PART III.

"THE EDUCATIONAL THEORIES OF FRANÇOIS RABELAIS"
Section I.

The Essential Features of Rabelais' Pedagogy:

The system of education conceived by Rabelais must remain an ideal in some measure but we shall examine its principles, content and methods, to discover the permanent and practical value of its recommendations.

I. Principles:

The fundamental principles underlying Rabelais' scheme are the simultaneous and harmonious development of all the energies and faculties of man, physical, mental and moral. He envisages the training of a complete personality in body, mind and character, which are not to remain separate entities but which are to be carefully balanced and intertwined in a most varied, all round education. He has a firm belief in the value of education plus environment; he exhibits in a marked degree the faith of the intellectual in the progress of the human mind.

Retaining the best features of the medieval training in cloister, castle and town, he fuses the intellectual discipline of the first with the physical training of the second and the more practical aspect of the third. Yet Rabelais prepares a pupil for life in its manifold forms and not for one narrow walk of life, in spite of a few details which have a direct bearing on Gargantua's future as a ruler. Whether his hero were to be bishop, lawyer or doctor, Rabelais' ideas would remain fundamentally the same, with stress on the importance of a healthy body, broad mind and virtuous character. The equipment of every man must include the possession of accurate knowledge together with the necessary skill in its application. In the acquiring of such a fund of information the pupil's role must not be only a receptive one but he must be roused to personal activity; the tongue and the pen may have an important
place but the hand and the eye are worthy of equal recognition.

The world of books is not enough for the nurture of a complete man; nature, the arts and sciences, trades and crafts must be opened up to him. By moving among his fellow men he is to become sociable and cheerful. If on the literary side Rabelais turns to the past, he introduces his pupil to the present realities of the world around him and by his attention to the possibilities of science he often anticipates the future.

A. Physical Training:

For Rabelais the perfectly trained body, one in command of all its movements, is the essential foundation both for good health and the acquisition of knowledge. In other words, the attention he devotes to Gargantua's physique has as its object proficiency in tasks demanding not only bodily but also mental effort. Rabelais' greatest preoccupation is the care of the body, more than half his pages on education being concerned with physical training.

In the first edition of "Gargantua" the doctor summoned by Ponocrates to attend to his pupil is called not Master Theodore but Seraphin Calobarzy, an anagram of Francois Rabelais - a fact which shows that Rabelais, as both doctor and humanist, takes the complete responsibility for the plan of education he puts forward. Similarly, when Ponocrates does not make any sudden change in Gargantua's way of life, he adopts a precept of the medical school of Salerno. The first aphorism of the "Regimen Sanitatis" or "Regimen Salernitatum" is explained in a gloss: bad habits must be changed gradually for nature cannot endure sudden changes.

We are constantly reminded of the attention Rabelais gives to the body, now restored to its rightful place after its neglect and suppression during the
Middle Ages. Before being a doctor of the mind and soul, Rabelais never forgets that he was a doctor of the body. He does not merely avoid neglect of the body; he does far more by making it his constant preoccupation. Socrates keeps his pupil fit for strenuous mental effort by equally strenuous physical activity. It is not merely a healthy body he is attempting to create but a body in which the mind can develop to the full. Before Rabelais' time these demands had not been made in such emphatic form, and no writer from Rabelais to Rousseau has given such an important place to gymnastics.

Quite apart from the serious physical training in the afternoon he thinks of minor details: on a wet day Gargantua is allowed a fire; the times are gone when he could wear a drab gown trimmed with fur and disregard his toilet. The new knowledge must not be lodged in a dirty body; a neglected appearance is inconsistent with dignity. All exercise is followed by rub down and change of shirt; the morning ball games usually cease when the players are sweating. In this Rabelais recalls the writings of Hippocrates and Celsus both of whom recommend that sweat should be interpreted as a sign that enough exercise has been taken.

This attention to bodily cleanliness is a great novelty if we consider the times in which Rabelais lived and contemporary customs. When he was doctor in the Lyons hospital there were three patients to a bed. When the medieval steam bath (êtuve) finally disappeared decried by Catholic and later by Protestant preachers, people lost the habit of using water and merely rubbed themselves down. Marguerite de Navarre refers to hands which have not been washed for a week, a custom still found in the 15th century in the works of La Salle. Thus when Rabelais prescribes the washing of hands and face after meals he is making a great advance. It is true that Gargantua is only rubbed down after games but he enjoys a regular bath in his swimming exercises.
Rabelais lays great stress on the formation of right habits, whether of personal cleanliness or in his pupil's studies and daily activities.

There is no better proof of Rabelais' seriousness of purpose in speaking of education than the fact that he has entirely forgotten the giant's enormous appetite and discusses what is reasonable and best for the meals of a normal man. Rabelais claims that supper, coming at the end of a full day yet not too near the time for retiring to rest, should be an ample meal, while dinner should be lighter seeing that work has to be resumed fairly soon afterwards. On this point Rabelais disagrees with the "Regimen Sanitatis" and the Arab school which perpetuated a routine method in medicine. Rabelais insists on a rest after dinner so that his pupil shall not resume his studies immediately after a meal, just as falconers do not make their birds fly on a full stomach, but rather allow them to remain on the perch while digesting their food. When Gargantua has been prevented from exercising out-of-doors and has thus had a less strenuous day his evening meal is correspondingly lighted.

After the afternoon study Gargantua undergoes a course of thorough and strenuous physical training. In the multitude of exercises mentioned we can imagine Rabelais giving free rein to his imagination and erudition in restoring the body to an honoured place in education after it had been mortified during medieval days as something vile and unworthy. We must also suggest, as a cause of so much detail, Rabelais' fondness for exhaustive lists and catalogues.

While he takes delight in showing us a body enjoying the full freedom of action in the open air and being fully developed in every possible way, he stresses the use of such training in the bearing of arms, in which Gargantua will have to be competent when he takes his place as the leader and protector of his people. It is
folly, for instance, that a man should boast of breaking ten lances in the lists instead of overthrowing ten adversaries with one lance. Jumps useless in warfare are omitted; with the same object Gargantua practices managing an unbridled horse.

It is not intended that Gargantua's daily programme should include all the feats of arms and strength mentioned in the same chapter, for Rabelais definitely states that "another day" he wielded the battle axe, etc., so we must imagine therefore horsemanship and the use of a lance occupying one afternoon; then the axe, pike, two handed sword and dagger another. And so in turn came hunting, wrestling, leaping, running, swimming, handling a boat, climbing trees, walls or ropes, throwing the javelin, shooting, shouting, weight lifting and other feats of strength.

In this list of exploits there are reminiscences of Rabelais' reading; from Plutarch's life of Julius Caesar we see Gargantua emulating Caesar's example by swimming across the river dragging a coat in his teeth; incidents from Ruananias and Pliny are recalled when Gargantua tears up trees and stands firm against all who try to move him like Milo de Crotone. Some items in the list are based on historical facts; Gargantua's climbing the wall of a house by placing stout daggers in the gaps between the stones, seems a flight of fancy, yet Rabelais is recalling a passage from Agrippa d'Aubigné who relates that, at the siege of Taillebourg in 1242, the ladders proved too short, so the first attackers scaled the walls with the help of daggers, later helping up their comrades with ropes. When Rabelais wishes to depict Gargantua's mastery of horsemanship he says he was far superior to the "voltigeus of Ferrara". This athlete may be Cesare Fiaschi of Ferrara, a squire who is mentioned in the French chronicles of the time, or he may be somebody Rabelais met in Italy, where horsemanship was highly developed, so that even the acrobats and
charlatans touring France styled themselves Italians or Greeks. Like riding, fencing spread from Italy to France during the Renaissance.

Rabelais not only fortifies Gargantua’s every limb and muscle, but pays minute attention to diet and hygiene — the number and times of meals, the adjustment of sedentary work and active occupations, the rest during digestion, the change of clothes after exertion, the fire on wet days. No physical function is beneath his notice, for the importance of evacuations, for instance, is most important; Locke devotes much space to this same question.

Rabelais wisely ensures alternation of indoor and outdoor occupations. The gymnastic training does not take place in a room with artificial apparatus, apart from weights (which became our modern dumb-bells). He takes his pupil into the fresh air and makes use of ropes, the rigging of a ship or the boughs of a tree. If such work is rendered impossible by the bad weather, Gargantua is employed in barn or wood-shed with something ready to hand — chopping wood, hay and straw by way of exercise. Rabelais would have agreed with Rousseau’s opinion that the only important part of medicine is hygiene.

Rabelais emphasizes the practical utility of Gargantua’s physical training: to make him fearless and skilful in the wielding of arms. Having learned fencing, the young giant tests his skill against the finest exponents of the art. Ability to use the sword, will stand him in good stead in his later life. It is not suggested that he will be called upon to make use of all the weapons mentioned — axe, crossbow, spear, arquebus, dagger and pike. But just as a conductor is all the more efficient for a knowledge of several instruments in his orchestra, so Gargantua will one day be able to make the fullest use of all the instruments of war wielded by
his soldiers from his intimate knowledge of their best use and most effective range.

After morning lessons, Gargantua and his pages go to a neighbouring field to "disport" themselves. This is one of the earliest, if not the earliest, use in this sense of the word which has given us the modern word "sport" with all its educational implications.

F. Mental Training:

When Pencroctas transforms Gargantua's mode of instruction, learning no longer remains the tacit acceptance of information whether imparted by the book studied or the teacher. There is constant appeal to other sources for confirmation. The tutor adopts a much wider curriculum and introduces much more varied and enlightened methods which we shall consider under those headings later.

G. Moral Training:

Gargantua's theologian preceptors had allotted too much of his time, but apparently none of their own, to the outward practice of religion, multiplying masses, ave marias and paternosters learnt by heart. When Gargantua is allowed to do as he pleases by Pencroctas, he ceases to rise early or to study, but still devotes long hours to masses, which shows that his religious duties have become outward and formal practices with little meaning and no good influence.

Pencroctas will allow no time to be wasted on services, masses and rosaries, but confines religious training to the reading and exposition of certain chapters of the Bible on rising, together with prayers morning and evening and grace after meals. He rejects all institutional religion and conventional morality which he replaces by a sound, namely religion—the worship of God in his manifestations, not in the abstract, not in
accordance with any dogma nor tainted with hypocrisy.

Morning and evening Gargantua observes the stars; this reasoned contemplation by a young mind of the works of the Almighty is far more valuable and infinitely more beautiful than any set prayer mumbled as a matter of course. We discern the real as opposed to the formal at the root of all Rabelais' teaching.

In his life among men and in his reading from the ancients, Rabelais no doubt realised that there were men who believed absolutely in the Christian virtues of Generosity, unselfishness, charity and humility, without ever connecting them in their minds with Christ; and at the same time that many of Rabelais' contemporaries associated with the Christian religion was precisely the very formalism and smug self-righteousness which Christ spent His life in trying to destroy.

