancient civilization, as understood through its "literary remains."\(^6\) The primary method of teaching in this model, therefore, was the study of ancient texts, through which students acquired knowledge of Latin and ethics, but also a sense of history. From this reforming movement emerged important pedagogical treatises that outlined the proper way to implement humanist education. The educational ideas, which developed under famous scholars such as Leonardo Bruni (c. 1370 – 1444), Pier Paolo Vergerio (c. 1370–1444/45), Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, the future Pope Pius II, (1405 – 1464), and Battista Guarino (1434–1513), eventually spread to northern Europe. The German universities were the first of the northern European schools to implement humanist studies. Senior professors often resisted these changes, which led to conflict between the traditionalists and humanists.\(^7\) The literary zeal of Italian humanism was

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\(^6\) Nauert, "Rethinking," 156.

\(^7\) Nauert, "Rethinking," 157.
transformed into a Christian movement that embraced growing interest in personal holiness and Church reform.  

As humanism spread in Germany, France also developed an interest in this Italian concept. Guillaume Fichet (1433- c.1480) was a central figure in the arrival of humanism in France and was particularly interested in ancient Rome, having visited Italy several times. Fichet was born in Petit-Bonard, in the duchy of Savoie. He studied at the University of Paris, where he completed his studies in 1453. He travelled to Avignon in 1455, where he studied at the Collège Saint-Nicolas-d'Annecy and embraced humaniores litterae in the tradition of Petrarch. He returned to Paris and became a socius of the Sorbonne in 1461. In 1467, the Faculties at the University of Paris elected Fichet as rector. He later became the librarian at the University of Paris and the group surrounding Fichet was instrumental in the establishment of a printing press at the Sorbonne in 1470, which produced a number of humanistic texts. The French scholars who embraced humanist ideas maintained their religious devotion and publicly maintained that their enthusiasm for classical studies did not detract from their Christian beliefs. The arrival of humanism in France also depended on Italians who visited. In 1485 Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494) visited Paris and expounded on his ideas to reconcile Platonic and Aristotelian thought. French scholars also began to learn Greek. For example, Guillaume Budé (1467-1540), who became an important figure in the development of humanism in France and as the founder of what became the Collège de France, studied Greek

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8 Nauert, "Rethinking," 158.
11 Colliard, 21.
12 Colliard, 22.
13 Colliard, 26.
14 Knecht, Renaissance Warrior, 146.
15 Knecht, Renaissance Warrior, 146.
with Janus Lascaris (c. 1445-1535), a noted Greek scholar originally from Constantinople, whom Charles VIII brought back with him from Italy in 1495.\textsuperscript{16}

Although humanist learning flourished in France, scholastic approaches maintained a strong position at the French universities. Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (c. 1455-1536), born in Étaples, Picardie and educated at Collège du Cardinal-Lemoine, devoted himself to the study of original sources, \textit{ad fontes}.\textsuperscript{17} As a scholar, Lefèvre had a keen interest in Aristotelian philosophy, patristics, and medieval spirituality.\textsuperscript{18} Lefèvre first suggested the reform of teaching philosophy in Paris, but also instruction in theology, though he did not have a doctorate in theology.\textsuperscript{19} As they had done in Germany, humanist studies continued to spread in Paris with various scholars accepting and rejecting them. There is no doubt that new pedagogical ideas transformed approaches to education across France, which now saw the development of programmes designed to prepare students for civic and administrative positions, as well as ecclesiastical ones. The new colleges established throughout France highlighted the complicated relationship between "the university, a medieval foundation, and the humanistic primary and secondary schools, which began to take shape in fifteenth-century Italy with great Renaissance educators like Vittorino da Feltre and Guarino da Verona."\textsuperscript{20} The Collège de Guyenne was a civic college, which operated in between the structures established in the medieval universities and the emerging humanistic ones.

\textsuperscript{16} Knecht, \textit{Renaissance Warrior}, 147.
\textsuperscript{18} Bedouelle, 117.
The curriculum at the Collège de Guyenne emphasised classical knowledge, which students acquired through the study of Latin. The intellectual developments and, in particular, the philological developments of the fifteenth century expanded beyond investigations into ancient texts and culture. Interpretive questions based on language used in ancient texts extended into theological domains, and, increasingly, scholars began to apply philological tools to biblical texts. The tension between philological and theological study was high. For example, Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466-1536) was the most influential in the quest to bring sacred texts to people, who, through them, would improve morally.\textsuperscript{21} The regents at the Collège de Guyenne, while not as famous as Erasmus, faced the challenge of teaching ancient and Christian texts in an environment that grew increasingly suspicious of heresy. As Humanism spread, scholarly study of ancient texts included early Christian religious texts, and eventually included study of the Bible in its original languages. New linguistic approaches to the Bible led to new textual insights and new theological interpretations, which weakened an ecclesiastical structure that had already suffered damage from the Avignon Papacy, the Black Death, and the Great Schism. The damage inflicted on ecclesiastical authority through the divisions of the Avignon Papacy and the Great Schism, along with the doubts sown during the Black Death gave way to further protests by scholars and clergy, some of whom suffered at the hands of ecclesiastical and academic leadership whose ideas threatened "the prestige and privilege of priesthood and papacy."\textsuperscript{22} The threat of heresy concerned some of the Bordeaux's civic leaders, which created additional conflict for the regents at Guyenne.

French humanism embraced the textual, critical, philological, and classicising aspects of the Renaissance. Sixteenth-century scholars of Antiquity investigated classical aspects of the

\textsuperscript{21} Johan Huizinga, \textit{Erasmus and the Age of Reformation} (Harper Torchbooks: New York, 1957), 40
geographical area that became France. The remains of antique Gaul were a significant presence throughout the Middle Ages, as many villages, towns, and cities contained the remains of the ancient past. Collections of classical artifacts, for which very little documentation remains, were popular.\textsuperscript{23} At the start of the Italian wars in the last decade of the fifteenth century, King Charles VIII enjoyed the antique artifacts of Florence, Rome, and Naples, and after pillaging Piero de' Medici's palace, he sent numerous antiquities back to France.\textsuperscript{24} In the early sixteenth century, foreign and French scholars began to discover antiquities in France. The king sought artifacts from provincial cities to display in the Bastille and the Louvre. Interest in French antiquities grew and modern expressions of the antique past began to emerge in the form of royal entries, in which ancient knowledge and imagery intersected with contemporary beliefs about royalty and governance. These ideas spread across France and a study of royal entries from the end of the Hundred Years' War until the end of the sixteenth century revealed increased infusion of classical ideas into the local celebrations of royal visits.\textsuperscript{25} In addition to their more "local" interests, scholars also found ways to make ancient sources French. In the 1550s, Étienne de la Boétie, a French counsellor at the Parlement de Bordeaux, and friend of Michel de Montaigne, circulated a manuscript entitled \textit{De la Servitude Volontaire}.\textsuperscript{26} In it, he confronted the Homeric idea that monarchy is the best form of government and argued against this application of Homer's idea as it had been used by the French Pléiade to mythologize the French monarchy.\textsuperscript{27}

\textsuperscript{23} Richard Cooper, \textit{Roman Antiquities in Renaissance France, 1515-1565} (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), 2.
\textsuperscript{24} Cooper, \textit{Roman Antiquities}, 4.
\textsuperscript{25} David Rivaud, "Les entrés royales dans les «bonnes villes» du Centre-Ouest aux XV\textsuperscript{e} et XVI\textsuperscript{e} siècles: théâtre et décors historiés," in \textit{La Ville Au Moyen Âge: II Sociétés et pouvoirs dans la ville}, edited by Noël Coulet and Olivier Guyotjeannin (Paris: CTHS, 1998), 277-294. See also the introduction of Victor E. Graham and W. McAllister Johnson. \textit{The Royal Tour of France by Charles IX and Catherine de' Medici: Festivals and Entries, 1564-6} (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979). They provided a detailed analysis of the royal entries from Charles IX's tour of France from 1564 to 1546, which revealed increased classical imagery.

\textsuperscript{26} Marc Bizer, \textit{Homer and the Politics of Authority in Renaissance France} (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 3. The original text was circulated in manuscript form, but published posthumously in 1576.

\textsuperscript{27} Bizer, 4.
French humanists contributed to the French identity and monarchy by participating in the intellectual investigations that informed its development.

French humanism did not focus exclusively on intellectual pursuits. Interest in spiritual regeneration informed some aspects of humanist study, though heretical concerns were also part of the intellectual and religious environment in Paris prior to the Reformation. The central authority over theological issues in France was the Faculty of Theology at the University of Paris, which served as the "sovereign interpreter of dogma," though few of the faculty members could read either Hebrew or Greek, which meant that biblical study was divorced from its original languages. From 1500 to 1542, the Faculty of Theology at Paris reviewed at least seventy-two cases pertaining to doctrine and morality. When Martin Luther posted his Ninety-Five Theses in 1517, people across Europe responded vigorously, either adopting the new views, or defending the old ones. But Luther was not the only one to raise concerns about certain ecclesiastical practices. While Luther presented his case for reform in Germany, similar questions about the reform of the Church arose in France. In 1518, the Faculty of Theology handled a case that addressed concerns similar to Luther's. In 1515, Pope Leo X had announced a new indulgence campaign, from which François I would receive some proceeds for his crusading efforts against the Turks. Two of the preachers involved in the case were doctors of theology, Nicolas Payen and Nicolas Cappelly. The Faculty initially condemned their actions, and wrote to the king concerning the "scandals and abuses which are taking place both in preaching and in crafty extractions of money for the said crusade." It is unclear exactly what

28 Mary Laven, "Encountering the Counter-Reformation," Renaissance Quarterly 59, No. 3 (Fall 2006), 708.
29 Knecht, Renaissance Warrior, 144.
30 Knecht, Renaissance Warrior, 156.
31 James K. Farge, Orthodoxy and Reform in Early Reformation France: The Faculty of Theology of Paris, 1500-1543 (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 164.
happened, as the case suddenly halted in the Faculty, though it is likely that François I intervened. On May 8 1518, the Faculty ruled on two propositions. The first stated that

Whoever puts into the collection for the crusade one teston or the value of one soul in purgatory sets that soul free immediately, and it goes unfailingly to paradise. And in giving ten testons for ten souls, or 1000 testons for 1000 souls, they go straight to paradise without fail.

The Faculty condemned the proposition, and declared it "false, scandalous, deleterious to suffrages for the dead, and beyond the tenor of the [papal] bull, and if it was to be preached it must be revoked in order to assuage consciences." The second proposition stated that

It is not certain that all souls in purgatory for which one gives ten sous tournois to the crusade collection go directly and without fail to paradise. But one must refer all to God, who will judge as he pleases that the treasury [of grace] of the Church be applied to the said souls.

The Faculty ruled this proposition "true, consonant with divine and human laws and doctors, nourishing to the piety of the faithful, and not adverse to the tenor of the bull on the crusade." While Luther condemned the sale of indulgences, the Faculty of Theology continued to endorse them, but qualified its view, stating that souls "s'en fault rapporter à Dieu, qui accepte ainsi qu'il luy pla[i]st le tresor de l'eglise applicqué ausdites ames." While Luther is credited with the launch of the Reformation, there was a strong reforming spirit moving throughout Europe.

Many in France accepted Protestant ideas and, despite the king's efforts to suppress them, particularly in the wake of the affaire des placards, Protestant churches flourished between 1555 and 1559. From Geneva came pastors who sought to expand the reformed Church in France.

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32 Farge, *Orthodoxy and Reform*, 165.
33 "Regestum conclusionem sacrae facultatis theologiae in universitate Parisiens" (1505-1533): BN MS N Acq Lat 1782, cited in Farge, *Orthodoxy and Reform*, 165.
34 Farge, *Orthodoxy and Reform*, 165.
36 Farge, *Orthodoxy and Reform*, 165.
37 Cerval, 237.
From 1555 to 1562, approximately ninety pastors came to France, most of them former students, schoolmasters, and converted Catholic clergy. While François I balanced the regulations of the Faculty of Theology with his own ideas, his sister, Marguerite d'Angoulême, embraced Lefèvre d'Étaples' views of Christian humanism. While Marguerite never embraced Lutheranism, and maintained her connection to the Roman Church, her faith was a blend of many ideas and had multiple sources, including Lutheranism. She did, however, become a defender and protector of French Protestants, including giving a position to Charles de Sainte-Marthe, who had taught at the Collège de Guyenne from 1533 to 1534. Marguerite's daughter, Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre, was among those of prominent families who converted to Protestantism in the second half of the 1550s. It is at this time that political ambition and religious difference sparked the violence that would plague France until the ascension of Henri IV and the declaration of the Edict of Nantes in 1598. Religious conflict impacted the regents at Guyenne as they faced accusations of heresy and the violent reactions to differing theological perspectives.

The influence of humanism on the Reformation has received extensive scholarly attention. The influence of the Reformation on humanism, however, has received much less scholarly study. Erika Rummel's 2000 *The Confessionalization of Humanism in Reformation Germany* provides insight into that dynamic. She argued that humanistic pedagogy became a tool in the inculcation of orthodoxy. Both sides of the religious divide used civic humanism as part of their rhetoric, which was no longer about rhetorical exploration, but rather theological dissemination. The struggle for civic power in the context of religious debate was prominent in Bordeaux. Yet, the Collège de Guyenne never became Protestant, nor did it embrace the ultra-

38 Gould, 18.
40 Gould, 67.
Catholic perspective endorsed by certain members of the Jurade. While the line between theologian and humanist blurred in numerous contexts, this was not the case at Guyenne.

The French Wars of Religion began in 1562 in response to the edict of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, which granted limited rights of assembly and worship to French Protestants. A group of Catholics, led by the Duc de Guise, sent troops against twelve-hundred Protestants who were gathered for a sermon near Vassy. Despite the edict, attacks against Protestants continued, but it was the massacre at Vassy that marked the start of the first in the French Wars of Religion. The first war ended with the Edict of Amboise (1563), but after a four-year "peace" fighting resumed and continued from 1567 to March 1568, then from September 1568 until August 1570. During these first three "wars," Protestants sought revenge for the violence at Vassy in 1562. The fighting took a distinct turn with the events known as the Saint-Bartholomew's Day Massacre in August 1572. In the wake of the massacre, the wars shifted away from court-related fighting, to conflicts between various factions, Catholic and Protestant. The fourth war continued until 1573, and in the wake of Charles IX's death in May 1574, the fifth war raged until 1576, and the sixth from 1576 until 1577. The seventh war, from 1579 to 1580, saw the beginning of problems in the line of succession, when François, the Duke of Anjou died, leaving Henri III with no son, which left Henri of Navarre, the Protestant son of Jeanne d'Albret, as the heir to the throne. From 1585 to 1598, the war shifted again as the Catholic side broke down further, and the Catholic League sought to suppress Protestants, even if it meant fighting against the king. Throughout the French Wars of Religion, the principals and regents sought to maintain the educational mandate of the Collège de Guyenne. In addition to the volatile and violent religious climate and accusations of heresy, they faced financial difficulties that resulted

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44 Roberts, 45-46.
from Henri II's response to the political unrest in the area in 1548. Despite these difficulties, the regents at the Collège persisted.

Political interests greatly influenced the educational environment of Bordeaux in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Collège de Guyenne opened in 1533 at the behest of the Jurade of Bordeaux. During the fourteenth century, Bordeaux began the process of electing city officials, known as the Jurade.\textsuperscript{45} The medieval Jurade enforced various laws and oversaw the administration of the city and the surrounding neighbourhoods and villages.\textsuperscript{46} Under François I, the Jurade's authority decreased, as the king applied unified laws across the kingdom.\textsuperscript{47} When Henri II restored the Jurade after its dissolution in the wake of the 1548 riots, he reduced the number of members to six, all of whom he had to approve.\textsuperscript{48} The number of members on the Jurade fluctuated based on political changes over the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Prior to the 1548 revolt, there were thirty members, but after the revolt, the king reduced the number to twenty-four.\textsuperscript{49} As the French monarchy consolidated power, royal concerns began to take precedence, which granted the Parlement greater authority over civil administration. The Jurade continued to function, but in a diminished capacity.\textsuperscript{50} The Bourgeois enjoyed many privileges in the city pertaining to property, succession, commerce, taxes, military service, judicial process, and the ecclesiastical burial. Not least among the privileges was the opportunity of election to the Jurade.\textsuperscript{51} The Jurade was comprised of the mayor, the jurors, a procureur-syndic, a city clerk, and a treasurer. Prior to the Revolt, mayors held the position \textit{ex officio}, but the restoration

\textsuperscript{45} H. Barckhausen, "Essai sur l'administration municipale de Bordeaux sous l'Ancien Régime." in \textit{Livres des Privilèges}, Archives Municipales de Bordeaux, volume 2 (Bordeaux: G. Gounouilhou, 1878), viii.
\textsuperscript{46} These included Libourne, Bourg, Bleye, Saint-Émilion, Castillon, Saint-Macaire, Rions, and Cadillac.
\textsuperscript{47} Barckhausen, "Essai sur l'administration," ix.
\textsuperscript{48} Barckhausen, "Essai sur l'administration," xi.
\textsuperscript{49} Barckhausen, "Essai sur l'administration," xii.
\textsuperscript{51} Barckhausen, "Essai sur l'administration," xiii.
gave a two-year term limit to the position, though the citizens of the city received the privilege of selecting the candidate.\textsuperscript{52} Those who sought election had to meet certain requirements: be a member of the bourgeois, a \textit{seigneur}, at least twenty-five years of age, and an owner of a house in the city, in which he resided, and possess one thousand \textit{livres bordelaises} as well as revenue of at least two hundred \textit{livres}.\textsuperscript{53} When a member of the Jurade left office, he was responsible to select his replacement.\textsuperscript{54} The Jurade was an elite institution, designed to protect the interests of its members and their families.

The Jurade intended to address multiple concerns with the foundation of the Collège de Guyenne. Sending children to Paris for school raised concerns about safety and well-being, but also presented significant cost. In order to address these concerns and to fulfill a desire to increase the city's prestige by having a new collegiate foundation, the Jurade, "desiring to augment the good, profit, honour, and convenience" of Bordeaux founded and equipped "a college, in like form and manner of the colleges of the city of Paris," so that the children of the city, surrounding areas, and all of the country, "with fewer fees and expenses, may study and enjoy."\textsuperscript{55} From 1515 to 1559, Bordeaux experienced enormous population growth, expanding from twenty-five thousand inhabitants and swelling to nearly fifty thousand over the period.\textsuperscript{56} The new Collège assumed the buildings where the University of Bordeaux's then defunct Collège de Grammaire had operated. The Collège de Grammaire had opened alongside the University of

\textsuperscript{52}Barckhausen, "Essai sur l'administration," xvi.
\textsuperscript{53}The \textit{livre} was a unit of weight that varied across medieval and early modern France. Like Paris, and Tours, from which \textit{livre tournois} came, the \textit{livre bordelaises} was a local unit of measure in Bordeaux. In 1549, \textit{livre tournois} became the standard unit for accounting and provincial weights were eliminated. Except for a short period between 1577 and 1602 when the \textit{écu} was the official unit, the \textit{livre tournois} was used until 1795 when \textit{franc} became the official currency of France. See Natalis de Wailly, \textit{Mémoire sur les Variations de la Livre Tournois Depuis le Règne de Saint Louis jusqu'a l'Établissement de la Monnaie Décimale} (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1857) for a detailed analysis of the composition of \textit{livre tournois}.
\textsuperscript{54}Barckhausen, "Essai sur l'administration," xvii.
\textsuperscript{55}"Procès-verbal," Gaullieur, 29. The original text appears in the Archives Départementales de la Gironde (henceforth ADG) Series 3 E 3594. (All registers are unfoliated).
\textsuperscript{56}Gould, 21.
Bordeaux in 1441 and was intended to provide the foundation in arts that students required in order to study at the University, which had opened because of anti-French sentiments in the English-ruled territory. The college was originally a city college, called either *Magna Schola Civitatis* or "collegie d'arts." With the defeat of the English in the province of Aquitaine at the end of the Hundred Years' War in 1453, the area was annexed into the Kingdom of France. While the University had strong support from Louis XI and Charles VIII, by the early sixteenth century, it, along with the Collège de Grammaire, foundered for a lack of students and a lack of prestige.

The *Statuta Nova Universitatis Burdigalae* from 1481/82 outlined the regulations for the Faculty of Arts. Regents were not to graduate students to the level of *baccalaureatus* without ensuring students had studied logic, the four books concerning physics and the two pertaining to ethics, as well as ensuring they had been appropriately examined by a jury. It is unclear precisely how the Collège de Grammaire operated. In 1533, the Jurade de Bordeaux reduced the number of professors in the faculty of Law at the University of Bordeaux due to "la rareté des escoliers." In 1525, Jehan Alauso led the Collège de Grammaire. He was an excellent teacher and successfully taught numerous students, setting them on "une excellente voie." Like many other medieval schools, which depended on a solitary teacher of note, Alauso's departure or death in 1532, led to a significant decline in the quality of teaching available at the Collège de Grammaire. Parents had to send their children to Toulouse and Paris for their studies, but that

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57 H. Barckhausen, *Statuts et Règlements de l'Ancienne Université de Bordeaux (1441-1793)* (Georges Bouchon: Bordeaux, 1886), xix.
58 Gaullieur, 24-25.
60 "Délibération des Jurats de Bordeaux réduisant le nombre de Professeurs de la Faculté de Droit, de .... 1533," in Barckhausen, *Statuts*, 49.
61 Gaullieur, 24.
did not appeal to them as they could no longer monitor their children, in their studies or well-being. The Jurade quickly responded with a new Collège, in the spirit of the new collegiate trend that was emerging in France at this time.

The Collège de Guyenne's place in Renaissance and Reformation history of Bordeaux has resulted in significant local scholarly attention. The brief history of the Collège de Guyenne on the website for l'École de Commerce Humaniste aligns with the historical perspective Ernest Gaullieur sought to refute when he published *Histoire du Collège de Guyenne* in 1874. Gaullieur's book appeared during the nineteenth century when questions about the continued place of classical education in modern classrooms. With his history of the Collège de Guyenne, Gaullieur inspired other scholars, such as Paul Courteault and later Roger Trinquet, to investigate the founders and foundation of the Collège. Their expanded source base added to and corrected Gaullieur's institutional tome. Interest in the Collège transformed from the specifics of the institution to considerations of its place in the educational history of France. In particular, George Huppert set out to "repair some of the malign neglect incurred by scholars" who wrote the institutional histories of early modern French schools. In particular, he wanted to correct Jesuit histories, François de Dainville's in particular, that failed to acknowledge the Renaissance educational tradition in France that predated the foundation of Jesuit colleges. More recently, historians have used Gaullieur's valuable institutional history of the Collège to understand phenomena that affected France, such as Sara Beam's investigations of the establishment of the

66 Huppert, *Public Schools*, xiii.
absolute monarchy,\textsuperscript{67} and Kevin Gould's research into Catholic activity in south-west France.\textsuperscript{68} Extensive historiographical developments in the areas of French Renaissance and Reformation provide a broader context by which to understand the developments that shaped the Collège de Guyenne. The regents at the Collège de Guyenne walked a fine line between the demands to maintain tradition and to pursue transformation.

**Overview of Chapters**

The Collège de Guyenne emerged from the educational development of the sixteenth century, yet embraced a highly evolved and sensitive view of contemporary trends. The regents of the Collège were agents of change, who created an educational culture that was alert to the swirling circumstances surrounding them. In addition to their roles as teachers at the Collège, the regents balanced the demands of a changing city and shaped their students to be tempered and nuanced in their responses to change. Many cities across Europe established new colleges or gymnasia in order to provide sound education for the growing burgher class. In many ways, the Collège de Guyenne is one example among many. The curriculum followed the *modus parisiensis*, which used entrance exams to determine students' placement into one of ten classes, each of which followed a prescribed format and advanced students as they achieved each level.

Chapter two examines the historiography, methods, and sources for this project. Until now, the historiography has examined the Collège de Guyenne for its educational place in Bordeaux. This project studies the Collège for its political contributions to the city's identity. Chapter three, "The *Modus Parisiensis* at the Collège de Guyenne," explores in detail the Collège's mandate from the Jurade to follow the "manyere des coleges de la ville de Paris,"\textsuperscript{69} that is, the *modus*


\textsuperscript{69} "Procès-verbal," in Gaullieur, 29.
parisiensis, as outlined in Robert Goulet's *Compendium*, and the curricular format it followed in the 1580s. The *modus parisiensis* was a global export across early modern Europe. By 1583, when Elie Vinet published *Schola Aquitanica*, the rhetorical campaign for the greatness of the Collège de Guyenne had come to fruition. In a precarious time for humane learning, Guyenne's programme could be a guide for other such institutions.

The Collège was attached to a University, like many of the medieval colleges in France. On closer examination, however, the Collège de Guyenne was distinct from those other colleges. Despite a flurry of collegiate foundations in the early sixteenth century, many cities were unable to maintain their colleges, and rather than close them, they turned them over to the Jesuits, who had adopted education at the core of their mission. One example of a college that was unable to recruit and retain faculty was the Collège de la Trinité, which opened in Lyon in 1527. It was a direct result of the spread of Renaissance ideas and the city's desire to educate youth from within and around the city. By 1540, the Collège de la Trinité established guidelines for selecting regents, which required that a regent would be "révééré, crainct, et aymés" by students and who would carry themselves with dignity and gravitas. Charles de Sainte-Marthe, a former regent from the Collège de Guyenne, taught at Lyon from 1537 to 1540. After years of religious turmoil, when the principal died in 1561, the city council turned management of the Collège de la Trinité over to the Jesuits, who maintained it until 1595. Unlike the Collège de la Trinité which in the face of financial challenges became a Jesuit college, the Collège de Guyenne maintained its position as the city's college until the end of the eighteenth century, despite financial challenges, suspicions of heresy, and religious conflicts among members of the Jurade.

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71 "Formulaire et Institution du Collège de la Trinité de Lyon," in Groër, 207.
72 Groër, 55.
The King of Portugal made a similar decision to give the Jesuits responsibility for the College of Arts attached to the University of Coimbra in 1555, when factions from Paris and Bordeaux disagreed about the management of the college. The Jesuits came to Bordeaux in 1570, but started their own rival college rather than assume leadership of Guyenne. Chapter four, "The Crossroads: The Collège and the Reformation," elucidates the Collège de Guyenne's experience of the Reformation. While the religious turmoil surged, and various people tried to control the upheaval, including the arrival of the Jesuits and the opening of a new college, the Collège de Guyenne maintained its balanced and nuanced approach to religion, and did not succumb to pressures on either side of the religious conflict.

In line with intellectual trends of the period, the regents at the Collège de Guyenne looked to Antiquity for role models. In Bordeaux, they found an excellent one in Ausonius. As a teacher, poet, and politician, Ausonius was a classical model well suited for the ambitions of regents at the Collège. Moreover, Ausonius' city became home to many of the regents, whether in body as they purchased homes and settled into the political and economic culture of the city, or in spirit as they departed Bordeaux yet maintained connections to the city and its culture. Chapter five, "Becoming Bordelais: The Collège in Urban and National Identity," examines the process by which some of these regents became Bordelais. As regents, they became part of the city's routines, but for some, the city became home, where they married, owned property, and in some instances became intermediaries in trade. Teaching brought them to Bordeaux, but it was the life of the city, where they balanced Italian, Iberian, and Northern humanism, that granted them a place to settle and live out their ideals.

In the process of becoming citizens and contributing to the city's growth and development, the regents of the Collège de Guyenne were instrumental in the transformation of
Bordeaux from an Anglo-Gascon province to an important French city. Chapter six, "Civic Dynamism and Humanist Contributions to Bordeaux's French Identity," elucidates the role of the regents of the Collège de Guyenne in the process of reviving ancient Burdigala, how they rescued it from the medieval past that had obscured and ruined it, and remade it into a living Franco-Roman city, to the glory of France. The regents understood the suspicion that surrounded Bordeaux and they helped to demonstrate its proud history as a provincial civitas of the ancient Roman Empire and the city's loyalty to the growing French monarchy. The regents at the Collège de Guyenne formed a relationship with the city of Bordeaux, through which they became integral to social fabric of the city. The work of the regents at Guyenne is evident in the life of Michel de Montaigne, whose decisions and perspectives reflect the formation he received at the Collège de Guyenne. He loved his school and called it the best in France. Through the education he received, he became a student of knowledge and history, as per the humanist curriculum, but also developed the capacity to hold different perspectives in tension and maintain a middle position amidst possible extremes in the sixteenth century. Uncertainty and intense change were unable to break the spirits of the regents at the Collège de Guyenne. As intellectual, religious, political, and educational transformation churned, the regents held fast to their commitment to humanist learning. They persisted in their openness to differing perspectives. Above all, they maintained the Collège de Guyenne as a place to shape the minds of students as tempered thinkers.
CHAPTER II:

HISTORIOGRAPHY, METHODOLOGIES, AND SOURCES

In 1578, in anticipation of Catherine of Medici's visit to Bordeaux, the Jurade composed a request for an increase in the Collège de Guyenne's funding. Their request opened with a short introduction to the Collège: "En ceste ville il y a un collegie, nommé Le Collège de Guienne, qui est un des premiers et des plus anciens collèges de la France et duquel Ausone faict mention, ensemble des grands et excellans personnages regens qui etoient en son temps."¹ In the Collège's imagined history, it was an inheritor of the great tradition of teaching in Bordeaux that dated to the fourth century and its famous teacher, Ausonius. This marks the beginning of the historiography of the Collège de Guyenne. Soon after, Gabriel de Lurbe (d. 1613), one of the earliest historians of the city of Bordeaux, after Elie Vinet, wrote his chronicle. He was born in Bordeaux and became a procureur syndic de la Ville de Bordeaux in 1572. He published his first history of the city in Latin in 1589 and later in French in 1594.² The Collège appears in de Lurbe's chronological account of Bordeaux, which was an overview of the city's history from its ancient foundations when Julius Caesar conquered Gaul up to the end of the sixteenth century. The chronicle addressed significant events in the city's past, and explored sources and their significance. The Collège de Guyenne appears in three discrete entries. The first discussed the arrival of the Collège's second principal: "André de Gouea Portugais est appellé de Paris pour estre principal du College de Guylene: remet auec l'assistance de plusieurs excellens personnages, ledit College, entré lesquels estoient Math. Corderius, Claude Budin, Ant. Gouea, Iean Costa, George Buchanan; Nic. Gruchius, Guil. Guerentée, Iacq. Teuius, & Elie Vinet."³ In this short

² Desgraves, La Vie Intellectuelle de Bordeaux aux XVie et XVIIe siècles (Bordeaux: Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes, 1957), 82.
³ Gabriel de Lurbe, Chronique Bourdeloise, Composee cy devan en Latin (Bordeaux: Simon Millanges, 1619), 40v.
entry for 1534, de Lurbe compressed five years of the Collège's history and highlighted the names of the most well-known regents who taught during that period. The next event in the Collège's history he noted was Gouveia's departure in 1546 and Jehan Gelida's appointment as his replacement. The third event was Marc Antoine Muret's arrival in 1547, who de Lurbe credited as a man of "grande reputation." De Lurbe gave snapshots of events at the Collège de Guyenne in the context of the events of the city. The chronological nature of his text lends itself to this style, but his view of the Collège highlighted only three occasions of significance, and he dated them incorrectly.

The Collège's significance to the city's identity continued into the eighteenth century, when a debate emerged concerning the Collège de Guyenne and the Jesuit Collège de la Madeleine. In 1737, Jesuits had presented a memoire to the Cardinal of Fleury, the Bishop of Frejus and chief minister to Louis XV, in which they stated that "il y a dans la ville de Bordeaux de collège unis à l'Université, l'un qu'on appelle le collège de Guyenne, et l'autre celuy des Jésuites, établis et agrégés à l'Université en 1573." In response to this statement, the mayor and the Jurade sent their own memoire to the Cardinal of Fleury, contesting the Jesuit account of the two colleges. They opened their memoire with an acknowledgement that there were indeed two colleges in the city, "un très ancien qui porte le nom de la province et qui est autant célèbre par son antiquité que par le nombre des grands hommes qui y ont enseigné et qui l'ont rendu un des plus florissant de l'Europe, l'autre, asses moderne, est celuy des pères jésuites fondé en l'année 1573." The letter traced the Jurade's relationship to the University of Bordeaux from its establishment in 1441 and the support and endorsements that the University, and therefore the

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4 de Lurbe, 41.
5 de Lurbe, 41v.
6 Inventaire Sommaire des Registres de la Jurade, 1520-1783, Edited by Dast le Vacher de Boisville, Volume 1 (Bordeaux: G. Gounouilhou, 1896), 362.
7 Inventaire Sommaire, 366.
Jurade, had received from clerics and kings. It went further to discuss the functions and relationship between the two colleges from the foundation of the Collège de la Madeleine up to 1737. The letter, while a response to a particular issue pertaining to the rights and privileges of these two Colleges in the eighteenth century, reveals an ingrained belief about the lineage and history of the Collège de Guyenne, one that extended beyond its foundation date into antiquity. De Lurbe and the letters of 1737 demonstrate the imagined past people held about the Collège.

In modern historiography, the Collège de Guyenne became an integral part of studies into the Renaissance in Bordeaux. Reinhold Dezeimeris (1835-1913), a specialist in the local history of Bordeaux, linked the foundation of the Collège Royal in Paris, the future Collège de France, and the subsequent foundation of the Collège de Guyenne to François I's Renaissance initiatives that emerged after he signed the peace of Cambrai with Charles V. Through the foundation of the Collège de Guyenne, according to Dezeimeris, François I launched a period of great intellectual richness, in which "l'âge brillant d'Ausone semblait renaître" in the city and out of which emerged many "vigoureux soldats à la république des lettres." In his history, Dezeimeris used educational history to illustrate broader Renaissance developments in Bordeaux. This approach to the history of the Collège de Guyenne parallels the broader nineteenth-century trend in writing about the history of education, which is most clearly seen in the research of Jacob Burckhardt (1818-1897), a Swiss historian of art and culture, who studied the Renaissance in order to elucidate the cultural values of "old Europe," which he considered superior to those of his day. His 1860 publication, Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien: Ein Veruch, published in English as The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy: An Essay, continues to serve as the

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8 Reinhold Dezeimeris, De la Renaissance des Lettres à Bordeaux au seizième siècle (Bordeaux: P. Chaumas, 1864), 15.
9 Dezeimeris, 19.
foundation for much Renaissance scholarship. Sections of Burckhardt's book studied education through forms of Latin instruction. In his analysis, four men represented the best educators of princely Italian families: Vittorino da Feltre, Guarino da Verona, Pier Paolo Vergerio, and Aeneas Sylvius. Education, for Burckhardt, highlighted the distinct break between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. John Addington Symonds (1840-1893), an English poet and literary critic, who dedicated an entire volume in his seven-volume series to the study of education, adopted this same approach. F.N.V. Painter also took an integrative approach to the study of education and Reformation. He considered Luther's educational reforms as significant as his religious reforms. These scholars viewed Renaissance and Reformation education as a new venture that differed from that offered during the Middle Ages. Education became a tool to bring light to a "dark world" in need of rescue.

Throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century, scholars endeavoured to elucidate the institutional histories of local colleges. The first of those who published was Ernest Gaullier (1827-1893), who was born in Bordeaux and eventually became the director of the Archives Municipales de la Ville de Bordeaux in 1867. When Gaullier launched his investigation into the Collège de Guyenne, he wanted to address the direct connection between education in the third century and in the sixteenth century that previous scholars had claimed for the Collège. When Gaullier assumed his position as the director of the Archives, it was


14 For an extensive list of monographs that explore the history of local colleges, see Huppert, *Public Schools in Renaissance France*, 148-151. The majority of that bibliography contains sources published in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

15 It is interesting to note that this belief persists in Bordeaux today, despite the efforts of many historians. A local college in Bordeaux states that it takes the best aspects of the educational tradition from the Collège de Guyenne "qui a existé de façon intermittente entre le IIIème et le XVIIIème siècle à Bordeaux, et maintenant le XXIème
shortly after a fire had destroyed a large portion of the archives.\textsuperscript{16} From the remaining sources and Dezeimeris' research, Gaullier pieced together the history of the Collège de Guyenne from its inception in 1533 as a response of the Jurade to the failing Collège de Grammaire attached to the University of Bordeaux. Gaullier's objective was to elucidate the history of an institution whose foundation titles had disappeared, and which was frequently built on "fables grossières" that had become accepted as truth.\textsuperscript{17} In the absence of a historical record, people fabricated the history of the Collège de Guyenne, arguing that it had started during the time of the Druids, or that Charlemagne or Louis IX had granted the land.\textsuperscript{18} Drawing from records maintained at the Archives Départementales de la Gironde, the Bibliothèque de Bordeaux and the Archives Municipales de Bordeaux and despite the lacuna in the records lost due to the passage of time or the 1862 fire, Gaullier found numerous extant sources pertaining to the history of the Collège de Guyenne. He edited and published a portion of them in his volume, and produced an extensive institutional history of the Collège from its inception in 1533 to its transformation during the French Revolution into the Collège National in 1791, at which point the Collège de Guyenne ceased to exist.\textsuperscript{19} Like in Paris, a lack of bread and excessive debt were prevalent in Bordeaux. The city's first bread riots broke out in 1791 and by 1793, the city was deeply in debt. Violence erupted throughout the city and the National Guard killed one of the protesters, which

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\textit{Au IIIème siècle, le collège accueille le futur poète Ausone, qui en sera ensuite un professeur. Au XVIème siècle, il est recréé par Fernando Gouvea, un professeur portugais venu du Collège Sainte Barbe à Paris, à la demande des jurats de Bordeaux. A cette époque, le collège de Guyenne compte un jeune inconnu parmi ses élèves : Michel de Montaigne. Le plus illustre de nos anciens élèves, qui nous parle et nous inspire encore aujourd'hui avec ses \textit{Essais}...C'est un collège chrétien, et si aujourd'hui le Bordeaux MBA est ouvert à tous, sans distinction de croyances, il attache beaucoup d'importance à cette filiation pédagogique et spirituelle.} See Bordeaux MBA: Collège International de Commerce, "\textit{Notre Histoire}," http://www.bordeaux-mba.fr/parents/notice-histoire.html (accessed April 29, 2016).
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{16} Gaullier, preface.
\textsuperscript{17} Gaullier, preface.
\textsuperscript{18} Gaullier, preface.
\textsuperscript{19} Gaullier, 530.
escalated the violence further. Continued revolt in Bordeaux brought additional military intervention from Paris, and by August of 1793, two thousand French soldiers surrounded Bordeaux. By September, the municipal council toppled, and the Club National assumed the sole legal position in Bordeaux. Education was a popular theme in the *cahiers de doléances* submitted in 1788 by election districts as testified by the extensive records of proposed projects in the Revolutionary archives. Four themes informed educational debates at the time: nationalization, politicization, democratization, and modernization, but in the wake of the 1789 National Convention, French universities were suppressed, rather than reformed. In many cases, the universities were *biens éclésiastiques*, the sale of which generated revenue to offset the deficit of the Bourbon monarchy. The colleges that were not sold were turned over to the newly created national offices, which collected the income and managed the expenses of the college. In 1791, the Collège National opened, and in 1793, the University of Bordeaux disbanded, by a law issued on 15 September 1793, which concluded its terms "les collèges de plein exercice et les facultés de théologie, de médecine, des arts et de droit, son supprimées sur toute la surface de la République!" Education was no longer a civic issue, but rather a national one aimed to clarify levels of education, and to make French, rather than Latin, the centre of the curriculum.

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21 Auerbach, 160.
While lost sources and time had obscured the history of the Collège, Gaullieur identified three aspects of Bordeaux that were historically consistent: the city as a commercial, martial, and intellectual centre. Gaullieur intended to illuminate what he considered the overlooked aspect of the city as an intellectual centre. He, in general, approached this history chronologically. His work began with an introductory chapter designed to explain the educational practices and institutions in Bordeaux before the University of Bordeaux was established in 1441. This chapter demonstrates Bordeaux's long history as an intellectual centre. The context in which the Collège emerged was important to Gaullieur, both to defend his position concerning the city, but also to demonstrate that the Collège de Guyenne did not emerge from an unbroken educational lineage that dated to the école bordelaise of the fourth and fifth centuries. This disproved a document produced by the Jurade in 1763 that argued "Le Collège de Guyenne établie a Bordeaux est un des écoles les plus anciennes du royaume; les historiens font foy de sa célébrité; les Ausonne, les Scaliger, les Montaigne en sont les garands et les preuves. L'époque de la fondation et de la forme d'administration du Collège de Guyenne remonte au temps des empereurs romains." Further, the masters at the Collège addressed a request to Comte de Saint-Florentin, the minister and secretary of state, regarding their appointments on the ground that the Collège had run since the third century. The masters produced a notice for the Almanach historique de la province de Guienne, which assigned a third-century origin to the Collège. Gaullieur expressed concerns with "jurats, professeurs, historiens [qui] relient les deux époques si brillantes d'Ausone et de Gouvéa, sautant à pieds joints par dessus les douze siècles

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29 Gaullieur, 1.
30 Archives de la Ville de Bordeaux, series GG, carton 297, Mémoire contre le sieur Saint-Martin, avocat, docteur régent de l'Université, 12-13, cited in Gaullieur, xxv.
31 Gaullieur, xxvi.
qui les séparent." Gaullieur found one historian from the eighteenth century, Abbott Charles Bellet, a member of the Académie des Belles-lettres de Montauban, who wrote that "ce collège est fondé semblable à un chêne qui commence à sortir du gland, ne prit de croissance que sous le règne d'un prince qui aima les sciences et qui vouloit les rétablir dans son royaume." Bellet's description pleased Gaullieur, who argued that "la création du Collège des Arts qui, par une transformation complète et des agrandissements considérables, devint en 1533 le Collège de Guyenne, est due aux jurats; elle date de l'époque de la fondation même de l'Université, c'est-à-dire de l'année 1441." Gaullieur tied the foundation of the Collège de Guyenne to that of the Collège des Arts, with the caveat that Guyenne required a major reconstruction of the buildings and curriculum. Gaullieur's Histoire du Collège de Guyenne remains an essential source in the study of the Collège's history. It is comprehensive, though sometimes incomplete due to a lack of sources outside of Bordelais repositories, and provides transcriptions of documents with frequently illegible text.

Research into the history of education proliferated as educators addressed concerns about the nature and structure of education. Questions emerged about the elective system, the value of studying the classics, the function of the college and its relation to high school and university, and the problem of moral and religious training. In order to address these questions, scholars turned to medieval and Renaissance education. Levi Seeley (1847-1928) was an educator and

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32 Gaullieur, xxvi.
35 Gaullieur, xxvii.
36 In my research I found two authors who noted the particular challenges of reading the Bordelais records. In 1867, Francisque-Michel thanked Ernest Gaullieur in his book Histoire de Commerce et de la Navigation à Bordeaux: Principalement sous l'Administration Anglaise because "pendant plusieurs année avec les difficultés que présentent les écritures des anciens notaires de Bordeaux, je n'aurais pas toujours triomphé de ces obstacles sans l'assistance de cet employé modeste et laborieux." See page viii. Historians of the twenty-first century have not found ways to simplify the task either. In her 2011 book, Le Parlement de Bordeaux et la «Loi» (1451-1547), Élise Frélon notes "sans nul doute les difficultés inhérentes aux sources - maîtrise de la diplomatique de la paléographie - explique pour beaucoup le peu d'intérêt marqué pour une période essentielle." See page 17.
author who intended his book *The History of Education* to encourage teachers by providing heroic examples for teachers to follow. Gabriel Compayré (1843-1913), an educational theorist and French politician, wrote *L'éducation intellectuelle et morale* in order to trace the history of teacher's objectives in intellectual and moral formation in primary and secondary school. Educational historian William Harrison Woodward (1856-1941) wrote three books about Renaissance education that became a *de facto* trilogy on the subject by the early 1970s when Craig R. Thompson republished them. Woodward's goal was to illuminate specifically the educational works of these men at a time when interest in education was deepening. This same modern interest in classical education informed his monograph on education between 1400 and 1600. Woodward approached his history of education from a trans-confessional, pan-European perspective, which appealed to later scholars because it lacked "polemical overtones which so easily date the words of his contemporaries." He treated each writer biographically and chronologically, and noted points of intersection and influence for these scholars and the movement of their ideas, including a chapter on the Collège de Guyenne and the contributions Maturin Cordier made to that programme. Arthur Francis Leach (1851-1915) developed a

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major research project on the history of English schools. Leach's research emerged from nineteenth-century desires to reform national institutions after the Napoleonic wars. At the request of the Charity Commission for which Leach worked, he investigated the history of two charitable schools, the Prebendal School at Chichester and the Southwell Grammar School. Through his research, Leach discovered that many non-monastic schools existed from as early as the fourteenth century. Leach emphasised non-monastic education so strongly that he overlooked monastic contributions. Like Leach, Foster Watson (1860-1929) studied English education and attributed its foundations to the work of Mary Tudor's tutor, the Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives. He also translated Vives' educational treatise De Tradendis Disciplinis (1913) and his Tudor School-Boy Life (1908). Watson himself was a teacher and viewed the study of history as part of preparation for the present.

The educational programme of the Collège de Guyenne, recorded by Elie Vinet in 1583, drew interest in this vein because it represented "[une] partie d'un des plus brillants épisodes du développement des études en France au XVIe siècle," and was a "rareté de ce genre de documents" which preceded the educational reforms of the Protestants and Jesuits. It was for this reason that Louis Massebieau produced a parallel translation of the text. Massebieau (1840-1904) was a historian of Christianity's origins, who worked as the Maître de conférences à la Faculté de théologie protestante de Paris (1877) and the Maître de conférences à l'École

46 Orme, Medieval Schools, 5.
He was also one of the few scholars who studied the Collège de Guyenne who did not live or work in Bordeaux. The absence of _Schola Aquitanica_ was a gap in Gaullieur's research. As he did not have access to a copy, he relied on citations of it in Quicherat's _Histoire de Sainte-Barbe_. Quicherat used the text as a lens through which to see how the pedagogies developed at Sainte-Barbe, though perfected and improved at Guyenne, were implemented in the "terre vierge du Bordelais." Gaullieur expressed regret that "la ville de Bordeaux ne possède pas un seul exemplaire de ce livre, si précieux pour notre histoire locale et qu'il faudrait se procurer à tout prix." Massebieau wrote a short introductory history of the Collège as a preface to his edition. He adopted Gaullieur's thesis that the Collège de Guyenne constituted a part of the University of Bordeaux. Massebieau acknowledged that Vinet published the programme, but he credited André de Gouveia as its author who drew on the knowledge of Maturin Cordier and Claude Budin in its development. Massebieau justified this assertion because of Cordier's role in "la restauration de plusieurs collèges," both French and foreign. His association of Budin with the project is from a comment that he had written "un ordre d'enseigner les enfants," though he does not provide any further information about that text. Massebieau's edition of Vinet's _Schola Aquitanica_ filled the gap in Gaullieur's _Histoire_ and even recommended that Gaullieur should fill "cette lacune dans une second édition et d'achever ainsi de consolider un ouvrage déjà construit pour la plus grande partie avec des documents originaux." Providing a textual edition to assist Gaullieur in the production of a revised edition, however, was not Massebieau's primary objective: rather, he

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52 Gaullieur, 105.
54 Gaullieur, 105. See note 2.
55 Massebieau, vi.
56 Massebieau, vi.
57 Massebieau, xv.
sought to place the programme of the Collège de Guyenne beside those generated in Strasbourg and Geneva, as well as those written by the Jesuits. In his estimation, the programme at Guyenne could stand among those written by Aeneas Silvius, Jean Pellisson, and Maturin Cordier, who were the most famous in the period. Massebieau wanted to ensure that the excellent programme at the Collège de Guyenne received the credit it was due.

Scholars who studied the history of education exercised influence in the early twentieth century. Scholars of the late twentieth century have valued Woodward's and Watson's translation of these early modern treatises, but less so their conclusions, which have received significant criticism for their contemporary focus and assumption that such ideas represented early modern practice. For example, in his study of universities, V. Morgan (1978) accused early twentieth-century historians who discussed education of being concerned "with gathering historical justifications for contemporary educational nostrums, or identifying the earliest instance of a pedagogic practice that meets with modern approbation." Indeed, they narrowly focused their research and used sources to support a contemporary perspective on education; however, they raised important questions about the history of education and provided useful translations of early modern educational texts.

Historians in Bordeaux continued to contribute to the research into the Collège de Guyenne. As an historian, archaeologist, and professor of history at the University of Bordeaux,

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58 That is, Enea Silvio Bartolomeo Piccolomini (18 October 1405-14 August 1464), who became Pope Pius II on 19 August 1458. Silvius was Sienese and wrote De liberorum educatione in 1450 for King Ladislas of Bohemia and Hungary.

59 Jean Pellisson was a pedagogue and grammarian during the sixteenth century. He was born in Condrieu, France, which is in the Rhône valley, but his birth and death dates are unknown. He served as the principal of the Collège de Tournon and published editions of Despauterius' grammar, with commentaries. See Bibliothèque Nationale de France, http://data.bnf.fr/13482408/jean_pellisson/(accessed April 29, 2016).

60 A longer treatment of Mathurin Cordier appears in Chapter 2: The Collège at the Crossroads.

61 Massebieau, xv.

and as the *Conservateur des musées de la ville de Bordeaux*, Paul Courteault (1868-1950) worked to elucidate more of the Collège's history, in particular, through the lens of research into the life and work of Elie Vinet. In 1907, he published *Élie Vinet et ses travaux d'antiquités locales* in which he explored the historical works Vinet published. This small publication set out to correct the work of Ernest Labadie (1845-1917), a Bordelais bibliophile, who published a long study of Vinet's *L'Antiquité de Bordeaux et de Bourg*, also in 1907. In most things, Courteault followed Labadie's study, but offered corrections where he found evidence to indicate where Labadie erred. Courteault's research into Vinet continued and in 1909, he participated in the celebration of the four-hundredth anniversary of Vinet's birth. In the introduction to the hortatory publication, H. De La Ville de Mirmont placed their 1909 homage alongside those Simon Millanges had published in the preface to his posthumous 1590 edition of Vinet's *Opera*. He wrote that "les amis bordelais de Vinet, médecins, magistrats, avocats, et ses compatriotes de Saintonge ne furent pas les seuls à envoyer à Millanges leurs vers ou leur prose; des élégies, des épitaphs vinrent aussi de Paris." These records formed the foundation of Mirmont's research into Vinet's life and corpus. Gaullieur's *Histoire du Collège de Guyenne* informed his research, but Mirmont questioned Gaullieur's conclusions with regards to extant copies of Vinet's works. In particular, Mirmont drew attention to Richard Pichon's catalogue of Vinet's library, which he began on 5 August 1591 and completed on 17 October of the same year, which Gaullieur cited as

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66 Courteault, *Travaux d'antiquités locales*, 6, note 1. Here, Courteault highlights Labadie's error in his use of *L'Entrée du Roi à Bordeaux* (1565) where he added a poem that was not included in the original text.
evidence that Vinet never published his *Rudimenta linguae Graecae*. Using internal evidence in Vinet's *Schola Aquitanica*, Mirmont argued that Vinet did indeed publish his Greek grammar, when he wrote that

Le 1er octobre, lorsque les élèves ont déjà été examinés et classés, les deux professeurs publics qui enseignent dans la grande salle, entrent aussitôt en fonctions. Celui de grec, à une heure de l'après midi, commence tous les ans en apprenant aux écoliers les éléments de la langue grecque, d'après l'Alphabet, et les Flexions des noms et des verbes éditées par S. Millanges.\(^69\)

The document in question was *Alphabetus et nominum ac verborum declinationes quos S. Millangius edidit*, which Mirmont identified as Vinet's Greek language *Rudimenta linguae Graecae*.\(^70\) This celebratory collection built on Gaullieur's foundational work and expanded knowledge of both the Collège de Guyenne and its famous principal, Elie Vinet.

