

Durham E-Theses

*The religion of Marguerite de Navarre: A study based
on a reading of her poetry in the context of the
traditions of devotional writing of the late middle ages
and early reformation*

Ferguson, Robert Gary

How to cite:

Ferguson, Robert Gary (1988) *The religion of Marguerite de Navarre: A study based on a reading of her poetry in the context of the traditions of devotional writing of the late middle ages and early reformation*, Durham theses, Durham University. Available at Durham E-Theses Online:
<http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/6445/>

Use policy

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a [link](#) is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the [full Durham E-Theses policy](#) for further details.

R. G. Ferguson.

The Religion of Marguerite de Navarre.

A Study Based on a Reading of her Poetry
in the Context of the Traditions of Devotional Writing
of the Late Middle Ages and Early Reformation.

The aim of this thesis is to work towards a clarification of the religious convictions of Marguerite de Navarre, discernible in her poetry. As a context for the reading of the poems, it seeks to build up a picture of those traditions of devotional writing within which they stand. Critical opinion has long been divided as to whether Marguerite's poems are essentially theological (ie. dogmatic) or spiritual (ie. mystical) in nature. By offering an alternative context for the reading of the poems (distinct from, yet combining elements of the theological and the spiritual), the thesis seeks to open new insights into the meaning of Marguerite de Navarre's poetry and her own religious beliefs.

A problem of interpretation confronting the reader of devotional literature is identified in terms of the epistemological structures within which, and the linguistic formulations by which, ideas and sentiments are given expression. The thesis therefore seeks to establish this new interpretative context in terms of the religious structures and the religious language found in Marguerite's own poems, and, more generally, in the traditions of devotional writing of the time.

Four main theological issues, brought to prominence at the time of the Reformation, are examined: the nature of Christian justification; the role of the Church and the sacraments; the problem of faith and works; attitudes to the Bible and its interpretation.

It is the contention of this thesis that in each of these areas Marguerite reveals both her dependence upon traditional devotional writing and her openness to and interest in contemporary religious discussion. Influenced much by those of her age concerned to promote a non-schismatic renewal of the Church and a deepening of lay piety, Marguerite combines ideas from both these sources in a synthesis, which is both well informed and of considerable originality and integrity.

The Religion of Marguerite de Navarre.
A Study Based on a Reading of her Poetry
in the Context of the Traditions of Devotional Writing
of the Late Middle Ages and Early Reformation.

by

Robert Gary Ferguson

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author.
No quotation from it should be published without
his prior written consent and information derived
from it should be acknowledged.

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the
Department of French in the University of Durham in July 1988.



- 2 NOV 1989

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without his prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

CONTENTS.

List of Abbreviations.	p. 1
Preface.	
Devotion and Doctrine: A Problem of Interpretation.	p. 2
Part One. Religious Structures.	
Introduction.	
Structures under Stress.	p. 21
Chapter One.	
Structures of Soteriology: The Problem of Justification.	p. 31
Chapter Two.	
Structures Historical and Ecclesiastical.	
I) The Personal and the Universal: The Self in History.	p. 90
II) The Personal and the Institutional: The Self in the Church.	p. 121
Part Two. Religious Language.	
Introduction.	
The Clash of Text and Context.	p. 192
Chapter Three.	
The Consecration of Formulae and the Theological Virtues.	p. 210
Chapter Four.	
Allegorical Hermeneutics: Approaches to Reading the Bible.	p. 255
Conclusions.	p. 323
Appendix.	
Estienne's <u>Sommaire</u> .	p. 327
Bibliography.	p. 333

ABBREVIATIONS

AR	Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte
BEHE	Bibliothèque de l'école des Hautes études
BHR	Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance
BLR	Bibliothèque littéraire de la Renaissance
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris)
BSHPF	Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français
ER	Etudes Rabelaisiennes
FRSF	French Renaissance Students' Facsimiles
JMRS	Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies
PL	Patrologia Latina
RF	Romanische Forschungen
RHLF	Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France
RR	Revue de la Renaissance
RSS	Revue du Seizième Siècle
RTQR	Revue de Théologie et des Questions Religieuses
SHPF	Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français
SMRT	Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought
THR	Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance



PREFACE

Devotion and Doctrine: A Problem of Interpretation.

The religious convictions of Marguerite d'Angoulême, Queen of Navarre, have long been the subject of controversy among critics, and it is evident that her works confront the reader with a problem of interpretation. Is she Catholic or Protestant; a subversive initiator of the Reformation, or a defender of the unity of the Church? Too much criticism in the past has reflected the predispositions and prejudices of the critics themselves, rather than a disinterested approach to the texts.¹ Fortunately, serious and valuable work has been done more recently towards initiating a balanced reappraisal of Marguerite's works, and an understanding of them within their historical context, by such critics as Joseph L. Allaire.² Is she a Lutheran or a mystic?³ The problem is here compounded by the fact that both these groups share much common terminology and imagery.⁴

Although this problem of the existence of more than one possible reading of Marguerite's works was pointed out some years ago in an article by André Winandy, neither he nor subsequent critics have taken up the challenge it poses. Commenting upon the manifold interpretations given by critics to the phrase from Marguerite's Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne (l. 512), 'Serf de péché sans liberté devient', he writes: 'This example proves that the text, which is obviously a commentary within its own historicity, can also be

placed within the framework of mystic rhetoric and imagery, a textual phenomenon which dazzles the critics.'⁵

The problem of the existence of various levels of interpretation is hardly something peculiar to the works of Marguerite de Navarre. It is inherent in the process of literary creation itself, and it is surprising that so many critics of the works of Marguerite seem to have been quite so unprepared for it. It is a problem that manifests itself perhaps particularly strongly, and certainly in a very precise way, within the domain of religious writing - be it theological, spiritual, or devotional.

That there are two different kinds of religious language is something well recognized by theologians. In an excellent article R.P. Congar O.P. identifies these two kinds of language as the 'langage des théologiens' and the 'langage des spirituels'.⁶ According to Congar the theologians are those concerned essentially with the defining of the dogmas of the Church, with the expounding of the nature of the mysteries of redemption, and of life in Christ - in short, with the establishing of an ontological system. Theologians must also be philosophers. On the other hand the spiritual writers are those who seek to describe, not so much their life within the body of Christ, as their direct experience of loving union with God himself. They are the mystics who try to express the nature of the inexpressible, and the only ontology they admit is the self-God ontology of the creature as he stands naked before his Creator.

Les spirituels ont leur langage. Il leur arrive de s'exprimer d'une façon qui serait jugée inexacte si l'on prenait leurs formules pour des énoncés de théologie. Prenons l'exemple le plus simple. Tauler dit: « Les créatures ne sont rien »; « Tu n'es rien, tu ne vaux rien. » A vrai dire, le contexte ne permet pas de se tromper sur le sens...[but]... Où est saint Thomas d'Aquin disant que les choses *sont* et que, pour autant qu'elles sont, elles sont bonnes? Il est clair qu'il existe ici un décalage, au moins dans la manière de parler... D'où vient ce décalage entre le langage des spirituels et celui des théologiens? Évidemment, de la nature et des conditions propres de ce que les uns et les autres veulent exprimer. Les théologiens cherchent à rendre compte de la nature même des choses. Les spirituels, eux, expriment 1° une expérience, et une expérience d'une réalité transcendante; 2° une attitude spirituelle.⁷

The language of the theologians according to Dom Jean Leclercq, is essentially that of logical deduction and rational argument, in which terms are carefully defined and given precise meanings. The declared aims of the theologians are *quaestio* and *scientia*. The language of the spiritual writers by contrast is that of poetry and rhetoric; their tools are figures of speech such as hyperbole and antithesis. Their declared aims are *desiderium* and objects of *experientia*. For Leclercq the origins of these two different languages need to be understood in the historical context of the procedures in which they were developed and used by each of the two groups. The latter, he argues, arises essentially from the *vie théologique* of the monasteries: from the exercises of *lectio divina* and the singing of the offices, in which the words of Scripture are ruminated and digested. The former develops largely from the procedure of Scholastic debate and its use of the *quaestio*, and the methods of Aristotelian logic.⁸

As theologians themselves, both Leclercq and Congar are justifiably anxious to stress the complementarity within a single Church of these two ways of writing about God. Like two sides of a single coin

each needs the other to complement it, and both can be properly understood only in the context of the whole Church in which they both have their place. Neither does dogmatic theology in any way preclude an experiential approach to God, indeed it both feeds off and encourages it, in the same way that mystical theology can only be valid, from a Christian point of view, if it is situated firmly within the context of the mysteries of the Church.⁹

The contrast was highlighted by Congar (above, pp. 3-4), between the bare self-God ontology adopted by the spiritual writers that leads to the affirmation of the *nothingness* of the creature, and the philosophical ontology of the Schoolmen that proclaims the goodness of all being to the extent that it exists. This provides a striking example of the gulf that can separate these two different kinds of language. The contrast of the *nothingness* of the creature with the *All-being* of the Creator is perhaps one of the most oft repeated commonplaces of the spiritual tradition. Congar quotes P. Garrigou-Lagrange who points out that such an altruistic and concise spiritual expression as 'le néant de la créature', would need to be expressed by dogmatic theologians in five distinct propositions to avoid the dangers of error or ambiguity.¹⁰ Hyperbole, antithesis, imagery - poetry and rhetoric, these may indeed be the hallmark of the spiritual writers, but for the theologians they can bring only confusion and misunderstanding.

From the above it is clear that what we have so far identified solely as a linguistic problem - 'langage des théologiens' and 'langage des

spirituels' - is in fact more than this, since the epistemological structures themselves used by the two groups of religious writers are at odds. When it is a question of contrasting ontologies, which, if not mutually exclusive, must at least be said to arise from different points of view and lead to different perceptions of the same realities, linguistic analysis must be supplemented with structural and methodological analysis. In assessing an idea's genuine significance, it is just as important to take account of the ideological structures that form the context within which that idea is expressed, as the linguistic forms used to articulate it.

In addition to the theologians and spiritual writers defined above, a third group of religious writers must be identified, who seek to combine in their works something of the aims of the other two. These may be called devotional writers. They write on the whole for the laity, or the less well educated of the clergy and religious, and hence mainly in the vernacular. Though they seek to imitate neither the exalted flights of the mystics, striving to express the inexpressible, nor to erect a *theologia universalis* to stand next to the great *summae* of the Schoolmen or the tomes of the Reformers, they inevitably do, in the pursuit of their more modest aims, draw on the structures and language of both. Their aim is to stir their readers to piety of devotion and good living, and at the same time to expound to them the essentials of right theology. Let us draw some examples from among Marguerite de Navarre's contemporaries.

Les Triumphes de la noble et amoureuse dame. Et lart de honnestement aymer of Jean Bouchet, first published in 1530, is a work whose declared aims are both spiritual and theological. Bouchet sets out to distract women and young girls from reading translations of the New Testament and tracts by German heretics, whilst at the same time providing them with a 'manuel ou brief recueil de la doctrine necessaire pour batailler contre les vices et en avoir la victoire, à ce que puissions finablement aller au port de salut.'" We might expect then to find Bouchet having recourse to the language and structures of the theologians as well as of the spiritual writers. The Triumphes comprise an allegorical story recounted largely in prose, which is interspersed with passages of verse. That pursuing his dual aim Bouchet should exploit the two media of prose and poetry is interesting. It is far from being the case that all the sections of poetry in the Triumphes are spiritual in nature, in the sense we have used the word so far, that is, essentially expressive of an attitude, for there are many sections of poetry in the work that deal with precise dogmatic issues. For example the following passage on the nature of the soul from the *Epistre envoyee par la gouvernante Raison a lame incorporee*:

Contemple bien la tienne quidite,
 Ton excellence et tresgrant dignite,
 Car il [Dieu] ta faicte a sa sainte semblance
 Par sa bonte, sapience, et puissance
 Si tu me dictz que ne sembles dieu
 Et que tu nas tel povoyr en tout lieu
 Il est tout vray, car cest la sapience.
 La verite...
 ... Ame tu nas toutes ces qualitez
 Ces biens tant grans: ne ces proprietiez
 Mais de ces biens avoir tu es capable,
 Parce de luy a lymage es semblable:¹²

Nor is it the case that all the passages of prose explore only theological issues, apart from any expression of personal feeling on the part of the chief protagonist, *Ame incorporee*. In the following she lets her prayer rise lyrically before her Saviour,

O tresdoulx seigneur Jesuchrist fontaine de vraye amour dont tant de clers ruisseaulx procedent et diffluent: Je pauvre pecheresse ay tousjours este froide et en plusieurs manieres esloygnee de ceste amour: Jay este singuliere et sequestree sans amour et dilection vivant en hayne et simulation: vous plaise me ayder par vostre douce amour et inflamer mon cueur en lamour qui vous plaist que je aye benoist Jesus: affin que je ayme ce que je doy aymer, et que en vous ayment je aye la sempiternelle vie damour. (*Triumphes*, fol. cv ro).

The choice of the author to employ poetry at any particular point in the work seems to be as much conditioned by considerations of sixteenth-century stylistic norms, such as the expectation that an epistle ought to be in verse, as by anything else. It is however possible to say that the general impression left by reading through the work, is that the careful expounding of theological ideas tends to take place largely in prose, and the expression of spiritual attitudes tends to be couched more often in verse, since it is often in verse form that the soul addresses Christ or the saints, or vice versa. Even so the question is essentially one of language and structures, and only one of form to the extent to which particular modes of expression tend to be linked with one literary form rather than another. We can note in this connection the very poetic style of the passage of prose quoted above as being essentially spiritual in nature.

Such technical language and distinctions as those used in the following quotation, however, would make for cold devotion indeed:

Je dy oultre que le remede de tout peche originel ou actuel, cest la passion de nostre seigneur Jesuchrist, et la vertu de celle passion est imprimee es sacremens de leglise. A ceste raison on ne peult estre guier de la maculle du peche originel ou actuel sans prendre les sacremens de leglise reaulment... Scavoir est du peche originel par baptesme, et du peche actuel et mortel par penitence, qui consiste en contrition, confession, et satisfaction. (*Triumphes*, fol. lxxxii ro).

In contrast to this, however, we may take an extract from the *Epistre envoyee par Lame incorporee a son espoux Jesuchrist* which, whilst not being theologically incorrect, is nevertheless much less precise. The sentiments expressed are much more general, and the aim of the passage is evidently to convey a spiritual attitude - to give an example of the way in which a soul might profitably address Christ - rather than to carefully expound doctrine:

Cest vous Jesus monseigneur mon espoux
 Mon dieu mon roy mon sauveur si tresdoulx
 Et si tresplain de grant misericorde
 Que vous mavez ouste du coul la corde
 Pour le peche de mes premiers parens
 Damnee estois, les cas sont apparens
 Mais vous mavez cherelement achaptee
 Par vostre mort, et denfer rachaptee,
 Puis vous a plu non obstant mes grans maulx
 De me espouser sur le fons baptismaulx
 Et me donner par voz tresgrans largesses
 Fruictz habondans, opulentes richesses.
 (*Triumphes*, fol. lxxiii vo).

If we now compare the two passages we can see how use of a different style of language is made in each to achieve different ends, and that although the theological structures are the same in both passages, whereas in the first they are explicitly defined, in the second they remain implicit. Whilst in the second passage, for example, the

concept of original and actual sin is present, it is never explicitly defined. Instead the concept is made more personal to the individual soul, thus 'le peche de mes premiers parens', which is said to be forgiven by Christ's passion, and 'mes grans maulx', which are washed away by baptism. As a statement of theology the first passage is much clearer, and the second, if it were analysed as such, would give rise to several ambiguities. Again the connection between baptism and the passion is inherent but not explicit in the second passage, and an image, 'espouser', is used for the more precise 'guiery de la maculle du peche originel' of the first passage. The detailed description of the benefits of the remission of sins given by the first passage stands in contrast to the metaphorical 'fruictz habondans' and 'opulentes richesses', which are the benefits of baptism declared by the second passage.

As a monk of the reformed Fontevrault, we are not surprised to find in the writings of François Le Roy the same two-fold concern for correct theology and right devotion we have already seen in Bouchet. Although Le Roy is essentially a writer of prose, the same two usages of language and structure interweave throughout his works. Let us examine two different ways in which Le Roy in his Mirouer de Penitence describes the sin of impenitence, and failure to accept the benefits of Christ's passion, firstly using the language and conceptual structures of the theologians,

Mais ceulx qui contemneront vostre[dict] grace et ne retourneront point a vous par vraye penitence mais decederont impenitens il periront justement et encourront la peine infinie eternelle et seront prives du merite infini de vostre mort, par laquelle eussent obtenu le

royaulme celeste et hereditage eternal sil se fussent adhez a vous par amour.¹³

and secondly using only picture language and the structure of allegory to express the same idea:

O follie extreme et tresinsipiente de lame ainsy ingrate. Se ung noble prinlce avoit prins pour son espouse une simple et pouvre bergiere et quil eust exaltee et elevee en honneurs et richesses, ornemens et vestemens delicieux et joyaulx nobles et precieux et pour laquelle il eut prins plusieurs labeurs et travaux: et mesmes pour la deffendre eust este batu et navvre enormement: se apres tant de graces et benefices elle estoit ingrate et quelle laissast son[dict] espoux, se donnant et prostituant a ung ruffian, a ung belistre, a ung marault et villain rustique, et que a locasion de ce elle devint toute lepreuse et infecte orde et salle. O quelle indignation, quelle corroux, quelle t[r]istece, quelle douleur en concevroit et encourroit son[dict] espoux. (ibid., fol. h ii vo).

We see also at times in *Le Roy* a tendency to be swept along by the images of his more lyrical passages, so that his *soul* expresses in prayer sentiments that need to be understood in the right theological context if they are to stand as theologically true,

Exercez envers moy vostre chef doeuvre: demolissez et destruissez en moy *mon fait et operation qui nest que vice*. Nous estions sire par peche vos ennemis constituez, mis et redigez en *la captivite diabolique*. (ibid., La seconde partie, fol. b i vo; b ii vo, my emphasis).

Here the self-God ontology is primary and theological questions of the preservation of free will and synderesis, the action of grace and the merit of works, are momentarily left on one side as the soul humbles itself before its Redeemer. It is apparent at such moments that *Le Roy* is allowing the spiritual intention of his work to come to the fore so that more precise theological language and structures become

secondary. Only through the continual tension between the two does the work preserve its balance and integrity.

There are also some extraordinary moments in the Mirouer which enable us to appreciate the consequences of one of these two different religious systems straying into the domain of the other. Moved by pious devotion, Le Roy's *soul* embarks upon a chaplet of fifty meditations on the Life and Passion of Christ, in imitation of the Chaplet of Our Lady, or the rosary. The titles of some of the *salutations* are not promising. The sixth extends over twenty-three folios and contains such explanatory sections as, 'comme les deux natures, divine et humaine unies en la personne de jhesucrist non[tl] point este confuses'. A quotation from just one of these *salutations* will show the inappropriateness of such a use of theological language and structures in the spiritual context of a soul's prayer to Christ. What we read is in fact less a prayer than a piece of didactic theology, couched in the form of a prayer. The soul gives thanks to Christ,

car non seulement avez satisfait a la justice divine pour l'umain lignage en general et en commun comme dit rosetum in ruminatorio portionum: mais aussy avez satisfait pour chacun homme en singulier et particulier tant est pleine abondante entiere et affluente et meritoire vostre charitable et viscerale satisfaction faicte pour nous. Et selon que dit ubertinus. vous avez paye et souffert peine pour chacun peche singulier, et en vostre oeuvre meritoire Le pecheur a absolution pardon et remission grace et justification beatitude et glorification. Et tout bien tant en singulier, general et special que jamais nous airons et possederons soit en ceste vie mortelle, soit en beatitude eternelle, mon doulx sauveur jhesucrist vous nous lavez merite. (Mirouer de penitence, fols. p i vo-ii ro).

It is in this tradition of devotional writers that Marguerite de Navarre also stands. Like Bouchet she is a writer of both prose and poetry, though like Le Roy she confines her specifically religious works largely to one form, in her case that of poetry. In her works too are present the language and structures of both spiritual and more precisely theological writers, and it is in the context of the one or the other of these two groups that critics have generally opted to read her works. Those who read her works only in the context of the rhetoric and structures of mystical writing tend on the whole to undervalue the theological implications of Marguerite's writings, whilst those who read her in a way that treats every phrase of her poems as if it were a self-contained doctrinal statement have been led to theological inaccuracies, and to the taking up of positions in opposing critical camps. The right context for the reading of the poems of Marguerite de Navarre would seem to be neither the theological nor the spiritual exclusively, but the devotional. It is in the context of the late-medieval and early Renaissance traditions of devotional writing that the works of Marguerite de Navarre need to be set for a clearer reading and a true appreciation of her religious convictions.

It is the aim of this thesis to work towards an elucidation of the religious opinions of Marguerite de Navarre by building up this context within which her poems may be read. In doing this it will be necessary to look at the great theologians whose writings have been formative for all Western religious thought; it will be necessary to look at the great spiritual writers whose words have fed Christian

piety for centuries. The primary world with which we must become familiar, however, is that of a much less well known collection of people - the writers of vernacular devotional literature in the latter part of the fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth centuries in France.

Given that we have defined the problem of interpretation presented by devotional writing in terms of epistemological structures and linguistic expression, we shall seek to establish this context in terms of contemporary and preceding linguistic and epistemological norms. What epistemological structures underlie Marguerite's religious poetry, in what kind of language does she express her ideas, how do both of these compare with traditional and contemporary practice, how do they look forward to future developments? These are the questions we shall need to ask.

Our examination of the religious opinions of the Queen of Navarre will take the form then of an examination of the epistemological structures that underlie her writings, and the linguistic means by which her ideas are given expression. By setting these as far as is possible within the context of an historically accurate picture of the cultural, literary and ideological world within which Marguerite was writing, we shall seek to establish, to use a term coined by Thomas Greene, their *semiotic matrix*, the *mundus significans* within which they operate, and within which and from which, as signs, they have their significance.¹⁴ It is only then that we shall be able to understand the value of

linguistic expressions and epistemological structures used by Marguerite, without subjecting them to anachronistic interpretation.

Here two important disclaimers must be made. First, to make frequent use in what follows of terms such as Catholic, Protestant, evangelical, Gallican, et cetera, will be unavoidable. In the first half of the sixteenth century such terms do not have the precise and restrictive meanings they acquire after the clarification of theological opinion and entrenchment of positions that follow in the wake of the Council of Trent on the one hand, and the publication of the final version of the Institution de la religion chrestienne on the other. Provided that this is remembered their use need not be misleading nor unduly anachronistic. Shades of theological opinion vary immensely at this time, and in our *mundus significans* such words are intended as signposts indicating directions and suggesting trends, rather than marking precisely delineated tracks.

Secondly, it is not the intention here, nor would it be possible, to undertake an exhaustive study of Marguerite's works in either of these two domains, and it is our primary aim to work towards a clarification of Marguerite's religious opinions. We shall concentrate therefore on those areas or issues that seem particularly fruitful for our purposes. Some of the vocabulary and imagery used by the Queen, for example, is obviously largely spiritual in nature, that is it derives directly from the mystical tradition and needs to be read in that context. The significance of this vocabulary on the whole is clear and there is little to be said about it, save to detail its

provenance, and use by other writers. It has been well examined elsewhere.¹⁵ We shall concentrate instead on areas of language and ideological structures in Marguerite's works that are more marginal and problematical, those which in the sixteenth century become the great issues of religious controversy. Thus, though the primary divisions we adopt here are epistemological and linguistic, certain theological divisions will also emerge which reflect and reveal the burning issues of the age. The first chapter will address the question of Christian justification, the second, that of historical soteriology and ecclesiology, the third, the question of faith and works, and the fourth, the Bible and problems surrounding its interpretation.

The divisions we adopt cannot be rigorous or absolute. It is equally clear that within epistemological frameworks concepts are always expressed through language, and that linguistic expression can never operate wholly devoid of structural context. We have concentrated on the one or the other, however, where each has seemed to be the more important.

Each of the two parts of this thesis, dealing with religious structures and religious language respectively, is forwarded by a short introduction, whose aim is to suggest ways in which the following detailed examination of particular religious issues might fit into a somewhat wider view of the century's changing and developing ideological and cultural climate.

It is, I believe, only by carefully building up this picture of contemporary and preceding structural and linguistic norms that the works of Marguerite de Navarre can be set in their appropriate context. Only then, by drawing comparisons, and noting similarities and differences, will it be possible to attempt a valid assessment of the religious thought of the Queen - its originalities and its banalities; its conventionality and its novelty; its conformity and its independence - its true *significance*. It is, in short, only this reading in appropriate context, with careful attention to language and to structure, that will encourage the first tentative steps towards a new reading of the religious works of Marguerite de Navarre.

Notes to Preface.

1) For those who argue the case for Marguerite's Protestantism see notably, A. Lefranc, 'Les Idées religieuses de Marguerite de Navarre d'après son oeuvre poétique', BSHPE, 46 (1897), 7-30, 72-84, 137-148, 295-311, 418-442; 47 (1898), 69-81, 115-136; also H. Strohl, De Marguerite de Navarre à Louise Scheppler. Quelques étapes de l'évolution de la piété protestante (Strasbourg, 1926), Chapter 1. Among those who argue her fundamental adherence to Roman Catholicism is, R. Doumic, 'Marguerite de Navarre d'après ses dernières poésies', Revue des Deux Mondes, 135 (1896), 934-945.

2) J. L. Allaire, 'L'Évangélisme de Marguerite de Navarre' (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Wayne State University, 1966).

3) For those who emphasize the Lutheran tone of Marguerite's writings see, Lefranc and Strohl, note 1 above. W.G. Moore examines in some detail the influence of Luther upon Marguerite, though admits it is secondary to the primary source of her inspiration, which he says is Christian mysticism and neo-Platonism (La Réforme Allemande et la littérature française (Strasbourg, 1930), pp. 187-203). For those who argue for an exclusively mystical interpretation of Marguerite's works see H. Skommodau, Die religiösen Dichtungen Margaretes von Navarra (Cologne and Opladen, 1954), and E. Parturier, 'Les sources du mysticisme de Marguerite de Navarre à propos d'un manuscrit inédit', RR, 5 (1904), 1-16, 49-62, 108-114, 178-190, 273-280, reprinted Slatkine (Geneva, 1968).

4) See R.P. Congar, 'Langage des spirituels et langage des théologiens', in La Mystique Rhénane, Travaux du Centre des études Supérieures spécialisé d'histoire des religions de Strasbourg, Colloque de Strasbourg 1961 (Paris, 1963), pp. 15-34 (pp. 32-34). Congar refers to the Catholic historians who see in Luther's work the turning of a legitimate spiritual attitude devoid of any ontology (save that of the nothingness of the creature wholly dependent on grace as he stands before the Creator), into a theology and an ontology on which he builds a dogmatic system.

5) A. Winandy, 'Piety and humanistic symbolism in the works of Marguerite d'Angoulême, Queen of Navarre', Yale French Studies, 47 (1972), 145-169 (p. 155). Winandy himself, however, ranges himself firmly with Skommodau and those who interpret the Queen's works as exclusively spiritual in nature, and much of Winandy's article derives ultimately from Skommodau. Though his insistence upon the reading of Marguerite's works in the context of the rhetoric of mysticism contains much truth, that he should be unwilling to attribute any importance to the theological controversies of the time for an interpretation of her works, and maintain that she has no interest whatsoever in dogmatic theology, seems inexplicable.

6) Congar, art. cit. note 4.

7) Congar, pp. 17-18.

8) See Dom J. Leclercq, L'Amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu (Paris, 1957), pp. 9-14.

9) 'Sans une théologie en soi ou, si l'on veut, une ontologie, les perceptions et les énoncés des spirituels perdraient vite la mesure et la possibilité même de conserver ce qu'ils portent de vrai et de valable. Combien exact, combien profond est ce qu'écrivait un exégète allemand contemporain: « Une Prophétie sans Doctrine dégénère en extravagance, une Doctrine sans Prophétie se sclérose en légalisme » ', Congar, p. 30.

10) These five propositions are: ' 1° la créature par elle-même n'est rien, car elle a été créée *ex nihilo*; 2° comparée à Dieu, la créature déjà existante n'est rien, car après la création il n'y a pas plus de perfection, ni plus d'être qu'auparavant, bien qu'il y ait maintenant plusieurs êtres; 3° la créature par sa propre défectibilité tend au néant et au péché; 4° le péché est au-dessous du néant lui-même, car il n'est pas seulement la négation, mais la privation d'un bien, il est un désordre et une offense à Dieu; 5° la créature n'est rien en notre affection, si nous l'aimons sans la subordonner à Dieu, car ainsi elle nous détourne de lui'. Congar, p. 27.

11) See J. Britnell, Jean Bouchet (Edinburgh, 1986), pp. 222-223.

12) Jean Bouchet, Les Triumphe De la Noble et amoureuse dame. Et lart de honnestement aymer (Paris, P. Sergent, 1536), fol. lvii ro.

13) François Le Roy, Le mirouer de penitence tresdevot et salutaire: tresutile et proffitable a toutes personnes et specialement a gens de religion desirans de leurs meurs faire conversion et tendre a perfection (Paris, S. Vostre, [1512]), fol. g iii ro-vo.

14) T.M. Greene, The Light in Troy. Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry, The Elizabethan Club Series, 7 (New Haven and London, 1982), p. 20.

15) Skommodau, op. cit.

PART ONE

RELIGIOUS STRUCTURES

Introduction

Structures under Stress.

Underlying all devotional writing there is what might legitimately be termed a structural tension that arises from the simultaneous presence of both theological and mystical epistemological frameworks; nor can it be said that the religious philosophy of the theologians and the self-God ontology of the mystics always make comfortable bedfellows. In the sixteenth century moreover, this primal or generic tension is further compounded by historical circumstance.

The decline of the Middle Ages and the advent of the Renaissance is often seen to involve a general simplification of exterior forms on both the epistemological as well as the artistic and literary levels.¹ In the religious sphere this simplification manifests itself in a growing dissatisfaction with the complex and unwieldy theological system progressively elaborated by the Scholastics. The niceties and subtleties of the medieval theological framework were utterly incomprehensible to the large majority of ordinary people, of both laity and clergy. Indulgences bought for money, for example, were not held to secure the release of a soul from purgatory, but to obtain for it remission of all or part of the canonical punishment due on earth for its sins and not completed before death, where the guilt of those sins had already been forgiven through the sacrament of penance. It might be argued, however, that popular ignorance was not only condoned

by the Church through its distinction between implicit and explicit faith (see below, Chapter 3, pp. 219-220), but that it was also deliberately perpetuated and exploited, since the raising of money through indulgences sold with the help of slogans such as the infamous adage of Tetzl was no less heretical than it was iniquitous.²

The simplification of theological structures initiated by the Reformers and by humanists such as Erasmus was largely effected by a paring down of the generally accepted theological structures towards the spiritual, self-God ontology of the mystics. Thus the picture of the general principles we have outlined so far is complicated in the sixteenth century by the affinities of much of the vocabulary and many of epistemological constructs of Reformed and Protestant theologians with those traditionally used by the spiritual writers. For the former too the self-God ontology is primary, and the nothingness of the creature before the Creator forms the basis of their dogma. For the Reformers, however, such structures and language are not complementary to another more philosophical vocabulary and ontology, rather they are definitive and specifically replace and exclude this. Such assertions as 'le néant de l'homme' which had been a legitimate part of Catholic devotion, a laudible spiritual *attitude* when set within the context of the theology of the whole Church, were taken by the Reformers to serve as the basis of an alternative religious dogma.

A direct result of this is that within the historical context of the sixteenth century, spiritual (and devotional) writing becomes

potentially much more theologically subversive than ever before. This in turn leads to a practice of censorship that is much stricter, especially in the signaling and condemning of *omissions*. A work that fails to extol the role of the saints or the sacraments as aids to salvation will now leave itself open to suspicion of denying them.

In the second half of the sixteenth century devotional poetry, both Catholic and Protestant, becomes increasingly personal and non-theological. In the case of the Reformed writers this reflects a simplified theological outlook, whilst in the case of their Catholic counterparts it represents an ever growing hesitation in the wake of the Tridentine Council to treat overtly theological issues for fear of being found heretical. Terence Cave points out for example the similarity of Catholic and Protestant penitential poetry in this part of the century.³ The Catholic and the Protestant souls lament their sins in strikingly similar terms, whilst for the latter sacramental confession is omitted and rejected, for the former it is omitted and assumed.

Devotional writing from the first half of the century, however, does not on the whole lie quite so level across the emerging confessional cracks, and contentious issues have not yet developed into the unbroachable areas they will later become. The desire remains among devotional writers to strive to hold in tension elements of theological philosophy and spiritual ontology - both their language and structures. As might be expected, however, those who sympathize with the Reform tend towards a high valuation of the self-God

ontology as the primary framework within which their writing operates. Into this basic structure there may erupt from time to time secondary structures that reflect either an evangelical or Protestant view of the Church and its institutions. Many Catholic writers on the other hand adopt almost unaltered the old, medieval theological framework and try to make it not only understandable but also attractive to their readers.