Ponocrates sees the danger that prayers and passages from the Bible learnt by rote may merely recall the feelings of boredom and distaste with which the task of memorising was originally associated. When we consider Rabelais' insistence on learning by heart in other spheres it is all the more remarkable that he should be so strongly opposed to the memorising of set prayers.

The replacement of formal grace after dinner by hymns and of mass by a chapter from the Bible, denotes certain tendencies to Protestantism in Rabelais. His simple, direct religion reveals and adherent in spirit of Evangelism and we are not surprised, therefore, that Calvin counted on Rabelais' support for a time. He sends Gargantua to hear the sermons of good Evangelical preachers, and from all points of view is much nearer the Protestant than the Roman Catholic conception of religious education. The Jesuits, for example, favoured direct, positive and even dogmatic instruction.

However large a place Rabelais gives to the Greek and Roman classics, the education of a Christian must
not be limited to the study of pagan literature. In his letter to his son, Gargantua advocates the study of Hebrew for an acquaintance with the Scriptures at their source before proceeding to read the New Testament.

We must also turn to the same letter for Rabelais' ideas on the education of conscience. The concluding portion of Gargantua's advice is inspired by a deep moral sense. All knowledge and learning in themselves are useless if the student's soul is not filled with virtue and charity. "Wisdom entereth not into a malicious mind and knowledge without conscience is but the ruin of the soul". This single manly sentence is far more emphatic than a whole paragraph of moralising. Many of Pantagruel's companions in later life are uncouth and do not set a good example. Yet, thanks to his training which has enabled him to stand on his own feet, his strong character is not impaired by his associations or environment.

II. Contents — Curriculum

We have already seen the subjects recommended to Pantagruel by his father. On a closer examination of this programme we find that Gargantua wants his son to attempt, if not know, everything, to become an "abyss of knowledge" in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, geometry, arithmetic, music, astronomy and anatomy; that is, in languages, sciences and the arts. He must read a mass of authors and there must not be a fish or tree of which he does not know the name and characteristics. We wonder how the brain of Pantagruel, giant though he be, will be able to contain all this knowledge. Rabelais does not differentiate for us between what is to be studied extensively and what intensively.

When Pnocrates takes charge of Gargantua's education the essential characteristic of his system is still its encyclopedic nature, embracing all branches of knowledge. It is obvious that Gargantua learns almost all the subjects mentioned in the letter to Pantagruel, but we see how certain subjects enjoy greater prominence than
The reformed programme allows no waste of time. Rising at four o'clock, like the Capettes of the College de Montaigu, Gargantua is occupied every hour until bedtime with hard study, useful recreation or bodily exercise. In replacing the rigid discipline of scholasticism by more liberal methods, Rabelais has in no way contemplated any idleness or relaxation of effort. On the other hand, himself an indefatigable worker, he insists on continuous effort and great activity.

Unfortunately, Rabelais is silent about both curriculum and methods when he says Gargantua studied for three hours morning and afternoon. This is deliberate for he wishes to convey the impression that the new teaching makes a complete break with old. We must accept this conception with caution, as it arises from the author's attempt at an artistic contrast; with the same object he placed Gargantua's first education in the gloom of medievalism, much earlier than was really the case. Had Rabelais discussed the curriculum at length we should have found the Trivium surviving in Pencrates' teaching, even if it were only in grammar study and that in a more enlightened form. The other two divisions of the Trivium — logic and rhetoric — were surely rejected by Pencrates as purely formal studies.

The branches of the Quadrivium — arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music — were not formal and were retained by Pencrates, although the general tendency of the Renaissance was to increasing neglect of these four. Yet even these are not in the first rank among Gargantua's studies but are reserved for the periods of relaxation after dinner and supper.

What, then, was the serious part of his study? It was devoted to the Greek and Roman classics, but here again we must supply the authors from the context — Cicero, Plato, Virgil, Plutarch, Pliny and many others mentioned by Rabelais incidentally in various parts of
his educational thesis. Ponsocrates does not divide up his work into different "subjects" as though they were water-tight compartments. Rabelais hints at this fact when, after dinner, they resume the reading of the "book wherein he was". Rabelais has been accused of over-emphasis of the classics, but this is an exaggeration; the classics were then, what they have ceased to be for us, the source books of knowledge. In his attitude to the Scriptures, medicine and law, Rabelais was essentially a humanist, insisting on tracing all knowledge to its source so as to arrive at the fundamentals and eradicate the errors and confusion caused by medieval translators and commentators. As late as Milton's "Tractate on Education" we find the classics emphasised for the value of their content and scientific data.

Though Ponsocrates apparently devotes six hours a day to purely literary study, this reading of the classics is but the starting point for further investigation and a practical application of the theory. While holding up Plato and Cicero as models of my style in his letter to Pantagruel, Rabelais by no means limits the authors read to stylists. For him languages are to be cultivated not only for their beauty but also, and in greater measure, for their content value as sources of practical information and scientific data. The pupil must see in the Greek and Latin texts he studies the life and customs of Greece and Rome and discern how far they have formed the foundations of our Western civilisation. For example, the time of Papinian, the second century jurisconsult, is greatly esteemed by Rabelais as it saw the birth of the teaching of Roman law. Yet the epoch of Papinian has been considered as one of great culture only by logists.

The classical literatures, then, are to have history, geography and law as their background. History, in its turn, will be supplemented by "books of cosmography". All the time, the many subjects and even
different aspects of the same subject are closely correlated. Sometimes the theory precedes the practice: after reading Pliny on botany and natural science, they go out into the fields and woods to apply their knowledge; out in the country they recall Virgil's "Georgics" or Hesiod's "Works and Days". We are constantly reminded of Rabelais' reason and common sense which refuse to accept any authority without testing it; although he says that Gargantua and his fellows tried to divide water from wine by using ivy, later in his work he gives us to understand that this is a piece of false information for the experiment fails.

More often Rabelais puts practice before theory. The foods on the table are discussed** before there is reference to the works of Pliny, Athenaeus or Galen. The day begins with observation of the heavens and from this they proceed later to the formulation of the canons of astronomy as a branch of mathematics. This is extremely sound: before becoming an astronomer one must know what the shepherd and sailor know on the subject from practical experience. The serious study of botany should follow an acquaintance with the elementary facts known to the gardener and cook. Knowledge is thus presented to Gargantua in the natural order. A subject is best understood in this way and, if a pupil does not proceed very far in his theoretical studies, he does at least possess valuable practical knowledge of far more use and more easily retained than vague and abstract theories.

From a detailed examination of Gargantua's curriculum we must conclude that, however prominent the Greek and Latin authors seem in his day's work, the most

** A feature of contemporary life, a common practice among 16th century princes, Marguerite of Navarre was in the habit of discussing natural history and medicine at table, especially the virtues and defects of foods. De Thou in his "Histoire de Mon Temps" book III relates how Francis I liked to learn natural history during meals and in this manner became familiar with all the ancients had written on animals, plants, metals and precious stones.
important part of his training comes from the sciences, especially the natural sciences. The classics and sciences are supplemented by arts and crafts, for Gargantua learns to sing and play several musical instruments; he studies painting and carving. Thus, while Rabelais stresses the critical and analytical aspects of thought, he does not neglect the creative and imaginative side of his pupil's mind. Add to this his visits to workshops to see craftsmen and smiths at work, a particularly modern trait of Rabelais' pedagogy which deserves special consideration in the next section.

A final consideration is the position of French in the curriculum. During meals there was read "some pleasant history of the earlike actions of former times", a statement capable of widely different interpretations. In discussing the curriculum Professor Killey says: "Had one of the popular romances of chivalry ... been substituted ... it might have been to the advantage of Gargantua's general mental development." We may, however, safely conclude that these romances of chivalry are included among the stories of ancient prowess. J. Plattard is definitely of the opinion that Rabelais admits the romances of chivalry as Gargantua's recreative reading although he sometimes parodied certain features of these medieval romances. Rabelais also admits the translation of Latin epigrams into French.

Practical Training:

The study of books often became the sole preoccupation of the humanists, entranced by the literary treasures of Greece and Rome revealed to them, exactly as the monks of the Middle ages had lived absorbed in meditation upon the truths of Christianity. Yet Rabelais knew too well the value of action and open-air life to train his pupil in cloistered seclusion. Gargantua is sent to neither monastic school nor college, but enjoys freedom of movement among men and pursuits of daily life, which provide him with first-hand experience. He visits
not only scholars and preachers, but also tradesmen, artisans and even quacks, to supplement the knowledge gleaned from books. Rabelais did not make the mistake of humanists, of concentrating on purely intellectual pursuits.

Gargantua is not to be a scholar but is trained with a view to his future calling, that of ruling prince and practical man of affairs. Hence he is taken to the law courts, workshops and public gatherings in preparation for his calling. Speaking through Friar John, Rabelais differentiates between productive and unproductive labour, maintaining that it is by the former alone that the community at large can be enriched. The enemies such as dirt, ignorance and the blind belief in traditional authority, which are eradicated from Gargantua’s education, will be the very obstacles which the prince will have to strive against in his own domain.

With this end in view, the texts chosen for the daily study are appreciated in ever-increasing degree by seeing the theories they contain applied in daily practice. His knowledge of the orations of Cicero is broadened by listening to the eloquent appeals of lawyers and preachers. The husbandry of Virgil, Cato and Pliny is brought to life by what he observes in field and countryside; it is thus that Gargantua is gradually brought to see the continuity of human experience.

When visiting famous scholars he does not merely listen to them but discusses with them. By questioning travellers lately returned from strange lands he gathers information he could not possibly find in books. As for music, we feel that Gargantua is not concerned with the theory but tries his skill on various instruments with the object of producing a harmonious if homely tune.

By developing the practical side of his pupil's mental powers Rabelais implies that practical understanding is a better preparation for life than mere theory. Yet sound instruction from the best authors is of distinct advantage if the tutor bears in mind the needs of life
itself and models his instruction accordingly. Hence Gargantua's training is very largely concerned with the application of knowledge or skill. When the lessons of the previous day were repeated to him he had to base upon them "some practical cases concerning the estate of man". In recapitulating a passage, whether from the Bible or the classics, the sense is the aim, not the mere use of words. Gargantua had presumably to give many examples to illustrate any rule.

He is taken to hear preachers and lawyers, to watch the expert weavers, coiners and apothecaries at their work, to see how they used metals, roots and herbs. The adulteration of their products is revealed to him, for he must be aware of such devices and put on his guard against the wiles of charlatans and sentimentalists. Gargantua not only watches fencing, but practices it. On certain days he spends his time in the commonplace tasks of sawing wood and threshing corn; Fonocrates gives him such work for practical and social reasons, though we must not conclude that he realises the psychological implications.