The Collège's international connections led to additional discoveries in archives outside of France. Marcel Bataillon (1895-1977) refuted the idea that there were so few sources pertaining to the history of the Collège de Guyenne "à son moment le plus glorieux."\(^71\) Bataillon made such a discovery during his research at the Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo in Portugal.\(^72\) While he was conducting research on Renaissance humanism in Portugal, he found that a letter previously attributed to Diogo de Gouveia was actually by André de Gouveia.\(^73\) Bataillon speculated that undiscovered sources remained that would enable new insights into the Collège de Guyenne and its masters. Additionally, several of Vinet's letters had been published

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\(^69\) Massebieau, 27.

\(^70\) Mirmont, xliv.


\(^72\) Bataillon, 110. The article was originally printed in 1928 and the chapter in this history is a reprint. See "Sur André de Gouvéa, Principal du Collège de Guyenne," *Revue Historique de Bordeaux* (1928): 49-62.

\(^73\) Bataillon, 110, note 2. Bataillon explained the process by which the letter became misfiled under Diogo de Gouveia. Mário Brandão also published the letter in 1944 in *O processo na Inquisição de Mestre João da Costa*, but Bataillon corrected a few details according to his own reading.
in the *Archives Historiques de la Gironde*. Dezeimeris collected sources pertaining to that history, and published a volume entitled *Autographes de personnages ayant marqué dans l'histoire de Bordeaux et de la Guyenne* for the Société des Archives historiques de la Gironde. He worked at the Bibliothèque municipale de Bordeaux from 1885 to 1890. He was also a member of l'Académie des Sciences, Belles-Lettres et Arts de Bordeaux and served as the president of the Société des Bibliophiles de Guyenne. He found additional letters Vinet wrote that were preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in the *fonds Dupuy*, which he also published in the *Archives Historiques*. The Library of Edinburgh preserved Vinet's letters to Buchanan and published them in 1715 and again in 1725 as an edition of Buchanan's *Opera omnia*. In 1873, a professor of philology at the University of Berne, Hermann Hagen, published a study on Pierre Daniel, in which he included eighteen letters, five of which were from Vinet. In celebration of the four-hundredth anniversary of Vinet's birth, Dezeimeris and Courteault assembled and edited thirteen of his letters, including one that had not been previously published.

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77 Gaulleir, décadion.
80 Hermann Hagen, *Der Jurist und Philolog Peter Daniel aus Orleans* (Bern: Fischer, 1873).
As research continued to develop, scholars uncovered more sources pertaining to the Collège de Guyenne and the masters who taught there. Courteault expanded on the Collège's origin that Gaullieur provided in his "ouvrage classique," but with the caveat that using it required caution. While Gaullieur had assembled many documents pertaining to the Collège, his interpretation of those texts required revision. Courteault introduced his investigation into the Collège's foundation with an eighteenth-century account in Dom Devienne's Histoire de la Ville de Bordeaux (1771), in which Devienne attributed the foundation of the Collège to François I's royal entry in 1526 and his subsequent sojourn in Bordeaux as he travelled to wed Eleanor of Portugal in 1530. Courteault noted that in 1530 François had instituted six royal lecturers in the city, to which, he argued, Gaullieur had paid insufficient attention. These lecturers, according to Courteault, were the impetus for the creation of the Collège de Guyenne as per the procès-verbal that outlined a curricular format that mirrored what François I had implemented at the Collège royal in Paris. Courteault noted that Gaullieur's argument that the Jurade set the programme of the Collège outlined in the procès-verbal was based on tenuous evidence, that the text had been written "entier de la main du notaire Mathieu Contat," which Courteault argued neglected the fact that Tartas arrived in Bordeaux on 10 December 1532, which predated the foundation of the Collège on 22 February 1533.

As social history thrived in the 1960s and 1970s, scholars began to explore medieval and early modern education through the study of ecclesiastical and school records in order to reveal

82 Courteault, "Le premier principal," 243.
83 Charles-Jean-Baptiste Devienne, Histoire de la Ville de Bordeaux (Bordeaux: Veuve de Nicolas Desaint, 1771).
84 Courteault, "Le premier principal," 234-235. Dom Devienne was born Charles-Jean-Baptiste d’Agneaux (1728-1792). He was a Benedictine monk at the congregation de St. Maur from 1745-1772. He was an historian and in 1754 the Jurade de Bordeaux commissioned him to write a history of the city.
85 Courteault, "Le premier principal," 235.
86 Courteault, "Le premier principal," 235.
87 Gaullieur, 31.
88 Courteault, "Le premier principal," 235.
educational practice. These scholars rejected the assumption that educational treatises can reveal the daily experience of early modern education. There are several scholars of note in the shift towards social and cultural analysis of education: Robert Black, Paul F. Grendler, Richard L. Kagan, Nicholas Orme, François de Dainville and George Huppert.\(^8^9\) Through the study of institutional registers, matriculation records, and civil documents, these scholars have identified the diverse function and composition of schools in the medieval and early modern periods, but more specifically, these scholars developed research in particular national contexts.

Paul F. Grendler has researched intellectual and educational culture in Italy since the 1960s. His contributions are extensive. In 1989, Grendler published a monograph that examined the records of Latin and vernacular schools in Venice, Florence, and Rome. Through these

\(^8^9\) Robert Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).


_____., *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Learning and Literacy, 1300-1600* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989).


_____., *The University of Mantua, the Gonzaga and the Jesuits, 1584-1630* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).


sources, Grendler determined the number of pupils who attended, as well as the predominantly merchant and noble backgrounds of those students.\textsuperscript{90} He identified the people who constituted the teaching core: clerics, laymen, and a few women and concluded that medieval educational systems continued throughout the Renaissance period with very little change until the sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{91} Robert Black agreed that there was little change between 1200 and 1400, but indicated that the humanists affected significant changes in fifteenth-century curriculum. Black used schoolbooks found in Florentine libraries dated from 1200 to 1500 to support his thesis that medieval grammatical approaches persisted to the fifteenth century when humanist influence changed grammatical instruction.\textsuperscript{92} From these sources, Black argued against Grendler that teachers did not address, nor did students study ethics in the classroom, even in humanist curriculum.\textsuperscript{93}

Richard L. Kagan, a historian of early modern Spain, published a monograph in 1974 that examined early modern Spanish education and focused on its contributions to social control and professional training, as well as its contribution to the bureaucratization of Habsburg Spain. Kagan’s goal was to understand changes in the "extent, utilization, and the role of educational institutions in society."\textsuperscript{94} Through the study of student matriculation records, Kagan concluded that legal training emerged as the primary educational path in the pursuit of roles in royal and aristocratic administration. Through the study of the rise and decline of universities, Kagan sought insight into the decline of Spain. He concluded that the teachers' desire for "profit and

\textsuperscript{90} Grendler, \textit{Schooling}, 2.
\textsuperscript{91} Grendler, \textit{Schooling}, 3.
\textsuperscript{92} Black, \textit{Humanism and Education}, 170.
\textsuperscript{93} Black, \textit{Humanism and Education}, 25.
\textsuperscript{94} Kagan, \textit{Students}, xiii.
prestige" "choked off whatever possibilities existed for the development of a rational philosophical and scientific culture,"95 which ultimately led to the decline of Spain.

Nicholas Orme has written extensively on medieval education and childhood. In line with Leach's interest in secular schools in medieval England, Orme's first monograph, English Schools in the Middle Ages (1973), revealed that despite cultural and educational contributions of the schools of the religious orders, their impact on secular schools was not significant.96 This study of endowments and school buildings was the first large-scale investigation into English schools since Leach's work in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Orme followed this with Education in the West of England (1976) and Education in Early Tudor England: Magdalen College Oxford and Its School, 1480-1540 (1988), both of which examined the institutional histories of individual schools. Orme's research extended beyond institutional education into that offered outside of the classroom by examining English royal and aristocratic education for boys and girls in his monograph From Childhood to Chivalry: Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy (1984) and children in his 2001 monograph, Medieval Children. Finally, Medieval Schools: From Roman Britain to Renaissance England provides a survey of English education. His central argument is that "medieval education was not a precursor of modern education, but the same thing in different circumstances."97 This interpretation moved away from the study of education as a developmental progression that led to contemporary education. He argued that the career paths of the students dictated the purposes of the schools. Orme emphasised the mutable nature of education over the course of the period.98 Any political or social change affected systems of education, but these changes did not always result in what

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95 Kagan, Students, 175.
96 Orme, Medieval Schools, 9.
97 Orme, Medieval Schools, 3.
98 Orme, Medieval Schools, 339.
some scholars, such as Jo Ann Hoepner Moran, classified as incremental growth. Rather, Orme aligned education with economy, in that it had to respond to constant economic fluctuations. Orme also contested the thesis that education increasingly laicized over the course of the period. He argued that both secular and regular education co-existed, and that, by the sixteenth century and the English Reformation, Protestant clergy had more authority and control over education than Catholics had previously. Central to Orme's argument is his view that education had a variety of forms and functions across the period and that simple definitions do more to obscure our understanding than to illuminate it. He concluded by saying that "apart from schooling for all, which did not become a national policy until the late nineteenth century, there is hardly a concept, institution or practice of modern education that cannot be traced, somewhere or other, in medieval England." In this way, Orme drew parallels between contemporary and pre-modern educational practice in order to acknowledge the richness of educational practice of the medieval and Renaissance periods.

Research into French educational developments is particularly relevant in the study of the Collège de Guyenne as both Dainville and Huppert incorporated the Collège into their research. François de Dainville's (1909-1971) initial research investigated the intersection of cartography and history, with an interest in humanism. He joined the Society of Jesus in 1928, and published a monograph on the birth of humanism in France. He died before the publication of his major essay collection on Jesuit education, L'éducation des jésuites (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles), in 1978. Through the study of Jesuit letters and geographical data, Dainville argued that the Jesuits were instrumental in the development of elite education for the bourgeoisie in France from the

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100 Orme, Medieval schools, 343.
101 Orme, Medieval Schools. 345.
sixteenth to the eighteenth century. This work also addressed the shift in Jesuit education towards mastery of rhetoric in the Quintilian tradition and its integration into the graduated system the Jesuits endorsed. In his 1984 monograph, social historian George Huppert opposed Dainville's conclusions that the Jesuits were responsible for uniform education in France. Rather, Huppert argued that the bourgeoisie created the collège system out of dissatisfaction with the Church schools. These new schools were to provide students with liberal arts education that would prepare them for active civic life. Huppert offered insight into non-Jesuit colleges in France, but the intensity of his reaction to Dainville occluded the nuance Dainville provided in his study of the Jesuit education. One of Huppert's goals in his rebuttal to Dainville was "to repair some of the malign neglect incurred by scholars like Faure, Gaullieur, Prudhomme, Poupé, Corraze, Besançon, and so many others who have been systematically consigned to oblivion since 1940."102 While Dainville focused on the Jesuit contribution to French education in the

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102 Huppert, Public Schools, xiv.

Claude Faure, Recherches sur l'histoire du collège de Vienne (Paris, 1933). Faure (1881-1942) was a paleographic archivist (1906), the historian of the Dauphiné, a member of the École française de Rome (1906-1908), The Archiviste du gouvernement général de l'A.O.F. à Dakar (1911-1920), the Archiviste de la Drôme, de la Haute-Savoie et du Rhône (starting in 1920). He participated in the Franco-English expedition to Cameroon (1914-1918). He was also a member of l'Académie delphinale, and l'Académie des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Lyon. See Bibliothèque Nationale de France, http://data.bnf.fr/12425433/claude_faure/ (accessed April 29, 2016).


sixteenth century and beyond, he acknowledged the non-Jesuit systems that were in place before their arrival there. This historiographical conflict demonstrates that there was a diverse academic culture functioning in France at this time. The Church, educators, governments, and the laity all worked in a variety of contexts to develop the type of education they thought would best teach their youth.

The Collège de Guyenne became a part of investigations into the development and spread of Jesuit pedagogical models. From the earliest days of the organization, Jesuits invested significant energy into the history and reputation of their order. Research into early modern education requires investigation of Jesuit developments and practices. Robert Schwickerath (1869-1948) and Allan P. Farrell (1896-1976) sought to defend Jesuit educational ideas against early twentieth-century criticism. The Jesuits have long defined themselves as *hominis pro aliis*, "men for others." One significant component of this service to others has been investment in education. As such, the educational plan *Ratio Studiorum* has drawn significant scholarly interest. Schwickerath wrote his *Jesuit Education* to meet what he, as a Jesuit and historian, a need for English language sources on Jesuit schools in an educational context that was hostile to Jesuit institutions.103 While his goal was to elucidate Jesuit educational approaches as outlined in the *Constitutions* and the *Ratio Studiorum* in direct response to the educational histories in which Painter, Seeley and Compayré criticised Jesuit education, Schwickerath also wanted to demonstrate how Jesuit education intersected with other "famous educational systems."104 The second part of his book outlined the principles of the *Ratio Studiorum* and their application as a solution to early twentieth-century concerns about education through which Schwickerath revealed his pro-Jesuit sympathies. In 1938, Farrell, also a member of the Jesuit order, traced the

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104 Schwickerath, v.
development and scope of the *Ratio*. Farrell concluded that it was a group of “brilliant administrators and teachers” who implemented the best of Renaissance theory, University of Paris practice, and the lessons of running hundreds of colleges as the reason for its rich and well-developed content. Similar to other early twentieth-century historians of education, Schwickerath and Farrell provided studies of Jesuit education to answer contemporary concerns about general education and the relationship between collegial and secondary schools, but also offered rebuttals to misrepresentations of Jesuit education. Farrell's study in particular received high praise for its historical perspective that offered insight into the development of contemporary educational credos. Their work, while aligned with contemporary educational concerns, provided insight into the history of Jesuit educational systems and practice.

The *modus parisiensis*, which was the curricular format used in Jesuit colleges and at the Collège de Guyenne, informed Gabriel Codina's (1938-2008) research into the origins of Jesuit pedagogy. Codina, a Catalan Jesuit, published his original monograph in 1968 and presented a summarised treatment of the *modus parisiensis* in celebration of the fourth centenary of the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum* in 1999, though this article reflects the conclusions he drew in 1968 without adding new material. Codina traced the foundation of the Collège de Guyenne through the *pièces justicatifs* Gaullier included in his text, though Codina did not integrate Courteault's investigations into the connection between the six masters François I installed in

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106 Farrell, xi.


Bordeaux and their influence in the foundation of the Collège. Codina's treatment of the Collège pertained specifically to the origins of the Collège in 1533 until Gouveia's departure in 1547, as his interest was to determine the relationship between the Collège's curriculum and the *modus parisiensis*. He concluded that section with a quotation from Robert Breton, one of the masters who taught at the Collège in its first two years, which declared that the Collège "est, de l'avis de tout le monde, non pas un École quelconque, mais bel et bien une autre splendid et magnifique Université de Paris."\(^\text{109}\) This declaration undoubtedly reflected the desires of the Jurade which founded the Collège, but it neglected the Bordelais character of the Collège.

The foundation of the Collège de Guyenne has drawn more scholarly investigation than any other aspect of its history, apart from Elie Vinet. In 1964, Roger Trinquet added further insights into how the Collège operated under Jean de Tartas and André de Gouveia during the first two years of the Collège's operation in 1533-1535. Trinquet acknowledged the significant contribution of Gaullieur's work and Courteault's contributions that complemented Gaullieur's work.\(^\text{110}\) Trinquet believed, however, that several questions remained unanswered pertaining to Tartas' eviction, "les va-et-vient" of the masters, and the fervour for Renaissance humanism on the part of Bordelais elites. This last point was particularly significant to him in light of the search Pierre Eyquem conducted in order to find appropriate education for his son.\(^\text{111}\) Trinquet built his argument on the deep base of research into the origins of the Collège, but added a new layer to our knowledge of the Collège de Guyenne. He first acknowledged the integration of pedagogical methods from Liège and Louvain into the Parisian system, particularly the Brethren of the Common Life and educators such as Rudolph Agricola, Alexander de Heck, and John Sythen, Erasmus, Melanchthon, and Vives, and those that had Italian origins, such as Andrelini,

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\(^{110}\) Trinquet, "Nouveaux Aperçus," 510.

\(^{111}\) Trinquet, "Nouveaux Aperçus," 510.
Vitelli, Bali, and Aleandre. These informed the ones that they employed at Guyenne and navigated the complex educational and political dynamics that influenced the invitations offered to each principal and the termination of Tartas' tenure.\textsuperscript{112}

The cultural turn in historical scholarship manifested in the study of Guyenne through the examination of the intellectual and publishing culture of Bordeaux. Louis Desgraves (1921-1999), the curator at the Bibliothèque Municipale de Bordeaux, created bibliographic records of the intellectual history of Bordeaux, with a particular interest in the history of publishing, which led him into research on Elie Vinet, one of the most prolific publishers in Bordeaux during the sixteenth century. Desgraves declared that he continued the work begun by the Société d'Histoire de Bordeaux, la Société des Bibliophiles de Guyenne, les Archives historiques de la Gironde, and la Société Archéologique de Bordeaux.\textsuperscript{113} Desgraves shed light on the "aspects peu connus de la production bibliographique bordelaise."\textsuperscript{114} He wanted to ensure that the works generated by the Bordelais and those whose work drew them to Bordeaux were not forgotten, especially those generated during "l'apogée du collège de Guyenne," which was "l'époque où souffle l'esprit de la Renaissance, sous l'influence d'humanistes bordelais ou étrangers."\textsuperscript{115} Lest anyone assume that the intellectual efflorescence in Bordeaux was due only to the efforts of the masters there, Desgraves highlighted the significant role the Parlement de Bordeaux played in the growth of intellectual culture in Bordeaux. Desgraves' bibliographic research complemented the archival preservation produced in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but it also revealed the deeply ingrained loyalty to France that existed in the city.

\textsuperscript{112} Trinquet, "Nouveaux Aperçus," 511-512.
\textsuperscript{113} Julien Cain, "Préface," in \textit{La Vie Intellectuelle à Bordeaux aux XVIe et XVIIe Siècles} by Louis Desgraves (Bordeaux: 1957), 5.
\textsuperscript{114} Cain, 5.
\textsuperscript{115} Desgraves, \textit{La Vie Intellectuelle}, 9.
Desgraves continued to uncover the bibliographic history of the city. In 1971, he published a volume dedicated to the earliest publishers in the city, from Gaspard Philippe *circa* 1513 to Simon Millanges who published from 1572 to 1623. Desgraves wrote a short introduction to printing in Bordeaux that reviewed salient biographical aspects for each of the printers in Bordeaux, and listed the publications generated by each printer, the longest of which was by Simon Millanges, who printed nearly six hundred volumes over the length of his career. Desgraves' interest in intellectual history led him to study Elie Vinet, one of the most celebrated intellectuals from the Collège de Guyenne. In this work, Desgraves drew together the extensive research on Elie Vinet and expanded it to include aspects of his intellectual production that had been previously unknown or inaccessible. His biography emerged from the quadricentennial celebrations of 1909. Desgraves republished the letters Dezeimeris and Courteault gathered and extended the collection to include Vinet's prefatory and dedicatory texts. From these, Desgrave produced a new biography of the Saintongeais who continually returned to Bordeaux, which integrated Vinet's life circumstances and intellectual production.

Interest in the practice of education has continued to grow through the late twentieth and into the twenty-first centuries. Extant texts, surviving classroom implements, and archaeological findings have aided scholars in reconstructing the medieval and early modern classroom. As part of the material culture turn, Annemarieke Willemsen analysed daily school practice through

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medieval and Renaissance depictions in manuscripts, sculptures and paintings. In light of the large numbers of spanking paddles and artistic depictions of the teacher using the birch rod, Willemsen frequently emphasised the disciplinary elements of school, though these are not the limit of her study, as the Dutch archaeological finds included hornbooks, styluses, writing tablets, inkwells, books, parchment, paper, quills, book mounts, glasses, and even playthings. In recent essay collections, scholars have further uncovered the classroom experience. Emidio Campi, Simone De Angelis, Anja-Silvia Goening, and Anthony T. Grafton's essay collection (2008) examined the classroom through extant early modern textbooks. In 2013, Juanita Feros, John O. Ward, and Melanie Heyworth assembled a collection of essays that examine the use of ancient texts in the medieval and Renaissance classroom. This line of inquiry used marginalia and glosses to discern the process of teaching. Textual notations and commentaries are an abundant source, but the difficulties of identifying context from undated glosses whose authors are unknown limit these studies.

More recently, scholars have returned to the study of early modern treatises. In 2002, Craig W. Kallendorf provided a new translation of the educational treatises of Pier Paolo Vergerio, Leonardo Bruni, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, and Battista Guarino. Kallendorf declared these four treatises, in addition to Maffeo Vegio's, which he intended to translate at a future date, "represent the fullest expression of the Italian humanists' theory of education." His decision to translate these texts anew was in response to his own reflections on the

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119 Willemsen outlines these in chapter 2.
122 Kallendorf, Treatises, viii.
development of education in the twenty-first century and his conviction that these texts remain relevant "for teachers and students who care about accurate expression, moral character, and a sense of connection to the past of our civilization."\textsuperscript{123} In contrast to Woodward, who drew direct parallels between these texts and modern education,\textsuperscript{124} Kallendorf emphasised the need to interpret these treatises "on their own terms, not ours," and to read them knowing the priority the authors placed on integrating ancient texts, rather than searching for originality.\textsuperscript{125} In 2009, to mark the five-hundredth anniversary of Johannes Sturm's birth, Ernst Eckel and Hans-Christoph Schröter translated two of his educational treatises.\textsuperscript{126} The parallel Latin and German edition joins the English translations provided by Lewis W. Spitz and Barbara Sher Tinsley who sought to ensure access to Latin texts in an intellectual environment from which Latin continues to disappear.\textsuperscript{127} Translations of Sturm's work denote a shift from the emphasis scholars have placed on the primacy of Philip Melanchthon's pedagogical reforms. Increased interest in translating early modern pedagogical texts marks a significant transition in the history of education that emphasises the importance of studying ideas in the context from which they emerged.

Scholars have also renewed their interest in education as it pertained to religious formation and the tensions that frequently emerged in the context of educational institutions. Karin Maag has explored education in a Calvinist context.\textsuperscript{128} Her book, \textit{Seminary or University}, explores the relationship between the Academy of Geneva, the city, and tensions over the purpose of the academy. The Academy provided ministerial training, as was the initial goal of

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{Kallendorf123} Kallendorf, \textit{Treatises}, xiv.
\bibitem{Woodward124} Woodward, \textit{Vittorino}, xxiii.
\bibitem{Kallendorf125} Kallendorf, \textit{Treatises}, xiii.
\bibitem{Spitz127} Lewis W. Spitz and Barbara Sher Tinsley, \textit{Johann Sturm on Education} (St. Lewis: Concordia Publishing House, 1995), 12.
\end{thebibliography}
the Genevan ministers who opened it, but it also offered a broader field of study, which satisfied the desires of the city's rulers "who hankered after a more diversified institution."\textsuperscript{129} Maag's study highlighted the central role the Academy of Geneva held in the light of developments in international Reformed education, including France, Zurich, Heidelberg, and Leiden and "offers a picture of Reformed higher education in action."\textsuperscript{130} In 2005, Philippe Legros published a study on François de Sales' pedagogical text with a focus on its literary and pedagogical value. Legros' study assessed de Sales in light of how he advanced the collège de la Roche-sur-Foron and founded a humanist college at Thonon, with a view to establishing a Catholic university designed for conversion.\textsuperscript{131} Karen E. Carter studied the use of education in the formation of Catholics: in particular, she examined catechism and the use of schools in order to understand “the framework within which French Catholics constructed and understood religious beliefs and religious education.”\textsuperscript{132} She argued that the framework was not always orthodox, nor was it uniform for each person. The petites écoles to which rural Catholics sent their children fulfilled religious and social needs, rather than a desire for truly literate children. The goal, which was fulfilled by the eighteenth century, was for attendance at mass every week, regular confession, and Easter communion, all of which was passed “to the next generation through catechism and primary schools.”\textsuperscript{133} In 2014, Yves Krumenacker and Boris Noguès published a collection of essays entitled, Protestantisme et éducation dans la France Moderne which examined the trajectory, efficacy, and influence of Protestant education in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth

\textsuperscript{129} Maag, \textit{Seminary or University}, 3.
\textsuperscript{130} Maag, \textit{Seminary or University}, 6.
\textsuperscript{133} Carter, 19.
centuries. These recent contributions to the history of education assess education in light of its religious affiliations.

Institutional history eventually went out of fashion. Desgraves was one of the last researchers to explore that particular aspect of the Collège de Guyenne. As scholars have expanded their research, the history of the Collège has become an aspect of that study. This is evident in Codina's research into the sources of Jesuit pedagogy, Huppert's research into public schools in France, and in various new biographical and textual studies. This is also evident in a new translation of Francisco Sanches's *Quod Nihil Scitur* (1581). Sanches (1551-1623) was a Portuguese philosopher who taught at the University of Toulouse. *Quod Nihil Scitur* was his best known book, published at Lyon in 1581. Francisco's father emigrated to Bordeaux in 1562. They left Portugal due to financial difficulties and religious tensions, joining their son, Adâm-Francisco Sanches, who had received letters of citizenship in Bordeaux. While Sanches' name is absent from previous histories, the research does little to advance knowledge about the history Collège de Guyenne. Limbrick and Thomson produced a translation accompanied by a short biography, so it is reasonable that this is the case, but it highlights the fact that scholars continue to depend on older scholarship, which lacks the enrichment of subsequent research in the Bordelais archives specifically, and into Renaissance humanism more broadly.

Since Gaullieur published his volume in 1874 significant developments and changes in research have occurred. More recently, scholars have moved away from larger integrative histories that assess historical developments in aggregate in order to understand educational

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136 Limbrick, 5.
developments across ideological, national, and religious divides. In light of those discoveries and the need for renewed attention on French humanism, it is appropriate to return to the Collège de Guyenne in Bordeaux in order to examine the reciprocal relationship between the Collège and the city and to understand how the masters who taught there established themselves as teachers, intellectuals, and citizens of Bordeaux during the turbulence of the sixteenth century.

**Methodologies**

To understand the relationship between the masters at Guyenne and the city of Bordeaux, there must be an assessment of the function of Renaissance humanism. The first hurdle in developing this understanding is to define "Renaissance" in this context. "Renaissance" as a term has posed a challenge to historians. The first historian to apply the term to this period was Jules Michelet, who identified Renaissance as a complete break from the medieval period in 1855. Burckhardt followed Michelet, rejecting the German term *wiederbelebung* in favour of the French term *Renaissance*. Wallace K. Ferguson (1902-1983) summarized Burckhardt's Renaissance as "the culmination of the long tradition of medieval darkness and the rebirth of culture." Increased research into the period revealed that the term Renaissance was one that fourteenth-century writers applied to themselves and after Ferguson's *The Renaissance in Historical Thought* (1948), some scholars even abandoned the term, to the extent that Charles G. Nauert (1928-2013) wrote his doctoral thesis without once using the term and none of his

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137 Christopher Carlsmith is one such scholar who has studied schooling in Bergamo and the Venetian Republic. See Christopher Carlsmigh, *A Renaissance Education: Schooling in Bergamo and the Venetian Republic, 1500-1650* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010).


examiners questioned its absence.\textsuperscript{141} This approach to Renaissance history changed in light of Paul Oskar Kristeller's research, which traced the origins of the Renaissance to medieval dictatores. Kristeller argued that "many typical products of the Italian Renaissance may [...] be understood as a result of belated medieval influences received from France, but grafted upon, and assimilated by a more narrow, but stubborn and different native tradition."\textsuperscript{142} The investigations of Charles Homer Haskins (1870-1937) and Lynn Thorndike (1882-1965)\textsuperscript{143} into the medieval period influenced Kristeller's perspective that supported an Italian Renaissance in light of its medieval past.\textsuperscript{144} He argued further that the Italian Renaissance encompassed the development of humanism, but also the emergence of scholasticism in Italy, producing "a kind of historical pluralism," which treated the original sources objectively and recognized multiple sources in their development.\textsuperscript{145}

Through the process of identifying medieval predecessors of the Italian Renaissance, Kristeller launched one approach to the study of the Renaissance. This approach, as strong as it was, failed to address the Renaissance's role in the development of the modern world, which was important to Kristeller's contemporaries who believed this was essential. Scholars in this stream examined the Renaissance in light of "civic humanism." Hans Baron (1900-1988) created the term Bürgerhumanismus in 1925, though it did not reach full development until 1955, with the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{142} Paul Oskar Kristeller, \textit{Renaissance Thought: The Classic, Scholastic, and Humanistic Strains} (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1961), 94.
\item \textsuperscript{143} Charles Homer Haskins, \textit{The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century} (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927).
\item \textsuperscript{144} Charles Trinkaus, \textit{The Scope of Renaissance Humanism} (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1983), xii.
\item \textsuperscript{145} Kristeller, \textit{Renaissance Thought}, 105.
\end{itemize}
publication of *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance*. Baron examined the significance of the Renaissance in its own time and identified a break between the Italian Middle Ages and the Renaissance that developed because of "a fundamental change in man's outlook on life and the world," during which "antiquity became the model, and the measure of life." Charles Trinkaus (1911-1999) argued that while the foundations of the modern world were the institutional developments of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the significance of the Renaissance was in "elements of consciousness: ideas, purposes, feelings, behaviour, beliefs, hopes, and fears." These changes in orientation allowed for later cultural secularization, which Trinkaus related to the desire for power. The Renaissance, for Trinkaus, was "a transformation of attitudes toward antiquity" which resulted in improved knowledge of classical history and literature.

In France, the notion of "renaissance," that is "rebirth," was interwoven with ideas of French national identity and a sense of revival. While the idea of nationalism was a product of the eighteenth century, ideas of a national identity are evident in the medieval period. The term "national" emerged in the sixteenth century, over the course of which, modern French borders began to take shape as the country expanded its territory. The political Renaissance, launched by François I, resulted in increased power and dominion through the "joining of old laws, customs and observances with the new and more recent." When the Emperor Maximilian died

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149 Trinkaus, xix.
150 Trinkaus, xxiv.
152 Kelley, 125.
in 1519, succession was contentious, with three candidates vying for imperial power: Charles I of Spain, François I of France, and Henry VIII of England. In his campaign for election, François emphasised his descent from Charlemagne, which German humanists refuted arguing that Charlemagne was German, and not French, which disqualified him. The question of Charlemagne's nationality and connection to François I persisted. Ultimately, it failed to persuade the German electors, but did generate a conversation about what it meant to be French. Historical ideas of French identity, despite the geographical borders of France that, throughout the Middle Ages, constituted the areas around Paris and the Ile-de-France, encompassed the Capetian monarchy, the Carolingians, the Merovingians, and mythical connections to the Trojans. Between 1450 and 1520, the legend of France's descent from those who fled Troy came under scholarly scrutiny. The legend, however, was popular and held as truth by many, including the Emperor Maximilian. The idea of renaissance raised questions for many in France, who maintained that the country had a continuous connection with its classical past. The revival of ancient thought in the twelfth century, France's renewed contact with Italy at the end of the fifteenth century, and the proliferation of the printing press regenerated French interest in Antiquity, which inspired French humanists to investigate France's ancient past and to find historical heroes to hold up as exemplars. Bordelais knowledge of classical history and literature flourished at the Collège de Guyenne. The masters who taught there were deeply rooted in the broader classical tradition, but they also brought local antiquity to

154 Hirschi, 186.
155 Kelley, 123.
158 Kelley, 127.
the fore of intellectual and civic pursuit. It is this factor that identified the Collège de Guyenne as a sixteenth-century Renaissance institution.

Acknowledgement of the Collège de Guyenne as a Renaissance institution is but one obstacle in establishing the parameters of how to treat the institution. The second is to determine its relationship to "humanism." Like the term "Renaissance," the term "humanism" requires critical assessment. Kristeller defined humanism in light of the Renaissance term humanista, which was itself a slang term adopted by students to label those who engaged in studia humanitatis. Humanism, according to Kristeller, focused on grammar, rhetoric, history, poetry, and moral philosophy. He argued it was not "as such a philosophical tendency or system, but rather a cultural and educational program which emphasized and developed an important but limited area of studies," which produced "professional rhetoricians with a new, classicist ideal of learning." The programme at the Collège de Guyenne embraced this educational emphasis that trained professional rhetoricians. The final project for the philosophy students was an oratorical presentation. Baron argued that humanism was a civic affair, where Kristeller argued that because of its use of rhetoric, it was an academic one. While there was a strong emphasis on rhetorical training at the Collège, this was not the only purpose for the educational programme there. As an institution, the Collège de Guyenne was deeply integrated into Bordelais civic structures, which informed the foundation and operation of the Collège. The Collège de Guyenne was an institution that demonstrated aspects of rhetorical and civic humanism.

159 Kristeller, Renaissance Thought, 9.
160 Kristeller, Renaissance Thought, 10.
161 Kristeller, Renaissance Thought, 102.
162 Massebieau, 33. The programme outlines, in detail, the process the students undertook to develop their oratorical presentations and the process of evaluation they received from members of the Parlement and the Jurade.
163 Rubini, 267.
An assessment of the Collège de Guyenne requires the application of both Kristeller and Baron's interpretations of humanism. Paul Grendler argued that scholars must place the history of education into its larger historical context, which requires the scholar to recognize humanism as "an intellectual movement simultaneously ethical, pedagogical, philosophical, rhetorical, and scholarly." Schools and universities were the primary entrance for humanism into Renaissance society. Grendler observed that the local history of education grew and flourished in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but then faded subsequently, to the extent that "little research appeared for many decades." French educational historiography has followed a similar trajectory, along with the increase of interest in educational history in the 1970s when scholars began to ask questions that employed aggregate data to understand the metrics of school participation, curriculum, faculty, and literacy. There were also developments in the Annales school, which emphasised the application of social scientific methodologies to the study of history and the idea of mentalités. Roger Chartier, Dominique Julia and Marie-Madeleine Compère adopted the linguistic and cultural emphasis of the Annales school in their study of French education in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. At the end of the twentieth century, researchers returned to the archives to investigate the Italian schools in their local contexts, but within the broader historiographical developments in humanist and Renaissance studies. This project investigates how the masters used the institutional structure

165 Grendler, "Renaissance Humanism, Schools, and Universities," 5.
166 Grendler, "Renaissance Humanism, Schools, and Universities," 5.
167 Grendler, "Renaissance Humanism, Schools, and Universities," 5.
169 Grendler, "Renaissance Humanism, Schools, and Universities," 5. See note 8 for a short list of local histories produced at the end of the twentieth century.
of the Collège de Guyenne to advance humanistic education, but also how their positions in the Collège increased their political power and influence in sixteenth-century Bordeaux and Renaissance France.

The educational transformation from ecclesiastical to civic institution resulted in a life transition for educators. No longer were these men affiliated with colleges that served larger Church interests. Instead, teachers participated in an educational setting designed to serve the needs of the cities that founded them. This transformation required a fundamental shift in the *habitus* that many masters had acquired while they were students at the ecclesiastically dominated colleges in Paris. Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002), a sociologist, anthropologist, and philosopher, developed the concept of *habitus* as a way to understand the social structures of a particular environment and the dispositions people adopted as they navigated that environment.170 Bourdieu argued that *habitus* was a way of being "without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operatives necessary to attain them."171 *Habitus* defined a person's moves "which are objectively organized as strategies without being the product of a genuine strategic intention."172 Because it is unintentional and unconscious, *habitus* creates a system of filters through which a person decides what actions are appropriate and which ones are unthinkable through a system of, often, unexamined responses.173 This creates a "generative principle of regulated improvisations" which produces meaning for a person which continually reinforces those actions deemed appropriate.174 *Habitus* has a homogenizing effect on "the conditions of existence," in which *habitus* begets *habitus*. In essence, Bourdieu's *habitus* "seeks to capture intentionality without intention," which is an action.

172 Bourdieu, *Outline*, 73.
173 Bourdieu, *Outline*, 76.
174 Bourdieu, *Outline*, 78, 80.
defined by the "unconscious mastery" a person acquired while the often unspoken values of the social context in which they found themselves shaped them. Bourdieu compared the space in which these actions occur to the field on which games are played, though without the "explicit and codified" rules of play. A player's strategies evolve over time in relation to the capital he has acquired. Capital, in this instance, is an item deemed valuable on the field of play and can include wealth, knowledge, and power whose value is determined "at the moment of consideration." Through habitus, players operate on the field in order to "increase or conserve their capital" all while conforming to "the tacit rules of the game." Bourdieu's habitus is a dynamic process of adoption and adaptation of practices that offers a lens through which to examine changing social practice in a particular context. During the sixteenth century, the masters at the Collège de Guyenne transitioned from the ecclesiastical systems they learned at Paris to the civic system in which they worked. Amid educational, political, social, and religious change, the field on which the masters operated shifted, and this shift forced them to develop a new habitus that embodied the worldview of Renaissance humanism, which they in turn transmitted to their students.

Sources

This project employed a wide range of sources, many of which were published in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as part of French national studies. These sources are abundant and offer insight into the development of the Collège de Guyenne as an institution as well as into the lives of the men who taught there. Gaullier published many sources that he discovered in his research for Histoire du Collège de Guyenne. While his intention had been to

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176 Bourdieu and Wacquant, 98.
177 Bourdieu and Wacquant, 99.
178 Bourdieu and Wacquant, 99.
publish *in extenso* the documents he used in his research, he was unable to do so due to the sheer volume of texts involved.\(^{179}\) Gaullieur published fourteen texts in his *pièces justicatifs*, predominantly from the sixteenth century, with three texts from the fifteenth century. There are additional texts included *in extenso* in the body of his text when he deemed their full content to be significant to the issue he treated.\(^{180}\) In 1858, Jules Delpit (1808-1891), gathered a number of documents that pertained to the history of Bordeaux.\(^{181}\) Delpit knew the volume of work required for the project exceeded the abilities of one man, which resulted in the *Société des Archives Historiques du Département de la Gironde*, which was formed "pour faire connaître et pour conserver les documents relatifs à l'histoire locale."\(^{182}\) The Société argued that this was important because "Bordeaux est peut-être la seule ville importante de France qui ne possède aucune publication historique."\(^{183}\) The Société published fifty-eight volumes in the old series and one volume in the new series, the first of which appeared in 1859. This massive preservation project brought to light many sources pertaining to the Collège de Guyenne, which had been inaccessible or unknown to Gaullieur while he scoured the archives.\(^{184}\) In his article on Jehan de Tartas, the first principal of the Collège, Courteault noted multiple documents that pertained to the Collège that the Société published in their collections after Gaullieur had published his book. The majority of these sources pertain to the Collège during the sixteenth century. There is also a source dated 1628 and two references are made to the Collège in two

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\(^{179}\) Gaullieur, 533. He noted that to publish those texts would require up to 600 pages. His stated goal had been to publish a separate volume under the title *Documents Relatifs a l'Histoire du Collège de Guyenne et de l'Université de Bordeaux*. He did not, however, produce that volume.

\(^{180}\) The two most noteworthy examples of this are the *Procès Verbal* which outlined the foundation of the Collège de Guyenne and the *Projet de Traité entre Maitre Jehan de Tartas et le Jurats de Bordeaux*. See Gaullieur 29-31 and 32-37.


\(^{182}\) *Archives Historiques de la Département de la Gironde*, Volume 1 (Bordeaux: G. Gounouilhou, 1859), xiii.

\(^{183}\) *Archives Historiques de la Département de la Gironde*, Volume 1 (Bordeaux: G. Gounouilhou, 1859), xiii.

\(^{184}\) Courteault, "Le Premier Principal," 234, see note 1. Courteault lists numerous sources from the *Archives* project by volume and document number.
eighteenth-century narrative texts.\textsuperscript{185} The general purpose of the editorial project that continued until 1936 was to collect and make available sources in local and other repositories in order to conserve local history, but also that of other cities in the same province.\textsuperscript{186} Careful notations at the top of each source indicate its archival location and who transcribed it. These collections contain correspondence, \textit{lettres-patentes} and \textit{de naturalité}, \textit{arrêts du Parlement}, notarial records, and contracts, all of which elucidate the vibrant environment at the Collège de Guyenne and in the city of Bordeaux. In addition to these edited texts, I have used books published by masters at the Collège. These volumes as well as the \textit{Archives} were available in digitized formats on the \textit{Bibliothèque Nationale de France}'s digital collection \textit{Gallica}. Historically, these texts have served to advance French national identity, which they do elucidate, but these sources reveal a rich history of the Collège, which emerged in a new political environment and served a multi-national clientele in a non-ecclesiastical structure. For this reason, the history of the Collège de Guyenne deserves renewed attention.

CHAPTER III:

THE MODUS PARISIENSIS AT THE COLLEGE DE GUYENNE

On 10 September 1583, the Jurade of Bordeaux approved the publication of a small book that outlined the collegiate programme at the Collège de Guyenne. Shortly thereafter, the book emerged from the presses of local printer, Simon Millanges. In it, Elie Vinet outlined the programme of the Collège, as he remembered it, under the leadership of André de Gouveia from 1534 to 1547. His goal was to provide "those who come after them" with the knowledge of the method they had implemented, which, in his view, was "always judged the best."1 Throughout Europe in the sixteenth century, colleges and universities modeled themselves after the modus parisiensis. Adherence to this model, which was the convention of following the academic structure of the University of Paris, was an essential feature for many colleges at this time. To found a college that followed the "manner of the colleges of the city of Paris" was one of the first priorities the Jurade, the city council of Bordeaux, established at the inception of the Collège on 22 February 1533.2 When the regents arrived at Bordeaux to assume their tasks of teaching in the Collège, they brought with them various experiences of the modus parisiensis they had acquired as students, in most cases at Paris, but occasionally at Louvain. The Collège de Guyenne reflected the educational climate of the early sixteenth century, as is evident in the procès-verbal, which was the foundation document of the Collège, and the contract between the Jurade and the Collège's first principal, Jehan de Tartas,3 both of which were recorded by the notary Mathieu Contat.4 The foundation of the Collège emerged from the Jurade's desire to

1 Elie Vinet, Schola Aquitanica (Burdigalae: S. Millangium, 1583), iii. "Quae semper optima iudicata est."
2 Gaullieur, 29. The original text appears in the Archives Départementales de la Gironde (henceforth ADG) Series 3 E 3594. (All registers are unfoliated). "à l'instar, forme et maniere des colieges de la ville de Paris."
3 For the procès-verbal see Gaullieur, 29-31. For Jehan de Tartas' contract see Gaullieur 32-37. ADG 3 E 3594.
4 Gaullieur, 30. ADG, 3 E 3594. "noitaire et tabellion royal en la ville et cité de Bourdeaulx et seneschaussée de Guyenne." Contat himself was a notary and a royal scribe for the city of Bordeaux and the senéchaussée of Guyenne
augment the "good, profit, honour, and commodity" of the city of Bordeaux. The Jurade's desire for a college in the modus parisiensis indicated their awareness of the pedagogical trend. The procès-verbal, Jehan de Tartas' contract from 1533, Elie Vinet's 1562 contract as principal, and the Schola Aquitanica elucidated the "usual practices" of the Collège, as a former student, Michel de Montaigne, called them. A comparison of these sources and the programme at Guyenne to Robert Goulet's (d. 1538) Heptadogma from the Compendium de multiplici Parisiensis Universitatis magnificentia, dignitate, et excellentia (1517) reveals the degree to which the Collège de Guyenne followed the modus parisiensis. The regents and the programme at the Collège adhered to the modus parisiensis, but there is also evidence demonstrating how the regents modified the programme to suit the changing needs of Bordeaux. The modification of the programme uncovers the regents' understanding of the civic context in which they found themselves. They followed the programme, yet amended it based on the place where they implemented it. Through their use of the modus parisiensis, the regents revealed their pedagogical understanding. Their adaptation of the programme to suit the specific needs of Bordeaux illustrates their political and cultural savvy.

The modus parisiensis developed gradually as colleges grew at the University of Paris and indicated a particular institutional structure. Goulet used the term to designate a graduated structure of classes. Gabriel Codina approached the modus parisiensis more broadly and included the entire structure of colleges such as the role of the principal, the daily schedule, as

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5 Gaullieur, 29. ADG 3 E 3594. "Saichent tous presens et advenir que comme Messieurs les soubs maire et juratz de la presente ville et cite de Bourdeaulx desirans affectueusement augmenter le bien, proffit, honneur et commodite de la dict ville."


9 Goulet, Compendium on the Magnificence, 103. The Latin reads: De modo parisiensi. See Quicherat, 327.
well as graduated classes. I have adopted Codina's approach.\(^{10}\) The *modus parisiensis* differed from that of other schools, particularly the University of Bologna, where students and professors held power jointly. The University of Paris operated as a *universitas magistrorum et scholarium*, a guild of masters and scholars. Power was centralized and guild control extended over the colleges and the entire student environment. The term "college" had various meanings throughout the history of the University of Paris. Originally, colleges were residences for religious orders such as the Dominicans, Minorites, Premonstratensians, Bernardites, Carmelites, Augustinians, and Cluniacs.\(^{11}\) Members lived at their order's college while they attended classes at the University of Paris. Additionally, there were secular colleges that often housed poor students, but also offered scholarships or welcomed students with the means to pay for the services.\(^{12}\) Over time, many colleges developed a national association, such as Sainte-Barbe, which became a "veritable fiefdom"\(^{13}\) for the Iberian kingdoms, Portugal in particular.\(^{14}\) Some of these residential colleges began to offer classes, which frequently supplemented insufficient Latin knowledge. By the early sixteenth century, many of the colleges that filled the left bank of the Seine offered full courses of instruction.\(^{15}\)

The students who attended these colleges were diverse. *Boursiers* constituted a large part of college communities and benefited from a founded scholarship.\(^{16}\) Functionally, they had more influence in the community than *convicteurs* or *portionistes*, whose parents entrusted the

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\(^{10}\) See Codina, *Aux sources* and Codina, "The 'Modus Parisiensis.'"


\(^{12}\) Codina, "The 'Modus Parisiensis,'" 32.

\(^{13}\) Codina, "The 'Modus Parisiensis,'" 29.


\(^{15}\) Codina, "The 'Modus Parisiensis,'" 32.

\(^{16}\) Quicherat, 74.
care of their children to the colleges. The fees for this care included nourishment and moral
guidance in addition to instruction,\textsuperscript{17} which meant that the regents functioned \textit{in loco parentis}.\textsuperscript{18} Another type of student was the \textit{camériste}. These students were wealthy and paid for their room, servants, and tutors.\textsuperscript{19} Generally, they worked under the direction of a specific tutor who provided instruction in class and a fire for cooking. At any time, a teacher took on five or six students in this way.\textsuperscript{20} Claude Budin (d. 1545), who arrived at the Collège in 1534, purchased a home in the city in which he housed and taught students.\textsuperscript{21} The \textit{martinets} were free students who did not live at the college. They attended classes and their primary relationship was with the teacher who was responsible for their examination. These students only interacted with the college principal at the time of their bachelor's or master's exams.\textsuperscript{22} From this group of students emerged the \textit{galoches}, whose name derived from the boots they wore in the winter and who followed courses perpetually, essentially becoming professional students. With the regents' permission, the \textit{galoches} frequently helped with teaching.\textsuperscript{23} The different categories of students indicated different financial relationships to the colleges and frequently indicated differing socio-economic positions. Regardless of a student's status, the college's academic requirements for all students remained the same.

Structural reforms at the University in the fifteenth century laid the foundation for development of the \textit{modus parisiensis} that shaped colleges across France during the sixteenth century. These reforms emerged as a result of political tensions during the period. The University experienced political upheaval during the Great Schism, which challenged its

\textsuperscript{17} Codina, "The 'Modus Parisiensis,'" 33.
\textsuperscript{18} Quicherat, 74.
\textsuperscript{19} Codina, "The 'Modus Parisiensis,'" 33.
\textsuperscript{20} Quicherat, 75.
\textsuperscript{21} Gaullieur, 192.
\textsuperscript{22} Quicherat, 75.
\textsuperscript{23} Quicherat, 76.
authority in its capacity as advisor to the King of France. This advisory role was one of the few areas of authority the university was able to maintain during the period. In addition to the religio-political situation of the period, the Hundred Years' War caused yet another challenge to the University as many of the faculty sided with the Burgundians and accepted English occupation of France. Charles VII's ascension to the throne at Reims established his legitimacy as the king of France, which precipitated the University's attempts to protect its privileges. These efforts brought the University to a standstill, the result of which was that King Charles granted the Parlement of Paris authority over University cases.\textsuperscript{24} Because of the volatility, many students avoided Paris, not only due to the war, but also because "rivalries and riots between colleges, faculties, and nations [had] attained a frequency and violence never before seen."\textsuperscript{25} The political crisis had a direct effect on the functioning of the University.

The end of the Hundred Years' War coincided with reforms to the University's statutes. Order and stability, however, remained elusive, and in 1453 riots between students and the city police resulted in the suspension of lectures for nine months.\textsuperscript{26} In an effort to re-establish peace, several colleges reformed their structure. The Collège de Navarre began this process in 1460. By 1481, the model at Navarre had become the exemplar for other colleges.\textsuperscript{27} The most significant college reform, however, was at the Collège de Montaigu, under the leadership of the Jan Standonck (1453-1504), a Netherlander who had studied at the Brethren of the Common Life's school in Gouda. Standonck began his tenure as principal of the college in 1483. In 1491, he expanded the college with the addition of a dormitory for poor students and introduced reforms to discipline, most of which were strict and ascetic, but his most important reforms were

\textsuperscript{24} Farge, \textit{Orthodoxy and Reform}, 9.
\textsuperscript{25} Farge, \textit{Orthodoxy and Reform}, 9.
\textsuperscript{26} Farge, \textit{Orthodoxy and Reform}, 9.
\textsuperscript{27} Farge, \textit{Orthodoxy and Reform}, 9.
those he introduced to pedagogy. In this, he followed the Brethren's example. The spread of these college reforms stabilized the University, which brought students back to Paris.\(^2\)\(^8\)

The college reforms revitalized enthusiasm for the University. Out of this renewal came Robert Goulet's *Compendium de multiplex Parisiensis Universitatis magnificentia, dignitate, et excellentia* (1517). Goulet dedicated the *Compendium* to Gabriel d'Alègre, the Lord Provost of Paris and royal conservator of the University of Paris and Lord Ruze, the deputy provost.\(^2\)\(^9\) The text itself provided an overview of the University, including its structure and some history. In general, the text lauded the University of Paris and its various structures and traditions. It is unclear who the intended audience was for this text, but Goulet held his own work in such esteem that he admonished the "candid purchaser" to "value it more than his other possessions."\(^3\)\(^0\) Later scholars have received the text as the earliest history of the University of Paris that depicted a university unchanged by the centuries. As Hastings Rashdall noted, it is more valuable as a "contemporary sketch of the university than for historical information."\(^3\)\(^1\) One reason for this, as James K. Farge highlighted, was that it overlooked the turmoil the university faced during the fifteenth century. Goulet, a doctor and professor of theology at the Sorbonne, also failed to acknowledge the political tensions in Italy between François I and Pope Leo X as the French sought to regain authority over Milan and the Kingdom of Naples.\(^3\)\(^2\) Farge refers to the *Compendium* as "a concise -- if ceremonious -- description of the organization of the University of Paris and of the various groups which composed it."\(^3\)\(^3\) Through the *Compendium*, Goulet described a great university, one that was dignified and excellent, that expounded the

\(^{28}\) Farge, *Orthodoxy and Reform*, 9.