An obvious example of this kind of Catholic writer is Jean Bouchet, and this particular aim is exemplified in his Triumphes with their allegorical dramatization of the earthly pilgrimage of the *Ame incorporee*. The claim of allegory to a universal validity means that the work is necessarily fairly impersonal. The soul is launched on its pilgrimage at birth, and by the time it comes to die it must have made sure it is on course for the harbour of salvation. The most decisive events along the soul's way are its reception of the Church's sacraments. Its original sin is forgiven at baptism when it is also made a member of the Church. Later, having been tempted and fallen into mortal sin, it is rescued by means of the sacrament of confession. Within this historical-liturgical framework there are moments when the soul expresses its prayer to one of the heavenly company. Here a more personal note is introduced into the work, but even these prayers seem more often than not to operate essentially as paradigms of devotion for crucial moments of a soul's progress. The primary framework of the work is that of the soul's life within the Body of Christ, the Church, and there is no relationship with God without the Church and its ministrations. The self-God framework is

incorporated in the liturgical and ecclesiastical framework; perhaps self-God is itself the wrong term here and man-God might be more appropriate.

The contrast between Bouchet and a writer like Victor Brodeau, who starts from a quite different position, is obvious. Whilst often expressing a pessimistic view of the nature of fallen man similar to the ideas of Luther, Brodeau reveals at times a regard for epistemological structures and ecclesiastical institutions which are more traditional, yet this regard is always a secondary consideration that enters into the consciousness of the self-God framework of the praying soul. The initial position of Brodeau's poems is mainly *subjective*, and reflects a spiritual crisis caused by the individual's realization of his sinfulness - he becomes assimilated to Adam, despite the intervening centuries, despite the interposition of the Incarnation of the Saviour:

Quant est de moy, hélas, que puis je faire,
Fors estre à toy, et a soy mesmes contraire?
Qui de penser ung bien n'ay suffisance;
En ce que fays, a tousjours à refaire,
Tout mon bienfaict est remply de mesfaire...

Et sur ce poinct, mon Dieu, je me recorde
De mes pechés, de ma vie tresorde,
Dont pour tout fruict je n'ay que peine et honte.
Combien de foyz ay je gagné la corde,
Et d'estre au feu d'eternelle discorde?⁴

'I am Adam, Christ alone can save me from my sins' is the primary framework established by Brodeau's Epistre d'ung Pecheur à Jesus Christ; baptism and traditional soteriological structures are secondary and give way to an emphasis upon God's own election of the saved.

Like much Reformed theology in general, Brodeau's work begins from a point of personal crisis, in which the individual suffers suspended in a post-lapsarian yet pre-baptismal state of limbo, in which grace is not assured and only condemnation under the Law is certain. The case must not be overstated, however, and Brodeau's poem does go on to incorporate into the soul's meditation both historical and liturgical considerations:

Ainsi qu'avons la pluspart de nostre eage
 Porté d'Adam tout terrestre l'image,
 Qui cause fut de nostre damnement;
 Portons aussi ores par bon courage
 Le beau pourtraict, tout de celeste ouvrage
 De Jesus Christ, faict sus son vif visage,
 A huille painct, pour durer longuement.

D'huille de grace, et de joye, et lyesse
 Sommes nous oinctz, quand en figure expresse
 Du saint baptesme avons le sacrement;
 Là nous depars tous tes biens à largesse,
 En nous faisant vrayz hoirs de ta richesse,
 Si nous avons fiance à ta promesse,
 Et vive foy, qui ne fault, ny ne ment.
 (*Poésies*, pp. 172-173).

In some cases the extreme emphasis placed by certain Protestant writers on ontological attitude can obscure not only philosophical considerations, but even religious truth. Some penitential poetry focuses the attention of the reader on the lament of the sinner to the almost total exclusion of any consideration of God's mercy or the saving passion of his Christ, as is the case in Nicolle Bargedé's Odes Penitentes du Moins que Rien. Redemption here seems far away from the sinner indeed, and certainly not something which will be initiated here on earth. Thus despite the endless rehearsal of his trust in God's protection, peace of mind is for ever beyond the grasp of the

Moins que rien, eternally haunted by anxiety at the prospect of damnation: 'O Dieu sauve mon ame/ De l'infernal soucy'.⁵

Of course not all Catholic writers adopt such a rigorously traditional and overtly theological framework for their devotional writings as does Bouchet, who is specifically concerned with combating the heretical beliefs of the Lutherans. There is much Catholic writing that involves the soul in personal and intimate dialogue with God, and in which ecclesiastical, liturgical and historical structures are secondary to the primary attitude of the soul as it stands naked before God; the presence of these structures however is normally to be discerned. Exemplary of this kind of simplification are many of the poems of Jean Marot, father of the more well known Clément.

Cœurs endurciz par obstination,
Fondez en pleurs, et brisez la closture
De voz pechez par telle affection
Que puissiez estre avec confession
Tous deschargez d'infernalle voyture.
De sa parolle ayez le soing et cure,
Allez vers luy qui tout mal lave et cure
Et lors pourrez par supplication
Luy requerir que grace vous procure.
S'ailleurs allez, de vous il n'aura cure,
Cœurs endurciz par obstination.⁶

Here there is an emphasis on the soul's need of forgiveness and grace, but this realization leads the poet not to a rehearsal of his own sinful and wretched nature, but to a simple concentration on the passion and death of Christ, the source of all healing and grace. Human hardness of heart leads immediately to an affirmation of trust in the mercy of God. There is still something *objective* in this spiritual attitude that has not reached the depth of ontological crisis

that initiates much Protestant writing. This objectivity is also reflected linguistically in the use here of the second person plural form of the personal pronoun. The poet addresses humanity as a whole with confidence, rather than displays his own individual spiritual predicament. Underlying the passage there are also gently but firmly present elements of traditional Catholic theology. Whilst there is no explicit reference to the sacrament of confession, its presence may be discerned, and though there is no mention of human free will, nevertheless the desire of the individual to repent and amend seems to be a vital part of the process of forgiveness. There is still moreover an optimism concerning the assurance of forgiveness, the general tone is calm and confident, whereas the atmosphere of later Protestant poetry is tortured and anxious, the restless devotion of the soul seeking peace of mind.

On the other hand it is clear that the more Protestant poetry is not merely personal in the modern sense of that word, and that a title like Les Odes Penitentes du Moins que Rien by its very anonymity claims a paradigmatic status by which it seeks to express truths of a universal validity in almost the same way as do the allegorical figures of Bouchet. The *Moins que rien*, the *Pecheur* who writes his *epistre a Jesus Christ* are just as much *Everyman* figures as the *Ame Incorporee*. Poetry with Protestant overtones is not personal in the Romantic sense, where this means an outpouring of the individual, agonized soul which is distinct from all others, isolated in its uniqueness.

Rather what is involved here is a change of perspective that itself reflects, and arises from, a changed or changing theological outlook. In general, the undermining of the historical structures of a progression from man's fallen state under the Law to his renewal in the Age of Grace, which is a new age inaugurated with the Incarnation, and the undermining of the sure and certain structures of Church and sacraments in favour of an emphasis on the predestination of the elect by God, leave the Protestant soul in constant anxiety regarding its ultimate fate. Whereas the *Ame incorporee* is answerable only for its own fall, and responsible for its own salvation, the *Moins que rien* must bear the sins of fallen humanity, beginning with Adam; and whereas the *Ame incorporee* operates within a sacramental system whose objectivity offers certain guarantees, the *Moins que rien* has only the flimsy testimony of his own conscience that can never wholly reassure.

We will look then in the following two chapters at the structures of thought that underlie the religious poems of Marguerite de Navarre. The first will focus more precisely upon the single theological issue of the nature of justification, since upon this issue the Reformation of the sixteenth century turned more than upon any other. This will facilitate the establishing of a sure and historically accurate theological context from which, in the second chapter, it will be possible to look more generally at the historical and liturgical framework within which Marguerite's poetry operates; that is at the tension between the spiritual, attitudinizing self-God ontology over against the theological structures of the self in history and the self in the Church.

Notes to Introduction Part One.

- 1) J. Huizinga, L'Automne du Moyen Age (Paris, 1980), first published in Dutch, 1919, first translated into French 1932, pp. 331-343, 'L'avènement de la forme nouvelle', also cf. pp. 280, 290-292.
- 2) For a brief summary of the development of the doctrine of indulgences see, S. Ozment, The Age of Reform 1250-1550. An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe (New Haven and London, 1980), pp. 216-217, and on the particular circumstances of the propagation of the 1515 St. Peter's indulgence by the Archbishop of Mainz, *ibid.* pp. 249-253. Farge notes the guarded attitude of the Faculty of Theology of Paris towards the preaching of the indulgence published by Pope Leo X in 1515 to finance the crusade against the Turks. The Doctors complained of the onerous burden this imposed upon the people, the misleading nature of sermons implying that for 10 sous a soul might escape purgatory, and even extracted certain propositions of doubtful theological veracity from the papal bull itself. (J.K. Farge, Orthodoxy and Reform in Early Reformation France. The Faculty of Theology of Paris, 1500-1543, SMRT, 32 (Leiden, 1985), pp. 163-169).
- 3) T. Cave, Devotional Poetry in France c. 1570-1613 (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 22-23. It is in Eucharistic devotion for example that confessional differences are more apparent, (pp. 204-216).
- 4) V. Brodeau, 'Epistre d'ung Pecheur à Jesus Christ', Poésies, edited H. M. Tomlinson (Geneva, 1982), p. 167.
- 5) W. Bargedé, Les Odes Penitentes du Moins que Rien (Paris, Longis, 1550), Ode 5, fol. C ii ro.
- 6) J. Marot, Le Recueil Jehan Marot de Caen, Poete et escriptvain de la magnanime Royne Anne de Bretagne, et depuis Valet de chambre du Treschrestien Roy François premier de ce nom (Paris, Vve. P. Roffet, sd.) Facsimile edition FRSF, 3 (Menston, 1971), p. 55. J. Marot died in 1526 and the Recueil was first published in 1532. See introductory note to the facsimile edition, FRSF, 3.

CHAPTER ONE.

Structures of Soteriology: The Problem of Justification.

1) Augustine to the Middle Ages.

In the sixteenth century it is undoubtedly in the domain of the theology of salvation that the most far-reaching and radical revision of theological structures occurs.

It is generally accepted that the soteriological thought of St. Augustine of Hippo forms the basis of all subsequent speculation on the means and nature of salvation in the Western Church, and that the vast body of Scholastic writings testifies to the endless refining, expounding, and expanding of his thought by the medieval Church.'

Augustine taught that whilst the will of man had been created free, as a result of the Fall it had been vitiated to such an extent that it was thenceforth incapable of proper functioning. Man did not lose his free will at the Fall, but he did lose his liberty, and his free will became the captive of sin: hence Augustine's adoption of the term *liberum arbitrium captivatum*. Captive free will, according to Augustine, avails only for sin unless it is set free by God's grace, when it becomes the *liberum arbitrium liberatum*. The process by which this happens, and by which the right relationship between God and man is restored, is called justification. God operates the

justification of an individual through his gift of faith, without any previous merit on man's part, as a result of which he is rendered capable of desiring the good. If it is God's to operate, however, it is man's to receive and to assent to his justification, and hence Augustine's adage: *'Qui fecit te sine te, non iustificat te sine te'*. Justification, through faith in the merits of Christ crucified who died to supply man's want, is thus a free gift from God, since man in his fallen state neither desired it, nor knew his need of it. But having once taken the initiative, God proceeds to cooperate through his grace with the will he has restored, freed, and enabled to desire the good, so that its good desires may be actualized in works.

Though Augustine never drew such a distinction himself, it can be said that he conceived of justification both as an act that God operates, and as a process in which God and man cooperate. It is once he has been justified by God and begun to cooperate with him that a man may begin to achieve merit. This did not imply for Augustine, as it did for Tertullian, that God is in man's debt, since merit and the ability to gain it are themselves a gift from God. Thus if God can be said to be under any compulsion to reward man's good deeds, it is clearly one that in his kindness he imposes on himself: *'cum Deus coronat merita nostra, nihil aliud coronat quam munera sua'*.² A concept crucial to Augustine's teaching on justification is that man's righteousness is both real and his own. It is inherent in his nature and intrinsic to him, it is not in any sense imputed to him or extrinsic. In the process of justification a man becomes truly righteous.

The refinements brought to Augustine's thought by the Schoolmen of the Middle Ages largely concerned two questions; firstly, the nature and the mode of operation of grace, and secondly, the question of how and if it was possible or even necessary for an individual to prepare for the grace of justification. With regard to this second question a variety of answers was given at different times by theologians of different Schools. Roughly speaking some Doctors argued that man before justification could do nothing whatsoever that would merit the reception of this free gift. Others disagreed, saying that although it might be true in the strict sense that before justification man could never merit this grace condignly, *de condigno*, nevertheless he could trust in God's mercy and loving-kindness that if he did all that it was within his power to do, God would not deny him grace, and would reward his efforts and accept them as meritorious. This was not on account of their condign worth, but *de congruo*, as was fitting and congruous to God's mercy. Hence the widely adopted adage: 'Facienti quod in se est Deus non denegat gratiam'.³

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries this second position was held by the Nominalists of the *via moderna* who, following the Franciscan School and Doctors such as Alexander of Hales and St. Bonaventure, maintained that man could merit his initial justification from God if he cooperated with grace by being contrite for his sins and desirous of amendment, and doing that of which he was capable. In these circumstances God would not deny man grace, which he might be said to have merited congruously, since it was fitting that God should reward such efforts. Gabriel Biel and certain of the Modernists even taught

that man's will after the Fall retained the power to choose the good unaided by grace, and also of itself to dispose itself towards the reception of grace. This was a consequence of the covenant God had formed with man in his benevolence, however, rather than of any intrinsic value belonging to man's actions. The Modernists taught also that after the reception of grace man could merit condignly, though again this was a result of God's covenant with him, and his desire to reward man's efforts, rather than the result of any obligation under which man was able to place him.

Although it cannot be said that there is one single Catholic theology of justification, what we have outlined above served as the normative basis of soteriological thought through the centuries, and is thus the necessary starting point for any historical or comparative study in this domain.

One of the most popular French writers of theology in the vernacular was undoubtedly Jean Gerson. Revered in his own lifetime both on account of his reputation for saintliness and learning, and also as a reliable exponent of Catholic orthodoxy, Gerson may well serve here as an example of the traditional teaching on justification. Though he died in 1429 his works were much published in the latter part of the fifteenth century, and continued to be so throughout the next, so that the influence they exercised was enormous.⁴

The teaching of Gerson is that a man is saved from the punishments of hell that his sins deserve and is made worthy of eternal life through

his justification - act and process. The first part of man's salvation is effected for him entirely by Christ, who through his sacrifice of expiation on the cross satisfies for the guilt of all. However to attain this salvation a man must make this justification his own by accepting it in faith, and by living, with the help of grace, a life pleasing to God in obedience to his commandments, and bringing forth the fruits of holiness. As he writes in La Mendicité spirituelle,

et dez ja ayés ceste response que j'ay par avant ditte pour toute response, c'est que je demande paradis au titre et en l'esperance que mon glorieux rachateur Jhesucrist l'a me achaté, et que sa misericorde le me departe par moy premierement pardonner de pure grace tous mes meffaiz et en me faisant accomplir sa loy et ses commandemens.⁵

The picture of the way of salvation for Gerson, and in traditional Catholic theology, is a diptych made up of two equally balanced halves. Like emphasis is laid on the one hand upon Christ's passion, and on the other upon the striving for personal holiness, both of which remain ineffective without the other:

je ne dy mie que sanz garder la loy de Dieu j'aye fiance d'estre sauvee, ce seroit presumptueuse outrecuidance, nonmie esperance; telz sont plusieurs qui sans repentance et amendement de leur vie tiennent que Dieu les sauvera en disant qu'il ne les ha mie faiz pour dampner. Je n'espere mie ainsy, ja Dieu ne le doint, maiz ay desir de moy amender et faire toute la loy qui m'est commandee, sans la quelle je ne puis estre sauvee; et de ce faire me confie je en Dieu et en l'aide de ses sains. (ibid., p. 259).

Gerson was a trained and a careful theologian. If, however, we look at a more popular work in the *memento mori* tradition from the end of the fifteenth century, Jean de Castel's Mirouer des pecheurs et pecheresses, several important observations can be made.⁶ In this

work, the mirror held up to the sinner is *Death*, and the concern of the poet is not so much how men are saved, but the very possibility of salvation, which might still be denied. The living are exhorted by the dead to repent of their sins and to live godly lives, and thus avoid the pains of hell. Many motifs of the *danse macabre* are evoked to emphasize the message that with the help of grace we can amend our lives, should we so desire:

Mais pour les [les mandemens] mettre a execution
 Il nous convient premierement scavoir
 Que nous devons de toute affection
 Sur toute rien dieu en grant crainte avoir
 Nostre prochain aymer sans decepvoir
 [Plareillement ce qui peust a dieu plaire
 Et hayr tout ce qui luy peust desplaire. (fol. a v ro).

The stress on the role of personal holiness in the process of justification that runs throughout this work is primarily a result of the obvious didactic intentions of the author, but an important corollary of this is that the passion of Christ itself is presented essentially for its exemplary and admonitory value. The dead advise the living:

La mort Jesus par haulte clemence
 En sacrifice retrait noz clameurs
 De bien vivre vous donnons advertance
 Oyez nos cris, noz freres et noz seurs. (fol. f vi ro).

At the turn of the century such an exposition of the themes of justification and salvation was still possible, but twenty years later they will have leapt to prominence, and become the largest single concern of theological debate. The primary concern of religious poets

of the next generation will be to explore *how* man is saved, and they will take care not to fall into the naïve theological imbalances implicit in Castel's work and the medieval *memento mori* and repentance themes in general, that he, and many others up to the turn of the century, still take as their stock in trade.

ii) Luther and other Protestant Writers.

It is Luther, in the early part of the sixteenth century, who proposes the first overhaul of soteriological thought that involves a radical alteration of the structures inherited from Augustine.

For Luther man's will is corrupt, not only as a result of the Fall, but as a consequence of his creatureliness; it is not and never was free - it is the slave of sin. In place of Augustine's *liberum arbitrium captivatum*, Luther teaches the doctrine of the *servum arbitrium*. Justification is an act of God, operated upon man, wholly without the possibility of any preparation or even assent on his part. As man's will remains always a slave to sin, no cooperation towards the gaining of an intrinsic righteousness, as taught by Augustine, is possible. Man is made righteous by the imputing to him of Christ's righteousness, which remains always essentially extrinsic to him - the *iustitia Christi aliena*. A man may well then be righteous before God, while remaining in human terms a sinner: 'semper peccator, semper penitens, semper iustus'.

Despite this Luther does not deny the necessity of works for justification, but he admits them only as a demonstration of it not as a contributory factor towards it, in the same way as good fruit testifies to the good nature of the tree, but does not cause it. Nor does Luther wholly deny the possibility of progress in the Christian life. Since a man's will is never remade, he has need for his justification to be ever renewed if it is not to be lost, and man is *semper iustificandus*. In practical terms a process of regeneration is possible, though man plays no active part in this with his own will. His justification, and thus also his righteousness, remain wholly extrinsic to him - a forensic declaration that he *is* righteous, rather than the process by which he is also *made* righteous, and by which not his nature, but only his status before God is changed.⁷

Luther drives a wedge between the act of justification and the process of justification, which Catholic theologians, following Augustine, had regarded as two sides of the same coin. Luther divides the two, as do all other Protestant theologians, making regeneration or sanctification no longer an integral and necessary part of justification but a by-product of it - a sign that justification has happened and is still happening. Calvin maintains this division created by Luther, but for his part, a man is justified by his union with Christ, and this necessarily brings with it a state of sanctification as well as justification. A man receives Christ's righteousness as if it were his own, and thus the righteousness of the justified is always shown in practical works - not their own, but the works that Christ works in them as a result of their union with him,

in testimony of their justification, and as a pledge of their future glory.

In response to this new challenge, Catholic writers of the sixteenth century begin to separate and analyse the two constituent parts of the traditional teaching on justification along the lines of the following equation,

Justification (by God's grace &	+	Sanctification	⇒	Eternal
faith in Christ's death)				Life.

The term justification thus comes to be used by many Catholic writers to describe the work of Christ in dying for sinners, and the benefits of his death given freely by grace, and the term sanctification to describe the realization, or actualization of this in the here and now, as the justified cooperate with God in becoming by nature what he has made them by grace. This is in contrast to the teaching of the Reformers which may be represented schematically as follows:

Justification (by God's grace &		
faith in Christ's death)	⇒	Eternal Life
	demonstrated by works	

In the works of vernacular writers whose major aim was to instruct their readership in true doctrine - whether Protestant or Catholic - the development of these changes to the inherited structures of

soteriological thought can be traced especially well, and their importance assessed.

iii) The Sommaire of Estienne.

One text in particular, in its various forms and developments, shows very clearly these theological shifts.

On 19 December 1542 the Paris Faculty of Theology condemned two broadsheets printed in Latin, the French translations of these broadsheets, and a version of the latter in pamphlet form, all the work of the Paris printer Robert Estienne. The second of these two *tabulae* or *tables* is entitled Les dix paroles ou Commandemens de Dieu, baillez à Moïse, but it is the first, entitled in its broadsheet form Ici est brievement compris tout ce que les livres de la sainte esriture enseignent that is of interest here, and which in pamphlet form bears the title, Le Sommaire du vieil et du nouveau testament.² Though not censured until 1542 the text of the Sommaire is in fact much older than this. It was first published in its Latin form by Estienne among the introductory material to his Latin Bible in 1532.³ Though several scholars have turned their attention to this text, as yet no adequate study exists to account for its extremely intricate and highly fascinating history.

The earlier printings of the text may be listed in chronological order as follows:

- a) 1532 Estienne Latin Bible
- b) 1534 Lempreur Lefèvre d'Étaples French Bible
- c) 1540 Estienne Latin Bible
- d) [1540?] Estienne French placard
- e) 1542 Estienne Latin pamphlet
- f) [1542?] Estienne French pamphlet.¹⁰

What is interesting about the text is that the editions divide ideologically into two groups, 'a', 'b' and 'd' representing an earlier version of the text, and 'c', 'e' and 'f' a later reworked version, though evidently 'd' belongs chronologically with the second group rather than with the first. A significant shift in the ideas expressed on the nature of salvation is discernible between the two groups, reflecting the progress made over the years 1532-1540 by the new Protestant teachings outlined above.

For the purposes of the present study I will concentrate on Estienne's two French versions of the Sommaire described above, that is the placard 'd' [1540?] and the pamphlet 'f' [1542?].

A comparison of the marginal subheadings that provide a kind of running commentary on the text reveals that the text has been reworked. Alongside the sections of the two texts dealing with the coming of Christ and the Christian life, we can note the following differences.

<u>Placard 'd'</u>	<u>Pamphlet 'f'</u>
Lagneau	
Lhostie	Qui est l'agneau, l'hostie
Paix	La paix
	Adoption
	Le S. esprit
Foy	Foy
Le saint esperit	
Charite	Charité
	Esperance
Justification	Justification, et sanctification
Bonnes oeuvres	Bonnes oeuvres
Sanctification	

Whereas the notion of sanctification is treated in a section by itself in 'd' *after* the section on good works, in 'f' it is dealt with at the same time as justification and *before* the section on works. Secondly in 'f' the section on charity is dealt with along with the other two theological virtues after the section the Holy Spirit, whereas in 'd' the section on the Holy Spirit comes after the section on faith, but

before the section on charity. Let us summarize the arguments of the two texts.

According to 'd', Christ has paid the debt of our sins and freed us from the pains of hell by his sacrifice on the cross; this we believe through faith which is God's gift to us - and so we desire to imitate Christ in works of charity, as he has shown charity to us. This is because after the gift of faith God bestows his Holy Sprit who brings the gift of charity. Faith in Christ shown in the works of charity brings justification, thus we are led to renounce sin, perform good works, and become actually by nature what we are essentially by status - holy. Whoever does no works of charity, 'il se monstre navoir aucune foy en Jesuchrist', (fol. ii ro).

In 'f' we find quite a different teaching. Here it is affirmed that we are saved by Christ's death on the cross for us, by which we are adopted by God as children. To make man aware of this great benefit God gives man his Holy Spirit, who testifies to our spirit that we are sons of God. The Spirit inspires in us the three gifts of faith, hope, and charity. By faith in Christ that shows itself in works, we are both justified and sanctified. Finally whoever does no good works, 'monstre n'avoir la foy en JESUCHRIST telle qu'il requiert de nous', (fol. a vi vo).

To draw some conclusions. We can see that the pattern of the second work is much more in line with a Protestant theory of justification and salvation. The first version affirms the role of works as a test

of faith, whereas the second admits only that their absence indicates an imperfect faith - compare the last lines of each quoted above. We see also that in 'd', charity remains as it was for the Schoolmen, a gift infused especially by the Holy Spirit, to complete faith and perfect it,¹ and is treated separately to faith, whereas in 'f', as in Calvinist theology, the Spirit is infused into a man's heart, bringing faith, hope, and charity - transferring him to the Kingdom of God - bringing together justification and sanctification, by which he will be unable but to do good.²

Il ne fault pas estimer le fruict de la foy estre petit, et de petite vertu: car par la fiance et foy en JESUCHRIST, laquelle se monstre par oeuvres charitables, et meut l'homme a icelles faire, nous sommes justifiez et sanctifiez, c'est a dire que Dieu, le pere de nostre Seigneur JESUCHRIST...nous tient et ha pour justes et saints de sa pure grace et bonté. (fol. a v vo-vi ro).

In 'f' justification as a process in which the individual actively participates, becoming himself righteous, has wholly disappeared, and in its place has evolved the notion of a sanctification or regeneration given from above in the same way and at the same time as justification - and in this it reproduces faithfully the teaching of Calvin. This may be contrasted with text 'd' in which the equivalent passage to the one quoted above refers purely to the act of justification by God:

A cause dicelle foy et fiance en Jesuchrist, laquelle se monstre par oeuvres charitables, et meut l'homme a icelles faire, nous sommes justifiez, cest a dire que le pere de Jesuchrist (qui est aussi nostre pere a cause de Jesuchrist nostre frere) nous tient pour justes et pour filz, de sa grace ne faisant aucune estime de noz pechez, ne nous les contant point pour pechez. (fol. ii ro).

A separate treatment of the process of sanctification is retained in 'd', which is both gradual, and in which an individual must actively and freely cooperate with the working of God's grace in him. All are exhorted to be purged and sanctified by Christ, 'cest a dire consacrez a son pere, a faire ce que son pere veult, renoncans a toutes oeuvres charnelles, dung *franc vouloir*, sans contraincte, luy servions en vivant justement et saintement toute nostre vie, par bonnes oeuvres...demonstrans que certainement sommes appelez a ceste grace'. (fol. ii ro. my emphasis).

So much for the development of a Protestant theology of salvation as exemplified in one particular work of devotion. We must now turn our attention to Marguerite de Navarre and other contemporary writers to examine how they fit into this ideological picture.

iv) Vernacular Writers of the Sixteenth Century.

When we come to examine the devotional works of the first half of the sixteenth century in general, the trends we have outlined above pertain. What is at stake is the nature and value of man's cooperation with God's grace: firstly whether sanctification is *worked out* by an individual, gained through the active cooperation of his free will with grace by which he is actually transformed, or simply *given* to him from above by God as a change in his divine status, and

secondly, whether his works contribute anything to his justification and ultimate reward, or are merely signs and by-products of it.

The ideological terrain is here very complicated and many different shades of opinion are to be found: neither do writers always adopt a wholly consistent position. Catholic writers such as Pierre Doré, Claude d'Espence, and Antonio Caracciolo, however, generally stress that while initial justification comes to man as a free gift of Christ's grace and cannot be initiated by any human merit, none the less, to attain salvation, man must actively cooperate with grace and give himself to good works. So in Doré's Dialogue de la Foy St. Peter instructs *Cornelius*:

Car cest gratis que par le sang de Jesus sommes justifiéz. Non pas de noz oeuvres, escript saint Paul ad titum. 3. chapi, mais par la misericorde de Dieu sommes saulvéz desja en esperance.¹³

but he continues:

On ne peult pas meriter avoir ceste premiere grace de Dieu, par la quelle on vient à estre justifié: car grace est le principe de merite, et qui ne la point comment meriteroit il? Mais qui a la grace de Dieu, par bonnes oeuvres merite avoir Paradis. (fol. lxxv ro).

Justification is thus affirmed as the source of all merit. This may be compared to the teaching given on this point by the Abbot of the Monastery of Saint Victor, Antonio Caracciolo in his Miroir de vraye religion:

Pource que les oeuvres et les merites des hommes, ne sont point de si grande souffisance, quilz puissent meriter la vie eternelle: mais les merites de Jesus Christ la nous ont acquise. Lequel tout seul a meritè pour nous, et a avecques son sang paye la debte et le tribut, que nous

debvons a dieu. Lequel estoit de si grande importance, que nous estions desja venduz, et noz ames pour y satisfaire, conduictes en perpetuelle captivite. Il est bien vray, que le bon dieu (qui par nostre faulte nous veoiot perduz, et par sa seule grace nous a justifiez, et restitue en nostre premiere innocence) demande avoir quelque fruict de noz bonnes oeuvres, en tesmoignaige et corroboration du liberal arbitre, quil nous a rendu: et de la justice, laquelle par la foy de Jesus Christ, il nous a donnee. Parquoy nous debvons, le plus quil nous est possible, nous efforcer de produyre le fruict de lesprit, duquel nous avons icy dessus parlé, affin que comme arbres steriles, nous ne soyons coupeez de la coingnee de la justice divine, et pour navoir tenu compte de la grace et de levangile, gectez au feu denfer eternal.¹⁴

The contrary position to that expressed above is to be found in works such as the Consolation Chrestienne, a translation into French of Luther's Tessaradecas Consolatoria of 1520, and published by Simon Du Bois sometime between 1525 and 1534.

Ainsi poeut lhomme chrestien (pourceu quil ayt foy) se glorifier de tous les biens et merites de Jesuchrist: ne plus ne moins, que se luymesmes les avoit faict: et luy sont iceulx tellement propres, que le chrestien seurement poeut et oze attendre le jugement de dieu: lequel neantmoins est a tout homme importable. Si grant chose est de la foy, et si grandz biens elle nous produict: si glorieux elle nous faict, que par elle devenons filz de dieu... et heritiers des biens de dieu nostre pere.¹⁵

The same point of view is also represented by Victor Brodeau in his Epistre d'ung Pecheur à Jesus-Christ,

Icy devant, quelle operation
Ay je parfaicte, où ma creation
Je puisse avoir envers toy meritée?
Qu'ay besongné à ma salvation?
Mais qu'ay je faict pour ma redemption?
Sinon que j'ay ta mort et passion,
Pour moy tardée, et pour toy augmentée. ...

Ainsi tu es seul en toutes ces choses,
Lys, fleurs des champs, et conserve des roses,
Pierre, herbe, fruict, pour mettre en medecine:
Toutes vertus en toy seul sont enclases,
Et si ailleurs nous les voyons descloses,
Sont celles là que tu metz et deposes

En tes esleuz, par ta grace divine.
(Poésies, pp. 175-176).

Here no cooperation between man and God in the performance of good works seems to be envisaged at all. Works result wholly from the operation of God within man, and have no value within the scheme of redemption. Man, according to this pessimistic picture of his nature, seems capable only of hindering God.

Quotations could be cited endlessly. It is worth saying here however, that the distinctions between the one theology and the other are not always as marked and as clear-cut as they are in the examples given above.

In the first place one can be surprised by the emphasis placed on the doing of good works by a Calvinist writer like Eustorg de Beaulieu, especially in a moral and didactic work like the Espinglier des filles. Here a young girl is advised to accept the punishments meted out to her by her parents, and accept their advice, 'a fin que la liqueur de la foy et bonnes oeuvres, que plaira a Dieu d'y mettre par le moyen de tes parentz susdictz: ne sente pas le temps a venir, a la lye d'impudicite'.¹⁶ Likewise, the Divers Rapportz contain a prayer comprising the following invocation to Christ:

Filz de dieu qui es tout puissant
Faictz moy la grace qu'en ce monde
En toute bonne oeuvre j'abonde
Sans testre desobeissant.¹⁷

What we observe in this connection however is Beaulieu's constant emphasis that good works are performed not of man's own volition, but through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit - 'tu seras esmeue (non de ton propre mouvement, ains par l'inspiration divine. Jac 1. 2. Cor 3.) a faire toutes bonnes oeuvres, qui seront les fruictz de ta foy. Gal. 5. Jac. 2.', (L'Espinglier, fol. A 2 vo), and secondly that the works he exhorts his readers to perform are those expected of the good citizen of Geneva, not the traditional works of piety of Catholic theology.^{1e}

On the other hand, in response to these new theological ideas the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris in its work of censorship seems to adopt a hypercritical attitude to all that concerns the treatment of the theme of salvation in the works it examines, and many Catholic writers, and many of its own members, will fall foul of its censors. Nominalism is the dominant theology at this time in the Faculty, and all that this implies is manifest in the attitude it adopts to the nature of man after the Fall and his ability to merit grace through his works.

Although, as we saw above, this is the teaching of only one School of theology, it became so dominant in the Paris Faculty of Theology in the first half of the sixteenth century that all other contrary opinions were likely to be censured, as the case of the Vie de nostre seigneur Jesus Christ by the Carthusian Guillaume de Branteghem demonstrates. This text was first published in Flemish and Latin in 1538, and in French in 1539, and although in 1537 it had been granted an Imperial privilege and the approbation of the Faculty of Theology

of Louvain, it nevertheless incurred the condemnation of the Doctors of the Sorbonne in October 1543.¹⁹ Of the five censures made against the work, the last concerns the question of the place of the Scriptures in Christian revelation, and the necessity of following the interpretations of the Doctors and Fathers. All of the other four concern in one way or another the means of salvation, the nature of man and the value of his works. Let us examine just the first of these.