From his own experience and observation Gargantua amasses a fund of facts about the animal, vegetable and mineral world - birds, beasts, trees, fruits, herbs and minerals. But whereas much information existed on these in the Greek and Roman classics, Rabelais advances on this by a system of scientific classification; Risotomis collects and arranges the specimen herbs and plants. This is a definite contribution to establishing the distinct branches of knowledge recognised in modern times and Rabelais is the earliest advocate of such work as a part of education.

On the holidays in the country Gargantua indulges his inventive capacity by making little mechanical devices such as syphoning water from one vessel to another. He must not only read and listen, but do things with his hands.
Education is for Rabelais a living process which continues throughout life. Both Gargantua and Pantagruel travel extensively to learn something of men, customs and modes of life in other lands. Pantagruel visits several universities before his sojourn in Paris and subsequently sets out on a voyage of discovery; from a study of these travels it is obvious that Rabelais followed with great interest the great geographical discoveries of his age. He was familiar with the voyages of Vasco da Gama, Jacques Cartier and Johan Ango and doubtless intends the later part of his book as an attempt to find the N.W. passage.

The ancient writers of Greece and Rome are to be studied partly for their own sake, partly for their stating of eternal problems of human life rather than for their verbal and grammatical intricacies. But the ability to lead a useful, practical life does not depend on a store of knowledge to the solution of the practical affairs of everyday life. A good ruler, or an artisan, will be all the better for a vast background of encyclopedic knowledge, Rabelais would say, but both need primarily a knowledge of men and things, together with good health and the cheerfulness, strength and patience it brings.

Rabelais himself shows us the practical importance of his chapters on education by avoiding the treatise form; he puts his scheme into practice showing us Gargantua at work and the results of his training in later life.

To conclude, Rabelais envisages education as a sound training for life in the community, omitting nothing which can build up a complete personality in harmony with the world. To this end he has provided for physical education, the knowledge of one's own self; for scientific study of nature in its manifold forms; for ethical training and the simple but sincere worship of God; for a communal spirit in the love and respect for one's neighbour; and in some degree for a cultural and aesthetic sense in the pursuit of the arts.
Gargantua goes forth into the world with a wealth of practical knowledge, ready to play his part as a man with an eye for what needs remedy and reform, with a distaste for the paltry and second rate. This complete system of education is proposed as an introduction to the practical duties of an active prince. Plato implies that the best preparation for the administration of affairs is an accumulation of theoretical and practical knowledge. Gargantua is trained in the wisdom of the ancients, practised in all forms of bodily exercise, practised, taught to consider no mechanical industry unworthy of his attention or study, aroused to the variety and wealth of nature and finally introduced into the company of various types of men.

III. Rabelais' Methods. The Role of the Tutors

Gargantua is encouraged to a better mode of life and study not by any persuasion or compulsion on the part of Plato, but by listening to the conversation of cultured men whom he desires to resemble. Neither he nor Pantagruel is insured in a school; both are entrusted to tutors without being isolated from the company of other youths. Rabelais and other pages take part in Gargantua's games and excursions, in discussions at table and probably in his other activities, although Rabelais does not definitely say so.

As between father and son, so between tutor and scholar there is a frank and friendly relationship. This is not accomplished by any diminution of deliberate training and guidance on the one hand or of respect on the other. Plato does not formulate a mass of rules and regulations to live by, but gains the esteem and confidence of his pupil by his personality and practical wisdom without the use of any punishments or extraneous rewards.

Elsewhere Rabelais speaks out in condemnation of school discipline and punishments. When on his travels Pantagruel saw a schoolmaster whip his scholars "just as
they used to whip little children in our country when they were hanging some malefactor, so that the young would remember it." Threatened by the enraged Pantagruel, the master ceased the punishment. On the completion of his education Gargantua returned home and was asked by his father if he had been at the College de Montaigu. Pencrofates at once replied "Do not imagine that I placed him in the filth of Montaigu — for the prisoners of the Moors and Tartars, murderers in a prison, even the dogs in your house are better treated than these wretches in the College". Rabelais also criticised one of the masters in Montaigu, Tempest by name, who had the reputation of being a great flogger of boys.

By encouragement and kindness, by sharing his pupil's activities and interests, Pencrofates so much impresses Gargantua that when the latter takes part in the war against Picrochole, who is unfortunately killed, Gargantua takes charge of the orphaned son and puts him under the tutelage of Pencrofates.

The preceptor does not attempt to do everything himself; he is merely in charge of Gargantua's general studies but it would be impossible for him to attempt to take part in all his pupil's strenuous activities. Gymnastics keeps the physical training his own concern, while Anagnostes reads the passage of Scripture in the morning and, presumably, the epic story during dinner and supper. In reading, Rabelais tells us that good intonation and clarity are essential; writing, he insists, must be "handsome" and in Roman characters as was the fashion among humanists. Handwriting was of great practical importance at a time when the printed books had not yet definitely replaced manuscripts.

The scheme of education inaugurated by Pencrofates keeps Gargantua fully and profitably occupied throughout the day. Although demanding incessant activity of mind and body, it is full of joy, gladness, cheerfulness and good spirits. Pencrofates reveals his deep sympathy with
the enthusiasm of youth by joining in the sport and good cheer. He takes part in the frolic of a day in the country, refreshing his still young spirit and keeping alive his youthful ardour. Gargantua's perpetual employment is no strain since relaxation is provided by variety; a stimulus comes from the spirit of adventure, of finding out something new.

It is in methods of study that there are great advances on the scholastic system. Pedagogues such as Pomocrates are born not made. He formulates the theory of attractive work, witness his method of approach to mathematics. Gargantua is introduced to arithmetic by little problems with cards and dice, at which the time passes as pleasantly (and far more profitably) as it used to do in games. Having made good progress in arithmetic Gargantua is gradually and unconsciously started on geometry. During the periods of rest after dinner and supper he is taught the elements of practical geometry by drawing various figures. Thus Pomocrates can base a more serious study of Euclid on the facts and axioms already known to his pupil through his games. Finally the mathematical knowledge so acquired is turned to good account in formulating the canons of astronomy, the practical side of which Gargantua has studied in his observation of the stars and planets morning and evening.

The latter practice illustrates Pomocrates' second great contribution to pedagogy — his use of sense perception and object lessons. Strolling through the fields after the morning's exercises, Gargantua and his associates observe plants, shrubs and trees as a foundation for the study of botany and forestry. Similarly, at meals the conversation turns on the foods served, their origin, properties, cultivation and preparation. Having carefully noted the things themselves, they then refer to what Fliny and Galen say of them. Thus Rabelais places much greater value on what is gained from personal observation of concrete facts than on what can be gleaned
from books. Refer to books by all means, if only to make assurance doubly sure, to see if our senses have missed any detail which is contained in the classics, or to test the classics themselves and the accuracy of all their data. Information so acquired at first hand and by personal effort has far greater worth and will remain in mind longer than facts read in books.

On wet afternoons Gargantua exercises by trussing hay and chopping wood, thus using his hands, and noting meanwhile how different woods vary in grain and hardness. This links up with his forestry study started on the morning's stroll and also with his experience when visiting craftsmen at their work. He will thus learn to recognise trees by their external appearance, by the texture of the timber; the best uses of each type of wood will gradually become known to him.

His knowledge of herbs is carried a step further by observing the uses dyers, druggists and apothecaries make of them. He sees precious stones in the rough, then carved and set. He watches the drawing of metals, whether base or noble, and notes the uses to which they are put by iron-founder, goldsmith or coiner.

The aim of Fonocrates in taking his pupil among craftsmen and advocates is twofold: to see the practical aspect of so many things affecting our daily life, and above all, to lay a foundation for the theoretical lessons he gives Gargantua and thus make the chosen texts more real and living.

When Gargantua trussed hay and chopped wood the primary object was to strengthen his muscles and keep his body fit when outdoor exercise was impossible. But he could have obtained such benefits from lifting the blocks of lead he used in the open air or by adopting other exercises to indoor needs. But Rabelais has manual training also in mind, as is proved when Gargantua goes on to learn the arts of carving and painting. As hand and
eye training he practises certain arts and crafts he has seen in his visits to workshops. It is not enough that he should watch a wood carver but he must also try his hand at such tasks. Pomocrates trains Gargantua for the arts of war but more particularly for the arts of peace, in which he will have to play a guiding if not a creative part.

When Pomocrates turns Gargantua's attention to books there seems on the surface to the very little difference between the old and new education in respect of actual methods of study; Rabelais merely tells us that "they read to him for three hours". But the object of study is now a direct acquaintance with the writings of the Greeks and Romans by reading the texts themselves and not insipid commentaries thereon. The treatment is now humanistic instead of scholastic. In the second place, Pomocrates adopts active methods of study using not only books but appealing as well to experience, life, nature and industry. Starting the day with observation of the sky Pomocrates makes use of his pupil's environment in progressive stages: an open space for recreation, the fields for botany, the foods at table for other scientific study. The scenes of the afternoon physical exercises are woods, river and hills, while once a month they go farther afield. On wet days workshops and laboratories are the centres of study. Although it must be admitted that Gargantua is a mere spectator in the workshops, yet by the glimpse Rabelais gives of trades and industries, he must rank as a pioneer of our modern technical education. Apart from books and gardening tools used in botany there is no apparatus needed; the stars, plants, trees and foodstuffs suffice as a starting point for the many object lessons which Pomocrates gives his pupil.

Gargantua's time is devoted, not to the preparation of certain pages of a book, but to the recapitulation of work already done. Rabelais mentions such revision eight times in all and learning by heart five times.
While giving the impression of a complete reaction against medieval education, he keeps certain features more than he thinks or at least admits. The most noteworthy survival from scholasticism is the great use of memory work. In this Rabelais is justified. There is very little worth retaining which can be learned by the most brilliant pupil at the first or second reading. The important point to remember is that the matter to be memorised is carefully chosen and worth the trouble expended; Rabelais completely changes the motive, and Gargantua memorises certain pages because they are good, not because memorisation is good in itself — which was the scholastic attitude. Learning by heart can contribute much to accuracy and to a sound knowledge of fundamentals; it is for most people far easier to learn by heart in early life and what is then committed to memory has a greater chance of remaining. Rabelais' protest against the medieval use of repetition still holds good; he wants no verbal formula and is against any desire to fix the truth in young minds by trying to obtain premature definition on abstract problems in logic or metaphysics.

Platonocrates would probably have objected to the use of the word "subject" applied to his system of instruction so carefully does he lead from one aspect of knowledge to another. He realises that new knowledge can only be assimilated if it is brought into association with knowledge already present in the mind and thereby announces the principle of apprehension and the work of Herbert. He further insists that his pupil should make any new knowledge his own by applying it.

In his methods of teaching, Platonocrates brings into play all the senses; in the evening they run over every thing read, seen, learned, done and understood during the whole day. Valuable information is acquired through the eyes, ears, hands, understanding and memory, the combined result being to make a "bottomless depth of knowledge." Gargantua is not allowed to grow pale in the
study of books but is taken into the town and country to use his eyes and ears, to become keenly observant of the facts of nature in the birds, animals, trees and flowers around him. Rabelais does not stress the beauty of nature, for it is only one of its many aspects all of which merit our attention; we must read every page of the book of nature open before us.