\(^{30}\) Goulet, *Compendium on the Magnificence*, 114.


\(^{32}\) Farge, *Orthodoxy and Reform*, 8.

"extraordinary reputation of its subjects, officers and colleges." While Goulet ignored the political realities the University of Paris faced in the years preceding the fifteenth-century reforms, the *Heptadogma* included at the end of his *Compendium* provided instruction on "the erection in our times of a gymnasium." By following these seven precepts, the "candid reader" would "behold his gymnasium burst forth into more perfect flower and grow in every grace through years to come." In his history of the Collège de Sainte-Barbe, J. Quicherat included the *Heptadogma* in the appendix as "instruction en sept points pour l'établissement d'un collège dans le genre de Sainte-Barbe." Goulet encouraged his readers to emulate the structure and style of Sainte-Barbe, but Quicherat interpreted Goulet's daily schedule and programme as an outline of practice at Sainte-Barbe. While Goulet undoubtedly incorporated the programmes and practices of the colleges at the University of Paris, it would be inaccurate to assume it was the *de facto* programme for a specific college. What is clear is that the *modus operandi* of the colleges in Paris functioned in line with what Goulet wrote. We cannot, however, assume that the "fame and excellence" Goulet encouraged his readers to imitate indicates that each college followed his precepts directly. For example, the reforms of Montaigu did not embrace Renaissance ideals of education, *litterarium floret exercitium*, as Goulet stated; those developments occurred more prominently in the Collège de Sainte-Barbe, which was Montaigu's neighbouring and rival college.

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34 Goulet, *Compendium on the Magnificence*, 11.
37 Quicherat, 83.
38 Goulet, *Compendium on the Magnificence*, 100. See Quicherat, 326.
39 Quicherat, 83.
40 Quicherat, 326.
The *modus parisiensis* drew on the pedagogical structures of the Brethren of the Common Life. The Collège de Montaigu was one avenue through which the pedagogy of the Brethren of the Common Life made an entrance into Paris: as such, an overview of the Brethren's educational innovations will shed light on the components of the *modus parisiensis*. The Brethren of the Common Life emerged in the Low Countries during the fourteenth century under the leadership of Gerard Groote (1340-1384). The Brethren lived "between the world and the monastery" but in this, maintained "an ascetic life more rigorous than that of the Observant friars." Groote originally sought religious education for youth and achieved this by inviting children to copy manuscripts in exchange for a small salary. While this was a small role in the religious formation of youth, the overarching goal of education was to develop students who lived a good life, morally and physically, with due care and attention paid to their religious well-being. Eventually, Groote turned his attention to the formation of teachers, which led to John Cele's (1343-1417) educational reforms among the Brethren. Cele's reforms originated at Zwolle, where he was the rector of the municipal school. There were three stages to the pedagogical development among the Brethren. The first was the spiritual foundation under Gerard Groote and Florence Radewijns, which emphasised spiritual and devotional learning. The second stage was the "scholastic" period, which saw the development and efflorescence of the Brethren's schools. The third, which coincided with the advent of the Renaissance and Reformation, was the "literary" or "humanist" stage, through which the Brethren declined and eventually died out. The institution that best revealed the culmination of the Brethren's

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45 Codina, *Aux sources*, 156.
pedagogical innovation was the school at Liege. By studying the school at Liege, scholars can identify the elements of Brethren education that permeated the *modus parisiensis*.\(^{47}\)

Scholars have long debated the degree of influence accorded the Brethren of the Common Life in the development of northern-European humanism more broadly, and the *modus parisiensis* more specifically. In 1950, Albert Hyma (1924-1963) credited Groote and his Brethren of the Common Life as the source for the development of northern humanism. He named Ignatius of Loyola, Martin Luther, Desiderius Erasmus, Wessel Gansfort, Huldrych Zwingli, and Jean Calvin as inheritors of the Brethren and Groote's *devotio moderna*.\(^{48}\) In Hyma's estimation, Groote warranted the title apostle, as his ideas set the path of reform for northern Europe and Groote's schools at Deventer and Zwolle became "the seats of a revival of learning that was soon to spread all over Western Europe and to be carried into the New World."\(^{49}\) Hyma cited the pairing of religion and learning as the central element to the Brethren's success in spreading Groote's ideas, especially related to the premise that education is the ideal path to shape children's characters while they are still young and pliable,\(^{50}\) a theme which Erasmus included throughout his educational writings.\(^{51}\) In order to achieve desired character traits in students, the schools needed teachers of "sound learning and of character, men who would try to win their love, and refrain from any kind of punishment until their friendly

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49 Hyma, 12.

50 Hyma, 25.

admonition had failed utterly."\(^{52}\) Hyma believed that Groote was the spiritual father of all those taught by the Brethren and, by extension, their pupils.

R.R. Post rejected Hyma's sweeping thesis, and argued that the *devotio moderna* had little influence on humanism's development. In particular, he stated that the later followers of the Brethren were different from Groote, and, therefore, not his spiritual inheritors.\(^{53}\) For Post, membership in the order was critical in order to be considered part of the *devotio's* influence. He acknowledged that

from beginning to end, in all the places where the Brothers settled, they devoted their care to the schoolboys. Some they admitted to their hostels, [...] apart from providing them with board and lodging, they attempted to train them in their studies, supplementing and going over the lessons which these boys received at the city schools.\(^{54}\)

Post argued that, while many prominent men in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries associated with the Brethren as friends, they were themselves not Brethren, and, therefore, were neither Groote's spiritual nor intellectual heirs.\(^{55}\) Post declared that Hyma ignored evidence that the first northern humanists had "already acquired their new connections before the Brethren had any school of note."\(^{56}\)

More recent scholarship has examined the influence of the Brethren from a more tempered perspective. A.G. Weiler addressed Post's questions from his 1968 *The Modern Devotion* and investigated the influence of the Brethren on both humanism and the Reformation.\(^{57}\) In particular, he examined Wessel Gansfort and John Pupper of Goch in relation to Reformation theology, and Arnold Geihoven of Rotterdam and Erasmus of Rotterdam as

\(^{52}\) Hyma, 45.


\(^{54}\) Post, 677.

\(^{55}\) Post, x.

\(^{56}\) Post, x.

humanists. Erasmus received extensive treatment as the Brethren's "most eminent humanist."\textsuperscript{58} Weiler affirmed Post's assertion that few Brethren changed religious allegiance to the Reformation, but he disagreed with Post about the Brethren's influence on the connection between \textit{bonae litterae} and moral education. In this area, Weiler asserted that northern humanism owed a great deal to the Brethren and their methods. Weiler's conclusions are more tempered than Hyma's, and he stated that "it cannot be said that the Devouts influenced nearly every humanist to bring about a personal interiorisation of piety, connected with self-knowledge and Christian practice."\textsuperscript{59} The Brethren functioned in a time of renewal and change in which their ideas and practices contributed to the individual and corporate development of piety, learning, northern humanism, and reformation.

Research into the \textit{modus parisiensis} has generated additional discussion around the role of the Brethren in its development. In 1968, prior to Post's publication that rejected Hyma's thesis, Codina published \textit{Aux sources de la pédagogie des Jésuites le «modus parisiensis,»} in which he adopted Hyma's thesis in his discussion of the sources of the \textit{modus parisiensis}. Aldo Scaglione (1925-2013), who generally affirmed Codina's investigations into the role of the Brethren in the development of the \textit{modus parisiensis}, criticized Codina for neglecting the influence of Italian humanism and the school system implemented in the Italian city-states. He argued that Codina overlooked the fact that the Brethren's turn towards humanism was "after having been exposed to the ways of Italy, where several of their teachers went to update their methods after the first quarter of the fifteenth century."\textsuperscript{60} This comment draws a parallel to

\textsuperscript{58} Weiler, 325.
\textsuperscript{59} Weiler, 332.
\textsuperscript{60} Scaglione, 12.
Montaigne's comment about his father's connection to Italian educational forms. Scaglione also outlined the ways that the Brethren influenced pedagogical developments that became part of the *modus parisiensis*. Codina's 2000 article, in honour of the four hundredth anniversary of the *Ratio Studiorum*, reiterated his 1968 thesis which supported Brethren as an influence in the development of the *modus parisiensis*, rather than as its exclusive origin. In a response to Codina's article, Louis B. Pascoe, S.J. highlighted the need for scholars to recognize the increasingly French, as opposed to ecclesiastical, identity that developed at the University of Paris in the wake of the Avignon Papacy, the Great Schism, and the Conciliarist controversies of the fifteenth century. Pascoe also argued that the early Jesuits perpetuated this blindness by their own enthusiasm for the University of Paris, which Ignatius of Loyola described as the first mother of the Company. He also noted the important developments in humanist pedagogy at the University of Padua, especially with respect to the study of Greek texts and the production of Aristotle's corpus. Pedagogical developments of the sixteenth century were the result of many influences, including structural aspects of the medieval University of Paris, ideas developed by Parisian intellectuals of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and Italian intellectual and pedagogical developments, many of which came to France via the wars being fought in Italy. While there are important aspects of other influences, it is clear that the Brethren had an influence in the development of the *modus parisiensis*.

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62 Scaglione 12-18. Here he provided specific examples of aspects that derived directly from Brethren pedagogical forms.

63 Codina, “‘The ‘Modus Parisiensis,’” 42. Codina wrote that there were many pedagogical methods "sprinkled throughout all of Europe" and that "between all of them and the *modus Parisiensis* existed an interplay of mutual influences difficult to untangle," but "among these other influences, on cannot overlook the impact of the Brethren of the Common Life on the University of Paris, particularly through the College of Montaigu."

64 Pascoe, 50-51.


66 Pascoe, 51.

67 Pascoe, 54-55.
The *modus parisiensis* embodied many characteristics of the Brethren's educational structure. A student's residential situation determined his category of student type, which derived from the Brethren. To be a *boursier, portioniste, camériste*, or *martinet* communicated the student's relationship to the house and to an extent the student's socio-economic status. The second characteristic of the *modus parisiensis* that came from the Brethren was the division of the school into classes with a specific teacher and level of study. The nature of Brethren education established a graduated system of learning through which students progressed. This structure also gave rise to the need for placement examinations to ensure students received lessons appropriate for their abilities. Ignatius of Loyola's studies at Paris in 1528 demonstrate the role of examinations in the placement of students, as he was thirty-seven years old but lacked sufficient knowledge of Latin and had to begin his studies with the *abécédaires*, who were the youngest students still learning the alphabet. In terms of curriculum, the Brethren incorporated the *quadrivium* and other subjects generally reserved for university-level studies. Concern with the Christian ideal and living a good Christian life permeated Brethren learning and was the center towards which the Brethren oriented all knowledge and letters. The Collège de Montaigu embodied many elements characteristic of Brethren pedagogy and while Goulet cited it as a college that exemplified the *modus parisiensis*, it was but one place where the Brethren's methods appear.

In the annals of history, Montaigu received a great deal of negative attention as a target of humanist critique. Erasmus found his experience at Montaigu distasteful, and, for one accustomed to a strong constitution, the illness he contracted from "rotten eggs and infected

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70 Codina, "The 'Modus Parisiensis'," 29.
lodgings," coupled with classes filled with scholastic theology, which he found "completely alien," resulted in his departure. Juan Luis Vives (1493-1540) also attended the Collège de Montaigu, but "was disgusted with the conceit of the richer students; with the folly of academic honors and degrees; with the excessive time dedicated to the classroom, at least nine hours every day. The passionate 'disputations' were, from the beginning, completely loathsome to his calm and modest, almost shy, character." Though there is speculation whether François Rabelais (1494-1553) actually attended Montaigu, he disparaged the college in his Gargantua. When Gargantua and his tutor, Panocrates, returned home, Panocrates had to defend himself to Grandgousier, stating that

You must not think that I placed him in that louse-ridden college called Montaigu. Seeing the enormous cruelty and wickedness that I found there, I would sooner have lodged him with the beggars of Saint-Innocent's, since the galley-slaves of the Moors and the Tartars, and the murderers in their prison-tower, indeed the very dogs in your house, are better treated than the wretched inmates of that College. If I were King of Paris, the devil take me if I wouldn't set fire to it inside and burn both the Principal and the regents who tolerate such inhuman behaviour before their very eyes.

By 1529, Montaigu was anti-humanist and dogmatic in its perspective. For one who described Erasmus as his nurturer and who embraced the humanist perspective, Montaigu represented a place of non-learning.

Despite Montaigu's fame, or infamy, as a college, it was Sainte-Barbe that had a greater influence on the Collège de Guyenne, which drew many teachers from there, including its second

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73 Rummel, Erasmus, 19.
75 Carlos G. Noreña, "Was Juan Luis Vives a Disciple of Erasmus?" Journal of the History of Philosophy, 7, no. 3 (July 1969), 265. Noreña states that Rabelais is among the alumni from Montaigu, but does not provide his source. Codina names Rabelais as one of Montaigu's famous alumni, again without providing his source. See Codina, "The 'Modus Parisiensis'," 44. It is unclear from the evidence whether Rabelais indeed attended. What is clear is that Rabelais had little respect or love for the Collège.
78 E. Bruce Hayes, Rabelais's Radical Farce: Late Medieval Comic Theater and its Function in Rabelais (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), 2.
principal, André de Gouveia, who reformed Sainte-Barbe when he assumed the role of principal in his uncle's absence. Under André de Gouveia, the college transformed from the conservative bed of scholasticism it had been under Diogo de Gouveia senior, to a place of humanist reform that embraced transparent rules and equality for all regents. The structure Goulet discussed in the *Heptadogma* represents the *modus parisiensis* and provides a guide to identify the *modus parisiensis* in the programme at the Collège de Guyenne.

In the *Heptadogma*, Goulet outlined the essential considerations, seven precepts, for those who desired to build a famous college. Each of these precepts formed the foundation on which the Collège de Guyenne stood. The first was to imitate "the mode of living and teaching practiced in almost all of the famous and excellent colleges of the Academy of Paris." Goulet named six colleges that would-be college builders could imitate – Navarre, Montaigu, Bourgogne, Saint Michel, Sainte Barbe, and Bons Enfants – though he did not limit imitation to only these six, as he also directed the reader to imitate "all others in which the study of letters flourishes." From its inception, the Jurade de Bordeaux desired the Collège to follow in the "manyere des colieges de la ville de Paris." This intention was more than a vague allusion to an ideal. They hired Jehan de Tartas from the Collège de Lisieux, who had directed it by "his virtue, good teaching, industry, and conduct:" in short, Tartas was to establish the Collège de Guyenne in imitation of the Collège de Lisieux. When the Jurade made its contract with Jehan

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79 Brandão and Lopes, 160 and 204.
80 Pellerin, 47.
81 Goulet, *Compendium on the Magnificence*, 100. The Latin reads: "Imprimis consideratur ac imitatur vivendi docendique modus qui observatur apud famigerata et bona ac ferme omnia Parissiensis academia." See Quicherat 326.
83 Gauilieur, 29. ADG 3 E 3594.
84 Gauilieur, 30. ADG 3 E 3594. Tartas led the Collège de Lisieux to great reputation. Under his leadership he had some of the best teachers of the time, including Johann Sturm and Sterck van Ringelbergh, both of whom wrote pedagogical texts. Trinquet elaborated extensively on Tartas' career in "Nouveaux Aperçus."
de Tartas, the initial plan for the college programme included the seven liberal arts, philosophy, theology, oratory, grammar, logic, physics, and medicine with the addition of Greek and Hebrew. Tartas remained the principal for one year, during which time questions about his character emerged in addition to frequent disagreements with his regents, many of whom had no hesitation in leaving. Tartas' dismissal from the Collège did not change the Jurade's desire for a principal who would continue to run the college in the modus parisiensis. Inviting André de Gouveia into that role merely shifted the example Guyenne followed from Lisieux to Sainte-Barbe.

Imitation of the famous colleges of Paris in which the study of letters flourished was only one part of Goulet's first precept. The foundation of colleges also rested on the selection of a "good and healthful site" that was located "in an elevated or at least favourable spot, sufficiently removed from the houses of the city." The ideal location allowed students quiet and rest for their studies, separated from the distractions of the world around them. The imagery of a serene place set apart for study evokes Utopian imagery, especially in light of the cramped buildings of the medieval University of Paris. The Collège de Guyenne received the buildings of the Collège de Grammaire, which had been established in 1441 along with the University of Bordeaux. Part of the reason for establishing the Collège de Guyenne was the inadequate education available at

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85 Gaullieur, 29-30. ADG 3 E 3594. "des notables lecteurs qui y liront des sept ars liberaulx et ès langues grecques et hebraiques, philosophie, theologie, d'art oratoyre, grammaire, logique, phizicque et medecine.
86 There is evidence, however, that he remained in Bordeaux at the University and later as a teacher in the ninth class. See "Arrêt ordonnant l'arrestation de M' Xans de Tartas, régent de neuvième au Collège de Guienne," in Archives Historique du Département de la Gironde, Volume 47 (Bordeaux: Feret et Fils, 1912), 82. In this text, a Xans de Tartas was to be arrested and presented before the king's prosecutor, though the charges are unclear, though the document appears in a series of texts pertaining to heresy. Given the precarious nature of teaching positions, it is probable that the Xans de Tartas in this 19 August 1558 arrêt is the same man as Jehan de Tartas who was the principal of the Collège in 1533.
87 Codina, Aux Sources, 196.
the Collège de Grammaire,\textsuperscript{89} whose location may not have aligned exactly with Goulet's precept. Location, however, was but one consideration and Goulet included a substantial list of other campus requirements. The building was to be well-built, spacious, and surrounded by high walls. Inside there were to be "twenty or thirty rooms with libraries for the regents and more advanced students."\textsuperscript{90} The college was to have a spacious and sunny court along with a chapel for daily services, a kitchen, storeroom, woodshed, and a cellar. In addition to the living space, there were to be "at least twelve classes or small schools according to the exigency of place and auditors."\textsuperscript{91} On 1 March 1533, Jehan de Tartas and the \textit{procureur de la ville}, Arnault de Lavie,\textsuperscript{92} made a survey of the former Collège de Grammaire along with masons and carpenters from the city to determine what modifications and repairs the buildings needed in order to be ready for the opening of the Collège de Guyenne.\textsuperscript{93} It is clear from the list of tasks that the Collège de Grammaire was in a state of disrepair. More importantly, the modifications indicated a desire to expand the college. The document outlined the need for fifteen classrooms, twelve for the grammar classes and three for the advanced arts lectures. The text also highlighted that there should be fifty-six bedrooms in total, enough to house three hundred thirty-six students, with six

\textsuperscript{89} Ernest Gaullieur in his \textit{Histoire du Collège de Guyenne} provides a detailed overview of the educational developments in Bordeaux, including the establishment and subsequent languishing of the University of Bordeaux, which led to the foundation of the Collège de Guyenne. Much of the impetus for his project was to disentangle the origins of the Collège de Guyenne from those of the Collège de Grammaire, but also to correct the long-held view that the educational heritage of Bordeaux was an unbroken line from Ausonius in the fourth century to 1791 when the Collège de Guyenne took on the name Collège National.

\textsuperscript{90} Goulet, \textit{Compendium on the Magnificence}, 101. The Latin reads: "in quo sint XX aut XXX camerae suis cum bibliothecis saltem, pro regentibus et provectioribus discipulis." See Quicherat, 326.

\textsuperscript{91} Goulet, \textit{Compendium on the Magnificence}, 101. The Latin reads: "Sint ad minus duodecim classes seu parvae scholae, vel secundum loci et auditorum exigentiam." See Quicherat 326.

\textsuperscript{92} Gaullieur, 33. ADG 3 E 3594. In the \textit{devis}, Arnault de Lavie is not named as the Procurer de la Ville, however, in Jehan de Tartas' contract dated 22 February 1533, de Lavie's name appears in that position.

\textsuperscript{93} Gaullieur, 541-544. ADG 3 E 3594. The full assessment of the required modifications and repairs constitutes one of Gaullieur's \textit{pièce justificatives} which he included in the appendix of his \textit{Histoire}. The list of work required is extensive, but provides an interesting layout of Tartas' vision for the college's buildings.
students to a room. The modifications listed in the text indicated concern for many of the campus requirements Goulet outlined in the *Compendium*. Completion of the modifications and repairs Tartas and de Lavie identified would render the Collège de Guyenne suitable for the task of a great college.

Goulet's second precept for the formation of a college was to have "a man of very great experience" as the principal. His character and age were a factor, but so too was his training in "nearly every branch of learning," which included the need to be "a good grammarian, a fair orator and logician." In addition to his intellectual abilities, the principal was also to be a man who understood his Christian duty to be pious. His stipend was to be "sufficiently liberal" and, more importantly, to be paid "from the public purse," rather than through private tuition. When the Jurade hired Jehan de Tartas, they did so because of his "sens, science, litterature, bonne vie, diligence et labourieux conduyte." These qualities appealed to the Jurade because in his "vertuz, bonnes doctrines, industries, et conduyte" he had reformed the Collège de Lisieux in Paris, a college which in their view was "bien le meilheur colliege famé et renomé du dict Paris."

In his contract, the Jurade committed to pay Jehan de Tartas for his "stipendies, gages et sallayres el pour l'education, nourriture et entretenement de ses regens et lecteurs publiques." From the foundation of the Collège, the Jurade committed to paying the principal and the regents from the public purse.

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94 Gaullieur, 544. ADG 3 E 3594. *"Pour les pedagogues et escolliers fauldra trante chambres, qui est en tout cinquante-six chambres. Qu'est pour loyer trois cent XXVI escolliers en mectant six personnes par chaque chambre."*


98 Gaullieur, 30. ADG 3 E 3594.

99 Gaullieur, 30. ADG 3 E 3594.

100 Gaullieur, 33. ADG 3 E 3594.

101 The contract goes into some detail about the amounts and dates of these payments.
In addition to finding a qualified principal, the foundation of a good college required good regents who should be, as Goulet specified "devoted to their calling, not talkative, nor vagabond, but men of influence who hate avarice and desire earnestly the welfare and glory of their pupils." The notarial records of Mathieu Contat included eighteen contracts for the first regents at the newly formed Collège de Guyenne. On 29 July, 1534, the Jurade undertook contracts with the new regents who arrived with Gouveia, also paying them from the public purse. The 1533 contracts recorded the regent's name and place of origin, which gives us a sense of whence Tartas drew his professoriate. The contracts also specified each regent's responsibilities in the classroom, and, more importantly, as Goulet specified in his *Compendium*, the way they were to conduct their lives:

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vivre quietement et soy maintenir en humilite scolasticque et collegiale en vertus et bonnes mœures, en l'honneur de Dieu premierement, du dict principal et du dict colliege, san connectre en dict ne en faict, bandes, mutinemens, monopolles, ne aucune chose scandaleuse, ne visieuse, et aussi sans dire, declarer, ni revelle a aucun la maniere de vivre, faict et secret du dict colliege.\]

The structure of the contracts was formulaic and each included the above expectations. Vinet expressed this idea in *Schola Aquitanica* and recalled André de Gouveia examining the regents in order to ensure they were "without vices and without indulgence for vices" so that students

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102 Goulet, *Compendium on the Magnificence*, 102. The Latin reads: "Eligat primarius bonos regentes et devotos, non loquaces aut vagabundos, sed graves et qui oderint avaritiam, ac suorum discipulorum amantes commodum et gloriam: idque ne juvenes in malum proni, eos deserendo, alio se conferant."

103 Gaullieur, 548-549. The first four contracts date to 17 November 1533. The next four date to 18 November. The next two were from 22 November and 30 November. Six contracts date to 4 December, and one each to 6, 12, 17, and 18 December. Gaullieur transcribed Nicolas Roiillet's contract. For the remaining contracts, see AGD 3 E 3594.


105 Gaullieur, 548-549. ADG 3 E 3595.

106 Gaullieur transcribes only one of the eighteen contracts, as they are virtually identical, with the exception of Jehan Faugieres. Faugieres' contract, ADG 3 E 3595 December 22 1533, is missing the section that itemizes the salary. It is unclear why this particular contract deviates from the formula.
would learn not only letters from them, but also "the habit of the honest life." Ultimately, as regents, they were responsible to live well within the college and wider city community.

The third precept Goulet emphasised was the importance of observing the method of the University of Paris: *de modo parisiensis observando*. This is the first time that the words *modus parisiensis* appear in the text. In Goulet's text, this referred specifically to the management of college systems and classes. The organizational structure coupled with its central authority, united the university and made it efficient. Additionally, the use of a graduated system within the colleges and the boarding system were distinctive elements of the *modus parisiensis*. The University had authority over the colleges, but the colleges themselves maintained an independent hierarchical and centralized power structure. Within the colleges there was an "authority figure who wielded supreme power." The *modus parisiensis* indeed embraced all of these elements, but in the case of Goulet's *Compendium*, it was the college's implementation of a graduated curriculum managed by the principal that reflected the method of the University of Paris. The Jurade entrusted the principal with authority over "les pactes, appointementz et convenances" of the Collège de Guyenne.

The first task of the principal in the *modus parisiensis* was to "visit frequently the rooms and classes of the pupils and regents to see whether they are clean and the boys are succeeding." In his contract with the Jurade, Tartas assumed responsibility to oversee all students; whether they were "pourtans baston et armures, vagabonds, discolles, coureurs de paut, ...

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108 Quicherat, 327.

109 Codina, "The 'Modus Parisiensis,'" 33.

110 Goulet, *Compendium on the Magnificence*, 103.

111 Gaullier, 29. ADG 3 E 3594.

et vicieulx et par ampres et incontinent les luy rendre et delivrer pour les pugnir, corriger et
displiner comme dict est.”

Student correction and discipline was one of the primary responsibilities of the principal of a college that followed the *modus parisiensis*. One of the difficulties regarding discipline at the colleges in Paris was that regents and the principal frequently disagreed. Oftentimes, regents sided with the students rather than the principal.

André de Gouveia had great skill in this area as he aligned himself well with his regents and treated them as equals by extending the responsibility of inspection and correction to all. Shifts in accountability during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries may also have precipitated André de Gouveia's collegial manner with his regents, as, at the University of Paris, basic procedures held the principal accountable for student misdeeds.

Gouveia ensured that all teachers, regardless of the class they taught, had authority over all students, which included the authority to warn, reprimand, and even strike them in the case of bad conduct.

Masters were to temper correction, however, lest the students turn away from the study of letters for having been beaten. In this, Gouveia echoed Erasmus' views on masters' use of violence. In his *De Pueris statim ac liberaliter institudendis* (1529), Erasmus recounted his own experience with a master who wished to test him in regards to his ability to undergo severe discipline. The beating, according to Erasmus, "annihilated in me all further interest in learning, and so, dejected, so broken was I, that I gradually fell into a low feverish state."

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113 ADG 3 E 3944. See Gaullieur 34-35 for transcription.
115 Beam, 99.
117 Vinet, *Schola Aquitanica*, liiii-lv. Massebieau, 40/41. "Pedagogi pueros suos in officio continean. nec tamen caedant, ne a litteris absterreantur: sed si quid dignum poenae commiserint, de hoc ad nos, aut aliquem ex praeceptoribus referant."
118 Erasmus, *De pueris statim*, in Woodward, 205.
too esteemed the value of learning Latin without being beaten. For Montaigne, education was to be conducted "with a severe gentleness, not as it usually is. Instead of children being invited to letters as guests, all they are shown in truth are cruelty and horror. Get rid of violence and force: as I see it, nothing so fundamentally stultifies and bastardizes a well-born nature."

Though Montaigne's lengthy treatment about violence in learning raises questions about the role of corporal punishment in Montaigne's own education and whether Guyenne followed the precepts concerning the use of violence, according to the *Schola Aquitanica*, the Collège de Guyenne aligned with expectations of the *modus parisiensis* that the principal and regents draw students into study and correct them when necessary.

Discipline and correction, however, were but small pieces of the *modus parisiensis*. The daily schedule and the rhythm of the day defined the *modus*. The city of Paris, like most other cities, followed a conventual routine structured by the ringing of bells to mark hours throughout the day. According to Codina, "the whole city functioned as a great school, moving together from the sound of the Angelus in the morning, through to the evening, following the same rhythm of hours, calendar, rules, practices, customs, religious and student celebrations, and general style of life." Goulet specified that the first bell should ring at the fourth hour in the morning. Arts lectures should begin at the fifth hour. The sixth hour was the commencement of Mass. Another bell would ring at the eighth hour to signal the commencement of classes; it was at this time that the regents entered the classrooms. After two hours in the class, formal debates continued until the noon meal, which also commenced with the sound of a bell. The *modus*

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121 Codina, "The 'Modus Parisiensis,'" 33.
parisiensis required a schedule and routine for each day that was regulated through the use of bells.

While each class taught different lessons, the flow of the day at Guyenne was basically the same for each student and bells summoned them to class three times per day: in the morning, at noon, and in the evening. Classes began at the eighth hour when the regent entered the room. Lessons continued throughout the day, with transitions in lessons for all classes at noon; the new content ran until three o'clock, at which time the topic of study changed again. Bells sounded over the course of the day to indicate the changes in lesson. Goulet mentioned the afternoon hours of the day in the same precept in which he discussed relaxation for students. The most important part of lessons after the noon and evening meals, according to Goulet, was repetition. The goal was to prevent "enervating idleness." Lessons ran throughout the day, right up to the pyritegium, that is, the covering of the fire. Goulet wanted to ensure that students did not work at night in order that their strength "be conserved for the service of God." Recreational time was moderate. According to Goulet, it should be available on Sundays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays, though masters still gave lectures on those days. At Guyenne, play was prohibited before or after lunch unless the principal or a master had publicly given permission for it. Days without classes were students' opportunity to play without the risk of

punishment. Even in play, however, regents expected the students to speak in Latin. There was an exception for the *abécédaires*, as they had yet to acquire sufficient Latin, but even in this case, the older students were first to try speaking to them in Latin, only resorting to French if the *abécédaire* did not understand them. The Collège de Guyenne was rigorous in its expectations of students.

Goulet advised a gradual progression of learning. He counselled those who sought to build a college to ensure that "no lad however noble or clever should carry away for perusal the poets nor Cato or Sulpicius, unless he be accurately versed in and know by heart the Lesser Donatus, and in particular be master of that part and those grammatical principles that are written in the vernacular speech." Goulet insisted that students must first learn the fundamentals and build on them as they move towards higher studies. As stated earlier, at its inception and through the first decade of its existence, the Collège offered twelve classes in grammar. By 1583, when Elie Vinet wrote *Schola Aquitanica*, the college offered only nine classes, but the text revealed Vinet's insight into the educational programme André de Gouveia established at Guyenne. Vinet's purpose in writing this text was to preserve and disseminate the "perfect" educational programme. The Jurade approved the publication of this text out of a desire to make known the style of discipleship and instruction offered at Bordeaux.

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134 Massebieau, 50-51. The declaration states that the *Jurade* assembled as per their custom on 10 September, 1583 at which Gabriel de Lurbe presented Vinet's small book on the Collège de Guyenne. Their approval seems to indicate a desire to endorse the programme of Guyenne and ensure its dissemination. There had been great concern about the establishment of the Jesuit Collège de Madeleine in 1572. The *Jurade* protested the Jesuit college on the basis of the Royal authority that authorized the Collège de Guyenne as the exclusive college in the
the programme would be of general interest and that all of his efforts were to ensure that all who
came after them would know and be able to practice "a method that has always been judged the
best."136 The concluding sentence of their declaration for publication expressed a firm belief that
the education offered at Guyenne was worthy of dissemination and imitation.137

Vinet wrote this text in 1583, forty-nine years after Gouveia's arrival, thirty-five years
after Vinet departed for Portugal with Gouveia, and eleven years after he assumed the office of
principal.138 In that time, the Collège experienced transitions in leadership and developments in
curriculum. One example of this is the use of Maturin Cordier's *Colloques* in the eighth level
class.139 Cordier published them in 1564 so they could not have been part of Gouveia's
programme, as he had left Guyenne in 1547, nor part of Gelida's curriculum as he had died in
1556.140 It is likely that Vinet implemented the use of this text, but as Cordier taught at the
college from 1534 to 1536, it is probable that his ideas informed Latin curriculum before the
publication of the text.141 Cordier's *Colloques* followed the dialogue format Erasmus originally
used in his *Colloquia familiaria*.142 They were designed to teach younger schoolboys "things

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137 Massebieau 50/51. The 1583 edition published by Simon Millanges at Bordeaux does not contain the Jurade's
publication rationale. Further exploration of the original source of this text for Massebieau's edition is required.
Louis Desgraves refers to the Jurade's authorization for publication in *La Vie Intellectuelle de Bordeaux*, 26,
entry 48. Desgraves notes that the edition of *Schola Aquitanica* housed at the Bibliotheque Municipale in
Bordeaux contains that addendum to the text.
138 Elie Vinet's election emerged from the *Jurade's* concern about the Jesuits' Collège de la Madeleine. Their goal
had been to find a professor with sufficient erudition but who held the appropriate religious views that could
resist the Jesuits. See Gaullieur, 307.
140 Massebieau, 68, note 31.
141 Gaullieur, 98 and 128. Gaullieur argues that Cordier's influence on the youth during his time at Guyenne was
considerable and that he himself was a collaborator with Gouvéa in the organization of the College's programme.
142 Barbara Mahlmann-Bauer, "Catholic and protestant textbooks in elementary Latin conversation: Manuals of
religious combat or guide to avoiding conflict?" in *ScholarlyKnowledge: Textbooks in early modern Europe*,
edited by Emidio Campi, Simone De Angelis, Anja-Silvia Goeing, and Anthony T. Grafton (Geneva: Librarie
Droz, 2008), 353.
unknown to them, rules of behavior, religious practices and scientific theories."  

The structure offered a microcosm of the schoolboy’s idealized experience of studying at school, which included learning lessons, enjoying free time, and quizzing his classmates, not unlike a typical day at Guyenne, as outlined in the *Schola Aquitanica*. Examination of the specific details of the programme at Guyenne requires consideration of the changes in leadership and curriculum. Vinet’s text, however, provides insight into the graduated system in place under Gouveia.

The programme began with the tenth class, which addressed basic literacy skills: learning the alphabet, which is where this class derived its name, *alphabétaires*, after the Greek letters *Alpha* and *Beta*, or *abécédaires* after the Latin letters. This class generally comprised the youngest members of the school, who started at the age of seven as per Quintilian’s instruction in his *Institutio Oratoria*. The tenth class instructed boys in the basic elements of Latin letters, which became the first step in the process of learning the Latin language. Masters used two books to do this. The first was *Alphabetum*, which contained the order and shape of each of the twenty-three Latin letters, the Church prayer, the seven psalms, etc; the basic language lessons by which a novice could learn. The second book that the *abécédaires* used was the *Libellus Puerorum* because, as Vinet highlighted, "it was small and for the small ones:"

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143 Mahlmann-Bauer, 353.
144 Mahlmann-Bauer, 356.
146 Vinet, *Schola Aquitanica*, vii. Massebieau, 4/5. Vinet provides a passing reference to Quintilian’s instruction regarding children’s age. This refers to Quintilian’s *Institutio Oratoria*, where he states “Some hold that boys should not be taught to read till they are seven years old, that being the earliest age at which they can derive profit from instruction and the endure the strain of learning.” See Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* Loeb Classical Library 1920, 20. 1, 1:15 “Quidam litteris instituendos, minores septem annis essent, non putaverunt ... melius autem, qui nullum tempus vacare cura volunt, ut Chrysippus.”
147 Vinet, *Schola Aquitanica*, vii. Massebieau, 6/7. It is unclear from the text which version of *Alphabetum* the students at Guyenne used. Ferdinand Buisson created a bibliography of sixteenth-century texts used in classes. Under the heading *Abécédaires et Alphabets*, he lists three books with the title *Alphabet*. The title was a popular one for basic Latin grammars in the sixteenth century.
concluded regarding books for the tenth class, "it is thus that we teach them in good time the elements of Latin grammar."

Having established the resources regents used to instruct children in basic grammar, Vinet described the classroom environment. The students sat in rows of benches where the most advanced students sat in the front and the newest ones at the back. When the regent entered the class, the students stood at their benches and began their lesson from there. From the front of the room, the master spoke the first word and the students repeated it. Then the master spelled the word, pronouncing each letter and syllable structure and the students repeated them back. The lesson proceeded and, eventually, they read the entire sentence, with each student reading a single word aloud. Then the lesson moved to the second bench, who performed the same exercise, but with the first of the seven Psalms. So the lessons proceeded through each of the benches, each working at their own level. Once the last bench of students had completed their lesson, the cycle began again with the first bench. It was also in the tenth class that students learned how to write. They learned the twenty-three letters of the Latin alphabet and then learned how to shape them. To enforce their lessons, the students wrote out a letter, a syllable, a word, and a useful thought about the idea. They declined nouns and conjugated verbs; all written on a small piece of paper. From there, students learned how to draw. Educating children of this age required gentleness and, in this, the masters were to follow Quintilian's advice not to make the children learn their lessons by heart.

Student advancement occurred three or four times per year, once the regent determined that the student had sufficiently mastered declensions, conjugations, and orthography. The

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151 Vinet, *Schola Aquitanica*, xiii. Massebieau, 10/11. See also Quintilian I, 1, 15 "Initia litterarum sola memoria constant, que non modo jam in parvis sed etiam tenacissam est."
students continuing in the tenth class then moved up one bench as their classmates advanced to the ninth class.152 The classroom for the ninth class, the *aula*, was a large room that frequently held discourse and public disputes. The room was enormous and the students were insufficiently numerous to fill the space; rather they occupied a small corner of the room to conduct their lessons.153 In the ninth class, students learned to read and write well and quickly in both Latin and French. In order to do this, students read one or two sentences from Cato each morning. As in the tenth class, lessons proceeded from bench to bench. With the exception of the last two benches, at noon, students practiced their writing and submitted it to the master for correction. The evening consisted of additional practice for reading and writing that they also submitted.154

In the eighth class students continued to improve their reading and writing, but now the curriculum required students to develop skills in memorisation. They had to learn from the master, but also copy it into their notebooks. First students heard the lesson, then the explication, followed by the discourse, and finally they related the text back to the master. Reading in this class followed the same pattern, student by student, row by row; but lessons now required that they decline and conjugate the words of the text. The master also inquired of them about the lesson in French, expecting them to conjugate the clause in French.155 In the eighth class, promotion occurred every six months, unlike the three or four month intervals of the preceding levels.156

The seventh class built on the lessons of the eighth. Students continued to develop their knowledge of inflections and linguistic elements and the explanation of the passage of the day. The master read the passage and explained the phrases along with orthography, including what

should be in capital and miniscule letters. He also began to correct students in front of their classmates.\textsuperscript{157} The lessons continued to be bilingual as students wrote phrases in both Latin and French.\textsuperscript{158} It is in this class that students began to develop their understanding of gender as a function of language according to the Despauterius text.\textsuperscript{159} Jan de Spauter, Latinized to Johannes Despauterius, was a Flemish humanist who published this series of textbooks as a complete grammar course.\textsuperscript{160} The entire volume was called \textit{Syntaxis} and consisted of five books: \textit{Orthographiae isagogae} (1506), \textit{Ars versificatoria} (1510), \textit{Grammaticae prima pars} (1512), \textit{Rudimenta} (1511 or 1514), and \textit{De figuris liber ex Quintilio}, Donato, Diomede, Valla ... \textit{diligenter concinnatus} (1519).\textsuperscript{161} The text became popular very quickly. That Goulet recommended the text in his 1517 \textit{Compendium} is evidence of this.\textsuperscript{162} Guyenne's use of this text further demonstrated its adherence to the \textit{modus parisiensis}.

The sixth class worked on the letters of Cicero through recitation and explanation in both French and Latin. They continued to use Despauterius in order to learn gender, declensions, the preterit and supine forms, along with general syntax. In many ways, the sixth class was a continuation of the seventh.\textsuperscript{163} The fifth class functioned largely as an extension of the sixth class, with the exception of adding new grammatical structures, as well as a comedy by Terence and a letter from Ovid. The fourth class continued to build on the fifth adding Cicero's letters to Atticus along with the practice of rhetoric. Once the students finished with the Terence comedy,

\textsuperscript{158} Vinet, \textit{Schola Aquitanica}, xxx-xxvi. Massebieau, 18/19.
\textsuperscript{159} Vinet, \textit{Schola Aquitanica}, xxvi. Massebieau, 18/19.
\textsuperscript{160} Carol Poster and Linda C. Mitchell, editors, \textit{Letter-writing Manuals and Instruction from Antiquity to the Present. Historical and Biographical Studies} (Columbia, SC: The University of South Carolina Press, 2007), 149.
\textsuperscript{161} Poster, 159.
\textsuperscript{162} Goulet, \textit{Compendium on the Magnificence}, 107-108.
they moved to a letter from Ovid.\textsuperscript{164} The themes of the fourth class were more complex and longer and also required the students to master Latin verses, though short and easy ones.\textsuperscript{165} As Goulet discussed in his fifth precept, the student who "finds pleasure in Vergil and Cicero" has "made very great progress."\textsuperscript{166} The third and second classes continued to build on the lessons of the fourth class, adding supplementary texts, recitations, and mastery of Latin verse.\textsuperscript{167} The second class also introduced a new area of study: history. These students also advanced their oratorical skills, in private and in public.\textsuperscript{168}

It is in the first class that students moved away from grammar to deal exclusively with rhetoric. They began to analyse Suetonius' grammatical structure and to learn Cicero and Quintilian's precepts of oratory.\textsuperscript{169} They studied history through a variety of Roman sources and they learned poetry in order to learn \textit{mores}. They studied short pieces of verse which they submitted to their masters.\textsuperscript{170} They memorized large portions of Cicero's discourse and moral works. They made public declamations on French themes as well as Latin discourse and verse.\textsuperscript{171} By the end of the first class, students had developed into skilled rhetoricians able to draw on a wealth of Latin texts. The successful college, according to Goulet, "should insist on the rudiments, the fundamentals, and the composing of verses and letters."\textsuperscript{172} Throughout Vinet's descriptions of the ten classes offered at the Collège, he made it clear that the rudiments

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and fundamentals of grammar, coupled with the composition of verses and letters were the core of Guyenne's curriculum, in line with the *modus parisiensis*.

Over the course of these ten classes, students built their skills in Latin grammar. In most cases, however, students were unable to complete the grammar programme in ten years. Montaigne was an exception in this respect as he "left the College at thirteen, having 'completed the course.'"\(^\text{173}\) Frequently, students stayed at one level for more than a year.\(^\text{174}\) According to Vinet, this happened most frequently in the sixth class, which often resulted in a division of the class into two groups, each with its own master.\(^\text{175}\) Completing the grammar programme was not, however, the end of the lessons available at Guyenne. Upon completion of the first class, students could submit themselves to the study of philosophy for which there were two masters who each undertook a group of students for two years.\(^\text{176}\) During this time, students became dialecticians or logicians.\(^\text{177}\) This was the aspect of the Collège de Guyenne that aligned with Goulet's sixth precept, which addressed learning after students had acquired grammar.\(^\text{178}\) To achieve this status, the students studied a wide range of philosophical texts, one of which was *Præceptiones Dialecticas* (1554), written by the former regent of dialectic at Guyenne (1534-1547), Nicolas de Grouchy. The philosophy students also participated in the public lessons offered at the Collège. The first lesson taught Greek and the second mathematics. Vinet named two books that masters used at the time he wrote his treatise: for Greek, Simon Millanges, a former student and regent of the Collège edited and published a text and Elie Vinet wrote the

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\(^\text{176}\) Massebieau, 71. See note 54.
\(^\text{178}\) Goulet, *Compendium on the Magnificence*, 110. See also Quicherat, 330.
arithmetic text, which Millanges also published. Both of these texts were later additions to the curriculum, as Millanges did not begin publishing until 1572. The public lessons were open to all students, though it was students in the fifth class or above that generally followed the Greek and students in the first and second classes that followed mathematics. Ideally, one subject inspired a student to pursue the next one, because "it would not be possible to form a University from grammarians alone no matter how skillful and erudite they may be, nor to rear a famous gymnasium, unless there are other faculties to which the youth may aspire." The programme at Guyenne acknowledged the need to provide lessons after students had attained mastery of grammar. The ultimate goal was to produce graduates who were skilled in rhetoric, as it was an essential skill for understanding society and politics. From its inception, the Jurade specified that it would provide advanced studies in the Arts.

To conclude his Compendium, Goulet outlined a series of "small admonitions and precepts" which students were to follow. While he acknowledged that some of these matters may seem insignificant, Goulet argued that these things were important to ensure that students lived "rightly," and so listed a number of behaviours students ought to follow. For example, they should comb their hair, clean their shoes and clothes, and always wear a belt around their

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179 Vinet, Schola Aquitanica, xxxvi. Massebeau 26/27. See also page 72 note 57. Gaullier, 304 discusses Millanges acquisition of a printing press. The Jurats even contributed to the establishment of his business with a gift of 400 livres.


183 The procès-verbal, Jehan de Tartas' contract, and the Devis des constructions et réparations a fairs au batiments du Collège de Guyenne all contain references to higher level studies.

garment.  Neither regents nor elders were to commit "any dishonorable act" in front of the students in line with Juvenal's admonition: "We owe the greatest reverence to the young." The standards of behaviour applied to student and regent alike, and if any were "proud or incorrigible, they should be expelled," though this should be an action of reflection rather than reaction, lest it be "done in haste which later cause prolonged sorrow." The ultimate goal of learning was to inspire students to love the precepts that lead to salvation "so that they may say with the Psalmist, 'I have more understanding than all my teachers, because I have sought thy testimonies.'

In line with Goulet's admonitions to live respectfully, humbly, and in pursuit of knowledge, Gouveia affixed two tablets in the great hall for all to read. The first were the statutes which opened with a declaration that the college was founded not only to help the belles-lettres to flourish, but to instill good mores. More importantly, the college was founded so that no one could excuse his ignorance. The college statutes instructed that: Students were to dress with their clothes appropriately belted. Weapons were not permitted "except for those deemed proper for a student: books, a writing desk, and a quill." Students carrying weapons

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190 Vinet, *Schola Aquitanica*, li. Massebieau, 38/39.  "Arma intro nullus adferat, nec foris per urbem armatus ense vel sica incedat praeterquam scholastici armis, cujusmodi sunt libri, theca scritoria, cultellus, pennarius," which Massebieau translated as "Qu'aucun n'y entre avec des armes, ou n'aill e par la ville avec un épée ou une dague: nous ne permettons en fait d'armes que cells qui sont propres aux écoliers, c'est-à-dire les livres, l'écritoire et le canif." There were two archetypes which defined student life at the University of Paris in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: the drunken, violent, and often sexually aggressive man seeking to establish his masculine
was an ongoing concern at the Collège. On 16 May 1534, in response to the lack of discipline that ruled the Collège in the wake of Jehan de Tartas' termination as principal, the city implemented a civic ordinance that forbade students from carrying swords, on pain of "une ammende considerable." In an arrêt dated 6 July 1583, Nicollas Gondeau, the regent of the third class, ordered that his students not carry swords. By restricting students' 'weapons' to those of books, desks, and quills, the Collège de Guyenne declared its view of acceptable student behaviour. Students were not to loiter in front of the door or the hallway, but were to proceed to their classrooms and sit quietly waiting for the master. Students were to be on time. Students were to attend class regularly and were not to be absent without consulting the teacher. On Saturdays, students were to assist with the public disputes. Before lunch, students were not to play. The same was true after lunch, unless they received permission. Students could play on days when there were no classes. In the discussion of whether or not everyone should be seated, the master ought to be consulted. All obscenities were prohibited. Students who underwent punishment were not to murmur against the master or threaten him or speak haughtily. Students were to respect one another; not swearing, cursing, injuring, or mocking each other. Students were not to invoke the name of the devil. Students were not to fight nor strike one another. With the exception of the pupils in the lowest classes, students were to express themselves in Latin at all times unless they were not understood, at which point they could translate into French. Students could not change classes without authorisation; they were to follow their classes in

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192 Gaullieur, 76.
order and their advancement depended on the results of their examinations. New students received their class assignment from the masters based on their assessment. All who were members of the college, whether in the college itself or around the city, were to receive the honour they were due; this meant that students were to get the members’ attention, to address them in a friendly way, and to greet them.  Through the statutes, Gouveia stipulated the kind of behaviour students were to adopt: respectful, studious, and self-disciplined.

The statutes included specific rules for the *pedagogues*. They were to maintain their students at their work, without striking them. If students merited punishment, the teachers were to refer them to the principal or to one of the masters. The *pedagogues* were to assign nothing outside of the approved texts at the Collège so that they did not confuse a child's natural talent or destroy what was built by the knowledge of the masters. They should instruct and make the children repeat the text and demand explanation. If the students could not answer, they were to "recognize their ignorance and be silent." They should content themselves to teach by their example of good *mores* and piety. If they knew how to read, sing, or write well, they should teach them in the "lost moments," that is to say, as long as there were no public events at the college. Additionally, "we exhort each one in particular to carefully observe not only all that was said above, but also what they determine communicates honesty and good mores."

Finally, Gouveia advised all of the masters of this college that, if they discovered that someone had missed an article of this rule, they should warn him, and if he resisted, punish him in accordance with the seriousness of his error. In the same way that students were to conduct

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themselves with respect and self-discipline, masters were to set the example of this behaviour and enforce it when necessary.

Scheduling was an essential component to the *modus parisiensis*. In addition to the daily pattern, scholastic life also followed weekly and annual rhythms. In line with Goulet's recommendation for moderate relaxation on Sundays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays,\(^{200}\) the students at Guyenne received an hour of rest on Tuesdays and Thursdays, when there were no classes between three and four o'clock.\(^{201}\) According to Goulet, the principal was also to ensure that students went to confession on specific holy days: the beginning of Lent, Easter, Pentecost, Assumption of the Virgin Mary, All Saints, and the Nativity of our Lord.\(^{202}\) The academic schedule also included disputations, which Goulet slated for Sundays and feast days.\(^{203}\) The second tablet Gouveia affixed in the great hall was the list of holidays. There were fifty-six days in total.\(^{204}\) While students were to be diligent in their studies and to strive to advance in progress, they were to pursue piety ardently. On these days, students were to attend Mass, and then return to their studies.\(^{205}\) Generally, feast days did not mean a break from studies, but rather an adjustment to the daily schedule, though there were a few days in the year that warranted a cessation of study.\(^{206}\) Religious commitment was for all days, not only the holy days. Students attended Mass daily and were to return to their studies promptly afterwards. There were specific guidelines about how to manage lessons when there were multiple holidays in a given week and


\(^{201}\) Vinet, *Schola Aquitanica*, lxii. Massebieau 46/47.

\(^{202}\) Goulet, *Compendium on the Magnificence*, 103.

\(^{203}\) Goulet, *Compendium on the Magnificence*, 111.

\(^{204}\) For the complete list of holidays and the accompanying lesson schedule, see Massebieau 42-49.

\(^{205}\) Vinet, *Schola Aquitanica*, lxi. Massebieau, 46/47.

\(^{206}\) Vinet, *Schola Aquitanica*, lvii-lxi. Massebieau, 42-47. Those dates are noted visually with indentations, italics, and asterisks. These markings are in the original 1583 edition of *Schola Aquitanica*. 
Sundays were the only days on which it was guaranteed there were no lessons. Through these two tablets, Gouveia admonished his students and regents to right living in the college, just as Goulet expressed in his seventh precept.