The censured passage comes in the prayer following the story of Christ's walking on the waters (Mark 6.). The writer prays to Christ for the peace and harmony of the Church, rocked as it is by the tempests of greed and avarice, envy and deceit, and he continues:

et qui pis est, y sont les faulx prophetes seducteurs qui viennent a semer leur faulse doctrine, par lesquelz les foebles et petitz sont deceuz et scandalizez, lesquelz veullent mettre un autre fondement que tu n'as mis en tes Apostres: nous donnans a entendre une autre foy et justification que en toy seul.²⁰

Of this the Faculty makes the following censure:

Hic aperte dicit cum seclusionem, quod solus Deus justificat, in hoc sensim ablegans justificationem Sacramentorum ac nostrorum bonorum operum. Quod est contra illud Jacobi 2. Abraham Pater noster nonne ex operibus justificatus est. Quamquam interim Deus ipse principaliter ut omnis boni actor et fons primarius nos justificet. Quare haereticum est quod praetenditur in illa oratione bonorum operum justificationem abnegans.²¹

It is only a hypercritical attitude on the part of the Paris theologians that would permit the formulation of such a censure. It is at the very least clumsy of them to condemn as heretical the

affirmation that man's faith and justification must lie ultimately only with God. Their own theology stressed the arbitrary nature of God's covenant with man, whereby God willed to attribute to man's actions a merit they did not intrinsically possess. It is not really possible within any Catholic theology of justification to assert without further clarification the 'bonorum operum iustificatio'. The Sorbonne Doctors are so concerned with upholding the role of works within the process of justification, that they insist upon it being mentioned at every juncture, when its omission could at worst be described as misleading, but certainly not heretical. Such a censure also ignores completely the tendency developing among Catholic, vernacular writers to use the term justification to refer especially to the work of Christ in man's salvation, and to introduce the term sanctification to describe the part of the process of salvation in which God enabled man to cooperate. Such a distinction seems to have been found useful by vernacular writers precisely because it enabled them to distinguish themselves from the teachings of Luther and the Protestant writers on the one hand, in a way easily comprehensible to the laity for whom they wrote, and to avoid falling into formulations that smacked of Pelagianism and a denial of man's need of grace and the merits of Christ's passion as the basis of all justification on the other; and of this the censures of the Sorbonne are often less careful.

Even the Mirouer de vraye religion, from which we quoted above by Antonio Caracciolo, Abbot of St. Victor, member of the Faculty, and from 1551 Bishop of Troyes, was not wholly to escape censure. In May 1544 the Faculty decided it was to be inscribed in the *Catalogus*

librorum reprobatorum, though in July of the same year it was reported to the Faculty that a corrected version of the book was being prepared and the Abbot thus asked for the postponement of the inclusion of his work in the Catalogue. To this the Faculty seems to have agreed, and the book did not appear on any subsequent lists. The work survives today in only one extant edition, that of Simon de Colines printed in 1544.²² The inability of modern critics to decide whether this is an edition of the censured text or its corrected version is not a testimony to the clarity and unpartisan nature of Faculty censorship at this time.

v) Marguerite de Navarre: Early Works.

Any examination of an author's treatment of justification must of necessity begin with his attitude to the Fall. When we read the works of Marguerite de Navarre, we are at once struck by the emphasis that she places upon the utter sinfulness and corruption of man's nature of itself, and upon his free justification by Christ through his unique sacrifice of himself upon the cross. The influence of the Reformers on her articulation of this aspect of her theology is not hard to detect.

Nature estoit presque sans espérance,
 Refroidie, plus que morte et deffaicte,
 En ténèbres et toute déffiance.²³

So *l'âme de madame Charlotte* assures her aunt, *la Royne de Navarre*, in the Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne. Indeed in the state of nature, the state of fallen Adam, man is worse than sinful, because wholly unaware of his sin. He is so bound to sin that he knows nothing else, so fast in prison that he does not know what freedom is. Ignorant of his plight, he can have no power even to call on God for help. As the soul laments in the Miroir de l'ame pecheresse:

Voila comment en peine, criz et pleurs,
En terre gist sans clarté ne lumiere
Ma chetive ame, esclave et prisonniere,
Les piedz liez par sa concupiscence,
Et les deux bras par son acoustumance.
En moy ne gist le povoir du remede,
Force je n'ay pour bien crier à l'aide.²⁴

It is easy to read such sentiments in a post-Reformation context as reflecting without shadow or adulteration the teachings of Luther. We must be careful however not to accept this superficial resemblance uncritically as representing the only level on which the works can be read. We must attempt to penetrate deeper, to discover the structures that underlie what the Queen writes on the subject of justification, and thus ultimately her soteriological thought itself. Such an examination can only proceed through the analysis of the over-all structures the Queen uses to treat this theme in her works, and the more detailed analysis of the constituent parts of these structures.

We have outlined already the teaching of Augustine on the Fall, its development by the Scholastics and the challenge posed to traditional soteriology by the new theologies of the Reformers. Before we go further let us turn to one of Marguerite's contemporaries, Erasmus of

Rotterdam, for a summary of the range of theological opinion on this subject current in the sixteenth century. In his De Libero Arbitrio diatribe seu collatio of 1524, true to the intention declared in his title, Erasmus outlines for his reader various opinions commonly held by theologians concerning the Fall, and the nature and workings of grace, referring as he does so, to his own abhorrence of assertions made too dogmatically in this area of thought. Of the various opinions he outlines, he takes issue only with the last two, whilst disclosing his propensity for one of the remainder in particular by referring to it modestly as probable. Whilst Erasmus's summary does not reflect every possible shade of opinion held on the subject, it does reflect the most common and also covers the whole gamut of interpretations from one extreme to the other. The views may be summarized as follows:

1) That having once chosen evil the will of man would be depraved and incapable of choosing the good again were it not for the immediate intervention of 'natural grace', by which the will was preserved from depravity, and enabled to retain the power of choosing between good and evil; it can thus without further intervention of grace call forth the mercy of God, and perform the good by the power of its own effort, which will always be accompanied by the necessary grace to carry out what it has begun. This position Erasmus tells us is held by the Pelagians.

2) That following the Fall the will of man was preserved by 'natural grace' from utter depravity, and retained the power to know good and

evil (a faculty called by some *synderesis*), without however any power of itself to choose the good rather than its own ends, unless prompted by a 'peculiar' or 'stimulating grace', and also without any power to carry out the good it thus wills unaided by a further 'cooperating grace' to make effective its desire. This is the opinion Erasmus refers to as probable.

3) That since the Fall, free choice is of no avail in man but to sin, and grace alone accomplishes everything in him. Man is no more than wax in the hands of the craftsman.

4) That since the Fall free choice is nothing more than an empty name lacking all substance of reality. All happens by necessity, and God himself works both good and evil in man. This according to Erasmus is the opinion of Luther and the Reformers.²⁵

It will also be useful at this point to summarize the position adopted on free will by the Council of Trent. The sixth session of the Council in its Decree on Justification of 1547, confirmed the tenets of the Second Council of Orange of 529 which had only recently come to light and which defined the doctrine of free will in essentially Augustinian terms. The free will of man after the Fall is vitiated and made a slave to sin, though it is not extinct. Man stands in need of 'prevenient grace' before his justification to will the good, and of 'subsequent grace' after his justification to perform the good. It added, however, the doctrine that man must cooperate with grace in

preparation for his justification, and also after it for the increase of it. ²⁶

It is already evident from the quotations looked at above, both from the Miroir de l'ame pecheresse and the Dialogue, that there is no place in Marguerite's thought for the idea of synderesis, or 'natural grace', that intervenes at the time of the Fall to restore to man's will even the power of discerning good from evil, far less to choose and pursue the one rather than the other. For her the very ability to discern sin is a gift of the grace of God. Such a view while not identical with that of Erasmus and the Fathers of Trent, to the extent that it precludes any possibility of preparing for justification even with the help of grace, nevertheless puts Marguerite very much in line with the thought of Saint Augustine. Moreover if the interpretation of modern scholarship is correct in discerning in Luther's thought the attribution of the will's slavery to sin, not merely to man's Fall but to his creaturely status itself, Marguerite's view is in fact closer to that of Augustine, than it is to that of Luther.²⁷ The basic premise then upon which she founds the rest of her soteriological thought reveals itself to be more closely aligned with the traditional structures of Catholic theology, than with those of the Reformers.

For Marguerite the initiation of man's justification lies wholly and exclusively with God, who in Christ is born and dies for man, that man might be reconciled to God. Only by Christ can divine justice be placated, and man saved from the punishments that await his sins. In

the Miroir Marguerite uses the following allegory to set forth her position:

Quand voz vertuz, mon Sauveur, presentez,
 Certes assez Justice contentez.
 Quand elle veult mes vices reprocher,
 Vous luy monstrez qu'en vostre propre chair
 Vous les avez portez de bon courage,
 Par l'union de nostre mariage:
 Et sur la croix, par vostre passion
 En avez fait la satisfaction.
 Et qui plus est, par vostre Charité
 M'avez donné ce qu'avez merité.
 Parquoy, voyant vostre merite mien,
 Justice plus ne me demande rien;
 (Marguerites, I, p. 59)

Quotations like this could be drawn over and over again from Marguerite's works. Let one more, from the Chansons spirituelles, suffice:

Ce Christ a fait pour nous sy bien l'office,
 Qu'en nous lavant par sa mort de tout vice,
 A satisfait à divine Justice;
 Car un seul point de la Loy n'a obmis.²⁸

Here again Marguerite is not saying anything that is not wholly compatible with the teaching of Augustine and the Augustinian School of Catholic theology, and also with such contemporary vernacular, Catholic writers as Doré and Caraccioli. What we must try to discover, however, are the precise terms in which Marguerite conceives of the nature of justification.

It is in the Dialogue that Marguerite gives the most ordered and clear exposition of her ideas on the nature of justification, in the responses of *l'âme de madame Charlote* to two series of questions put

to her by the *Royne de Navarre* on the existence and nature of free will. The poem resembles very strongly a theological debate, both in the subject matter treated, and in the question and answer form it adopts. The *Royne* initiates the debate:

La Royne de Navarre.

Las! madame, donnez moy congnoissance:
 Ne m'a pas dieu donné ung Franc Arbitre
 Pour en avoir entière jouyssance?

L'âme de madame Charlote.

Besoing avez que bien on vous chapitre
 De relever ouvrage plus obscur,
 Car de sçavoir vous n'avez point le tiltre.

N'ayez le cueur orgueilleux, sot ou dur,
 Mais humble et doux, croyant la vérité,
 Et en Foy serez plus ferme qu'ung fort mur.

Démériter, ou avoir merité,
 Vous ne povez. Car le bien que vous faictes
 Est par péché trop souvent incité.

Vous observez les jeusnes et les festes
 En aulmosne et bien longue oraison,
 Mais quant au cueur en verité Adam vous estes.

Estant en luy joincte, c'est bien raison
 Que vous ayez la peine du péché
 Qui transforme liberté en prison.

Qui de péché est prins et entaché
 Serf de péché sans liberté devient,
 Et dans la peau d'ung vieil homme caché.

Mais la bonté de Dieu, qui tous prévient,
 Luy présente Grâce Préveniente,
 Voire à l'heure que de luy ne souvient.

Puis luy donne la Grâce Illuminante,
 Qui commence faire ung peu la Foy luire.
 Après y met Grâce Perficiente

Et vive Foy, qui sçait sy bien conduire
 Cueur, âme et corps, qu'il n'y a Ignorance
 Ne Malice qui leur poeust en riens nuire.

Ceste foy là met au cueur Repentance,
 Puis faict de dieu la bonté recongnoistre,
 En laquelle se fonde Lespérance.

Ainsy la Foy faict insérer et mettre
 En Jesuchrist le pécheur retourné,
 Par la Grâce qu'il luy a pleu transmettre.

Franç Arbitre luy est lhors redonné,
 En luy treuve sa liberté perdue,
 Par trop avoir en péché sesiourné.
 (ll. 493-531).

Here Marguerite, through the persona of the soul of her niece, expounds her conviction that the initiation of man's justification lies with God, but with Augustine she affirms man's role of receiving and accepting grace. She adopts the three fundamental operations of grace as defined by St. Bonaventure,²⁹ that come to her through the writings of her spiritual mentor Bishop Guillaume Briçonnet.³⁰ The first of these graces is 'prevenient', that is wholly unmerited and unexpected by man, and is *offered* to all. Subsequent 'illuminating' and 'perfecting' grace are *given* to man dependent upon this, but the implication is clearly that this first 'prevenient' grace may be accepted or rejected by an individual, as the case may be. Free will for the Queen is restored by grace as a man is united to Christ through faith. It may seem inconsistent that Marguerite situates the restoration of free will after the reception of perfecting grace, but we must remember that purgation, illumination, and perfection are the three Bonaventurian divisions of justification, conceived of in Augustinian terms as act and process, so what the Queen is here affirming is the restoration of free will through justification. Here again then Marguerite's ideas mirror the teaching of St. Augustine,

and differ considerably from that of the Reformers for whom free will was nothing more than an empty phrase, a faculty they denied man ever possessed, let alone ever regained. Later in the poem when *la Royne de Navarre* broaches this subject again with the *soul of her dead niece*, this restoration of free will, lost in Adam but regained through grace, is once again strongly affirmed.

L'âme de madame Charlote.

A l'heure estoit toute Nature Humaine
Par son péché en servitude mise,
Quant à la chair et sang toute vilaine.

Dieu la voyant plus nue qu'en chemise
A prins sa chair, qui, par sa grand noblesse,
L'a annoblie et remiz en franchise.

Or est par luy Nature grand princesse,
Annoblie en liberté trèsfranche,
De péché est et de mort la maistresse....

Nature estoit presque sans espérance,
Refroidie, plus que morte et deffaicte,
En tenèbres et toute déffiance.

Mais dieu en soy l'a sy très bien refaicte,
Que qui en luy sera joinct et uny,
Nature en soy sentira trèsparfaicte.
(ll. 922-930, 934-939).

The above passage leaves no doubt as to the Queen's conviction of the restoration of free will and the regeneration of nature through grace. The images of nobility and regency that she uses here were well worn favourites used by Catholic writers to insist upon the powers the soul had at its disposal to cooperate with the will of God, and thus influence its own ultimate destiny.³¹

The next question that the *royne* puts to her *niece's soul* reflects another of the great preoccupations of the Schoolmen - Can a man himself prepare for the reception of grace, and if so how? Can he in any way call down God's grace, if he for his part does what is possible for him, 'quod in se est'?³²

La Royne de Navarre

Mais, madame, pour ceste Grâce avoir,
Doib-je pas bien mon âme préparer
A y faire mon possible et debvoir?
(ll. 535-537).

The answer of *Charlotte's soul* is clear and emphatic:

L'âme de madame Charlotte

Desja vous voy, Tante, trop esgarée,
Sçavous pas bien que la Bonté Divine
Vien de péché vostre âme séparer,

Avant que ayez faict damendement signe?
Mais, qui plus est, grand contrariété,
Refusant oyr de Dieu la voix benigne?

Grâce est ung don de sa propriété
Qui, sans estre demandé ne requiz,
Nous délivre de nostre anxieté.

Si nous avons ce bien par nous acquiz
Ce n'est pas don, mais retribution,
Et pourrions dire: Je l'ay conquiz.
(ll. 538-549).

Again the above passage, without reference beyond the work of the Reformers, might easily be read as a reflection of their thought - yet not only does the mode in which the question is formulated and the context within which it is asked reflect rather the concerns of the Schoolmen, so too does the answer. St. Augustine never dealt with the

question of whether there could be any preparation for justification, which for him seems to be excluded by his understanding of the initiation of justification as an act operated by God. Yet even among the medieval Schoolmen there was considerable disagreement on this issue. Though the Franciscan School allowed the notion of congruous merit before justification, this was denied by the mature St. Thomas Aquinas and the Dominicans who argued that the very term 'faciens quod in se est' had to be understood to mean doing that of which a man was capable when aroused by grace. While quite at one with Saint Augustine, Marguerite is not wholly at odds with this second group of Schoolmen.

Having been instructed on this point the *royne* proceeds to discuss the nature of man after he has received grace, again in terms that recall powerfully the formulations of the Schoolmen. Can works done after justification hold on to and compel grace?

La Royne de Navarre.

Or voy je bien pour résolution
Que j'ay besoing que Grâce me prévienne,
Quant par péché vas à damnation;

Mais quant je l'ay bien, fault que la retienne,
Et aux OEuvres de vertu l'employer,
Par lesquelles à perfection vienne.

L'âme de madame Charlotte.

Quant Grâce avez, vous faict supplier
Et demander aultre Grâce au Seigneur,
Qui poeut en vous ses Grâces desployer.

Mais quant il voit, tant soit grand le pecheur,
Se humilier, sa Grâce congnoissant,
Il luy remplyt de son Amour le cueur.

Lhors est amour du cueur sy jouyssant,
 Et le cueur est en amour sy uny,
 Que à resister ou bien faire est puissant.

Amour est dieu: quant l'homme en est garny
 Tout poeut en luy; mais sans ce ne poeut rien,
 Si non pécher: dont il sera puny.
 (ll. 550-567).

Charlotte's answer here is important. The works and qualities of a man once justified, are expressed in terms that leave no doubt but that the Queen thought of them as being intrinsic to his nature, part indeed of his own self as it is renewed in Christ. She does not conceive of man's righteousness in the same terms as did the Reformers, that is as something essentially extrinsic to man, imputed to him - a forensic declaration of a change in his status before God - but rather in the terms of traditional Catholic theology, as a real change in his nature. However, works can never compel grace; grace enables us to call down more grace, and so man makes progress in the Christian life. Again vocabulary expressing strength and control are used to describe man's renewed nature and its ability to work good. Some lines later where the same subject is still being treated, the Queen's conception of the intrinsic nature of righteousness is confirmed once more:

Lhors son oeuvre est faicte bonne et digne,
 L'homme est à dieu plaisant et agreable,
 Soit qu'il dorme, veille, soupe ou disne.
 (ll. 700-702).

Later in the second major passage of the poem dealing with this question, the man renewed by grace is even instructed to keep the Commandments!

Dieu, qui a fait le corps, veult qu'il labeure,
 Acomplissant tous ses commandementz
 Parfaictement, sans qu'ung seul en demeure.
 (ll. 979-981).

We must note at this point one caveat vital to Marguerite's thought. Very much a daughter of the era of the Reformation, she shares the horror of many of her contemporaries - both those who broke away from Rome and those who did not - of the works-righteousness which had come to corrupt certain aspects of Church life at the time. It was this, especially in its propagation by the popular preaching of the mendicant orders, that so outraged Luther. For Marguerite then, as soon as we start counting and calculating the due rewards of our good actions all is lost, for love is lost. As the *âme de madame Charlote* warns:

Vos grandz biensfaictz vous comptez et merchez,
 Pensant que dieu soit en vostre retour,
 Sans regarder à vos pêchez cachéz.

Nul bien faict n'est compté par vray amour;
 Et pour courir le long d'une sepmaine,
 Il'ha mémoire d'avoir faict pas ne tour.
 (ll. 589-594).

Far from suggesting that man's works are of no value such a sentiment seeks rather to fend off the temptation of pride and self-satisfaction that comes precisely from the consciousness that they are. It is a theme taken up often by Catholic writers, rather than by those for whom a man's works could neither be said to be his own, nor to participate in any way in his justification.

Qui est la souveraine source de la justification ou perfection? Il est pour tout certain que c'est le sang respandu en la Passion de notre pere celeste, quant à commencer la justification. Mais quant à sa creuë ou accroissement, et quant à sa consummation, il fault que ce

soit avec continuel desir, et extremité de diligence de bonnes operations faictes en charité et parfaicte foy en Dieu, et deffiance de soy, et en s'accusant continuellement et d'un très-parfaict coeur; et en cecy est la vraye racine de nostre justification quant à nous, que nous nous accusons d'autant plus d'estre pecheurs, comme Dieu nous donne plus de graces et de bonnes oeuvres.

The author of the above passage is Guillaume Postel in what is undoubtedly one of his more rational moments,³³ and in the Internelle consolation, the much published French adaptation of the De Imitatione Christi attributed to Gerson, we read the following:

Vostre saint nom sire soit loue, non pas le mien. Voz oeuvres soyent magnifiez, non pas les miennes. Vostre saint nom soit benist: mais a moy ne soyt rien attribue des louenges des hommes... celuy qui se reputé estre aulcune chose, et se attribue le bien quil voit en soy chasse hors de soy la grace de dieu et lempesche quelle ny vienne: car le saint esperit demande tousjours le cuer humble.³⁴

Marguerite stresses again and again that it is our union with Christ alone that enables us to do good. Again and again she uses such biblical images as that of the tree and its branches, or man's incorporation into the New Adam, to express the union of the justified with Christ.³⁵ Again, though there are superficial similarities here between the thought of Marguerite and the teaching of the Reformers on the regeneration of man through union with Christ, the fundamental difference remains that, unlike both Luther's concept of imputed justification by Christ, the *iustitia Christi aliena*, and Calvin's concept of the bestowal of justification and sanctification through union of the individual with Christ, so that he possesses Christ's righteousness as if it were his own, Marguerite's concept of the nature of justification is that it is intrinsic. This indeed is what accounts for her insistence that an individual should not glory in his

works; if they were not his works at all, such an exhortation would be pointless. Her emphasis on our good works flowing from our union with Christ reveals rather the influence upon her of her spiritual mentors Guillaume Briçonnet and Lefèvre d'Étaples; the former through his mystical teaching of the union of the soul with God, imparted to the Queen in his letters,³⁶ and the latter through his writings that express the essence of the Christian life to be perseverance in the imitation of Christ, and the drawing of the individual by grace to perfect Christiformity.³⁷ Such a conception of the Christian life reflects especially the teaching of St Augustine, for whom equally the soul regained true freedom, *libertas*, only through union with Christ.³⁸

One final aspect of justification remains to be considered here, and that is the concept of merit. From what we have said above it is of this aspect of the traditional theologies of justification that we might expect Marguerite to be most suspicious, and this indeed seems to be the case. For almost all of the Scholastics the concept of the merit of good works done by man was linked with the notion of a covenant between God and man, or of a compulsion imposed by God on himself, whereby he deemed it right and fitting to reward man's efforts. Only in certain clearly defined circumstances was God ever held to be under any real obligation to reward man's deeds for their intrinsic value. This having been said, it seems fairly clear that this is how the idea was understood by the vast majority of ordinary people, for whom the distinctions of the theologians would no doubt have been wholly incomprehensible, had ever the itinerant preachers and parish clergy tried to explain them. On the whole they obviously

did not attempt such explanations, and much of the reaction of the Reformers was against the simplified works-righteousness that characterized so much of the popular religion of the time.

It is not surprising then that merit is not a key concept within Marguerite's works. Indeed time and time again she seems to deny the the notion of the existence of meritorious works:

Ne faictes pas comme infidèles sont,
Qui estiment par oeuvre meritoire
Que paradis justement gagné ont.

Il est gagné, la chose est bien notoire,
Par Jesuchrist seul; nous n'y faisons rien
Qui digne soit de le mettre en mémoire.
(Dialogue, ll. 994-999).

Yet reading such passages as the above closely, we find that Marguerite always stops short of an outright denial of the merit of works. Here for example she firstly criticizes those who think by their works *justly* to gain paradise, and secondly affirms that in comparison with the infinite merits won for us by Christ, our own merits are not even worth recording. Such sentiments, although unlikely to endear the Queen to the hypercritical Doctors of the Sorbonne, are nevertheless wholly in line with traditional Catholic teaching on the nature of merit, and more especially with that of St. Thomas Aquinas and the Dominicans. Even more strikingly does it echo the teaching of the medieval spiritual writers.

Meum proinde meritum, miseratio Domini. Non plane sum meriti inops, quandiu ille miserationum non fuerit... Et si misericordiae Domini ab aeterno et usque in aeternum (*Psal.* CII, 17), ego quoque misericordias Domini in aeternum cantabo (*Psal.* LXXXVIII, 2). Nunquid justitias meas? Domine, memorabor justitiae tuae solius (*Psal.* LXX, 16). Ipsa est enim et mea; nempe factus es mihi tu justitia a Deo. Nunquid mihi

verendum, ne non una ambobus sufficiat? Non est pallium breve, quod, secundum prophetam, non possit operire duos (*Isai.* XXVIII, 20). Justitia tua, justitia in aeternum (*Psal.* CXVIII, 142). Quid longius aeternitate?

The writer is St. Bernard of Clairvaux in a passage from his Sermones in Cantica Canticorum;³⁹ moreover the writer of perhaps the most widely read devotional work of all time, the De imitatione Christi exclaims: 'Domine nihil sum: nihil boni ex me habeo... Ego autem vanitas et nihilum ante te: inconstans homo et infirmus. Unde ego possum gloriari aut cur appeto reputari? Numquid de nihilo et hoc vanissimum est? Vere inanis gloria, mala pestis, vanitas maxima, quia a vera trahit gloria et celesti spoliatur gratia'.⁴⁰ The *soul of madame Charlotte* as she instructs her *aunt*, shows exactly the same practical and pastoral concerns as did the great writers of the spiritual classics in their exercise of the cure of souls. Pride and vanity, *presumption* and *cuyder*, are above all the sins to be avoided.

We may be surprised, however, when we come across a passage such as the following in the works of Marguerite. It comes in the Petit Oeuvre dévot et contemplatif, where the Queen, beseeching Christ to pour his love into her heart and grant her the gift of true penitence, makes her request for the honour of God's chosen ones who have walked the way of the cross in the past. The litany of saints begins with Our Lady and the penitent thief, and goes on to call on the help of St. Peter in the following terms:

Par le *merite* de celluy qui ne peut
Souffrir estre en croix eslevé droit:
Le chef en bas crucifié il fut;⁴¹

It may be argued that the Petit OEuvre is a work of the Queen's youth, and therefore should not be taken as representative of her mature thought: it may also be argued that the term merit is here being used in its loosest sense, and is intended to convey nothing more than phrases such as, 'en l'honneur de', 'pour l'honneur de' and 'par la devotion de', which Marguerite also uses in this context. There may be some truth in both these arguments. However, the passage in question is a long and significant one, and in it the Queen refers equally to the merits of St. Andrew, of St. Francis and of various other saints. Nor should it be overlooked that if the Queen is here using the term loosely, such a usage bears witness to the profound penetration of such traditional terminology into her religious conceptions and mental constructs in general. It would be wrong to dismiss the work too readily as inconsequential because it is an *oeuvre de jeunesse*, and there is no reason why it should not reflect the thought of the Queen in this earlier period.⁴²

Given Marguerite's traditional concept of the intrinsic and actual nature of justification, it would indeed be illogical were she to deny utterly the existence of any concept of merit whatsoever. In view of her particular historical circumstances, this inconsistency might perhaps be expected, but in these early works at least, this does not seem to be quite the case. In another passage from the Dialogue, she affirms, through the *ame de madame Charlotte*, the following about the man who, having received grace, lives united to Christ and gives himself to good works:

Or est le fruit bon, entier et bien meur;
 En luy [Christ] donnant certes il vous redonne:
 Ainsy par luy avez merite seur.
 (ll. 715-717).

Here Marguerite seems to be very close to the Augustinian concept of merit as a gift of God to the justified sinner. The resemblance is striking between Marguerite's verse above and Augustine's celebrated dictum, 'cum Deus coronat merita nostra, nihil aliud coronat quam munera sua'.⁴³ That Marguerite does not insist on this idea is hardly surprising given both, as we have said, her historical circumstances, and also the profound influence upon her of the devotional and mystical traditions, neither of which would encourage a legalism wholly out of concert with piety.

The picture outlined above pertains in Marguerite's other works. The Miroir de l'ame pecheresse first published in 1531 is, as its title suggests, a work more specifically devotional in tone and conception than is the Dialogue. The nature of justification and its related issues are not therefore treated in the same precise and overtly theological way as they were in the Dialogue, through the series of *quaestiones*, posed by the *royne* and the authoritative *responsiones* given by the soul of the dead *Charlote*. The framework that the *ame pecheresse* constructs for the offering of its devotion and within which it operates does, however, reflect the same theological outlook. The poem opens with a striking picture of the corrupt and hopeless nature of fallen man bereft of grace.

Est il de mal nul sy profond abysme
 Qui suffisant fust pour punir la disme

De mes pechés...?
 (Marguerites, I, p. 15).

asks the Queen, and beginning with a reference to the root of sin, she goes on to elaborate the following extraordinary image:

Si je cuyde regarder pour le mieux,
 Me vient fermer une branche les yeux;
 Tombe en ma bouche, alors que veux parler,
 Le fruit par trop amer à avaler.
 Si pour ouyr mon esperit s'esveille,
 Feuilles à tas entrent en mon oreille;
 Aussi mon nez est tout bousché de fleurs.
 (ibid., I, p. 16).

What this image does however is to identify man's fallen nature, rooted in sin, with the tree of sin, and work as an anti-image of the well known biblical image of Christ as the vine and his followers as the branches, who produce good fruit when united to their Lord. Each of the senses is thus shown to be obstructed in its false efforts to employ itself for the good, 'Si je cuyde...'. Man's sinfulness is rooted in each and all of his senses, and thus the natural world that ought to point him towards God the Creator, now serves only to blind him, obstruct his path, and bring him bitterness. But all is not for ever lost, because wholly unexpected and undeserved, arrives prevenient grace:

Mais sa grace, que ne puyz meriter,
 Qui peult de mort chacun resusciter,
 Par sa clarté ma tenebre illumine;
 Et sa vertu, qui ma faulte examine,
 Rompant du tout le voile d'ignorance,
 Me donne au vray bien clere intelligence
 Que c'est de moy, et qui en moy demeure,
 Et où je suis, et pourquoy je labeure:...
 Mais ce sera la seule bonne grace
 Du Toutpuissant, qui jamais ne se lasse,
 Par JESUS CHRIST, duquel il se recorde,

Nous prevenir par sa misericorde.
 (Marguerites, I, pp. 16-17, 18).

Thus not only is the soul enabled to see itself as it really is, with the gift of the Holy Spirit its sin is forgiven, and what it had lost is restored to it.

Il [Dieu] n'attend pas qu'humblement je le prie,
 Me que voyant mon enfer à luy crie:
 Par son Esprit fait un gémissement
 Dans mon cœur, grand inenarrablement;
 Et postulant le don, dont le sçavoir
 Est incongnu à mon foible povoir.
 Et lors soudain cest ignoré souspir
 Me va causant un tout nouveau desir,
 En me monstrant le bien que j'ay perdu
 Par mon peché, lequel bien m'est rendu
 Et redonné par sa grace et bonté,
 Qui tout peché a vaincu et domté.
 (ibid., I, pp. 18-19).

The poem then goes on to explore the implications of the soul's regeneration in terms of four relationships it now has with God, of whom it sees itself as mother, sister, daughter and wife. Again at this point images of regency and power are used to describe the soul,

Et qu'est cecy? Tout soudain en ceste heure
 Daigner tirer mon ame en tell' haultesse
 Qu'elle se sent de mon corps la maistresse!
 Elle povrette, ignorante, impotente,
 Se sent en vous riche, sage et puissante,
 (ibid., I, p. 22).

The main part of the rest of the poem constitutes an examination of how the soul, restored to relationship with God, proves unworthy, and falls again through repeated and particular sin. To do this Marguerite takes four stories from the Bible and uses them as a paradigm to exemplify unfaithfulness in each of the four relationships she has

described. Thus the soul is said to be worse than the Prodigal Son, worse than Miriam, the sister of Moses who criticized her brother, worse than the adulterous wife of Hosea, and worse than the unvigilant mother who lets her child be stolen and comes before King Solomon for judgement. After each of these failures, however, it is through repentance and confession of sin that the sinner is restored once again whence he fell:

Mon Pere, à vous, par vous, suis retourné.
 Las! j'ay peché au Ciel et devant vous;
 Digne ne suis (je le dis devant tous)
 Me dire enfant; mais, Pere debonnaire,
 Ne me fais pis que à un mercenaire.
 Las! qu'est cecy? pas n'avez attendu
 Mon oraison, mais avez estendu
 La dextre main, me venant recevoir,
 Quand ne pensois que me daignissiez voir.
 (Marguerites, I, p. 30).

Thus prays the Prodigal Son as he returns to his Father and finds forgiveness, and the unvigilant mother prays in the following terms, once restored, to be preserved from all future falls and infidelities,

Mon doux enfant, mon filz, ma nourriture,
 De qui je suis treshumble creature,
 Ne permettez que jamais je vous laisse:
 Car du passé me repens et confesse.
 (ibid., I, p. 33).

Once more we see the evident importance of paying attention to the over-all structure of a work by Marguerite so as not to ignore the epistemological framework within which a particular statement or idea is set. Much that has been written about the Protestantism or Catholicism of the Queen of Navarre is based on a superficial reading

of texts extracted from the context of her works, and this is not adequate.