The eyes of pupils trained on purely bookish systems are accustomed to the printed letter, their ears to the spoken word. Gargantua and Pantagruel are nurtured according to a system in which everything useful has a place, where book work and reality are complementary. The reading of Virgil's "Georgies" in their true setting, the countryside, by beehives and under chestnut trees is a masterpiece of originality in method.

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Section II.

Faults of Rabelais' Scheme of Education

Rabelais' pedagogy is largely autobiographical, embodying the fruits of his personal experience and stressing the subjects in which he himself was deeply interested, many of them restored to a place of honour at the Renaissance. Like Montaigne, Locke and Rousseau he considers only the case of a pupil educated by a private tutor, although he does not say, like Locke and Rousseau, he considers this the best method. On the contrary, we may assume from his statement that even "women and girls" are aspiring to learning, and from his account of the Abbey of Thelema, that a group of people of similar abilities and aspirations could with profit be educated together.

From the point of view of the practical educator the chief shortcoming of Rabelais' pedagogy is that it is
only an outline with many important details omitted and
many minor ones, as in physical training, expanded. It
is largely in its exposition of methods that the scheme
is imperfect and incomplete. He plans a wide syllabus
and shows the path to follow but does not tell us how to
embark upon the task of teaching the individual subjects.
The morning and afternoon lessons are each of three hours
duration but that is all we are told; there is no mention
of the work studied and the method employed. Montaigne,
on the other hand, describes exactly how his father insisted
that Latin should be taught to him and how he chose a
tutor who could not speak French, and therefore master
and pupil were obliged to adopt Latin in the first place
as a means of communication. Rabelais, unfortunately,
tells us what to do but leaves us in doubt as to how to
do it — which is of paramount importance in education.

Again, we are informed that Gargantua began the
study of arithmetic by an amusing method utilizing cards
and dice, but we are left to guess the details of the
method. Too much is learnt as amusement; no doubt Rabelais
himself could study some branch of knowledge as a
pleasant hobby and derive great profit but he expects
the same of others, even of adolescents. He led a much
too active life to have any leisure for introspection
or a psychological insight into the minds of others.
Rabelais is in too great a hurry as story-teller to
become a pedagogue for a time and state all details. We
have no evidence that he was either teacher or tutor;
the scheme of education he suggests leads us to the
opposite conclusion. Despite his keen interest in human
nature, Rabelais was no psychologist in the modern sense.
He might have made a very good tutor to an extremely
gifted pupil but would certainly have failed as a teacher
of a group of boys of average capabilities. His scheme is
an ideal one. The two heroes are the sole pupils of
excellent masters. The huge syllabus demands great
physical and mental powers together with perfect
conditions. The system formulated by Rabelais is in many
ways an excessive swing of the pendulum from scholasticism. He wants his pupil to attempt in a few years what he himself learned in lifetime. We can certainly find many parallels in actual life — witness John Stuart Mill, who had covered an enormous amount of work by the age of thirteen. It is only fair to add, however, that Mill suffered a nervous collapse. Rabelais himself is an example of a man of encyclopedic knowledge who did not break down in health.

Another serious defect in Rabelais' course of training is that the various stages of development are confused. We gather that his hero made a bad start and then made up for lost time, but we are still ignorant of the exact age and stage Rabelais has in mind when enumerating the subjects of study. Ponsocrates hurled himself into the task of teaching Gargantua and does not differentiate between the subjects which would normally be introduced gradually according to the different stages of progress. A practical educator like Sturm divided the Latin study in his humanistic gymnasium at Strassbourg into nine successive classes. Rabelais certainly seems to attempt too much at once and yet gives us no clear indication as to what was studied intensively and what extensively.

Gargantua's day is too full. This does not mean that he is not sensibly occupied but that he is occupied all the time and never left alone to his own devices. Of true freedom or leisure there is none. There would be some excuse for this if Rabelais were writing for a class of boys in a boarding school, but under what is virtually a tutorial system he should have contrived that at least some initiative should come from the pupil. Gargantua, however, is constantly under the supervision of Ponsocrates or Gymnast. The danger of the system is that it might produce a man always busy and even restless. We are somewhat surprised to find this perpetual employment of every hour of the day, even the digestive period after dinner and supper, by Rabelais who was so much opposed to rules and restrictions. In this ceaseless
activity we are reminded of scholastic discipline, but
the motives are totally different. Scholasticism crowded
the day with mental effort as an integral part of its
discipline; Rabelais employs Gargantua's mind and body
with a variety of tasks simply because life is too short
for a single hour to be lost in unprofitable leisure.

A correspondent of Montaigne, the Scholar magistrate
Henri de Mesmes, has left us in his memoirs an account
of his school days in Toulouse about the middle of the
16th century; from these memoirs we gather that the 16th
century as a whole demanded concentrated attention to
work. Rising at 4 A.M., the pupils had prayers and then
worked at morning lessons without a break from five to
ten O'clock; there followed half an hour's rapid
discussion on the morning's work before dinner, after
which they read "by way of amusement" Sophocles, Aristophanes,
Bacchylides and sometimes Demosthenes, Cicero, Virgil and
Horace. At one O'clock serious study was resumed until
five when the pupils began repetition and looking up
references until after six. Supper was followed by
further reading of Greek and Latin. Compared with this
time-table Rabelais' scheme is both lighter and far more
varied.

Once a month Gargantua is taken into the country
for a change. Two improvements are suggested; once a
week would be preferable and occasionally he might have
been allowed to go out alone and employ his time as he
liked. If Socrates has faith in his methods he should
not be afraid of testing them thus. Solitude has its
positive values. Gargantua should have had freedom to
roam in the fields and woods. His bird nesting would be
ineffective in a crowd. Let him go out alone and learn
the habits of the lark, blackbird, corncrake, trout and
fox without worrying about his quotations from the
classics. In early spring let him unearth a hedgehog
from its winter quarters, put it on a cold piece of earth
and observe how it comes to life. Let him then watch a
pig lie down in some straw and then conclude how his
tiny brother the hedgehog tucks himself up for the winter. Let him know the cry of the yellow-hammer or where the curlew lays its eggs, together with their colour and number. Gargantua has missed a great deal. Like Rabelais he may be a botanist but hardly a naturalist. Even in his faulty education Gargantua would go to "see a coney furreted". If he had been allowed to go along by Pencocrates he would perhaps have noticed how wild rabbits suckle their young not in the warren but in a little side burrow, carefully concealing the entrance with earth.

Rabelais expects too much of human nature, mentally, physically and morally. Gargantua not only attempts to learn too many subjects at a time, but perhaps indulges in too many strenuous exercises, giant though he is. The danger may not be immediate, but every fine athlete does not remain fit at fifty. The moral training given is incomplete and might lead to too much licence. If we consider in this connection what Rabelais says of the regulations of the Abbey of Thelema, we conclude that he places too great a trust in human nature. Even granting that the Abbey is open only to people of noble nature and that Gargantua is made of tough moral fibre, for average humanity the result might be disastrous. Rabelais has again left us in doubt on this point. He seems to distinguish three stages of bestitude: those like Grandgousier and the cunning Panurge who are fond of material pleasures; the Thelemites, a noble and cultured community; finally his two heroes, Gargantua and Pantagruel. Hence it is possible that Rabelais' philosophy of education would embrace three progressive systems if he had written more fully on the subject. Would he grant Panurge an education similar to that of Gargantua? It is to be doubted, but, as it is, there remains a gap. We cannot imagine Pencocrates setting a problem about a triangle and allowing his pupil to assume an equilateral one, yet Rabelais' moral training considers only a special case. No method of education
can be considered satisfactory unless it is capable of
general application. We return to the point, previously
mentioned, that Gargantua is allowed so little genuine
liberty. In this Rabelais seems to contradict himself,
in view of his confidence in the natural goodness of man,
his faith in the progress of human nature. In actual fact
he evidently implies that youths, like dogs, must be
eating, sleeping or interested, otherwise they will be
in mischief.

In every way Gargantua is far too dependent on
the tutor. In reading Rabelais, and later Rousseau, we
wonder what sort of education has produced such a remarkable
governor. The final problem seems to be, not so much how
to formulate a system of education, as how to discover a
mentor capable of meeting so many demands on his abilities,
time and patience. There is too much done for the pupil,
prince though he be. Bessacq treated his pupil, the
dauphin, as an ordinary person (even to the point of
administering corporal punishment). This reliance on the
tutor, however good he is, for all initiative might lead
to the danger of second hand experience; the actual book
work might become an appreciation of the beauties of
classical literature through the eyes of the master.
Gargantua’s busy day, full of action and thought, leaves
no room for reflection or meditation. In the hands of
a less capable tutor he might run the risk of becoming
a dilettante.

Rabelais chooses a pupil already partly, if badly,
trained and slides over the elements of instruction.
He deliberately takes a youth of great ability and
excellent physique, whereas a dull or average boy would
be swamped by the demands made on him.

That Gargantua’s education is still largely
bookish is an apparent rather than a real defect. Book
work is limited to six hours a day and is a means to an
end, not an end in itself; the texts are perused for the
sake of the knowledge they contain and not as limitations of the reader’s thoughts, as was the case with scholastic texts and commentaries.

while being dressed Gargantua repeats the lessons of the previous day, which implies that he can attend to two tasks at the same time. Recapitulation under such circumstances would have very little value and might become the reiteration of words and phrases without meaning, just as during his first days in Paris Gargantua studied for a means half hour but his mind was in the kitchen.

Gargantua is trained on an almost exclusively oral method by Holofernes and later by Fonocrates. Even under the latter’s guidance he does very little written work as far as we know: we are merely told that he used Roman characters in his handwriting lesson, the only time we see him at his best. Pantagruel is urged to model his style on that of Cicero and Plato, but this refers presumably to his oral style. Now an oral method of study is fraught with great dangers, for a pupil can often give the impression of possessing certain knowledge but when given a written task his facts prove vague or inaccurate. The glib talker frequently makes a better impression than the thinker who chooses his words carefully. In the teaching of Latin and Greek, for instance, practice in written work is essential for training in accuracy. A pupil will never master such subjects without attempting to write them. The lack of compositions or limitations greatly limits a pupil’s scope for originality. While Rabelais himself had a very powerful imagination it is to be regretted that he neglects the exercise of this faculty in his pedagogy.

Gargantua might profitably do much more for himself. He and his companions collect botanical specimens, but it is a page who arranges them. It would be far better if Gargantua classified the plants himself. Rabelais stresses the importance of clear enunciation, yet allows
all the reading during meals to be done by a page instead of handing over the task to Gargantua from time to time. Similarly at lessons the reading is done for Gargantua, not by him. We never see the young giant reading a book on his own initiative, though in the letter to his son he advises much reading.