Theatre was one of the key elements of Brethren education and although neither the *Compendium* nor the *Schola Aquitanica* mention it, we know that it was a feature at Guyenne. Students at the University of Paris embraced theatre, which they originally used as a sort of game, poking fun at the monarchy and other civic leaders. Over time, theatre acquired educational purposes as opposed to simple entertainment. As actors in these plays, students improved their Latin and diction and had a venue through which to demonstrate their linguistic prowess. Montaigne discussed how through theatrical endeavours he gained "an assured countenance, a suppleness of voice and gesture." George Buchanan (1506-1582), instructor of the *primus ordo*, who taught rhetoric, wrote at least four neoclassical plays during his time at Guyenne. Performing in plays allowed students the opportunity to follow in the footsteps of the ancients and was a means to gain honour and praise.

When Elie Vinet became the principal on 29 July 1562, he assumed leadership of the Collège shortly after the eruption of the first of the French Wars of Religion. The priority of the contract was for Vinet to lead the Collège well, even in a period of war. The political and religious climate in Bordeaux differed from that which greeted André de Gouveia when he

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208 Beam, 77.
209 Beam, 100.
213 "Contrat passé entre les jurats et Elie Vinet," 31. The contract mentions the war, but the text immediately preceding the word "guerre" was not transcribed in text, possibly due to damage, or simple illegibility. The passage immediately preceding the sentence with "guerre" in it discusses Vinet's responsibilities with regards to plague, so it is unclear precisely what Vinet should do relative to war in his position, except run the Collège as his predecessors had done.
arrived nearly thirty years earlier. The Jurade charged Vinet to maintain the Collège in "forme et manière que les autres principaux avoient acoustumé en estre [payés] et soubx les pactes, conditions et califications [qui] seroient entre eulx accordées et passées par [devant] notaire et tesmoings." The Jurade charged Vinet to maintain the Collège in the same manner as his predecessors. The 1562 contract further specified that he was to continue education in dialectic, mathematics, philosophy, and that which they called "les arts sçavans." Further, he was to engage competent regents who could teach at every level offered at the Collège, "le bas regens liront épîtres familières, sacrés poëtes, le rudimens, fundamentz et exorde de grammaire, et les deux derniers instruiront les enfans es élémens alphabétiques et à bien lire." Vinet was to run the Collège in the way it had always been run, with a focus on arts curriculum, taught by knowledgeable and respectable regents whom he had selected with "discrétion et prudence," and in "la meilleure forme et manière que se faict aux collèges principaux de Paris." Nearly thirty years after its foundation, the Jurade continued to expect the Collège de Guyenne to follow the model of Paris. At the conclusion of the Heptadogma Goulet wrote that he hoped his "few statements suffice as an answer to your inquiries" concerning the establishment of a college that would develop and grow in the years to come. In the context of the early sixteenth century, the establishment of a college implied a connection to a university; in Goulet's case, that meant the University of Paris. The Jurade maintained its view that the colleges in Paris were the model for the Collège de Guyenne. Montaigne's statement that the Collège de Guyenne was the best in France echoed Goulet's concluding thoughts regarding a flourishing college. From its

214 “Contrat passé entre les jurats et Elie Vinet,” 26-27.
215 “Contrat passé entre les jurats et Elie Vinet,” 27.
216 “Contrat passé entre les jurats et Elie Vinet,” 27.
217 “Contrat passé entre les jurats et Elie Vinet,” 28.
foundation, the Collège de Guyenne embraced the *modus parisiensis*; in form and structure it incorporated the elements Goulet cited as essential in the formation of a successful college.
CHAPTER IV:

THE CROSSROADS: THE COLLÈGE AND THE REFORMATION

In 1574, Jehan Puget de Saint-Marc, a regent in philosophy at the Jesuit Collège de la Madeleine, was the subject of an inquiry before the Jurade. Three or four students addressed the Jurade to discuss with them Puget's mistreatment at the hands of the Jesuits.¹ What soon became evident to the Jurade was that there was a revolt brewing at the Collège de la Madeleine. When Puget appeared before the council, he was "pale, covered in blood, with his clothes in disorder" and he reported to them that the Jesuits had become his "mortal enemies."² Charles Sager, the rector of the Collège de la Madeleine, intervened in the proceedings to argue that Puget de Saint-Marc was undergoing internal discipline, in which the Jurade had no business. The case eventually went before the Archbishop of Bordeaux, who heard the testimony of four witnesses, two of whom were Puget's students, Noël Piébourt and Gillibert Aymé, a Jesuit named Claude Barat, and Simon Millanges, a former regent at the Collège de Guyenne and the city publisher.³ The Jesuits argued that they had supported Puget for the past twelve years and that he had taken vows as a Jesuit that he had now renounced in pursuing a position at the Collège de Guyenne. As a result, they wanted him declared an apostate and imprisoned. Puget de Saint-Marc recounted that he had been a young man of fourteen, living in Malta, when some Jesuit accosted him and counselled him to leave that town and dedicate himself to study under the Jesuits. Puget argued that although he had accepted the education that the Jesuits offered, he had not made the formal vows of a Jesuit. He believed that he was free to leave at any time. Charles Sager thought otherwise. The conflict of this story reveals a number of the religious and academic challenges that the Collège de Guyenne faced. When André de Gouveia arrived at the Collège in

¹ Gaullieur, 327.
² Gaullieur, 328.
³ Gaullieur, 329.
1534, he adopted a position of inclusivity for Catholic and Protestant perspectives. In a city that included a large population of both Protestants and Catholics, as well as a large community of Iberians with converso lineage, this position was appropriately neutral. The study of the Collège's religious position reveals the extent to which the provincial college in Bordeaux interacted with the larger transformations happening across Europe in the sixteenth century. The regents at the Collège de Guyenne were part of a religious environment that was in constant flux and there were regents across the religious spectrum. Standing at the crossroads was a defining characteristic of the Collège pedagogically and religiously. As the Collège faced the Reformation, the regents revealed their adaptability and responsiveness to the changing currents, and a faculty presence whose ideas reflected the turmoil. The political landscape of France fractured in the face of religious conflict. In the face of this, the regents at the Collège de Guyenne responded to the turmoil by maintaining a tempered perspective. Questions about heterodoxy within the walls of the Collège circulated among the city's elite, and while students at the Collège faced accusations of heresy, during their tenure there, none of the regents faced charges of heresy. That the Collège was able to maintain a position of openness in an increasingly hostile and violent period indicates the strength of their resolve, but also their wisdom in navigating tempestuous times.

Historians of the Collège de Guyenne frequently treat it as an autonomous institution, which implemented its curriculum as per the principal's prerogative. In reality, the Collège was connected to the University of Bordeaux, into which the Jesuit Collège de la Madeleine was also incorporated in 1572. While the Collège was autonomous in its management, it was part of the University, not only because when the Jurade established the Collège in 1533 they assumed the

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4 "Actes de l'Université de Bordeaux Incorporant a l'Université le Collège des Jésuites de la Ville, de Novembre 1572," in Barckhausen, Statuts, 59-60.
buildings of the Collège de Grammaire, which was a component of the University, but also because of the interconnected relationship between the two institutions. In order to understand how the Collège de Guyenne and the University of Bordeaux interacted, it is necessary to understand the relationship between universities and humanist colleges that were established in the early sixteenth century. Although the curriculum at the Collège de Guyenne conformed to the modus parisiensis, the Collège also had a very close relationship to the University of Bordeaux. The University of Paris, in addition to its own lectures in higher studies, comprised a series of colleges, which over time offered their own curriculum. As discussed earlier in relation to its facilities, the Collège de Guyenne assumed the buildings originally used by the Collège de Grammaire, established alongside the University of Bordeaux in 1441. When the Collège de Guyenne opened in 1533, it was in many respects a new enterprise in the spirit of the newly begun royal lectures in France, which eventually came to be known as the Collège Royal, or Collège de France. Enthusiasm for the studia humanitatis inspired the foundation of three institutions dedicated to the study of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin: the University of Alcalá de Henares in Spain, the Collegium Trilingue in Louvain, and what came to be known as the Collège de France. While there are differences in institutional structure between these three institutions, they all focused on the instruction of biblical languages, and had complex associations with the universities to which they were attached.

In 1497, Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros received a commission from Pope Alexander VI to conduct visitations universities and estudios generales throughout Spain. He undertook this task with the inquisitor Diego de Deza. After those visitations, Cisneros made plans to establish two additional universities, one in Seville and the other at Alcalá. 5 While

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Cisneros was unable to establish both, he did found the College of San Ildefonso, which became the cornerstone of the University of Alcalá de Henares, in 1499. The University opened in 1508 with a class of five hundred new students and seven professors Cisneros had procured from the University of Salamanca. The curriculum at Alcalá focused on theological and ecclesiastical training, though the theological programme differed from traditional programmes as Cisneros established a chair in Scotism in addition to chairs in Thomism and Nominalism. While the University followed the curriculum of the University of Paris and had a well-developed theological curriculum, the emphasis was, nevertheless, philology, from which emerged the Complutensian Polyglot Bible (1517). The Bible was a six-volume edition, in which the Septuagint, Vulgate, and Hebrew translations filled the first four volumes of the Old Testament, with a Chaldaic version of the Pentateuch. The fifth volume contained the Greek and Latin texts of the New Testament, and included portions in Aramaic. The sixth volume provided lexical aids for Hebrew and Chaldaic and other study aids. Cisneros included many of the greatest linguists on the project, including Elio Antonio de Nebrija, and even extended several invitations to Erasmus, who declined. The University of Alcalá had a systematic approach to education that started with the youngest grammarians and continued up to the most advanced studies in philology, arts, philosophy, medicine, canon law, and theology, all of which had a humanist foundation.

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6 Rummel, Cisneros, 55.
7 Rummel, Cisneros, 56.
8 Rummel, Cisneros, 56.
10 Rummel, Cisneros, 58.
11 Rummel, Cisneros, 60-61.
12 Ezquerra, 253.
When Jerome Busleyden died in 1517, his will stipulated that he wanted to establish a Collegium at the University of Louvain, in the College of Saint Donatien. Busleyden's will outlined the entire structure he wanted established, including the names of the executors who were to carry out his vision: Adrian Josel, Nicolas Van Nispen, Bartholomew Van Vessem, Antony Sucket, and Erasmus. The education of poor youth was important to Busleyden, who established thirteen bursaries for poor children who came from good families. The classes available at the Collegium Trilingue replaced the lessons they would have taken at the College of Arts. The Collegium was also to offer public lectures. Busleyden even specified how much the professors ought to be paid, the Greek and Hebrew professors earning twelve livres and the Latin professor only six. In addition to regular lessons, students were expected to attend Mass daily and every other day they were to pray for the souls of the founders and their parents. Busleyden laid out the entire programme for the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense and charged five men with its implementation. Theologians at the University, however, actively opposed the instruction of the three languages. Erasmus argued that language instruction was essential, even for future theologians, whose interpretations of Scripture rested on their ability to understand the text. The opposition of the theologians resulted in a two-year delay before

14 See de Vocht, 50-61.
15 de Vocht, 25-27.
17 de Vocht, 28, article 17 and 19. 17: "Horum stipendium tale erit: videlicet duobus praeceptoribus Graeco et Hebraico, qui ex locis remotoribus accersentur, modo Louanii aut alibi vicinis non reperiantur aequo jdonei et docti, cuilibet stipendium destinabitur duodecim librarum monetae Flandriae, saltem per decennium." 19: "Verum tertius praeceptor Latinus qui in lingua solum Latina praefatos auctores profiteitur, tantum sex libras vitra bursam sue mensae portionem pro suo stipendio recipiet."
18 de Vocht, 31. "Item, omnes hij juvenes obligabuntur singulis diebus interess Missae, et bini pro anima fundatories et parentum eius legere vigilias mortuorum in sacello ipsius Collegii."
20 Margolin, "Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense," 269.
Busleyden’s statutes were fulfilled and an agreement reached with the University.\textsuperscript{21} Nevertheless, language instruction began immediately, though it was housed at the Augustinian convent.\textsuperscript{22} Despite Erasmus’ goal to create an independent trilingual college, the University of Louvain subsumed it, theologians continued to criticise it, and even the humanist faculty bickered amongst themselves.\textsuperscript{23} These difficulties did not, however, prevent the Collegium from producing scholars who pursued the \textit{studia humanitatis}.

The foundation of the Collège de France is less clear than that of Alcalá and Louvain. For many years, scholars credited François I as the founder and patron of the Collège de France.\textsuperscript{24} This Utopian ideal flowed from the ideals of humanists. Rabelais’ fictional Abbaye de Thélème was a courtly monastery, filled with enlightened members, which had been established "par la volonté du roi de France au centre spirituel du royaume."\textsuperscript{25} Nevertheless, the idealized history of the Collège de France overlooks the reality of a college that was dependent on the University of Paris. The impetus for the Collège de France emerged at a time of disagreements between scholastic and humanist views of philology. Despite caricatures and denunciations, Guillaume Budé sought a path by which to bring humanist studies into Paris.\textsuperscript{26} His exemplars were the trilingual colleges at Alcalá and Louvain. Budé’s first efforts yielded a vague commitment to fund the project from François I in 1517.\textsuperscript{27} Like Cisneros before him, Budé also tried to entice Erasmus on multiple occasions to come to Paris and to assume leadership of the college, but as he had done with the invitations to Alcalá, Erasmus declined. In 1530, Budé

\textsuperscript{21} Margolin, "Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense," 269.
\textsuperscript{22} Margolin, "Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense," 270.
\textsuperscript{25} Fumaroli, x.
\textsuperscript{26} Farge, "Origins," 166.
\textsuperscript{27} Farge, "Origins," 166.
believed that the king's funding commitment was sufficient to launch the project, which resulted in the establishment of five *lecteurs royaux*, two in Greek – Pierre Danès and Jacques Toussaint – and three in Hebrew – François Vatable, Agathias Guidacier, and Paul Paradis.28 While these lecturers had the authority to teach, they did not yet have an institutional designation, as the title "Collège Royal" only emerged in the seventeenth century. From its inception, the Collège de France was not an independent institution, but rather a group of professors who taught specialized language courses as part of the University of Paris.29

In Alcalá, Louvain, and Paris, despite founders' intentions, the colleges depended on the universities to which they were connected. The spirit which inspired the foundation of the Collège de France reached Bordeaux, where the growing fervour for humanist education resulted in the foundation of the Collège at Bordeaux.30 The *procès-verbal* of 1533 outlined a programme of education which would teach "des sept ars liberaux et ès langues grecques et hebraïques, philosophie, theologie, d'art oratoyre, grammaire, logicque, phizique et medecine."31 It was a programme that embraced the trilingual curriculum of other humanist colleges and established the Collège de Guyenne as part of the University of Bordeaux. Like the humanist colleges at Alcalá, Louvain, and Paris, the Collège de Guyenne functioned as an established institution that was inextricably linked its University.

The foundation of the Collège de Guyenne stipulated a desire to teach the biblical languages, along with the traditional university curriculum: the seven liberal arts, which consisted of the trivium and quadrivium, medicine, music, philosophy, and theology. Absent from the original curricular list at Guyenne was the study of law, though this was the

28 Farge, "Origins," 166.
31 Gaullieur, 29-30.
predominant subject at the University of Bordeaux. The University of Bordeaux was not a centralized institution with a set of proximal buildings. The four main faculties, Arts, Law, Medicine, and Theology, had distinct locations throughout the city. On 30 June 1486, the University acquired two houses for the creation of the Collège de Grammaire. The notary, Pierre de Bosco, recorded the sale, which was witnessed by Psalmodier Constantin, who was the principal of the Collège de Grammaire, and Pierre de Casaubon, both of whom were masters in Arts and Bachelor of Theology and were magistri scholarum ejusdem villae Burdegalae, that is, masters of scholars in the city of Bordeaux. On 12 August, Bertrand le Piochel, a Bachelor of Law and licenced teacher of droits, acquired two additional houses for the University, also intended for the Collège de Grammaire's use. References to the Collège reflected various names: the Collège des Arts, the Collège de Saint-Eloi, due to its proximity to the church. The street on which they built the Collège, rue d'Entre-deux-Murs, became known as the rue des Escoles, and later as the rue du Collège de Guienne. On Vinet's 1565 map of Bordeaux, the Collège de Guyenne is clearly identified, and its proximity to the Mairie and la Maison de la Ville is obvious. He also marked "les escoles de Lois" and the "College de sainct Pierre Brelant," whose curriculum and relationship to the University remains unclear. From its foundation, the University of Bordeaux was complete, in that it housed faculties of theology, canon law, civil law, medicine, and arts, and had one or two affiliated colleges, initially the Collège de Grammaire, which eventually became the Collège de Guyenne, and in 1572, the

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32 Gaullieur, 11.
33 Archives de la Ville de Bordeaux, series G.G, carton no 296, Analyse sommaire des titres du Collège de Guyenne, par l'abbé Baurein, (Ire division), cited in Gaullieur, 2.
34 Gaullieur, 3.
35 Gaullieur, 2.
36 See Vinet, L'Antiquité de Bourdeaux for an image of the map.
37 Barckhausen, Statuts, xviii.
Collège de la Madeleine. The University itself did not have a proper building, and rented, for thirty *livres* per year, space at the Carmelite Convent, which became the seat of the University and housed the Faculty of Theology. The Faculty of Civil Law received its own space, whereas the Faculty of Canon Law seems to have been housed at the archbishop's palace. It is unclear where the earliest study of medicine took place. Barkhausen speculated that it occurred in a building next to the law school. In 1573, the study of medicine, pharmacy, and surgery occurred at the Carmelite convent. While the various faculties were distributed throughout the city, it is clear that the Collège was connected to the larger University body.

Universities were often extensions of state power and the foundation of the University of Bordeaux reflected this. There was a long tradition of education in Bordeaux, but the University was a relatively new foundation, established in 1441 by Pope Eugenius IV at the request of Pey Berland (c. 1380-1458), the Archbishop of Bordeaux, along with the English seneschal of Guyenne, the mayor, and city councillors. Berland's goal in establishing a University at Bordeaux was to protect Bordeaux against the influence of the French universities. The English and their partisans on the continent established two universities with this objective, Caen in 1437 and Bordeaux. In order to ensure the establishment of the new *studium generale* in Bordeaux, Berland paid the associated fee at his own expense. It is unclear what the total was for the Bordeaux application, but the payment for the bull that founded the University of Caen was sixteen hundred *livres*. Eugenius IV stipulated that Bordeaux should follow the model at

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38 Barkhausen, *Statuts*, xix.
40 Barkhausen, *Statuts*, xiii.
Toulouse, founded in 1229, as an artificial reproduction of Paris and Oxford, which had grown spontaneously. The *Statuta Universitatis Burdiagalae* reflect this stipulation. As Toulouse expanded, it had a wide range of affiliated colleges and was well-endowed. While the statutes stipulated that the University of Bordeaux should follow Toulouse as its example, the implementation was, at the time, in line with the practice established at Paris. Bordeaux’s association with Toulouse continued past the initial foundation. After the English defeat, France incorporated Bordeaux into the kingdom and adopted its university. In Charles VIII’s *lettres-patentes* pertaining to the royal privileges at Bordeaux, he referred to the University as that which was "fondée et erigée [...] à l'exemple de celle de nostre ville de Tholose." Undoubtedly, the goal was to have a university at Bordeaux as rich and well supported as that at Toulouse. In the wake of the Albigensian Crusade, there were concerns about orthodoxy in the area. The University of Toulouse was founded in order to provide orthodox theological education in a region which, despite having a cathedral school, lacked a scholarly tradition. The foundation at Bordeaux was similarly designed to fill an educational gap, though not directly connected to concerns for heterodoxy. The University's role as a defence against French influence quickly shifted when Louis XI named the Seneschal of Guyenne and his own conservateur of the University in 1472. This transition follows the pattern of other French cities that received a university in the years following the establishment of the Parlement, which happened in

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44 Rashdall, 161.
46 Rashdall, 172-173.
Bordeaux in 1462. Under François I, management of the University shifted from a royal prerogative to a local one over which the Mayor, Jurade, and Parlement of Bordeaux had a great deal of authority. In 1533, in response to a reduction in the number of students in law, the Jurade reduced the number of professors to six, in order to save money. The University became part of civic management, as was the Collège de Guyenne.

Hierarchy and order were essential elements of university structures. Within the hierarchy, there were three important roles, the chancellor, the rector, and the conservateurs des privilèges de l'Université. Pey Berland was the first chancellor and Eugenius IV stipulated that his successors were to be canons from Saint André cathedral. In the absence of a cathedral canon, the most senior professor of theology would assume the functions of chancellor and vice-chancellor. The chancellor's functions were largely ceremonial, such as granting diplomas, and using the University's seal. The more important official role in the leadership and management of the university was the rector. The rector presided over the assembly of professors, oversaw student discipline, and represented the University outside of the body academic. The regent doctors elected the rector every trimester. They filled the position alternatively from the Faculty of Law and Arts. The position of rector reveals one important intersection between the Collège de Guyenne and the University of Bordeaux.

In the Compendium, Goulet outlined the procedure for electing the rector at the University of Paris. The elections took place four times per year at the Church of Saint Julien, before the Feast of the Nativity of Jesus (December) before the Feasts of Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin (March), the Feast of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist (June), and after the

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50 Rashdall, 168.
51 "Délibération des Jurats de Bordeaux réduisant le nombre des Professeurs de la Faculté de Droic, de ... 1533," in Barckhausen, Statuts, 49.
52 Barckhausen, Statuts, xxiii.
53 Barckhausen, Statuts, xxiii.
54 Barckhausen, Statuts, xxiii.
Feast of Saint Denis (October). At Paris, the rector was to hold court three days per week on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, where he would become informed of all matters pertaining to the University. These assemblies included all members of the University, including principals, regents, non-regents, and other officials and addressed issues such as "the rights of principals, regents and beadles, and the renting of domiciles in which scholars live." The rector also heard cases related to scholars' transfers between colleges, and other items, such as manuscripts, parchment, paper, and binding, as they pertained to scholarly activity. When rectors completed their tenure, the University conducted a solemn procession. The day before the procession, the rector was required to post notices at the crossroads and sent them to colleges, convents, and monasteries in order to direct "all who have taken the oath and those not so bound to be present, each in the decent habit of his Faculty or of his religious order." The processions involved the entire university community in their regalia, religious and academic. The rector had a place of honour walking alongside the Lord Dean of Theology. When the procession reached the church, the Lord Rector sat in the higher chairs with the Doctors of Theology and Medicine. At the conclusion of the service, the Lord Rector and the rest of the company recessed in order from the ceremony to their places of origin. The rector held a position of power and influence within the university community and several of the regents from the Collège de Guyenne served as rectors for the University of Bordeaux.

When Jehan de Tartas became the principal of the Collège de Guyenne in 1533, his contract stipulated that the rector, chancellor, doctors, and masters at the University of Bordeaux

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55 Goulet, *Compendium on the Magnificence*, 44.
57 Goulet, *Compendium on the Magnificence*, 54.
58 Goulet, *Compendium on the Magnificence*, 77-78.
60 Goulet, *Compendium on the Magnificence*, 80.
would incorporate and adopt the principal of the Collège, and that they would also forgo all
instruction in arts, philosophy, logic, and grammar, as these would be the purview of the
Collège. The first regent from the Collège de Guyenne that we know became the rector at the
University of Bordeaux was João da Costa, the Portuguese doctor of theology and master of arts
whom Gouveia brought to Bordeaux in 1534. The University assembly elected him in
December 1540, while he was serving as the vice-principal of the Collège de Guyenne. One of
da Costa's first acts as rector was to nullify matriculation letters his predecessor had granted to
Dominique de Passaco, who claimed to have completed his studies in arts, when he had in fact
not done so. Da Costa wanted to ensure that the hard work of those who had made the effort to
accomplish their studies would not be diminished by granting matriculation letters to those who
had made no effort. Hastings Rashdall treated the University of Bordeaux briefly in his The
Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, and stated that "the career of the University of
Bordeaux was far from a brilliant one" due to its lack of regular teachers and endowed chairs.
In particular, Rashdall argued that, in the sixteenth and seventeen centuries, the challenges of
finding appropriate university professors rendered the University "to little more than an
establishment for the sale of 'bogus' absentee degrees." When Tartas' tenure as principal of the
Collège came to an abrupt end in 1534, he stayed in Bordeaux and continued as a part of the
University. While his position in the University community is unclear, a letter from Robert
Britannus to Jehan Herlin demonstrates that Tartas clearly played a role in the University when
he insisted that all members of the University, including the chancellor, attend a presentation

62 Gaullieur, 36.
63 Gaullieur, 100.
64 Gaullieur, 149.
65 Gaullieur, 149.
66 Rashdall, 201.
67 Rashdall, 201.
68 Gaullieur, 108. He also sued the Jurade for damages in 1535.
Britannus made to the Parlement of Bordeaux.\textsuperscript{69} The next rector to come from the Collège de Guyenne was Jehan Hervé, the vice-principal who had been a student there in 1542-1543.\textsuperscript{70} Hervé was elected on 6 May 1579,\textsuperscript{71} and again in 1585, though he died before the end of his term when a plague spread through the city.\textsuperscript{72} Hervé's death weighed heavily on Vinet, who had worked with Hervé as a student, regent, vice-principal, and rector over the course of forty years. Vinet himself won the seat of rector fifteen times. His last election was on 4 May 1586, ten days before his death.\textsuperscript{73} The number of times regents from the Collège de Guyenne held the position of rector at the University of Bordeaux demonstrates the integration of the Collège into the University structure.

The composition of the faculty at the Collège de Guyenne reflected the educational and religious milieu of the period. When Jehan de Tartas recruited regents for the Collège de Guyenne, he primarily found them in Paris, but he also enlisted teachers who had attended the Collegium Trinlingue at Louvain. In a letter to Jehan Vasée, Nicolas Cleynaerts, a Flemish grammarian who taught Latin at the University of Louvain and eventually moved to Portugal to be the tutor of João III's brother, Henrique, wrote that Joachim Polite had recently written him to report that Tartas had brought with him twenty teachers of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew to Bordeaux. Tartas' task, according to Cleynaerts, was "to restore the University, which had already collapsed."\textsuperscript{74} Particularly noteworthy in this letter is Cleynaerts comment that Tartas had taught in Paris at the same time as Johannes Sturm (1507-1589).\textsuperscript{75} In fact, while Tartas was the principal of the Collège de Lisieux, Sturm and Joachim Sterck van Ringelbergh (c. 1499-c. 1531)

\begin{footnotes}
\item[69] Gaullieur, 109.
\item[70] Gaullieur, 185.
\item[71] Gaullieur, 354.
\item[72] Gaullieur, 366.
\item[73] Gaullieur, 368.
\item[74] \textit{Nic. clenarti Epistoliarum libri duo} (Antwerp: Christophori Plantini, 1564), cited in Gaullieur, 42, note 1.
\item[75] \textit{Ibid}.
\end{footnotes}
were teaching there. Sturm became famous for his pedagogical work in Strasbourg and Ringelbergh published *De ratione studii* in 1531, which went on to become one of the most successful textbooks of the sixteenth century. The pedagogical enthusiasm of the sixteenth century gained a lot of momentum in Paris and many of these pedagogical thinkers left Paris and applied their ideas in different religious settings.

Johannes Sturm's greatest pedagogical achievement was the foundation of the gymnasium in Strasbourg in 1538. Sturm's early education was in his hometown of Schleiden, as a companion to a son in the Manderscheid family's castle. In 1521 he moved to Liège, where he entered the College of St. Jerome, which was run by the Brethren of the Common Life. From there, Sturm travelled to Louvain in 1524 and enrolled at the Collegium Trilingue, where he continued to develop his Greek and Latin, though his Hebrew studies were delayed until he was in his fifties. In 1529, Sturm and his former Greek professor, Rutgers Ressen (Rescius), became partners in the printing business they took over from a man named Martens. Sturm's printing career, however, was short, as his trips to Paris to sell books inspired him to study medicine. Sturm, whose studies in medicine were derailed by an illness, had many intellectual contacts in Paris, one of whom was Guillaume Budé, who had recently established the royal lectureships in Paris, to which he soon appointed Sturm, who lectured on Cicero. One of Sturm's priorities in Paris had been to promote peace in the face of religious strife. When François I implemented a repressive policy to curb reform in response to the *Affaires des Placards*, Sturm gave up his position in Paris and departed for Strasbourg on 30 December 1536.

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76 Gaullieur, 42.
78 Spitz and Tinsley, 19.
79 Spitz and Tinsley, 19.
80 Spitz and Tinsley, 20.
81 Spitz and Tinsley, 21.
82 Spitz and Tinsley, 21-22.
where he soon accepted a teaching position in rhetoric and dialectic.\textsuperscript{83} He was an engaging teacher to the extent that his fellow teachers would frequently audit his courses. The school at Strasbourg rewarded him well for his teaching skill. Strasbourg had already developed strong support for education and when Sturm arrived he assumed the task of creating a model that could be implemented in the already supportive environment.\textsuperscript{84} Sturm drew on his experiences at the Collège of Saint Jerome in Liège and the model aligned with the *modus parisiensis*, elements of which he undoubtedly learned while in Paris. The Strasbourg gymnasium opened in 1538, with Sturm appointed as the rector, a position he held for forty-three years.\textsuperscript{85} Scholars have analysed Sturm's educational treatises and have distilled many of the influences that informed it. The more difficult task is to understand how Sturm's views influenced the pedagogical ideas when he was teaching at Paris. That Cleynaerts mentioned Sturm's classes suggests that his teaching in Paris was as popular as his later teaching in Strasbourg.

Collegial associations with famous pedagogues who had taught at the same colleges such as the case of Tartas and Sturm can help place Guyenne in the wider educational culture of the time, but the faculty at the Collège de Guyenne included regents who became influential. One of the best-known pedagogues to have taught at the Collège de Guyenne was Maturin Cordier, who arrived at Bordeaux in the wake of the religious turmoil after the *Affaires des Placards* in 1534. William Harrison Woodward argued that, while Cordier's tenure at Bordeaux had been short, his impact on the Collège de Guyenne was significant, as "he had fixed the methods of organisation and of instruction of the lower form of the school upon the lines which they retained for the rest of the century."\textsuperscript{86} It is unclear to what degree Cordier influenced the pedagogical structures at

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{83} Spitz and Tinsley, 23.
  \item \textsuperscript{84} Spitz and Tinsley, 26.
  \item \textsuperscript{85} Spitz and Tinsley, 26.
  \item \textsuperscript{86} Woodward, *Studies in Education*, 140.
\end{itemize}
Guyenne, but that he had some influence is clear by the fact that his *Colloques* constitute a part of grammar instruction in the eighth class. Cordier's vocation was teaching and regardless of his religious affiliation, this is the one aspect of his life that was consistent.

While he often eschewed the praise of others, Maturin Cordier was one of the best grammarians of his generation. Cordier was born in 1479 or 1480 in La Perrière, Normandy, though we know very little about his family and background. Cordier's education prior to his arrival in Paris remains obscure. It is unclear where he studied, though Cordier attracted the attention of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, who taught philosophy at the Collège du Cardinal Lemoine while he was still a student. The desire to teach children struck Cordier early in his tenure in Paris, about which he wrote, "In that sense, I considered that I could teach reasoning so that children could bring together piety and good character with the study of humane letters." According to Cordier, he taught at Reims, Sainte Barbe, Lisieux, de la March, de Navarre, and in other colleges that he does not name. While it is unclear whether he preserved the chronological order of the colleges in which he taught, we know that he was a regent at the Collège de la Marche in 1523, and had matriculated at the Collège de Navarre in 1528 to study theology, and continued to teach grammar at the same institution. It was during his tenure at the Collège de la Marche that his grammatical passions grew. When he arrived at la Marche, he taught rhetoric, which was the class for senior students moving towards the study of philosophy. In that position, he noted that students had not received sufficient foundation in their grammar.

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87 Massebieau, 16/17.
90 Le Coultere, 3.
92 Delormeau, 24.
93 Le Coultere, 5.
classes to be able to do rhetorical studies effectively, so he requested to be moved to the fourth class, which is where he met Jehan Calvin, of Picardy.\textsuperscript{94} Their connection at the time was short-lived, as Calvin soon transferred to the Collège de Montaigu.\textsuperscript{95} When Cordier entered the Collège de Navarre his reputation was such that Junius Rabinus said that "everywhere Maturin Cordier taught, \textit{les belles lettres} flourished."\textsuperscript{96}

In 1530, Cordier published \textit{De corrupti sermonis emendatione} as a means to ensure the "maniement de la langue latine et la pureté de son style," which he believed scholars had ignored.\textsuperscript{97} After long reflection and extended conversations with his colleagues, Cordier discerned two essential reasons for what he considered subpar Latin at Paris. First, masters attached too little importance to the proper use of Latin and thus were negligent in their instruction of it, and, second, people held contempt for Christian doctrine, even to the extent, he argued, that they disdained the person of Jesus Christ.\textsuperscript{98} Instruction, to Cordier, aligned proper grammar with the love of God, which he viewed as the fundamental task for masters to whom parents had entrusted their children.\textsuperscript{99} In 1564, Cordier published a second text related to the instruction of children, \textit{Colloquia scholastica}. In this text, Cordier reflected on his fifty years of teaching and provided some insight into his experience teaching at Paris during the theological turmoil of the period. He emphasised again his commitment to the integration of learning and faith, stating: "I always exhorted my students in good faith, not only to study humanity, but also the divine cult."\textsuperscript{100} It is also in this text that Cordier outlined some of the troubles he faced in

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{94} Le Coultre, 9-10.
\item \textsuperscript{95} Le Coultre, 10.
\item \textsuperscript{96} Junius Ribirius, \textit{De octo orationis partium constructione} (Paris, 1534), cited in Delormeau, 14. "Ubicumque docebit Maturinus Corderius, florebunt bonae litterae."
\item \textsuperscript{97} Maturin Cordier, \textit{De corrupti sermonis emendatione}, in Delormeau, 116.
\item \textsuperscript{98} Cordier, \textit{De corrupti}, 117.
\item \textsuperscript{99} Cordier, \textit{De corrupti}, 118.
\item \textsuperscript{100} Maturin Cordier, \textit{Colloquia Scholastica}, cited in Le Coultre, 515. "Discipulos tamen meos bona fide semper non solum ad humanitatis studia, sed etiam ad cultum diuinum adhortabar."
\end{itemize}
Paris, which led to his departure for Bordeaux in 1534, because he had "been chased from Paris because of the Gospel,"\textsuperscript{101} where he spent the next three years teaching. Scholars have frequently cited the *Affaire des Placards* in October 1534, when posters criticizing the Catholic Mass were posted around Paris and other provincial towns, as the turning point in François I's tolerance of religious reform. Farge's recent work on the documents from the Parlement of Paris during the reign of François I (1515-1547) revealed that the King viewed the "Lutherans" as a threat to France from as early as 1526.\textsuperscript{102} François' religious concerns were not merely intellectual or religious: he, in fact, took an active role in the enforcement of orthodoxy by appointing specific anti-Protestant members to the Parlement and ordering new trials for those he believed had received sentences that were too lenient.\textsuperscript{103} The growing religious conflict would have created a challenging environment for Cordier to stay in Paris. Despite Gouveia's openness to both sides of the theological debate, Cordier soon left Bordeaux, not because Bordeaux was necessarily oppressive; in fact, Cordier stated that Bordeaux was free, but he wanted even greater freedom to teach his views and thus departed for Geneva, where his former pupil, Jehan Calvin, also taught.\textsuperscript{104}

The composition of the faculty at the Collège de Guyenne reflected the religious turmoil of the period. South-west France and the province of Guyenne in particular was an important and volatile area in the contest between reformed and orthodox religion. Economic disaster contributed significantly to that volatility. In his study of the fiscal condition of French dioceses, J.B. Wood identified seventeen that were affected by financial ruin and that twelve of them were

\textsuperscript{101} Cordier, *Colloquia*, cited in Le Coultre, 515. "ad quam, Lutetia profugus propter Euangelicae doctrinae professionem, me contuleram."


\textsuperscript{103} Farge, *Religion, Reformation, and Repression*, xxxiv. Farge goes into specific examples he found in the documents of the Parlement to illustrate this point.

\textsuperscript{104} Le Coultre, 125.
in or near Guyenne and Western Languedoc. Guyenne, he noted, had an especially high rate of abuse against Catholic clergy.\textsuperscript{105} In five of the seven dioceses of the Archdiocese of Bordeaux, civil violence was high, but with the exception of Poitiers, there were limited military casualties.\textsuperscript{106} Religious violence in Bordeaux became a significant aspect of the landscape in Bordeaux. The degree of violence was such that Florimond de Raemond, a former student and later regent of the Collège de Guyenne, and successor to Michel de Montaigne's position in the Parlement in 1570,\textsuperscript{107} was so troubled by the violence that he remarked that the province had become "a shop of soldiers and the breeding ground of armies."\textsuperscript{108} In light of the conflict and ensuing violence, and likely his own experience in 1572 when he was ensnared by Huguenots who demanded a ransom for his release,\textsuperscript{109} de Raemond received a special dispensation from the pope to read "heretical" books, in order to refute reformed ideas. He even undertook a trip to Germany to acquaint himself with the context from which these books emerged.\textsuperscript{110} By the 1560s, Protestants constituted a large community within urban centres in the south-west of France, and included a number of nobles who had converted.\textsuperscript{111} The strength and expanse of Protestant power gave rise to sectarian tensions as Catholics tried to stand against them.\textsuperscript{112} The creation of Catholic leagues was prevalent throughout the south-west.\textsuperscript{113} The leagues in Bordeaux consisted of nobles of both high and low standing, court officials, clerics, \textit{confrères},

\textsuperscript{106} Wood, 153.
\textsuperscript{109} DuBois, 181.
\textsuperscript{110} DuBois, 179-80.
\textsuperscript{111} Gould, 4.
\textsuperscript{112} Denis Crouzet, \textit{Les Guerriers de Dieu}, volume I (Champ Vallon: Seyssel, 1990), 524.
\textsuperscript{113} Gould, 5.
and citizens who all fought the evangelistic efforts of Protestants. In Bordeaux, defense of Catholic traditions dated from as early as the 1540s, when the Collège de Guyenne was at its pinnacle. In the 1550s and 1560s, Catholics in Bordeaux often received support from Catholic powers, such as Spain and the papacy, which reflected a shifting position for a province which had previously rebuffed external pressure in military, political, and economic affairs. Calvin was keenly aware of the religious environment in south-west France, and, of the eighty-eight ministers he sent to France between 1555 and 1562, twenty-eight of them travelled to Guyenne, Bergerac, and Western Languedoc. The goal for these ministers was to obtain positions in government offices, but when that proved difficult, they took positions in the universities.

Growing Protestant influence in Bordeaux created numerous challenges for the Collège de Guyenne. Undoubtedly, the arrival of Calvin's ministers in the area and their assumption of University positions increased Protestant influence over students. Gwendolyn Blotevogel has argued that the Paris-trained masters who taught at provincial colleges frequently "brought with them unexpected and often unwelcome ideas advocating church reform." Her premise is that the masters used provincial colleges as a platform to encourage religious reform and there are many examples of masters who did this. From the Collège de Guyenne, she cited Maturin Cordier and Charles Sainte-Marthe, who went on to become national leaders in the French Reformation. Further, Blotevogel speculated that the presence of the Paris-trained masters teaching in the provincial colleges were instrumental in the development of the French Wars of Religion as it was their zeal for religious reform that inspired Reformation zeal among provincial

114 Gould, 5.
115 Gould, 7.
116 Gould, 18.
117 Blotevogel, 135.
students. It is unclear whether the masters at Guyenne had such a direct effect on students' participation in the French Wars of Religion, but they had connections on both sides of the religious debate and these networks had a profound impact on them professionally and personally.

There had been a Protestant presence at Guyenne from its inception. Among Tartas' first regents at the Collège was Charles de Sainte-Marthe (1512-1555). Sainte-Marthe came from a distinguished lineage: his grandfather, Louis, fought in Italy under the banner of Charles VIII, and his father, who had left the military to pursue medicine, served as Louis XII's physician-ordinary and counsellor. While it is unclear where Sainte-Marthe received his early education, he studied law at Poitiers, and at some point before 1533, he completed his master of arts. In his Preface to his paraphrase of the Psalms, Sainte-Marthe reflected on his gratitude since "from my first years, God gave me a rare facility of understanding and a nature suitable to embrace equally all genres of study, that there is not one that I seem to have possessed all of my life, even in the view of those called to teach me." On 4 December 1533, he signed a contract with the Collège de Guyenne "pour en icelluy colliege regenter et fere classe et regle, composer et prononcer oraisons, dialogues, comedies, et lire publiquement, tout ainsi que le plaisire sera du dict Principal luy dire et commander." That his contract stipulated a payment of thirty-five livres tournois indicates that he taught at the higher levels, as only Jehan Visagier had a higher

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118 Blotevogel, 147.
120 Ruutz-Rees, 10.
121 Charles Sainte-Marthe, Psalmum VII et Psalmum XXII, paraphrasis per Carol. Smarthanum Fontebraldensem J.U.D (Lyon, 1543), cited in Gaullieur, 56, note 1. "A primis annis rara quadam me ingenii desteritate donavit (Deus), ac ad facile animo complectendas omnes artes adeo reddidit idoneum, ut nulla propè sit in qua non videar illarum professoribus propè aetatem consumpsisse omnem."
122 ADG 3195, dated 4 December 1533. Gaullieur used Nicolas Roillet's contract as substantive for all contracts, though Sainte-Marthe's contract lacks the "arrangues" stipulated in Roillet's contract. See Gaullieur, 58.
salary than his, at forty *livres tournois*. The early cohort of regents at Guyenne formed close friendships, in particular between Sainte-Marthe, Visagier, Nicholas Roillet, and Robert Britannus, who became a long-time correspondent with Sainte-Marthe. Sainte-Marthe's religious perspective was unclear at Bordeaux, and it seems that his conversion to reformed religion did not happen until after he departed Bordeaux and returned to Poitiers to complete his doctorate in law. His adherence to reformed religion did not prevent him from completing his degree in theology in 1537. When he finished his studies, he received a letter from Robert Britannus, congratulating him on his success, stating: "You inspired me with no slight desire of imitating you when you set off to your own country." Sainte-Marthe's post as Regius Professor of Theology at Poitiers demonstrated his impressive knowledge and skill. He received the appointment following an interview with François I and his sister Marguerite. His position there was short lived as his behaviour created problems with the authorities. After he had been driven out of the city, he wandered for a time in the Dauphiné, Provence, and Languedoc. He was imprisoned in Grenoble in 1540 on suspicion of heresy, but was soon freed and eventually took a position at the Collège de la Trinité in Lyon where he taught Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and French. He spent a short time in Geneva, but soon returned to Grenoble, where he was once again accused of Lutheranism. His last position was in Alençon, in service to Marguerite de Navarre as the criminal lieutenant. He died in that position in 1555. It is clear that Sainte-Marthe held Protestant views and was vocal about them, though it is not known whether or not he tried to encourage students at Guyenne to adopt reformed religion.

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123 Gaullieur, 57.  
124 Ruutz-Rees, 19.  
125 Ruutz-Rees, 30.  
126 "R.B. Carolo Sanmarthano. SD." in Ruutz-Rees, 602. "Te quidem me non medocriter inflammasti studio imitandi tui, cum patriam adiisti."  
127 Ruutz-Rees, 37.
When André de Gouveia assumed leadership of the Collège in 1534 he invited several regents who adhered to the reformed religion. André Zébédée was a teacher originally from Flanders. He likely received his early education at either Liège or Louvain and later at the University of Paris, at which point he was invited to Guyenne. Not much is known about Zébédée in the years immediately following his tenure at Guyenne, but he became a staunch Protestant after his time at Guyenne and eventually moved to Lausanne. André Zébédée, who possessed a "quarrelsome character," almost immediately caused trouble for Calvin. Such was his temperament that, when he was a pastor at Orbe in 1542, he would preach from seven until eleven o'clock, in order to annoy the Catholic priest during Mass. Zébédée was an important player in a conflict that erupted at the canton of Vaud in 1547 between a faction of Calvin's supporters and a faction of Zwingli’s supporters, the latter including Zébédée. The conflict began over an academic appointment at the Lausanne Academy. Calvin and Pierre Viret tried to appoint a professor of theology, when Viret, who had occupied the post since the school opened in 1537, stepped down in order to focus on his ministry. Calvin suggested Guillaume Farel as the first choice, and Zébédée as the alternate. There were some who rejected Farel for the position, but accepted Zébédée, who assumed the post and became a vocal anti-Calvinist. At the centre of the conflict was the Calvinist interpretation of the Eucharist, which Viret published in 1548. The conflict "had the potential to destroy the entire Protestant endeavor in the [Swiss] Confederation at precisely the moment when the reformers most needed unity." The Collège de Guyenne housed numerous regents who supported reformed religious ideas, and, by

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128 Ruutz-Rees, 20.
130 Bruening, 183.
131 Bruening, 187.
132 Bruening, 187.
the 1550s, numerous students at Guyenne stood before the Parlement of Bordeaux to account for their beliefs.

When Cordier joined the faculty at Guyenne 1534, his companion and friend, Claude Budin, also joined. Budin's history has been tied to Cordier's despite the fact that when Cordier left Bordeaux for Switzerland, Budin stayed in Bordeaux. Elie Vinet preserved Budin's pedagogical memory at the Collège de Guyenne in his *Schola Aquitania*, when he named him and Cordier, and "other equally skilled French teachers," as members of the contingent of regents Gouveia brought with him to Bordeaux. In Vinet's mind, Cordier and Budin were inextricably linked as capable teachers. Originally from Chartres, Budin settled into life in Bordeaux. He got married; as Gelida noted in a letter to Cardinal du Bellay "at hic Claudius Budinus uxorem habebat; et paene ubique, excepta Lutetia, uxores habens gymasiarchae," this was a normal occurrence among regents outside of Paris. A life in Bordeaux, however, was not what Cordier desired for his long-time friend. Cordier in fact wanted Budin to come with him to teach in Geneva. In a letter he wrote to the lords of Geneva on 12 March 1541, Cordier suggested that his friend Budin, who was at present "à Bourdeaux en Gascogne, demourant au collège de la dite ville, et là il travaille à instruire la jeunesse [...] il a faict courir un merveilleux bruit toucant le dict collège," would be an asset to their college. Cordier went on to recount how Budin had wanted to come with him when he left for Geneva, but had not yet secured an invitation. He argued that the council should hasten to bring Budin because "il est fort aymé et en grosse

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133 Massebieau, 2. "aliisque praeceptoribus ejusdem rei pertissimis."
135 *Ibid*. Gelida repeated the information in a different letter to his friend Lataste. Businus, Epistle XV. "Uxorem ducere, extra Lutetiam, in omnibus omnium civitatum scholis probatissimum est."
And if Budin's reputation were insufficient, he had also written "ung ordre et manière d'enseigner les enfans, lequel il avait grand désir que fust introduict en vostre cité." Despite Cordier's efforts, Budin never went to Geneva. It is unclear whether he ever received an invitation and declined it, but Budin had integrated himself into Bordeaux. He had purchased two homes, married Dominique du Rocher, who came from noble lineage, and had two children with her. He had also extended space in his home to lodge students, including Jehan d'Allone who went on to become a regent at the Collège. Claude Budin died at Bordeaux in 1545 and his testament was dated 27 August. Analysis of his testament indicates that he died as a Catholic, as he invoked the name of Mary and the saints, and expressed his desire to be interred at the Saint-Eloi church in Bordeaux. Gaullier postulated that Budin's use of Catholic language in his testament was a protective device for his wife and children, lest they lose access to his estate. He cited a search that was conducted on his wife and children in 1551 wherein the parlementaire Léonard d'Amelin discovered Calvinist books in his wife's possession. Neither Budin's will, nor Cordier's testimony, nor even the investigation into his widow's possessions indicate Budin's religious adherence. What they do reveal is the transitory environment in which the regents at the Collège operated. The seeming incongruence in Budin's religious adherence is also a reminder that, over time, an individual's religious perspectives could change. It also suggests that Budin embraced the balanced perspective advanced at the Collège de Guyenne.

139 Gaullier, 192.  
140 Gaullier, 192.  
141 Gaullier, 197.  
142 Gaullier, 198.  
143 Gaullier, 201.
Even in the face of accusations of heresy from his uncle, André de Gouveia received ecclesiastical benefices. In 1537, Gouveia had been given the position of lecturer on the Holy Spirit at the University of Bordeaux, a position that he believed was evidence of his orthodoxy. On 2 June 1545, Gouveia assumed "tous le bénéfices dont il est ou pourroit être pourveu," one of which was the position of sacristan at the church of Bazas. On 21 June, Gouveia received an additional three benefices, also in Bazas. In his capacity as sacristan, Gouveia ordered a chalice from Charles Parreau, one of the best goldsmiths in Bordeaux. The chalice was to be golden on the interior and exterior, and to be studed with "neuf gros grenats, d'une grande émeraude et de deux rubis." The contract between Gouveia and Parreau specified that the chalice was to be "faict de bell façon" and submitted to expert examination upon completion to ensure that it was satisfactorily made. When he reflected on his time as a student at the Collège, Montaigne recounted that "I played the chief characters in the Latin tragedies of Buchanan, Guerente and Muret, which were put on in our Collège de Guyenne with dignity. In such matters Andreas Gouvenanus, our principal, was incomparably the best principal in France, as he was in all other aspects of his duties." It is possible that Montaigne's allusion to Gouveia's diverse duties was not merely limited to the duties of a principal. While Diogo de Gouveia had concerns about his nephew's orthodoxy, André participated in orthodox Catholic structures, which demonstrates that, while the Collège was a civically founded institution, it nevertheless continued to function in an ecclesiastically oriented environment.

An interesting aspect of the religious climate in Bordeaux was the influx of conversos from Portugal in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The social and economic climate of

145 Gaullier, 183.
146 Gaullier, 184. The original text appears in ADG Series 3E, 6266, Minutes de Fredaigue.
Bordeaux created a receptive environment for those of Jewish heritage who wanted to flee the Portuguese and Spanish Inquisitions. The depopulation of Bordeaux in the wake of French victory led Louis XI to issue two ordinances in June 1472 and February 1474, granting foreigners, with the exception of the English, exemption from the *droit d'aubaine*, which, according to French law, gave the proceeds of a deceased foreigner to the French crown. This exemption allowed these foreigners the right to dispose of their goods upon death without letters of naturalization. These exemptions helped to re-populate Bordeaux and stimulate economic growth. The king's goal was to ensure continual residence of these merchants in the cities, which would help to attract commerce from other nations. Bordeaux was in fact one of the few cities in France where the *conversos* from Spain and Portugal could settle in the sixteenth century. While these early settlements were a boon to the first arrivals, the Portuguese immigrants became dissatisfied with their position and petitioned André de Gouveia, as the principal of the Collège de Guyenne, but also as the commercial liaison between the King of Portugal and Bordeaux, to petition the King of France to grant them an official position in the city. In 1550, Henri II issued *lettres patentes* which granted the Portuguese the same rights as privileged Frenchmen, stating that they were to "s'employer pour Nôtre Service, et de la Republique de Nôtre Royaume, la commodité de laquelle ils veulent ayder de leurs biens manufactures et industries." In addition to this invitation to live in obedience and service to the French king, the *lettres patentes* gave them freedom to enter and leave the kingdom at their pleasure, without "aucun trouble et empêchement," to conduct their business, and to settle in the city as

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151 Archives Départementales de la Gironde, G1089, cited in Malino, 117, note 1.
residents.\textsuperscript{152} Despite the king's \textit{lettres}, the position of the Portuguese depended on their usefulness to the king, which meant they were not secure, as the King could revoke their privileges.\textsuperscript{153} The merchant guilds in Bordeaux were less enamoured of the Portuguese in their midst, which meant the Parlement had to ensure that the merchants did not harm the Portuguese as a privileged group. One of the challenges to French governance was the regulation concerning the registration of \textit{lettres patentes} at each Parlement where it was implemented. While Henri II's 1550 \textit{lettres} were registered in Paris, by 1574, they had not yet been registered in Bordeaux,\textsuperscript{154} which left the Portuguese vulnerable. On 17 March, the king issued ordinances designed to protect the Portuguese from molestation or expulsion. On 11 November he issued two additional ordinances, one to the Parlement and the other to the Grand Senéchal of Guyenne, which reaffirmed the privileges granted in the 1550 \textit{lettres} and an order to protect the Portuguese, whose safety was in jeopardy. On 19 April 1580, the 1550 \textit{lettres patentes} and the ordinances of 1547 were finally registered in Bordeaux.\textsuperscript{155} By this time, there were about fifty Portuguese families in the city, one of which was the Gouveia family, who had married into merchant and noble families, and served in administrative positions in the civil government and churches.\textsuperscript{156} Many of the children of these merchants attended the Collège de Guyenne, which might also account for some of the concerns regarding heterodoxy in Bordeaux.