It is not the intention here to try and argue that in her early works, far from being influenced by the writings of the Reformers, Marguerite de Navarre represents the last flowering of neo-Scholastic theology! When it comes to articulating ideas about the state of fallen man deprived of grace, such passages as the following from the Oraison de l'ame fidele are obviously reminiscent of the writings of Luther:

Nous, de peché prisonniers et captifz,
Pleins d'ignorance, aveuglez et chetifz,
N'avons pouvoir d'eschapper ce danger;
A faire mal sommes promptz et hastifz;
(Marguerites, I, p. 98).

Many of the images used by Luther to describe fallen man are used by the Queen to the same effect. However, the basic theological structures on which Marguerite founds her soteriological thought are much older than Luther, and hail from the traditional concepts and concerns of medieval theology, from the Scholastics and through them from Saint Augustine.

That much later Marguerite was to reveal her scant respect for the Doctors of the Sorbonne,⁴⁴ serves only to highlight how profoundly the teachings of medieval theology had penetrated into the common consciousness, and that centuries of theological structures and method do not disappear overnight. This residual inheritance from the theology of the Middle Ages is less surprising if we do not forget

that Marguerite herself was not a professional theologian. She was a cultured and devout woman of her age; not an innovator of new theological speculation, but an avid follower of it. We should not assume either, especially with regard to these earlier works, but equally when we turn to the later ones, that when she retains as crucial to her thought concepts foreign to the new Protestant theologies of justification this necessarily represents an unconscious act on her part. There are no grounds for suggesting that, had she been able, she would have adopted whole-heartedly the ideas coming from Protestant Germany at this time, nor that she was prevented from doing so largely by the constraints of her social position.⁴⁵ On the contrary it was undoubtedly her privileged social position, which secured for her the best education, and the conversation and correspondence of the most outstanding men, that enabled her to inherit the very best of the medieval tradition, and to supplement it with the very best of her own time. Thence derives the extraordinary richness of this aspect of Marguerite's thought, which we must now chart through her later works.

vi) Marguerite de Navarre: Later Works.

In many of the later works the same ideological structures are to be found as in the early ones. This is true for example of many of the Chansons spirituelles,⁴⁶ and where the short form of these poems prevents the description of these structures explicitly, it is often

possible to discern their implicit presence, by allowing a reading of the longer poems, with their careful elaboration of ideas, to inform the reading of the shorter ones. *Chanson* 24 begins in an apparently very Lutheran tone:

Vray Dieu, qui réconfortera
Ma povre âme; et qui l'ostera
De la pour d'estre condamnée?

Si son Enfer elle peult voir
Et son péché appercevoir,
Justement se tiendra damnée;

Car se trouvant en chacun lieu,
Comme un juge verra son Dieu,
Qui la rendra plus estonnée.

Elle verra que ses bienfaits
Devant Dieu sont ords et infects,
Et la vie qu'elle a menée.

Pleine de mal, vuyde de bien,
Souhaittera de n'estre rien,
Et n'avoir jamais esté née.

(ll. 1-15, Chansons spirituelles, p. 63, my emphasis).

But it is made clear that this cry of desperation comes from man as he is of himself, in the state of nature or the state of Adam. Indeed in this case, the soul justly sees itself damned as a result of its sins, since it has not yet received that grace which alone can make it acceptable to God, bringing forgiveness, restoration, and the responsibility to live differently in the future. But grace is not long in arriving:

Ce ne sera pas son bon sens,
Ne sa raison, ny ses cinq sens,
Quand elle sera adjournée;

Ce sera Grâce purement
De Dieu par Christ, son vray amant,
Qui pour luy l'a prédestinée.

Cestuy seul la délivrera,
Et sa Grâce luy livrera
Pour de tous biens estrenée.

Par Grâce, de calamité
Sera mise en sublimité,
Ainsi que Royne couronnée;

La douceur gousterà d'aymer
Après avoir gousté l'amer.
O heureuse et digne journée!
(ll. 19-33, Chansons spirituelles, p. 64).

Restoration of the soul is again conveyed by images of royalty and power, quite out of concert with a Lutheran concept of the servile will, and making it quite clear that the fundamental contrast around which Marguerite is building her poem is between the state of Nature and the state of Grace: the slavery of the will in the former, and its liberation in the latter.

Other poems too affirm the idea of the regeneration of the justified soul, its ability to perform good works and even to fulfil the Commandments. In the Discord de l'esprit et de la chair, contrasting the man who lives according to the flesh with the man who follows the Spirit, Marguerite writes:

Qui suit l'Esprit, bonnes oeuvres sçait faire;
Qui suit l'Esprit, il sçait la Loy parfaire:
C'est tel Esprit où liberté ha lieu.
(Marguerites, I, p. 74).

A similar affirmation is to be found in the Comédie de la Nativité, written perhaps between 1535 and 1540.⁴⁷

Asseurez vous que celui qui ha Foy
Est d'obeïr à chacun sy instruit
Qu'il ne craint point la rigueur de la Loy.
(*ibid.*, II, p. 3).

Apparently this idea of the regenerative power of grace is one that Marguerite retained to the end of her life, since in one of her last works, Les Prisons, it surfaces again. Giving thanks for the New Law established by Christ in contrast to the Old, she writes:

Loy apportant la tresbonne nouvelle
 Du vray salut qui l'homme renouvelle;
 Loy par qui est le malade guery,
 Où le povoir estoit mort et pery
 De faire bien. O Loy qui [veulx] donner
 Telle vertu, que tu faiz retourner
 Le vieil Adam en premiere jeunesse
 Et le vilain en parfaicte noblesse;
 Loy qui luy metz en main force et vertu,
 Loy par laquelle il est si revestu
 Le Jesuchrist, que luy abhominable,
 A l'oeil de Dieu est fait tresagreable,
 Par ceste peau et trespuyssante escorce
 Dedans laquelle il reprent telle force
 Qu'il peult la Loy de rigueur observer
 Et de pecher aussy se preserver;⁴⁸

We have noted already the very strong Christocentric nature of Marguerite's conception of justification (pp. 65-66 above), and in the passage quoted here, despite the affirmation that man's very nature is renewed and that he is thereby enabled to perform good works and to avoid sin, there is present the notion that he does so by being clothed in the 'peau' or the 'escorce' of Christ. In the later works there are indeed times when Marguerite's insistence on renewal in Christ (and that man is renewed to the extent that he puts on Christ), seems to undermine an understanding of righteousness as intrinsic to man's own nature, and to come closer instead to a Protestant

conception of the nature of justification as essentially forensic and alien - the *iustitia Christi aliena*.

Traces of this development can be discerned particularly in Marguerite's attitude to the problem of sin. The problem of why the just continue to sin after they have received God's grace is one that has exercised Christian theologians over the centuries. For St. Augustine, and for Catholic theology in general, the solution lay in the conception of justification as both momentary act and continuing process. Protestant theology, dispensing to a large extent with the notion of process in justification and attributing righteousness in real terms not to the justified himself, but to Christ with whom he is united, can affirm that the sin of the justified is the result of his old nature that still clings to him, but which does not affect his status before God. There are differences between the theologies of the individual Protestant theologians, but this generally is what they have in common. Hence Luther's famous adage: 'semper peccator, semper penitens, semper justus', and its corollary, 'pecca fortiter!'⁴⁹ Hence too Calvin's formulation of his 'reliques de la chair' which, referring to St. Paul's Letter to the Romans, he defines as follows:

De là s'ensuit ceste manière d'excuse: Ce ne suis-je pas qui fay le mal, mais le péché habitant en moy, laquelle compète seulement aux fidèles qui s'efforcent au bien de la principale partie de leur âme. Davantage, la conclusion qui s'ensuit démontre cela tout clairement: « Je me délecte, dit-il, en la loy de Dieu, selon l'homme intérieur, mais ie voy une autre loy en mes membres répugnante à la loy de mon entendement » (Rom. 7, 22-23). Qui est-ce qui auroit un tel combat en soy, sinon celuy qui estant régénéré de l'esprit de Dieu, porte tousiours les reliques de sa chair?⁵⁰

Of the four *récits de mort* contained in the last book of Les Prisons it is the one of François Ier that from a hagiographical point of view poses the greatest problems for his loving sister. As Marguerite herself admits with humour, though the King may have possessed in his heart 'la foy vive et ardante', nevertheless, 'par dehors n'estoit tant evidente/ Que on le jugeast ung devot Sainct Loys.' (III, ll. 2727-2729). Marguerite suggests various explanations and justifications for her brother's persistence in the sins of the flesh and continual avoidance of amendment - all of the hyperbolic nature we might expect. François, for example, without this goad to his humility would have been perfect, and therefore susceptible to the much worse sin of pride. It is at this point that Marguerite establishes the following distinction:

Donc en la chair à peché il servoit
Mais en l'esprit la foy il conservoit,
Qui le faisoit en soy humilier
Et à son Dieu par forte amour lyer. (III, ll. 2763-2766).

This is a distinction that a traditional view of the nature of man and of his justification would not permit. It creates the possibility of a justification that operates independently of amendment and the putting on of righteousness, and if necessary without them. It situates the essence of righteousness ultimately outside man himself.

This is not the first time, moreover, that this distinction is made in Marguerite's works. In the Comédie de la Nativité the shepherds returning from adoring the new born Christ are met by Satan who, full of spite at the redemption of mankind through the Incarnation,

attempts his final ploy to keep it in his grasp. This is to expose to man his sin and taunt him with it, so that he will lose his salvation through despairing of ever attaining it.

Sathan.

Si en toy fust le Filz de Dieu trescher,
Te lairroit il ainsi souvent pecher?
Le pere ayment son filz vous garderoit
Si chèrement, que nul ne pecherait.
Or pechez vous souvent contre sa Loy:
Parquoy chacun peult bien juger en soy
S'il est vray filz; car, où peché opere,
Ne fault juger que Dieu y soit pour pere.

Dorothée.

Nostre coeur n'est de voz ditz empesché.
Nous confessons que nous faisons peché,
Et ne povons rien sinon peché faire;
Mais Dieu en nous, pour son oeuvre parfaire,
Joint dedens nous sa tresjuste justice,
A qui sert bien de feuille nostre vice.
Le tresbeau blanc se fait bien plus blanc veoir
Quand on le met sur un fondz qui est noir.
Peché est nostre, autant que nous cuydons
Estre et povoir, et que nous nous guydons
Par nostre sens. Mais quand il est rendu
Tel comme il est, et Rien bien entendu,
Nous nous perdons en perdant ce cuyder,
Qui ne sçauroit hors de noz coeurs vuyder,
Si verité, pour y prendre sa place,
Ne l'en met hors et par Foy ne le chasse;
Et lors, en lieu de celui qui n'est point,
Celuy qui Est est à nostre coeur joint.
*Ainsi peché, qui ne gist qu'au dehors,
Ne peult toucher qu'à nostre mortel corps:
Le Crist avons vivant en nostre coeur,
Qui de peché et la mort est vainqueur.*
(Marguerites, II, pp. 59-60, my emphasis).

In the later works of Marguerite de Navarre then, the idea of regeneration stressed so strongly in the earlier works and the affirmation of the real and intrinsic nature of justification do not disappear. However the exceptionally Christocentric character of

Marguerite's conception of justification, present already in the earlier works, leads the Queen naturally in the later ones towards ideas that are not always wholly consistent with her first position. When the state of justification seems to be a property of Christ rather than of the individual, and when the sin of the justified is not regarded as of ultimate consequence with regard to his divine status, Marguerite undoubtedly reflects the influence of the ideas of the Reformers.⁵¹

Unlike the earlier works, and in particular the Dialogue, Marguerite's later devotional works are less precisely theological in nature. For this reason the most cogent theological exposition left by the Queen of her ideas on the process of salvation is of a generally conservative, traditional and Catholic tenor, and traces of this outlook remain present throughout the whole of her literary output. A determined statement of a later more Protestant theological outlook Marguerite did not leave, and there is no later work that corresponds to the Dialogue of the earlier period, so that the desire for clear exposition of dogmatic ideas seems not to have animated her later years. This does not alter the fact, however, that if these later works do not demonstrate a clear and determined development of her soteriological thought along Protestant lines, they nevertheless do reveal at least an openness to new ideas, and a willingness to adopt these ideas, even when the result is the loss of absolute personal consistency. The ideas of the Reformers and the new theologies seem to have worked on Marguerite in a way that is perhaps best described as subversive. At no point does she seem to have rejected the ideas

of her younger days in favour of a new set of fundamental principles: she does, however, reveal her thought to be an open and not a closed system, through which new ideas and influences come bubbling up.

Notes to Chapter One.

1) See, A.E. McGrath, Iustitia Dei. A History of the Christian doctrine of Justification, 2 vols (Cambridge, London etc., 1986), I, p. 17. See also pp. 25-36 for a more detailed discussion of the summary of Augustine's mature theology I give below.

2) From Epistle 194 quoted by McGrath, I, p. 28 and p. 199 n. 33. Cf. Augustine's commentary on the Letter to the Galatians, 'Formatur autem Christus in credente per fidem in interiore homine, vocato in libertatem gratiae, miti et humili corde, non se jactante de operum meritis, quae nulla sunt; sed ab ipsa gratia meritum aliquod inchoante, quem possit dicere minimum suum, id est, seipsum, ille qui ait, *Cum enim fecistis uni ex minimis meis, mihi fecistis* (Matth. XV. 25, 40).' Epistolae ad Galatas expositionis liber unus, J.-P. Migne, edited, Patrologia Latina, 221 vols (Paris, 1844-1864), XXXV (1864), cols 2105-2148 (col 2132).

3) For a discussion of this Scholastic proposition see, McGrath, I, pp. 83-91.

4) For details of editions of Gerson's works see, Oeuvres complètes, edited P. Glorieux, 10 vols in 11 (Paris, 1960-1974), I, pp. 71-86. For example La Mendicité spirituelle was printed in Paris in 1500 and 1519, the Trésor de sapience in Lyons [1480?] and twice more without date, as well as in Paris [1490?]. Of the Internelle consolation attributed to Gerson, the BN holds editions published in Paris in 1533 (x 2), 1539, 1540, 1540-1541, 1542 and 1544 and in Lyons in 1542 (x 2).

5) J. Gerson, Oeuvres complètes, VII (1966), pp. 259-260.

6) J. de Castel, Le miroir des pecheurs et pecheresses (Paris, A. Vérard, 1495).

7) On the theology of Luther and its differences to inherited medieval tradition see, McGrath, esp. I, pp. 180-187, and Ozment, esp. Chapter 6.

8) See, F.M. Higman, Censorship and the Sorbonne. A Bibliographical study of books in French censored by the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris, 1520-1551, THR, 172 (Geneva, 1979), pp. 92-93.

9) Haec docent Sacra Biblorum scripta, R. Estienne, Biblia Sacra, (1532), fol * iii ro. See also, A.E. Armstrong, Robert Estienne, Royal Printer (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 172-173, 265-266.

10) The best single study to date is in an article by L. Febvre, 'Dolet propagateur de l'évangile', BHR, 6 (1945), pp. 98-170 (pp. 98-124). Febvre admits however that his study is incomplete and contains important omissions. For an account of the text's history

and details of its various editions, as well as the full text of the relevant section of the French placard 'd' and significant variants from this in the pamphlet 'f' see Appendix, p. 323 ff.

11) On faith and charity see below Chapter 3, esp. pp. 212-213, 220-221.

12) Cf. J. Calvin, Institution de la religion chrestienne, edited J.-D. Benoit, Bibliothèque des Textes Philosophiques, 5 vols (Paris, 1957-1963), Book Three, Chapter 16, III, pp. 274-279.

13) P. Doré, Le Colloge de Sapience, fondé en Luniversité de Vertu, auquel cest rendue escolliere Magdelaine disciple et Apostole de Jesus. Avec le Dialogue de la Foy, adjousté et recongneu (Paris, A. Bonnemere, 1539), fol. lxii vo.

14) A. Caracciolo, Le Mirouer de vraye religion etc. (Paris, S. de Colines, 1544), fols. 5 vo-6 ro.

15) Consolation chrestienne, contre les afflictions de ce monde, et scrupules de conscience, (sind. [Alençon, S. Du Bois, 1525-1529/1530-1534?]), fols. M iii vo-iv ro.

16) E. de Beaulieu, L'Espinglier des filles ... Reveu et augmente par luy mesme (despuis sa premiere impression) comme on verra. (Basle, 1550), fol. A 7 vo.

17) E. de Beaulieu, Les Divers Rapportz etc. (Paris, A. Lotrain, 1544), fol. K vi ro.

18) 'Que tes jambes et tes piedz servent: a aller ouyr diligemment la parolle de Dieu, tant comme il te sera possible Jeh. 8. Luc. 11. a visiter les Hospitaulx et paouvres malades, et generalmente: a toute oeuvre de charite. Matth. 25. Mais, non a faire voyages et peregrinations fantastiques et diaboliques: comme font plusieurs femmes, qui cherchent incessamment Dieu ca et la, par le conseil des faulx prophetes, et puis ne le trouvent jamais. 2. Timoth. 3'. (L'Espinglier, fol. A 7 ro.)

19) See, Higman, pp. 57-58, 94-96.

20) G. de Branteghem, La vie de Nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ par figures selon le texte des quatre Evangelistes, et les Evangiles, Epistres et Propheties de toute l'année, chantées en la Messe, avec aucunes oraisons. (Paris, C. Neobar, 1540), fol. 56 ro.

21) Ch. Du Plessis d'Argentré, Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus, qui ab initio duodecimi seculi post Incarnationem Verbi, usque ad annum 1632. in Ecclesia proscripti sunt, 3 vols (Paris, 1724 - 1736), II, 1, p. 227.

22) See, Higman, p. 100. Caracciolo was a man much concerned with the spiritual renewal of the Church. He shares many of the concerns

of the evangelicals, and in particular of Briçonnet. As Bishop of Troyes he tried to hold within his flock members of the emerging Reformed Church. By 1561 this had become impossible and he was forced to resign his see, Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques, edited A. Baudrillart, A. Vogt, U. Rouziès and others (Paris, 1912-), XI (1949), cols 976-979.

23) Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne, published by P. Jourda, RSS, 13 (1926), 1-49, and published separately (Paris, 1926), ll. 934-936. The poem was written after the death of Marguerite's niece Charlotte in 1524.

24) Le Miroir de l'ame pecheresse, in Les Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses (Lyons, J. de Tournes, 1547), edited F. Frank, Cabinet du Bibliophile, 16, 4 vols (Paris, 1873), reprinted Slatkine, 4 vols in 1 (Geneva, 1970), I, pp. 13-68 (p.16).

25) D. Erasmus, De Libero Arbitrio diatribe seu collatio, translated and edited E.G. Rupp and A.N. Marlow, in Luther and Erasmus: Free Will and Salvation, The Library of Christian Classics, 17 (London, 1969), pp. 51-54.

26) For an introduction to and extracts from this Decree and the relevant Canons see, J. Neuner SJ. and J. Dupuis SJ., The Christian Faith in the Doctrinal Documents of the Catholic Church, revised edition (Glasgow, 1983), pp. 554-570.

27) On this aspect of Luther's teaching see, McGrath, II, pp. 15-16.

28) Chansons spirituelles, edited G. Dottin (Geneva, 1971), p. 11 (*chanson* 3).

29) See, McGrath, I, pp. 47-48.

30) For example cf. Briçonnet's letter of 11 November 1521 in which he outlines the three categories of spiritual pilgrims: 'A la premiere ierarchie sont les novices en amour, qui se purgent de jour en jour... En la seconde ierarchie, qui ont passé la purgation sont les illuminéz, que l'on peult appeller prouffitans, qui bruslent d'amour... La troiziesme ierarchie sont ceulx...qui ont jà vollé et atouché la perfection', Guillaume Briçonnet, Marguerite d'Angoulême: Correspondance (1521-1524), edited C. Martineau and M. Veissière, introductions H. Heller, 2 vols, vol 1, Années 1521-1522, THR, 141 (Geneva, 1975), vol 2, Années 1523-1524, THR, 173 (Geneva, 1979), I, p. 59. Cf. also, I, p. 74 and II, p. 138.

31) It is used both to describe the powers with which God had endowed man's soul in the state of nature before the Fall, and also the powers the soul recovers through being regenerate in Christ through the graces of baptism and penance. The parable of the Prodigal Son is often used in this connection as a paradigm of the abuse of freedom to squander God's gifts and ultimate constraint to return to him. In his Miroir du Penitent (Paris, J. Ruelle, 1557), Doré writes of the soul 'regeneree du saint font de baptesme' that she is

made 'fille de Dieu, espouse du benoit sauveur Jesuchrist, ennoblie et decoree de sa Foy, Amie du saint Esprit. Capable de raison, Compaigne des Anges etc.' (fols. A iiii vo-A v ro). It is a concept that lies also at the heart of those works that describe the journey of the soul on its pilgrimage through life. Thus in Bouchet's *Triumphes* the *Ame Incorporee* is surrounded by her court of advisors, with *Reason* as her *gouvernante* and *Understanding* as her *chancelier*, whilst the ultimate mistress of the soul is *Volunte*. The soul is restored in baptism to its pre-lapsarian and pristine state and charged through the choices it makes in life to 'meriter ou demeriter paradis' (fol. lxi ro). The sin of Adam leaves its mark only in the flesh, against which the soul will have to battle for the whole of its earthly existence. As the soul is instructed in the letter from *gouvernante Raison*:

Il est bien vray: que au moyen de loffence
 Que fist Adam: quant contre la deffence
 Du treshault dieu voulut manger du fruict
 Le corps mortel qui est de lame instruiet
 A tousjours eu depuis concupiscence,
 Infirmité mauuaise, et inscience,
 Dicte ignorance: avec mortalité
 Du corps tout seul, *mais ton auctorité*
N'est pour ces cas en rien diminuee,
 Fors que du corps tu es atteneue:
 Qui est enclin pour ces troys grans deffaulx
 A faire cas: pechez: crimes: et maulx.
 (fol. lvii vo, my emphasis).

32) See note 3 above.

33) G. Postel, *La Doctrine du Siécle doré, ou de l'évangélique Règne de Jesus Roy des Roys*, in *Les tres-merveilleuses victoires des femmes du Nouveau Monde etc.* (Paris, J. Ruelle, 1553), édition sur l'imprimé, pp. 20-21. Especially after 1547 Postel became more and more obsessed with a series of unorthodox ideas concerning the fourth age of the world of which he was the herald, and the restitution of all things through the advent of the Angelic Pope. See, M.L. Kuntz, *Guillaume Postel. Prophet of the Restitution of All Things. His Life and Thought*, International Archives of the History of Ideas, 98 (The Hague, 1981).

34) *Le livre intitule Internelle consolation, tresutile et proffitable a tous Chrestiens qui desirent faire le salut de leurs ames, Nouvellement reveu et corrige*, attributed to J. Gerson (Paris, P. Le Noir, 1533), fols. 80 ro and 81 vo. For a discussion of the work and its origins see, *Le Livre de l'Internelle consolation, première version française de l'Imitation de Jésus-Christ*, edited L. Moland and Ch. Héricault (Paris, 1856), pp. vii-cii.

35) Cf. *Dialogue*, ll. 607-630, 940-951.

36) For example Briçonnet's letter of 31 December 1521: 'Il est des glorieulx qui se fient en leurs merites et leur semble que Dieu leur doibt de retour. Il est plus que necessaire qu'ilz baissent leur visiere eslevée par presumption, qu'ilz disent avec le psalmiste: « Nichilum ante te ». Ilz sont ce qu'ilz sont, riens: d'eulx tout mal

et nul bien. S'il y est, le doivent rendre à celluy qui l'a presté et qui est le seul bien, se communicant par sa grace es vaisseulx qu'il choisist pour estre ministres de ses operations, dont la semence n'est en terre: elle vient de Dieu, qui est le laboureur cultivant et semant au coeur telle semence qu'il luy plaist'. (Correspondance, I, p. 119).

37) Commenting upon Romans 2. 13, Lefèvre writes: 'Non enim opera justificant quemquam, sed opera si bona sunt, praeparant ad Dei justificationem suscipiendam ut enim a sole illuminatio, sic a Deo justificatio, glorificatio, immortalitas et Christiformitas'. G. Bedouelle, Lefèvre d'Étaples et l'intelligence des Écritures, THR, 152 (Geneva, 1976), p. 228 n. 40. See also in general pp. 227-230, 69 and 140. The Christocentric nature of Lefèvre's concept of justification is rightly stressed by Bedouelle as central to his theology, and must have become very familiar to Marguerite especially after Lefèvre's retirement to Nérac in 1530. Cf. also, M.C. Boulding, 'The Ecclesiology of Faber Stapulensis discernible in his Scripture Commentaries and other Related Works' (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Durham University, 1982), pp. 166-171.

38) See, G. Bonner, St. Augustine of Hippo. Life and Controversies, second edition (Norwich, 1986), p. 385.

39) St. Bernard of Clairvaux, Sermones in Cantica Canticorum, LXI, 5, Migne, PL, CLXXXIII (1854), col 1073.

40) De imitatione Christi et de contemptu omnium vanitatum mundi, (Paris, Higman, 1489), fol. h vii vo.

41) Petit OEuvre dévot et contemplatif. Neuedition und Versuch einer Erklärung von Hans Sckommodau, Analecta Romanica, 9 (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1960), pp. 1-60 (ll. 395-397, my emphasis).

42) P. Jourda suggests that the work dates probably from around 1530, Marguerite d'Angoulême, duchesse d'Alençon, reine de Navarre (1492-1549), BLR, nouv. sér. 19 and 20, 2 vols (Paris, 1930), II, p. 1107 (Appendix C, Chronologie des poésies de Marguerite de Navarre). Sckommodau, however, in his introduction to the Petit OEuvre uses Becker's theory of the more frequent use of the lyric caesura in Marguerite's earlier works to argue that the work dates from the same period as the Jugendgedichte ie. 1521-1524, (Sckommodau op. cit. pp. 1-13). In any case it is to the earlier period of Marguerite's life that the work belongs.

43) See note 2 above.

44) The accusation of Pelagianism that Marguerite levels against the false Doctors in the third book of Les Prisons (ll. 1260-1291) is an open criticism of the Sorbonne theologians similar, though not comic, to those of Rabelais. It is also possible that she is criticizing Erasmus and his followers at the same time.

45) For this view see, R. Doumic, art. cit.

46) It is possible to date precisely only a very few of the Chansons spirituelles. See, Chansons spirituelles, Dottin, pp. vii-ix, and Jourda, Marguerite d'Angoulême, II, p. 1126. It seems safe to conclude, however, that the majority of the songs date from the 1530s and 1540s.

47) See, Jourda, Marguerite d'Angoulême, I, p. 431.

48) Les Prisons, edited S. Glasson (Geneva, 1978), Book III, ll. 1497-1512.

49) See, McGrath, II, pp. 1-15.

50) Institution, II, p. 54. Although the definitive version of the Institution did not appear until 1560, a much shorter first edition of the work appeared in Latin in 1536; a second already much augmented edition was printed in 1539, and a translation of this was published in French in 1541 and dedicated to François Ier. It is important therefore to remember that the influence of Calvin's ideas began to make itself felt well before 1560, in the second half of the 1530s and early 1540s. The Benoit edition is of the 1560 text, but marks those passages that appeared in the 1541 and other subsequent editions, noting all variants. I use here and throughout only quotations from the text of the 1541 edition unless specifically indicated otherwise.

51) The tendency to attribute all to God and nothing to the self is also common to the mystical writers and accounts in the earlier works for the very Christocentric nature of Marguerite's conception of the nature of justification. What we see developing in the later works is more than this, however, and reflects the influence upon the Queen of new ideas. The Spiritual Libertines' conception of the innocence of the justified believer also has affinities with the doctrine of the Reformers. But whereas the former drew from this their notion of the inability of the justified to sin, and their indifference to evil, neither Marguerite, nor the Reformers, shared these ideas. Sin to them remains totally abhorrent, and is to be purged. Whilst trying to excuse the sin of her brother, for example, Marguerite never attempts to suggest that because of his love of God his actions were not sinful. (On the leading ideas of the Spiritual Libertines see, Marguerite de Navarre, Théâtre Profane, edited V.L. Saulnier, revised edition (Geneva, 1978), pp. 246-248). Nor does it seem likely that Marguerite came into contact with the ideas of the Libertines before the year 1543. (See, Jourda, Marguerite d'Angoulême, I, p. 306, and Saulnier, loc. cit.). As the Comédies pieuses date most likely from the period 1535-1540, their influence upon her can only have strengthened an idea with which she was already familiar. The Institution, not published in French until 1541, was first published in Latin in 1536. Whether Marguerite read the work in Latin or not, it is not unlikely that she should become familiar at an early stage with the ideas of Calvin, many of those around her at her court providing points of contact for her with these ideas. Marguerite herself met Calvin and assured him asylum at Nérac in late 1533-1534.

CHAPTER TWO

Structures Historical and Ecclesiastical.I The Personal and the Universal: The Self in History.

When we take an over-all view of the poems of Marguerite de Navarre we see that like some of the more Protestant poetry of the period many of her works are initiated by a moment of personal crisis. The Miroir de l'ame pecheresse, her first published work, opens in a very striking way her public *oeuvre*.

Où est l'Enfer remply entierement
De tout malheur, travail, peine et tourment?
Où est le puitz de malediction,
D'où sans fin sort desesperation?
Est il de mal nul sy profond abysme
Qui suffisant fust pour punir la disme
De mes pechés, qui sont en sy grand nombre
Qu'infinité rend sy obscure l'ombre
Que les compter ne bien voir je ne puy?
Car trop avant avecques eux je suis.
(Marguerites, I, p. 15).

What is more the title of the poem in its first three editions, Le Miroir de l'ame pecheresse, auquel elle recongnoist ses faultes et pechez etc., invites the kind of generalized or paradigmatic reading of the individual meditation, and lays claim to a universal validity of the nature of those discussed in the introduction above. The five editions published between 1533 and 1539 that bear the title Miroir de treschrestienne Princesse Marguerite de France, Royne de Navarre etc.,

do little to undermine this, since the poem's paradigmatic and exemplary value as a *speculum animae* would no doubt be obvious to all its readers, were it not already established by the earlier editions. The superscribing of the work with the name of the Queen from 1533 onwards may well have been intended primarily as a device to secure for it the protection of its royal author in the wake of its seizure and examination by the Sorbonne in the autumn of that year. Whatever the reason for the change, the earlier title is reverted to in the 1547 edition of the Marguerites.'

The *ame pecheresse* is not merely sinful, but the epitome of sin itself, and an a-historical identification of the soul with Adam seems to hold sway. Adam is the archetype of *homo peccator*, and the *ame pecheresse* thus inherits the full weight of the guilt of preceding generations. It is a remarkable opening to a poem, and an even more remarkable opening to a literary career.

The tone of these lines from the Miroir is echoed by certain of the Chansons spirituelles which again spring from the anxiety of the individual brought face to face with his own sinfulness:

Vray Dieu, qui réconfortera
Ma povre âme; et qui l'ostera
De la peur d'estre condamnée?

Si son Enfer elle peult voir
Et son péché appercevoir,
Justement se tiendra damnée;

Car se trouvant en chacun lieu,
Comme un juge verra son Dieu,
Qui la rendra plus estonnée.

Elle verra que ses bienfaits

Devant Dieu sont ords et infects,
Et la vie qu'elle a menée.

Pleine de mal, vuyde de bien,
Souhaittera de n'estre rien,
Et n'avoir jamais esté née.
(Chansons, p. 63)

Such formulations as these reveal clearly the importance of the self-God framework within the work of Marguerite de Navarre, not only as it comes down within traditional, Catholic theology, but in the heightened form it adopts in the hands of Reformed and Protestant writers. A moment of ontological crisis throws the soul into an intolerable anxiety over the question of its salvation, and from that nadir well up the springs of devotion.

The end of the Miroir also reveals considerable anxiety over the possibility of ultimate damnation, reminiscent of that expressed by the Reformed writers. The *ame pecheresse* affirms its trust in the power of Christ's merits to defend it before the judgement seat of God despite its own worthlessness. Hell is seen initially to exist only for the devil 'et n'est point fait pour l'homme raisonnable', unless of course 'il a mis son estude/ De l'ennemy prendre similitude', in which case he also will deserve to be placed there, (Marguerites, I, pp. 59-60). The soul is now faced with the problem, however, that its own many sins reveal precisely its own desire to imitate Satan rather than to follow Christ, and so it is reduced to its first state of anxiety. The soul can only express its trust that God's loving mercy is stronger than all else and thus will in the end prevail. God will prove stronger to forgive than the soul to do wrong:

Grand et trop grand est le cruel peché
 Qui en Enfer m'a sy fort attaché.
 Enfer est fort, ne laissant rien saillir,
 Et si ne craint qu'on le vienne assaillir.
 Le Fort est fort, mais quand le Plusfort vient,
 Le Fort ne sçait que sa force devient.
 Peché est fort, qui en Enfer nous meine:
 Et ne voy nul qui, par merite ou peine,
 Ayt jamais sceu vaincre et tuer ce Fort,
 Fors celuy seul qui a fait tel effort
 Par Charité, que mort, humilié,
 Son ennemy a vaincu et lié,
 Enfer rompü, et brisé son povoir,
 Dont maintenant ne peult puissance avoir
 De plus tenir captive et en tutelle
 L'Ame qui est envers son DIEU fidele.
 (Marguerites, I, pp. 60-61).