Though Rabelais prescribes much practical work he makes no mention of practical agriculture, if we except the threshing of corn which is put forward partly as manual labour. Some knowledge of agriculture would clearly be of value in his pupil's later life and the omission is all the more noticeable in that Rabelais so often emphasises the utilitarian aspect of education rather than the aesthetic.

The classical dramatists are completely omitted from Gargantua's education whereas, later in the 16th century, Plautus and Terence were considered of great value in imparting a knowledge of colloquial Latin; they were studied and learnt by heart in the Protestant schools. The Jesuits, on the contrary, rejected them as being unsuitable material for boys. Rabelais cannot have disregarded them for the latter reason, but seems to have passed them over as not providing sufficient facts for instruction. Rabelais tells us that in his student days he took part in the comedy of the "Dumb Wife" which he enjoyed very much. There is no such activity recommended in his scheme of education. In Gargantua's studies there is insufficient creative and imaginative work alongside such that is really reproductive and verbal. Too much is left to chance in the training of the judgment, emotions and taste. Platonocrates might, of course, have provided this incidentally in the ordinary lessons, but Rabelais does not call our attention to it. Gargantua's mother has no part in his education; in fact there is little reference to woman except in the Abbey of Theleme.

While admitting that the above defects are far less important than the reforms initiated by Rabelais, the fact
remains that he expects too much of an immature mind, 
comites to mention his details of method and places his 
pupil too much under the wing of his tutor. Gargantua 
does not know the pleasure and profit of individual 
effort. His spirit of initiative, his creative and 
practical imagination run the risk of remaining 
undeveloped.

The Abbey of Thelema.

In order to understand fully Rabelais' philosophy 
of education we must consider the conditions he draws 
up for a cultured society in the Abbey of Thelema.

Life in the Abbey was to be regulated by no clock 
but by the dictates of common sense. Only fair women of 
sweet disposition and men who were comely and personable 
could gain admission to this society, which is Rabelais' 
conception of an ideal existence. The men and women live 
side by side; nobody is to take any perpetual vow but can 
leave of his own free will and can be married if he 
chooses. The Abbey is a magnificent building and its 
inhabitants are clad in rich robes. A fine library is 
well stocked with works in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, French, 
Italian and Spanish. Only one rule orders the life of this 
elite — "Do as thou wouldest, because men that are free, 
well-born, well-bred and conversant in honest companies 
have naturally an instinct, and spur, that prompteth 
them into virtuous actions and withdraws them from vice, 
which is called honour; it is agreeable with nature of 
man to long after things forbidden and to desire what is 
denied us."

They were so well instructed that there was no man 
or woman who could not read, write, sing, play tuneful 
instrumens, speak five or six languages and write prose 
and verse in them. Never were there such skilled and 
valiant horsemen, never were there women so elegant, so 
skilled in womanly accomplishments.
Thus Rabelais admits women to the ideal cultured society on equal terms with men, taking their part in the studies and sports as well as engaging in tasks specially suited for women.

Thelma is of course an ideal with no claim to be put into practice. Yet this Utopian reverie embodies Rabelais' fundamental conception of a perfect society with the sole rule "Do as thou wouldst" which gives the goodness of human nature an open credit. This is open to the same objection as Gargantua's moral education. It is dangerous to formulate one rule which necessarily abolishes effort, self control and self mastery; it is to imagine virtue as something easy and natural. The principle is incapable of universal application for it would be fatal; Rabelais intends it expressly for people of noble nature who have merely to live in accordance with their own desires and inclinations. Can one place such confidence even in the elite? For where is the soul? If Socrates' pupil were to follow this one rule of the Thelminite community the incompleteness of his moral training would at least give cause for anxiety.

Rabelais has gone to the opposite extreme from the rigid discipline and asceticism of medievalism which, by its very repression, had destroyed the "flower of youth." To remove all restrictions is not calculated to have any greater success. Leon Frapié in "La Maternelle" has shown us the futility of applying normal methods and idealism to the education of the products of debauchery who are the pupils in the slum school he depicts.

**The effect of Rabelais' Pedagogy on his pupils**

Rabelais gives us no direct information on the success of his methods beyond saying that both Gargantua and Pantagruel were excellent pupils. But Socrates and Epistemon, like every other schoolmaster, would not wish to judge or be judged by any immediate success but by
the ultimate results of the training in the lives of their pupils some twenty years afterwards. Fonocrates and Epistemen must consider their mode of instruction justified by the way their old pupils carry out their moral obligations.

One day Gargantua received a letter from his father saying that he is reluctantly compelled to recall him to take part in a defensive war to protect his people and property, promising that there shall be as little shedding of blood as possible.

At the conclusion of the fighting Gargantua comforts and cares for the wounded, gives the enemy dead a proper burial, compensates the people who have suffered loss and addresses the vanquished thus: "I do now forgive you, deliver you from all fines and imprisonments, set you at liberty, and every way make you as frank and free as you were before. Moreover, at your going out of the gate, you shall have every one of you three months' pay to bring home into your houses and families, and shall have a safe convoy. —— This war was undertaken against my will and without any hope to increase either my goods or renown."

A band of pilgrims are taken to task, told to go home, look after their families and labour every man in his vocation. "Then Gargantua led them into a hall to take their refection; but the pilgrims did nothing but sigh and said to Gargantua: "O! how happy is that land which hath such a man for its lord! We have been more edified and instructed by his talk than by all the sermons that ever were preached in our town! 'This is' said Gargantua! that which Plato saith, that those commonwealths are happy whose rulers philosophise and whose philosophers rule!"

Pantagruel shows the courage, independence and resourcefulness resulting from his all-round training at the hands of Epistemen. He takes pity on the cunning
Pamurce, takes him under his wing and becomes his staunch friend and supporter. At the height of the storm at sea, while Pamurce cries out and Friar John curses, Pantagruel keeps a cool head and firmly holds the tiller uttering: "May the good God protect us." On his travels he is always ready to see through any hypocrisy, bigotry and chicanery. The result of Gargantua's advice in the famous letter may be seen in Pantagruel's pursuits on his travels and in the gifts of animals, plants, birds and precious stones which he collects for his father. The frank relationship between father and son has woven strong and lasting family ties.

Section III.  
Rabelais and Humanism.

The encyclopedic nature of the syllabus prescribed by Rabelais is but the echo of his own interests and reading. In this syllabus we can discern traces of Rabelais the humanist proper, the doctor and naturalist; in its earlier years, at least, humanism embraced the study of letters, medicine, natural science, law and religion.

Literature.

While Rabelais is in agreement with many of the aims and methods of his fellow humanists in France and elsewhere, on closer examination we shall find many divergences especially in the choice of authors to be studied. The Greek and Latin orators, epic, tragic, comic and lyric poets had little attraction for him, if we except Cicero and Virgil. Certain historians influenced him, but they were not the historians of great events and the rise and fall of nations, but rather those whose collections of anecdotes and records of customs helped him to see precise, concrete details of ancient life or provided him with illustrations for his points. Most of all, Rabelais was attracted by the
erudites, moralists and philosophers Plato, Plutarch and Lucian. Plato and Plutarch find favour with him for their treatment of moral and social questions. Yet writers who have perhaps made the most profound impression, especially on the form of Babelais' work, are Plato the lofty idealist and Lucian the laughing satirist. These two provide a strange contrast which is revealed throughout Babelais' pages, but nowhere so strongly as in the satire of Gargantua's first education and the idealism of his second.

The reading suggested by Gargantua in the letter to his son reveals a preference for Plutarch's "Morals" and Plato "Dialogues", while Atheneus' "Antiquities" and Cicero's "De Senectute" are prominent.

Scientific Authors.

Pliny holds an honoured place in Babelais' scheme for his contribution to the latter's scientific curiosity. The final group of studies recommended in II 8 - Zoology, botany, mineralogy - corresponds with the subjects of Pliny's "Natural History" books 9 to the end. The works of many authors are used as books of reference to verify and detail arising from the discussion at tables among others Pliny, Athenaeus, Galen, Aristotle, Oppian, Porphyrius, Elian and Heliodorus. The works of the last four were published in a "Historia Animalium" by Gryphius in Lyons, so Babelais may well have seen the work in preparation. Finally Pliny and the elder Cato are mentioned for details on country life and practices on the monthly holidays of Gargantua.

Babelais the Doctor.

Thanks to a knowledge of Greek, the humanists were able to perceive the faults and mistaken ideas that had arisen in medical theory and practice owing to ignorance of the original Greek texts. Errors of translation were inevitable as the current text may have
been made via two or more languages. We have already noted the influence of the doctor on the education of Gargantua. It would seem that Rabelais is most interested in the scheme of education as a doctor; he never explains any subject or method of instruction rather he gives us far too few details; yet he is ready to pause to explain some point which affects the physical well-being of his pupil; witness Pomocrates' reproof when Gargantua eats a heavy breakfast immediately on rising, or the fact that the dinner was lighter than supper.

During the morning games there was no compulsion, for all could cease playing when they thought fit or were too hot. In this Rabelais adopts the recommendations of Hippocrates and Celsus.

**Languages.**

In his enthusiasm for Greek, Rabelais was in the forefront of humanism. He was in close contact with such eminent Hellenists as Bude and Lascaris while he corresponded with Erasmus. Gargantua says that without a knowledge of Greek a man must be ashamed to call himself a scholar. In the scheme of studies devised by Rabelais, Greek and Latin occupy a prominent position for various reasons. Both languages, especially Greek, are worthy of study for their own sake, but that is not the final aim. The knowledge of a language is only fully profitable when it leads on to further study. Latin and Greek were logically ordered languages admirably suited for the exact expression of facts; at the same time they were the key to the only great literatures and thus opened up all subjects, especially the sciences.

Hebrew is not to be neglected for it is the language of the Old Testament. Pantagruel must also be acquainted with Chaldec and Arabic. Rabelais' contemporaries often had recourse to the works of the Arabs who had perpetuated the traditions of antiquity notably in the sciences and medicine.
The Vernacular and Modern Languages.

Rabelais stands apart from the above almost all humanists in his attitude to modern languages in general and vernacular in particular. At the beginning, humanism made all human interests its province but gradually the field narrowed and humanism finally fell a prey to the very formalism that it attacked in scholasticism. The early Renaissance was full of enthusiasm not merely about the rediscovery of the classical literatures, but also about nature and the study of man.

In the final half of the 15th century in Italy, Latin scholarship did not aim at a dead reproduction of the past. Latin was to them a living tongue to be adapted to contemporary needs of speech and writing. They did not hesitate to add to their Latin vocabulary words necessary for their more modern purposes but they adhered in the main to the form and construction of the Cicero-ian sentence. Italian scholars, as direct successors of the Romans, aimed at the use of Latin for all serious purposes. They were too late and from about 1450 a narrower tendency can be seen. Poliziano, mentioned by Rabelais in 1.24, used both Latin and Italian and it was seen that Italian was not unworthy as literary tongue. From that time Latin was to become an artificial language and its use purely imitative.