One of these students was the Portuguese skeptic philosopher, Francisco Sanches. In 1562, Dr. António Sanches and his wife Filipa de Souza left Portugal to escape difficult economic conditions and a political and religious climate that was uncertain in the face of the Inquisition and settled in Bordeaux, where their older son Adám-Francisco Sanches had already

\textsuperscript{152} Archives Départementales de la Gironde, G1089, cited in Malino, 117, note 1.  
\textsuperscript{153} Malino, 3.  
\textsuperscript{154} Malino, 3.  
\textsuperscript{155} Molino, 4.  
\textsuperscript{156} Pearl, 146.
settled. Their younger son, Francisco Sanches, who later became a well-known skeptic philosopher and physician at Toulouse, enrolled at the Collège de Guyenne, where he attended from 1562 until 1571, which included the two-year philosophy programme at the Collège, followed by studies in medicine at the University of Bordeaux, though he completed his medical studies at Montpellier, which also had a large population of Portuguese students. Sanches is one example of Portuguese conversos who came to Bordeaux for the opportunities not readily available to them in Portugal. His *Quod Nihil Scitur* provides insight into the education he received at Bordeaux, particularly with regards to Aristotelian philosophy. Scholars have argued that Gouveia's presence in Bordeaux was the primary draw for Portuguese students to attend the Collège de Guyenne, many of them drawing on Gaullieur's research, but the number of Portuguese people who settled in Bordeaux suggests that Gouveia's selection as principal was in response to demographic realities in Bordeaux. The Sanches family's migration to Bordeaux and Francisco's subsequent studies at Guyenne are but one example of the strong Portuguese presence in Bordeaux after 1547 and Gouveia's departure. The Portuguese were conversos, which resulted in suspicion, despite the privileges they received from the French king. Undoubtedly, their presence contributed to the religious turmoil in Bordeaux.

One of the most influential pedagogues who never taught at the Collège de Guyenne, but whose educational ideas had a great impact on it was Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556). Born as Iñigo López de Loyola, he was the youngest child of a wealthy family of Basque origin. He filled his youth with indiscretions and violence and when his sponsor, Juan Velázques de Cuéllar, King Ferdinand of Aragon's chief treasurer, died, he entered military service and fought

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157 Limbrick, 7.
158 Limbrick, 10.
160 Limbrick, 26.
161 Veríssimo Serrão, 81.
on behalf of Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor and King of Spain, against François I. On 21 May 1521, he was struck by a cannonball at Pamplona that shattered his right leg and wounded his left. Extensive surgery spared his legs, but left him with an incurable limp. He spent his convalescence at the castle of Loyola where, in the absence of the chivalric books he enjoyed, he read Castilian translations of *The Golden Legend* by Jacopo da Voragine and *The Life of Christ* by Ludolph of Saxony, which were instrumental in his conversion. Loyola next undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, which he was unable to complete because the Franciscans at Manresa ordered him to turn back as a result of difficult relations with the Turks, but this time of travel led to the development of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*, which became foundational to the order. Unable to fulfil his goal, Loyola turned his attention to study, which he began at Barcelona in 1524. Once he determined he had acquired an adequate foundation in grammar, Loyola enrolled at the University of Alcalá. At Barcelona and Alcalá, Loyola attended classes in the daytime and spent his evenings begging and preaching. Soon others joined him, dressed as pilgrims, as he had continued to do since returning from his incomplete journey to Jerusalem. They began to attract attention which generated rumours that they were *alumbrados*, adherents to a mystical tradition that sought "spiritual perfection through internal illumination." These rumours resulted in an Inquisitorial trial and a forty-two day imprisonment. This brush with heresy led Loyola to the University of Salamanca, but when he and his four friends arrived there, the Dominicans also viewed them with suspicion and imprisoned Loyola again. The court acquitted him again, but restricted his teaching on mortal and venial sin until he had completed more study. Despite warnings about the political and military environment in France against

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164 O'Malley, *Jesuits*, 27.
165 O'Malley, *Jesuits*, 27.
those from Habsburg territories, Loyola travelled to Paris, where he enrolled at the Collège de
Montaigu and then at the Collège de Sainte Barbe, under the tutelage of Diogo de Gouveia, and
likely as a schoolmate of his nephews Martial, André, Antonio, and Diogo the Younger. It was
also at Sainte Barbe where he met Francis Xavier and Pierre Favre, who became his first recruits
in what became the *Societas Jesu*.\(^{167}\) By 1535, Loyola's desire to make a pilgrimage to
Jerusalem was reignited, and he and eight companions set out for Venice. In the months before
their scheduled departure, they worked at the *Oespedale degli Incurabili* and in the *Ospedale
Santi Giovanni e Paolo*, where they provided labour caring for patients, cleaning, grave-digging,
and preparing corpses for burial.\(^ {168}\) Their work at Venice became the foundation of the order
and, when they sought Pope Paul III's blessing for their pilgrimage to Jerusalem, they received a
level of support they had not expected. They never undertook that pilgrimage. Instead, they
continued their service work and spread out across Italy, and by 1540, Loyola had developed the
*Formula of the Institute*, which Pope Paul III confirmed on 27 September 1540: thus the *Societas
Jesu* was born.\(^ {169}\)

For eleven years, as an adult, Loyola pursued education, in Spain and then at Paris, but
the educational mission of the order antedated Loyola's time as a student and embraced three key
principles: 1) education comes "from above," that is, it is inherently divine, 2) education is a
codified experience, and 3) education is "an apostolic enterprise that would have an impact on
both the Church and civil society."\(^ {170}\) While the Jesuits had established a number of colleges,

\(^{168}\) O’Malley, *Jesuits*, 33.
\(^{169}\) O’Malley, *Jesuits*, 35.
\(^{170}\) Howard Gray, S.J. "The Experience of Ignatius of Loyola: Background to Jesuit Education," in *The Jesuit Ratio
they were designed exclusively to house Jesuits, as they studied at local universities.171

Undoubtedly, Loyola's views on education received significant influence from the philosophy and culture that permeated Rome. Aldo Scaglione speculated that Marc-Antonie Muret, a former regent from Guyenne, and Paolo Manuzio, the Venetian printer and third son of the famous publisher Aldo Manutius, were probably influential on the environment that influenced Loyola.172 The first Jesuit college was founded at Messina in 1548 and served as "the first laboratory for Jesuit pedagogy."173 The first reports of the education offered at Messina were that they followed the *modus parisiensis*.174 The impetus for the Jesuits to begin teaching courses and launch the college at Messina was complaints from two Jesuits, André des Freux and Juan de Polanco, while they were students at Padua. They thought the programme lacked substance and that practical study exercises would engage students in learning.175 Thus, the residential colleges began to offer classes, which expanded to the foundation efforts at Messina, where the Jesuits officially adopted the *modus parisiensis* as the norm for Jesuit colleges.176 The college at Messina began because of a request from some citizens of Messina, though prompted by the Jesuit Doménech, for Loyola to send some Jesuits to open a school that would teach their children in the humanist mode.177 The college faced some challenges in the beginning, but once it was established, its reputation spread and a few months later a similar request came from Palermo. Requests continued and the Jesuits established more and more colleges and, in some cases, assumed responsibility for colleges that were already established, such as la Collège de la Trinité in Lyon (1565) and at Coimbra (1555). By 1560, schools had become the Society's

171 Codina, "Modus Parisiensis," 30. The first colleges began in 1542 at Coimbra, Padua, Louvain, and Cologne, then in 1544 at Valencia.
172 Scaglione, 2.
177 O'Malley, "How the First Jesuits Became Involved in Education," 64.
primary ministry. As educators, the Jesuits sought to improve the world, not provide an avenue for Reformation. Jesuit schools were free, thus granting access to education that would not have otherwise been available to poor boys who could not afford private tutors. The development of Jesuit colleges had a profound impact on the Societas Jesu, but the foundation of a Jesuit college in Bordeaux in 1572 was an important moment in the history of the Collège de Guyenne.

By 1569, Catholics in Bordeaux had resumed control over Bordelais political and administrative functions, but there remained concerns over the existence of reformed ideas at the Collège de Guyenne and the chapter collèges of Saint-André and Saint-Seurin. The absence of a Catholic school caused concern among the Catholic parlementaires, which François de Baulon addressed by extending an invitation to the Jesuits to come to Bordeaux. Baulon's first efforts to ensure Catholic education at the Collège de Guyenne were as a member of a council made up of parlementaires who investigated student complaints concerning the competence of Augarra Gobin, a professor of philosophy who replaced Jacque Martin in 1561. The small council declared Gobin capable of teaching rhetoric and admonished students to listen to and obey him. They also charged Nicholas Hirigaray, the principal the king had appointed after the death of Jehan Gelida, to "keep an eye" on the students to ensure they did not read forbidden books. Evangelical ideas continued to spread in the Collège and the University, to the extent that Florimond de Raemond wrote that "la France estoit lor en tel estat, qu'on monstroit parmy

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181 Gould, 81.
182 Gaullieur, 264.
183 Gaullieur, 264.
nos colleges au doigt, et tenoit-on pour mal habile celuy qui n'avoit eu quelque sentiment de la nouveauté évangelique.»

By the 1550s, Protestant ideas had permeated Bordeaux and the students at the Collège de Guyenne explored and even embraced them. On 10 July 1553, Antoine Lescure, a student at the Collège de Guyenne, was a prisoner of the Parlement of Bordeaux. His crime was the possession of books that the Faculty of Theology at the University of Paris had condemned. The books in questions were entitled Le Chevalier Chrestien and Les Chansons Spirituelles. Lescure's sentence was to be "discipliné par maniere de correction en la salle du colliege de Guienne par le principal ou autre regent dud[it] colliege" and to burn the books "audevant le portal dud[it] college." Student correction was fundamental to the process of education in the sixteenth century. As religious tensions grew and reformed ideas spread, ensuring religious orthodoxy and punishing those who deviated became another reason for which regents disciplined their students. Yet among the regents at the University of Bordeaux there were several prominent Protestants, including George Buchanan, Maturin Cordier, Charles de Sainte Marthe, Marc Antoine Muret, and André Zebedee. When André de Gouveia arrived in Bordeaux, he made it clear that the Collège would be open to all, regardless of theological perspective, and received assurances from the Archbishop of Bordeaux that his neutral perspective would be honoured. The shifting religious tides of the sixteenth century created a hostile environment for many whose answers to theological questions led them to intellectual and religious positions that opposed the authorized ideas that came from the Faculty of Theology.

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186 Trinquet, "Nouveaux Aperçus," 554.
at the University of Paris. The regents at the Collège de Guyenne had to navigate the turbulent religious context of the period.

Concerns for orthodoxy permeated life at the Collège de Guyenne and several students found themselves in front of the Parlement for suspicions of heresy. On 27 May 1553, the Parlement ordered additional investigation into Léonard Alpais and Pierre Moïse, two students at the Collège de Guyenne who had in their possession books which the Faculty of Theology at the University of Paris had banned. The Parlement assigned the procureur general du Roy to make additional inquiry into the students over the next two months, but the onus was on Alpais and Moïse to ensure that they submitted themselves to the ruling of the court, and to purge from their possession all of the books deemed heretical by the Faculty of Theology at Paris. The record of their arrêts also addressed booksellers in the city who were also in possession of censured books and issued a directive to the principal of the Collège de Guyenne, who was Gelida at the time, "de faire lire une fois chacun moys par les classes dud[ict] colliege à peine de mil livres tournois et de s'en prendre à luy si aucuns escolliers estoient cy après trouvez saisiz dest[it] livres censuré." Once the principal had collected those books, the court directed him to give them to the Faculty of Theology at the University of Bordeaux so that they could be censured properly. At the end of the entry, there is a note recording that Alpais and Moïse had promised to follow the Court's order.

Concerns over the spread of heretical ideas, especially through the circulation of banned books, troubled the Faculty of Theology at the University of Paris. In conjunction with the

188 "Léonard Alpais et Pierre Moïse," 297.
Parlement of Paris, they drew up a list of prohibited books and published it through the printer Benoit Prévost on 26 August 1544. The Faculty's Catalogue was in line with ecclesiastical direction and the preliminary *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* that had been adopted at the Fifth Lateran Council in 1515, and the much expanded version later approved by the Council of Trent in 1546. The dedicatory letter to the Provost of Paris articulated that the Catalogue listed all of the books the Faculty of Theology had "veu, visitez, censurez et condamnez." The list included books by Henrich Cornelius Agrippa, Otho Brunsfel, Martin Bucer, Henrich Bullinger, Calvin, Étienne Dolet, Erasmus, Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, Luther, Huldrych Zwingli, and a number of books whose authors were unknown. The dissemination of the printing press had given authors an avenue by which to circulate their ideas widely, and it is clear that reformed ideas had arrived in Bordeaux in the mouths of reformed preachers and teachers as well as in their books.

In 1553, the Parlement recorded multiple cases in which students from the Collège de Guyenne were accused of heresy. On 17 July, Dominique de Cazenove, Bertrand Vallery, Jacques Narguassier, and Xans du Foret, all students at the Collège and detainees of the Court, abjured their heretical ideas. Cazenove and Vallery abjured the words they had spoken previously which were "contre verité." As punishment, they were conducted to the Collège de Guyenne, where they revoked their words before an assembly of the principal, regents, and their fellow students. After their recantation, they were to circulate to the various classrooms with the principal and investigate whether any of the regents or students possessed any forbidden

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books. In addition, they were to advise students each week about the threats these books posed to the Church and admonish them neither to read them nor possess them. Narguassier was ordered to report to the Registry who had taught him incorrectly and to pay a fine of one hundred *sols tournois*. Du Foret was acquitted, presumably for having provided the Court with the names of Jehan Lymosin, Rieutort de Saincte-Croix and Arnault d'Abbatia, who were all students at the Collège and now stood accused of spreading heresy.

Public discipline and fines were common punishments for heresy, but there were occasions when the Court moved from corrector to executioner. On 23 August, Pierre Speriam, a student, whose school is unspecified, was ordered to be executed for heresy. The record states that the proceedings against Speriam began on 1 August and over the course of three days, the sixth, eighth, and eleventh, the defendant stood before the Court and the witnesses they produced against him. During these three days, the Court declared Speriam a "hereticque et scismatique, blaffemateur, pertubateur de l'unyon et tranquilité publicque" and condemned him to be burned and "son corps mis en cendre." Prior to his execution, he was to be paraded through the city, by every neighbourhood and crossroad, so that others might understand the severity of his crime. The record notes that "il faut le passer devant la ruete du colliege," that is, in front of the Collège de Guyenne. On 29 August 1558, Pierre Speriam was executed. The Court wanted to ensure that students at the Collège de Guyenne witnessed the consequence for heresy. For the governing citizens of Bordeaux, it was imperative they made an example, for the sake of orthodoxy, but also in the face of active heterodox instruction that took place at the

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193 Cazenove, Vallery, Narguassier, Fret," 305.
194 "Cazenove, Vallery, Narguassier, Fret," 305."Et pour le reguard dud[it] Nargassier, lad[it] court ordonne qui'll nommera au greffe d'icelle pour tout le jour les tesmoignz par lesquelz il entend veriffer les faictz objectifs par luy deduetz, extrainctz du proces, lesquel tesmoignz led[it] propureur general fer oýr."
196 "Arrêt ordonnant l'exécution par défaut de M' Pierre Speriam, écolier," in *Archives de la Département de la Gironde*, volume 47 (Bordeaux: Feret et Fils, 1912), 82.
197 "Pierre Speriam," 83.
Collège, as Xans de Tartas, the regent for the ninth class, had been arrested on 19 August 1558. The Collège de Guyenne, its principal, regents, and students, stood at the crossroads between adoption and prevention of reformed religion. In the eyes of devout Catholic city officials, Guyenne erred on the side of heretical adoption, rather than prevention.

François de Baulon's concerns about the instruction of heterodoxy at the Collège de Guyenne persisted, and, in 1570, he decided to invite the Jesuits to Bordeaux to found an institution, despite the Jurade's successive renewal of the initial commitment of 1533 not to open another college in the city. While the Jesuits received papal approval as an organization in 1540, it was not until 13 February 1562 that the order acquired a legal standing in France. The first Jesuit colleges in France were founded through the leadership of Paschase Broët, with the support of Guillaume de Prat, the bishop of Clermont. In 1556, the Order's first college in France opened in Billom, followed by Mauriac in 1563 and Paris in 1564. In 1569, there was already discussion that the Jesuits take over the Collège de Guyenne. Edmund Hay, the rector at the college at Paris, supported this idea because "it is a famous city; in times of peace its university has 4,000 students and even 5,000. The area likewise has a great need of good men, whether in the instruction of its people from the pulpit or in the development of its youth in piety, morality, and learning." The idea of merger reached Bordeaux, but Vinet, Raymond Lorteau, and the regents at the Collège rejected this outright and worked to gain support from the Jurade that had founded the Collège. They also endeavoured to defend the Collège against the

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198 “Arrêt ordonnant l'arrestation de M' Xans de Tartas, 82. It is unclear if this is a relative of Jehan de Tartas or a variance in spelling the name Jehan.
199 Gaullieur, 291.
201 Martin, 1.
202 Martin, 39
infamous reputation it had acquired.\textsuperscript{204} It is at this point that Baulon offered a large portion of
his fortune to the Jesuits for the foundation and the Jesuit Emond Auger was quick to accept
Baulon's offer.\textsuperscript{205} From Baulon, the Jesuits received nearly twenty-four thousand \textit{livres} and a
rental agreement for two thousand \textit{livres}, which set up the new Jesuit college on the other side of
Saint-Eloi, where the Collège de Guyenne was also located. The new institution took the name
Collège de la Madeleine with Charles Sager as its principal.\textsuperscript{206}

The establishment of the Collège de la Madeleine had an impact on the religious climate
of Bordeaux, but it was also significant to the educational environment. On 11 November 1572,
the University of Bordeaux officially incorporated it. The Archbishop of Bordeaux, Antoine
Prévost and Emond Auger submitted a request to the University for incorporation.\textsuperscript{207} The
University, and importantly the rector, deemed the request reasonable and decided that it would
be "pour le grand fruict qui en appris, mesme à raison de la bonne vie et saine doctrine desdicts
régents et autltres religieux de ladicte société, e que ce sera autant d'ornement de cette université
et à ladict ville, pour estre enrichie de deulx collèges."\textsuperscript{208} According to the incorporation acts,
the Jesuit college, along with the Collège de Guyenne, would ornament the university and enrich
the city. Education in Bordeaux had grown since the foundation of the Collège in 1533 and had
seen an increase in students. The act stipulated that the students of the Jesuit college would
receive "les mesme droict et privilèges, tandis et après leur degrez crceuz en l'Université, que les
autre estudians au Collège de Guyenne en ceste ville de Bourdeaux, sans faire aucune distinction

\textsuperscript{204} Gaullieur, 297.  
\textsuperscript{205} Gaullieur, 292.  
\textsuperscript{206} Gaullieur, 298.  
\textsuperscript{207} “Actes de l’Université de Bordeaux Incorporant à l’Université le Collège des Jésuites de la Ville, de Novembre
1572,” in Barckhausen, \textit{Statuts}, 59. \textquoteleft\textquoteleft Itaque, munieris nostri memores, et pientissimi in Christo patris Antonii
Praepositi, Burdegalensis archiepiscopi, et magistri Emondi Augerii, superioris Collegii niminis Jesu, scriptis
hortationibus exicitari."  
\textsuperscript{208} Barckhausen, \textit{Statuts}, 60.
ou différence entr-eux, celon noz loix etordonnences."209 This clause elucidated the Collège de Guyenne's relationship to the University as much as it did that of the Collège de la Madeleine.

The act reiterated that the University of Bordeaux followed Toulouse in structure, but Toulouse was modelled after Paris, and so again, we see the educational pattern at Bordeaux following the "manyere des colieges de la ville de Paris" as the Jurade desired at the foundation of Guyenne in 1533.210 There were seven witnesses to the incorporation act: Cotteblanche, a doctor in theology; De Piquon, the Dean of the University; Lanefranque, the rector; De Corbières, a regent in jure pontificio; De Gaufreteau, a regent in jure civile; P. Pichot, a regent in medicine; and Lorteau, a regent in Arts, who was also the principal of the Collège de Guyenne, and deeply grieved by the formation of the Collège de la Madeleine. Earlier that year, on 23 July, Lorteau had approached the Jurade about his position, saying, "il avoit faict son debvoir le mieux qu'il luy avoit esté possible, tellement qu'il n'y auroit eu aucune plainte de luy ni de ses regens" and that, despite all he had done to support the Collège, this new challenge was too much and offered his resignation, adding that he would "pour quelque temps, continuer soubz leur auctorité et, comme par forme de commission, le dit estat."211 That Lorteau signed the act of incorporation indicates that he continued on at the Collège de Guyenne for at least four months after tendering his resignation. The following February, 1573, King Charles IX confirmed the incorporation of the Collège de la Madeleine within the University of Bordeaux, stating that "nous avons cy-devant ordonné ung collège de ceulx de ladict compagnie estre stably en nostre ville de Bourdeaux, pour l'instruction de la jeunesse en bonnes meurs et doctrine."212

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209 Barckhausen, Statuts, 61.
211 Gaullieur, 305. The original text appears in Archives de la Ville: Fragments des Minutes de Destivals, notaire de la municipalité.
212 "Lettres-Patentes confirmant l'incorporation du Collège des Jésuites a l'Université de Bordeaux, du mois de Février 1573," in Barckhausen, Statuts, 61.
integration of the Jesuit college into Bordeaux was complete and introduced new challenges to the Collège de Guyenne.

The Jesuit college transformed the Collège de Guyenne's relationship to the University. When the Collège opened in 1533, the University promised that the arts curriculum would be the Collège's exclusive purview. Jesuit education focused on the *studia humanitatis*, and, therefore, taught an arts curriculum. Students attending either college now had options in terms of lectures, and this created a problem, as students went back and forth between the two colleges. An undated *arrêt* from the *registre* of the Parlement of Bordeaux recorded a ruling that forbade both colleges from receiving students from the other college once the students had matriculated and registered with their regents. This was consisted with academic traditions. The requirement that students matriculate with a specific master dated to the foundation of the University of Paris, whose 1215 statutes required that students be registered with a master. By 1289, masters were required to keep a record of their students so that "fictitious scholars and hangers-on of the university" could not receive any of the benefits or privileges of university life. The university wanted to prevent aimless students who drifted from master to master. Additionally, masters were responsible for their students' behaviour and registration provided a mechanism by which masters could keep track of their students. Having two colleges that offered the arts curriculum added a new level of competition for student attention, but, in one instance, it offered at least one master the opportunity to migrate between institutions, which was a common practice at the

213 “Des collièges de Guienne et de la Madeleyne,” in *Archives Historiques de la Département de la Gironde*, volume 46 (Bordeaux: Feret et Fils, 1911), 155. The previous entry was 1578 and the subsequent entry dated 1584, which suggests that the *arrêt* took place between those years, but it is uncertain. "Arrest de la court de Parlement par lequel la Court reigle les collièges de Guienne et de La Madeleyne, tant seur la résidence des escollierz que régens d'iceulx, pour la préception des dons, que pour discontinuer les lectures et fère des banquets,que pour ne recepvoyr les escolliers les ungs des autrets, ayant esté une foys matriculés et enregistrés es cathalogues de leurs régens; faict à Bourdeaulx."

colleges in Paris, as is evident from Cordier's career, but also to a lesser extent, the careers of Jehan de Tartas and Jehan Gelida. In this instance, Jehan Puget de Saint Marc had an opportunity to continue teaching philosophy at the Collège de Guyenne after having taught at the Collège de la Madeleine.

Catholic supporters of the Collège de la Madeleine wanted it to intervene in the religious troubles of the city, but Jehan Puget de Saint-Marc had a more dismal view of the college. Before the Archbishop of Bordeaux, he recounted his injuries and mistreatment, poor clothing, and disgusting spectacles that included seeing the Jesuits "maltraicter les mallades jusques à estres abbandonnez à l'extrêmité, ne ce présantant personne pour leur faire administrer les sacraments" and spending their days in decadence. Puget stated that he had requested authorisation from Charles Sager to depart the Collège de la Madeleine, but that Sager had refused to grant it. When the Jesuits learned of Puget's intent to leave, they decided to oppose him by force, taking his books and papers and barring the doors, thus preventing his departure. Puget reported that the Jesuits next planned to imprison him.

Simon Millanges, having heard about this plan, conferred with Puget and decided to stand with him at the Mass and bring him out from the Collège de la Madeleine. They followed Millanges' plan, until Puget tried to leave Mass, at which point the situation turned violent. The porter barred Puget from exiting and then restrained him by the arms. Millanges grabbed the porter and held his arms. Father Richard, an Irishman, entered the fray and grabbed Puget by the neck, and kicked out his legs. He rebuked Puget, and cried out "Ducite in carcerem," that is,

216 Gaullieur, 331.
"take him to prison."

Millanges "luy donnant ung coup entre les jambes le fit retumber par terre, l'ayant mordu en l'espaule; et tumbant dessuz le dict confessant [Puget], auroit baillé du front contre la teste et du nez contre les dents de luy qui confesse et davantaige luy auroit baillé un coup de genoul, luy tenant l'aultre sur l'estomach et les mains sur la gorge." Father Richard cried for mercy because he feared dying there, but in that moment he also shouted: "Tu es excommunicatus, tu percutis clericum." The witnesses testified to the violence of the scene, some stating they had seen Puget strike Father Richard and others testified to the violence inflicted on Puget but said nothing of the blows he had inflicted on Father Richard. Millanges testified that he had gone to the Collège de la Madeleine, where he had found Puget, and "le voyant tout triste, luy demanda ce qu'il avoit. Lequel luy dict qu'on luy tenoit les portes fermées, mais que devant qu'il fust une heure is sortiroit." Like the other witnesses, Millanges stated that he had not seen Puget hit the vice-rector.

There are two issues that emerged from this conflict. The first was the internal procedures the Jesuits followed in disciplining of their members, as Sager highlighted at the outset of the proceedings. The second was the enmity that existed between the two colleges. Simon Millanges had connections on both sides of the fight. As the city printer, Millanges published Jesuit works as well as those for the Collège de Guyenne. Millanges was also closely affiliated with the Collège through his on-going friendship with Elie Vinet, which had formed while Millanges was a regent there. The previous principal of the Collège de Guyenne had grieved at the foundation of a Jesuit college in Bordeaux, and his successor, Vinet, along with his vice-principal, Jehan Hervé, faced declining enrolment and the possibility of the Collège de


"Interrogatoire de Jehan Puget," 332.

"Interrogatoire de Jehan Puget," 332.

Gaullieur, 333.

Gaullieur, 334. "Information secrète des commissaires de l'archevêché. Interrogatoire des témoins."
Guyenne's closure. The Puget incident was a turning point for both colleges, when in response to this issue Henri III issued *lettres patentes* on 8 November 1574 that confirmed the union of Collège de la Madeleine with the University of Bordeaux. Four years later, Vinet, having fought to preserve the Collège de Guyenne through the tribulations of the arrival of the Jesuits and the foundation of their college, offered Jehan Puget de Saint-Marc the position of chair of philosophy, which Puget readily accepted. 222 Throughout the Collège's first fifty years, the principals and regents stood at the crossroads of religious turmoil. Gouveia's spirit of inclusion quickly instilled suspicion among those who championed orthodoxy. Yet the Collège found a way to persist. The fight with the Jesuits continued until the order was suppressed in 1773. When Elie Vinet published *Schola Aquitanica* in 1583, he sought to defend the Collège de Guyenne against those who believed the Collège no longer met with the Jurade's purposes for it and to show that "la règle observée jusqu'à aujourd'hui dans leur collège de Bordeaux fût bien connue et ne pût jamais s'altérer facilement." 223 French universities were dedicated to maintaining orthodoxy, and the state granted them a great deal of power to deal with heterodoxy, as is evident for the Faculty of Theology at the University of Paris in particular. Yet attached to these stalwart institutions were colleges that were in a better position to respond to the changing currents. The Collège de Guyenne revealed a great deal of adaptability in its curriculum, in its strong relationship with the University of Bordeaux, and in its response to the foundation of the Jesuit college in Bordeaux.

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222 Gaullieur, 344.
223 Massebieau, 50/51.
CHAPTER V:

BECOMING BORDELAIS:

THE COLLÈGE DE GUYENNE IN URBAN AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

The life of a master in Paris was tenuous. They taught at one of the colleges or gave private lessons. For some, this uncertainty offered a sort of glamour "in the exciting milieu of the taverns and bookshops of the quartier latin, where they could encounter all the stars of the Republic of Letters."¹ The provincial schools, however, offered them an entirely different opportunity. As masters in the provinces, they received regular salaries, an opportunity for citizenship, and freedom to marry. Life in Paris often meant living unmarried, in perpetual poverty, with a transient existence moving between precarious jobs. Masters who taught at the Collège de Guyenne frequently integrated into the civic life of Bordeaux. They adopted a local, classical icon: Ausonius. They participated in the economy, owning property and engaging in trade. They assumed positions among the elite. They frequently got married.² College education in the sixteenth century became an important part of the new ennoblement as families sought to ensure their sons' social ascent. As the families acquired land and social standing, they sent their sons to colleges to ensure they acquired the skills needed for employment in civic and royal offices. Positions in royal administration required capital, family alliances, and most importantly, the ability to write.³ Sixteenth-century education differed from its medieval predecessor. The scholastic stereotype of Rabelais' Master Thubal Holofernes' instruction in gothic script, outdated Latin, and theological jargon gave way to prescribed educational systems under teachers who were accountable to city officials.⁴ College education was more than an

¹ Huppert, Public Schools, 51.
² Gelida, Gelidae Epistolae, XV. "Uxorem ducere, extra luteiam, in omnibus omnium civitatum scholis probatissimum est."
⁴ Huppert, Public Schools, 9. For the account of Master Holofernes see Rabelais, 251.
intellectual style and comprised but one part of a cultural revolution that granted the bourgeois
an opportunity to live nobly and acquire positions of power and influence that had previously
been the preserve of the aristocracy.\(^5\) Learning was the avenue through which the bourgeois
could "revere their ancestors, the Ancients, and take comfort in the writings of their masters."\(^6\)
Becoming a master at the Collège de Guyenne created an opportunity for a reciprocal
relationship where the children of the city had access to greater learning and the masters who
taught there could find a place as a citizen. The regents at the Collège de Guyenne denote a
distinct shift away from transience to permanence. That so many regents adopted Bordeaux as
their home is an important aspect of the political importance of the Collège de Guyenne. The
regents integrated into the life of Bordeaux and allowed Bordeaux to become part of them.
Those who stayed in Bordeaux had a profound impact on the social, economic, and political life
of the city, thus demonstrating the Collège's place as a political institution.

To align themselves with the city of Bordeaux, masters at the Collège found a model
from the city's ancient past to emulate: Ausonius, the fourth-century teacher, poet, and politician.
The memory of Ausonius inspired intellectual work at the Collège, as seen in Elie Vinet's
publications, but he also became a model for emulation when, in 1543, the Collège de Guyenne
installed a new lintel carved with the following:

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\begin{align*}
\text{AN DOCVIT MVSAS VLLA MAGIS VRBE LOCARE} \\
\text{Q[uam]; QVAE PHŒBIGENAM PROTVLIT AUSONIUM} \\
\text{QUARE BVRDIGALAM COLE PLEBS STVDIOSA PATRONAM} \\
\text{FER QVE TVIS MVLTOŠ CIVIBVS AVSONIOS} \\
\text{POS ANNO DOMINI 1543 MENSE JUNIO}\end{align*}
\]

\(^5\) Huppert, \textit{Bourgeois}, 60.
\(^6\) Huppert, \textit{Bourgeois}, 61.
\(^7\) Musée d'Aquitaine, \textit{L'Époque Moderne} (Bordeaux: Musée d'Aquitaine) "Inscription du Collège de Guenne," Inv.
83.10.1 See Figure 1, page 137. See also G. Bouchon, "Un inscription du Collège de Guyenne," \textit{Revue historique de Bordeaux et du Département de la Gironde} 1 (1909), 53.
The last line of the inscription is not currently visible on the stone, though it is noted on the Museum's information
concerning the artefact.
This inscription called upon the citizens of Bordeaux to aspire to become a multitude of Ausonii. Ausonius was a recognized teacher and poet, but he also ascended from humble beginnings to a position of great political power and influence within the Roman Empire. There are many examples among the regents of the Collège who made a similar social ascent. While they did not call themselves Ausonii, they were teachers in Bordeaux who attained positions of power and influence, in France and abroad.

"Dans quelle ville aurait-il mieux convenu de loger les Muses que dans celle qui a produit Ausone, ce fils de Phébus? Vénère donc en Bordeaux la Patronne, ruche studieuse, et dote tes concitoyens de nombreux Ausone. Cette pierre a été posée l'An 1543 au mois de juin."
Ausonius maintained a strong position of influence to the end of his life. In the years immediately following his death, several admirers wrote to his protégé, Paulinus of Nola (c.352-431), expressing their admiration for Ausonius. Other writers imitated his work extensively in their own poetry and history and his poetry maintained popularity throughout the fifth and sixth centuries in Gaul especially, but also in Italy and in Spain into the seventh century.8 Ausonius' work, however, was generally obscure, as "he was never a widely read author in his own right."9 Ausonius' works resurfaced in Verona in the fourteenth century when Benzo of Alessandria (c.1259-c. 1321) copied Ludus and Ordo from a manuscript he discovered. This launched Ausonius into prominence among Italian Renaissance writers. In Northern Europe, Erasmus cited Ausonius in the earliest copies of his Adagia and Conrad Celtis produced editions of his texts. Ausonius' greatest popularity, however, was in France "when French literature was seeking to assert itself against Italian influence."10 It is in this context that Ausonius became a symbol of French cultural independence and provided a direct link between France and its classical heritage. Many Italian humanists held prominent positions in the French court and received greater favour than their French colleagues. This power and influence on the part of the Italians provoked a strong anti-Italian response from French humanists, especially in the latter half of the sixteenth century under Charles IX and Henri III.11 Identifying with a well-known historical person of Gallic ancestry gave the French a strong rallying point for their identity. For the citizens of Bordeaux, in particular, this was yet another avenue through which they could establish their French allegiance. In a letter from 1517, Erasmus lauded Ausonius as one of

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9 Green, xxxv.
10 Green, xxxvii.
France's glories. Publishers produced multiple editions of Ausonius' corpus, which generated further commentary from sixteenth-century thinkers. Joseph Justus Scaliger, a former student at the Collège de Guyenne and Elie Vinet both produced editions of Ausonius' texts. Accompanying Vinet's edition was a monumental commentary on the Mosella. R.P.H. Green speculated that it was Vinet's relationship with George Buchanan that introduced Ausonius to Scotland. Some enthusiasm for Ausonius continued into the seventeenth century, but knowledge of Ausonius and his work faded into obscurity by the late nineteenth century. It is the interest that sixteenth-century scholars had for Ausonius' work that is noteworthy, especially in light of the relationship between Ausonius, the Collège de Guyenne, and the city of Bordeaux. Vinet engaged in a great deal of research into Ausonius' corpus and, while the level of his work did not satisfy him, he succumbed to the pressure of his friends and published an edition of Ausonius' Ordo Urbium Nobilium, a collection of poems on sixteen famous cities, of which Bordeaux was one.

In his time, Ausonius was famous in Gaul and across the Roman Empire. His birth coincided with the flourishing of Latin letters in Gaul and he was the first major author of Gallo-Roman literature. His writings spread across Gaul and he was "read, tasted, and esteemed by great men [...] of the era," including emperors. While Ausonius' reputation as a writer spread across the empire, it was his reputation as a teacher that led him to Valentinian's court in Trier. It

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12 Desiderius Erasmus, "676/To Allard of Amsterdam - Louvain, [1517]" in The Correspondence of Erasmus. Volume 5: Letters 594 to 841, 1517-1518, translated by R.A.B. Mynors and D.F.S. Thomson, annotated by Peter G. Bietenholz (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 139.
13 Green, xxxviii.
14 Green, xxxviii.
15 Green, xxxviii.
16 Green, xxxix-xl.
17 Gaullieur, 278.
19 Jullian, Ausone et Bordeaux, 5. "Il fut lu, goûté, estimé des grands hommes [...] de l'époque."
20 One of his correspondents was the Emperor Theodosius, whose letters provide scholars with a timeline to date Ausonius' death (c. 395).
is curious to note, however, that despite Ausonius' role as a teacher, Vinet did not mention Ausonius by name when he referred to the ancient lineage of teaching at Bordeaux, though he was among the ranks of teachers during the fourth century, nor did Vinet directly cite Ausonius' educational ideas in Schola Aquitanica. Classical educational ideals pervade Vinet's Schola Aquitanica, and there are echoes of educational ideas Ausonius supported in his own treatment of education. For example, the Schola Aquitanica provided clear instruction concerning the balance of lessons and leisure time, which bears similarity to Ausonius' words in Idyll IV, "The imperious voice of the stern master does not always drive his pupils; but fixed hours preserve the alternations of recreation and study." A lack of direct citations from Ausonius' Opera makes it difficult to discern to what extent his ideas influenced the curriculum at Guyenne directly, but certainly the parallels between ancient and modern learning are evident. Ausonius was the subject of much of Vinet's intellectual work, and he published multiple editions of Ausonius' Opera as well as providing commentary on his Mosella. Ausonius' Professores (c. 388) provided an overview of the "educational structures, the teaching profession as a whole, and the careers of individual practitioners" in the fourth century. It is likely that the tradition of teaching about which Ausonius wrote was the one to which Vinet referred in L'Antiquité de Bordeaux when he stated, in reference to the city "qui pour le iourdui monstre plus d'enseignes de long aage." Throughout L'Antiquité de Bourdeaux, Vinet drew heavily on Ausonius as a source for descriptions of the city. In a letter to Pierre Daniel on 20 March 1578, Vinet referred

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21 Massebieau, 39.
23 For a complete bibliography of Vinet's published works see Desgraves, Elie Vinet, 40-95. Desgraves provides a chronological table of Vinet's editions from 1543 to 1841 as well as an analysis of each of Vinet's works by title and date.
See also, Courteault, Elie Vinet et ses travaux d'antiquités locales.
Between Vinet's research and the lintel at the Collège, Ausonius became a symbolic figurehead for the Collège de Guyenne and played a significant role in the Bordelais imagination.

Decimus Magnus Ausonius was born in Burdigala circa 310 AD. His father, Julius Ausonius, was a successful physician of unknown origin who served as a member of the curia in both Bazas, a community approximately seventy kilometers south-east of Bordeaux, where he was born, and Bordeaux, where he raised his family. Over the course of his career, Julius Ausonius held a number of positions, first as a member of a municipal provincial council and later in the office of governor of the entire prefecture. Ausonius' mother, Aemilia Aeonia, the daughter of Caecilius Argicus Arborius, was born in Bordeaux, and it is through her lineage that Ausonius had connections to the Gallic aristocracy. Ausonius' life spanned the rule of Constantine I (r. 307-337), through the religious turmoil of Julian's reign (r. 360-363), and the re-division of the Empire into East and West. This division brought about one of the greatest components of Ausonius' career as he served the Emperor Valentinian (r. 364-375) as the tutor of the future Emperor Gratian (r. 367-383). His imperial connections continued even after he left the court for retirement in his home city Burdigala as Ausonius corresponded with Theodosius (r. 379-395) who ruled the Eastern Empire.

Ausonius received his education at Tolosa (Toulouse) under the supervision of his uncle Aemilius Magnus Arborius, Ausonius' only maternal uncle. Arborius had studied at Bordeaux,
after which time he moved to Toulouse, where he obtained a position teaching grammar, instructing children how to read and write in Latin. Eventually, he turned his attentions to a legal career that led him to travel throughout Gaul and into Spain. When he returned to Toulouse in the 320s he assumed the chair of rhetoric. At the time of his return, Dalmatius and Constantius, Constantine's half-brothers, were in residence at Toulouse and his position as a teacher granted him access to this imperial circle, which eventually led to his summons to Constantinople as a tutor to Constantius' eldest son. This position ended tragically in a bloody coup d'état, but Arborius laid the foundations for his nephew's future. Ausonius returned from Toulouse, and married into the local aristocracy. For over thirty years, he taught at Bordeaux, first as a grammaticus and later as a rhetor. In his Professores, Ausonius painted a picture of Arborius' intellectual rigour and oratorial greatness.

Ausonius' reputation was well-known, even in the Imperial court. Ausonius answered Valentinian's summons and travelled to his court in Trier during the 360s, where he undertook Gratian's education and developed a good relationship with the future emperor. When Valentinian died in an argument with barbarian envoys, Ausonius took advantage of his position as tutor and quaestor not only to install Gratian as emperor, but also "to impose his own ideas upon the state." Ausonius also used his position and influence to grant positions of power to his family and friends. The result was the emergence of a network that branched off from Ausonius and encompassed "the whole of the west, and [was] as broad as that of any aristocratic family." Ausonius had achieved what many sixteenth-century bourgeois hoped to do: ascend beyond their current status to positions of power and influence.

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33 Green, xxvii.
34 Green, xxix.
35 Green, xxx.
The Collège de Guyenne served as an avenue through which citizens of Bordeaux and the surrounding area could become *ennobled*. These new *gentilshommes* left their merchant-bourgeois status and entered a new form of nobility, which was based on living nobly rather than possessing an aristocratic lineage. There were legal avenues by which a person could become noble. Ellery Schalk has compiled the data on those who had acquired letters of nobility in France from 1350 to 1660.\(^{36}\) His chart reveals a total of seven hundred and fifty-nine new nobles in France over the course of the sixteenth century, with certain periods having higher rates of issue. In 1534, the king issued eighty-seven letters of nobility and from 1570 to 1590 he issued two hundred twenty-three.\(^{37}\) These numbers, however, do not account for the social transitions many made in this period. Official ennoblement was not the marker for *anoblissement*. Scholars have had extensive arguments concerning appropriate terminology for this particular group of people, but it is clear that they, and not the merchant-bourgeois, were the true threat to the old nobility.\(^{38}\) At issue was not the need to declare whether these merchant-bourgeois indeed transformed into *gentilshommes*, but rather to explore their social mobility as they grew in status, wealth, and power. The men of Bordeaux strove to increase their social position, though not necessarily to be ennobled by the king, but rather through what George Huppert refers to as *anoblissement taisible*.\(^{39}\) These "tacit nobles" endured scrutiny from merchants "who envied their swift progress toward tax exemption and other spectacular privileges" and from *gentilshommes* who "contemplated their rapacious sweep of noble fiefs."\(^{40}\) This new group sought more than a noble life characterized by landownership as *seigneurs*. Their wealth and

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36 Ellery Schalk, "Ennoblement in France from 1350 to 1660," *Journal of Social History* 16, No. 2 (Winter, 1982), 103.
37 Schalk, 103. On page 104 he provided a breakdown of ennoblement by reign. During the sixteenth century, it was Catherine de Medici who granted the most letters (248) during her tenure as regent for her sons Charles IX and Henry III.
39 Huppert, *Bourgeois*, 4
education granted them the opportunity to purchase offices which increased their power as they "acquired control over the administration of the kingdom at all levels." For the Collège de Guyenne, Ausonius served as an ancient example of this process.

Having an ancient role model was important for humanists as they sought to revive the classical past. In a speech that he delivered as a consul before the Emperor Gratian, Ausonius provided an overview of his life. He said:

I cannot confirm my credentials by displaying the death-masks of ancestors (as Marius says in Sallust), by unfolding a pedigree that descends from heroes or a genealogy that includes the gods, or by vaunting extraordinary wealth or estates scattered through whole kingdoms; but I can speak (rather than boast) of what is well known - a city which is no mean one, a family which is nothing to be ashamed of, a home that is blameless, a blamelessness which is spontaneous, financial resources that are slight but have been augmented by the study of books and letters, a frugality which does not stoop to meanness, a liberal talent, a not illiberal mind, and a style of life, dress, and furnishing which is refined but not showy.

Ausonius' speech to Gratian outlined a fourth-century version of the life to which many Bordelais bourgeois could aspire as they sought a pathway to social advancement. Vinet's first publication of Ausonius' *Opera* was in 1551. That year he published three editions of the text. Vinet published Ausonius' *Liber de claris urribus* in 1565, the same year he published *L'Antiquité de Bourdeaux*, both in Poitiers. He published a new edition of Ausonius' *Opera* in Bordeaux in 1575 and again in 1580. After Vinet's death in 1587, there were additional reprints of *Opera* every year for five years. The demand for Ausonius' work in Bordeaux was high, as demonstrated by the fact that Simon Millanges published nine editions from 1575 to 1604, including a posthumous edition celebrating Elie Vinet in 1590.

His social ascent is one reason Ausonius was named as an example on the 1543 lintel. The revival of Antiquity was a priority for Renaissance thinkers, as was finding a classical model

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42 Ausonius, *Gratiarum Actio*, 36, in Green, xxiv.
to emulate. Like Ausonius, André de Gouveia was called from his life of a principal at the Collège de Guyenne to lead the educational endeavours of King João III of Portugal at the Collegio Real das Artes in Coimbra. Born in the city of Beja in 1497, André and his brothers used their mother's name, even though his father was a Castilian aristocrat from the house of Ayala. In 1522, André began his studies at Paris under Martinus Dolet and from December 1525 to March 1526, he studied under G. Manderston. It was common for students at Paris to transfer between masters. In 1527, he was at the Collège de Sainte-Barbe, which was under the direction of his maternal uncle Diogo de Gouveia, whose career path he followed. André owed a great deal to his maternal uncle, who began his studies at the Collège de Montaigu, where he was likely the first recipient of a bursary for Portuguese students.

In 1498, the king's men seized a Portuguese merchant ship and sold the goods for profit. Aboard the ship was Admiral Louis Malet de Graville du Vicomté de Rochechouart, who, after his initial meeting with Jan Standonck in 1492, had become a patron and protector of the Collège de Montaigu. Graville resolved to rebuild the college in order to ensure adequate housing for students, and donated 1300 livres of his share of the proceeds in support of Standonck's reforms there. The attached enraged King Emmanuel I of Portugal, especially because it had been done in a time of peace. He wrote to Standonck and demanded the return of the money to make restitution to the Portuguese. Standonck, knowing the king was pious, proposed to

44 Quicherat, 128.
45 Luis de Matos, Les Portugais à l'Université de Paris entre 1500-1550 (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1950), 50-51. Matos provides a comprehensive list of Portuguese students at Paris he compiled from the manuscript sources.
46 Quicherat, 130.
47 Godet, 11.
48 Matos, 7.
49 "Création par Emmanuel Ier de deux bourses d'études au Collège de Montaigu." in Matos, 136. Original from Bibliothèque de l'Université de Paris, ms. 1578, fols. 21r-22v.
50 Création par Emmanuel," in Matos, 136.
create two bursaries at the Collège intended exclusively for poor Portuguese students.51

Emmanuel replied to Standonck on 6 October 1498,52 affirming Standonck's religious intentions, but requested three things: that a Mass would be said for him and his successors once per month, that two places would be set aside for two poor Portuguese students, each with his own lodgings that had the Portuguese coat of arms on the doors, and that this ordinance be preserved in the college's archives in perpetuity. Standonck accepted the conditions in a letter dated 8 May 1499 which outlined the procedure of how the two bursaries would be established and his intention to submit to Emmanuel a record of the act which he made in front of a Paris official. Presumably it is on this date that the bursaries officially began. Emmanuel I's conditions were that the 1300 livres from Graville were to build chapels at the college and to house the boursiers. It is likely that the two students accepted their bursaries and commenced studies that same year. It is unclear from the records, but it is probable that Diogo de Gouveia was one of the first recipients of the bursary. While Diogo's tenure of the bursary is uncertain, he completed the Master of Arts and went on to complete the Doctorate in Theology on 29 April 1510.53 Prior to his completion of the Doctorate, Gouveia served as a rector for the University from December 1500 to March 1501.54 From 1545, he served as the dean of the Faculty of Theology. Gouveia remained in France until 1555 and died in Lisbon in 1557.55

While he made significant academic contributions at the University of Paris, Gouveia served Emmanuel I in political capacities when, in 1512, he accepted a commission from the king to monitor the departure of French ships and to recuperate what the French had taken from

51 Matos, 7.
52 This is the corrected date as the Matos text records the manuscript date of 1488, which he notes as an error.
53 Farge, Biographical Register, 218.
54 Matos, 10.
55 Farge, Biographical Register, 220.
Portuguese ships, whether "in cash or in silver." During his service to the Portuguese throne, Gouveia participated in numerous embassies and served five kings of Portugal and four kings of France. Gouveia continued to use his position in Paris as a political avenue to serve the interests of the Portuguese court. Gouveia worked as a personal agent of the Portuguese king at Paris and the port of Rouen from 1512 until at least 1530, during which time he brought numerous suits to the Parlement to recover what French corsairs had stolen from Portuguese merchants.

In 1527, he proposed to King João III the establishment of bursaries for Portuguese students to pursue studies at the Collège de Sainte-Barbe, where he had been principal since 1520. Gouveia wanted the Collège, which had suffered financial hardship in recent years, to be a centre for the education of Portuguese students. His idea was to appeal to the king to create fifty bursaries for Portuguese students at the Collège de Sainte-Barbe. While Gouveia negotiated with the king to create these bursaries, hostilities between French corsairs and Portuguese merchants in 1526 and 1527 occupied João III's time along with the closing of the Pas de Calais by François I and Henry VIII to Portuguese ships. Diogo's nephew, André, was one of the first recipients of the bursaries. These fifty scholarships "transformed [Sainte-Barbe] into a truly Portuguese institution," one that filled the gap for the lack of credible institutions in Portugal. This was an intermediate step in King João's plan for Portuguese university education that yielded many educated Portuguese men who made their mark in the intellectual and political circles of the period. André spent six years studying for his maitrise des Arts, which he earned in the third trimester of 1528, and began teaching at Sainte Barbe that same year. In 1530, he assumed the

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56 Matos, 30, see note 2.
57 Farge, Biographical Register, 203.
58 Brandão and Lopes, 157.
59 Brandão and Lopes, A Universidade de Coimbra, 158.
role of principal of Sainte-Barbe when his uncle left to manage his diplomatic obligations to João III. André possessed considerable administrative skills and served in that capacity until he departed for Bordeaux in 1534. During his tenure as a teacher and a principal at Sainte-Barbe, André continued his theological studies. Little remains of André's written work, though there was at one point a large volume of discourses from his time at Sainte Barbe. As an epilogue to Jehan Gelida's *De quinque universalibus*, André provided six verses in iambic pentameter. We also have a letter dated 13 August 1537 that André de Gouveia wrote to Rui Fernandes to inform him that the two representatives, Jean de Calvimont and Bertrand de Moncaupt, had left Bordeaux for Bayonne.