Yet even here the last line undermines again that very assurance for which the soul has been searching - it is precisely not the *ame fidele*, but the *ame pecheresse*. The dilemma is turned over repeatedly in the concluding part of the poem:

Y a il rien qui me puisse plus nuire,
 Si DIEU me veult par Foy à luy conduire?
 J'entens la Foy toute telle, qu'il fault,
 Digne d'avoir le nom du don d'enhault:
 Foy, qui unit par Charité ardente
 Au Createur sa treshumble servante.
 (ibid., pp. 62-63).

The prerequisite of spiritual confidence is here the possession of faith and charity that unite the soul to God, but this is itself a gift from God and once more the soul imposes on itself a condition it is unable to fulfil.²

This final crisis is, however, different from that of the Protestant soul, which is anxious as a result of its constant inability to assure itself completely of God's election in the absence of any

infallible signs that guarantee predestination - either faith or works. The tension the *ame pecheresse* here struggles with is not so much the question of whether or not it is numbered among the elect, but its intimation of the two-sided truth that it can neither be saved by itself, nor yet without itself. This is a theological paradox to which no ultimate resolution has ever been possible; it is the dilemma that caused Erasmus to formulate his celebrated phrase on free will, 'nec interim nihil agit nostra voluntas',³ and before him it lies behind St. Augustine's truism referred to already, 'Qui fecit te sine te, non iustificat te sine te'.

To what extent then does the devotional framework of the Miroir resemble that of the more Protestant writers?

The Miroir is the only one of Marguerite's poems that ever came under scrutiny by the censors of the Sorbonne, by whom it had reputedly been condemned as heretical - a fact which may in part be due to the ill fate of this first attempt that ended in humiliation and defeat for the Doctors. The circumstances of the work's examination by the Faculty of Theology are shrouded in obscurity. The King at Marguerite's instigation, hearing of the poem's reputed condemnation, acted swiftly to force a retraction by the Faculty which, disowned by all the other Faculties of the University, issued statements on 27 October and 8 November confirming that the Miroir had never been condemned either by it or by deputies acting on its behalf, and that the Faculty had not so much as examined the work. If the examiners had been intending to formulate specific censures then (and this was

not done for all works inscribed on the *Index* of prohibited books), they did not have time to do so. The only official reason given by Nicolas Leclerc, the deputy of the Faculty concerned, for his actions in investigating the Queen's work was that it had been printed without the prior approval of the Faculty. This legal requirement had been in force since March 1521, enacted by the *Parlement* at the King's demand, who in his turn had been responding to a request from the Rector of the University.

It is in fact more than likely that no official condemnation was ever formulated. However there is a tradition dating back to Théodore de Bèze that it was the Miroir's sins of omission that most angered the Sorbonne: its failure to invoke or affirm the intercessory role of the saints, the absence of the notion of merit and the doctrine of purgatory; and this may well be accurate.⁴ Modern criticism also has tended to stress that 'le texte dans son ensemble, dans son esprit, ne contient rien qui soit de caractère militant, rien qui s'oppose, directement à la foi catholique'.⁵ Neither, moreover, despite coming near to being condemned by the Sorbonne, was the text offensive to all sixteenth-century Catholics. Guillaume Petit, a man of unimpeachable orthodoxy, a Doctor of Theology himself, confessor to the King, and Bishop of Senlis, was able to affirm to the assembled body of the University on 24 October that having read the Miroir he could find nothing in it worthy of suppression.

We will return to this question concerning the Miroir de l'ame pecheresse shortly, but in order to do so we will first equip

ourselves with another mirror that will help us to reflect on Marguerite's text more clearly.

At the end of her life Marguerite wrote a second mirror-poem entitled L'art et usage du souverain mirouer du Chrestien. The work was not published within the the Queen's lifetime and survives in only two printed editions and two manuscript copies. The earlier of the two printed editions is by Guyon Boudeville (Toulouse, 1552), the second by Guillaume Le Noir (Paris, 1556). The latter edition was edited by a Pierre Olivier, who tells the reader in his preface that he was handed the poem by Marguerite herself just a few days before she died, though in an unpolished and incomplete state that necessitated his making certain corrections and emendations.⁶ Olivier's preface gives valuable evidence (though no doubt of a hagiographical nature) of Marguerite's state of mind as she felt death approaching, and provides a context for reading what seems to be the last of her poetic creations, and which consists of a series of meditations on successive parts of the tortured body of the crucified Saviour. More importantly than this, however, Olivier publishes as an appendix to Marguerite's work a mirror-text of his own, Le mirouer du Chrestien et moyen de cognoistre Dieu et soymesme, which, as he states in a second preface, he hopes 'ne sera inutile, ains fort duisant à la plus ample et parfaicte intelligence dudit livre de ladicte feu Royne: et plus encores de l'autre livre d'icelle, qui est inscrit, le mirouer de l'ame pecheresse'.⁷ In other words Olivier's work is intended as a commentary on the two Miroirs of Marguerite. Such a concern that the Queen's work be correctly understood might be interpreted in two ways

- either as springing from an anxiety that the poems might lend themselves to misinterpretation and ambiguity, or from a personal attraction to the works, and desire that people might enjoy them to the full; certainly there is no suggestion of the former explanation in his preface which, on the contrary, refers to the second Miroir as a 'petit livre de volume et parolles: mais grand de sentence, doctrine, proffit et consolation' (fol. 2 ro-vo).

What Olivier offers is not a detailed consideration of either of Marguerite's poems, but an introduction to the idea of the *miroir-speculum* itself: how a text might operate as a mirror, how it might replicate further mirrors, how the reader might look into them, and what he might expect to see reflected. What the modern reader has in Olivier's mirror-text is not so much just a key to unlock Marguerite's original poems, as a mirror in which he can see these poems reflected as they were for a contemporary reader. What then can be seen in this reflection of a reflection?

Firstly it is interesting that when Olivier approaches Marguerite's Miroirs he tries to establish a framework or structure within which they may be read. Since the Fall, Olivier affirms, man's reason has been vitiated, and in order to understand realities both human and divine he has need of mirrors that will reflect for him the truth. As a physical mirror is made up of three parts 'voirre, cristal, et acier', so is the divine mirror - 'les creatures, la parolle de Dieu, et le fils de Dieu Jesuchrist nostre Sauveur eslevé en croix' (fol. 16 ro). Examining each of these components in turn they become mirrors in

their own right, each corresponding to one of three different kinds of men. The mirror of Nature is the property of animal man in his natural works; the spiritual man, living by reason and the laws of virtue, has the mirror of the Law and the Scriptures; the wholly spiritual man, filled with God's Spirit and performing works that are divine, looks into the mirror of grace, (fols. 17 ro-18 vo).

The mirror of Nature can be used by all men, and no one has any excuse for failing to recognize in the majestic works around him the hand of God. Man himself is the clearest reflection of God in creation, and a microcosm of the rest of the created order (fols. 22 ro-26 vo).

The second mirror of the Law and the Scriptures may seem at first to have an essentially negative force, its main virtue being to teach man that he is fallen and irredeemably sinful:

Bref toute nature fut tellement blessee et corrompue, que de son commencement et adolescence, elle est plustost incline à mal, qu'à bien: vendue soubz peché, subjecte à iceluy, et par consequent à toutes ses passions, tentations, mouvemens, fins et salaires de mort, d'enfer et damnation...pour autant que nous estant séparés de l'obeissance de Dieu, et faictz serfz et esclaves de peché, plains d'ordz et puans vices et vicieux effectz et appetis desordonnez... O grand misere de voir nostre ordure et immundicité, et ne la pouvoir oster ne nettoyer de nousmesmes, encores qu'ayons l'aide de ce mirouer de la loy: ains qu'elle de plus en plus croist et se monstre plus grande (fols. 37 vo-38 ro, 41 vo-42 ro).

Whereas Olivier's description of the first mirror was unquestionably in line with Catholic teaching on the creation and the powers of man's natural reason to discern through the works of the cosmos the existence of a benign Creator, the insistence upon fallen man's

inability to comply with the commandments of the Law and accomplish the injunctions of Scripture, whilst in line with an Augustinian theology, would be disputed by other Catholic writers. Suffice it to say that if not at variance with Catholic theology as a whole, Olivier's conception of man as condemned by the Law is in conflict with prevailing trends of thought in the University of Paris in the first half of the century, whose position is exemplified by a work such as Jérôme de Hangest's anti-Lutheran tract De possibili praeceptorum divinorum impletione in Lutherum.⁸

It is the third mirror alone that brings the ability to become pleasing to God 'par le moyen et aide de la grace de Dieu et Jesuchrist' (fol. 45 vo). This mirror is the summation of the other two which are contained within it - Christ crucified is himself the perfect mirror in which man sees reflected the plenitude of the divine nature. Contemplation of Christ, the Image of God, has the power to transform fallen man into a copy of that image too, so that he finally becomes what he contemplates - himself an image of the Image. Christ is,

le mirouer et moyen plus clair, plus vray, propre et excellent, d'autant qu'il n'est pas faict à l'image et semblance de Dieu seulement, mais il est le mesme vray, propre, unique et vif image d'iceluy splendeur de sa gloire, et figure de sa substance...(fol. 46 vo) Ainsi tous ceux qui se mirent, voyent et croient par vive foy en Jesuchrist eslevé en croix, toute morsure, macule, et souilleure du serpent sathan est guarie, ostee, lavee de l'eau mesmes et sang d'iceluy nostre vray et souverain mirouer Jesuchrist, espandu en la croix de son precieux corps et costé. (fol. 49 vo).

In Christ man becomes a new creation, he regains and surpasses the image of God of which he was possessed in Eden, he enters upon the

glory that will be his in eternity, 'et par ainsi l'image de Dieu non seulement restitue [ie. Christ] ou reforme en nous et guerist en nostre liberal arbitre, entendement, memoire et jugement: mais faict plus beaux, plus excellents et plaisants à Dieu, que paravant, et que n'estions des l'estat d'innocence en Adam' (fol. 53 ro-vo).

When Olivier's mirror-reflection of the Miroir de l'ame pecheresse is held up to the originating mirror-image of Marguerite's original text, a dynamic of reflections is set playing. Olivier's distinction of the three ages of Nature, Law and Grace is far from gratuitous, as a close reading of the Miroir reveals. We shall concentrate on the first 168 lines of the poem that form an introductory section preceding the exploration of relationship imagery which forms the central body of the work. It will become quickly clear how this analysis complements that made of this part of the poem in the previous chapter.

The dramatic opening of the Miroir in which the soul conjures up hell and its powers, whilst asserting that no punishment may be found that would correspond to the greatness of its sin, is followed by the concession 'Et qui pis est, je n'ay pas la puissance/ D'avoir d'un seul, au vray, la congnoissance' (Marguerites, I, p. 16). The soul at the beginning of the poem is not in a position even to know the proper extent of its sinfulness. It only appreciates that it is in fact much worse than it thinks. If it tries to fathom its state, to contemplate the full complement of its sins, it finds itself hindered by its sinful nature itself. The horticultural nature of the image (considered already in the previous chapter) through which this predicament is

portrayed is powerfully evocative of the revolt of Nature turning against man at the Fall described in the Book of Genesis. The earth brings forth knots of briars, and the garden from which man is expelled becomes a tangled and a threatening jungle. Nature which was created to point man towards God its Creator now hinders his endeavour towards the divine and blocks each one of his senses, each being stopped up by the very sensations and signs that ought to have signified to man something of a transcendent reality:

Si je cuyde regarder pour le mieux,
 Me vient fermer une branche les yeux;
 Tombe en ma bouche, alors que veux parler,
 Le fruit par trop amer à avaler.
 Si pour ouyr mon esperit s'esveille,
 Feuilles à tas entrent en mon oreille;
 Aussi mon nez est tout bousché de fleurs.
 (Marguerites, I, p. 16).

Especially evocative of the Fall is the image of the bitter fruit that falls into the mouth whenever it is opened to speak; man is expelled from the garden where God himself walked in the cool of the day and Nature was his home. A dynamic dichotomy is elaborated through imaginary associations between the individual *I* of the *ame pecheresse* and natural man in his fallen state, symbolized by Adam, and the two coalesce in the single pronoun *je* of the text. The subject of the poem is both personal and universal, a single *ame pecheresse* and every single *ame pecheresse* from Adam onwards. This is confirmed by the temporal anomaly created if the poem is read simply as the lyrical outpourings of a single soul, and especially if that soul is taken to be that of the Queen of Navarre.



When the *ame pecheresse* sums up its position at the beginning of the poem, it nevertheless looks forward to a 'future' state of development:

Bref, à jamais, à ce que je peux voir,
 Espoir aucun de fin ne dois avoir;
 Mais sa grace, que ne puy's meriter,
 Qui peult de mort chacun resusciter,
 Par sa clarté ma tenebre illumine;
 (*Marguerites*, I, p. 16).

These two states are both described in the present tense thus creating a temporal clash as the soul in the present tense looks forward to a future state of which it could have no knowledge, were it not looking back on its present as a past. The text is constructed so that its *je* speaks with a hindsight it cannot have within the text itself; it is only a soul that has received grace and is being enlightened that could write of its fallen state in this way. The existence of a second *je* is thus predicated, co-existent with the first in the poem, yet logically posterior to it. This hindsight is guaranteed only outside the text by the authorial soul of Marguerite, looking at herself in the mirror, so that there is no simple way that the *je* of the text can be identified absolutely at any given instance with its author who writes and stands outside the text, and literally *beyond* (in front of) it.

The fallen *I* in the state of Nature is in a very sorry plight compared to that of Olivier's animal man in the same state. Nature here is no mirror in which with the aid of reason and sense man can discern the nature of God, when even his own nature eludes his understanding. His

state for Marguerite is wholly immobile and static, 'En terre *gist*... Les piedz *liez*... Et les deux bras' (Marguerites, I, p. 16, my emphasis), and man is more radically fallen than he was generally acknowledged to be by much contemporary and some traditional Catholic theology, (see Chapter 1 above).

When the second *je* emerges from the first its state is significantly different, since it is now the recipient of a certain amount of grace, and is able to see its sinfulness. This revelation operates essentially through the medium of the Law, by which the soul recognizes its incapacity to do the will of God enjoined upon it:

Et sa vertu, qui ma faulte examine,
 Rompant du tout le voile d'ignorance,
 Me donne au vray bien clere intelligence
 Que c'est de moy, et qui en moy demeure,
 Et où je suis, et pourquoy je labeure:
 Qui est celui, lequel j'ay offensé,
 Auquel sy peu de servir j'ay pensé...
 Un corps remply de toute promptitude
 A faire mal...
 Qui soubz peché par Adam est vendu,
 Et de la Loy jugé d'estre pendu.
 (Marguerites, I, pp. 16-17).

Here then is man under the Law, man who becomes conscious of his sin, yet finds himself wholly unable to accomplish the good or avoid the evil, of which he has now been instructed:

Car d'observer un seul commandement
 Il ne m'advint en ma vie vrayment.
 En moy je sens la force du peché,
 Dont moindre n'est mon mal d'estre caché:
 Tant plus dehors se cele et dissimule,
 Plus dens le coeur s'assemble et accumule.
 (loc. cit.)

Here Marguerite and Olivier are in agreement: by the Law sin stands revealed and man condemned. As we noted above such a view is not at odds with all strains of Catholic theology, but it most certainly is with the prevailing ideological climate within the University of Paris at the time Marguerite was writing.

The second *je*, benefiting from the revelation granted to it, can predicate a future state in which it would be able to fulfil God's commandments, be pleasing to him and live in peace, 'Qui sera ce qui me delivrera,/ Et qui tel bien pour moy recouvrera?' (*Marguerites*, I, p. 18). Yet the reply again displays in the soul a degree of insight it could not at this point have, were it not already in the state it describes,

Las! ce ne peult estre un homme mortel,
Car leur povoir et sçavoir n'est pas tel:
Mais ce sera la seule bonne grace
Du Toutpuissant, qui jamais ne se lasse,
Par JESUS CHRIST, duquel il se recorde,
Nous prevenir par sa misericorde.
(*ibid.*, p. 18).

As it contemplates Christ, by whose grace it is restored, the soul is eventually transformed into a third *je*, who recovers in Christ all that of which up until now it had been deprived:

Il voit le mal que j'ay, quel et combien,
Et que de moy je ne puis faire bien;
Mais, cœur et corps, sy enclin au contraire,
Que nul povoir ne sens, que de mal faire.
Il n'attend pas qu'humblement je le prie,
Ne que voyant mon enfer à luy crie:
Par son Esprit fait un gémissement
Dens mon cœur, grand inenarrablement;
Et postulant le don, dont le sçavoir
Est incongnu à mon foible povoir.
Et lors soudain cest ignoré souspir

Me va causant un tout nouveau desir,
 En me montrant le bien que j'ay perdu
 Par mon peché, lequel bien m'est rendu
 Et redonné par sa grace et bonté,
 Qui tout peché a vaincu et domté.

O Monseigneur, et quelle est celle grace,
 Quel est ce bien qui tant de maux efface?
 Vous estes bien remply de toute amour,
 D'ainsi me faire un sy honneste tour.
 (Marguerites, I, pp. 18-19).

And so the transformation which Olivier had described as the property of the third mirror to effect - the mirror of the grace of Christ crucified - operates here also. What the soul had lost in the state of Nature, and of which it had become conscious under the sway of the Law, it now sees restored to it. It had lost the ability to know and perform the good, it had lost the image of God its Father and Creator, and now that image is restored as by means of the mirror of poetic meditation it is led to a rediscovery of that Image in the Mirror which is Christ. The implications of this idea of restoration in and through Christ for Marguerite's conception of the nature of justification were discussed above. It is the other side to the emphasis she places upon the vitiating effects of the Fall, and it is partly at the root of much of the critical uncertainty in deciding whether her work betrays sympathy with Catholic or Protestant ideology.

This final state, however, cannot be maintained intact indefinitely and the *je* of the text slips again:

Helas! mon DIEU, je ne vous cherchois pas,
 Mais vous fuyoies en courant le grand pas;
 Et vous ça bas à moy estes venu,
 A moy, qui suis ver de terre tout nud.
 Que dy je ver? je luy fais trop d'injure:

A moy qui suis tant infame et parjure,
 D'orgueil remply par mondaine raison,
 De faulseté, malice et trahison.
 (Marguerites, I, p. 19).

In this introductory section of the Miroir three distinct spiritual states are described and come to coalesce in a single predicated subject *je*. They are the three states through which the human race as a whole has passed, and is passing, through history, as it is redeemed from sin by God's guiding providence. They are also states, however, of the individual soul, which sums up and bears within itself, as it were, a microcosm of the history of the whole. The soul, like a foetus developing in the womb, passes through and transcends the successive evolutionary stages through which the human race has passed to become what it is. This playing out of the history of the salvation of the race in the individual establishes in the poem a dynamic tension between the personal and the historical, the individual and the universal that is focussed in the pronoun *je*. Within history and within the individual there is also a sense in which these states are co-existent as well as successive, each successive state incorporates and fulfils the preceding one: the state of Grace renews Nature and fulfils the Law, just as Christ himself did.

Thus it can be seen that the moment of crisis that initiates the Miroir - 'Où est l'Enfer?', is not a purely personal one, but a universal, theological crisis - a crisis that traces itself through the history of the human race, and is reflected in the workings of divine providence; it is a crisis that is both historical and a-historical at the same time. Marguerite's poem establishes a framework for devotion

which is more than simply personal since it relies on a conception of the history of salvation comprising a traditional division of sacred history into the great ages of Nature, the Law and Grace.⁹ This framework, however, Marguerite uses in her own way to convey her own theological ideas, ideas that do not merely ornament her poetry, but which are woven into the very texture of its fabric.

This tri-partite division of the Ages of Salvation is expressed even more clearly in the later poem Le Triomphe de L'Agneau, written perhaps around the year 1540.¹⁰ The poem is of epic conception, recounting the history of salvation, and tracing the various stages between the Fall and the final redemption of the saints and their entry into the joys of the heavenly Jerusalem. The Triomphe is marked by a strong sense of historical perspective, and of progression towards a moment of final consummation. The Book of the Revelation and St. Paul represent the main inspiration of the work.

The poem describes the defeat by Christ of man's three great, ancient enemies - sin, the Law and death; again it divides history into the three ages of Nature, Law and Grace. In the state of Nature Adam fell through disobedience and became estranged from God, natural man is thus sinful and stands under God's anger, though remains himself unaware of his sin. Sin and death have held sway since the Fall, but only with the giving of the Law is their true character revealed to man. Under the Law man stands condemned and his iniquity revealed, he is unable to fulfil the Commandments and thus he learns his dependence on God.

En ce jardin quand par ton fol mespris
 Tu euz perdu de tes vertus le prix,
 Tu feuz tant loing de confesser ton cas
 Que, sans faveur de droit ou d'avocats,
 Tu osas bien par ta charnelle ruse
 Imaginer sur ta compaignie excuse.
 Lors [t]lu sentoies de ton mal quelque indice,
 Sans bien peser la force de ton vice;
 Et nonobstant que peché fust commis
 Par toy, des lors que vouloir y fust mis
 De transgresser, et que posterité
 Depuis ce temps l'a par toi herité,
 Tu n'en avois sans la Loy congnoissance;
 Mais par la Loy il revint en naissance...
 Ainsi Peché devant la Loy gisoit
 Tout comme mort, et point ne l'advisoit
 Ce povre Adam; mais quand elle survint,
 Le Peché hors de ses tenebres vint,
 Et triompha tellement par sur l'homme
 Qu'apres l'avoir despouillé tout en somme,
 Il le fait serf de sa malignité.
 (Marguerites, III, pp. 8-9).

By the Law, sin and death, man has been estranged from God and placed under his wrath. Like that of sin and death the force of the Law is again viewed here as essentially negative, except to the extent that it shows up what was hitherto hidden. Death is the consequence of sin and the Law, and from it there is no escape; only by Christ can man's enemies be overcome, and in God's providence the Incarnation finally ushers in the Age of Grace.

Toy, Coeur humain, au nom de ton ayment,
 Grave dens toy comme en dur diamant
 Comment la Mort par la Mort est ferue,
 Et que par Christ la vie t'est rendue.
 Par Christ mourant la sentence est esteinte
 De dure Loy, et la playe retreinte
 Du viel Peché; le tribut est cessé
 Du grand tyran, et son regne abbaissé.
 Fille Zion, chante la parabole,
 Chante treshault le sonnet et le rolle,
 Comment se fait que le joug tant penible
 De l'exacteur et le servage horrible
 Soit tout soudain comme mort expiré.
 (ibid. p. 21).

This historical framework of the story of salvation, within which the individual's relationship with God operates, is to be discerned in effect in many of Marguerite's works, whether its presence is explicit or implicit. One more example here will suffice. In the Comédie du Desert, the last of the Comédies pieuses, God sends three messengers to *Marie* to comfort her whilst her husband goes off in search of provisions to feed the Holy Family. The first of these messengers is *Contemplation* who brings with her the Book of Nature in which the presence of God can be discerned in his works. As she assures *Marie* God has sent her

...que par moy ce beau grand Livre voye,
 C'est de Nature,
 Où tu verras bien au vif en peinture
 Ciel, Terre et Mer, et ce qui nourriture
 Prend dedens eux.
 O Vierge et Mere, icy bien voir tu peux
 Jusqu'à un poil ou à l'un des cheveux
 Des Creatures.
 (Marguerites, II, p. 200).

Man would still be able to read aright the Book of Nature, had not his ability to interpret been vitiated by the Fall, and the whole of Creation would still have been in man's service:

Et sy peché ne fust venu retordre
 Le fil de Mort,
 L'homme eust esté à jamais sage et fort;
 Le Monde beau sans dueil ny desconfort;
 Oyseaux et Bestes
 Sans nul venin fussent douces, honnestes,
 Et à servir l'homme à toute heure prestes.
 (ibid., pp. 200-201).

As it is, only the man who is free from sin stands in this position, and of this privileged state Mary stands as a paradigm, preserved from sin as she is by her Immaculate Conception. For the just man of faith Nature still represents a clear mirror through which the eye can pass from earthly reflections to divine reality:

Marie.

O Dieu, qui est l'Estre de toute chose,
 Ta Deité, aux yeux des mortelz close,
 Voy dens les fleurs, dens le liz, dens la rose,
 Par son povoir
 Croistre, germer, et puis se faire voir
 Herbe, et puis fleur, et graine, pour pourvoir
 A l'advenir...
 Poirier n'y a, ny guynier, ni pommier,
 Qui tous les ans ne chargent un sommier
 De ton ouvrage.
 Tu es l'ouvrier de ce grand labourage,
 La vie aussi de tout arbre et fruitage,
 L'Estre et mouvoir
 De tout ce que l'oeil peut appercevoir,
 Soit verd ou blanc, incarnat, bleu ou noir.
 (*Marguerites*, II, pp. 201-202).

The man enlightened by grace and regenerate in Christ sees in the whole of the Creation nothing but the hand of God, whilst the pagan and the wordly see only a series of superficial distractions, a shiny surface of diverting images which themselves fascinate, and from which they seek only pleasure and profit. Yet the more they enjoy the more they seek, and the more they seek the more what they enjoy falls short of their desires, so that for them the Creation is a source of ultimate frustration and disquiet, (*ibid.*, pp. 203-204).

The second messenger to *Marie* is *Memoire* who brings with her the Old Testament and its story of man's Fall and incapacity to please God,

balanced, nevertheless, by God's continued love for men and his promise of redemption announced through the prophets. *Memoire* summarizes her message:

Icy voyez Adam par son peché
 Du paradis terrestre dechassé,
 Sa femme aussi hors de toute liesse.
 Mais la bonté, qui ne se peult nyer,
 Du tout ne veult les excommunier;
 Mais leur donna de leur salut promesse
 Par ta semence, ô Vierge bien heureuse,
 Par qui seroit la teste dangereuse
 Du serpent vieux et rompue et brisée
 (*Marguerites*, II, p. 207)

Again the mirror of the Old Testament reveals realities through reflections only to those who have faith, and only one possessed of the Spirit can read the stories aright as figures of the promised Messiah (*ibid.* pp. 208-209). Familiar patterns of values here are once more emerging.

Marie's final messenger is *Consolation* who brings the Book of the New Covenant, the news of redemption through the blood of the Lamb, slain from before all time, and of grace:

Voy ce Livre ouvert,
 Qui tant feut couvert,
 Et par sept fermans
 Sy tresfort seelé
 Qu'il estoit celé
 A tous vrays amans.
 Mais l'occis Agneau,
 Adam le nouveau,
 Par son doux effort
 En fait l'ouverture.
 Or y prens pasture
 Pour ton reconfort.
 O Vierge, c'est le doux Livre de grace,
 Que Dieu par moy rend ouvert en tes mains;
 Tu ne seras jamais d'y lire lasse.
 (*ibid.*, pp. 213-214)

Here at last is the clearest of mirrors presenting realities without mediation of reflection. What before was seen through a glass darkly is now revealed in its totality. What could a man wish for more 'de tout le bien qui se peult desirer,/ Quand il ha Christ pour son vray heritage'? (Marguerites, II, p. 215). Again finding himself in Christ sinful man is renewed and restored. He is called to follow Mary's example, to imitate her faith and open himself like her to God's grace, so that he too may become a bearer of Christ in his soul.

Qui croit comme moy
Par tresvive Foy,
Here est du Sauveur;
En son coeur l'engendre,...
Foy fait recevoir,
Prendre et concevoir
Oyant Dieu parler.
Son enfant trescher
Son verbe fait Chair,
Qu'il ne fault celer.
(*ibid.*, II, p. 221).

In the Comédie du Desert then we have another example of a use of the tri-partite structure of Nature, Law and Grace that is both historical and a-historical in character. All three mirrors are presented to *Marie* and as the one full of grace and faith she is able to look into each profitably to see true images of true realities. Yet Mary of all human beings is the person who stands at the point of intersection between time and eternity, the place indeed where eternity binds itself within time in the person of her Son, and time by the same token is bound within the eternity of God. She stands in the privileged position (but in this she opens the way for all men of faith) of inaugurating a new age whilst being able to make use of what

God has given in history before her. If she is able to see in the mirror of the Law and the prophets this is only because of God's measured and progressive revelation in and through history, and if she is able to see in the mirror of Nature it is only because she receives grace to bear in time the one who takes away the sin of Adam, by which this mirror had been marred for those in centuries before her.

At this point it must be acknowledged that there appear occasionally in the works of the Queen, and mainly the later ones, characters who at first sight seem exempt from the normal constraints of their state.

The third book of Les Prisons contains a celebrated passage which seems to suggest that certain pagans were able to come to a knowledge of profound truths about God through the contemplation of nature and philosophy. Whilst as we have seen this was a common idea, and even part of orthodox, Catholic teaching on the nature of man and the creation, it is not at first sight wholly consistent with Marguerite's attitude to fallen man outlined so far. Thus to Hermes Trismegistus was revealed the idea of the Holy Trinity; Job, the oriental prince and archetype of the righteous sufferer, came to a knowledge of the truth of the resurrection; Socrates and Plato were initiated into the secrets of the immortality of the soul, (pp. 158-160).

Though Marguerite may seem to be contradicting here the description of man's paralysed condition before the coming of Christ that prevails elsewhere, closer examination reveals that these privileged insights are not accorded to those who receive them through their natural

state, or as a result of the powers of reason or virtue, but rather by a direct outpouring of inspiration from God himself. Indeed by this means they transcend and momentarily escape the normal constraints of their condition. Thus it is affirmed universally of such people: 'Que chair et sang ne les ont pas appris,/ Mais ung Esprit seul parle en leurs [escriptz]' (Les Prisons, III, ll. 715-716), and of Trismegistus in particular it is said:

...il avoit congnoissance naïfve
 Par cest Esprit - qui tout homme illumine
 Venant au monde, et qui çà bas chemine -
 De Cil qui est, duquel l'election
 L'avoit tiré à la perfection
 De ce sçavoir qui n'est par l'homme aquis,
 Et qui seul est à l'homme bien requis.
 (Les Prisons, III, ll. 682-688).

Marguerite is here dealing with the problem that confronts her of accounting for the evident wisdom and virtue of certain men who lived before the Age of Grace and the revelation of the New Covenant, given the premise that fallen man is incapable of attaining either of these things by his own unaided powers. What the Queen here envisages is a kind of pre-emptive outpouring of divine grace upon certain privileged individuals, by which they attain insights they could not otherwise have. These insights will later be revealed to humankind as a whole, their epiphany having been to a certain extent prepared by these inspired philosophical and metaphysical writings.

These ancients are like the three kings who come to adore Christ in the Comédie de l'adoration des trois roys à Jesus Christ. Each of the three is prepared throughout his life to expect the coming of a

Messiah by an experience of the partial nature of human life and achievement. Thus the first of the kings, after a period of worldly living, comes to realize the fleeting nature of earthly pleasures, and schooled now by *Philosophie* is taught to search first for a knowledge of his own nature and that of all created things, before being led to the study of the Old Testament prophecies in which lies the promise of an answer to his search (*Marguerites*, II, pp. 73-77). The second Job-like king is schooled by *Tribulation* in the hard lesson of suffering, to which he must learn to accept that there is some ultimate purpose in the divine will (*ibid.*, pp. 77-81). The third king, we might feel, is more fortunate in the instruction he receives from *Inspiration*. He is shown that God is his Creator and his Father, and in the Scriptures learns that despite his sinfulness he must remain in hopeful expectation of God's mercy, (*ibid.*, pp. 81-85). Each of the kings is brought by different means to an expectation of deliverance to come, but the nature and circumstances of this cannot be revealed by the messengers mentioned so far, and is reserved for *Intelligence divine*, before whom the other three depart. The kings see the star rising in the East that announces Christ's birth, but none of the figures who has acted thus far as their mentors is able to explain to them its significance (*ibid.*, pp. 85-89). *Intelligence divine*, however, reveals to them the full sense of the Scriptures and the preparation they have each undergone in order to be brought to the vision of the expected Messiah, (*ibid.*, pp. 95-100).

What the play makes clear is that not only is *Intelligence divine* a messenger sent from God with a privileged epiphany, but so too are

the other three figures *Philosophie*, *Tribulation* and *Inspiration*, who were also sent to the kings by God. The inference is unavoidable that human knowledge and virtue may be attained by some before the Age of Grace and the Incarnation of the Saviour, but only in part, and to the extent that God himself gives these things. Virtue and wisdom are not within man's power in his fallen state, but God may choose within the over-all framework of history (providence) to bestow them on certain individuals as a kind of first-fruits of what is to come in time to all.

We shall see in the second part of this chapter that whilst Marguerite admitted in the Dialogue that a faithless pagan might perform works that in strictly human terms might be considered virtuous, she denied to these works any justifying character. She does not repudiate this position in her later works, but she does perhaps envisage a greater flexibility in the working of the ages of salvation than she was prepared to admit in the earlier work. Whilst the fate of the virtuous pagan is passed over in silence in the Dialogue, where it is stated simply that were such a one to be baptized his good works would then become acceptable to God, the ultimate end of Socrates in Les Prisons seems rather more optimistic. Though Marguerite falls a long way short of Erasmus's celebrated 'Sancte Socrates, ora pro nobis'' the accumulation of Christian imagery to describe Socrates's death is very powerful. The successive references to his belief in the immortality of the soul and hope of eternal life, his despising of earthly things and welcoming of death as a wedding feast, leave us

wondering (as obviously Marguerite did) whether such a one could possibly be destined for the fires of hell!