In Italy there was a strong Roman and Latin native tradition which had never really died, so that in the teaching of Vittorino de Feltre at Mantua it is not surprising that Italian, "la lingua volgare" had a place apparently only in the conversation and instruction of the early stages. This Latin tradition was, however, absent north of the Alps, yet Sturm would have made Latin suffice for all the needs of contemporary life, and although other subjects were introduced into his school at Strasbourg they were subordinate to the instruction in Latin. Bade wrote partly and Luther largely in the native tongue, whereas Erasmus wrote exclusively in Latin.
Erasmus is an excellent illustration of the later and narrower humanistic tendency. He was contemptuous of all modern languages, regarding the study of Latin, or rather Latin oratory, as the supreme aim.

Rabelais wrote almost entirely in French. The preparatory notes to his scientific works are in Latin, his correspondence chiefly in Latin. But the five books of his chronicles are French, in which tongue he also wrote verse. While Rabelais places a great value on the study of Greek and Latin in the education of Gargantua and Pantagruel, yet they remain for him the languages of scholars and scientists. If Latin usage ceases to be clear and accurate and degenerates into a fetiche or a pedantic, inaccurate jargon calculated to hide rather than aid clarity, then Rabelais denounces it as he has done for use in the speech of Janotus or the Limousin scholar.

For the ordinary affairs of life, for Gargantua on his visits to craftsmen and artisans, unaffected French suffices. In the prologue to Book V Rabelais sings the praises of French poets and maintains, in spite of the purveyors of vague, musty, Latin words, that the vernacular is not so poor and unworthy as some would claim. Several French dialects are mentioned in his works as well as the French of Paris. In the library of the Abbey of Thelema there are works in French, Italian and Spanish.

This attitude to the vernaculars is yet another modern aspect of Rabelais, in whom the Renaissance and humanism are seen at their best and fullest. It was beneath the dignity of some humanists to write a book or letter in the mother tongue. In writing and in speech they aimed at dignity of thought and expression.

Rabelais, on the other hand, is much broader in his outlook. He refuses to sacrifice matter to form, practical utility with its varied applications to subjective education. This is not to say that Rabelais is blind to
the value of style, for he recommends Plato and Cicero and models. Certain of his chapters are distinguished by a nobility of style in keeping with their lofty and serious note, notably the letters exchanged between Gargantua and Pantagruel.

Far in advance of his time Rabelais announced that everything useful or merely curious deserves to be known even if it does not improve a boy's style or mind. Further, Rabelais did not go to the opposite extreme and state, as did the pure utilitarians, that only materially useful things should be studied. Rabelais combines in education both the idea of disinterested culture of mind and the practical uses of knowledge.

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Section IV.

The Sources of Rabelais' Educational System.

In examining the details of Rabelais' ideal education, (in addition to some survivals from scholasticism) certain parallels can be traced with the theory and practice of Greece and Rome and of Renaissance educators in Italy and elsewhere. But the actual details of any borrowing are seldom capable of scientific proof. In most cases we are unable to decide what was the immediate origin of the ideas embodied in his work, for many of these ideas were common to the humanists. Delamelle and Thuesne give examples of alleged borrowing from Erasmus, Rude and Folengo; but these are often pure conjecture arising from coincidences of word or phrase or from a psychological analogy. The task of discovering Rabelais' sources needs great circumspection and has led to many strange conclusions; in 1890 Eugene Leveque in "Les Mythes et les Legendes de l'Inde et de la Perse" claimed that the education of Gargantua is based on that of Bharata, hero of one of the Indian stories. In most
cases we must refrain from deciding on any source and confine ourselves to pointing out similarities of idea in other writers on the theory of education in the practice of actual teachers.

Greek Influence.

In the education of Gargantua there are certain reminiscences of Greek practice, notably in the association of mental with physical training, and in the place given to geometry, astronomy and music.

At the end of the day Gargantua briefly recapitulated all he had read, seen done and learned during that day "after the manner of the "Pythagoreans". In the Pythagorean school, to which Rabelais refers on more than one occasion, there was music in the evening, as under "Porocrates" system, before retiring to rest and then self-examination to end the day. The ancient Greeks asked themselves such questions as "What have I done? In what have I made a mistake?"

Socrates, whose work is known to us through the "Dialogues" of his pupil Plato, aimed not at creating general systems of universal application but at basing education on the instincts of man. Like Porocrates, his method of teaching was individualistic, based on conversational and questioning methods and he derived the subject matter of his "lessons" from and in the most varied places - assemblies of the people, public festivals, athletic contests. He sought to formulate a new basis for education in personal morality and virtue, as a substitute for the earlier Greek training for service to the state.

Rabelais mentions Plato as one of his favourite authors. Certainly his chapters on education are full of Plato's high idealism and embody some of his educational precepts. In his "Republic" and "Laws" Plato assigns an important place to physical training for magistrates as well as warriors, as games provide moral in addition to physical strength. Plato prescribes among physical
exercises: riding, archery, wrestling and hunting.
In educational method he proceeded from the known to the
unknown. In their union of mental, moral and physical
training Plato and Rabelais aim at the same goal: a good
education is that which gives both body and soul all
the beauty and all the perfection of which they are
capable. Rabelais, however, remedies one of the faults
of the Platonic system - its lack of attention to the
practical side of education, the absence of natural
and physical sciences. This, however, is not new for
Plato's disciple, Aristotle, devoted much time to nature
study in the education of Alexander the Great. Alexander
is often mentioned by Rabelais and Pantagruel's sending
of botanical specimens to his father may be a
reminiscence of the specimens sent to Aristotle by
Alexander during his Asiatic campaigns.

Aristotle, the founder of the peripatetic school,
became the oracle of the philosophers and scholastic
theologians of the Middle Ages who, however, had an
incomplete and often entirely false knowledge of his
many works on logic, politics, natural history and
physics, which were known largely through the
"Commentaries on Aristotle" by the 13th century Arab
philosopher Averroes. Whether Rabelais derived direct
inspiration from Aristotle is not certain, but the work
in Aristotle's Athenian Lyceum had much in common with
Pentocrates' scheme - huge syllabus including the physical
and natural sciences, together with training in virtue
and charity. Aristotle held that service to our fellow
men is the finest virtue, for the aim of life should be
happiness. He also discussed fitting activities and
games, suitable foods. Aristotle is included in the list
of classical authors whose works are consulted for their
information about foods. Another point of contact with
Rabelais is Aristotle's view that the arts should be
known on the grounds of general culture not with the object
of training a virtuoso. Some of these precepts Rabelais
may have derived via Italian or other humanist sources.
but it would seem that Aristotle, the prince of Greek philosophers, has made some contribution to the spirit underlying Gargantua’s education.

When Rabelais refers to the manner in which Gargantua’s intelligence is first recognised by his father and draws a parallel with Alexander’s ingenious handling of restive horse, he is taking the anecdote from the “Life of Alexander” by Plutarch. In his letter to his son Gargantua says he takes special delight in reading Plutarch’s “Morals” along with Plato’s “Dialogues”.

In his work “On the Education of Children” Plutarch recommended the careful choice of good tutor, the alternation of periods of work and rest. He would prefer to have several boys educated together, minimise punishments and base all gymnastic training on medical science. In reading and speaking he insisted on a clear, exact pronunciation – traits emphasised by Rabelais in his picture of young Budenon or in the reading by Anagnostes. In 1411 Guarino translated the above treatise of Plutarch which had a great influence and aroused much interest, to judge by the number of manuscript copies and subsequent printed editions. Rabelais may have known this treatise for he makes good use of other works by Plutarch, especially the “Lives.” Gargantua mentions among his favourite authors Lucian, whose description of a day in the life of an Athenian school boy has many resemblances of Gargantua’s day: “He gets up at dawn, washes the sleep from his eyes and puts on his cloak. Then he goes out from his father’s house … followed by attendants and pedagogy bearing in their hands writing tablets or books containing the great deeds of old, or, if he is going to a music school, his well tuned lyre.”

“When he has laboured diligently at intellectual studies, and his mind is satiated with the benefits of the school curriculum, he exercises his body in liberal pursuits, riding or hurling the javelin or spear.”
Then in the wrestling school with its sleek, oiled pupils, labours under the mid-day sun and sweats in the regular athletic contests. Then a bath, not too prolonged; then a meal, not too large, in view of afternoon school. For the schoolmasters are waiting for him again ....... when evening sets a limit to his work, he pays the necessary tribute to his stomach and retires to rest to sleep sweetly after his busy day."

Yet to describe any one detail to any Greek (or Roman) author is hazardous. Unfortunately for our present task, Rabelais hardly ever mentions a classical author in connection with the general principles or aims of education; the classical allusions which abound in his work are invariably concerned with some fact of natural science or some anecdote for the purposes of illustration.

Rabelais seems generally to quote from memory and hence his views on education may embody quite unconsciously some ideas from his vast reading which certainly included Plato, Plutarch, Socrates and Aristotle. Some of these he may have gained from Italian or other humanists as all drew from the common source of knowledge, the Greek and Roman classics. If we merely consider the difference between the education of Pantagruel (1532) and that of Gargantua (1534) Rabelais must have been influenced by some external factor, such as the journey to Rome, to have devoted so much attention to an all-round education in the later work — quite apart from the artistic necessity of not merely repeating the details of his earlier publication.

Rabelais makes a slip which may have two fold significance. He includes Marimus among the classical writers on trees and plants. Marimus was one of the most famous anatomists of antiquity and, although his works have not come down to us, Galen often quotes him and his work on anatomy, but makes no mention of any work on botany. This mistake may have arisen from Rabelais' habit of
quoting from memory; on the other hand, he may be confusing Marinus with an Italian author, Pietro Marino who published in Venice in 1529 an Italian translation of Palladius. Rabelais is evidently confusing these names and we may reasonably conclude from this concrete illustration that this process applies equally to other aspects of Rabelais' pedagogy.

It has already been stated that Rabelais' alleged borrowing from Greek educationists may really be derived partly through Roman or Italian intermediaries, just as many Italian treatises during the Renaissance were inspired by the works of Quintilian. Owing to this confusion it is doubly difficult to decide upon Rabelais' immediate source.

In Rabelais' pedagogy we can discern an attempt to combine the spirit of education in Athens with that in Sparta. Both cities aimed at producing the best citizen, though they had differing conceptions of good citizenship. The Spartans considered that man should be brave and inviolate to hardship and pain. For the Athenians, endurance was not enough; there must be training of the mind and imagination, together with a perfect physique. Thus in Athens education had a threefold aim - the development of body, mind and imagination or taste (the first two of which play such an important part in Gargantua's training). The supreme object of both systems was the training of character, supported by the firm belief that virtue could be taught directly.

Montaigne confesses a preference for Spartans, admiring their concentration on action rather than on talk. Rabelais would have pointed out that it was Athens and not Sparta that made a lasting contribution to civilisation.