France and Portugal had expanding maritime empires and frequently found themselves in conflict. Multiple accounts from various sources do not provide a clear narrative of how the attacks proceeded, except to say that it began when the attack vessel spotted the target vessel. The attackers would then gather the spoils. The details are unclear and provide only a "skeleton of the essential" elements, which complicated investigation, except for answering questions regarding where attacks happened, what was taken, and who was mistreated. In response to French attacks, the Portuguese sought to improve the defensive capability of their ships. In some cases, this meant the Portuguese attacked the French, sometimes out of revenge and in other cases out of desperation. For years the kingdoms used ambassadors in attempts to resolve the conflicts over France's aspirations and their subsequent assaults on Portuguese maritime

60 Quicherat, 30. Quicherat speculated that this work would be found in Portugal. He identified it based on a notation in Diogo Barbosa's *Bibliotheca lusitana*, volume 1, page 50.
64 Ferreira, 308.
Portugal had a succession of ambassadors, one of whom was Diogo de Gouveia. For France, Honorato of Caix, as ambassador to Portugal, worked to alleviate the hostility.

To address the challenges of this conflict, François I and João III agreed to hold a tribunal in Bayonne. Rui Fernandes de Almada was the Portuguese ambassador at Bayonne. Fernandes had served at the Portuguese Indiahouse in Antwerp in 1512 and in the following year he moved to the Kipdorf house. Merchants shipped goods from Lisbon to Antwerp from where they were sold throughout Europe. It was a thriving centre of activity that attracted not only merchants, but also visitors who wanted to see exotic, foreign merchandise. During his time there, Fernandes befriended Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) and frequently hosted him. Fernandes was even a subject for one of the three portraits Dürer mentioned in his journal in late March or early April 1521. As a gift, or as a commission, Dürer exchanged his painting Saint-Jerome for natural marvels from India. In 1534, Fernandes was called to serve as the ambassador to France for João III. French and Portuguese hostilities grew as the Portuguese believed that King François I was responsible for the actions of the corsairs that had invaded Portuguese waters. In objecting to these incursions, King João stated that the French "should not want to get into those seas that were not known, but should go overland, not by sea, according to the ancient authors" and further, added, for the sake of justice, that the Portuguese "must have free and secure seas to find out of what all together I had possession." They believed that François I had ordered these

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65 Ferreira, 317.
68 Chipp斯 Smith, 300. For Fernandes' portrait, see Chipp斯 Smith, 299.
69 Bataillon, Études sur Portugal, 110.
70 Instruções, 2 May 1534, Relações, 142-152, cited in Giuseppe Marcocci, A Consciência de um Império: Portugal e o seu Mundo (Sécs. XV-XVII) (Coimbra: Coimbra University Press, 2012), 342-43. "não devem de querer entrar naqueles mares que não eram sabidos, mas se avia por terra e não por mar, segundo os autores antigos" "devo ter livres e seguros os mares que descobrir, do que tudo junto tive posse."
incursions. This situation brought another blow to Portugal as it marked the end of a dream of a division between Portugal and Spain.\textsuperscript{71} The two kings signed a treaty on 14 July 1536, agreeing to form the tribunal, at which Fernandes served as a negotiator. A letter from Fernandes, dated 14 June 1537, implied that the meetings began after its scheduled date for the reason that the "authors of prey" would have been placed in the "leading role."\textsuperscript{72} On 2 June 1537, François I designated two parlementaires bordelais to represent French interests. At the conclusion of the tribunal, Fernandes de Almada wrote to the Chancellor of France and Anne de Montmorency directing them to prohibit "men of war on the sea to withdraw from [Portuguese] ports and that they could no longer pillage us."\textsuperscript{73} The resulting peace closed the door to French voyages to Brazil and Guinea.\textsuperscript{74}

In his letter to Fernandes, Gouveia informed the ambassador that "yesterday, after dinner I was elected regent doctor of the entire University to always give the public lectures on Holy Scripture."\textsuperscript{75} Gouveia knew that this appointment would grieve his uncle and he commented: "I know well that monsieur my uncle will rejoice very little, but I do not know what to do."\textsuperscript{76} This was yet another example of Diogo de Gouveia's concern for his nephew's orthodoxy. André de Gouveia appealed to the ambassador, asking him to intercede with Diogo on his behalf, as he wanted to return to Portugal, but feared his uncle's protests would cause the king not to offer him a position. Diogo, indeed, opposed his nephew's appointment, but King João ignored his petition and offered André the position of principal at the new Colegio. It is unclear why André

\textsuperscript{71} Marcocci, 342.
\textsuperscript{72} Ferreira, 331.
\textsuperscript{74} Ferreira, 335.
\textsuperscript{75} Bataillon, Études sur le Portugal, 112, in the footnote. The transcription from the Portuguese reads: "Ontem depois de jantar fui elegido doutor regente de toda a universidade para ler sempre publicquamenta a sagrada escritura e[m] nome da dita universidade." The letter is published in its entirety in Mário Brandão, O processo, 271-273.
\textsuperscript{76} Bataillon, 112, in the footnote. "Bem sei que o Senhor meu [tyo] muy pouquio a de folgar co[m] iso: mas na[m] sei que lhe faça."
petitioned Fernandes for this intervention, but it is possible that André understood him to be receptive to heterodox ideas, due to his friendship with Dürer, whose religious views were suspect, though this is speculation.\textsuperscript{77} It is unclear whether Dürer was sympathetic to reformed religious views. His \textit{Peasant Monument} of 1525 is ambiguous. The image could represent disdain for the peasants, but could also suggest his support for the peasants. Jeffrey Chipps Smith has speculated that Dürer’s attitude towards the 1525 Peasants Revolt "reflected that of Luther, who bitterly condemned the peasants and their revolt against authority, but also faulted the princes for limiting the peasants’ access to the word of God."\textsuperscript{78} Whether Fernandes was sympathetic to heterodox ideas or not, André’s countrymen generally thought well of him, and in a letter dated 4 February 1539, Gonçalo Pinheiro, the Bishop of Safi, recommended André to João III, stating that André was a "very learned and virtuous man" who was "hospitable to the Portuguese" that passed through Bordeaux.\textsuperscript{79} Gouveia had extensive economic dealings with Portuguese merchants who frequented Bordeaux. In March 1542, Gouveia received 1780 ducats from Francisco Barrès, a Portuguese merchant to Anvers, with a request to pass it on to Guillaume de Malleboise, a bourgeois in La Rochelle.\textsuperscript{80} Simon de Pereyra, a ship captain, recorded an order of wine that Gouveia shipped to Antwerp on behalf of Pierre Babeiro. Gouveia had mercantile associations and correspondence with many of his countrymen. In addition to his hospitality to Portuguese guests in Bordeaux, Pinheiro noted that his French colleagues at the tribunal reported that Gouveia was of "such great severity and great example that the students progressed even more by the fear he inspired as by the effect of teaching."\textsuperscript{81}

\textsuperscript{77} Feist Hirsch, “Rui FERNANDES de Almada,” 22-23.
\textsuperscript{78} Chipps Smith, 329.
\textsuperscript{80} Gaullier, 167.
\textsuperscript{81} “Letter to the King,” cited in Bataillon, \textit{Études sur le Portugal}, 116, note 1. "homem bem docto e de vertude, estalajadeiro dos portugueses que per ali passam [...] he principal do Colegio de Bordeos e me dizem estes
Further, Pinheiro's nephews had served as an example of this effectiveness as they too had improved greatly in their time at the college.\textsuperscript{82}

Gouveia's countrymen considered him a great supporter of Portuguese interests, yet, shortly after his arrival at Bordeaux in 1534, André petitioned the Jurade to ask King François for letters of naturalization.\textsuperscript{83} In France, naturalization was available to people from all levels of society, so long as they expressed a desire to become French and remain so for their entire lives.\textsuperscript{84} Unlike the Italian city-states, upon which France based their naturalization laws, there were no "stringent conditions and high fees for becoming a citizen."\textsuperscript{85} In June 1535, the soumaire and the secretary-clerk learned of the obligation they had made to Gouveia and sent the request to the king. In January 1537, the king issued letters of naturalization to André de Gouveia. In these letters, François granted Gouveia the rights "to have, hold, accept, and possess [...] country, land, and seigneuries, each and every benefice and ecclesiastical dignity, secular and regular [...] and there to collect the fruits, profits, revenues, and salaries [...] as if he was a native originally of our kingdom."\textsuperscript{86} In this letter, the king also granted Gouveia citizenship in Bordeaux under the French monarchy. On 4 April 1537, the Jurade de Bordeaux convened at its regular hour to discuss the business and affairs of the city.\textsuperscript{87} On that day, those affairs involved André de Gouveia, then principal of the Collège de Guyenne, and their contract with him. The city had promised to obtain from the king letters of naturalization which would make Gouveia a citizen of Bordeaux. On that day, the notaire Mathieu Contat read the king’s letter that granted

\begin{itemize}
\item comissairos del rei de França que he de tanta seueridade e exenpro que os estudantes aprueitam muito mais come seu temor que com a doctrina."
\item Letter to the King, cited in Bataillon, Études sur le Portugal, 116, note 1.
\item Gaullieur, 135.
\item Wells, 51.
\item Wells, 51.
\item Matos, 145. "Lettres de naturalité accordées par François Ier à André de Gouveia."
\item Gaullieur, 549-550.
\end{itemize}
Gouveia citizenship, signed by François I.\textsuperscript{88} Contat described the condition of the letter, which included the king's seal impressed in green wax with red and green cords attached,\textsuperscript{89} as was the standard form of naturalization charters.\textsuperscript{90} The sous-maire, the Jurade, and the procureur de la ville delivered the letters to Gouveia, which he accepted.\textsuperscript{91} The procedure then required an applicant to have the Chambre des Comptes verify the charter,\textsuperscript{92} though there is no record of Gouveia verifying his letters and paying the fee for citizenship. By his acceptance, Gouveia released the Jurade from their promise to obtain the letters, as they had fulfilled it, and promised never to leave the city.\textsuperscript{93} This was not, however, to be, despite Gouveia's intention to return to the city in two years to resume his leadership of the Collège.\textsuperscript{94}

King João III summoned André de Gouveia towards the end of 1542, but he did not depart for Portugal at that time as preparations for the Real Collégio das Artes were not yet completed. It was, however, enough time for Gouveia to leave his mark at the Collège de Guyenne; a lintel stone that was installed in 1543, whose inscription invoked the name of Ausonius and recalled the glory of an ancient teacher summoned by a ruler. João III and Gouveia were able to maintain constant contact through letters that arrived on ships from Lisbon. Portuguese influence was considerable in this period due to maritime expansion and commercial growth. Portuguese educational interests in France were one component of this growth, but João III had greater ambitions for his kingdom with the establishment of a college in Portugal. Gouveia was able to give due consideration to João's request because of the Portuguese

\textsuperscript{88} Date given is as recorded in the text, under the old system.
\textsuperscript{89} Gaullieur, 550.
\textsuperscript{90} Wells, 52.
\textsuperscript{91} Gaullieur, 550.
\textsuperscript{92} Wells, 52.
\textsuperscript{93} Gaullieur, 550.
\textsuperscript{94} Gaullieur, 180. Gaullieur noted that Gouveia asked the Jurade to give him a written guarantee that they would hold his post for him upon his return. "Fragment du traité passé entre les Jurats de Bordeaux et Jehan Gélida," Gaullieur, 554-556, included the Jurade's written guarantee to Gouveia.
mercantile presence in Bordeaux which allowed him to travel to Portugal in preparation for his eventual departure, which he arranged in January 1547. In a letter dated 21 January, in which he was named as the principal of the Collège de Guyenne and a doctor of theology, Gouveia withdrew his donation of goods, furniture, and utensils to Charlotte de La Vergne. The implication is that Gouveia withdrew his promise of marriage. In this act, Gouveia severed his ties to the city of Bordeaux and returned to Portugal. It is unclear from the evidence precisely why Gouveia departed the Collège de Guyenne through which he had gained his reputation. It is possible that a plague or other contagious disease hastened his departure. Notarial records from 1546 contain numerous testaments of those who died in the epidemic. George Buchanan referred to "the outbreak of a plague that raged with great severity throughout Aquitaine," though he did not correlate Gouveia’s departure with the spread of disease. The conclusion that plague precipitated Gouveia's departure also does not account for Gouveia's letter to Fernandes expressing his desire to return to Portugal except for his uncertainty of what action his uncle would take, nor does it account for the inscription on the 1543 lintel.

Both sources were misplaced for many years. In the old archival system, Gouveia's letter to de Almada was misfiled among Diogo de Gouveia's letters. Proper attribution of the letter to André de Gouveia did not happen until 1944. Additionally, Gaullieur did not use sources

95 Gaullieur, 203-204. Minutes de Fredaigne, 279-6.
96 Gaullieur notes that Charlotte, daughter of Martin de La Vergne, married Louis de Laferrière, a knight, and president of the Parlement de Bordeaux.
97 Gaullieur, 206. In particular, Gaullieur noted that the notary Fredaigne's records as containing several examples of such testaments.
99 Gaullieur, 121. He noted the lintel, "L'entrée principale, surmontée d'une campanille," and its inscription, see note 3, but remarked that "il faut déplorer la perte." He questioned whether perhaps Jehan Gautier, a former student of Britannus' in Toulouse, had brought the lintel with him when he moved to Bordeaux with plans for the construction of new buildings at the Collège.
100 Bataillon. Études sur le Portugal. See page 111 note 2 for his discussion on the discovery of the letter's author. Bataillon provides a transcription of the sections relevant to André's appointment to the lectureship at the
located outside of Bordeaux for his research into the Collège de Guyenne. The construction of the Collège involved the acquisition of neighbouring houses in addition to the original buildings from the Collège des Arts attached to the University of Bordeaux. The final construction resulted in a parallelogram, which placed it near the modern *grand marché* of the city. The main entrance of the Collège opened onto the rue Entre-deux-Murs, which residents called "rue du Collège de Guyenne." It is here that students passed under the lintel which called them to remember Ausonius and to aspire to be like him. For nearly fifty years, students read this admonition as they entered the Collège. The lintel disappeared during the restoration of the Collège in 1602 after a large portion of it had burned. The theory is that the restorers overlooked it among other old building material. Renewed work on the Collège led to its rediscovery in 1671. Gaullieur discussed the problems with the Collège at this time, including the work by then principal, Pierre Bardin, which outlined that "le dit collège, aussi bien que la chapelle qui tombaient en ruines" had been "entièrement réparez par ses [the Jurade's] soins." Abbé Jaubert preserved a record of the stone and its engraving. The stone, having been put to practical rather than artistic uses, was lost again until 1909. The loss came about during renovations in 1777, when workers installed the stone, unconcerned or unaware of the inscription, in the floor. The Collège had again been in disrepair and the solution came when the office of administration of the Collège had to buy the hotel owned by M. de Lalande. The new location was more suitable for the needs of the Collège in a newly built neighbourhood in the

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101 Gaullieur, 105. See note 2.
102 Gaullieur, 121.
103 Bouchon, 56.
104 Bouchon, 56.
105 Gaullieur, 436.
106 Bouchon, 56.
city. The new location resulted in the abandonment of the previous one, and the loss of the lintel. Renovations were again the cause of its rediscovery in 1909 during reconstruction of a house near the grand marché of Bordeaux, the original site for the Collège. The stone had been built into the foundations of the home. The sculptor M. Minquini took the stone into his home where its historical significance became clear. The lintel is currently housed at the Musée d'Aquitaine, along with two portraits of George Buchanan, as a testament to the Collège de Guyenne which holds a place of significance and affection in the history of Bordeaux.

André de Gouveia was a teacher summoned to a royal teaching appointment, much like Ausonius in the 360s when Valentinian summoned him to tutor Gratian. When João III invited him to Portugal, Gouveia brought with him a contingent of professors from the Collège de Guyenne. During their tenure in Portugal Gouveia's colleagues were known as the bordaleses. The eight professors that travelled from Bordeaux to Coimbra were George Buchanan, João da Costa, Diogo de Teive, Arnaud Fabrice, Nicolas de Grouchy, Guillaume Guérente, Antonio Mendès, and Elie Vinet. When he recalled Gouveia's invitation at the end of his life, Buchanan recounted that Gouveia told him "that among the company who had embarked on this expedition he would not be as a sojourner among strangers, but could rather be considered as a man surrounded by relatives and familiar acquaintances." While these men were in Portugal, their identity was inseparable from Bordeaux.

The regents King João invited to teach at Coimbra all ascribed to the modus parisiensis, but there were two groups of regents, the older teachers of arts and grammar, who had come to Coimbra directly from their studies at Paris, and those who came from Bordeaux. The former

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107 Gaullieur, 520.
108 Aitken, xxi. "et in eo coetu qui eam profectionem susceperant non tam peregrinari quam inter propinquos et familiares agere existimaretur."
were called the \textit{Parisienses}, and the latter were called the \textit{Bordaleses}.\textsuperscript{109} The \textit{Parisienses} suspected the \textit{Bordaleses} of heterodoxy.\textsuperscript{110} On 9 June 1548, André de Gouveia died. As his replacement, King João appointed André's brother, Diogo de Gouveia the younger, which pleased his uncle, Diogo de Gouveia, the elder, who had had concerns about André's orthodoxy. The appointment proved troubling for the \textit{Bordaleses}, as Diogo the younger was against them and caused chaos at the College of Arts. In light of the fighting, João removed Diogo the younger, but the damage had been done, and three of the \textit{Bordaleses} were called before the Portuguese Inquisitorial court.\textsuperscript{111} João da Costa, Diogo de Teive, and George Buchanan, three of the most illustrious professors at the College, stood trial for accusations of heresy. The loss of these three professors and the commotion that ensued in trying to replace them led João to grant the Jesuits leadership of the College in 1555.

In an account of his life, given as a part of his first defense before the Portuguese Inquisition, George Buchanan recounted how he arrived at his post at the Collège de Guyenne in Bordeaux.\textsuperscript{112} The spread of Lutheran ideas had reached Scotland and, in 1539, there was a judicial investigation into those ideas, about which Buchanan stated he "had apprehensions for my own safety on several accounts."\textsuperscript{113} These concerns emerged from an incident between himself and a Franciscan regarding how the Scottish courts handled capital cases, particularly those related to heresy. Buchanan took issue with condemnations that resulted from evidence given by undisclosed witnesses. The Franciscan in question took exception to Buchanan's position and "sowed among the populace many seeds of suspicion against me."\textsuperscript{114} This,

\textsuperscript{109} Brandão and Lopes, 204. George Buchanan's brother, Patrick and Antonio Mendes joined the group from Bordeaux, though neither of them had taught there.
\textsuperscript{110} Brandão and Lopes, 205.
\textsuperscript{111} Brandão and Lopes, 205.
\textsuperscript{112} Aitken, 11.
\textsuperscript{113} Aitken, 3. "mihi timuisse ob has causas."
\textsuperscript{114} Aitken, 3. "multa de me in vulgus suspitiose seminabat."
however, was not the end of Buchanan's trouble with the Franciscans. King James V compelled him to write a polemical poem against the Franciscans for what the king believed was their role in a conspiracy against him. In the poem, Buchanan described a dream in which Saint Francis appeared to him and invited him to join the Franciscans. Some of the passages in the poem offended the Franciscans, who in Buchanan's mind "displayed considerably more resentment than was becoming for Fathers [...] in respect of so trivial an offense" and who had so little cause instead used religion as "a weapon they were wont to brandish against all to whom they were ill disposed." What ensued was a dramatic tale where the Franciscans "excited against me a noble woman" who was also the king's mistress, who learned that Buchanan admonished a sick friend to eat meat. All of this led to an investigation of Buchanan. The king encouraged him to leave Scotland as a religious refugee, but also tasked him with gathering information about any possible conspiracies against him on the part of the English. He spent his time in England at various meetings, but rumours of war led him to depart for Paris. In September of 1539, Buchanan set out for Bordeaux "because at that time most Scottish and English ships used to assemble at that port." Buchanan's plan had been to spend the winter in Bordeaux and await a message from King James V that would allow him to return to Scotland. While he waited for that message, Buchanan accepted a job offer from André de Gouveia at the Collège de Guyenne.

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115 Aitken, 5. For Latin see pg. 2 "me iussit atque etiam coegit."
116 Aitken, xvii.
117 Aitken, xvii.
118 Aitken, 7.
119 Aitken, 9.
120 Aitken, 11. "Burdegalam deinde Septembri profectus sum quod per id tempus plurimae naves Scotorum et Anglorum convenire illuc soleant."
121 Aitken, 11. "interim conditionem ab Andrea Goveano accepi."
Buchanan was born 1 February 1506 "in a country farm-house situated near the river Blane in Lennox, a shire of Scotland." In his autobiography, which he penned in 1580, he described his lineage from "a family noted for its length of pedigree rather than its abundance of possessions." His father, while a nobleman, died poor and left his wife to care for their eight children. Buchanan proved a clever child, which led his uncle to send him to Paris. Two years later, his uncle died and Buchanan himself was ill, which forced his return to Scotland. After he regained his health, Buchanan was "eager to learn the art of war" so "he sought the camp along with some French reinforcements who had then landed in Scotland." The intended invasion of England by the Regent Albany did not go well and Buchanan spent the winter in the highlands after a poor campaign and fell ill once again. After his military endeavours, Buchanan resumed his studies at St. Andrews under the tutelage of John Mair, a native of Gleghornie near Haddington, who had received his Master of Arts at the Collège de Sainte Barbe in Paris and later pursued theological studies under Jan Standonck at the Collège de Montaigu where he also taught logic. While Mair taught Buchanan, he was serving as the regent and principal of the University of Glasgow (1518-1523), after which he went to the University of Saint Andrew. Buchanan returned to Paris in 1524, as a student of Mair's, but soon began to subscribe to Lutheran views on religion. After two years of what he described as a "struggle with adverse fortune," he received a position teaching grammar at the Collège de Sainte-

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122 Aitken, xv.
123 Aitken, xv. "familia magis vestusta quam opulenta."
124 Aitken, xv. "intra biennium avunculo morto, et ipse gravi morbo correptus, ac undique inopia circumventus, redire ad suos est coactus."
125 Aiken, xv. "Cum in patria veletudini curandae prope annum dedisset, cum auxiliis Gallorum, qui tum in Scotiam appulerant, studio rei miliataris cognoscendae in castra est profectus."
126 Aitken, xv.
127 Farge, Biographical Register, 304-305.
128 Farge, Biographical Register, 306.
His talent as a teacher caught the eye of Gilbert Kennedy, the Earl of Cassilis, who became his patron for five years during which time they returned to Scotland. At the end of his tenure with the Cassilis family, Buchanan intended to return to Paris, but James V detained him and appointed him as tutor to his son James Stewart, half-brother of Mary Queen of Scots and the half uncle of the future James VI/I.

While Buchanan was indeed a leading figure in the Scottish Renaissance and Reformation, the French Renaissance shaped him as a student and as an intellectual. His education, friendships, scholarship, religion, and culture absorbed and reflected his ties to France over the time he spent in France, first as a student at Paris (1520-22, 1525-35), and later as a teacher in Bordeaux (1539-43), Coimbra (1547-1550), and Paris (1552-1560). Buchanan may not have intended to teach when he set out for Bordeaux, but he embraced the challenge and became a regent and a private tutor to Michel de Montaigne. Buchanan was an accomplished poet and playwright. During his three-year tenure at the Collège de Guyenne, "he wrote four tragedies, afterwards published on favourable opportunities." The purpose of these plays was "in obedience to the custom of the school which required a play every year in the hope that by acting in such plays the youth of Bordeaux might be weaned from the allegories then so very popular in France and recalled as far as possible to imitate the models of the ancients." Montaigne wrote of having performed in Buchanan's plays, often acting in the chief roles. Many of Buchanan's plays were modern plays modelled after ancient ones, but one play spoke to

\[ \text{Aitken, xvii. "ac biennium fere cum iniquitate fortuna colluctatus, tandem in Collegium Barbaranum accitus, prope triennium classi grammaticam discentium praefuit."} \]
\[ \text{Montaigne, *The Complete Essays*, 195.} \]
\[ \text{Aitken, xix. "quo tempore scripsit quatuor tragoedias, quae postea per occasiones fuerunt evulgatae."} \]
\[ \text{Aitkens, xxi. "Eas enim ut consuetudini scholae satisfaceret, quae per annos singulos singulas poscebat fabulas, conscriperat: ut earum actione iuventutem ab allegoriis, quibus tum Gallia vehementer se oblectabat, at imitationem veterum qua posset retraheret."} \]
\[ \text{Montaigne, *The Complete Essays*, 198.} \]
modern concerns, in particular, the issues surrounding forced claustrofication of children by their parents. He cited one specific incident as the inspiration for his play: M. de Mirambeau used a convent as a way to circumvent his daughters' inheritance from their mother. These girls did not want to join the convent and, according to Buchanan, were suing their father before the Parlement of Bordeaux.\textsuperscript{135}

Buchanan's trial before the Portuguese Inquisition addressed concerns regarding his theological beliefs and teachings which included his time in Bordeaux and his interactions there. In the discussion concerning his views on free-will, Buchanan cited a conversation he had with Joam Pinhero, an old friend whom he met with in Bordeaux after his recent profession as a Dominican in Toulouse. In response to Pinheiro's complaints about being "clad less richly than he wished,"\textsuperscript{136} a perspective which Buchanan interpreted as in line with Pinheiro's character, Buchanan replied with what he considered a jest regarding the state of Pinheiro's vestments, one that Buchanan argued was in line with what would be said among friends and "what custom allows to be said publicly in France."\textsuperscript{137} Because Buchanan was unable to remember the specifics of what he had said to Pinheiro, he provided an example of what he termed "French freedom of speech."\textsuperscript{138} In this instance, he recounted a story of an interaction between himself and "a troublesome fellow."\textsuperscript{139} who asked him "who first made monks?"\textsuperscript{140} To this Buchanan replied: "tonsor et vestiarius," that is, the barber and the tailor.\textsuperscript{141} Buchanan's defense of his behaviour is that "nowhere in France are men wont to be offended by this kind of talk."\textsuperscript{142}

\textsuperscript{135} Aitken, 15.
\textsuperscript{136} Aitken, 13. "quod aegre ferret se minus laute quam volebat vestitum conspici."
\textsuperscript{137} Aitken, 13. "Quid autem dixerim non menimi certe nihil opinor me dixisse quod non soleat in Gallia vulgo dici, ac possit libere ubique inter amicos."
\textsuperscript{138} Aitken, 15. "Gallicae libertatis."
\textsuperscript{139} Aitken, 13. "Disputandi"
\textsuperscript{140} Aitken, 15. "quis fecit primus monachos?"
\textsuperscript{141} Aitken, 15.
\textsuperscript{142} Aitken, 15. "in Gallia nusquam homines huiuscemodi verbis offendi solere."
Theological questions were a part of Buchanan's reflection. He confessed that he had several questions on points that he read in Augustine's *On Christian Doctrine* while he was in Scotland. When he asked a Dominican friar who he deemed was of high reputation, he found that the friar's answers left him unsettled, first by the friar's dismissive demeanour, second by the friar's lack of answer, and third by the friar's public shaming of Buchanan. In his first defence before the Inquisition, Buchanan stated that the questions he had regarding Augustine continued in his mind, but that he kept silent until "I disclosed [them] to André de Gouveia during leisure at the Easter holidays before I communicated." Gouveia's answer comforted Buchanan, as did the writings of Rochester and Clichtoveus. Additionally, Buchanan found "further satisfaction ... by meetings of learned men at Paris and also at Bordeaux." Throughout Buchanan's career, he found himself in the company of wealthy and powerful people. In France, this included Gilbert Kennedy, the Earl of Cassilis, for whom Buchanan edited an edition of Thomas Linacre's *De emendata structura Latini*. At the summons of Charles du Cossé, the Comte de Brissac, Buchanan travelled to Italy and tutored his son Timoléon from c. 1555 to 1560. During this time he met Montaigne, his former student, whom he informed that "he was writing a book on educating children and was taking [Montaigne's] education as his model."

Before he departed for Portugal, Buchanan negotiated with João III concerning his previous religious troubles in Scotland. His early career in Scotland consisted of tutoring James Stewart. Because of his own decisions and his family's position, Buchanan had enemies

143 Aitken, 19.
144 Aitken, 19. "Eam haesitationem meam per otium feriis paschalibus antequam communicarem ad And. Goveanum retulli."
148 Aitken, xxii. Buchanan wrote "yet before he left France he had stipulated with the King of Portugal that his offence should be overlooked." The Latin reads "antequam e Galliis exisset, apud Lusitaniae regem excusandum curavit."
in Scotland he could not escape. Buchanan referred to the Scottish king’s mistress, presumably Lady Lochleven, née Margaret Erskine, the mother of the Regent Moray by James V, in his discussion concerning his troubles with the Franciscans. This woman, who "was already angry with me on her own account," spread slanderous rumours about Buchanan, for which Buchanan sued her for slander before the local bishop, who, due to the king's absence, would not render a verdict. Being in France did not shelter Buchanan from his religious troubles in Scotland, as the Cardinal Betoun wrote to the Archbishop of Bordeaux concerning Buchanan's arrest, but, according to Buchanan, "by good luck the letter came into the hands of [his] closest friends" instead. Buchanan's reference to Cardinal Betoun underplayed the role of the Erskine family, which was less important to him when he wrote his autobiography in 1579. In his second defense, Buchanan lamented that he was now being assailed by the most important factions. Moreover, as I belong to a family not particularly rich, but at least well-known in party strife, it was not only my personal quarrels that burdened me, but I was also assailed by the common enemies of my family. How bitter the hatred that has pursued my family on the part of his family who now is Regent in Scotland.

That Buchanan fled to Bordeaux to escape Cardinal Betoun's presence in Paris is clear from Diogo de Gouveia's testimony, who stated that "the Cardinal of Scotland, who was ambassador here, wished to have him captured; but another Scotsman saved him. And from here he went to

\[149\] Aitken, 52.
\[150\] Aitken, 5. "in me inflammant iam antea sua sponte iratam."
\[151\] Aitken, 57.
\[152\] Aitken, xxi. "Cardinalis etiam de eo comprehendendo ad Archiepiscopum Burdegalenem literas misit: sed eas forte fortuna Buchanani amantissimis dederat."
\[153\] Aitken, 57.
\[154\] Aitken, 39. "Praeterea cum ego e familia non adeo opulenta sim sed certe nota et factiosa, non solum mea privata odia in me incubuerunt sed ab inimicis etiam familie communibus oppugnabar. Quanto autem odio prosequebatur meam familiarium eius familia qui nunc est prorex in Scotia."
Bordeaux, and from there to Portugal. Buchanan taught in Bordeaux for only three years, but that time had a profound impact on him.

Throughout his defense before the tribunal, Buchanan referred to France as a place where he felt connected. He defended his position in the controversy with the Franciscans, stating: "I had just returned from France and upheld French rather than Scottish customs." He defended his use of humour as a matter of acceptable French custom as "I think I said nothing which goes beyond what custom allows to be said publicly in France." At the conclusion of his second defense, Buchanan argued that his behaviour was acceptable and that he would argue so before French judges. Clearly, Buchanan sought a path to end the inquisitional proceedings, but his affinity and affiliation for France, and more specifically Bordeaux, were strongly evident.

Buchanan was well connected to his colleagues and maintained his friendship with Jehan Gelida until the latter's death in 1556, and he corresponded with Elie Vinet long after his return to Scotland in 1560 until the end of his own life. There are three extant letters between the two men, dated 17 April 1581, 9 June 1581, and 19 September 1581. Their correspondence prior to this was regular, but dependent on the merchant ships that travelled between Scotland and Bordeaux, with letters exchanged annually. They delighted in each other's well-being. In the 17 April letter, Buchanan conveyed to Vinet that he rejoiced about what he had heard of Vinet's state of affairs. Vinet in return praised Buchanan for his work at St. Andrews and his "good,

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155 See Aitken 118 and "Buchanan na Inquisição," in Archivo Historico Portuguez, Vol. IV - Anno de 1906 (Lisbon, 1906), 244.
156 Aitken,3. "Nam cum e Gallia tum venirem ac magis Gallicos quam nostrorum mores tenerem."
157 Aitken, 13.
158 Aitken, 43.
159 Desgraves, Elie Vinet, 142-144.
160 Desgraves, Elie Vinet, 142. See note 1.
161 Desgraves, Elie Vinet, 142. "Cum ex mercatoribus nostris, qui istinc veniunt, de statu rerum tuarum audio, gaudeo mehercule."
honest, and learned" teaching there. Buchanan and Vinet had intellectual interests that bound them; but more importantly, they had a friendship forged at the Collège de Guyenne. It is noteworthy that Buchanan was a leading figure in the Scottish Reformation while Vinet's religious affiliation did not raise questions in Bordeaux.

While connections to colleagues induced Buchanan to leave Bordeaux for Coimbra, connections to the city and French customs compelled Jehan Gelida to refuse Gouveia's invitation to join the group going to Portugal. When Gouveia began conversations with King João III about the Collegio Real das Artes, the Collège required leadership. The city and Gouveia selected Gelida, originally from Valencia, Spain, who had worked with Gouveia at Sainte-Barbe. His early education was at Valencia, but he moved to France to pursue a liberal arts education. During his tenure in Paris he was known for his teaching on Aristotle, though he relied on his domestic student, Guillaume Postel, who knew Greek better than he did, to prepare his lectures. He taught at Sainte-Barbe and later at Cardinal Lemoine, which is where he was teaching when Gouveia invited him to Guyenne as professor of philosophy. Gelida arrived at the Collège in 1536 when Joachim Polite departed for Italy and Robert Britannus left the Collège due to ongoing illness. Gelida enhanced the growing reputation of the Collège, which Britannus described as already becoming famous in a letter to Antoine Gérontius dated 18 December 1536. His intention, at that time, had been to do a favour for a friend. He did not remain long and soon returned to Paris. Gelida's return to Bordeaux was under more permanent circumstances. On 6 January 1544, the Jurade contracted Gelida to assume supervision of the Collège de Guyenne, on the condition that Gouveia was welcome to resume

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163 Le Coultre, 9.
164 Gaullieur, 125.
165 Gaullieur, 125.
166 Gaullieur, 127.
his post there at any time. The Jurade gave Gelida eight months to arrange his affairs in Paris and to replace the regents Gouveia would take with him to Portugal. These conditions gave Gelida sufficient time to establish himself as the principal of Guyenne. While these arrangements were in place from 1544, Gouveia made only a short visit to Portugal, and returned to the Collège and Gelida remained as a regent at the Collège. When Gouveia finally departed in 1547, he invited Gelida to join them, but he refused. Gelida's reason for refusing Gouveia's invitation to Portugal was that he had become accustomed to French ways. In January 1548, Gelida received his lettres de naturalité from King Henri II. These letters acknowledged Gelida's residence in the city, but also his diligence therein, and granted him the privilege to continue living in the city, he and his descendants, in prosperity and freedom. Iacobus Businus described Gelida as a Spaniard accustomed to French ways. Gelida's decision to stay in Bordeaux was also in part that he was married. Remaining, however, provided him with a settled life in the city.

In the wake of Gouveia's departure, the Jurade wrote to Gelida and conferred on him the position of principal. Gouveia had left his legacy at the Collège to his brother Antoine, who disagreed with his brother on numerous philosophical and religious matters. Antoine refused

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167 Gaullieur, 554-555. The first pages of the contract were lost in a fire in the Hotel de Ville in 1862. Gaullieur noted that while the opening comments are absent, the tone of the contract is clear: the Jurade was loath to see Gouveia depart, but were pleased to have Gelida come as his replacement, though they were willing to open the position to Gouveia again should he wish to return. "Et ont déclaré les ditz soubz maire et jurats que le dit de Gouvea demeurera en liberté, sa vie durant, tant que bon luy semblera, de pouvoir retourner au dit colliege, y tenir et exercer le dit esta de principal, sans que le dit de Gelida, ne aultre, luy puisse bailler empêchemnt, ne se dire chef du dit colliege sa vie durant; et pour plus grande seureté de tout ce que dessue les dits de Gouvea et Gelida on promiz, moyennant serme aux Saintz évangiles de nostre Seigneur, le tenir, garder et accomplir en la manièere que dit est."

168 Gaullieur, 181.


170 "Lettre de naturality ...Gelida," 173-174.


172 Gaullieur, 217-218.
the position offered and the Jurade pushed for Gelida to assume the position. On 7 November 1547, the Jurade struck a new agreement with Gelida which granted him full authority over the Collège, whose "bâtiments [...] étoient tombés en ruine" and authorised him to bring with him "plusieurs professeurs scavans et avec lequel les jurats traitèrent." In this position, Gelida faced numerous challenges, such as plague, the revolt of 1548, and the financial troubles the city faced as a result. Despite this, under Gelida's leadership the Collège flourished with erudite teachers and a growing student population. Ramasaeus and Horstanus, regents who joined the faculty in 1548 and 1547 respectively, were displeased with their payments and requested increases from Gelida, who granted them. The financial difficulties Gelida faced, however, were as much personal as they were professional. In an arrêt dated 21 April 1551, the Parlement de Bordeaux declared the mayor of Bordeaux responsible for Gelida's destitution. Upon Gelida's death in 1556, when a new plague struck the city, he left his wife, Catherine Hortega and four-year-old daughter destitute, and his widow was obligated to pay her husband's debts. On 9 March 1556, Hortega sold some of the furniture she received on Gelida's death to Jehan Cardon for 100 livres. The sale of furniture provided only a short respite in the face of debt. On 1 November 1558, Hortega contracted with the bookseller, Guillaume Botier, to sell Gelida's books. In a marginal note, the notary Pierre Castaigne, recorded that the contract had

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173 Gaullieur, 218.
174 Gaullieur, 219.
175 Businus, Joannis Gelidae Epistolae, xli. In this letter to his friend Jehan Lataste, Gelida described the growing student numbers, "In gymmasio frequens juvenum turba: frequentissima ineunte vere expectamus."
176 Registre du Clerc de Ville de Bordeaux," in Archives Historiques de la Département de la Gironde (Bordeaux: Feret et Fils, 1911), 303. The registre is a lengthy document, which contained a total of 204 sheets of paper. The original folio title was "Arestz de la Court concernant les affayres de la ville." The document is available in its entirety. The relevant text here is sub-titled "Du principal du collège," and reads "Arrest faict le vingt-huitiesme d'apvril 1551, par lequel la destitution du principal du collège de Guyenne appartient aux mère juratz."
177 Businus, n.p. Businus discussed Gelida's response to a serious plague in the city in 1555 and his departure from the city with his wife and their four-year-old daughter.
178 Gaullieur, 244.
been fulfilled on 14 September 1559 because "ladicte Dortega a reçu presentement ladict somme et s'en est tenue pour contente."\(^{180}\)

Funds for the Collège came from the Jurade, which granted them to the principal, who in turn managed the school. This included hiring regents, purchasing food and supplies, as well as paying himself. The model followed the same system used when cities hired various contractors.\(^{181}\) When the Collège hired Jehan de Tartas, they gave him responsibility for the "stipendies, gages et sallayres et pour l'education, nourriture et entretenement des regens et lecteurs pubлиques."\(^{182}\) They granted him 500 *livres tournois* for this task, on the assumption that he would raise the additional funds through private donations and tuition fees. When Gouveia assumed leadership of the Collège, the amount he received increased to 1000 *livres tournois*, the same amount granted to Gelida when he temporarily assumed the role of principal for Gouveia in 1546.\(^{183}\) When Gelida became the full principal in 1548, the amount increased to 1200 *livres tournois*, but after the restoration of funding, Gelida had to manage with only 1000 *livres tournois*. The shortfall created financial hardship for Gelida who prioritized the needs of the Collège over his own. When he appealed to the king in 1549, his desire was to ensure that the Collège continue to be "l'un des meilleurs du Royaume."\(^{184}\) As the principal, Gelida was instrumental in maintaining the Collège de Guyenne in the wake of Gouveia's departure and the ensuing civic crises. That he personally supported the needs of the Collège, to the extent that he became destitute, demonstrates that Gelida had integrated himself into the civic fabric of Bordeaux. This is why his biographer, Iacobus Businus, praised him in his role as principal,

\(^{180}\) "Vente de livres à Guillaume Botier par Catherine de Hortega, veuve de Jean de Gelida, ancien principal du collège de Guyenne," in *Archives Historiques de la Gironde* Vol. 23 (Bordeaux: G. Gounouilhou, 1883), 520.
\(^{182}\) "Projet de Traité entre Maitre Jehan de Tartas et le Jurats de Bordeaux," in Gaullieur, 33.
\(^{183}\) "Fragment du traité passé entre les Jurats de Bordeaux et Jehan Gélica,' in Gaullieur, 554.
\(^{184}\) Gaullieur, 277.
calling him great. While he never attained the wealth and fame some of his colleagues achieved, Gelida the Spaniard adopted a French identity that was tied to his experiences in France, but, more importantly, to his role and life in Bordeaux.

One of the names most closely associated with the Collège de Guyenne is Elie Vinet. Born in 1509 in the village of the Vinets, near Barbezieux, Vinet arrived at the Collège de Guyenne in 1539 in response to Gouveia's invitation to teach. From 1539-1542 he taught at the Collège, at which point, due to an ongoing illness, he departed for Angoulême and stayed with François de Saint-Gelais. His respite was productive as he prepared an edition of Théognis de Mégarée. From 1542 to 1547, Vinet wrote textual editions and lectures, all of which were designed to serve the regents at Guyenne. Vinet returned to Bordeaux in 1545 as he noted in the dedicatory letter to Louis de Saint-Gelais, the seigneur de Lansac, to whom he dedicated his French translation of Einhard's *La Vie de Charlemagne*. In 1547, Vinet resumed his post, teaching at Bordeaux, though soon departed for Coimbra with Gouveia and six other colleagues. Vinet returned to Bordeaux, a broken city in the wake of the 1548 revolt, in 1549. Again, Vinet departed soon after his arrival and spent the next year in Paris, where he received numerous letters from Jehan Gelida, who sought his hasty return to Bordeaux to resume teaching at the Collège. The offer came with a powerful lure: Louis de Saint-Gelais wanted to entrust the education of his son to Vinet, but Vinet declined and instead pursued his work in producing a critical edition of Ausonius, which he published in 1551. When Gelida died in 1556, the Jurade elected Vinet as the principal, noting the election had passed on 22 February of that year.

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185 Businus, np.
Jurade wanted the election to be confirmed quickly, which the Parlement did on 6 March, 1556.\textsuperscript{191} While Vinet had only been in the classroom for a relatively short period in his seventeen years of association with the Collège, he had the respect of not only his colleagues, but also the civic leaders who managed it. His tenure was short-lived, however, as the royal court intervened in Bordeaux's affairs and appointed Nicholas Hirigaray a doctor of theology and professor of philosophy from the Collège de Lisieux.\textsuperscript{192} Initially, the Jurade resisted Hirigaray's appointment, but eventually conceded and Vinet again left Bordeaux. During his sojourn, Vinet continued to write and returned to Bordeaux in 1562, at the invitation of the Jurade to resume his position at the Collège, on the condition that he would maintain "residence continuelle audict College, duquel ne se pouua absenter sans l'esprés congé dediczt sieurs maire et juratz et à peu de jour et sans grande et légale excuse."\textsuperscript{193} Vinet assumed leadership of a Collège, but it was a shadow of its former self. There were now only six regents, where there had been eighteen under Gouveia.\textsuperscript{194} He faced the challenges of religious upheaval in the city and the fiscal limitations imposed by the king's response to the 1548 revolt. Despite this, Vinet integrated into the civic life of Bordeaux. He served as a teacher, principal, editor, author, and citizen of Bordeaux. He was "un des plus doctes personnages de son temps et contribua par ses écrits personnels et ses éditions de texte [...] au renom du Collège de Guyenne."\textsuperscript{195} While he spent many years away from the Collège engaged in various writing projects and care for his health, the draw of Bordeaux was too strong for Elie Vinet to resist. When he died, members of the Parlement, the University of Bordeaux, the Collège, and other erudites and city officials grieved

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{191} "Confirmation de l'élection de Hélie Vinet comme principal du collège de Guyenne," 232.
\item \textsuperscript{192} Desgraves, \textit{Elie Vinet}, 10. See note 77.
\item \textsuperscript{193} "Contrat passé entre les jurats et Elie Vinet," 26.
\item \textsuperscript{194} Desgraves, \textit{Elie Vinet}, 15.
\item \textsuperscript{195} Desgraves, \textit{La Vie Intellectuelle de Bordeaux}, 27.
\end{itemize}
deeply, and at Saint Eloi, the unofficial church of the city officials, they entombed him and marked his grave with epitaphs in Greek, Latin, and French.\textsuperscript{196}

The Collège de Guyenne faced many troubles under Vinet's leadership, religious contentions being the greatest of these, but it continued to operate and attract both regents and students. Other colleges faced economic hardships, shrinking faculty, and declining enrolment. Throughout his study of colleges established in the first half of the sixteenth century, George Huppert identified ambitious cities that were keen to found colleges and noted that each of them experienced a degree of exhaustion in the latter part of the period.\textsuperscript{197} Huppert argued that the main reason for the failure of these provincial schools was their very nature as impermanent organizations, whose funding depended on unendowed funds from the municipal budget and annual contracts which meant there were many jobs available, but no permanent positions for teachers. When the pool of candidates dried up, so too did the college's ability to function.\textsuperscript{198} The Collège de Guyenne, however, managed to preserve its municipal funding, and continually attracted new teachers, while sustaining many teachers for years. Vinet himself was connected to the Collège de Guyenne for over forty years.

Vinet advocated for the success of the Collège. One of the greatest barriers to this success was the city's lack of a publishing house, which meant that regents at the Collège had to publish their work outside of Bordeaux. While this concern had immediate application to the Collège, it also had implications for civic advancement. In a letter to Pierre Daniel, a lawyer in the Parlement de Bordeaux, Vinet expressed his concern: "Nous n'auons en ceste ville moien

\textsuperscript{196} Gaullieur, 368-69. Gaullieur also noted that a small street in Bordeaux bears Vinet's name. See page 137. It is a small side street, along which is housed Vinet Square, a vertical garden, which opened in 2005. See \url{http://www.petit-patrimoine.com/fiche-petit-patrimoine.php?id_pp=33063_15}.


\textsuperscript{198} Huppert, "Ruined Schools," 60.
d'inprimeur autre chose que pardons et edictz, encore n'i faisons nous rien qui vailhe. Il ne se trouve plus de nos *Antiquités de Bourdeaux*, et si ne les pouuvons reimprimer." Vinet and Daniel maintained correspondence for at least ten years. In a letter dated 15 February 1566, Vinet wrote to Daniel and informed him that he wanted "S. Jorry," whom Desgraves identified as Pierre du Faur de Saint-Jorrie, Petrus Faber (1540-1600), to find a publisher for an edition of Sidonius he had corrected. Like Vinet, Daniel had published an edition of Suetonius in 1556; Daniel also provided Vinet with some of Ausonius' epitaphs, for which Vinet expressed his gratitude in a letter dated 20 July 1567. The two men shared intellectual interests, as is evident in their Latin and French letters, which aligned in their desire to generate publications in Bordeaux. Vinet's concern for the lack of a publisher in Bordeaux extended beyond discontent expressed in letters. He took action to ensure the publishing needs of the Collège were met, and he also helped one regent obtain Bordelais citizenship.

Being a master at the Collège was a gateway to the bourgeoisie. In 1572, Bordeaux granted Simon Millanges letters granting him the status of bourgeois in the city. Prior to the opening of Millanges' publishing house, publications in Bordeaux were poor and not well circulated, largely due to the instability of the city's printing trade. The first printing press opened in Bordeaux in 1486 when the Jurade allowed Michel Svierler, a German, to establish himself as a bookseller, but the relationship between Svierler and Bordeaux was cancelled the following year. The next bookseller was a Swabian named Jean Walther, who did not publish

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200 Louis Desgraves compiled forty-six letters of Vinet's. He noted that the letters are a small section of a much larger corpus. Some of those letters are no longer extant. The collection Desgraves provided informed his biography of Vinet with a particular focus on how he prepared textual editions and his relationship with other humanists. See Desgraves, *Elie Vinet*, 99-100 for prefatory comments on the letters.
any volumes in Bordeaux.\textsuperscript{204} Evidence suggests that on 14 October 1514, Jean Baudouin rented the press from Pierre David, who was a prebend of Sainte-Croix and a beneficiary of Saint-Michel. Further evidence suggests that Saint-André Cathedral also had a printing press in 1508.\textsuperscript{205} The first permanent printer in Bordeaux was Gaspard Philippe, a Parisian printer, beginning in 1517.\textsuperscript{206} He arrived in Bordeaux with tools for the trade, which consisted of "caractères gothiques, de lettres ornées, des bandeaux et de gravures sur bois assez usagés."\textsuperscript{207} While Philippe was an authorised printer, his workshop produced only a few rare volumes, including the medical treatise, \textit{La Summa} with commentary by Gabriel Taréga, a doctor in the city as well as a regent in the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Bordeaux.\textsuperscript{208} Prior to the arrival of the printing press, Bordeaux had numerous scribes located at the churches Saint-André, Sainte-Croix, and Saint-Seurin, and it was one of these scribes, Jean de Boulaguet, who received one \textit{écu soleil} for a transcription of \textit{Le Livre des Coutumes} on 16 March 1520.\textsuperscript{209} Jean Guyart succeeded Philippe and produced a printed edition of \textit{Les coutumes generalles dela ville de Bourdeaulx} in 1527.\textsuperscript{210} Guyart expanded book production in Bordeaux, though much of his output consisted of books pertaining to Bordeaux. François Morpain became the city's printer in 1542. When he began printing, he implemented the use of Roman characters instead of the Gothic ones. On Morpain's death in 1563, his widow assumed responsibility for the workshop until her death in 1570, at which point Pierre de Ladime became the city's printer. The Morpains and de Ladime produced few volumes. The absence of a dependable publisher in the city was problematic for the regents at the Collège de Guyenne, though when need arose Vinet employed...
both François Morpain and his widow as publishers for his work. With these few exceptions, the regents at Guyenne sent their work to publishers in Lyons, Toulouse, Paris, Poitiers, and Antwerp. Finally, in 1572, publication in Bordeaux became a major industry under Simon Millanges.

The earliest printers in France endured financial insecurity and generally operated as itinerant printers, stopping in one city or town to print a few items, and then moving on to the next location. The establishment of a permanent printing house depended on the educational, commercial, and civic demands of cities. In the cities that did not have universities, such as Rouen and Lyon, merchants, not scholars, expanded the printing and publishing trade. By extension, printers were members of the university community, a position they embraced, and, in Bordeaux, fought to maintain in the face of municipal demands that they perform the night watch in the eighteenth century. The printers received a special status, particularly in Paris and Bordeaux, where statutes from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century articulated that printers, booksellers, and binders were part of the corps de l’université, which distinguished them from other artisans and gave them special rights, privileges, and freedoms. In Bordeaux, the printers’ guild participated in town processions, immediately following the university faculty, and ahead of all other guilds. Printing became a specialized position, with special privileges beyond those received by other artisan guilds. When religious conflict exploded and concern arose over the use of print in the dissemination of heresy, printers were not themselves under

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211 In 1554, Vinet published an edition of Psellus’ De Arithmetica with François Morpain. For full entry see Desgraves, Bibliographie Bordelaise, 20. He published Saintes et Barbezieus in 1568 with the widow Morpain. See Desgraves, Bibliographie Bordelaise, 22 for full entry. In 1571 he published a revised edition under the title L’Antiquité de Saintes with Pierre Ladime. See Desgraves, Bibliographie Bordelaise, 26 for full entry.