Ceste lumiere a Socrates receue
 Quand doucement accepta la seguë,
 Croyant si bien que l'ame est immortelle
 Que pour avoir ceste vie eternelle
 La mort receut comme en alant aux nopces,
 En oubliant les mondaines negoces;
 Disant le corps, lequel devoit perir,
 N'estre [pas] luy, qui ne pavoit mourir,
 Mais qu'il estoit celeste, auquel la mort
 Ne peult toucher, ne luy faire aucun tort.
 (Les Prisons, III, ll. 699-708).

Socrates seems to stand rather with those patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament who also did not know the revelation of Christ, but knowing themselves not justified before God by their own efforts, looked forward in expectation to God's promised salvation of his people. Of these *Intelligence divine* had instructed the kings as they made their way towards the Christ-child. Abraham provides just one example:

Abraham sans sejour
 A creu et veu ce jour,
 Et luy feut reputé
 Du Seigneur à Justice:
 (Marguerites, II, p. 97).

It is after all the Magi who represent the extension to the Gentiles of the promise of redemption, and the Gentiles are perhaps to the Jews what the pagans are to Christians. So certain pagans too may perhaps benefit from a pre-emptive outpouring of grace. Grace comes through the Holy Spirit, and it is the Holy Spirit who has initiated them into secrets hidden from the ordinary run of men. The Spirit has freed them from the normal constraints of their fallen condition and allowed

their minds to soar, since as the final couplet of Les Prisons affirms, '...où l'Esprit est divin et vehement,/ La liberté y est parfaictement'.

The dual nature of this traditional tri-partite structure, fundamental to many of Marguerite's works, is important, for it compels a reading both on the individual and universal level. The soul who prays in Marguerite's works is not devoid of an historical context, but is firmly rooted within the story of salvation, God's providence revealed through history. She uses this structure to convey her ideas on the nature of man and his justification that we examined in Chapter 1, and though we have examined it separately here for convenience the two are in reality inseparable since each both springs from and gives rise to the other. The process of justification involves both the individual and the race, both history and meta-history. The individual is always to be found in a time and a place, and time and place focussed in the individual - this is the tension that characterizes Marguerite's devotional works giving them that puzzling quality of absolute personal immediacy confidently anchored in an historical soteriology. The self-God attitude-based ontology of the mystics and of the Protestants is the obvious framework central to much of Marguerite's poetry, seen in the *je* subject who addresses in direct relationship the God who is its Creator and Father. Yet underlying this structure, and even built into it in dynamic dichotomy, there is an historical structure which imposes its own constraints and conditions. The ages of providence are cumulative as well as successive so that the final age subsumes and gathers within itself the preceding ages of Nature

and Law. In the same way the *je* of the Age of Grace is restored to a condition of natural goodness and virtue of living. The justified *je* may associate itself with Adam, as did Bargedé's *Moins que rien*, but this association is a reference to the *je* as it is of itself devoid of grace, and the realization of such an association can come only through the reception of grace. The *je-Adam* in the works of Marguerite de Navarre is essentially a potential creature, a revelation vouchsafed to one who lives in the Age of Grace and renewal. But within time man remains fallen, and his sinfulness remains a reality, and therefore the association of the *je* with *Adam* can never wholly be shaken off and retains a powerful validity. The identification with Christ, though inaugurated by the Age of Grace, is also in time a future possibility as much as a present reality. It remains in this life something glimpsed, initiated but never wholly realized. The mirror-text and the Mirror-Christ reflect the future as well as the past and the present, and supremely they reflect past and future as they are summed up and coalesce in the present individual. Reflected in the Image of Christ, man can see himself both as he was and as he will be, and both these states potentially he *is*. But as he puts on the new man Christ, he will see the old Adam renewed; through the Mirror-Christ reflected in the mirror-poem the individual steps not merely into the future, but ultimately out of time into the absolute present of eternity, where the reflection is restored to its Image.

The *oeuvre* that opened with a Miroir de l'ame pecheresse closes with a Mirouer du Chrestien. In this the last of the Queen's works we see the fulfilment of a pilgrimage: a journey of the individual towards

Christ which nears its goal. A journey to which all Christians are called, a journey mirrored in poetry:

Vray mirouer, je sens mutation,
 Voyant ta grand reverberation:
 Car ta clarté que tuournes vers moy,
 En toy me change, et me transforme en toy.
 Qui tout à toy sans rien perdre retourne:
 A toy me tire, et tout vers toy me tourne,
 Comme vapeur que le soleil attire:
 Me tire à toy, qui dedans toy me mire,
 Et ton amour va mon cueur attirant,
 Que tu transmue en toy en se mirant:
 Car seulement te regardant se pert:
 Mais se perdant en luy, en toy appert...
 O vieil Adam si convient que tu souffre
 D'estre abismé en c'est amoureux gouffre.
 D'estre perdu en ceste profondeur,
 O doux Jesus, sois icy mon aideur:
 Car je ne puis faire le bien que veux:
 Faictz que soions un seul et non plus deux.
 Un cors, un cueur, une ame et un esprit:
 Tant que du tout, je soye Jesuchrist.
 De toy vestu, rempli, environné,
 En croix cloué, et si bien atourné,
 Que je ne sente et dedans et dehors,
 Fors de toy seul, Jesus, le divin corps.
 (Mirouer, fol. 30 ro-vo; 31 ro).

II The Personal and the Institutional: The Self in the Church.

Unlike Bouchet, Marguerite does not adopt for her poetry an overtly ecclesiastical framework. Consequently, in examining her attitude to institutional and liturgical structures, it will be necessary to follow the course of assessing when and how these structures break into the self-God ontological framework which as we have seen is fundamental to most of her writing. The primary structure underlying the Queen's works is not ecclesiastical and they do not therefore present the reader with a cogent institutional framework as do the Triumphes, nor is a system as easily discernible in them as it is in the works of other Catholic, prose writers such as Doré or D'Espence.

The point of initiation of most of Marguerite's works is personal - a prayer, a meditation, a dialogue; even the *comédies* operate by bringing into relationship a series of individuals. The structures of Church and sacraments impinge upon the works of Marguerite as upon the life of an individual, they form not the context within which all else is consciously set, but they form part of the framework which is the life of the individual person. In a sense, Marguerite's poetry is *realistic* in that it begins with the person and represents environmental influences as experienced by the person. Bouchet's allegory is supremely *idealistic*, both in the sense of representing an ideal, and of beginning with an idea - it is moreover contemporary society's falling short of this ideological ideal that provokes Bouchet to write.

Accordingly in the poetry of Marguerite we will seek to assess the role played by the Church in the life of the individual, when and how it impinges upon him, and in what terms he conceives of his place within it and its ministrations to him.

Here more than anywhere it must be appreciated that the first half of the sixteenth century represents a time of flux with regard to the expression of theological ideas. Attitudes to the Church, the saints and the sacraments range over a field of seemingly unlimited variety, and a single author may not always adopt positions on related issues that seem consistent to the modern reader. Here above all, the terms Catholic, Protestant, evangelical or Erasmanian can be applied to many vernacular writers only to designate the general trend of their thought or sympathies. It is not possible here to attempt a comprehensive study of vernacular writers and their attitude to the Church, but only to pick out of the gamut of contemporary ideas and opinions certain key attitudes that may serve as marker points from which comparisons may be drawn.

1) The Church: The Body of Christ.

For Catholic writers like Bouchet, Doré and D'Espence the primary structure for their devotional writings is evidently the Church: the Church is man's relationship with Christ, and without it there is no means of contact between men and God. Their works comprise

commentaries upon biblical texts written in the third person, or dialogues in which characters cross-examine each other in order to arrive at an understanding of true Catholic doctrine. This is not true of a work like Doré's Miroir du Pénitent however, where the initial situation of the work is that of the individual sinner standing before God. This work adopts a framework similar to that of many of Marguerite's works, though traditional sacramental structures remain the context within which the relationship between the individual and God is played out.

A writer like François Habert is in many respects an evangelical, who shares many of the concerns of Erasmus for practical reforms, and many of whose works are similar in tone to those of Marguerite. Habert is always careful, however, to stress his obedience to the Church and respect for it. It is for him the ultimate arbiter of truth, the guardian of the mysteries of Christ and of his gospel; its judgements in matters of doctrine may only be contested at the risk of separation from God:

Puis par escrit son hystoire fut mise
 Pour confirmer la catholique Eglise
 De Jésuchrist, qui en ferme union
 Depuis n'a point changé d'opinion.
 Mais assurée avec une foy ferme
 Dedans son cueur Jésuchrist elle enferme,
 En rejectant hérétiques pervers
 Dont Temples faux de Satan sont couvers.
 Car ceste Eglise a erreurs non subjecte
 Hors d'union hérétiques réjecte,
 Qui ennemis du livre précieux
 Du Rédempteur, ont le cueur vicieux.¹²

In another work, L'institution de Liberalite chrestienne, Habert repeats his warnings against heresy and apostasy, now stating specifically that it is the Holy Spirit, infused into the Church from above, who acts as guarantor of its infallibility. He uses the metaphor of the Church as a body whose head is Christ to describe the congregation and communion of the faithful:

Je croy aussi la Catholique Eglise,
Qui est des saints la congregation,
Pour assembler fideles a sa guise,
Et les Esleus, ausquelz elle est promise,
Et de laquelle estant en un corps mise
Christ est le chef, sans separation.

Je croy quelle est du saint Esprit conduite,
Et qu'ignorance en icelle est destruite,
N'ayant pouvoir aucunement d'errer,
Suyvant les loix, en quoy Dieu la instruite,
Sans varier, sans qu'elle soit seduite,
Ne par Satan abusee et induite
A s'en dormir, pour tousjours ignorer...

Et mesprisants ceste communion
De sainte Eglise, en fidele union,
En la troublant par une autre doctrine,
Nous sommes hors de son election,
Et loing de Christ, par faulse opinion,
Et de l'Eglise avons possession
Ou gist Satan, qui les siens endoctrine.¹³

When we turn to the writers who display more Protestant sympathies we find that they do not reject the idea of the Church, but rather that they modify the concept of it in line with their own theological outlook.

Firstly, there are evangelical writers who produce works which promote the ideal of non-schismatic reform; such a work is the Almanach

spirituel et perpetuel, necessaire a tout homme sensuel et temporel, printed by Simon Du Bois sometime around or after 1529. The Almanach stresses the doctrine of Christ as sole mediator between God and man, it warns its readers to beware false human and fabulous doctrines, yet at the same time it urges the performing of good works, and teaches that faith must be shown through charity - provided that these do not lead to the temptation of self-glorification. On the question of fasting it stresses the freedom enjoyed by the Christian from the Law, and thus the right of the individual to choose if and when he will fast or not. Those who do fast are warned against Pharisaism and the temptation to scorn their brothers who do not do so, whilst these latter are warned against greed and the temptation to regard the legitimate devotion of their fellow Christians as superstition. The work opens with a statement of the necessity of obedience to the Church, and of the dangers to which those who wilfully oppose it expose themselves; against such as these injunctions from the Scriptures are cited.

Tous les jours il faict bon croire, apprendre, faire ou laisser ce que dieu nous enseigne, commande, ou prohibe. [Psal. lxxxviii] Obeyr a sainte eglise: car la verite de dieu est en leglise des saintz, dit le Psal. [i Cori xii] Pourtant arguoit saint Paul ceulx qui estoient desobeissans a icelle, disant: Vous desprisez leglise de dieu, [i Tim iii] Avec laquelle tous bons Chrestiens doibvent converser: comme il dit, [Act xii] Car elle prie pour tous sans cesse: et dicelle la priere est acceptable a dieu. [Matth xviii] Pourtant qui ne voudra ouyr leglise de dieu, soit repute pour payen et publicain. ¹⁴

Though there is no specific mention of the roles of the saints or the sacraments in the work, it is perhaps legitimate to assume that what is not attacked in a reformist work might be allowed to stand - and this is especially true of a work like this, which situates itself from

the outset within the believing and worshipping community of the Church. What the Almanach illustrates above all is a desire that was shared by many to promote the internal renewal both of Christian devotion and living in the individual, and of the structures of the institutional Church as a whole.

The desire for reform is also found in many Catholic writers, and here again Bouchet provides perhaps the best example. In the Deploration de leglise militante of 1512 the Church has much to feed her lament as she rehearses a catalogue of contemporary abuses that includes simony, the holding of benefices unworthily and in plurality, and the avaricious and unscrupulous behaviour of the clergy.¹⁵ The reforms desired by Bouchet, however, are purely practical, he desires the enforcement of existing discipline which will lead to the inauguration of the Catholic ideal, a position that becomes yet more evident in his later works. His 1526 edition of the Opuscules du traverseur contains much criticism of the worldliness of the papal court and of the preoccupation of its initiates with temporal power, but it is published with a revised edition of the Deploration in which the chief lament of the Church is now against heresy rather than simony.

Qui me diroit pourquoy tant je me plaings
 Et qui me meult de faire si grans plaincts:
 Ce nest a tort, la cause est bien patente
 Si on me dit, que par mons et par plains
 Les prebstres sont tresopulens, et plains,
 Il est tout vray, pourtant ne suis contente,
 Car soubz ces biens ya faulte latente
 Qui quelque jour me fera deperir
 Cest heresie, ou lon veoit interir
 Tout mon honneur en douleur angoisseuse,
 Je ne puis plus ses abuz preterir
 Il les fault dire, et deusse ay je mourir,
 Trop fait de maux soubz couverture umbreuse. ¹⁶

The passage reproduces almost exactly the opening of the 1512 edition, except that heresy has been substituted for simony, and the most pressing of Holy Church's causes for sadness has changed. This change necessitates a semantic shift in the passage on the word *biens*, which in the 1512 edition signifies a purely material and negative quality (that is one of the Church's causes of lament), but which in the later edition has become a quality of positive moral value (it now seems right that the Church should be wealthy), undermined by the threat of doctrinal discord. The catalogue of abuses is again rehearsed and there appear still such headings as 'de la dissolution et faulte evidente dancuns prelatz et aultres gens deglise' (fol. K vii ro), but the whole is directed firmly towards the establishment of a Catholic ideal.

The same abuses are criticized by Protestant writers but they are regarded as endemic to the Roman Church as a whole. The Pope and his prelates are abusive because they are themselves abuses: human accretions and corruptions that have distorted the true nature of the Church and hindered its preaching of the gospel. A collection of Chansons spirituelles printed in Geneva in 1555 contains many songs that typify this attitude. Priests are characterized as beasts and servants of the Antichrist:

Ce sont cruelles bestes,
Et lions rugissans:
Faisans journellement
Des ames marchandise,

Pour nourrir grassement,
Leur train de paillardise.

True Christians must abandon their deceptions,

Et toute la doctrine,
Que l'Antechrist Romain,
Vomit de sa poitrine. '7

Other songs are directed specifically against the Catholic theologians
of the universities,

Qui se sont mis au rang des ignorans,
Et assis sur leur chaire pestilente,
Pour impugner la verité patente...

Les mescreyans sont pires que les chiens,
Et leur chemin perira en la fin:
Et leurs docteurs iront tous à declin,
Et seront mis à mort par la parole
De Jesus Christ, qui le croyant console.
(Recueil de chansons spirituelles, I, pp. 43 and 45).

These songs are polemical in nature, and aimed at abolishing rather
than reforming abuses.

Though Marguerite de Navarre did not write very much poetry of this
type there are one or two of her own Chansons spirituelles that
appear to be very close to it. *Chanson* 16, for example, has been
interpreted as comparing the Church of Rome to an attacking dog:

Maudit soit le cruel chien,
Qui abbaye, abbaye, abbaye,
Et si n'ha povoir de rien.

Son passe-temps et sa joye
C'est de nous venir tenter,

Et qui de Dieu se fourvoye
 Par désespoir tourmenter,
 S'il le tient en son lien;
 Maudit soit le cruel chien.

S'il voit que suyvens la voye
 Où la Foy nous meine droit,
 Afin que mieux y pourvoye
 Sa robbe tourne à l'endroit,
 Et se monstre homme de bien;
 Maudit soit le cruel chien.

Il parle doux comme soye
 Pour oster de nostre esprit
 La Croix, la seure montjoye,
 Qui nous meine à Jésus Christ,
 Car il craint que l'on soit sien.
 Maudit soit le cruel chien.
 (Chansons spirituelles, pp. 47-48).

It is difficult to be precise, however, as to whom exactly the poem may be directed against, and it is perhaps rash to assume it refers necessarily to the Church of Rome as a whole, rather than any one particular section of it. 'Robbe' (1.13) could refer equally to the cassock or to academic dress, in which case the target of the poem's criticisms might be the Doctors of the Sorbonne, whom Marguerite satirizes elsewhere. It is impossible to date the song, though Dottin suggests it may well be one of the earlier ones (Chansons spirituelles, p. viii). If it were to date from the early 1530's it might well represent an angry reaction on the part of the Queen against the Faculty of Theology, with which she clashed at this time and whose members she regarded as both malicious and theologically reactionary. The question of undermining trust in the cross of Christ and encouraging a vain trust in one's own good works is precisely the same criticism as she makes of the bad Doctors in Les Prisons (pp. 178-179). Her satire on both occasions is directed against those who

hinder the spread of the gospel through their self-interested theologies and thinly veiled hypocrisy. This is the thrust also of the ironic pun on the word 'abbaye' in the second line of the poem.

Chanson 15 is also likely to date from around the same time. It is a song written to encourage those who preach the gospel to stand firm in the face of persecution,

Resveille toy, Seigneur Dieu,
Fais ton effort
De venger en chacun lieu
Des tiens la Mort.

Tu veux que ton Evangile
Soit preschée par les tiens
En Chasteau, Bourgade et Ville,
Sans que l'on en cèle riens:

Donne donc à tes servans
Coeur ferme et fort;
Et que d'amour tous fervents
Ayment la Mort.
(Chansons spirituelles, p. 44).

The poem again seems to represent a reaction to a particular outbreak of persecution, perhaps that which followed in the wake of the *affaire des placards* in 1534, though there is in fact no real evidence to prove conclusively that the poem dates from this period rather than an earlier or a later one. What is clear, however, is that both of these poems are ultimately less statements about the nature of the Church, than reactions to it as it acts in particular instances.

It is this concentration upon particular instances of abuse that also pervades the following description of the narrator's first encounter with the Church in the second book of Les Prisons:

Eglises viz, belles, riches, antiques,
 Clochers, porteaulx, triumpans, autantiques.
 Entrant dedans, je y viz divers ouvraiges,
 Tables d'autelz, monstrant n'estre pas chiches
 Ceulx qui les ont donnez si beaulx et riches,
 Et qui plus est, grandes fondations,
 Sans espergner terres, possessions,
 Tant qu'il sembloit que de ces fundateurs
 Tous les prians fussent les redempteurs,
 En rachaptant leurs pechez par prieres.
 Dont j'en ouy de diverses manieres:
 L'on en disoit les unes en chantant,
 Les autres bas, seulement en contant.
 Je prins plaisir d'ouyr ces chantz nouveaulx,
 De veoir ardantz et cierges et flambeaux,
 D'ouyr le son des cloches hault sonnantes
 Et par leur bruyt aureilles estonnantes.
 « C'est Paradis icy, ce dis je alors,
 Si le dedans est pareil au dehors:
 Rien je n'y ouy que chantz melodieux,
 Orgues sonnant pour resjouyr les dieux;
 Je n'y entendz sinon parolles [sainctes],
 Prebsters devotz, predications mainctes
 Pour consoller tous les devotz espritz,
 Et ramener à bon port les [periz]. »
 Les sacrementz je y viz administrer,
 Et les petis en evesques mistrer,
 Brief, je viz tout ce que font les prelatz
 Officiant, dont souvent ilz sont las.
 En les voyant, je y prins devotion,
 Car par avant jamais affection
 N'y avoys eu...
 (Les Prisons, II, ll. 193-225).

This picture of the Church, we know, is an ideal one. We are put on our guard by the fact that it occurs in the context of the narrator's gradual seduction by *Avarice*, and so we are not unprepared for what follows:

Parquoy bien tost dedans ma fantasie
 Se vint loger Madame Hypocrisie,

Me remonstrant que j'aquerroys honneur
 Si à l'Eglise estoys devot donneur.
 Et la croyant, pensay d'edifier
 Temples et chantz, où me vouloys fier,
 Pour delaisser aux pierres ma memoyre,
 Et aquerir par les pierres la gloire
 De vray salut, estimant par telz chantz,
 Povoir purger mes pechez trop meschantz,
 Voire et d'avoir permission d'en faire,
 Puy que j'avois de quoy les satisfaire.
 (Les Prisons, II, ll. 231-242).

From an over concentration on outward form the pilgrim-narrator is led to the acceptance of a religious discipline that consists solely in outward observance, and which relieves him of the obligation to attempt any interior, moral or spiritual reform. The 'dedans' here is not 'pareil au dehors' and no amount of outward show and splendour can make it so. The juxtaposition of these two passages is problematical, and poses a complex series of questions. The dubious motives of the narrator for giving generously to the Church (*aquerir honneur; aquerir la gloire de vray salut*) call into question and to a certain extent undermine the initial picture of the devout donors in the first passage. This would suggest that ecclesiastical corruption is all-pervading, and under the surface appearance of devotion lies a latent avarice as ubiquitously insinuating as Bouchet's *Symonie*. But neither must it be overlooked that the donors themselves do not explain their motives to us, and that it is the pilgrim-narrator (already drawn himself by *Avarice*) whose account seems to suggest their motives must have been self-interested (the gaining of the prayers of the faithful for their souls). The ideal obviously stands as an ideal, but one that

brings with it temptations of avarice and hypocrisy that, unless resisted, will prevent the ideal becoming reality.

When it comes to formulating definitions of the Church, evangelical and even Protestant writers do not always differ so radically from established Catholic models. Images of the body with its head and members, or of a reciprocal sharing of benefits are the most commonly used. The Catholic, Petit, commenting on the article of the Creed 'Credo sanctam ecclesiam catholicam', writes:

Je croy la congregation de tous les fideles en une foy, dont le chef est nostre seigneur Jesuchrist: et les bons chrestiens sont les membres conjointz ensemble par amour, et dilection, et uniz avec nostre dict chef Jesus, par la foy formee de charité. ¹⁸

The related notion of a community of benefits is found in the Livre de vraye et parfaicte oraison, a reformist work which, though examined by the Faculty of Theology, was never censured despite the fact that large sections of it are adapted from Luther's Bethbüchlein (1522), and works by Melanchthon. The following description of the Church is contained within the exposition of the Creed.

Je croy vrayement que il y a communité chrestienne en toutes choses spirituelles: parquoy je scay et suis tout certain, que toutes bonnes oeuvres, prieres, veilles, abstinences, aumosnes, et tous aultres biensfaictz dicelle communité des saintz chrestiens me viennent en ayde et secours et a ung chascun fidele chrestien... Je croy que en ceste mesme communité, il y a pardon de tous pechez, et que hors icelle nul ne peult avoir remission de ses pechez:... Et croy aussi, que ton benoist filz Jesuchrist a baille les clefz du royaume des cieulx et de la remission des pechez, comme il dit en levangile a ses apostres. ¹⁹

It is even hinted here that the Church possesses powers of administering the benefits gained by Christ for it, symbolized in the power of the keys entrusted to the Apostles.

Another work, the Alphabet, ou Instruction Chrestienne, pour les petis Enfans, is also of a generally Lutheran tone,²⁰ but again in the final section entitled 'demandes et responce, qui comprennent ce qui est necessaire de savoir au commun populaire, touchant les principaux poinctz de la religion Chrestienne' the writer replies in the following way when questioned as to what he means when he applies the adjective *catholic* to the Church:

autant comme si je disois universelle, car cest tout un, catholique et universelle. Ainsi ceste Eglise s'appelle Catholique, cest à dire, quelle nest point bornée ne referrée en certains lieux, ne à certaines personnes, Mais en tous pais et regions ou l'E[vl]angile se annonce, ou les sacremens institués par Jesus Christ se administrent, ou le nom de Dieu est invoqué purement, là est Leglise. (fol. M 2 vo).

With regard to the communion of saints the following explanation is given, and the image of the body with members once more employed:

Et comme il n'ont qu'une foy, une loy, et un baptesme, aussi doivent ilz estre unis ensemble par charité pour sentir une mesme chose, et pour se secourir, et communiquer leurs biens les uns aux autres en la necessité, comme Dieu commande, et comme les membres de leurs corps leur enseignent. (fol. M 3 ro).

On the surface there appears to be little difference here from traditional definitions of the Church and the Communion of Saints. We must note two things however. Firstly, with regard to the sacraments celebrated by the Church, the writer is careful to specify the administration of those 'institués par Jesus Christ'. This may well

reflect the Reformers' distinction, articulated especially by Calvin, between the two sacraments authentically instituted by Christ, that is baptism and the Eucharist, and the other five, which being at best purely human institutions and at worst pernicious inventions, ought not to be considered as sacraments at all. The second passage moreover, whilst describing the saints as members of a single body, gives no indication as to whether this body includes those who have already died - the Saints and the souls of the faithful - or merely the saints on earth below. Again Calvin would accept that intercession might be made by all the saints (ie. members of the Church) for each other on earth, but deny that this power extends beyond the grave. The practice of seeking the intercession of the dead has for him no grounding in the Scriptures.²¹

It becomes obvious that a conception of the nature of the Church is closely bound up with the nature of the role of the saints and the sacraments.

Marguerite too uses the image of the body with its head and members to describe the Church, but she does so with specific reference to the saints in heaven and their role of intercession. In the Dialogue the *Royne de Navarre* asks her *niece*, 'Apprenez moy comme prier je doib/ Nostre Dame, anges ou saintz en gloire' (ll. 728-729). *Charlotte* stresses briefly in reply that God must be adored above all 'Tout Seul et souverainement' (l. 735). But *Charlotte* is allowed to speak for only two stanzas before *la royne* interjects:

N'oseroy je avoir affection
 A mes amy, veu que tant il commande
 Que l'ung à l'autre ayons dilection? (ll. 736-738).

The question of the role of the saints, and of an individual's relationship to them is being set within the wider context of the relation of one individual Christian in the Church to another. The saints at the most basic level are Christians, members of the body of Christ with their fellows. Within this body all are *amy*, all serve the same Master. In this way the saints are very close to us, and it is in these terms that *Charlotte* explains our relationship to them:

L'âme de madame Charlotte.

Je respondray donc à vostre demande.
 Si vous aymez bien vostre créateur,
 Vous aimez tous ceulx qui sont de sa bende.

Aymer debvez en luy de trèsbon cueur
 Tous vos amy, dieu en eulx regardant.
 Ilz sont chrestiens, il est leur salvateur...

On en ayme trop plus ses amy, pour
 L'amour de luy qui en est le seul chef,
 Et eulx membres de luy tout à l'entour.
 (*Dialogue*, ll. 739-744, 763-765).

Here Marguerite uses the image of the body with Christ its head to try and establish the right nature of the relationship between its different members. The head is the principle of unity to which all are subject, and the various members relate to one another through it. It is legitimate then for all the saints, both those in heaven and those on earth, to love one another in Christ, and this unity, far from being ended at death, is on the contrary strengthened by it. In *Le*

Triomphe de l'Agneau, moreover, the inauguration of God's reign and the coming of his Kingdom are seen to depend in a certain sense upon the bringing to completion of Christ's body. The poem opens with the summons:

Tous les Eslus et Souldars du Vainqueur,
 Tous vrays servants, qui n'avez en vain cœur
 Aux durs assaults de la cruelle guerre
 Que fait Sathan contre CHRIST sur la terre;
 Tous les Signez et Bourgeois de Zion,
 Vrays heritiers, enfans d'adoption,
 Assemblez vous pour chanter la victoire
 Du seul Agneau, tout revestu de gloire.
 Assistez luy dedens son capitole,
 Tous bien ornez de la celeste estolle.
 Sans vous ne peult se parfaire la feste:
 Le membre doit aller où est la teste.
 (Marguerites, III, p. 1)

The Church militant and the Church triumphant are not divided for Marguerite, but one marches confidently forward to become the other. Let us now look in more detail at how the roles of the saints and the sacraments figure in the works of devotion of the first half of the sixteenth century and in Marguerite's works in particular.

ii) The Saints.

It is wrong to think that all Reformed theology was as widely sweeping in its strictures against the intercessory role of the saints as was Calvin's. We can draw once more an example from the Livre de vraye et parfaicte oraison, this time from the exposition of the Ave

Maria, where a long eulogy is developed on the Blessed Virgin, of whom it is affirmed, 'te honnorer et dignement louer tressaincte vierge Marie mere de Dieu, est office si hault et si excellent, quil excede toute capacite humaine, et angelique....Il nen y a eu encore que ung seul cest ton filz nostre seigneur Jesuchrist, qui te ayt assez dignement honore et loue' (fol. xlv ro-vo). At the same time it is stressed that Mary receives grace from Christ, and so points beyond herself to him:

Tout ainsi donc que tu ne te arrestes a toy mesmes, ny a tes louenges, mais incessamment par les graces qui sont en toy: viens a congnoistre icelle source et fontaine dont elles procedent... Aussi pareillement tu ne veulx que en te contemplant nous nous arrestions finalement en toy, combien que soyes la plus excellente creature que jamais dieu crea... ains veulx que elevions nostre entendement plus hault que a toy, et venions jusques a dieu le createur, en le louant, et remerciant de toutes les graces quil a mys en toy', (fols. xlvi vo-xlvii ro).

The final section of the exposition, commenting on the phrase 'Sancta Maria, mater dei ora pro nobis peccatoribus' contains a defence of prayer to the angels and saints, which again introduces the image of the body, as a vindication of the power of saintly intercession:

Nostre seigneur Jesuchrist est nostre chef et nostre advocat, qui prie pour nous: et toy qui es membre tresdigne, apres luy, pries avec luy pour tous nous aultres qui sommes membres diceluy et jointz avec toy en luy. Toute leglise icy en bas constituee elieve ses yeulx a toy, et a la montaigne celeste, qui est leglise triumpante, pour avoir ayde de dieu, par le moyen dicelle: a ceste cause toute icelle triumpante eglise confessera et par oeuvre monstrera que cest verite en ceste eglise sainte catholique, de dire que toy vierge mere et toute icelle triumpante, par ses prieres et par la grace et vertu que dieu luy communique puisse ayder et subvenir a la militante. (fols. li vo-lii ro).

To which aspects of contemporary Catholic hagiology then did the Reformers object?

The role of the saints in much contemporary and late medieval devotional literature was not limited to intercession, but they were seen also as dispensers of graces and advocates with God. Gerson describes the first of these roles in his Mendicité spirituelle: the saints are called by God to share in his dispensing of grace, though Gerson is careful to limit the role of the saints to a cooperation in the work of God, so that ultimately they can neither give nor withhold but as God wills it:

Encores dy je que j'ay le merel et le signe du souverain roy pour recevoir vostre aumosne, o bien eueux sains et sainttes. Qui est ce merel et ce signe? Je respon que vous le cognoissez bien; vous saves que sanz l'especial esmouement de Dieu je ne pourroye ne saroye venir a vous pour vostre aumosne requerir. Puis doncques que je y viens, n'ay je pas le merel et le signe que vous me devez oir, donner et secourir? Dieu m'envoye a vous certainement, vous qui aves ses aumosnes; ne faictes mie tant que je retourne a luy et me plaigne de vostre escondit. (Oeuvres complètes, VII, pp. 253-254).

To those who would object that the good offices of the saints are superfluous since the petitioner for grace knows he cannot but be heard, Gerson replies that he has been talking foolishly and a generous God has generous servants whom he chooses thus to honour, and wishes all men to do the same: 'le plaisir de Dieu est tel qu'il veult que nous honnorons ses sains en les priant et requerrant, et qu'ilz nous secourrent en leur grace donnant et departant' (ibid., p. 254).

This is quite different in tone to the following passage from a *cantique* by Artus Desiré in which on the one hand imagery of saintly power is being evoked to help assert ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the after life, and conversely vocabulary relating to contemporary

papal claims and practice is being projected onto the saints to reinforce their importance. The poet addresses St. Peter:

Il [Dieul] t'a faict regent
Maistre et Seigneur principal
De toute sa gent
Et mis au siege Papal,
Ou tu as esté
De l'homme pecheur pescheur
Sans varieté
Et catholique prescheur...

Tu est le Portier
Des cielz comme il est escript,
Et le thresorier
De nostre Roy Jesus christ,
Qui t'a faict Recteur
De ses Aigneaux beaux et bons,
Et distributeur
D'indulgences et Pardons.²²

As well as being viewed as dispensers of graces, the saints were often perceived as advocates who would placate the anger of a wrathful Christ. The advocacy exercised before the Father by Christ, who was close to human beings because himself a man, was thus supplemented by an advocacy before Christ of the saints - just in case for a moment Christ should forget his placating role and lose his temper. Such an eventuality seems in fact to be envisaged by many writers, of which the following extract from Jordan's Contemplationes Idiote referring to the Blessed Virgin may serve as an example:

Ipsa preces et sacrificia servorum suorum, et maxime quae sibi exhibentur, repraesentat in conspectu divinae maiestatis: quia est advocata nostra apud filium, sicut filius apud patrem.... et saepe quos iustitia filii potest damnare: matris misericordia liberat. quia thesaurus Domini est et thesauraria gratiarum ipsius.²³

The earlier poet Jean Molinet, who died in 1507, but whose Faictz et dictz were published posthumously in 1531, also reflects such popular

exaggerations of the cult of the saints at this time.²⁴ Though his *Oraison a la vierge marie* begins in restrained enough fashion, addressing the Virgin as 'saige et bien illuninee/ De sapience' and 'lampe de foy' (fol. iii ro), it is not long before she has evolved into the sinner's only hope of salvation:

Car en son [Ste Anne] saint ventree fut en ancree
 Et conceue sans tache originelle
 La tresdoulce florette virginelle
 Qui terre et mer de sa douceur embasme
 Noble emperiere Royne du ciel et dame
 Miroir de paix reconfort de tristesse
 Qui en la fin sauve de corps et dame
 Tout grant pecheur qui vers elle s'adresse.
 (fol. ix ro).