In one respect Rabelais makes a distinct advance on the practice of ancient Greece. Plato describes the Athenian training in one of the Socratic dialogues in his "Protagoras." First comes the family influence, then the
boy is sent to teachers who see to his manners, reading, music, and finally he studies the epic poets. His music teachers first teach him the use of the lyre before introducing him to the lyric poets. So that his body may better minister to the virtuous mind and serve him well in war, he is sent to the master of gymnastic. When he is done with masters, the state compels him to learn the laws and live according to them. Rabelais combines most of this training into a complete whole and makes the various parts alternate in the same day. The pupil is still in the hands of specialists who carry out their duties in different parts of the day and not in various successive stages.

**Roman Education.**

Græco-Roman education in its most complete form is best shown in the "Institutes of Oratory" of Quintilian, a method of forming the complete Roman. The writings of Quintilian were well known in Italy following the discovery of the complete works in 1416. In the letter to Fantagruel Rabelais recommends the study of Greek prior to Latin "as Quintilian will have it." Rabelais may have had in mind Quintilian's statement "A somene Græco puerum incipere male ...." Yet there is no proof that Rabelais is quoting from the above passage as there are only three insignificant references to Quintilian in the whole of his work, whereas Rude also quoted this recommendation in his "Institution du Prince". Again Rabelais might have known the work of Quintilian through some of the Italian treatises it inspired - by Aeneas Sylvius, Guarino and Vegio. Some of Quintilian's suggestions were adopted by Erasmus who apologised for discussing the aims and methods of teaching seeing that Quintilian had already covered the subject.

Quintilian, like Rabelais, would have a kindly teacher who adopts a parental attitude towards his charge and who devotes thought to the individuality of his pupil. The daily work must be divided up and due regard paid to games. The pupil is to be taken out into
the world and introduced to the activities of public life so that he may have practical as well as theoretical training as a man who can duly sustain his character as a citizen, who is qualified for the management of public and private affairs, who can govern communities by his counsels, settle them by means of laws and improve them by judicial enactments. Quintilian also recommends music and astronomy but he has in mind other objects than Rabelais.

**Hebrew.**

Two educational maxims from the Talmud correspond to Rabelais’ scheme. "No man can acquire a proper knowledge of the Law unless he endeavours to fix the same in his memory by certain marks and signs." "Just as a man is bound to have his son instructed in the Law, so also should he have his son taught some handicraft or profession."

**The Italian Renaissance.**

The work of some Italian humanists was certainly known to Rabelais through the contacts he made in Lyons, Rome and elsewhere. Early in 1534 ("Gargantua" was published in the autumn of that year) Rabelais journeyed to Rome as physician to Cardinal du Bessy and in a letter dated 31st August 1534 he tells us of his good fortune in having been to the Italian capital.

While there, he met fewer scholars than he expected. Yet he met some including, perhaps, Jean Lascaris, the eminent hellenic scholar to whom he refers in friendly terms in I 24 as "our good friend Lascaris." The latter had been Rude’s master in France but had left Paris some years before to go to Rome where he died in 1535. On the way back from Rome it seems certain that Rabelais halted in Florence.

Rabelais’ pedagogy has affinities with both the theories and practice of education in 15th century Italy. From his wide reading Rabelais must have known something
of the treatises on education by Venerius and his successors, while, from his personal contacts, he may have been aware of the work of certain practical educators in the Vittorino da Feltre tradition.

From the twelfth century onwards Italian students had not concentrated on the Northern dialectic and theology but had adopted a wider curriculum including Roman law and less stereotyped methods. At the University of Padua in the fourteenth century there were many foreign students. The majority of students there were engaged upon medicine, law and mathematics while the Arts subjects – grammar, dialectic, rhetoric and philosophy were not neglected, but were treated in more modern spirit. Whereas in medieval France there had developed two distinct professional types – cleric and knight – Italy had conceived of man as a layman with an individuality of his own.

A writer who exercised a profound influence from the beginning of the 15th century was Petrus Paulus Venerius who at Padua was professor of Logic from 1391. In 1392 he published a work "De Ingeniis Moribus" which had a far-reaching effect and which Rabelais must have seen or known. It was the earliest and most widely read of all the treatises of the Italian Renaissance and was circulated both in manuscript and printed form. There are many manuscript copies often in conjunction with Guarino’s translation of Plutarch’s treatise, "On the education of Children." In addition, at least forty editions were printed before 1600 including Rome in 1475 and Paris in 1494.

The internal evidence also suggests that Rabelais was acquainted with the work. With the main points of similarity we shall deal later, but there are two illustrations made in close proximity by both writers which are extremely significant. In I.25 Pomonaocrates is obliged to make Gargantua forget all he had learned before starting him on his new studies, just as Timothy used to do with pupils who had studied under
other music masters. Vergerius illustrates the same
point by the same anecdote. "The story of Timotheus,
the Spartan teacher of music illustrates what I mean.
He was accustomed to charge double fees to those pupils
who came to him with a knowledge of music already acquired." 
Vergerius almost certainly took the anecdote from
Quintilian "Institutiones Oratoriae" and Rabelais may
have used the same source; but the story was also quoted
by Bude. But the fact that Rabelais used the same
incident to amplify the same point as Vergerius is very
suggestive of the Frenchman's acquaintance with the
"De Ingeniis Moribus." It must be admitted that Rabelais
alters the original story and makes Socrates purge his
pupil to rid him of perverse habits of study. Yet we
must bear in mind that Rabelais is writing a story and
often adapts material to his needs as novelist.

We see Gargantua briefly recapitulating all he has
read, seen, learned, done and understood during the day
"after the manner of the Pythagoreans." Vergerius advocates
the same procedure one page after his reference to
Timotheus but associates the practice with Cato: "I would
urge the adoption of some such plan as that of Cato, who,
whatever he had done, see, read during the day, reviewed
it in the evening when he would account not only for his
working hours but for his leisure also." Rabelais may be
referring to Cicero "De Senectute": "Pythagoreorumque
more excercendiae memorias gratia." On the other hand he
may more probably be quoting Vergerius from memory or
unconsciously.

Quite apart from the two foregoing passages, which
are almost parallel, there is a great similarity between
the two writers on the principles of education and to a
lesser extent on the methods.

Addressing his treatise to a young prince, Ubertinus
of Carrara, Vergerius claims that it is the father's duty
to see that his son be trained in sound learning, "For no
wealth, no possible security against the future, can be
compared with the gift of an ---
education it gave and liberal studies. This duty is especially incumbent upon such as hold high station. Progress in learning depends largely on ourselves and brings with it its own abiding reward**. Gargantua's letter to Pantagruel echoes the same feelings.

Vergerius then considers in turn: character and its discipline, liberal studies, the manner of study, bodily exercises and training in the art of war, and finally recreation.

In his views on character training Vergerius foreshadows Rabelais' remarks on shunning evil companions, on sociability and a sincere religious feeling: "Idleness, of mind and body, is a common source of temptation to indulgence." "--- Respect for Divine ordinances is of the deepest importance. ----- Reverence towards elders and parents is an obligation closely akin."

"We call those studies liberal which are worthy of a free man; those studies by which we attain and practice virtue and wisdom; that education which calls forth, trains and develops those highest gifts of body and mind which ennoble men and which are rightly judged to rank next in dignity to virtue alone." Though Rabelais does not voice the above opinion it underlies the scheme of education he draws up.

Like Pomocrates, Vergerius insists that every art should be employed to attract boys to grave studies. The master must judge how far he can rely upon emulation and encouragement.

For Vergerius, training either in arms or in letters holds a place of distinction, but he agrees with Rabelais when he adds that it reflects great credit upon a youth if he elects to become proficient in both alike. "However, as we look back upon history we cannot

** The quotations and summary are from Woodward "Vittorino da Feltre".
deny that learning by no means expels wickedness, but may be an additional instrument for evil in the hands of the corrupt." Rabelais expresses the same idea in "wisdom entereth not into a malevolent soul."

Both writers are agreed as to the value of books, but once again what is explicit in Vergerius is implicit in Rabelais. The former says: "In books we see unfolded before us vast stores of knowledge. In them are contained the records of the great achievements of men; the wonders of Nature; the works of Providence in the past, the key to her secrets of the future."

The subjects favoured by Vergerius are in the main also mentioned by Rabelais but with a far different emphasis and order of precedence. It is worthy of note that both admit music but Vergerius rejects medicine and makes no mention of Greek studies.

In the methods of study there is a great difference between the two writers but they agree in certain instances. Vergerius says: "But it is of remember that in comparison with intelligence memory is of little worth though intelligence without memory is, so far as education is concerned, of none at all. For we are not able to give evidence that we know a thing unless we can reproduce it. "To give a fixed time each day to reading, which shall be encroached upon under no pretext whatsoever, is a well tried practice which may be strongly recommended .... some wisely arrange a course of reading during dinner."

Both agree in combining physical exercises with military training, but Rabelais is far more insistent on comprehensive bodily exercises than in Vergerius. The latter says: "A true education will aim at the efficient training of both the Reason, that it may wisely control and the Body, that it may promptly obey". Now war involves physical endurance as well as military skill so that from his earliest years a boy must be gradually inured to privations and grave exertions, to enable him to bear strain and hardship when he reaches manhood."
"In choice of bodily exercises those should be adopted which serve to maintain the body in good health and to strengthen the limbs."

Recreation, he suggests, should take the form of ball games, hunting, hawking, fishing; other people may prefer gentle riding or pleasant walks. No games of chance such as dice are to be tolerated.

"Lastly, I must add a word upon attention to personal habits. In this matter we must not be neglectful; for whilst we may not bestow too much thought upon our outward appearance which is effeminacy, we must have due regard to our dress and its suitability to time, place and circumstance". Rabelais agrees with this especially in his description of Budemon and of Gargantua's morning toilet.

Another treatise on education which was well known in 15th century Italy was the "De Librorum Education" of 1450 by Pope Pius II, and addressed to the young king of Bohemia. It had a much smaller influence than the work of Vergerius and was not often printed. Nevertheless certain sentences in the work accord with Rabelais' writings; "Now both mind and body, the two elements of which we are constituted, must be developed side by side."

"As Quintilian and Plutarch taught, a boy must be won to learning by persuasive earnestness and not be driven to it like a slave". The following passage might describe the page Budemon. "A boy should be taught to hold his head erect, to look straight and fearlessly before him and to bear himself with dignity whether walking, standing or sitting". Apart from the above quotations there are fundamental differences between Aeneas Sylvius serve to emphasise the common aims of humanistic education whether in Italy or France and also to what extent the Italian Renaissance drew from the Greek and Roman sources in educational matters. An examination other 15th century treatises in Italy.


and other Humanist Educators.
serves to emphasise how the training of the complete man was the common aim. We might mention in passing three other treatises as possible influences:
Battista Guarino: De Ordine Docendi et Studendi: 1459
Maffeo Vegio: De Education Liberorum clarisque eorum Moribus: 1460?
Jacopo Forcia: De Generosa Liberorum Educatione: 1475?