213 McLeod, 11.

214 McLeod, 13.

215 McLeod, 20.
suspicion, but rather their patrons and the authors, whose texts they printed, though in many
cases, this resulted in anonymity for those who were convicted of heresy, as the courts recorded
the names of the patrons and authors, and simply listed the printers and booksellers as clients of
the guilty parties.\textsuperscript{216} The intellectual, religious, and civic roles of printers were significant, but
the task that they performed depended on the understanding of the term "printer." The term
"print" has numerous meanings. In Latin, there are two primary words to denote those involved
in producing a book: Chalcographus, that is an engraver, and Typographus, which is a printer.
In French, the word is rendered imprimerie. Classical writers such as Cicero, Pliny, Livy, Ovid,
Quintilian, and others, used the term print in reference to a physical imprint, such as a dog's paw
print, or the print left by a cart-wheel, but also for ephemera, such as "something printed in the
mind; or printed in memory."\textsuperscript{217}

In the sixteenth century, a "printer" was a manufacturer of books.\textsuperscript{218} The proliferation of
books across Europe resulted in dependence on printers. When publishers read books, they
would often seek to print them right away. For example, when Johan Froben read some of
Luther's writings he was so enthusiastic that he "reprinted them at once" and "sent 600 copies to
France and Spain."\textsuperscript{219} In France, printers required a royal privilège, which granted permission to
publish. The privilège, while granting permission, also gave a publisher the monopoly on the
production and sale of certain works. It also blocked other publishers from printing works
published under the privilège. Despite the system, a lack of legal enforcement meant that people
often republished works that interested them, regardless of the privilège and permission from the

\textsuperscript{216} McLeod, 26.
\textsuperscript{217} David McKitterick, \textit{Print, Manuscript, and the Search for Order, 1450-1830} (Cambridge: Cambridge University
\textsuperscript{218} McKitterick, 26.
\textsuperscript{219} Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, “The Advent of Printing and the Problem of the Renaissance,” \textit{Past and Present} 45
original printer.  Étienne Dolet jeopardized his friendship with François Rabelais in 1542 when he published an unedited version of Rabelais’ works. The censors from the Faculty of Theology at the University of Paris had reviewed his books and instructed him to remove certain offensive passages from his books, which they deemed as Protestant. Rabelais followed their instructions and then withdrew to the Abbey of St. Maur des Fossés. Dolet reprinted some of Rabelais’ original, unmodified texts, which included an introduction that claimed the author had edited and improved the text. Printers lived in between the intellectual and artisanal worlds. In some instances, they were scholars in their own right, who published their own texts, and in many instances, authors depended on them to edit their work before publication.

At Vinet’s encouragement, Millanges purchased printing equipment from Pierre Haultin, a Protestant publisher from La Rochelle on 17 June 1572. Millanges came from Vert, in the Limousin, and was skilled in "la langue latine, la langue grecque à la perfection, la rhétorique et la poésie," which served him well in his fifty-year publishing career. While Millanges’ transition from regent to publisher was a loss for the Collège, as Millanges had been a skilled grammarian and teacher, it was a major gain for the city which had suffered in intellectual production for a lack of a local erudite publishing house. The notary Pierre Themer recorded the agreement between Haultin and Millanges for which Vinet and Pierre Claverie, both regents at the Collège served as witnesses. The introduction of a reputable publisher in Bordeaux was significant for the Collège as it offered them a local printing option. In fact, the first book from Millanges’ press was Vinet’s Narbonensium Votum in 1572. Until his death in 1587, Vinet

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221 Desgraves, Bibliographie Bordelaise, 6.
222 Gaullieur, 304.
223 Gaullieur, 304.
224 See Desgraves Bibliographie Bordelaise, 29 for publication information.
published fourteen books with Millanges, including original works, commentaries, and editions of classical texts.\footnote{225}

From Haultin, Millanges purchased two presses and their accompanying equipment.\footnote{226} To purchase from Haultin was to buy from the best. Haultin was a renowned publisher who began to appear in the historical record in the 1540s. His mark on history was twofold: as a printer and publisher for Calvin in Geneva beginning in the 1550s and as a designer for a new style of Roman typeface.\footnote{227} The earliest extant records of Haultin reveal that he worked in Paris in the 1540s where he sold types and taught woodcutting and copper plate engraving. He also produced four or five books that bore his name.\footnote{228} In 1550, he moved to Geneva, though he had short visits to Paris in 1555 and 1562. His departure corresponded with increased pressure on those who adhered to reformed religion. The height of his career was in Geneva, where he generated at least nine new type faces. In addition to his design work, he published texts associated with the Bible, Calvin, and Geneva.\footnote{229} His type designs were narrower than other types, which allowed more cost effective publishing, and therefore, smaller books, which suited the clandestine sale of books and personal reading.\footnote{230} In particular, Haultin produced numerous pocket-sized books for scripture reading and devotion in the vernacular.\footnote{231} Haultin's types were popular and by the early 1560s, they had spread into Protestant printing centres in France and even into Italy, where they were used to publish tracts against Calvinist ideas.\footnote{232}
In 1571, apparently at the invitation of Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre, and mother to the future Henri IV, Haultin moved to the Protestant stronghold of La Rochelle. Barthélemy Berton had established himself as a publisher there in 1562, but he was unable to meet the needs of the humanists and reformers there. The printers at La Rochelle offered an alternative to the Catholic printers in Angoulême, Poitiers, and Bordeaux. On average, Haultin published four or five volumes per year, for a total of twenty-four volumes from his arrival in 1571 until his death in 1587. In addition to publication work in La Rochelle, Haultin began to sell printing equipment in south-west France. The first of his customers was Simon Millanges who purchased "deux presses d'imprimerye, garanyes de leur ustancilles, comme sont casses, chassies, frisquettes, marbre, planines, treteauxx, bancz, acriers, poupettes et aultres [chose]" for which he paid "cent livres tournois pour chacunne presse." In addition to the two presses, Millanges also purchased "ung gros text et son yitalicque, ung sainct-augustin et son yitalicque, ung ciceron et son yitalicque, un petit romain et son yitalicque," eight typefaces in total, for eighteen livres tournois. The contract between the two men stipulated that Haultin would bring the promised goods to the city of Bordeaux by August at which time Millanges was to pay him in full. Additionally, the contract stipulated that Haultin would help set up the equipment in Millanges' rented space.

During his first year as a publisher, Millanges continued in his position as regent at the Collège, but in a contract dated 4 February 1573 he became the official publisher of Bordeaux. Millanges approached the Jurade because, with all of his equipment, he was "prest d'employer

234 Desgraves, Les Haultins, xiv.
235 Desgraves, Les Haultins, xxi.
237 "Contrat de vente d'un matériel d'imprimerie," 342.
238 "Contrat de vente d'un matériel d'imprimerie," 343.
toute son industrie audict art et leur faire service" as the city's printer. The contract granted him 400 livres tournois "pour luy ayder à se loger et achatuer des provisiones et autres choses à luy nécessaires," lettres de bourgeois of the city, and exemptions from all taxes and levies, under the promise that he would not publish anything prohibited or scandalous and he would continuously reside in Bordeaux. On 17 June 1576, four years after he had acquired his presses, Simon Millanges, a "bourgeois et marchant et imprimeur juré de ceste ville de Bourdeaulx," married Gailharde du Sault, legitimate daughter of the deceased merchant and bourgeois, Pierre du Sault. Though Millanges had left his position as regent at the Collège, he maintained relationships with his former colleagues, as demonstrated by Vinet's name as a witness on Millanges' marriage contract. On 11 July 1576, Charles IX granted Millanges letters which granted him the privilège imprimeur ordinaire du roi. Simon Millanges, who had come to Bordeaux as a regent from the Limousin, had transformed into a citizen of Bordeaux. Over his tenure as publisher in Bordeaux, Millanges held a virtual monopoly and printed nearly 600 titles for authors such as Vinet, Michel de Montaigne, Pierre Charron, Louis Richeome, Florimond de Raemond, Blaise de Monluc, and Pierre de Brach. Millanges embodied the transformation into the new nobility as he became Bordelais.

Bordelais citizenship became the hallmark for many of the men who taught at the Collège de Guyenne. For some, such as Gelida, Vinet, and Millanges, Bordeaux became a long-term

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240 "Contrat entre la ville de Bourdeaux et Simon Millanges," 42.
243 Desgraves, Bibliographie Bordelaise, 6.
244 Desgraves, Bibliographie Bordelaise, 6.
home. They acquired bourgeois status and integrated into the fabric of city life. For others, such as Buchanan, da Costa, de Teive, Bordeaux was a short-term sojourn, but a lifetime association. Their careers after the Inquisition depended on the reputation they had acquired during their tenure as professors at the Collège de Guyenne. College education in the sixteenth century offered opportunities for advancement, but employment at a provincial college, such as Guyenne, offered masters a place to settle and become part of the city's economic and social infrastructure.
CHAPTER VI: CIVIC DYNAMISM AND HUMANIST CONTRIBUTIONS TO BORDEAUX'S FRENCH IDENTITY

On 9 April 1565, King Charles IX (r. 1560-1574) made his entrée royale into Bordeaux. After an eight-day delay during which he had spent his time at leisure around the city, he was met by a flurry of pomp and circumstance. The city had been transformed! The king's entry began at Chartreux, near the Château Trompette to the north of the city centre, where he stood to hear the complaints and to watch people passing on foot. He passed the port which met the merchant ships along the river and encountered such a noise from the flutes that Thomas Richard described the scene as "on eust pensé que Vulcain alors eust faict iouer toutes ses Flustes pour foudroyer la Ville."¹ Next, he watched the procession, led by the clergy in full ceremony, followed by a multitude of soldiers. Then various office holders and members of the university accompanied by lawyers passed and finally a cohort of children, dressed in white with their guidons painted with the arms of France, shouting "vive le Roy."² Charles' experience of the city in 1565 differed greatly from Elie Vinet's, who reflected on his return to the city on 2 July 1549, stating:

\[\text{Le trouuai mout triste, et vn silence non acoutumé en la apuure vile. Les malades, qui ne puuent dormir ni nuit ni iour, n'auoint cauze de se plaindre du bruit des cloches. Car pourautant qu'aucunes d'ele n'auoint cause de plaindre du bruit des cloches. Car pouautant qu'aucunes d'elles n'avoient que trop sonné, il n'en estoit demouré vne seule aux clochiers: ou elles estoient en grand nombre et beles et grosses. Celes meme, qui ne seruoient qu'à sonner les heurs, auoient esté abatues les pauurettes et casses.} \³\]

A city that once moved to the rhythm of ringing bells had been rendered silent. The transition of Bordeaux from an English city to a French one was arduous. Political and economic changes had an impact on the Collège de Guyenne, whose ability to function depended as much on the

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³ "Elie Vinet au Lecteur," in Desgraves, 146.
intellectual and pedagogical skills of its faculty as on the stability and favour of the city. As the humanists who taught at the Collège plied their intellectual abilities in the classroom and through their publications, they also had to navigate the civic realities of Bordeaux, which had founded and funded their work. They had to integrate into the city and work to build the city's reputation within the kingdom of France. The regents at Guyenne contributed significantly to the development of Bordeaux's civic and national identity, by which the Collège served an important political function.

The defeat of the Anglo-Gascons on 17 July 1453 and the subsequent capitulation of Bordeaux on 9 October of that year initiated the development of a French identity in the city. In 1451, Charles made an agreement with the three estates in Guyenne to maintain their laws and customs under his authority. The ties between Gascon nobility and the English, however, were strong, which meant that, when Charles VII defeated the English in 1453, he needed to ensure loyalty to the French crown in the area. To do this, he banished twenty people who were loyal to the English throne from the kingdom. He punished an additional forty residents of Bordeaux. This group bore the collective political repercussions for the rebellion at the end of the Hundred Years' War, which the king treated as treason. In addition to these political exiles, there were a number of voluntary exiles, the majority of whom were nobles, merchants, and clerks who were unwilling to accept the new monarchy. Because Bordeaux resisted the transition to French rule, Charles VII distributed empty estates in the province to men who were loyal to the French

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6 Robert Boultruche, Bordeaux de 1453 à 1715 (Bordeaux: Fédération historique du Sud-Ouest, 1966), 10. Note 5 details that the names of the families the king exiled, including the seigneur de Lesparre, whose significance will be explained later in this chapter.
7 Bochaca and Pretou, 88.
8 Boultruche, 11.
Charles' changes to Bordeaux included suspension of the city's privileges and the abolition of Bordelais courts and offices. The king established the Jurade of Bordeaux in 1454 when he named the mayor, five jurats, and the city clerk. In 1460, the king established the Parlement of Bordeaux. Prior to that, delegates from Bordeaux had brought Bordelais cases to the Parlement of Paris. In the same era, around 1460, the guilds reorganized into confraternities or corporations in an effort to thwart royal power and protect their privileges. These corporations included bourgeois, artisans, workers, and apprentices who instituted the regulation that required all who wanted to practice their métier in the city to join a confraternity. The confraternities gained significant power in this decision, but walked a fine line between the city government and the monarchy. There was tension between the Jurade and the confraternities, which frequently appealed to the representatives of the king in order to ensure their statutes were upheld. In many ways trapped between the confraternities and the monarchy, the city saw its own prerogatives decrease.

At the end of the fifteenth century, as the French embarked upon war in Italy to conquer the Kingdom of Naples, the Bordelais demonstrated their loyalty to the king by volunteering for the expedition. French victories in Italy became causes for celebration for the officials in Bordeaux. The soldiers returned from Italy with tales of adventure and an admiration for Italian arts and culture, which contributed to the expansion of the Renaissance in Bordeaux. Pierre Eyquem (1497-1568), the mayor of Bordeaux from 1554 to 1556 and the father of Michel de Montaigne, served under the banner of François I in Italy. He returned to Bordeaux as a

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10 Boutruche, 16.
11 Desforge, 138.
12 Desforge, 128.
13 Desforge, 130.
renowned and courageous knight who was enamoured with the intellectual climate of Italy. In 1520, nineteen years ahead of the Ordonnance de Villers-Cotterêts of 1539, the Jurade of Bordeaux began to record their procès-verbaux in French, rather than Gascon. The last book published in Gascon was *Le Terrier de Saint-Michel* in 1518. While official records were kept in French, the merchants rejected this transition and continued to use Gascon for commercial activities. The linguistic transition represented the abandonment of customary rights in favour of written codes, which meant that Bordelais institutions assumed a French mantle while the market maintained the mantle of Gascony. Within the classrooms of the Collège de Guyenne, the languages of instruction were Latin and French, which reflected the Jurade's priorities and, since the Collège was a product of the Jurade, the Collège also embraced a royalist French identity.

Bordeaux continued its development of French identity when it revealed a new coat of arms between 1530 and 1535. Figure 2 is an image of the French and Bordelais coats of arms, which are currently housed at the Musée d'Aquitaine. On the left is the French coat of arms, with three fleurs-de-lis surrounded by the collar of the Order of Saint Michel, which was founded in 1471. On the right is the new Bordelais coat of arms, which features many of Bordeaux's traditional symbols, the large bell from St. Eloi Church, the crescent moon, and the waves of the Garonne. The previous coat of arms had three leopards, which were symbols of the kingdom of England. On the new coat of arms, two fleurs-de-lis replaced two of the leopards. The third was left as a symbol of the province of Guyenne. The new design also retained another symbol of Guyenne's English past, two chained antelopes framing the seal.

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14 Desforges, 144.
15 Desforges, 130.
16 Desforges, 130.
17 See Figure 2. Page 190.
The height of the Renaissance in Bordeaux coincided with the successes of the Collège de Guyenne. The professors at Bordeaux were responsible for shaping "plusieurs générations de parlementaires humanistes qui honoront Bordeaux par leurs œuvres." While not many of those who taught at the Collège were locals, among their ranks were famous intellectuals whose ideas were new, though sometimes suspected of heresy, and who influenced "les milieux cultivés bordelais."

While the 1520s and 1530s boosted Bordeaux’s French identity, these developments came to a grinding halt in the 1540s, culminating in the revolt of 1548, commonly known as the

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20 Desgraves, *La Vie Intellectuel de Bordeaux*, 10.
Jacquerie des Pitauds. In 1542, Bordeaux loaned 25,000 livres to the king in his fight against Charles V. In 1543, the city contributed 50,000 soldiers for six months at a cost of 30,000 livres. In 1545, the city's portion rose to 70,000 livres. Unable to keep up with the financial demands, the city was in arrears, which led the king to imprison members of the Jurade and establish a permanent receiver in the city. To free itself of this burden, the city had to pay the total owing with an additional fine, which placed Bordeaux in an impossible financial position. Added to the financial burden created by the king's military demands was the extension of the king's rule to include the coastal salt flats, which further enflamed the province as the price of salt increased in 1541.21 Residents were displeased with this development and the title gabeleur,22 collector of the gabelle, took on a pejorative meaning. Until 1544, Bordeaux had been exempt from la gabelle because of its role in the transportation and delivery of salt. Additionally, the application of the tax injured Bordelais merchants' income. The bourgeoisie appealed to the Jurade, which sympathised with them, but the Parlement, in particular the president Henri d'Albert and the lieutenant general, did nothing to counter the royal policy. The weight of these financial burdens, added to the increasing cost of living caused a great deal of suffering for artisans and the menu peuple. If the financial demands of the king, the devaluation of currency, and increased costs of living were heavy, the added burden of plague in 1544 and 1546 created an environment that nurtured rebellion, first in Angoumois and Saintonge, then in 1548, in Bordeaux.23

While the city was in crisis, André de Gouveia left Bordeaux for Portugal. His departure was the result of years of planning which began with his initial invitation by João III in 1542.

21 Boutruche, 303.
22 Walther Von Wartburg, "quabala" in Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch. Volume 19: Orientalia (Basel: Zbinden, 1967), 74. Available online at https://apps.atilf.fr/lecteurFEW/lire/190/74. It appears that the term "gabeleur" was used in the fourteenth century to describe the men who collected the gabelle, the salt tax.
23 Boutruche, 304.
On Gouveia’s first trip to Portugal in 1545, Jehan Gelida, a Valencian professor, assumed responsibility for leading the Collège.\textsuperscript{24} Gouveia returned to Bordeaux for a short time, and then departed once again in 1546. When Gouveia died on 9 April 1548, he entrusted the management of Coimbra to Diogo de Teive and Bordeaux to Gelida. Until that point, Gelida’s position had been temporary. Nevertheless, he led the Collège while the city faced increasing economic and political pressure. While the Jurade struggled to maintain its power despite financial crisis and the guild structures which sidestepped them, the revolt against the salt tax in western France grew and eventually led to a violent riot under Tallemagne, who was originally from Guitres, a village approximately 60 kilometres north-west of Bordeaux, though not much else is known about him prior to the salt riots. He was one of the couronneaux of the rebellion, a title that alluded to colonel, and instigated riots in Saint-André de Cubzac, Montferrant, and Bourg, the village just outside of Bordeaux, as well as in Dordogne and Saintonge.\textsuperscript{25} He led a popular army comprised of artisans and their companions, along with peasants from the suburbs and other stray people to Chateauneuf in Charente, where he defeated the three hundred gendarmes the governor of Guyenne, Henri d'Albret, had sent against them. These men pillaged and burned the castle. They destroyed Cognac, Ruffec, and Saintes, killed more than twenty officers of la gabelle and pillaged their homes.\textsuperscript{26}

As the revolt neared Bordeaux, the Jurade allowed the riot to ensue, in the hope that popular unrest would gain royal abolition of the heaviest tax burden and a guarantee of municipal freedoms. As the rioters under Tallemagne threatened Bordeaux, they employed the

\textsuperscript{24} Gaullier, 554-556. This is a fragment of the agreement between the Jurade and Jehan Gelida to replace Gouveia during his trip to Portugal. Gaullier noted that the document suffered extensive damage in the 1862 fire in the Hotel de Ville. He comments on page 180 that "par un heureux hasard, les feuilles conservées étaient les plus importantes, elles sont revêtues de la signature de Gouvét et de celle de Gélida, à coté desquelles s’étaient les noms du procureur-syndic et du notaire de la municipalité."

\textsuperscript{25} Raymond Guinodie, Histoire de Libourne et des autres villes et bourgs de son arrondissement (Bordeaux: Henry Faye, 1845), 105.

\textsuperscript{26} Boutruche, 305.
ancient war-cry of the Anglo-Gascons, "Vive Guyenne." Employing this ancient war-cry was a symbolic rejection of French identity as embodied in la gabelle. When the people killed Tristan de Moneins, the king's lieutenant, on 21 August 1548, the king responded quickly and decisively. In an attempt to re-establish order in the city, Moneins had gone to the Hôtel de Ville after which he closed himself in the Château Trompette. The Jurade demanded that he leave the Château and join them at the mairie. Moneins made his way around the city, in an effort to appease the Jurade and the Parlement of Bordeaux. In the end, Moneins reclaimed the keys to the city and, while trying to calm the crowds, he attempted to return to the mairie but encountered a rioter who struck him on the right cheek with a halberd. Moneins drew his own weapon too late and died there. The rioters pierced his body and sprinkled it with salt before they carried it through the city declaring their triumph. In the wake of this death, the Parlement and the Jurade rallied the court and pursued those responsible for Moneins' death and the riot. Those who refused to submit to the president of the Parlement's authority were arrested and executed on the field. Once they had regained control of the city, they shut the city gates to prevent pillaging. After a series of trials and executions, the city officials restored order, but they had yet to face the king's judgment for the riot. François de Foix-Candale, the grand sénéchal of Bordeaux, wrote to the king, expressing his belief that "le gabelle estoit, entre les mains de certains, prétexte de mener le menu peuple contre les riches et les piller et tuer, sans autrement faire acte d'infidelité contre [votre majesté]." The king agreed with Foix-Candale's assessment and issued a punishment that had extensive financial implications.

27 Jean Bouchet, Les Annales d'Aquitaine, faicts & gestes en sommaire des roys de France, & d'Angleterre, & pais de Naples & de Milan ([Reproduction], 1557), 323r.
28 Boutruche, 305.
29 Bouchet, 323r.
30 Bouchet, 323v.
31 Guillaume Ribier, Lettres et mémoires d'Estat des roys, prince, ambassadeurs et autre ministres, sous les regnes de François Premier, Henry II et François II. Volume 2 (Blois, 1666), 168.
Royal action against Bordeaux was swift. The alliance between the Jurade and the Parlement was temporary in the face of the revolt, but now, with order re-established, the Jurade was held responsible for what had happened, and the Parlement ordered the mayor, Guy de Chabot, to give an account to King Henri II's envoy, Anne de Montmorency, of what had happened in the city. Montmorency had arrived by ship with mercenaries and heavy artillery.\(^\text{32}\) He ordered the bourgeois to deposit all of their weapons in the Château d'Ha and ordered his mercenaries to sack the city.\(^\text{33}\) Montmorency declared the city culpable for the revolt and the crimes against the king. His response was without mercy, and the repression of Bordeaux terrified the citizens for whom resistance was futile. He declared that all "corps et université de ladite ville de Bordeaux, seront privés à perpétuité de tous les privilèges, franchises, libertés, droits, actions, exemptions, immunités, maison de ville, jurade et conseil, sceau, cloche, justice et juridiction"\(^\text{34}\) and the inhabitants were responsible to pay a 200 000 livres fine.\(^\text{35}\) Many bourgeois were executed, including Guillotin, a rich merchant who was burned alive. Tallemagne was decapitated. Montmorency invented a new method of torture which consisted of breaking the limbs of the guilty with the strike of a pillar.\(^\text{36}\)

Yet another strike against Bordelais identity was the command that the Jurade was to burn their archives, including all of the parchment, registers, legal documents, and the entire record of the history of the city. As of 6 November 1548, the city had lost its privileges, freedom, and the rights to elect the Jurade, call meetings, and even seal their letters.\(^\text{37}\) Moneins' successor, the comte de Lude, replaced the Jurade with twenty-four prudhommes and replaced

\(^{32}\) Boutruche, 305
\(^{33}\) Desforges, 140.
\(^{34}\) Desforges, 140.
\(^{36}\) Desforges, 140.
\(^{37}\) Boutruche, 305.
the Parlement de Bordeaux with a temporary court made up of men from Paris, Rouen, and Toulouse. Bordeaux was humiliated and silenced.\textsuperscript{38} The bourgeoisie paid a heavy price for a revolt they had not initiated. On 5 October 1548, the city received a proclamation from Montmorency that forbade residents from leaving the city.\textsuperscript{39} On 7 November, Montmorency ordered the residents to hand in their weapons.\textsuperscript{40} During Vinet's sojourn in Bordeaux during July 1549, he wrote \textit{Traité sur la Manière de faire les solaires que communement on appelle quadrans}, which was published in 1564.\textsuperscript{41} In the prefatory letter to the 1583 edition, Vinet recalled his return to Bordeaux on 2 July 1549 and the weight of sadness and silence in the city due to the removal of the bells. An entry in the financial records for 1548 noted that there was a payment made to the masters who "rompient la clouche et le reollonge, pour mettre du charbon dedans" and then to put the broken pieces into the "caudeyre," that is, the cauldron.\textsuperscript{42} Medieval cities moved to the rhythm of bells as they marked the hours as the days passed. It is unclear how many bells in the city were removed, but according to Vinet, the absence of the city's bells left people without a way to tell time, which meant that they began to depend on \textit{quadrans}, a type of clock. These clocks were made "en pierre, pour estre mis et coucher dehors à la pluie et au vent."\textsuperscript{43} Constructing these clocks required mathematical skill, which people lacked, nevertheless, "prou de gens se voulurent meler d'enfere, qui n'i entendoient guere."\textsuperscript{44} These clocks interested Vinet because of their mathematical complexity. While he was in Portugal, he

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{38} Boutruche, 306.
\item \textsuperscript{39} "Proclamation du connétable de Montmorency pour empêcher les habitant de Bordeaux de quitter la ville," in \textit{Archives Historique du Département de la Gironde}, Volume 12, 346-347.
\item \textsuperscript{40} "Mandement du connétable de Montmorency pour obliger les habitant de Bordeaux à faire la remise de leurs armes," in \textit{Archives Historiques du Département de la Gironde}, volume 12, 347-348.
\item \textsuperscript{41} Desgraves, \textit{Elie Vinet}, 8. Cf. Elie Vinet, \textit{La manière de faire les Solaire, que communement on appelle Quadrans} (Poitiers, Enguilbert de Marnef, 1564) In-4o, 20 ff. non chiffr., signés A-E 1-4.
\item \textsuperscript{42} "Recettes et dépense du trésorier de la ville, à l'occasion de l'émeute de 1548," in \textit{Archives Historiques du Département de la Gironde}, Volume 12, 354.
\item \textsuperscript{43} "Elie Vinet au Lecteur," in Desgraves, 146.
\item \textsuperscript{44} "Elie Vinet au Lecteur," in Desgraves, 146.
\end{itemize}
had read "un petit liuret Castillan" which had shown him, despite the fact it was "entierement fausse" concerning the math behind these clocks. Vinet consulted with Maturin Croizet de Gusan near Narbonne, who in 1549 "tenoit escole d'Escriture et de Compter en la ville de Bourdeaux" and knew geometry and math. Croizet taught Vinet the method of making these clocks and, in turn, the two men wrote a book on how to build them.45 Publications that emerged from the Collège de Guyenne extended beyond intellectual curiosity into practical applications. *La Manière de Faire les Solaires* had a practical purpose for a city that had lost its bells and Vinet provided a book published in French, which helped a grieving city find a way to manage.

Vinet's intellectual work also served in the development and advancement of Bordelais identity. He produced the first French translation of Einhard's *La Vie du Roi Charlemagne* in 1546.46 He also produced editions of Ausonius' *Opera*, which contained the corpus of Ausonius' poetry and other compositions,47 and Eutropius' *Breviarium Historiae romanae*.48 The work most directly tied to Bordeaux was Vinet's *L'Antiquité de Bourdeaux*, which sought to establish the greatness of the city and dissociate it from its medieval English past, as well as to reinvigorate a city that had suffered for the re-emergence of Anglo-Gascon pride in the revolt of 1548. Vinet contributed to growing interest in local histories and interacted with other contemporary historians who went on to shape the sixteenth-century discipline of history.49

45 “Elie Vinet au Lecteur,” in Desgraves, 146.
46 Elie Vinet, *La Vie du roi Charlemagne* (Poitiers, 1546).
49 Hilary J. Bernstein, "République urbaine et République des Lettres. André Duschesne, Jean Rogier et les significations de l'histoire locale à Reims au XVIIe siècle," *Histoire, Économie et Société* 30, No. 2 (June 2011), 31. While Bernstein's article addresses seventeenth-century Reims, there are comparisons to Vinet's history of Bordeaux. Bernstein notes that the foundations for historical method developed during the sixteenth century.
Additionally, local histories were important to civic leaders and scholars in the Republic of Letters. The twenty-four prudhommes whom the king assigned to replace the Jurade proved unequal to the task of managing the city, and the commissaries from Rouen, Toulouse, and Grenoble were unable to adjust to the local affairs. Bordeaux was an important city for commercial activities and essential to the economic development of the kingdom. Henri II's fiscal restraints on the city diminished royal power through decreased revenue. In an effort to return Bordeaux to its former freedom, the Jurade sent Guillaume Le Blanc as an envoy to plead the city's case at the court in Paris. Le Blanc's apology convinced the king that the city regretted its actions in the revolt. The king granted Bordeaux clemency and signed letters of pardon in 1549. The king's pardon re-established many of Bordeaux's institutions. He also halted the destruction of the Hôtel de Ville, granted permission to organise a new city government, though he reduced the number of jurats from twelve to six, but restricted the positions to nobles, business owners, and lawyers, and he allowed the Jurade to elect a new mayor, though in two-year terms rather than in perpetuity. One result of the king's suppression of Bordeaux was the restriction of the city's access to funds, including those used to fund the Collège de Guyenne. Gelida, who faced financial difficulties in his role as principal, wrote to the king, appealing to him, as the principal of "l'un des meilleurs [collèges] du Royaume," and requested that the king restore the funds to the Collège. The king ordered the royal accountant to pay Gelida an annual sum of 1200 livres. Further to the restoration of governance and funding of the Collège, the king also re-established the Parlement and reduced la gabelle. Henri II's visit to Bordeaux in 1550 led

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50 Bernstein, "République urbaine," 30.
51 Desforges, 142.
52 Desforges, 142.
53 Desforges, 142.
54 Gaullieur, 277
to a municipal reorganization that applied Parisian structures to civic government in Bordeaux.\textsuperscript{55} By 1560, the Jurade resumed its criminal judicial authority. In large part, Bordeaux had returned to its pre-revolt authority, but with very clear boundaries for its relationship with the Kingdom of France and its monarch.

Charles IX's arrival in the city offered the Bordelais a new opportunity to show themselves as loyal subjects to the King of France. In 1565, as a gift to Charles IX on his royal entry into the city, Elie Vinet produced a history in which he sought to establish "la vraie histoire" of the city and to disentangle the historical record from medieval accounts, the "lies in lieu of truths" perpetuated by those who "had no shame in their lack of knowledge."\textsuperscript{56} Local histories became avenues by which cities could demonstrate their good relations with the king.\textsuperscript{57} Vinet's book, \textit{L'Antiquité de Bourdeaux}, honoured the king as the ruler of France and it highlighted what had "emerged from the study of the poor principal at your college of Bordeaux."\textsuperscript{58} More importantly, through the use of ancient sources to elucidate the origins and classical history of the city, it debunked corrupt and sloppy medieval accounts which ascribed mythic characteristics to the city and presented a history of the city which was loyal to the its ancient Roman rulers: a form of loyalty the city desperately needed in light of the 1548 revolt.

As a scholar, Vinet launched "a new drive to the studies of Bordelais history."\textsuperscript{59} Vinet's passion for historical inquiry began in 1545 with a Greek epitaph. During his sojourn in Portugal

\textsuperscript{55} Boutruche, 306.
\textsuperscript{56} Vinet, \textit{L'Antiquité de Bourdeaux}, n.p.
\textsuperscript{58} Vinet, \textit{L'Antiquité de Bourdeaux}, n.p.
\textsuperscript{59} Richard Cooper, "Histoire et archéologie de l'histoire de la Gascogne antique au XVI\textsuperscript{e} siècle," in \textit{Écritures de l'Histoire (XIV\textsuperscript{e}-XVI\textsuperscript{e} Siècle. Actes du colloque de Centre Montaigne Bordeaux, 19-21 septembre 2002}, edited by Danièle Bohler and Catherine Magnien Simonin (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2005), 153. "une nouvelle impulsion aux études sur l'histoire de Burdigala"
he took advantage of the ancient history there and studied the ruins at Evora.\textsuperscript{60} When he returned to Bordeaux, his interest in epigraphy and epitaphs continued and he was even able to preserve one such remnant of the ancient city. That the history of this region interested Vinet is clear from the fact that within four years he published three histories: \textit{L'Antiquité de Bourdeaus} in 1565,\textsuperscript{61} \textit{L'Engoulesme} in 1567,\textsuperscript{62} and \textit{Saintes et Barbezieux} in 1568.\textsuperscript{63} Vinet was not the first to investigate the ancient structures in Bordeaux. Antiquarian interest in Bordeaux was limited before Henri II's reign, and the first witness to record the ruins as a site of interest was Hubert Thomas of Liège, who visited the city in 1526, with Frederick II, the future Elector Palatine. He noted inscriptions throughout the city, one of which was a Greek epitaph for a woman named Lucille.\textsuperscript{64} Vinet republished this epitaph in his edition of Ausonius' \textit{Opera} and also cited it in \textit{L'Antiquité de Bourdeaus}.\textsuperscript{65} When François I made his royal entry into France, the city had erected an \textit{arc de triomphe} in his honour. Bordeaux brought out the \textit{arc} again with the entry of Queen Eleanor and her two children in 1530.\textsuperscript{66} Apianus observed that "indeed France has now, as I hear, it appears, wonderful antiquarians and no expense is too great in the restoration of ancient monuments."\textsuperscript{67} Vinet's research in the 1560s was in response to increased interest in ancient civic history. \textit{L'Antiquité de Bourdeaus} was the first of his publications, which he published in Poitiers in 1565, with supplementary pieces published by the widow Morpain.\textsuperscript{68}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[60]Desgraves, \textit{Elie Vinet}, 7.
\item[61]Elie Vinet, \textit{L'Antiquité de Bourdeaus. Presenté au Roy le treziesme d'Avril l'an mill cinq cens soixante cinq} (Poitiers: Enguilbert de Marnef, 1565). See Desgraves, \textit{Elie Vinet}, 49 for additional information on this volume.
\item[62] (Elie) Vinet, \textit{Engoulesme} (Poitiers, Enguilbert de Marnef, 1567). See Desgraves, \textit{Elie Vinet}, 53 for additional information on this volume.
\item[63] (Elie)Vinet, \textit{Saintes et Barbezieux} (Bordeaux: la Veuve Morpaid, s.d. [1568]). See Desgraves, \textit{Elie Vinet}, 51 for additional information on this volume.
\item[64] Cooper, "Histoire et archéologie," 145.
\item[65] Cooper, "Histoire et archéologie," 145.
\item[66] Cooper, "Histoire et archéologie ,"147.
\item[67] Apianus, \textit{Inscriptiones}, fo Ciii vo & fo cccclcccvi-lxxx. Cited in Cooper, 147. "habet enim nunc Gallia miros, ut audio, antiquarios et quibus nullae impensae nimae magnae videanur monumentis vetustatis restituendis."
\item[68] Cooper, "Histoire et archéologie ," 153.
\end{footnotes}
The book was subsequently revised and republished in 1574 in Bordeaux. His history of Angoulême had only one edition in 1567. L'Antiquité de Sainte et Barbezieus had three editions, each of which were published in Bordeaux, the first by the widow Morpain in 1568, the second in 1571 by Pierre Ladime, under the title L'Antiquité de Saintes, and the third by Simon Millanges in 1574, under the title Les Antiquitez de la ville de Xaintes. Readers of sixteenth-century histories understood "le rapport entre le passé, le présent, et l'avenir dans le milieu urbain." While he contributed only minimally to epigraphic knowledge, a contribution which has drawn disdain from some scholars as he added "only one new inscription to those already known in that era," Vinet, as was his purpose, wrote a history of the city that followed in the Italian Renaissance tradition that "combined epigraphy and local pride" and used the ancient history of the city to elucidate the city's modern existence.

Through the process of establishing the history of the cities he researched, Vinet had to address medieval histories that claimed ancient power and lineage for the founders of these cities. He sought knowledge of Antiquity in the province of Aquitania, which he admired greatly, and he declared that "it makes me very angry when they want to feed me fables and take

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69 Vinet, L'Antiquité de Bourdeaux (Poitiers, 1565). Vinet, L'Antiquite de Bourdeaux (Bordeaux, 1574).
70 Vinet, Engoulesme (Poitiers, 1567).
71 Cooper, "Histoire et archéologie ." 151. See note 80 for specific publication information for each edition.
74 Elie Vinet: Les Antiquitez de la Ville de Xaintes au pais de Xaintonge. Bordeaux, S. Millanges, 1574. See Desgraves, Bibliographie Bordelaise, 30 for additional information on the volume.
75 Bernstein, "Le livre des privilèges," 170.
the lie for the truth." Medieval literary tradition inherited two classifications from classical rhetoric, *historia* which related a true narrative and *fabula* which related an untrue narrative. The standard definition of history from the Middle Ages came from Isidore of Seville who said "history is a narrative of things done, through which things that were done in the past are discerned," which meant that medieval narratives were a way of knowing the past. Vinet adopted emerging methodological approaches to history, which required locating appropriate sources to shed light on the subject under investigation. There were two philosophical approaches to history in the Renaissance. Some historians in the sixteenth century argued that history required an analytical approach. Others continued in an elegant narrative tradition. Vinet criticized the narrative tradition and employed a more analytical approach, though, arguably, he aligned more with an antiquarian approach with the use of inscriptions, coins, and buildings. He cited multiple examples of medieval stories that many people accepted as the history of France, such as the connection between the Gauls and the Trojans and their foundation of the city of Paris. In his study of Angoulême, Vinet had to distill the history of the city from medieval sources which often conflicted with each other or had no evidence to support the claims, as was the case with the story of Aegidius, a Roman captain who stepped in to lead the Gauls after they had chased away their king, Hilderic son of Merovec. After reconciling with the

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80 Otter, 113.

81 Paula Findlen, "Historical Thought in the Renaissance," in *A Companion o Western Historical Thought*, edited by Lloyd Kramer and Sara Maza (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 111. Findlen compared the historical methods of several sixteenth-century historians. The inconsistency between historical accounts frustrated Jean Bodin, who criticized Paolo Giovio (1483-1552) for his invented and false histories and praised Francesco Guicciardini (1483-1540) for his use of evidence, which Bodin argued reflected the new standards for historical scholarship.

82 Findlen, 115.

king, the Franks pursued Aegidius to the Visigoths in Guyenne.\textsuperscript{84} The source for this story was a parchment manuscript that Vinet received from his friend Feu le Busin, which, among other things, recorded that Aegidius' body was interred at the church in Angoulême. A thorough search of the church with François de Saint Gelais, the canon, yielded no evidence to support the claim that Aegidius' tomb was in fact there.\textsuperscript{85} Vinet argued, in these instances, that people accepted these stories, despite the lack of evidence to support these conclusions and he complained that "they could prove the contrary by an infinite number of witnesses we cannot criticize that our ancient Gauls went down to Troy and far away from there to build cities."\textsuperscript{86} Legitimacy of lineage was a primary concern for royalty and nobility throughout the fifteenth century, largely precipitated by the Hundred Years' War and the struggles of succession which precipitated it in the fourteenth century.\textsuperscript{87} The source base Vinet employed in his research included a wide range of old books, ancient placards and "mémoires que les rats, souris, et teignes, l'eau et poudre avaient fort endommagés."\textsuperscript{88} Vinet had done significant work in reproducing editions of ancient texts. Bordelais elites solicited Vinet to produce a critical edition of Ausonius; a task that Vinet undertook despite the challenges that it presented, not least of which, was the absence of any Ausonius manuscripts in the libraries of Bordeaux.\textsuperscript{89} There were, however, published editions that he used for this work. Sebastian Gryphius, the famous publisher of Lyon, had produced four editions of Ausonius in 1537, 1540, 1548, and 1549.\textsuperscript{90}

\textsuperscript{85} Vinet, \textit{L'Antiquité d'Engoulesme}, 5.
\textsuperscript{86} Vinet, \textit{L'Antiquité de Saintes}, 57. “ils pourraient au contraire prouver par une infinité de témoins qu'on ne saurait reprocher, que nos anciens gaulois sont allés jusque à Troie et bien loin par de-là, bâtir des villes.”
\textsuperscript{87} Lisa Fagin Davis, editor, \textit{La Chronique Anonyme Universelle: Reading and Writing History in Fifteenth-Century France} (Turnhout; Brepols, 2014), 12.
\textsuperscript{88} Vinet, \textit{L'Antiquité de Saintes}, 58. “mémoires que les rats, souris, et teignes, l'eau et poudre avaient fort endommagés.”
\textsuperscript{89} Desgraves, \textit{Elie Vinet}, 8.
\textsuperscript{90} For a full list of the editions Gryphius published see Desgraves, \textit{Elie Vinet}, 8, notes 54, 55, 56, and 57.
Vinet produced his own edition in 1551, despite his concerns over textual imperfections. All of this was done to counter the work of amateurs who ignored sources in the course of a labour, which Vinet deemed light and small. With pleasure, Vinet set out to enlighten ignorance and to correct error with his civic histories, and in the case of Bordeaux, this meant addressing the story of Cenebrun, the supposed son of Vespasian, who was raised by the King of Bordeaux.

Tied to the story of Cenebrun are two significant architectural remains from the Roman period: the Piliers de Tutelle and the Palais Gallien. The ancient structures drew significant attention, in particular, concerning their origins. Vinet cited the problem of depending on the dangerous "divinations" of Jehan le Maire, a historian of Gaul, whose histories amounted to "fables of Paris, Tours, Poitiers, and others of our cities," and who, as an author, knew "not one truth about the founders and antiquity there." Le Maire's Les Illustrations de Gaule et Singularitez de Troyes appeared in 1511 and outlined a history of Gaul, which linked Gallic France to the Trojans and dated to the biblical flood in order to demonstrate the Franks' direct descent from Noah and their position as the founders of Troy. Belgians in the sixteenth century upheld this mythology and believed their kings were descendants from this lineage. Vinet's historical research not only stood in contrast to these legendary stories that comprised many people's beliefs about their origins and cities, but also intended to correct the details surrounding these fallacies. In L'Antiquité de Bourdeaux, Vinet alluded to a medieval history of Bordeaux in a passing reference concerning the origins of the Piliers Tutelle and the Palais Gallien. Vinet recorded that the Emperor Vespasian had a son by the name of Cenebrun, whom Vespasian gave

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91 Desgraves, Elie Vinet, 8.
92 Vinet, L'Antiquité de Saintes, 58.
93 Jehan le Maire (1473-before 1524) was a rhétoriqueur who was born in Hainaut, educated in Valenciennes, Paris, and Lyon, and eventually went into the service of Margaret of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands.
94 Vinet, Antiquité de Bourdeaux, n.p, "aucune vérité des fondateurs, et antiquité d'icelles."
95 Jean Lemaire de Belges (1473-1524?), Les illustrations de Gaule et singularitez de Troyes; Avec les deux epistre de Lamant vert/compose par Jan le Maire de Belges (Paris: Fournier, 1511).
to the King Tudele of Bordeaux, a story which he had read in a book, though he does not identify the text in which he read it. After this passing remark, he discussed the history of Tutele.

The story of Cenebrun was an important one in medieval Bordeaux. There are at least three manuscripts that contained the story of Cenebrun, all of which were classified as city council records: the Livre des Bouillons, Livre des Coutumes, and the Livre Vela de Libourne. The Livre des Bouillons was a register of documents pertaining to the history of the city of Bordeaux. While the book was started in the fifteenth century and completed in the sixteenth, it contained copies of documents dated to the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. Its name derived from the large copper nails, bulla, that ornament and protect the leather cover. The Bibliothèque Municipale de Bordeaux currently houses this rare codex which still has the original iron chain used to attach the book to the medieval archives' table. The story of Cenebrun appears in the book between a text dated 4 October 1329, and one dated 19 March 1393/4, though the book does not have a specific order and the earliest documents are disorganized and "pêle-mêle." The book is a record of the archives of Bordeaux's medieval city council and contains the majority of the privileges of the city, including those granted by the

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96 See J. Rabanis, Notice sur Florimont Sire de Lesparre, suivie d'un précis historique sur cette seigneurie (Bordeaux, 1843). This history details the history of the Lesparre family and provides insight into the history of the name Cenebrun and how the legend of Cenebrun developed.

97 Vinet, Antiquité de Bourdeaux, n.p.


100 "Reconnaissance relative a la maison ou l'on battain monnaie a Bordeaux" document No. XCCCCVIII, in Livre des Bouillons, G. Gounouilhou, ed. (Bordeaux Archives municipales de Bordeaux, 1867), 470-472.


102 G. Gounouilhou, ed. Livre des Bouillons (Bordeaux: Archives municipales de Bordeaux, 1867), xxxix.
King of England, peace treaties between France and England from the thirteenth century, documents pertaining to Bordeaux specifically, and the province of Guyenne generally, papal bulls, letters from the kings of France and England, as well officers of the duchy of Guyenne, and the city of Bordeaux, transactions, sermon formulas, and even Romanesque legends about fabulous heroes. Among this collection of documents there are texts in Latin, French, and Gascon, some of which have parallel texts in either Latin and French or Latin and Gascon. The register was significant to the people of Bordeaux. The *Livre des Coutumes les Statuts religieux de la province* (1521) was one of the earliest books published in Bordeaux and was an attempt to bring together all of the laws of the city into one source. This book did not, however, resolve all of the textual variances and divergent interpretations. On 14 July 1542, the mayor and the Jurade re-codified the city laws into a new *Livre des Coutumes*, which contained city ordinances and regulations for the police. The account of Cenebrun serves as the introduction for *La Chronique de Bordeaux*. Cenebrun's story recounts the history of Bordeaux, including significant events in the area: the arrival of Christianity, the introduction of feudalism, fights between the Counts of Poitiers and Gascogne, the crusades, and the falling out between Henri Plantagenet and Stephen of Blois, a conflict which eventually resulted in English rule of Aquitaine that led to the Hundred Years' War. According to the story, Cenebrun was the second son of the Emperor Vespasian (r. 69-79AD), who had founded the city of Bordeaux along with Titus. Vespasian granted the rule of Bordeaux to Cenebrun, who bore the title of King of Bordeaux. This is a variance in detail from Vinet's note, which indicated that Cenebrun had been raised by King Tudele of Bordeaux, rather than granted the position of king. As the king,

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103 *Livre des Bouillons*, xl.
104 Desforge, 131.
105 Desforge, 135.
106 Rabanis, 101.
Cenebrun built the Piliers of Tutelle and his wife, Gallienne, built the Palais Galien, which was actually built in the third century. Cenebrun's son, also named Cenebrun, became the Comte de Médoc and wed one of the daughters of the King of Viane; that is Navarre. The Christianization of the city was attributed to the king of Bordeaux, a descendant of Cenebrun, who converted at the moment of his death. A marriage ensued between Cenebrun's daughter and the King of Limoges. The union produced a daughter, Valéria, whom the Emperor sought as a wife for his nephew Étienne. When Valéria refused, the Emperor had her decapitated and, as a martyr, she performed many miracles, including carrying her head and presenting it to Martial, the man responsible for bringing Christianity to the province and baptizing Valéria. Étienne regretted the Emperor's action and begged the preacher Martial to resuscitate Valéria, whose resurrection resulted in her marriage to Étienne and the baptism of five thousand others. The account records that the amount of water that flowed during these baptisms was how the kingdom received its name, Aquitaine. The Valéria in this story is likely St. Valérie of Limoges, a third-century martyr, whom many consider the first martyr of Aquitaine.¹⁰⁷ This hagiographical narrative emerged from the Aurelian legend, which was an account attributed to Aurelian, Martial’s episcopal successor, that appeared in the late tenth century. In it, the story of how St. Martial, the first bishop of Limoges, arrived in Gaul with many other missionaries sent from Rome, including Saint Denis, and converted the area.¹⁰⁸ In Carolingian accounts, Valerie was one of Martial’s early converts, who left her fiancé in order to remain a virgin for Christ. The Aurelian legend made her a martyr who died when her fiancé, Duke Stephen of Aquitaine, beheaded her

¹⁰⁸ Callahan, 31.
when she broke off the engagement. Charles de Lasteyrie (1849-1921) suggested that Valerie was likely a pious donor in the Merovingian period who wanted to be buried near Saint Martial. In the tenth century, Valerie's account expanded further. It incorporated much of the Aurelian material and included new details, such as picking up her head after her death and bringing it to Martial. It also expanded on her noble origins as the daughter of the Roman nobleman Leocadius, to whom Augustus, his relative, had given the authority to rule Gaul. Leocadius assumed the title of duke and ruled the Limousin. In order to secure a successor, Leocadius treated with Duke Stephen of Aquitaine to marry Valerie. The story of Valerie became integral to the history of the province of Aquitaine and its rulers.

As Christianity flourished in the area, another Comte de Médoc, also bearing the name Cenebrun, travelled to Jerusalem after hearing about the war with Muslims in the Holy Land. He travelled there and eventually found himself in Egypt with a challenge to fight Enée, the strongest knight of the Sultan's empire. It is unclear from this text on which crusade Cenebrun went. There are two possibilities. The first is that Cenebrun participated in the First Crusade after Pope Urban II preached it in Bordeaux and consecrated St. André Cathedral on 1 May 1096, or from Archbishop Amatus of Bordeaux, who was also preached the crusade. Residents of the Limousin and Gascony were enthusiastic about the First Crusade, and while they participated in the Second Crusade, they were less fervent about it. If Cenebrun

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109 Callahan, 32.
111 Callahan, 34.
112 Callahan's article provides a more detailed analysis of development of this narrative, particularly in relation to Saint Martial and the political developments and the influence of these hagiographic narratives in the development of twelfth-century Aquitaine, and the role of Eleanor of Aquitaine and her inheritors more specifically.
114 Callahan, 30.
participated in the First Crusade, the Sultan in the story was Caliph al-Musta'li (1074-1101), the Fatimid Caliph of Egypt, whose rule was nominative. The vizier al-Afdal Shahanshah (1066-1121) was the *de facto* ruler. Al-Afdal heard about the arrival of the Crusaders and set out to support Jerusalem. He arrived at Ascalon on 4 August 1099 and denounced the Franks, calling their betrayal of his offer of unarmed pilgrimage to Jerusalem treachery. Al-Afdal's army still had to travel to meet him. The Crusaders took advantage of the delay, which resulted in the Crusaders' defeat of al-Afdal at the Battle of Ascalon on 12 August, under the leadership of Godfrey of Bouillon (1060-1100), who later became the first ruler of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The second possibility is that Cenebrun participated in the Third Crusade, which would mean the Sultan in the story was Shawar (1162-69), the *de facto* ruler of Fatimid Egypt, who requested aid from the Frankish King Amalric I of Jerusalem in his fight against Nur ad-Din's general, Shirkuh, and his nephew Saladin, who were Seljuk Turks from Syria. When the Franks' expedition to Egypt failed in 1163, Amalric I wrote to the King of France, Louis VII, which would likely be the indirect source of Cenebrun's knowledge of the war in the Holy Land that directed him to Egypt. In both instances, Aquitainian nobles were involved in leadership positions relative to the Crusades. According to the Cenebrun account, Cenebrun defeated Enée and won the respect of the people, especially that of the Sultan's daughter, Fénix. In time, the Sultan tried to persuade Cenebrun to convert to "la fois des Gentils" and even promised his daughter in marriage. An apparition of the Virgin Mary fortified Cenebrun, who refused. Fénix, however, had leanings towards Christianity and chose to run away with Cenebrun. On their arrival in Christian territory, Fénix was baptised and they returned to France. Cenebrun's
brothers, Ponce and Fricon, having presumed their brother died on crusade, had divided his lands and refused to return them to Cenebrun, who fought them and eventually won back his estates, at which time the brothers found peace. The strong response to the First Crusade in Gascony brought with it concerns about the transfer of land rights and titles, so it is not surprising that Cenebrun had difficulties with his brothers in this regard.\textsuperscript{119} Fénix and Cenebrun had three sons, and Fénix built the church at Soulac, which was approximately thirty kilometres from the Lesparre estates, and the monastery at Careans. While she worked to establish these foundations, Fénix received a visit from an Angel who brought her a deer to eat and revealed to her to location of a miraculous fountain. Not long after this, Fénix died and was buried at the church of Soulac, which is located nearly one hundred kilometres from Bordeaux, by her son Geoffroy, the archbishop of the city.\textsuperscript{120} The story provides a seamless narrative of the history of Bordeaux, as well as the province of Aquitaine, as a thriving Christian city defended by men of honour, and accounted for the edifices that spoke to that history.