Not all Catholic writers allow themselves to be quite so carried away in their panegyric fervour for the saints, however, and François Le Roy, who represents a moderate though clearly Catholic position on most issues, is careful to warn against the temptation of thinking of the Virgin as more tender and loving towards man than Christ, or more understanding of human weakness. The Virgin is quite rightly called our advocate with Christ, but *the soul* objects:

O raison combien que tes parolles sont veritables, toutesfois jay encores quelque doute et vacillation. Car celluy qui offense le filz, semblablement il irrite la mere et linjure faicte au filz redonde sur la mere. Et au contraire lhonneur et reverence exhibee au filz, est faicte a la mere et le filz ayme sa mere et la mere le filz. Parquoy me semble que nay point de cause motive de madresser plustost a la mere que au filz.²⁵

Reason reassures the *soul* with the answer that both Christ and the Virgin are merciful, and that 'le filz veult recevoir noz prieres et oraisons par le moyen de sa piteuse mere', (fol. b viii ro).

Another aspect of the late medieval cult of the saints much satirized by Reformers and evangelicals alike was the invocation of the prayers of a particular saint in a particular set of circumstances or against a particular malady or disaster. This was and remained a well established element of popular Catholic devotion, that at its worst might lead to the invocation of a saint to be preserved from what was perceived as a divine punishment.

These are the issues that are attacked by an evangelical work like Florimond's Epistre Familiere de prier Dieu as it addresses the thorny issue of intercession as a whole. The work reflects many of the concerns of the evangelicals, for example that prayer should be sincere and from the heart, and made in the everyday vernacular. It stresses the unique character of Christ's advocacy before the Father, through whom all prayer must necessarily be offered, and it criticizes what it sees as superstitious and ill-conceived prayer to the saints. Speaking of the gift of faith Florimond writes:

Et fault que la luy [Dieu] demandons
 Au nom de JESUS Christ son filz,
 Nai pour nous mort et crucifix:
 Qui seul est nostre SALVATEUR
 ADVOCAT, ET MEDIATEUR,
 Envers Dieu son Pere et le nostre:
 Ainsi comme saint Paul L'apostre,
 Et saint Jehan le nous testifient.
 Heureux sont, qui en luy se fient...

Qui recommande ses chevaulx
 A saint Eloy, ou ses pourceaulx
 A saint Antoine, ou la tempeste
 A sainte Barbe, ou pour la peste
 Saint Sebastien prie, ou saint Roch:
 Estant endurcy comme ung roc,
 En ses maulx, sans soing de son ame:
 En vain DIEU et ses saintz reclame.
 Aussi à requeste si lourde

Ilz font tousjours l'oreille sourde.
 Les bons saintz veulent qu'on demande
 A DIEU ce que JESUS commande:
 Non ce, qu'en noz appetitz regne.²⁶

Amendment of life, sincerity of intention and interior conversion are necessary if prayer is to be effective, and the Virgin will be the first to disown the man who tries to use her to bypass or deceive God, (p. 8 ro-vo).

The problem with the Epistre Familiere and with other evangelical and Reformist works from a Catholic point of view, is that they do not all elaborate a doctrine of what they consider right prayer to the saints as does the Livre de vraye et parfaicte oraison. Many of them remain quite silent on the subject and this becomes increasingly true the later the work and the more developed its Protestant theological stance. Thus the collection of Chansons spirituelles published in Geneva in 1555, and referred to already, scarcely mentions the saints in any way at all, except to affirm,

Tout bien de Christ est descendu,
 Il est de tout bien largiteur,
 Pour nous en croix il fut pendu,
 Ce que ne fut jamais prescheur,
 Ne saint Martyr, ne Confesseur,
 C'est Jesus Christ qui nous console,
 Dont il m'est advis que je volle.
 (I, p. 112).

What then can be discerned from her poetry of the attitude of Marguerite de Navarre to these questions? We saw above that the Queen regarded the saints as an integral part of the whole Church,

comprising both its members on earth and in heaven. This is also why in *La Navire* the soul of the dead *François Ier* can assure his sister:

Or, maintenant ceste comunion
De tous les saintz que j'ay creu, je possede,
Dont Jesuchrist a faict reunion.²⁷

What then is the role of the saints within this Church?

There is a poem by Marguerite that was published for the first time by René Sturel in 1914. It is a prayer to the Virgin Mary, dedicated to her husband Henri d'Albret.

Vierge doulce et benigne Marie
De noz pechez qui es tousjours marrye,
Vers toy me rendz pour conserver mon âme...
Te requerant de cuer devot et triste,
Qu'en paradis me face avoir mon giste,...
Pardon requiers, et *requerir* je n'ause
A ton doulx filz, qui grand douleur me cause,
Me recordant des delictz et offence
Q'ay perpetré en y prenant plaisance;²⁸

It is worth beginning with this poem because it is in fact something of an anomaly. Marguerite here seems to accept the same view on the advocacy of the saints as the most extreme of her Catholic contemporaries. A benign Virgin is invoked to placate a wrathful Christ. It has been suggested, however, that the poem, offered to the King of Navarre, is probably intended to reflect his religious attitude rather than Marguerite's, since this is a concept that the Queen in other works is at pains to refute.²⁹

Marguerite seems to have no doubt as to the efficacy of the prayers of the saints, and she invokes their intercession in her poems on many occasions. Sometimes this is done almost in parentheses to form something of an aside at a moment of crisis, as in the first of the Chansons spirituelles, a prayer offered for the health of the King her brother: 'J'appelle chacun Saint et Sainte/ Pour se joindre à mon oraison' (p. 4). At other times it is done on a more sustained basis, and we examined in Chapter 1 the long passage from the Petit OEuvre given over to a eulogy on the merits of the saints - their virtue, purity and constancy.

In another early poem, the Oraison de l'ame fidele,³⁰ the saints are again given honour for their faithfulness and their witness to God, though St. Peter and Our Lady are given especial mention here for the effective way in which they point beyond themselves to Christ. As the *ame fidele* contemplates the example of Mary, it is inevitably directed towards God, who has displayed his grace in his creature:

Fille de DIEU et de son seul Filz mere,
 Du saint Esprit l'espouse non amere,
 Car de douceur et d'amour es remplie,
 En toy reluit la puissance du Pere,
 La sapience aussi du Filz opere
 Dedens ton coeur, et, pour estre acomplie,
 Du saint Esprit l'amour qui multiplie
 Se voit en toy, tant qu'à la verité,
 Pour t'honorer fault que tout genoil plie,
 Voyant en toy le DIEU de Charité.
 Il est en toy ce puissant, sage et bon,
 Qui t'a sy fort remplie de son don
 Que rien que luy en toy l'on ne peult voir.
 Vierge de coeur, de fait et de renom,
 Qui as receu le tresexcellent nom
 D'estre la mere au DIEU de tout pouvoir;
 Mais toutesfois pour tant de grace avoir,
 Tu n'as de toy jamais estime faite;
 Car d'un coeur humble as tousjours fait devoir

De rendre à DIEU gloire entiere et parfaite.
(*Marguerites*, I, p. 124).

The *soul* comes to Mary for help, implores her aid, and Our Lady speaks to it through the Scriptures, giving it encouragement and helping it forward, pointing it onward in its journey towards Christ:

Las, je me meurs, car je n'ay plus de vin,
De ce breuvage amoureux et divin,
Qui donne vie au corps, aussi à l'Ame;
Aller ne veux à sorcier ny divin,
Mais en pleurant, ayant le chef enclin,
Secours je viens chercher de toy, ma Dame.
Qu'en dis tu donc, ô tresheureuse femme,
De tout peché exempte, et nette et pure?
Oyez ces motz, qui sont plus doux que basme,
Que plus au long verrez en l'Escriture:
Ame, qui as par faute de breuvage
Extreme soif, lieve toy, prens courage;
Va à mon filz, fais ce qu'il te commande:...
Il est à toy, ne crains; va et demande
Ce qu'il te fault;...
(*ibid.*, I, p. 125).

Quite the opposite of Our Lady acting as an advocate to placate Christ in his anger, Mary here assures the *ame fidele* that Christ is loving and merciful, and that, should it be tempted to despair, it must trust his mercy above all. The saints embolden the sinner to approach the throne of grace, rather than hold him back. They in their own lives display the workings of God's grace and mercy, and thus give the sinner hope that he may be received as they were, and enter their company:

Puis qu'ainsi est, ô mon Ame plaintive,
Que tu congnois ceste Parole vive
De ceste Dame et mere du Sauveur,
Et des bons Saintz rempliz de foy naïve,
D'aller à DIEU ne dois estre craintive,
Mais y courir par tresgrande ferveur.
Puis que conseil t'est donné et faveur
Des benoitz Saintz et de sa digne Mere,

Va hardiment goustier ceste saveur,
 Sans t'arrester pour compere ou commere.
 (*Marguerites*, I, p. 126).

It is in the more theological *Dialogue* as we might expect, however, that Marguerite gives the fullest and clearest exposition of her ideas about the saints.

The *Royne de Navarre* provokes the initial exchange of dialogue regarding the saints when she asks *Charlotte* to act as an advocate on her behalf with God, 'Que me soyez envers luy advocate,/ Pour sa grâce trouver que veulx quérir' (*Dialogue*, 11. 343-345). This provokes a swift and unequivocal reply:

Sa charité à chascun se dilate
 Sans nul moyen, Tante: vous le sçavez.
 Si de ses dons vous n'estes point ingrate,

 Facilement sa grâce vous aurez,
 Que bien souvent sans demander vous donne;
 Si le priez, en Foy, tant que pourrez. (11. 346-351).

Despite this the *royne* is insistent, she knows very well, she says, that God works through his elect. *Charlotte* needs to be more precise. She affirms with vigorous clarity that there is only one advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ, who alone is righteous and brings men access to God:

En grand erreur vostre cueur on a myz
 De vous dire que, aultre que Jesus Christ,
 Soit advocat pour nous en paradis.

 Sainct Paul au vray en a le tout escript,
 En appellant Jesus, par motz exprès,
 Nostre advocat. Et si le saint esprit

Vous faict venir jusques en cest excès,
De croire au vray sa charité ardente,
Facile auez à dieu le Père accès....

Trop ignorer seroit sa charité
De s'adresser à aultre resconfort,
Puis qu'il se faict moyen pour verité.

Il ayme tant ceulx pour qui il est mort
Que sans moyen les a d'enfer tirez
Qui prend donques d'ailleurs ayde, il a tort.

Si vous voulez droict aller, vous yrez
Par Jesuchrist qui, entre dieu et l'homme,
Est seul moyen du bien que désirez. (ll. 358-366; 376-384).

The idea *Charlotte* seems to be specifically combating here is the notion of the advocacy of the saints with a wrathful Saviour. When the *Queen* expresses the fear that Jesus is so far removed from her in his perfection that she will always have need of the mediation of others, *Charlotte* reminds her that Christ is the source of all goodness, even that of the saints, and it would be folly therefore to imagine them to be more merciful than him:

Il est plus prompt cent fois de millions,
Qui ne seroit quelque aultre saint ou ange,
Nous secourir en tribulations.

A ung bon cueur il seroit fort estrange
Penser un saint meilleur, plus humble ou doulx,
Que luy, qui seul d'estre bon ha louenge. (ll. 403-408).

This point *Charlotte* emphasizes through a series of images:

De luy seul donques faictes tout vostre appuy,
Aymant les saintz ainsy comme une lampe,
Qui de clarté est vaisseau ou estuy.

Louez en eulx dieu, qui est leur estampe,
Forge, patron, exemple et limage,
Marteau et feu, pollissoier et trempe. (ll. 424-429).

Charlotte goes on to stress that to imagine the saints might have a will of their own contrary to that of God is folly, when sanctity consists precisely in perfect conformity with God in all respects.

Croyez, Tante, que vous ferez outrage
Aux benoistz saintz de penser séparer
D'avecques dieu leur trèsferme courage....

Si vous estes du reng des malheureux,
Et justice divine vous condamne,
Ilz en diront louenge au dieu des dieux.

Ne pensez pas par eux avoir la Manne
De la Grâce, que liberalement
Vous poeut donner celluy qui saulve ou damne.

Car à luy sont uniz sy jointement
Et transforméz, qu'ilz n'ont nulle puissance
Que de vouloir son vouloir purement.
(ll. 430-432; 445-453).

This is not to detract from the honour due to the saints, however, but to confirm and strengthen it. It is right always to give thanks to God,

Ayant tousjours des benoistz saintz mémoire,
En leur portant honneur ainsy que au temple,
Et habitacle du saint esprit notoire. (ll. 460-462).

Neither this particular idea, nor the images used to express it are peculiar to Marguerite. Gerson also had affirmed that the saints shared the will of God, and were so united to him that they might never deviate from it; this indeed was the source of the efficacy of their prayer:

mais leur volunte est si vive et si confermee en la volunte de Dieu quilz ne peuvent riens vouloir fors ce que Dieu veult: pource ilz ne veulent jamais rien quilz ne le puissent obtenir: pource ilz ont souffisance et de tout sont contens.³¹

The idea of the conformity of the will of the saints with that of God is found also in the works of Lefèvre d'Étaples, for whom it was a condition of eternal life that the saints shared in all aspects of the fulness of the Godhead:

Absorpta est ergo tunc vita nostra in deo, et vivit deus in nobis, et nostram vitam cum vita dei commutamus: et voluntatem, et dilectionem nostram cum dei voluntate et dilectione. Accipit enim nostram dilectionem, voluntatem, ac vitam, et dat nobis suam: et sic unum cum deo efficimur, ut pater et filius unum sunt.³²

Moreover the image of the saints becoming transparent like glass to allow the grace of God to shine through them is found in Ruysbroeck's De ornatu spiritualium nuptiarum, a work which, edited by Lefèvre himself and published in 1512, might well have been known to Marguerite. The grace of God in the soul is like a candle in a lantern or in a vessel of glass, giving warmth and light. It shines through the vessel, manifesting itself to the man himself who has it within him, and also through him to other men in virtues and good works.³³

This image of the lamp then Marguerite has taken from the spiritual writers, and used it to illustrate and clarify the important theological point she is making.

Later in the same poem Marguerite expands further upon the nature of the intercessory role of the saints. As the saints have no will but the will of God, they can offer no prayer but the prayer of Christ. Christ alone is worthy to offer intercession to the Father, but he draws to share in his prayer those he has made perfect. Where Christ

is, there the saints are also, sharing in the eternal pleading of his one sacrifice for sin before God:

Car luy seul, chef, désire veoir entier
Son corps uny d'ung esperit vivant,
Pour qui s'est faict sacrifice et aultel,

Offrant à dieu, son Père, sy souvent
Passion, croix, playes, tourmentz, douleur,
Amour et mort, qui doit aller devant,

Pour impetrer Grâce au paovre pecheur.
Mais entendez que luy, Chef, quant il prie
Plein de l'esprit d'amour de sy bon cuer,

Celle qui est mère et vierge Marie,
Tous anges, saintz et saintes bienheureux,
Le saint esprit de Jesus en eulx crie.

Puis que uniz sont en ce corps glorieux,
L'esprit d'amour, qui faict le Chef mouvoir,
Les moeut aussy, comme luy, tous joyeux;...

Contemplez les trestous à jointes mains,
Suyvant Jesus, appaisant la justice
Du seigneur dieu createur des humains;

Luy suppliant d'annichiller tout vice
Et tout vilain péché au cuer des chrestiens,
Les remplissant de grâce pour malice;

Et que bien tost il rassemble les siens,
Affin que, après avoir eu tout son nombre,
Son corps entier soit faict sans faillir riens.
(ll. 814-828; 844-852).³⁴

Such a conception of the intercession of the saints springs obviously from a concern to establish the true worth of saintly prayers and to revalorize what through much popular abuse had become a somewhat tarnished commodity. Marguerite reveals in the Dialogue her ardent desire for the renewal of religious practice and ideology, and she reveals also that for her, as for Lefèvre and Briçonnet her mentors, this renewal was to be based not on novelty, but on the very best of

the medieval spiritual and theological tradition, exemplified by writers like Gerson and Ruysbroeck, and an avoidance of the terms and concepts of the more extreme Catholic writers of her own day such as Desiré.

There is much in the Queen's work that points to an abhorrence of and contempt for certain contemporary practices associated with the cult of the saints that she regarded as nothing other than superstitions. In the Théâtre profane characters like *la femme* in Le Malade, *Trop* and *Prou* in Trop, Prou, Peu, Moins and most obviously *la Supersticieuse* in the Comédie de Mont de Marsan exemplify popular trust in potions, amulets, secret recipes and the ritual performance of religious exercises, all of which are satirized in the plays.³⁵ There are many such examples and it is enough here to cite one or two. The very first speech of *la Supersticieuse* alone provides several examples.

Des oraisons m'ayde
De la sainte Bregide,
Qui révélation
Eut de tout le torment,
Que souffrit justement
Christ en sa passion.
De tous saintz, oraisons
J'ay pour toutes saisons,
Pour garder et guérir
De tous dangiers et maulx,
D'ennuis et de travaulx,
Où je puis encourir.
Puis voici ma neufvaine,
Qui n'est pas chose vaine.
Voiez ces neuf chandelles:
S'elles sont allumées
Et que droict les fumées
Voy monter au ciel d'elles,
Je sçay que ma prière
N'est pas mise en arrière,
Mais est receue aux cieulx.
De ces trois qui sont blanches,
Je les garde au dimanche

Dont j'espère bien mieulx.
 Bref, pour sauver mon âme,
 Par eau, par feu et flame,
 Espargner je ne veulx.
 Le corps d'une âme sainte,
 Quant la vie est estainte,
 On luy porte des veulx.
 (Mont de Marsan, ll. 57-86).

The tone here is humorous, but none the less satirical of a practice such as watching the way in which smoke rises from candles for an assurance that one's prayer has been accepted. Nor is it very far from this to the fragments of horn carried by *Trop* and *Frou*, from a unicorn to protect against poison and the plague and from a stag to avert storms and tempests, (Théâtre profane p. 175; cf. also pp. 138-141).

Within the communion of saints the Virgin Mary holds a special place. Certain doctrines are attached particularly to her, the most obvious being the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. Mary figures most prominently in Marguerite's Comédies pieuses, where the Queen's belief in this doctrine is attested many times, for example in the following speech about Mary made by God, in which imagery from the Song of Songs combines with precise ecclesiastical vocabulary to describe the Virgin's preservation from all stain of sin:

C'est ma Colombe et douce Tourterelle,
 C'est ma parfaite amye toute belle,
 Qui n'ha en soy ny tache ny macule.
 C'est mon chef d'oeuvre; et si l'ay faite telle
 Qu'il ny aura creature mortelle
 Qui soit pareille: car à nul, ny à nulle,
 Je n'ay voulu depescher ceste bulle
 D'exemption de tout vice et peché.
 De mon seul Filz (où tous biens j'accumule)
 Vraye Mere est, rien ne luy ay caché.
 (Marguerites, II, pp. 188-189).

In contemporary terms this does not necessarily reveal Marguerite as particularly traditional or reactionary, since the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception found wide acceptance among French evangelicals. It was held to be true by both Lefèvre and Briçonnet, and appears frequently in devotional writings, as in the *Cantique des louanges de la benoïste et glorieuse vierge Marie* printed as an appendix to the 1540 [Paris?] edition of Brodeau's Louanges de Jesus Nostre Sauveur:

Vierge exemplaire a toute autre pucelle
Vierge qui eut de dieu la grace telle
Que jamais neut sa fresle chair rebelle
A son esprit plus nect que perle, ou ambre....
Vierge treschaste, et sans aulcun forfaict
Incorrumpue, et desprit pur et nect.
... dieu qui tout prospere
Transmist son filx, en qui le monde espere,
En une vierge: ou peche a cesse.³⁶

For Marguerite, however, Mary is primarily the one who is full of grace, the one who hears the Word of God and accepts it in faith. Such was Mary's faith that before bearing Christ physically in her body she bore him spiritually in her soul. The Miroir de l'ame pecheresse describes this quality of Our Lady, stressing at the same time that all Christians are called to imitate her in faith, and like her conceive Christ in their souls.

Foy avez eu sy tresferme et constante,
Qu'elle a esté par la grace puissante
De vous faire du tout deifier.
Parquoy ne veux cuyder edifier
Louenge à vous plus grande que l'honneur
Que vous a fait le souverain Seigneur:
Car vous estes sa mere corporelle,
Et mere encor par Foy spirituelle.
Mais, en suyvant vostre Foy humblement,

Were je suis spirituellement.
 (Marguerites, I, p. 27)

The idea that Mary gave birth to Christ spiritually in her soul before doing so corporally is a common theme in Marguerite's works and recurs frequently, but again it is not peculiar to her. It appears in Lefèvre d'Étaples's Epistres et Evangiles pour les cinquante et deux dimanches de l'an, though it appears in Christian writing as early as St. Ambrose, and after him is taken up by many of the Fathers.²⁷ It is also found commonly in the works of devotional poets, and is still being employed later in the century by Anne de Marquets who died in 1588.²⁸

The other theme most closely associated with the Virgin in Marguerite's works is that of Mary as type of the mystical union of the soul with God.²⁹ Again as a consequence of her Immaculate Conception, Mary, free from sin, is free from all that can separate man on earth from God. This being so, she enjoys here on earth a union with God so complete that nothing can disturb it, a union that will be granted to lesser souls only in heaven itself. In the Comédie de la Nativité de Jesus Christ, Mary sings out in rapture:

O le plaisir de l'union parfaite
 Que ta bonté de toy et moy a faite,
 Tant que ne sens rien en moy fors que toy!
 Ton grand thresor secret me manifeste,
 Ton saint esprit ne me coeuvre nul texte
 Soit de la vieille ou la nouvelle Loy.
 D'amour je viz, car rien ne sens en moy
 Que toy, Seigneur, qui es mon ame et vie.
 Mon ame perd le sentement de soy,
 Car par amour en toy elle est ravie.
 (Marguerites, II, p. 10).

This union in love is so complete and so wholly reciprocal that it is described by God himself in similar terms. God reveals his own love for Mary (and for all those souls he will bring to perfection) as he too sings for joy at the possibility of the Incarnation of his Son:

en mortelle rose
Divinité on y verra enclose,
Venant d'enhault, monstrant qu'en elle suis.
Voyez ma Fille eslue et mon Espouse,
Dont separer à jamais ne me puis.
Du vray repoz d'amour est endormie,
Non d'amitié imparfaite et demie;
Mais elle y court sy viste, que son corps
Ne rien d'abas elle ne congnoit mye:...
Elle ne sent rien dedens ne dehors,
Sinon moy seul, par unie union;
Son plaisir prend en mes divins accords,
Desquelz en moy elle ha communion.
(Marguerites, II, pp. 10-11).

Thus throughout her poems Marguerite seems anxious to pursue and maintain a *via media* on the role of the saints, avoiding on the one hand the excesses of much of the hagiology of contemporary Catholic writers, and equally the iconoclasm of the Protestants on the other. It is an attitude exemplified by the much quoted *caveat* in the Miroir de l'ame pecheresse that follows a long eulogy on the Virgin:

Et mere et vierge estes parfaitement,
Avant, apres, et en l'enfantement.
En vostre saint ventre l'avez porté,
Wourry, servy, allaicté, conforté;
Suivy avez ses predications,
L'accompagnant en tribulations.
Bref, vous avez de DIEU trouvé la grace,
Que l'ennemy par malice et fallace
Avoit du tout fait perdre, en verité,
Au povre Adam et sa posterité.
Par Eve et luy nous l'avions tous perdue,
Par vostre filz elle nous est rendue.
Vous en avez esté pleine nommée,
Dont n'en est pas faulse la renommée.
Car de vertuz, et de grace, et de dons
Faute n'avez, puis que le bon des bons,

Et la source de bonté et puissance
 (Qui vous a faite en sy pure innocence
 Que de vertuz à tous estes exemple)
 A fait de vous sa demeure et son Temple.
 En vous il est par amour confermée,
 Et vous en luy ravie et transformée.
 De cuyder mieux vous louer, c'est blaspheme.
 Il n'est louenge telle que de DIEU mesme.
 (Marguerites, I, pp. 26-27).

Intercessors yes, but advocates no; auxiliaries yes but mediators no. Marguerite draws on both spiritual and theological imagery and vocabulary to articulate her ideas about the saints: imagery of body and head, of lamps and glass, themes of spiritual conception and mystical union. Marguerite is not at all alone in her century to adopt these attitudes and ideas, nor to express them in the way she does. She is obviously very much influenced by those who were her mentors, Briçonnet and Lefèvre, and she holds most of her ideas here in common with other moderate evangelicals, and even a humanist such as Erasmus.

Having now explored the question of *what* the saints are, it is worth considering briefly, for Marguerite herself, *who* they are - that is to say, to which of the saints, if any, she refers most often or for whom she betrays a particular attraction.

The Virgin Mary here stands out particularly above all others, appearing again and again throughout Marguerite's poetry. Her treatment of the Virgin, and the predilection of her directors for Marian devotion we have discussed already. Perhaps Marguerite as a queen was drawn to this most noble and royal of all the saints, to

whom on occasion she attributes titles and imagery of sovereignty and regency (cf. *chanson* 32, Chansons, p. 82). Marguerite's interest in contemplative prayer is another obvious factor in her devotion to the Virgin.

In other poems where the Queen elaborates lists of particular saints she seems to evoke in each instance those who best suit her current theme. In the Petit Oeuvre this is those who are associated with the cross: Our Lady, the penitent thief, the martyrs, Magdalen and the penitents, St. Peter, St. Andrew, St. Francis and St. Helen. In the Oraison de l'ame fidele it is those who gave witness to Christ, confessing him Lord: St. Paul, St. John, St. Peter, and above all Our Lady. Marguerite evokes the saints above all as examples of repentance and penitence, and witnesses who point to Christ. St. Peter is the one who confesses Christ's divinity then falls by denying his Lord, only to be restored through repentance, and finally offer his life in God's service and suffer martyrdom.

Marguerite seems to have followed in her own devotional life the ideas she outlines in the Dialogue and elsewhere: the saints are to be honoured, but never without reference to the Lord they served and with whom they are united. They are to be honoured most, whose life proclaims their own weakness and insignificance, by which the forgiving and strengthening power of grace is manifest.

iii) The Sacrament of Baptism.

In his Dialogue da la Foy Doré sums up succinctly the Catholic position on the role of baptism and the sacraments within the soteriological economy, and their relation to the saving work of Christ effected during his incarnate life:

la macule en lame ou tache espirituelle...provient de lordure de peché, par adhesion de laffection es choses villes. Car ainsi que vertu embellist lame: aussi peche lavillennie, et macule. mais par la passion de Jesus tout est efface. car de son sang a faict ung beau baing, ou quand sommes laves, toute macule sesvanouist et peché est ousté, ce que est premierement faict au sacrement de baptesme, *ayant son efficace du sang de Jesus christ*. Pourtant qui se villennie de rechief par peché, comect plus grande malice, et ingratitude: combien que encores par se dict sang puisse estre lavé: *dont la vertu est appliquee par les aultres sacrementz*. (fol. xx ro, my emphasis).

Firstly then the virtues of Christ's passion are inherent in the sacraments: they are the means by which the benefits won by Christ generally for all, are conveyed to each individual personally in time. Secondly the sacraments, and especially the sacrament of baptism, are regenerative; they restore to man something he had lost, and could never regain by himself. Through them man is able to grasp his pre-lapsarian innocence, while still exiled from Eden in time. This means then that the sacraments are intimately bound up with the process of justification (and sanctification) and the working of grace within the individual. They are the means left to the Church by which she dispenses to Christ's people the benefits he has won for them.

When Calvin, however, addresses the question of the nature of a sacrament, he formulates a quite different definition:

nous disons que Sacrement est un signe extérieur, par lequel Dieu séele en noz consciences les promesses de sa bonne volonté envers nous, pour confermer l'imbécillité de nostre foy...un tesmoignage de la grâce de Dieu, déclaré par signe extérieur. (Institution, IV, p. 289).

According to this formulation the sacraments themselves are no longer the means by which grace and the benefits of Christ's passion are conveyed to and appropriated by the individual, they are merely signs of it (the word 'extérieur' here bearing its fullest meaning). No longer do they themselves operate and cooperate in the process of justification, but they act as signs that God does and will justify the sinner. The sacraments for Calvin are essentially significant rather than effective, and act ultimately only on the *conscience*. Thus baptism for Calvin is a sign of the washing of the sinner in the blood of Christ; whilst the blood is effective the water is symbolic:

au contraire, le Baptesme ne nous promet autre purification que par l'aspersion du sang de Christ, lequel est figuré par l'eau, pour la similitude qu'il a avec icelle de laver et nettoyer. Qui est-ce donc qui dira que nous sommes purifiés par ceste eau, laquelle testifie le sang de Christ estre nostre vray et unique lavement? (ibid. p. 319).

The appropriation of the benefits of Christ's passion effected in Catholic theology through the sacraments, and initially that of baptism, is replaced in Reformed theology by the individual's confession of faith. It is by faith in God's promises that we are adopted as sons, and in God's word alone lies salvation (Institution, IV, p. 335). Since baptism is no longer deemed to effect the forgiveness of sin at a particular moment in time, it becomes a sign

of God's continuing purpose of forgiveness towards his elect throughout life. The sacrament of confession as a result of this is also rendered useless and superfluous; post-baptismal sin is to be effaced through repentance, and the recalling of one's baptism (Institution, IV, pp. 319-320).

Luther too, whilst retaining a somewhat higher doctrine of the sacraments than Calvin, tends to regard the appropriation of the benefits of Christ's passion by the individual as a consequence of his faith, rather than his baptism. It is by faith that the soul is espoused to Christ the heavenly bridegroom, rather than at the font.⁴⁰

In the works of the more Reformed, vernacular devotional writers this new attitude towards baptism leads inevitably to a neglect of the sacrament of rebirth, and an emphasis on the justifying effects of faith.

The Brief recueil de la substance et principal fondement de la doctrine Evangelique ([Paris, S. Du Bois, c. 1525]) addresses what it perceives to be the two most important theological issues at stake in the Reformation; the second of these is the value of human traditions, the first is 'en quelle chose gist la justice chrestienne' (fol. A vi ro). For the writer of the Recueil baptism plays no part in the initiation of Christian justification, which is brought exclusively by the gift of faith. Justification itself is easily assimilated to peace of conscience, the eternal longing of the Protestant soul:

Levangile doncques est la predication de penitence: et de la remission des pechez. La justice vrayement chrestienne cest quant la conscience confuse et honteuse pour ses maulx est redressee et *consolee par la foy* laquelle a en Christ, et *sent* que pour Christ en qui elle croit elle recoit remission des pechez. (fol. A vi vo, my emphasis).

Such sentiments are also at the heart of the Livre de vraye et parfaicte graison, quoted so far in this chapter for its moderation: 'en quoy suis je juste que en la bonne volunte de mon dieu, de ne me imputer mes pechez: cest a scavoir, *dautant quil me donne foy en son filz*. (fol. cx vo, my emphasis).

The Genevan Chansons spirituelles are just as silent about baptism as they are about the role of the saints, but many songs in the collection extol the virtues of faith -

La loy maudict qui la transgressera,
 Mais le pecheur par foy sauvé sera:
 Il faut donc croire
 Au roy de gloire:
 Il est notoire
 Qu'il a pour noz maux satisfaict.
 C'est l'accessoire
 Pour la victoire
 Et meritoire:
 Qui cela croit il est parfaict. (I, p. 13).

Of all the sacraments it is that of baptism that plays the greatest role in the works of Marguerite and moreover it is often associated specifically with the process of justification and the regeneration of fallen man.

We examined Marguerite's attitude to justification above in Chapter 1, and the question of the ability of human nature to cooperate with

grace in the performing of good works. In the course of the discussion in the *Dialogue* the *âme de madame Charlotte* introduces the well known example of the virtuous pagan - though a pagan may perform good works, she affirms, these will not be of a justifying character.⁴¹ Only baptism received in faith would transform the divine status of the Turk, and thus render his actions just:

Ung Turc, ayant lettres et congnoissance
Naturelle, sera bien vertueux,
Combien qu'en dieu il ne croit ne ne pense;

De ses vices sera victorieux,
Et de vertuz sera sy fort remply,
Qu'ung chrestien ne sçaurait faire mieulx.

Mais sy est il cloz en son premier ply,
En son Adam, chair, terre, mort, péché,
Et ce qu'il faict c'est nul bien accomply.

Mais quant la Foy l'en auroit depesché,
Croyant salut en la promesse faicte
Au Baptesme et Signe bien merché,

Soubdainement, faisant de Adam defaicte,
L'ensepueulist, recepuant Leau pour Signe
En Jesuchrist, où son âme est refaicte.