From the point of view of practical teaching the greatest Italian school-master of the Renaissance was Vittorino de Feltre who from 1423 to 1446 in the service of the Gonzaga family at Mantua directed a school on humanistic lines inspired partly by the theory of Quintilian. He strove to unite in his work the spirit of Christian life with study of the classical literatures and the Greek enthusiasm for physical culture. If he wrote anything his works are unknown but some of his pupils left records of the work of the school.

In the practice of Vittorino we already have in broad outline the system devised by Rabelais: Vittorino looked upon humanist education as training in Christian citizenship in which learning and virtue were combined. He claimed the name of "encyclopedic" for his methods which had the triple aim of moral, physical and intellectual training. He was the first to incorporate the full conception of the ancient physical training in an educational system, realising fully that some of his pupils would not adopt a military career yet considering that gymnastics, riding, wrestling and swimming for all were worthy of inclusion for all their own sake and as general culture, apart from their value as recreation or military training. Lessons were interspersed with intervals for games, especially ball games, as relaxation, as a foundation for good health and for developing a manly and graceful bearing which was a mark of distinction.

Like Plato, Vittorino was tied to his pupils by bonds of mutual esteem and affection.

Unlike all the treatises of Italian writers, which omit any specific mention of Greek studies, the
curriculum drawn up by Vittorino gave a prominent place to Greek although it was still secondary to Latin studies. Mathematical studies had an important place, while drawing was included and even choral and instrumental music, with certain reservations. Like Rabelais he discarded astrology for astronomy.1

There is no evidence that Rabelais knew even Vittorino's name but a comparison of their systems reveals great similarity and, as Vittorino had a wide influence in Italy, Rabelais may have come into contact with some examples of the best Italian education inspired originally by Vittorino.

Turning to other works in Italian, mainly fiction, nearer in date to "Gargantua" there are certain possibilities to be considered. When writing "Gargantua" there was possibly in Rabelais' mind a work "Les Macaronnes" by the Italian writer Folengo (1491-1544) known also as Merlin Coccaio, a name mentioned by Rabelais. In this work great attention is given to the education of the hero, Baldo. Thusseu sees in Folengo one of Rabelais' sources but Sainean points out that the book work in Baldo's education consists merely of readings in the romances of chivalry and is not to be compared with the wide reading of serious authors by Gargantua.

Caesius Galagninus traced about the year 1500 a picture of the education of a noble which announces that of Gargantua. There is first a brief mention of the liberal arts and then a course of exercises which aim exclusively at military training.

Belthazar Castiglione's "II Cortegiano", which appeared before Rabelais' works, combines an education in letters and arts with physical training for the perfect courtier. "II Cortegiano", however provides nothing which Rabelais could not have seen elsewhere.

1 Woodward "Vittorino da Feltre" pp. 36-51. and other Humanist Educators.
Rabelais mentions the Italian humanist Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494), a friend of Bude and Lascaris, but this is in connection with works on agriculture. On days in the country Gargantua recites by heart lines from Poliziano's Latin poem "Austicus", an imitation of Hesiod's "Works and Days" and Vergil's "Georgics."

The only safe conclusion we can reach on this subject is that Gargantua's education is certainly in relation with the pedagogic doctrines of the Italian Renaissance and there can be noticed between Rabelais and the masters of Italian pedagogy, both in theory and in practice, a certain agreement of ideas.

Attempts have been made to ascertain the dependence of Rabelais' educational opinion on Erasmus, Luther and educators in France. Rabelais, we know, wrote to Erasmus and called the latter his "spiritual father" but the purport of the letter is not educational although it concerns Greek studies. There is no record of any reply from Erasmus.

W.F. Smith ventures the opinion that the system responsible for young Budemon's accomplishments is probably intended as that of Erasmus, basing his opinion on Budemon's speech which, he states, is "after the model given by Erasmus in his "Monita Paedagogica", or hints on education, in the "Colloquia". As a result of the excellence of Budemon's address, Gargantua is placed under a rational system "probably one which Rabelais had carefully elaborated by the aid of Erasmus's "Institutio Principis Christiani" drawn up for the benefit of the youthful Charles V."

We cannot subscribe to this opinion for in the first place Rabelais never seems to have "carefully elaborated" anything, in his popular chronicles at least. Secondly, a comparison between the "Institutio" and "Gargantua's

1a W.F. Smith "Rabelais in his Writings" p. 9.
education shows a similarity of general aim but not of detail. We have seen how often the underlying principles of educationalists coincide and how difficult it is to say that one is dependent on another as there are fundamental divergences in their practical methods. It would be helpful to quote S.S. Laurie on his difficulty: "The further we extend our study of writers on Education, the more we are struck with the substantial unity of opinion and object among the greatest of them. Rabelais and Montaigne would have subscribed to almost every word of the early Italian Humanists, and these Humanists, again, reproduced Quintilian. All alike have always before them, as the outcome of all sound teaching a self active, living mind. — Plutarch reminds us that the soul is not a vessel to fill, but a hearth on which to kindle a fire. And if the intellectual aim is always the same with the best writers, so even still more are they at one on the supreme importance of moral education and the value of gymnastic.  

On examining Erasmus's work more closely we find that the course of reading prescribed for Charles V, as a future ruler, in the "Institutio" (1516) corresponds roughly to works mentioned by Rabelais: the Bible, Plutarch, Seneca, Aristotle, Cicero and Plato. Apart from Aristotle all these works are mentioned by Rabelais in different connections. But in the use to be made of such reading there is a divergence between the methods of the two writers. Rabelais is not so much concerned about training in oratory or Latin composition as is Erasmus, who would have preparation for a career made subordinate to purely literary training. However much attention Erasmus gives to the physical side of man he put out that the strength of an athlete is no compensation for a lack of learning.

To the "Institutio" we must add Erasmus's views as contained in the "De Ratione Studii" and "De Fueris

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1 S.S. Laurie "Studies in the History of Educational Opinion from the Renaissance" P. 54.
Instituendis”. In all three the authors place great emphasis on the qualifications of the tutor and on modern methods; again, like Rabelais, he bemoans the shortcomings of scholasticism; while both are alike in claiming that the social object of education is to be attained by the development of individuality through liberal training.

Both distinguished between the education of words and that of things, both emphasized the essential dignity of man, both devoted great attention to the body in following the wise precepts of Galen.

On the other hand Erasmus lays down full details of methods to be employed; his literary basis of moral training is open to objection and differs widely from Rabelais’ use of experience for the same end. Erasmus would begin education at a much earlier age than Rabelais: “You will not suffer, I do not say seven years but three days even, of your son’s life to pass before you take into earnest consideration his nurture and future education.” In reading Erasmus we are conscious the whole time that ultimately he aims at producing a scholar, whom he values far more highly than the man of action or scientist. He obviously places language study above a knowledge of things, whereas Rabelais makes the language a key thereto. The latter would give at least some place to the vernacular, Erasmus none.

It may be objected that several passages in Rabelais testify to Erasmian influence and even of direct borrowing. But such borrowings are generally concerned with anecdotes from the lives of the ancients and have no educational implication.

There seems to be no doubt, therefore, that Erasmus made no specific contribution to Rabelais’ system in spite of obvious similarities of humanistic aspirations in both. Rather we must consider the work of both as two aspects of the same movement, with Rabelais more modern in his outlook and anticipating future developments of
educational theory particularly in his attention to the sciences and industry.

As for any influence or borrowing from Luther we must remember that the language difficulty would form a high barrier apart from other difficulties. In the library of the Abbey of Thelema, there are books in six languages but none in German or English. The latter were not considered literary tongues, it is true, but it is also highly probable that Rabelais had no knowledge of either tongue. Although Rabelais puts in the mouth of Panurge short speeches in German, English, Dutch and other idioms this does not mean that Rabelais was acquainted with them.

So in matters educational, certain superficial resemblances mean nothing. From a similarity of ideas, particularly on the position of religion and languages in education, Raupt has suggested that Rabelais may have read Luther's work. This is extremely unlikely both from the problem of language, mentioned above, from the heterogeneous nature of Luther's writings and from the nearness of the two men in point of time. Equally unconvincing is the assumption that, by the importance he attached to Hebrew, Rabelais was acquainted with the work of Reuchlin.

With Guillaume Budé Rabelais had much in common in devotion to the cause of Greek learning and humanism.

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1 An apt illustration may be taken from the account of the war in which Gorgantua is called upon to take part. The strategic moves of the campaign have been the object of three studies on Rabelais' military science. Yet all the warlike operations mentioned are determined purely by the configuration of the ground. It would be imprudent to interpret too literally what Rabelais says on military tactics or on many other subjects. His general knowledge was derived from varied sources - conversations with those more expert than he, and travellers. But what he tells us is no more than the work of an ingenious vulgariser.
in general. There is, however, no trace of any specific influence by Bude on any of Rabelais' pedagogy.

There are parallels between More's "Utopia" and Rabelais, particularly between the Utopians' manner of life and that of the Thelemites. Like Gargantua the Utopians ate a light dinner but a copious supper. Yet these details are probably no more than mere coincidences.

**Survival of Scholasticism in Rabelais:**

However much Rabelais ridicules scholastic education, its masters and methods, his work is not without traces of its influence. In his chronicles he likes to put paradoxical arguments in the mouth of Panurge - a relic of his own training in disputation. Here and there in his work we come across an axiom of medieval philosophy, while it cannot be said that Rabelais is entirely free from Janotus's mania for quotation.

In his scheme of education memory work still has a very important place. There is recapitulation and repetition several times daily. Even on the monthly excursions they recited poems they had learnt; in his letter Gargantua advises his son to know civil law by heart. While Gargantua is being dressed he repeats the lessons of the previous day.

Penocrates, the ideal pedagogue, often follows the same methods as his predecessors, the doctors of theology. He reads to his pupil and comments upon the texts read without giving his pupil practice in writing compositions or amplifications. Apart from the exercise in handwriting his teaching is exclusively oral just as it was under Holofernes and Bride. It is true that Gargantua advises his son to form his Latin style on Cicero and Greek on Plato but there is no mention of written work on these lines.

The instruction is confined to Latin (and Greek) studies, the vernacular being still considered unworthy of a place except in translations of poems on holidays.
or in the reading of a romance at meals.

Gargantua's day is just as fully occupied as if he had been in a monastic school. Up at four O'clock he is kept busy throughout the day.

But these survivals are very small when compared with Rabelais' innovations. We must bear in mind that although there is apparently a similarity of method under the regime of Panocrates, what is now of importance is the different spirit underlying the education. Rabelais might have allowed his pupil a more active part in the instruction but he evidently believes that memory work directed on right lines is of very great value and is worth retaining in an enlightened system of education, just as a long day is no hardship if it is varied and well balanced.

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