This account of the history of Bordeaux seems to have been written to honour Lesparre family, during the time of Cenebrun IV and his son Florimont, between 1324 and 1394.\textsuperscript{121} The name Cenebrun derived from Gaucem-Brun, who inherited his father's demesne in 1324. His marriage to Jeanne de Perigord in 1331 allotted him a dowry sum of 10 000 \textit{livres}. From the date of his marriage in 1331 until his death in 1362, Cenebrun IV was involved in the politics of Guyenne, the province of which Bordeaux was the capital. The Lesparre family dated to the beginning of the twelfth century when Pierre-Gombaud and his two nephews, Bombaud-Ramond and Ramond gave the metropolitan church of Bordeaux the rights to allodial land situated in the

\textsuperscript{119} Bull, 258-262. Bull provides several examples of land charters that crusaders made in preparation for their travels.\textsuperscript{120} For the full account, see \textit{Livre des Bouillons}, 473-483.\textsuperscript{121} Rabanis, 101.
parishes of Saint-Pierre de Tresse and Saint-Simeon de Melac. Cenebrun I of the Lesparre family appears in records from 1175 when Pope Alexander III reprimanded Cenebrun for usurping the rights of the church Notre Dame de Soulac, which had been annexed to the monastery of Sainte-Croix.\textsuperscript{122} There are many such connections between the legend of Cenebrun and events in the Lesparre family history. Scholars have used the ideas presented in the text along with linguistic analysis to determine a fifteenth-century origin for this legend, though not from the hand of a single author.\textsuperscript{123} The seigneur de Lesparre was one of the men Charles VII exiled from France at the end of the Hundred Years' War.\textsuperscript{124} Vinet's dismissal of the Cenebrun story provided additional distance between French Bordeaux and English Aquitaine.

As a historian, Vinet employed as many classical texts as he could in order to construct the history of these enduring remnants of Bordeaux's classical past, into which Vinet sought to breathe new life. While Vinet elucidated the antique history of the city, apart from his linguistic analysis of the city's name, he referred to Bordeaux, rather than Burdigala. It is possible that this is a linguistic convention as he wrote in French rather than Latin, but it seems more likely that this was part of Vinet's objective to reveal the realities of modern French Bordeaux as much as those of ancient Burdigala. What he learned was that the "Palais Tutele," whose name derived from the Latin \textit{Tutela}, which signified "garde et defense," and was a reference to "Dieus de la garde,"\textsuperscript{125} was outside of the ancient city. He identified the "Palais Tutele" as an ancient temple to the gods of defence, charged with protecting the city of Bordeaux and frequently visited by the poor to request protection for their gardens and orchards.\textsuperscript{126} Hagrith Sivan, a modern scholar of

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\item \textsuperscript{122} Rabanis' book provides a comprehensive account of the Lesparre family from their first presence in the records in 1100 to the early seventeenth century.
\item \textsuperscript{123} Rabinas, 101.
\item \textsuperscript{124} Boutruche, 10, note 5. Charles VII exiled several prominent \textit{seigneurs} from Bordeaux and Guyenne.
\item \textsuperscript{125} Vinet, \textit{L'Antiquité de Bourdeaux}, n.p.
\item \textsuperscript{126} Vinet, \textit{L'Antiquité de Bourdeaux}, n.p. "Et dit, que ce fut iadis ung temple du dieu auquel ces pauures gens là donnoient la garde le leurs iardins et uergers."
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the ancient history of Bordeaux, stated that the Piliers Tutelle remains "a structure the function of which is unknown." The Palais Galien was an amphitheatre, set four hundred feet from the city walls. Vinet further researched the name of the building and discovered that unlike the medieval account which named it for Gallien, the wife of the King of Bordeaux, it was named, using the feminine form, for Gallienus, who was emperor of Rome in 257. Gallienus' rule coincided with a time when the Romans "were still masters of Gaul." Vinet cited Eutropius, the fourth-century Roman historian, who was likely born in Gaul and possibly even in Bordeaux, to argue that the important aspect of the history of Bordeaux and this structure was that Gallienus had a lieutenant in Guyenne at that time, Tetrique, who, in Gallienus' absence, was elected emperor by the soldiers who could no longer support the "dissolute life of their emperor Gallienus: and compelled him to take the scarlet mantel of the city of Bordeaux, and stand for the emperor." Further, Vinet speculated that the amphitheatre itself was built during Gallienus' rule, which linked its name to him as a strong Roman, imperial leader but it also indirectly highlighted Bordeaux's position as a loyal imperial city.

Bordeaux's ancient history comprised the largest portion of Vinet's book, but his history included the fall of the Roman Empire with the arrival of the Vandals, who, according to Vinet, preserved the city, unlike the "Saracens and Normans who burned it." In fact, the Vandals assaulted and pillaged the city in 408. The Visigoths soon followed in 414/415, though there is evidence to suggest that they largely preserved the city, primarily through rapid assimilation.

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128 Vinet only gives the date of 257, but Gallienus was co-emperor with his father Valerian from 253-260 and then ruled alone from 260-268.
130 Vinet, *L'Antiquité de Bourdeaus*, n.p. "dissoolute uie de leur empreuer Gallienus:et le contreindrent de prendre le manteau d'escarlate en la ville de Bourdeaux, et se porter pour empreuer"
into the Aquitanian landscape. Bordeaux faced Frankish attacks in 498 and again in 507/508. Vinet's style throughout his history suggests that Vinet grieved the loss of ancient Bordeaux, the one that was small, but "pretty to see, with pleasant shape, and well sized," which was replaced after the destruction over the fifth and sixth centuries by a city with haphazard construction assembled by those who had escaped the carnage and strangers who wanted to live in the ruins of the city. The Italian humanist Flavio Biondo (1392-1463) studied Roma instaurata and the passages that dealt with the aqueducts posed questions concerning the destruction of massive structures. Frequently the Goths received the blame, on other occasions it was the ravages of time. Later research revealed that it was a decline in the upkeep and that over time, people pillaged the structures and "appropriated the masonry." After the arrival of the Vandals until the arrival of the Moors, Bordeaux became a frontier between the expanding Frankish kingdom and turbulent Gascony, which left it vulnerable to attack. Each round of destruction required reconstruction of the city. The result was a poorly fortified city.

The inherent vulnerabilities of the city due to poor medieval reconstruction in the wake of destruction resulted in a plan to create fortification plans for the city. In 1483, Menault Daguerre conducted an assessment of the city's fortifications. His analysis revealed that Bordeaux and Bayonne, as border cities, were particularly vulnerable. Fortification efforts had begun under Charles VII, predating Daguerre's assessment, but they were still incomplete and, in 1501, Louis XII ordered that the Château Trompette on the city's north end be repaired. Charles VII's building project in Bordeaux also included a second fortress, the Château du Ha,

\[\text{\textsuperscript{133}} Sivan, "Town and country," 142-143.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{134}} Charles Higoumet, Bordeaux Pendant le Haut Moyen Age (Bordeaux, 1963), 24.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{135}} Vinet, L'Antiquité de Bourdeaux, n.p.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{136}} Reeve, 38.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{137}} Higoumet, Bordeaux pendant le Haut Moyen Age, 25.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{138}} David Potter, Renaissance France at War: Armies, Culture and Society, c. 1480-1560 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008), 161.}\]
whose first foundation was laid in 1456, and became the residence of Charles de Valois by 1470. The design of both fortresses was irregular. They both had some towers which were round and others that were square, with curtain walls that were "exceptionally thick and artillery-proof, and some of them were protected by fausse-braies."139 Because the Château Trompette was located along the river's edge, they built an additional bastion to protect the fortress' sea gate.140 Fortification measures included the deepening of the city's ditches, which the German engineer Jean de Coulogne managed in 1525.141

His grief for the lost city, which Ausonius so beautifully described in his writings, led Vinet to discuss the city's history with respect to the Moors in the eighth century. The city's poor reconstruction left Bordeaux vulnerable. According to Vinet, the destruction of Bordeaux at the hands of the Moors enraged Charles Martel and he punished them for it. The evidence does not support Vinet's argument. According to Fredegar, the Moors attacked Bordeaux, burning the churches and slaying its inhabitants.142 It seems as though Vinet equated Charles' arrival at Bordeaux after Odo's defeat as punishment for the Moors who had sacked and burned the city. Charles' presence in Aquitaine was in part to fight Muslim invaders, but it was also to subdue the Aquitanians in order to incorporate them into the Frankish kingdom. Over time, the Aquitanians had distanced themselves from other parts of the Frankish kingdom and started to become Gasconia in the minds of the northern Franks, due to the Basque influence in the area.143 It is noteworthy that the authors of the eighth-century Chronicle of Fredegar referred to the

139 Potter, 161.
140 Potter, 162.
141 Potter, 162.
inhabitants of Aquitaine as Romans,\textsuperscript{144} which acknowledged the significant Gallo-Roman population that continued to live in the area, long after the fall of the Roman Empire.\textsuperscript{145} When the Duke Odo of Aquitaine (r. 700-735) died, Charles Martel occupied Bordeaux and Blaye,\textsuperscript{146} but continued to face opposition from Odo's sons. Their resistance was so strong, that the Pippinids granted Charles the title of Duke of Aquitaine.\textsuperscript{147} Despite his efforts, Charles Martel was unable to subdue Aquitaine entirely under Frankish control.\textsuperscript{148} His grandson, Charlemagne, also known as King Charles I of France and Holy Roman Emperor, whose name Vinet invoked in his prefatory letter to Charles IX, fought many wars against the lords of Guyenne and ultimately subdued them and brought them under Frankish dominion. Vinet cited Einhard's \textit{Vita Karoli Magni} as further proof of the city's greatness because Charlemagne included Bordeaux in the list of twenty-one cities that were to receive a portion of his "property and moveable goods" which were given "for the purpose of almsgiving."\textsuperscript{149} Vinet explained in detail Bordeaux's status as a metropolitan city, which housed a cathedral. According to Charlemagne's will, the archbishops were responsible for dividing the gift further, one third to his church and the other two-thirds to be divided among the \textit{suffragans} of the city. Vinet's allusion to the destruction of the city in the ninth century was a way to express grief for the destruction of the city in the wake of the 1548 riots. Like Biondo in fifteenth-century Italy, Vinet used the history of Bordeaux as a mechanism to explain the present.\textsuperscript{150} The destruction of Bordeaux was a tragedy, in the eighth century as much as in the sixteenth. And as Charles Martel and Charlemagne recognized, the city was important, as was clear from its place in Charlemagne's empire.

\textsuperscript{144} For one example, see Fredegar, 98. "Romanos proterunt."
\textsuperscript{145} Fouracre, 81.
\textsuperscript{146} Fredegar, 91.
\textsuperscript{147} Higouneret, \textit{Bordeaux pendant le Haut Moyen Age}, 23.
\textsuperscript{148} Fouracre, 88.
\textsuperscript{150} Reeve, 38.
The Cenebrun legend has similarities to the thirteenth-century *chanson de geste, Huon de Bordeaux*. This was yet another medieval tale of a Bordelais knight, Seguin the Duke of Bordeaux, and his sons, Huon and Gérard, and their relationship to the Carolingian court. These two sons did not pay homage to Charlemagne which caused Amauri to accuse them of rebellion. Naimon intervened with Charlemagne on their behalf and on their way to court Amauri and Charlot, Charlemagne's son, ambushed Huon and Gérard. In the fight, Huon slew Charlot. To spare his life, Huon undertook a mission into Muslim territories in order to accomplish the following: to kill the first pagan he met in Babylon, to kiss three times Emir Gaudisse's daughter, Esclamonde, and to return home bearing three of the Emir's teeth and his moustache. For his journey, Huon had two companions, Gériaume and the fairy king Auberon, who helped him achieve his tasks. He returned home with his new wife, Esclamonde, to discover that his brother Gérard who was supposed to care for Huon's fief in his absence, had betrayed him. Huon, as a result of that betrayal, was thrown in jail, but Auberon interceded on his behalf to free him. *Huon de Bordeaux* was another legendary tale that boasted Bordeaux's prestige, yet, recounted "nothing but lies," whereas Einhard was the factual source. Vinet demonstrated through his history that the city did not require fictitious accounts to bolster its grandeur, but he also revealed the lengths that Charles I took to acknowledge and care for the city which had been destroyed. The accounts of Julius Caesar, Tacitus, Ptolemy, Strabo, Eutropius, Ausonius, and Einhard provided insight into the city's past. In the case of the records of Eutropius, Ausonius, and Einhard, the city held important relationships within the Roman Empire, in its ancient and medieval forms.

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In his prefatory letter to King Charles IX, Vinet declared his intention to elucidate the true history of Bordeaux, which he did through extensive source analysis. He also wanted to demonstrate the intellectual work occurring at the Collège de Guyenne as well as the quality of education the students received there as they were being "well shaped and properly taught in all good disciplines for service to God, to the King and his own." Vinet had assumed the role of principal at the Collège in 1562, and his first years in that position presented a number of challenges, two of which were religious dissension and extreme political agitation, but the most difficult was the consequence of the city's revolt against the salt tax. At his appointment in 1562, Vinet was to receive 1200 livres for management of the college, which was to come out of the city's revenue. This revenue stream was no longer available, however, because Henri II had confiscated those revenues after the revolt in 1548. Vinet's predecessor, Gelida had received approval for the return of the funds, but a transcription error had occurred that resulted in a 1000 livres payment rather than 1200. Gelida endured the hardship of restricted funds, but when Vinet assumed his post, he appealed to Charles IX for an investigation into the error, which resulted in a correction that restored the full payment. The king sent lettres-patentes to the Trésorier de l'Épargne on 8 March 1564, in which he addressed the error in the lettres-patentes from August 1550. Charles wrote that the Collège was "fondé en ladicte ville, et, pour l'exercice, d'icelluy, institué un principal, pour, avec un bon nombre de regens sçavans aux lettres hebraicques, grecques, latines, et autres sciences, et mathematicques, instruire les enfans et ecolliers," so it is clear he had some measure of the work the masters at the Collège undertook.

153 Vinet, L'Antiquité de Bourdeaux, n.p. "que leur iuenesse soit en ledit college mout bien at proprement instruicte en toutes bonnes disciplines, pour le service de DIEV, de vou et de vostre."
155 Gaullieur, 277.
157 "Lettres-Patentes de Charles IX," 211.
He acknowledged that the amount granted to the principal for the management of the Collège, until the "trouble et desordre advenu en ladicte ville de Bourdeaux," was 1200 *livres tournois*, at which point his father "auroit saiz et mis en sa main tous les deniers et revenu." The restoration of funds to the Collège, issued by his father, returned 1000 *livres tournois* to the principal. Charles IX now addressed the 200 *livres* shortfall, which made it "impossible [de] supporter les frais qu'il luy convient faire" and restored it to Vinet for the proper management of the Collège. The records contain the *Trésorier*'s acknowledgement of the king's order, and stated he would "payer, baillier et delivrer, doresnavant et chescun an, à maistre Helie Vinet, principal du college, appellé: le College de Guienne [...] la somme de douze cens livres tournoiz." Despite the king's *lettres-patentes*, the royal accountants had yet to fulfill the request, and on 14 April, the day after he had received *L'Antiquité de Bordeau* from Vinet, Charles IX ordered the payment to be given, and left "sans donner occasion au dit Vinet de porter de nouvelles plaintes." Having freed himself from the strains of financial burden, Vinet turned his attention to teaching and research. There was a great deal of interest in Ausonius and requests for Vinet to publish his work flowed in. In order to appease his friends, he published Ausonius' poems on the sixteen *Villes Célèbres*, one of which was Bordeaux. The demand for this edition derived from frustration on the part of Bordelais elites that Lyons had published many editions, while Bordeaux, Ausonius' home city, had yet to publish one. This publication coincided with escalating excitement for Charles IX's upcoming visit and complemented Vinet's reconstruction of the city's history. Charles' itinerary in Bordeaux included a visit to the Collège, for which Vinet was responsible. As a pedagogue, Vinet eschewed customary speeches and instead gave

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158 "Lettres-Patentes de Charles IX," 212.  
159 "Lettres-Patentes de Charles IX," 213-14  
160 Gaullieur, 280.  
162 Gaullieur, 278.  
163 Mirmont, xii.
the king a lecture suitable for the instruction of a fifteen-year old boy and the historical interests of a scholar.\textsuperscript{164}

Vinet, however, had an even larger goal in mind: to ensure that Charles IX recognized the greatness of the modern city of Bordeaux, the inheritor of a tremendous ancient legacy. There was a distinct shift in sixteenth-century France, whereby French cities became metaphor for the state. National citizenship became linked to civic citizenship.\textsuperscript{165} France was not a unified state in this period. Independent nobles pulled against the monarchy, which created challenges for the king.\textsuperscript{166} The monarchy's response to escalating religious tension is a good example of resistance to central authority. In the face of persisting religious violence in the region, despite the 1563 Edict of Amboise, the Chancellor, Michel de L'Hôpital, chastised the local magistrates for their failure to enforce the king's ordinance.\textsuperscript{167} Charles IX's tour of France was also a means to ensure he had clients among the elites of prominent French cities.\textsuperscript{168} Vinet understood the importance of loyalty to the king for the city's prosperity and concluded his preface with a blessing for the king: that God make France so happy, that, like in the past, it might possess the title "wise," as it once did, and that Charles IX reach and exceed the magnitude of his namesake Charles I.

Because this history of Bordeaux was a gift to the king on the occasion of his royal entry into the city, it belonged in the context of that entry, which had created a visual representation of the ancient city in the context of a thriving modern one. Vinet's assessment, based on his studies of Ausonius' corpus, was that Bordeaux in the fourth century was a "powerful and wise republic, which knew well how to maintain, and see among the most powerful, that she was. Of which

\textsuperscript{164} Courteault, \textit{Travaux d'Antiquités Locales}, 7.
\textsuperscript{165} Wells, xiii.
\textsuperscript{166} Wells, xvi.
\textsuperscript{168} Bernstein, \textit{Between Crown and Community}, 3.
grandeur she felt for quite a long enough." Here, Vinet declared that the ancient city was great, not because of legendary events or people, but because of the presence of water: the marsh, the great river, like the sea, and three other rivers, and fountains throughout the city. The very name of the city communicates its location along the water: "bord d'eaux."

In Charles IX's entry into Bordeaux in 1565 water was a prominent feature. The festivities included markers of the city's prosperity and international character, the central feature of which was the procession of twelve "captives," all dressed in the custom of their native lands who all delivered speeches to the king in their native languages. Abel Jouan, in a diary that recorded his observations over two years of travel in the king's entourage, noted that there was "[un] grand no[m]bre de sauuages de toutes sortes" alongside "[un] grand no[m]bre de navires, qui feirent bien leur devoir de tirer leur artillerie." The presence of these captives demonstrated the city's oceanic prowess.

One of the poems presented to Charles was delivered by the god Neptune. Holding his trident, he stated that "We smite with the authority of the sea, another god comes who rules the lands and rules the waters." The emphasis of royal entries made a distinctive shift over the course of the sixteenth century. François I's entries were theatrical displays that incorporated biblical themes, as had been the case in fifteenth-century entries, but they also incorporated national elements and "images de paix." These images of peace largely reflected the political tensions between François I and Charles V, but they also reflected a growing French kingdom, which in turn led to new presentations of the king in entries during the latter half of the sixteenth century.

169 Vinet, L'Antiquité de Bourdeaux, n.p. "il me semble, qu'on peut tirer que Bourdeau estoit en ce temps là, une puissante et sage republique, qui se savait tresbien maintenir, uoire entre de plus puissans, qu'elle n'estoit. De laquelle grandeur elle s'est sentie assés long temps."

Caedimus Imperio Pelagi deus adveit alter/ Qui Regat & teras, qui Regat vnus aquas.
172 Rivaud, 280-281.
century. By 1565, when Charles IX made his entries, the king was portrayed as a person of ancient lineage. They were more than royalty, but "héros d'une culture intemporelle." When Charles IX entered Bordeaux, the city's ancient lineage matched that of the kings across the intervening centuries.

Highlighting the two elements of Bordeaux – economic strength and ancient longevity – connected the modern city to its ancient past. Another poem, given by an old man known as the *genius civitatis*, "The Spirit of the City," made the point more clearly:

Charles, in my old face I bear witness to new joy
Lest you marvel at your youth rolling back in years
By divine will, I prepare wealthy men and a flourishing Burdigala
I hope to return to you ancient Rome.

Here the city declared its desire to flourish, but in a manner reminiscent of the ancient city of Bordeaux, a prominent city in the Roman Empire, the city that Elie Vinet described in *L'Antiquité de Bourdeaus*, the city Ausonius knew and loved, the city that continued the tradition of teaching that dated to the fourth century in a small college that embodied the best of the country, and was teaching youth to become citizens of the revived republic, which, at its pinnacle, had been powerful and wise, the city located along the water which had become an essential part of its identity and prosperity.

An examination of the Renaissance in France reveals an intersection between the imagined French national identity, which used historical events and figures to establish its legacy.
and authority, and the idea of 'rebirth.' "French Renaissance" illustrated a sense of constancy in the course of change. The literary love of Bordeaux revealed in Vinet's writings connected the city to the larger humanist metaconsciousness of place and power. The ideas generated at the Collège de Guyenne reflected their knowledge of how the monarchy was shifting. They knew firsthand the importance of having access to a local printing press. The curriculum indicated the linguistic changes happening in the kingdom. The masters at Guyenne understood the social conditions in France that were transforming it into a more unified nation. They knew the political dimensions that saw expanded administrative, judicial, and military configurations. They witnessed these in the king's response to the 1548 riots. They also knew how to navigate the administrative and judicial offices and used them to serve the needs of their city. In the sixteenth century, ancient Burdigala experienced a renaissance and the new, modern French Bordeaux was the living Gallo-Franco-Roman city. At the core of this knowledge and action was the Collège de Guyenne and the masters who taught there.

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176 Kelley, 123.
CHAPTER VII: CONCLUSION

On 28 February 1533, just six days after Mathieu Contat recorded the procès-verbal for the foundation of the Collège de Guyenne, Michel de Montaigne, son of Pierre Eyquem, Seigneur de Montaigne, was born. His father had been a man of prominence in Bordeaux. He served as the mayor from 1554 to 1556, having ascended through the various offices of the Jurade. He worked as the sous-maire as early as 1537, and was involved in civic oversight of the Collège.¹ In 1535, Eyquem hired a German tutor, likely the German Horstanus, who later became a regent at the Collège in 1547, to teach Montaigne Latin as his first language. By 1539, Michel de Montaigne commenced his studies at the Collège de Guyenne. He excelled there and completed the arts curriculum in only seven years, likely completing a year of philosophical studies there as well. Michel de Montaigne was a product of the Collège de Guyenne. As one of its most famous alumni, his life and work reveal the integration and networks of the Collège de Guyenne into the broader Renaissance and Reformation trends in France. In many respects, Michel de Montaigne was an example of what emerged from the Renaissance in Bordeaux. More importantly, Montaigne's life demonstrates the attainment of the aspirations of the regents at the Collège de Guyenne. He understood the pedagogical trends of the sixteenth century, having written about his views of education. He recognized the complexities of the religious debates that often triggered violence in the Reformation. He valued his connection to Bordeaux. He appreciated the importance of Bordeaux's need to prove itself as a loyal French city, yet as an independent and ancient city. Montaigne knew the regents at the Collège de Guyenne, as teachers, as scholars, as fellow citizens, and as colleagues who worked to demonstrate that Bordeaux was a responsible centre, capable of handling the challenges of the period. Michel de

See Gaullier, 135 for Pierre Eyquem's role in acquiring André de Gouveia's letters of naturalization.
Montaigne's ideas are illustrative of the trends of the time and provide insight into the regents and the instruction provided at the Collège de Guyenne, the school that Montaigne loved despite his general critique of schooling. A comparison of the *habitus* of the regents to Montaigne's life and views demonstrate the impact of the education available at the Collège de Guyenne. The regents' tempered approach to teaching, religion, and politics permeated their lessons and shaped the thinking of their most famous student, Michel de Montaigne, who, like his teachers, weathered the tempests of religious upheaval, political strife, intellectual discord, and civic quarrels to find a balance between stasis and change. Michel de Montaigne was an intelligent and thoughtful man, whose writings continue to challenge and inspire modern readers. His ideas, however, emerged from the context in which he lived and learned. The Collège de Guyenne had an important role in Montaigne's formation. They taught more than Latin grammar and dramatic interpretation. The curriculum was important, but the context the regents created in which to teach it provided an example of political astuteness and contribution.

The Collège de Guyenne adhered to the *modus parisiensis*. Robert Goulet outlined the common elements of the *modus parisiensis* in the *Heptadogma* at the end of his 1517 *Compendium*. From its inception in 1533, through renewed contracts in 1562, and with the publication of *Schola Aquitanica* in 1583, the Jurade directed the Collège to follow the "manyere des coleges de la ville de Paris." The programme at Guyenne paralleled Goulet's outline for the foundation of a successful college. Goulet provided seven precepts, which he argued were the essential elements for the famous colleges at Paris. These seven precepts addressed the need for a good and healthful site, a principal of strong character with excellent knowledge and training, a graduated system of classes into which students were assigned based on the results of a placement exam, a daily schedule, appropriate books for each level, studies in dialectic and

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2 Gaullieur, 29. ADG 3 E 3594.
eloquence, and concern for the well-being of students and their characters.\textsuperscript{3} These seven precepts addressed the form and function of collegiate education, all of which can be seen in the programme at Guyenne.

The Jurade placed importance on the role of principal and hired Jehan de Tartas, who had previously been the principal of the Collège de Lisieux in Paris. His reputation as a man of good virtue, teaching, and conduct made him an excellent candidate for the position. Tartas' short tenure in that position did not diminish the Jurade's commitment to finding an appropriate principal, and soon appointed André de Gouveia from the Collège de Sainte Barbe in Paris. In subsequent years, as principals departed, the Jurade continued to seek out appropriate leadership for the Collège. Sometimes the Jurade and the Parlement disagreed about which candidate was most appropriate, as was most clearly seen in the Parlement's appointment of Nicolas Hirigaray over the Jurade's appointment of Elie Vinet in 1556.\textsuperscript{4} Each principal also sought to ensure that there were excellent regents. They were to conduct their lives in quiet humility and virtue. Gouveia specifically examined the regents to ensure that they were not only in a position to teach the curriculum, but to model an honest life, from which students could also learn. Challenges arose in the selection of regents as religious conflicts grew and, while there were concerns about heterodoxy in the Collège,\textsuperscript{5} the regents nevertheless continued to teach students by their knowledge and their lives. Despite these contentious moments, selecting principals and regents of good character, knowledge, and teaching ability was the highest priority for the Collège de Guyenne.

One of the first tasks Jehan de Tartas undertook was to upgrade the buildings from the defunct Collège de Grammaire. Tartas and the procureur de la ville, Arnault de Lavie made a

\textsuperscript{3} Goulet, Compendium, 99-113. For Latin, see Quicherat, 325-331.
\textsuperscript{4} Gaullieur, 264.
\textsuperscript{5} Gould, 18.
survey of the buildings, which noted that they were in a state of disrepair. The room requirements were ambitious, with a goal to house over three hundred students, with appropriate classroom, library, dining, and chapel spaces for the students and regents. While the Collège buildings did not achieve Goulet's ideal location, separated from houses, on an elevated spot, the Collège de Guyenne became a defining element in its neighbourhood. The street became known as the "rue des Escoles" and eventually as the "rue du Collège de Guienne." The buildings and their location became an integral part of the Collèges reputation and its role in the city.

Like the colleges in Paris, the Collège de Guyenne operated with a centralized structure, which the principal oversaw, and offered a graduated system of classes into which students were placed based on the results of a placement exam. The principal appointed regents to teach each of the ten levels. One of the challenges of the centralized system was that the principal and regents frequently disagreed about student discipline. Gouveia reduced that conflict in two ways, first, by aligning himself with regents' decisions and, second, by granting all teachers the authority to inspect and correct. The Collège also followed a daily schedule which followed the ringing of bells that marked the hours throughout the day. Students had little leisure time, though the regents also supervised this in order to ensure that students used their days well. There was a defined curriculum students followed and gradually progressed through each level. The first ten classes addressed the linguistic skills required in order to complete the final two years in philosophy and rhetoric. Tradition did not define the books assigned to students at Guyenne. As new publications came available, the Collège integrated them into the curriculum. This can best be seen in the Collège's use of Mathurin Cordier's Colloques (1564) in the eighth

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6 Gaullieur, 33. ADG 3 E 3594.
7 Gaullieur, 2.
8 Brown, George Buchanan, 110. Quicherat, 238.
The book used an idealized experience of school to teach students how to learn, enjoy free time, and even quiz classmates. The goal of the programme at the Collège de Guyenne was to teach students how to live self-disciplined, respectful and studious lives.

Montaigne understood the *modus parisiensis*, as he had experienced it as a student. In an essay he wrote for Madame Diane de Foix, his friend and admirer, who was pregnant and hoping for a son, Montaigne reflected on his own educational experience and explained how he arrived at the Collège de Guyenne in Bordeaux at the age of six: his father, no longer surrounded with the men whose educational ideas inspired him in Italy, had succumbed to social convention and sent his son to college, rather than continuing with his private tutelage at home. Despite his view on schools and what he described as a fruitless experience, Montaigne referred to the Collège de Guyenne at the time of his studies (1539-1546) as "tres-florissant pour lors, & le meilleur de France." Montaigne's description of the Collège as "the best in France" has become a hallmark of histories of the Collège de Guyenne and scholars have used this quotation as evidence to support the reputation that the Collège acquired during its first decade.

The regents at the Collège de Guyenne implemented the *modus parisiensis*, as is evident from the curriculum they taught, but the impact of Montaigne's statement about the Collège has been profound, and one must ask why he held the institution in such high regard, especially in light of his negative outlook on schools in general. Montaigne challenged the practice of using one method to educate all people. He stated that "using the same teaching and the same degree of

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11 Mahlmann-Bauer, 356.
13 Montaigne, *The Complete Essays*, 197. Montaigne stated that he "left College at thirteen, having 'completed the course' (as they put it); and in truth I now have nothing to show for it."
15 Codina, "The 'Modus Parisiensis,'" 45.
16 In the two sentences following the statement that the Collège de Guyenne was at that time the best school in France, Montaigne stated that "mais tant y a, que c'estoit touiurs college." See Montaigne *Reproduction*, 66r.
guidance for them all not surprisingly can scarcely find in a whole tribe of children more than one or two who bear fruit from their education."\(^{17}\) This singular approach prevailed in colleges and, therefore, rendered them, in Montaigne's view, questionable.\(^ {18}\) While Montaigne advocated against educational systems that focus on the acquisition of knowledge, rather than the development of wisdom,\(^ {19}\) he nevertheless, referred to Guyenne as being "in full flourish as the best in France."\(^ {20}\)

The Collège de Guyenne operated as part of the University of Bordeaux. The offices of the University were available to the regents at the Collège and many of them served multiple terms in those capacities. In a peaceful environment, the Collège operated easily in the context of the University. The spread of the Reformation to Bordeaux, however, brought new conflicts to the Collège as it wrestled with the desire for inclusivity and external forces that disagreed. As the principal, Gouveia held a position of inclusivity for all religious perspectives. The composition of the faculty at Guyenne, particularly from 1533 to 1547, reflected this position as there were members from both sides of the theological debate teaching there. In addition to diverse perspectives, the regents at Guyenne also demonstrated adaptability and responsiveness to the religious currents. The best example of this was the Collège's response to the Jesuit Collège de la Madeleine and Jehan Puget de Saint-Marc, who had taught there.

Bordeaux suffered violence in the face of Reformation as members of the city elites took different sides in the conflict. Certain members of the Jurade in particular had concerns about

\(^{17}\) Montaigne, \textit{The Complete Essays}, 169.

\(^{18}\) Montaigne also discussed the ways his father intervened in the Collège programme to ensure the masters at Guyenne preserved some of the practices with which Montaigne was familiar from home.

\(^{19}\) See Montaigne's essay "On Schoolmasters' learning" for more detail on this perspective. The conclusion of his essay "On educating children" ends with a succinct summary of this idea "There is nothing like tempting the boy to want to study and to love it: otherwise you simply produce donkeys laden with books. They are flogged into retaining a pannierful of leaning; but if it is to do any good, Learning must not only lodge with us: we must marry her." Montaigne, \textit{The Complete Essays}, 199.

the orthodoxy of the regents and curriculum of the Collège de Guyenne. François de Baulon addressed his concerns by inviting the Jesuits to come to Bordeaux. In 1569, some had discussed the possibility of giving leadership of the Collège de Guyenne to the Jesuits. Edmund Hay, the rector of the Jesuit college at Paris, approved the idea. The regents at Guyenne, however, rejected it outright. The Jesuits founded the Collège de la Madeleine in 1572, which became incorporated to the University of Bordeaux in 1574. The incorporation had been the King's response to the conflict that had arisen between the two schools over Jehan Puget de Saint-Marc, a regent at the Collège de la Madeleine.

Jehan Puget de Saint-Marc had grown up under the care of the Jesuits and had accepted their tutelage. He had not, however, taken orders to become a Jesuit, which in 1574 became a point of contention between him and Charles Sager, the principal at the Collège de Guyenne. When Puget sought to leave Madeleine, Sager fought his departure and attempted to discipline him for his disobedience. Simon Millanges, the publisher and former regent of the Collège de Guyenne, intervened on his behalf, at which point disciplinary measures turned to violence. At the time of the incident, the Collège de Guyenne faced declining enrolment and the possibility of closure. Yet, the regents persisted and found a way to maintain the Collège in the face of suspicion. In 1578, Elie Vinet offered Puget the chair of philosophy, which Puget accepted. Issues of religious discord were characteristic of the period, but the Collège de Guyenne found a way to maintain the spirit of openness Gouveia established from the Collège's earliest years, which was the environment Montaigne experienced as a student there.

Montaigne's simultaneous praise and disdain for the Collège de Guyenne is further complicated by his praise of four of the regents who taught him: Nicolas Grouchy, Guillaume

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21 Martin, 39.
22 Gaullleur, 297.
23 Gaullleur, 331.
Guerente, George Buchanan, "the great Scottish poet," and Marc-Antoine Muret, whom Montaigne cited as "the best prose-writer in his day."\(^{24}\) He also mentioned André de Gouveia as "incomparably the best principal in France, as he was in all other aspects of his duties."\(^{25}\) To praise Gouveia aligned with views of his leadership at the Collège de Guyenne, as many held him in high esteem, which can be most clearly seen in Vinet's praise of him in the *Schola Aquitanica*. The four regents, however, raise some interesting questions in light of their lives after Guyenne. Marc-Antoine Muret arrived at the Collège in 1547, so it is unlikely Montaigne had much contact with him as a teacher, given that Montaigne finished his studies in 1546. Muret faced accusations of heresy and sodomy in 1553, which resulted in his departure from Paris. He arrived in Toulouse, where he studied and taught law, but soon faced the same accusations there, and while he avoided being tried, he was condemned *in absentia* and burned in effigy.\(^{26}\) Muret fled to Venice, which he left in 1558, according to Scaliger, due to new suspicions of pederasty.\(^{27}\) Muret continued to move around Italy because of rumours about his personal life. The rumours and frequent moves led to a decline in the number of students who wanted to study with him, until finally, in 1563, he settled in Rome, where he taught moral philosophy, law, and rhetoric at the university until 1584. During his tenure in Rome, Muret received citizenship in 1572, and was ordained as a priest in 1576.\(^{28}\) Grouchy, Guerente, and Buchanan travelled with Gouveia to Coimbra in 1547. Buchanan went on to be a leading voice in the Reformation in Scotland and Grouchy fought with the Protestants in the French Wars of Religion, eventually taking a position at the Protestant college at La Rochelle. Guerente was


\(^{27}\) Scaliger, 465. “c' estoit un grand homme, il faut bien qu'il y ait vue quelque chose que je n'y ay pas vue: c' estoit un homme docte, on ne la pas voulu endurer a Venise ob paederastiam.”

\(^{28}\) Dall'Orto, 321.
closely aligned with his friend Grouchy, so it is likely that he too was a Protestant, though there are no extant sources to support that conclusion.  Though Montaigne was not a Protestant, he praised four regents who were Protestants, or whose beliefs resulted in accusations of heresy. Montaigne argued for religious moderation and directed his critique of religion towards dogmatism and intolerance.

Like the regents who taught him, Montaigne negotiated within the contentious religious environment of Bordeaux. His religious prudence resembled that of the regents at Bordeaux, particularly that of André de Gouveia who, at the beginning of his tenure as principal, opened the Collège to all, regardless of theological position. The violence that erupted as a result of the religious debates troubled Montaigne. In the wake of the St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre in Paris, twelve additional cities experienced massacres of Protestants: Angers, Bordeaux, Bourges, Gaillac, La Charité, Lyon, Meaux, Orléans, Rouen, Saumur, Toulouse, and Troyes. The one feature that each of these cities had in common was that "they were all cities with Catholic majorities where there had once been significant Protestant minorities.[...] All of them had also experienced serious religious division [...] during the first three civil wars. [...] Moreover seven of them shared a previous experience [they] had actually been taken over by Protestant minorities during the first civil war.”

In Bordeaux, violence escalated against the Protestants, and a Catholic zealot named Montferrand claimed that the king had commanded him to kill Protestants. The loudest voice preaching against the Protestants in Bordeaux was Edmond Auger, the Jesuit preacher, who was also the principal of the Collège de la Madeleine. Auger's sermons, which were violent and called for the extermination of heretics, led to a three-day

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29 Gaullieur, 91.
assault, in which two hundred fifty Protestants died.\textsuperscript{32} In the wake of this assault, Protestant numbers declined sharply in Bordeaux, but the Parlement, which until this point had been ultra-Catholic, became more hostile to zealous Catholics and Jesuits and expelled the Order in 1589.\textsuperscript{33} During his time as a student, a counselor at the Parlement of Bordeaux, and his tenure as mayor, Montaigne witnessed tempered religious views at the Collège de Guyenne, whose curriculum provided a safeguard against fanaticism on both sides of the religious turbulence.

Colleges were a sign of the changing times. For masters, they were an opportunity for steady employment and a settled life. For children of bourgeois families, they were an important aspect of their social ascent. For cities, they were a symbol of wealth and an opportunity to connect to the intellectual culture of the day. Regents at the Collège de Guyenne aligned themselves with the city of Bordeaux. In addition to living and working in the city, many of them became citizens. They purchased homes and sometimes participated in trade. The city's history became a part of their scholarly identity as they adopted Ausonius, who was famous in his time, as a model for emulation. Some of the regents at the Collège experienced the new ennoblement as they gained citizenship and position in the city. André de Gouveia, like Ausonius, left his position in Bordeaux to serve the King of Portugal at his new foundation, the Collegio Real das Artes at Coimbra. Prior to his offer at Portugal, Gouveia had been the principal at the Collège de Sainte-Barbe in Paris, a regent doctor at the University of Bordeaux where he gave public lectures on Holy Scripture, and held three benefices in Bazas.\textsuperscript{34} During his time in Bordeaux, Gouveia also served as an intermediary for Portuguese traders. Additionally, he acquired letters of naturalization from the king, granting him the same privileges as those born

\textsuperscript{32} Pearl, 70.  
\textsuperscript{33} Pearl, 129.  
\textsuperscript{34} Gaullier, 183.
in France. While he ultimately broke his engagement, Gouveia was set to marry Charlotte de La Vergne, the daughter of a city merchant. Gouveia serves as an excellent example of the new ennoblement experienced by the regents at Guyenne and had integrated into elite life in Bordeaux.

Montaigne's family history was an excellent example of the new ennoblement. The availability of letters of nobility greatly increased over the course of the sixteenth century, and many purchased them directly from the crown, provided they had already achieved a high level of social standing. While letters of nobility were increasingly available, the most common entry into the new nobility was simply to "live nobly." The new nobility, bourgeois who began to "live nobly," created a new form of nobility that embraced freedom and liberality, yet recognized the importance of the prudential path. It only took a generation or two, and so long as the noble life-style was maintained, public acceptance generally ensued. Montaigne had strong feelings about those he thought were pretenders who held false titles. He lamented that lands granted to a younger son were frequently lost, and that a stranger, with no connection to the family, could buy them and assume the titles attached to the land. It distressed him further that

these mutations are allowed such licence that I know nobody in my own time who has had the good fortune to be elevated to some extraordinarily high rank who has not been immediately endowed with new genealogical styles of which his father knew nothing, or failed to be grafted onto some illustrious stock. [...] How many mere gentlemen are there in France who are of royal stock [...] by their own reckoning! More I think than of any other rank.

35 Matos, 145.
36 Gaullieur, 203-204.
37 Schalk, 101-110.
38 Holt, 211.
40 Montaigne, The Complete Essays, 310.
The position of the house of Montaigne was due to his great-grandfather's success, through which he had generated sufficient wealth as a fish and wine merchant to purchase the château at Montaigne, after which he added "de Montaigne" to the family name of Eyquem. 41 By the time Montaigne inherited the land and title, his position as a nobleman in Bordeaux was unquestioned, even with a *converso* mother, Antoinette de Louppes, whose family was descended from Iberian Jews. 42 The old nobility missed many of the aspects of nobility that were important to the bourgeois who stepped into noble living. For the new nobility, the attitude toward work and the ethic required to achieve noble status persisted. Becoming "noble" in this period was a highly self-conscious act.

Pierre Eyquem had great ambitions for his son and he went to great lengths to ensure his son's position in Bordelais society. Montaigne is the living example of sixteenth-century ideas of sons reflecting the greatness of their fathers. In his *Dog's Colloquy*, Miguel de Cervantes described the goals of merchants for their children, and how they "would go about in great state, with their tutor and their pages to carry their books and what they called portfolios." 43 Cervantes also described the custom of merchants using their sons to display their power and wealth, not in their own persons, but in that of their children; because these merchants are greater by reason of the shadow they cast than they are in themselves. [...] They burst forth in their children, and so they treat them and give them privileges as if they were the sons of princes. 44

When the Jurade of Bordeaux elected Montaigne as the mayor of the city, he was travelling in Italy and declined their offer: as he put it, "I was far from France, and even farther from such a thought." 45 The king, however, compelled him to return to France and take up the position of

41 Holt, 211.
44 Cervantes, 207.
mayor, by which Montaigne "was brought to see that I was wrong, since the King had also interposed his command." Montaigne held the position for two sequential two-year terms. He recounted that he "spelled out [his] character faithfully and truly," communicating to the Jurade that he had "no memory, no concentration, no experience, no drive, no hatred either, no ambition, no covetousness, no ferocity, so that they should be told, and therefore know what to expect from [his] service." Despite Montaigne's protests, he embodied successful sixteenth-century social mobility. His father had capital, gave him a proper education, held administrative positions, owned land, and lived nobly.

The Collège de Guyenne was instrumental in the transition of Bordeaux from a rebellious English city into a loyal French one. As political and economic changes buffeted Bordeaux, the regents found ways use their intellectual abilities not only to manage the Collège, but also to build the city's reputation in the kingdom of France. Jehan Gelida and Elie Vinet were the strongest proponents of this as they dealt with the fallout of the 1548 rebellion. From the city's defeat by the French in 1453, there remained a strong Anglo-Gascon identity, particularly in the menu peuple. When French taxation extended to include salt, the people in the province of Guyenne revolted. The king's response was swift and harsh. He removed all of the Jurade's privileges and replaced them with twenty-four men from cities loyal to the crown as prudhommes to manage the city. Additionally, he replaced the entire Parlement of Bordeaux with men from Paris, Rouen, and Toulouse. The replacement of the Jurade also resulted in restricted access to civic revenue. The king's treasury assumed all income and expenses for the city. The Collège de Guyenne's funding had come directly from the Jurade and no longer had any income. Jehan Gelida addressed this concern in a letter to the king, requesting that he

48 Boutruche, 10.
reinstate the Collège's funds so that it could continue to be "l'un des meilleurs [collèges] du Royaume." The king restored the funding, but a clerical error reduced the amount from twelve-hundred to one thousand livres. By 1560, the city had resumed most of its authority, but under a new organization structure, with clearer definitions about its relationship to the kingdom of France.

The city's continued restoration and growth as a loyal French city was due in large part to Elie Vinet. As religious conflict grew into violent incidents, King Charles IX embarked on a royal tour. Bordeaux was one of his many stops on the tour and Vinet ensured that the Collège took full advantage of it. As a gift to the king, Vinet produced a history of the city, in which he sought to correct medieval errors and demonstrate the city's importance and long history of loyalty. In addition to the processional elements of the royal entry, Vinet also arranged a tour of the Collège for the king, which included a lecture highlighting the intellectual rigour of the Collège and instruction for a teenaged king. In his book, Vinet highlighted the city's ancient grandeur, but also its contemporary importance as an international port city.

One of the key elements that humanists used to promote public action was the study of history. Vinet understood this and used it in *L'Antiquité de Bourdeaus*, and Michel de Montaigne understood and affirmed it in his "On educating children." Throughout the text, which can largely be seen as anti-humanist with regards to education, he recommends the study of humanity in the formation of self:

> Put into his mind a decent, careful spirit of inquiry about everything. [...] He will inquire into the habits, means and alliances of various monarchs, things most pleasant to study and most useful to know. In his commerce with men I mean him to include [...] those who live only in the memory of books. By means of history he will frequent those great souls of former years.

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49 Gaulleir, 277.
Throughout his *Essais*, Montaigne promoted the study of history to find ancient models to imitate, but also articulated the changing relationship between self and society during a period of political chaos.\(^{52}\)

The St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre was a turning point in the religious wars. The Huguenots increased their resistance to the point of revolution in rejecting the monarchy they believed was responsible for the atrocities. Their argument, which was based on Calvin's concept of "liberty of conscience" in *Institutio Christianae Religionis*, also assimilated Claude de Seyssel's ideas of a limited monarchy.\(^{53}\) This further divided the conflict and created a third party, the royalists, who were Catholic supporters of the king, who fought against the Huguenots and ultra-Catholic supporters led by Henri I, Duke of Guise. Montaigne experienced the French Wars of Religion first hand as he fought as a royalist, and more specifically with the *politiques*, who sought political solutions as opposed to religious purism.\(^{54}\) He reflected on the French Wars of Religion in his essay "On the Battle of Dreux," where he compared the fight between the Catholic Duc de Guise and the Protestant constable Montmorency to exempla from Plutarch's *Life of Philopoemen* and *Life of Agesilas*.\(^{55}\) Montaigne's tenure as Mayor of Bordeaux (1581-1585) coincided with the battle over succession between King Henri III, Henri I, Duke of Guise, and Henri of Navarre. During this time he often visited Paris, but also spent significant time on his estates at Montaigne, where he frequently hosted Henri de Navarre.\(^{56}\) High politics concerned Montaigne as much as civic affairs did, to the extent that Henri de Navarre, then King


\(^{53}\) Kelley, 139.


Henri IV, invited Montaigne to come to Paris as his advisor. Montaigne did not accept the position, likely due to his illness. Nevertheless, Montaigne had demonstrated his loyalty to the French crown, the very task Vinet sought to achieve for the city in his *L'Antiquité de Bourdeaux*.

The city of Bordeaux underwent an important process by which the citizens re-imagined their past in order to demonstrate their loyalty to the French crown. It participated in the movement to identify the French kings as the new Romans. Most importantly, it looked to its own ancient history and the crises of the past to understand its identity as a loyal French city and as an independent ancient city. Over the course of the sixteenth century, the Bordelais navigated enthusiasm for the Renaissance and adapted it to their local context, even as it quickly transformed into tumult and chaos during the Reformation. The Collège de Guyenne, which had begun as an expression of civic interest in the pedagogical trends of the day, became an important institution in the formation of Bordeaux's identity. At its foundation, humanism was an intellectual movement concerned with the relationship between politics and culture. In France, humanist ideals aligned with the monarchy's promotion of a unified French state. The regents weathered the challenges of Bordeaux's fiscal and religious instability. They elucidated essential elements of the city's antique past in order to address contemporary concerns about loyalty to France. The regents at the Collège de Guyenne were more than educators. They were scholars and citizens, who understood the precariousness of their position, yet found places in Bordeaux's urban community, and embraced the multi-national and multi-regional character of the city and worked to make Bordeaux a responsible centre in the new French order.

The *Schola Aquitanica* represented fifty years of pedagogical development at the Collège de Guyenne. It demonstrated how the regents in Bordeaux implemented the *modus parisiensis*.

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58 Hampton, 85.
59 Hampton, 86.
Moreover, it revealed the balanced religious perspective that the regents endorsed, as seen in the trans-confessional corpus of texts and teachers there. It alluded to the troubles the Collège faced under Gelida and Vinet. When Vinet published the volume in 1583, he included a short note of endorsement from the Jurade. In the face of religious threat and political tension, the signatories declared that the programme at Guyenne "ne pût jamais s'altérer facilement," that is, "it can never be easily altered." The core of that programme did not change: from its inception until the publication of Schola Aquitanica, the Collège de Guyenne used humanist curriculum to teach elite children. They modeled a tempered approach to increasingly violent religious debates. They engaged in contemporary scholarly pursuits in light of Bordeaux civic needs. Most importantly, they remained steady in a time of uncertainty and held the balance between desires for constancy and longing for change.

Michel de Montaigne embodied the education he received from the regents at Bordeaux. He understood the modus parisiensis. Although he critiqued rigidity and a singular approach to teaching, he recognized the efforts his teachers made to cultivate gifts and abilities in their students. Montaigne had great pride in what he learned, particularly from participating in the dramas written by teachers whom he held in high esteem, Buchanan, Guerente, and Muret. He wrote that he gained "an assured countenance, [and] a suppleness of voice and gesture." This is a testament to instruction that led to eloquence of speech. Montaigne had successfully acquired the skills taught in the programme at the Collège de Guyenne. Montaigne's balanced religious perspective came from the models he experienced at the Collège. As a student during André de Gouveia's principalship, regents of all theological perspectives were welcome. This balanced approach comes out in Montaigne's tempered views of religion that rejected fanaticism. Michel

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60 Massebieau, 50/51. The Latin reads: Nec facile usquam depravetur. This is a much stronger declaration with the use of depravetur: be corrupted, distorted, or perverted.

de Montaigne learned the lessons of the Collège de Guyenne, but more importantly, he achieved civic status and the new ennoblement. His position in Bordeaux and the respect he earned from King Henri IV are indicators that Montaigne found the kind of success modelled at the Collège. His life and perspectives represent the fruits of the hardworking, smart, and occasionally visionary educational leaders at the Collège de Guyenne.
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