Lhors son oeuvre est faicte bonne et digne,
L'homme est à dieu plaisant et agreable,
Soit qu'il dorme, veille, soupe ou disne. (ll. 685-702).

Here the effective and regenerative nature of baptism is clear. The water is a sign, but a sign that effects what it signifies, a sign that brings with it the benefits of Christ's redemptive passion, and applies them to the individual. The baptismal promise brings salvation, though it must equally be lived out in faith; faith here affirms and illuminates the role of baptism rather than replaces it.⁴² Baptism regenerates because it unites to Christ, as *Charlotte* had said earlier:

toute créature
 Par Baptisme, en Foy de la Promesse,
 Est unie au Chef comme facture.
 (Dialogue, ll. 331-333).

The introduction of baptism into the context of a discussion of the question of justification, of nature and grace and the ability to perform good works, is itself of the highest significance for what it reveals of Marguerite's attitude towards the sacrament.

The power of baptism to unite the soul to Christ is made clear also in the Miroir de l'ame pecheresse, now closely associated with the two themes of the spiritual marriage, and the washing away of the soul's sins, (see also below Chapter 4, pp. 281-282).

We examined the introductory section of the Miroir in detail above, and discovered in it reflected images of Marguerite's concept of the process of justification (pp. 100-107). We stopped short of the end of this section, which comes at l. 168. However, if we had continued reading from the last passage we quoted we would have found the process of spiritual decline and ascent, of fall and regeneration, linked specifically by the *soul* to its reception of the sacraments, and initially to baptism:

Ce qu'ont promis mes amys au baptesme
 Et que depuis j'ay confermé moymesme
 (Qui est sans fin de vostre passion
 Sentir en moy mortification,
 Estre tousjours avecques vous en croix,
 Où vous avez cloué, comme je crois,
 Et rendu mortz la Mort et tout peché,
 Que souvent j'ay reprins et detaché),
 Rompu je l'ay, denyé et faulsé,
 Ayant sy fort ma volonté haulsé,

Par un orgueil plein d'indiscretion,
 Que mon devoir et obligation
 Estoit du tout oublié par paresse.
 Et qui plus est, le bien de la promesse
 Que j'euz de vous le jour de mon baptesme,
 Et vostre amour, j'en ay fait tout de mesme.
 (Marguerites, I, pp. 19-20).

Again the regenerative effect of baptism seems clear, though its operation is never irresistible and, if the soul refuses to cooperate, divine grace can accomplish little.

Elsewhere, as in the third of the Chansons spirituelles, Marguerite once more uses baptismal imagery in connection with the themes of the soul's washing from sin, and union with Christ in his Church:

Faites la [mon âme] voir en soy morte et confuse,
 En vous vivant pleine de grâce infuse;
 Vostre bonté ce don point ne refuse
 A qui pour vous de son coeur s'est démis.

Moins elle peult se laver de sa fange,
 Et [s'] il vous plaist la blanchir comme un Ange,
 Plus en aurez de gloire et de louenge,
 Car en vous seul son espoir est remis.

Ne desprisez vostre humble Créature,
 Mais voyez y l'image et pourtraiture
 Du Christ qui est vostre essence et nature,
 Lequel par grâce dedens elle avez mis.

Et par le Nom de ce Filz amiable,
 Recevez la pour espouse agréable
 En l'union du corps tant desirable
 Où vous voulez mettre en un voz amis.
 (Chansons spirituelles, no. 3, p. 12)

The final stanza of the song is heavy with overt references to baptism, which dispel any doubt we may have had as to the precise nature of earlier allusions to washing and whiteness. The soul is united to God as in marriage, united with its brothers and sisters in

the body of the Church, through the baptismal formula, 'par le Nom de ce Filz amiable'.

All of these themes are again stated explicitly in the Oraison de l'ame fidele: baptism brings forgiveness, washing and regeneration, it reconciles man to God and to the Church:

...Et qui plus est, j'ay sceu
Que moy, filz d'ire, enfant d'Adam deceu,
Woir par peché, m'as fait cler comme verre
Par le baptesme, et qu'au corps me reserre
De ton cher filz, où est couvert mon mal;
Sans l'union duquel en ceste guerre
Je serois moins que le moindre animal.
(Marguerites, I, p. 111)

A little further on in the Oraison the forgiveness brought by baptism is associated with the love shown to men by God when he allows the heart of his only Son to be pierced for them on the cross:

Tu as ouvert son cœur jusques au fonds,
Dont par amour tes ennemys confonds
En ne povant ta charité nyer.
C'est la fournaise où tous noz cœurs tu fonds,
Les rendant purs comme quand sur les fontz
Il te les pleut réunir et lier
Au corps de CHRIST, qui n'ha demain ne hyer. (ibid. p. 112).

The allegorical image which is alluded to here though not explicitly, is that by which the blood and water flowing from Christ's side are taken to signify the birth of the Church and the inauguration of the two sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist. This allegory does however appear explicitly in the Queen's last work, L'art et usage du souverain mirouer du Chrestien, (examined below, pp. 286-290). This passage is followed in the same poem by an extended meditation on the

First Letter of St. John 5. 5-10, which speaks of the three witnesses to Jesus - the water, the blood and the Spirit. The water, Marguerite takes as a reference to the baptism of St. John the Baptist, a baptism of repentance which reveals sin but is not effective to remove it. Christ alone, coming with water and blood, his own blood, can avail for the forgiveness of sin. John's water frightens the soul,

En luy monstrant de la loy la rigueur:
 Et du peché la tresforte vigueur,
 Au saint baptesme ou Jehan chacun baptize,
 Qui le peché descouvre sans fainctise,
 Lavant si bien la masque de dessus,
 Dont paravant si bien fusmes deceus,
 Qui mon enfer aux fonds vas esclairer:
 Et le secret du peché declarer...
 Mais quand le sang ou gist mon assurance
 Voy joinct à l'eau, lequel me vivifie,
 Autant ou plus que l'eau me mortifie,
 Je m'esjouis, Seigneur, et à la bourse
 De ton cousté ouverte à ma ressource
 Par fort amour, qui m'en faict approcher:
 Vien jusque au fonds remission pescher.
 (fol. 27 vo-28 ro).

Though the final passage does not refer specifically to the Christian sacrament of baptism the allusion is clear, and it is difficult to see what the power of the blood joined to the water of John's baptism of repentance can signify, if not the Christian sacrament of baptism for the forgiveness of sins, guaranteed and made available through the shedding of Christ's blood.

So we discover in Marguerite de Navarre's poetry a high regard for the sacrament of baptism, formulated in terms of a generally traditional and largely Catholic nature. The sacrament is both effective and regenerative in character; it performs that which it signifies; it is

associated with the initiation of Christian justification, which is led to completion when it is accepted by faith and lived out in action.

iv) The Eucharist, Penance and Unction.

We have seen that generally speaking Reformed theology accepted the validity of the two sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist, though defined the nature of a sacrament as symbolic rather than effective. When we turn to the second of these sacraments we find among the Reformers themselves a wide diversity of opinion on the nature of Christ's presence in the Eucharist. Whilst Luther affirmed with tenacity the doctrine of Christ's real presence in the sacramental species, Calvin argued that although the bread and the wine brought a communion with the body and blood of Christ that was real, they did so as a sign and testament of the body and blood. In the final version of the Institution Calvin rejects both the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation and the Lutheran idea of consubstantiation.⁴³ According to the former of these doctrines the inner essence of the bread undergoes a real and substantial change to become the flesh of Christ, whilst its outer accidents remain miraculously unaltered; the Lutheran concept of consubstantiation held that both the body and the bread were present at the same time, the body with, in and under the bread. For Calvin the necessity of calling the bread the body of Christ springs from the affinity between the symbol and the thing signified:

Il reste donc, que pour l'affinité qu'ont les choses signifiées avec leurs figures, nous confessons que ce nom de corps a esté attribué au pain, non pas nuement, comme les mots chantent, mais par une similitude bien convenable... Je dy que c'est une façon de parler qui se trouve par toute l'Ecriture, quand il est question des Sacremens. (Institution, IV, p. 401)

Nevertheless even for Calvin the benefits to be received from the Eucharist were real, those indeed of the body and blood (ibid. IV, p. 377).

There were of course Sacramentarians who had appeared relatively early in the century, men like Antoine Marcourt who had denied the doctrine of the real presence in his Petit traicté de l'Eucharistie and La Declaration de la Messe (both 1534), and who in the same year was implicated in the notorious *affaire des placards*, though on the whole these men were few in number and held in abhorrence by Catholics, evangelicals and most Lutherans alike.⁴⁴

What united all the Reformers, however, was their common rejection of the Catholic doctrine of the sacrificial nature of the Mass. The Catholic Mass offered for various intentions and especially for the remission of sins was seen by Reformers as an affront to and denigration of the sacrifice for sin made once and for all by Christ on the cross. Calvin spells out the conclusion:

c'est opprobre et blasphème intolérable contre Iesus Christ et son sacrifice qu'il a fait pour nous par sa mort en la croix, si aucun réitère quelque oblation, pensant en acquérir rémission de péchez, réconcilier Dieu, et obtenir iustice. Toutesfois qu'est-il fait autre chose en la Messe, sinon que nous soyons par le mérite d'une nouvelle oblation faits participans de la passion de Iesus Christ? Et afin de ne mettre nulle fin à leur rage, ils ont pensé que ce seroit peu, s'ils disoyent que leur sacrifice estoit également en commun pour toute

l'Eglise, sinon qu'ils adioustassent estre en leur puissance de l'appliquer péculièrement à l'un ou à l'autre, comme ils voudroyent; ou plustost à quiconque voudroit, en bien payant, acheter leur marchandise. (*Institution*, IV, p. 461).

The rather mixed bag of songs that constitutes the Genevan collection of *Chansons spirituelles* (1555) has both songs that affirm the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and others that deny it, along with the sacrificial nature of the Papist Mass. Songs such as the following are typical of Lutheran spirituality:

Manger le corps du Seigneur Jesus Christ,
Boire son sang ainsi qu'il est escrit:
C'est fermement croire
Que dans nos esprits
Christ le Roy de gloire
Par foy est compris...

Ayans en nous Chrestienne charite,
Pour en ce convive
De pain et de vin,
Manger la chair vive
Du grand Roy divin. (I, pp. 141-142).

Other songs, however, are more typical of Genevan and Calvinist polemic:

Laissez moy leur puante Messe,
Qui la Chrestienté si fort blesse,
Soyez contens d'un Redempteur:
Car pour vray tout homme est menteur.
(*Le Second Livre*, p. 23).

Au lieu de la sainte Gene,
Ont songé leur Messe vaine,
Pour mieux attraper ducas. (ibid., p. 47).

The more evangelical Catholic writers invariably avoid such polemical issues when writing about the Eucharist, in favour of an affirmation of the reality of the partaking by the communicant of Christ's body

and blood, and the need for faith to discern them and receive the benefits they bring.

Mature alors paravant comme ethique
 A de ce pain senty soullaigement,
 Et puis cogneu sans y faire replique,
 Ung grand secret dessoubs ce sacrement,
 Car il luy est un seur et riche gaige,
 De prendre part au Celeste heritaige,
 Si par Foy veult son Cueur y arrester,
 Et l'arrestant, par Foy plus le gouster,
 Que par la Chair, qui le contraire clame,
 Car on ne peut de ceste chair taster
 Le divin pain, nourriture de l'Ame.

This is an extract from a double ballade by Charles de Sainte-Marthe 'contenant promesse de Christ, sa Nativite, Passion, Resurrection, et precieux sacrement de son Corps, icy à nous delaissé pour gaige de Salut'.⁴⁵

It must also be said, however, that the early part of the sixteenth century does not produce anywhere near as much Eucharistic poetry as will be seen at the end of the century and the beginning of the next, so that passages like that from Sainte-Marthe's ballade are not as ubiquitous as one might expect in the work of the Catholic writers of the period.⁴⁶

Where the Eucharist and baptism are the only two sacraments held by the Reformers to be valid, the other five - penance, unction etc., become superfluous.⁴⁷ On the subject of the sacrament of penance, however, there are many evangelical writings that testify to a desire for the renewal and reinterpretation of the sacrament rather than its total abandonment. Most of these works were condemned sooner or

later by the Sorbonne as involving some kind of diminution of the authority of the priest or ambiguity regarding his role, and thus of the power of the keys entrusted to the Church as a whole, and its authority to loose and bind. This is true even of a work as unpolemical as Erasmus's Modus confitendi first published in French in 1524 in Basle, in a translation by Claude Chansonnette with the title Maniere de se confesser.⁴⁸

Lefèvre d'Étaples again is typical of those who strove for a renewal not only of Eucharistic devotion, but also of the sacraments of penance and unction, (see this chapter below).

It is not necessary here to examine all the theological ideas involved with these sacraments, as these were mainly the concern of theologians rather than devotional writers, though Catholics like Bouchet, Doré and D'Espence do not shy away from discussing theological issues, such as the notion of guilt and punishment in relation to sin, and the division of the sacrament of penance into the three stages of contrition, confession, and satisfaction.⁴⁹

References to the Eucharist and the other sacraments in the poems of the Queen of Navarre tend on the whole to be as much of a practical as a theological nature; the sacraments appear in the poems as in the life of an individual. Often for example they are evoked with a sense of shame at a personal falling short and betrayal of the graces offered through them. This is the case of the reference to baptism from the Miroir de l'ame pecheresse quoted above (pp. 164-165), and

this is extended to the Eucharist and the other sacraments and offices of the Church:

Que diray je? Encores que souvent
De mon malheur vous vinsiez au devant,
En me donnant tant d'avertissementz
Par parole, par Foy, par sacrementz,
M'admonnestant par predication,
Me consolant par la reception
De vostre corps trespaigne, et sacré sang,
Me promettant de me remettre au rang
Des bienheureux en parfaite innocence.
J'ay tous ces biens remis en oubliance;
Souvent vous ay ma promesse rompue...
(Marguerites, I, p. 20)

And so the lament continues. In Les Prisons also, the pilgrim-narrator with hindsight is forced to admit that he has abused the sacraments, and the Eucharist in particular, taking the graces they bring as a license to sin:

... estimant...
Pouvoir purger mes pechez trop meschantz,
Voire et d'avoir permission d'en faire,
Puis que j'avoys de quoy les satisfaire.
Car pour six blancz faisant dire une messe,
Quicte j'estois de rompre ma promesse,
Voire et absoulz de ce qu'en mariage
Povoyz faillir, en donnant quelque ouvrage,
Ou de l'argent, ou quelque reliquaire
Que Charlemaigne apporta du grant Quaire. (II, ll. 239-247).

Here Marguerite levels criticism on a practical level against one of the more obvious popular abuses of the time. The Reformers attacked the doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass, but they were far from being alone when it came to this sort of common sense reaction against blatantly corrupt understandings or cynical misuses of religious practice.

The occasional sacraments seem on the whole simply to be assumed in Marguerite's religious world. Thus in the revealing *récits de mort* in *Les Prisons*, three of the four relatives are described as dying having made their confession, been anointed in unction and received their last Eucharistic viaticum (pp. 207-225); in true evangelical fashion they are usually consoled also by the reading of the Passion. There is a particularly charming description of Marguerite, the solicitous wife concerned for her husband Charles d'Alençon's spiritual well-being, exhorting him to make his communion during the week having failed to do so through illness on the previous Sunday:

Venons au jour de sa mort: je vous dy
Que le matin du grand et saint Mardy,
Cinq jours après qu'il print ung pluresis,
Me pensant point mourir, estant assis
Dedans son lict, et sa femme lisant
Propoz de Dieu, et par jeu luy disant:
« Promis m'avez, Monsieur, de recevoir,
Mais vous n'avez pas fait vostre devoir.
Or puyz qu'avez au dymanche failly,
Que ce mardy soit de vous assailly. »
Ce qu'il voulut, et du lict se leva,
Et à genoulz devant l'autel s'en va
Se confesser et recevoir sans craincte,
Par ferme foy et charité non faincte.
(ibid. III, ll. 2257-2270).

There are, however, other references to the Eucharist and other sacraments that are more specific. The poems by Marguerite published by Champollion-Figeac include a preparation for communion in the form of a rondeau, that expresses a desire to come to communion free from evil and envious thoughts, the heart purged through confession:

Avant manger je gemys et souspire
Craignant, mon Dieu, que mon ame s'empire,
Pour indigne vostre corps recevoir.⁵⁰

The Eucharist is referred to again in the Oraison de l'ame fidele, with the sacrament of confession preceding it as a preparation for the forgiveness of post-baptismal sins:

Après avoir du baptesme rompu
 Le grand serment, et fait le piz qu'ay peu,
 Tu m'as donné au coeur contrition;
 Puis au parler, de confesser vertu
 Tout mon peché, et après m'as repeu
 Du sacrement plein de dilection;
 (Marguerites, I, p. 111).

The longest and most theological reference to the Eucharist comes in the account of the death of Louise de Savoie in the Prisons. Louise's illness is such that she cannot receive communion herself, thus on the day of her death, before calling her confessor to absolve her, she has Mass said in her room at which Marguerite communicates on her behalf (p. 220). We cannot help being reminded here of that other famous occasion when Marguerite had Mass said for her brother François and communicated for him as he lay on the verge of death in a Spanish jail.⁵¹ If this were not enough the dying duchess desires the comfort in her last hours of Christ's sacramental presence and to expire in his shadow. Marguerite recounts Louise's last moments, and her meditation on the Eucharist:

Après...dist telz ou semblables termes:
 « Mon mal est tel que ne puy nullement
 Recevoir Dieu sacramentellement,
 Mais allez moy une hostie querir
 En la paroisse, affin qu'avant mourir,
 En la voyant, puyssse ramentevoir
 Que Dieu se fait à l'homme recevoir.»
 Ce que l'on fist, et quand l'hostie vid,
 S'escriant dict: « Jesus, filz de David,
 Qui sur la croix pour moy fuz estendu,
 Et par amour cueur et costé fendu,
 Je vous adore, ô mon Dieu et mon Roy,
 Pere et Amy, tel je vous tiens et croy,...

Or maintenant qu'aproche la deffaicte
 De la prison de ce vieil corps charnel,
 Las! plaise vous, ô mon Pere eternal,
 Entre voz braz l'ame et l'esprit reprendre
 Que de bon cuer entre voz mains vois rendre....
 O le Pain vif duquel la doulceur passe
 Toute doulceur, en foy je vous reçoÿ:
 Par ceste foy ainsy recevez moy.
 Je ne suys pas de recevoir deceue
 Le vray Amy duquel je suys receue;
 Je vous reçoÿ spirituellement,
 Me vous povant recevoir autrement,
 Croyant si bien ceste reception
 Que seure suys de ma salvation.»
 (Les Prisons, pp. 220-222).

There is certainly no doubting for the *Louise* of the Prisons the truth of Christ's presence in the Eucharistic species! If Christ is present, then in the Bread of the Mass man truly does 'recevoir Dieu sacramentellement' and 'Dieu se fait à l'homme recevoir'. The Eucharist is in a sense a continuation of the work of the Incarnation: as the Word became flesh, so he remains present to his people in the Bread which by his word becomes his flesh still.

The relationship between the Eucharist and the Incarnation is suggested also in the Comédie de la Nativité de Jesus Christ, where Mary, meditating on the wonder of Christ's birth, resorts to Eucharistic imagery as she looks forward to the fulfilment of the divine self-emptying or *kenosis* that will lead her Son to sacrifice himself for mankind on the cross:

O mon enfant! est il vray que je voye
 Ce que long temps tant désiré j'avoye:
 DIEU avec nous, verité, vie et voye,
 En corps mortel?
 Foy là dessoubz me le monstre immortel;
 Car, quant au corps, mon Filz, je vous voy tel
 Qu'un autre enfant. O grand Prebstre et autel
 Tant admirable!

Voire et hostie à DIEU seule agreable,
 Qui aux pecheurs rens le Pere placable.
 (Marguerites, II, p. 16).

Some of the Chansons spirituelles also exploit Eucharistic imagery, including the famous and beautiful sixth *chanson*. The song describes the pursuit of hunting, though gradually modulates to the themes of the spiritual hunt and the spiritual quarry. The fifth stanza (quoted below Chapter 4, p. 303-304) contains echoes of Psalm 41 'Quemadmodum desiderat cervus ad fontes aquarum', a Psalm traditionally associated with Eucharistic devotion and preparation for communion, so that we are prepared for the Eucharist imagery that appears two stanzas later:

Le cerf est sy humain et doux,
 Que si vostre cœur voulez tendre,
 Par amour il viendra à vous;
 En vous prenant, se lairra prendre;
 Et alors vous pourra apprendre
 De manger sa chair et son sang
 A ceste curée par reng;
 Pour estre remplis de douceur
 Vous désirs courront à ce blanc;
 Mais vous estes mauvais chasseur.
 (Chansons spirituelles, p. 19).

The Eucharist is here bound up with the soul's quest for Christ, and more importantly, since the poem turns this concept upside down, with Christ's search for the soul. Once the soul rests and allows itself to be captured, it finds its quarry surrenders itself immediately - it is in this way that the soul and Christ are united, and that the soul is transformed so that the two become one substance, one flesh:

En ceste délicate chair
 La vostre sera transmuée;
 O bien heureux qui peult toucher
 A ceste grand teste muée,

A la chair courue et huée,
 Mise à mort, rostie pour nous,
 (Chansons spirituelles, p. 19).

The Eucharist then embodies man's ultimate destiny, it brings on earth a foretaste of the union to be enjoyed completely and for ever in heaven. By receiving Christ's body man will himself become Christ-like, and sharing in the Eucharistic banquet on earth he will prepare himself for the feast of the Kingdom of heaven:

Mais quand le Très-petit du tout Rien se confesse,
 Je le retire à moy, luy monstrant ma promesse:
 De ma chair, de mon sang, luy fais présent encore,
 En moy le réunis, l'embrasse et l'incorpore:
 Luy transformé en moy hors son péché immunde,
 Rien que grâce ne voit, qui en son lieu abonde.
 (ibid., p. 23, no. 7).

The theme of the union of the communicant with Christ is also dear to Lefèvre d'Étaples, who uses at times very physical imagery to describe the union of the communicant's flesh with that of Christ. The theme of Christiformity is also one of the most frequently recurring in the works of Lefèvre, and the one he prefers to use when discussing Christian justification as a whole.⁵²

The question of the sacrificial nature of the Mass is treated nowhere in Marguerite's poetry, so that this was perhaps an issue she thought best avoided, or one she considered secondary. The passage quoted above from Les Prisons (p. 173) refers to the practical abuse of regarding the Mass as a licence to sin. We can say with certainty only that Marguerite would undoubtedly have resisted vigorously any idea of a repetition or supplementing of Christ's sacrifice that would

detract from the redemption wrought by him on the cross. Though this represents the way in which the doctrine was understood by certain Catholics, it does not represent what must be considered the most authentic understanding of it.⁵³

It is the *récit de mort* of Charles d'Alençon in Les Prisons that contains the most specific discussion of the sacrament of unction. Charles has already made his communion and confession, listened to the narrative of the Passion read by his wife, and taken his final farewell of his retainers when the Bishop of Lisieux arrives to anoint him in the last rites. At this point Charles admonishes the Bishop that the sacrament of anointing is no longer what it was in the early Church:

« O mon Evesque, où est ce grand credit
Qu'avoit l'Eglise en donnant garison
Par unction et devotte oraison?
Plus ne voyons l'Eglise primitive
Prier par foy et charité naïve.» (III, ll. 2358-2362).

The Bishop answers Charles's criticism with the reply:

« Monsieur, dist il, ce sacrement vous vaille
Pour vous donner victoire en la bataille
Que l'Ennemy maintenant vous appreste.»
(III, ll. 2363-2365).

Charles responds that Christ has won the victory for him through his redemptive sacrifice on the cross. Though Simone Glasson suggests, 'on peut se demander si l'attitude de Charles d'Alençon n'implique pas, à la limite, une remise en cause de l'efficacité sacramentelle' (Les Prisons, p. 369), this is not necessarily the case. It is more likely

that the passage ought to be read, not as a denial of the sacrament, but a comment upon its true nature and proper use. Unction was regarded by almost all Catholics at this time as a sacrament of preparation for death. In the New Testament, however, anointing with oil is described as a rite of *healing*. Bouchet says that sacramental unction heals primarily the soul, though '*aucunesfois le corps quant cest au salut de lame*', (*Triumphes*, fol. cliii ro). Nevertheless he warns, '*ce sacrement ne doit estre baille a tous mallades indifferemment, mais seulement a ceulx quon voit en dangier de mort*' (loc. cit.). We can compare Charles's speech with Lefèvre d'Étaples's gloss of the Letter of St. James 5. 13-16. which treats of this anointing of the sick, and how in the early Church it brought health and comfort to many:

Et hoc adhuc arbitror fiebat illa tempestate: qua fidei fervor permanebat et devotio spiritus. Et ex unctione illa, infirmitatis suae levamen et alleviationem, saepe fide et perfecta in CHRISTO fiducia, qui sanat omnes languores nostros, et cuius nomen est oleum effusum, sentiebant qui aegrotabant, et oratio fidei multos sanitati restituebat, si peccatis etiam tenebantur astricti fides et orantium et infirmorum apud dei clementiam remissionem obtinebat peccatorum. Nunc autem quam paucae sint fidei ostendunt infirmi: qui quam possunt tardissime, aut nunquam advocant seniores ecclesiae ad consilium et consolationem animae ad fidem roborandam contra malignorum insultus, qui invalescentibus morbis maxime insurgere solent. Sed ubi desperatur de praesentis vitae salute, tunc loco seniorum ecclesiae, quos intelligit apostolus viros plenos spiritu et fide, verbum dei et salutis evangelium pure annunciantes, advocantur presbyteri qualescunque; (sic enim vocant eos qui sacramenta ministrant) et tunc etiam inunguntur protinus morituri, et nihil prorsus sit eorum aut perparum quae monet hic apostolus... O tempora: O mores. Qui misericors est et dives in omnes, nunc mundum sua misericordia, ad spiritum innovet, et ad fidei et doctrinae evangelicae gratiam.⁵⁴

It is remarkable how Charles's speech echoes the ideas of Lefèvre and is another testimony of the theologian's great influence upon Marguerite. The Queen is almost certainly here not denying the

validity of unction, but she is affirming her conviction that it is a sacrament of healing, rather than merely one of the *last rites*. Unction does not assure the soul of victory over death which comes only through Christ's own death, but rightly administered it can bring healing and wholeness to the sick.⁵⁵

Finally we should look at the sacrament of confession. We saw above how it was associated with the other two sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist. There are references to it in other poems, though of an allusive rather than a theological nature, as for example in the final lines of the Petit OEuvre:

Si par peché tresbuche quelquesfois,
Relevez vous tost par confession,
Tant que soyez à nouveau travail frais: (ll. 585-587).

Again in Les Prisons in defence of her brother's unreformed and dissolute way of life Marguerite writes, 'Il retournoit souvent à la fontaine/ De penitence' (III, ll. 2858-2859). In the face of François's persistent lack of amendment, the whole of this passage in his defence can only be read as an affirmation of the roles of faith and grace over human virtue. A phrase such as 'fontaine de penitence' whilst not referring specifically to the sacrament of penance obviously does allude to it: its contemporary connotations do not permit serious doubt on this point. The Queen might easily have employed other words with other connotations and avoided such words as 'confession' altogether but she did not feel herself compelled to do so. To say that the Miroir de l'ame pecheresse does not contain references to the sacrament is to say very little. The *miroir* is a meditative and

private genre, not explicative in the way of the *expositions*, *homilies* and *dialogues* by writers like D'Espence and Doré. Olivier's Miroir contains no references to the sacraments either, except to say in passing that man is forgiven and puts on Christ 'par la foy et sacrements' (fol. 56 ro).

Ultimately it can only be said that in her poetry Marguerite avoids all controversial matters concerning the practicalities of confession - questions of the nature of the role of the priest, and of the nature of satisfaction and absolution - as indeed did Erasmus in his Modus confitendi. We may be certain, however, that for Marguerite the essential ingredient of confession would be repentance or contrition, without which any subsequent confession and absolution she would surely deem of little worth. When *Hircan* says in the Heptaméron, 'Quant est de moy, je m'en suys souventesfois confessé, mais non pas gueres repenty', he receives the sharp reply from *Oisille*, 'Il vouldroit mieulx...ne se confesser point, si l'on n'a bonne repentance' (p. 207). We are led in the end to the conclusion that Marguerite would most probably be in favour of a renewal of confession, based upon true individual repentance and desire for amendment, rather than its abandonment. With Erasmus she would no doubt have recognized that 'lorgueil dhumainne cogitation, et le chief esleve contre dieu, ne peult par aultre moyen mieulx et plus efficacement estre humilie' (Maniere de se confesser, fol. A vi vo). Again here Marguerite is no doubt much influenced by Lefèvre, who whilst insisting on the necessity of contrition and conversion in penitence, maintained also the necessity of sacramental absolution for the remittance of post-baptismal sin.⁵⁶

In the case of each of the sacraments that we have examined, Marguerite seems to favour a renewal of existing traditional structures. Her fundamental understanding of the nature of a sacrament, as well as her understanding of the Church itself and the communion of saints is largely Catholic. However, on the question of the saints, she distances herself radically from the more extreme of her Catholic contemporaries, adopting a more moderate evangelical stance, but one whose concepts and formulations are themselves profoundly traditional and part of the medieval spiritual inheritance. It is a desire to promote true devotion that animates her attitude to the sacraments, where she is supremely influenced by the teachings of Lefèvre d'Étaples in particular. A devotion to the real presence of Christ in the Eucharistic species is to be based on a theology of the Incarnation and a soteriological call to Christiformity; the use of confession is to depend upon the sinner's true repentance, conversion and amendment of life; the anointing of the sick is to regain its true status as a sacrament of healing, and not remain a dead rite for the dying.

In fact Marguerite reveals on each of these questions opinions that she obviously holds with great conviction. She does not simply accept more or less received contemporary norms, nor does she reject these out of hand. She reveals herself once more to be a woman of considerable thought, and of an open mind, who weighs ideas on all sides around her and finally comes to adopt an informed religious and theological stance of considerable integrity and consistency.

Notes to Chapter Two.

- 1) See, Le Miroir de l'ame pecheresse, edited R. Salminen, *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Dissertationes Humanarum Litterarum*, 22 (Helsinki, 1979), pp. 21-30 and p. 10; also Higman, pp. 31-32.
- 2) On Marguerite's attitude to the problem of faith and charity see Chapter 3 below.
- 3) D. Erasmus, De Libero Arbitrio in Opera omnia, edited J. Clericus, 10 vols (Leiden, 1703-1706), IX, col. 1238 A.
- 4) Salminen, loc. cit., and pp. 75-84.
- 5) *ibid.*, pp. 83-84.
- 6) See, R. Lebègue, 'Le Second Miroir de Marguerite de Navarre' Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (1963), pp. 46-56. Lebègue lists various differences between the two editions which are presumably due to Olivier's emendations, and which give his edition a slightly more Catholic tone. It must be said that these changes involve minor details and on the whole are of the kind a work might normally undergo in its successive editions, and of which the Miroir de l'ame pecheresse itself provides many examples. Lebègue also thinks that some of Olivier's alterations are made for reasons of versification, for example the introduction of regular caesuras. Most of these changes are evidently cosmetic and do not alter the general tone of the work as a whole. Whilst I have not seen the Toulouse edition of the text all quotations here and in subsequent chapters have been checked against the manuscript BN ff. 24298 (the basis of A. Lefranc's Dernières Poésies de Marguerite de Navarre (Paris, 1896)), and can thus be assumed to represent Marguerite's authentic work.
- 7) P. Olivier, Le miroir du Chrestien et moyen de cognoistre Dieu et soymesme (Paris, G. Le Noir, 1556), fol. 2 vo.
- 8) Cf. above Chapter 1, pp. 49-52.
- 9) For example the states of i) Nature, ii) Law and iii) Grace, are contrasted by Erasmus (De libero arbitrio), i) permits the perception of the divinity; ii) cannot be fulfilled; iii) man is renewed. The three ages form also the basis of N. Mailly's Divine Cognoissance (Paris, G. de Bossozel, 1541), man is called by i) pagan philosophy and natural law, by which his spirit can apprehend God; ii) by the Mosaic Law, which cannot justify, and whose prophecies point forward to the next age; iii) the gospel of Christ which brings salvation to the man with faith and charity. Cf. also P. Doré, College de Sapience, Chapters I and II.
- 10) See Jourda, Marguerite d'Angoulême, II, pp. 1124-1127. It is difficult to conclude anything concerning the date of the composition

of the Triomphe de L'Agneau except that it may have been written sometime shortly before 1540.

11) Convivium Religiosum, Colloquia Familiara in Opera omnia, I, col. 638 E.

12) Fr. Habert, Les Epistres Heroides, pour servir d'exemple aux Chrestiens (Paris, M. Fezandat, 1560), fols. 88 vo-89 ro. First published in 1550.

13) Fr. Habert, L'institution de Liberalite chrestienne avec la misere et calamité de l'homme naissant en ce monde (Paris, G. Thyout, 1551), fols. 46 vo-47 vo.

14) Almanach spirituel et perpetuel, necessaire a tout homme sensuel et temporel (sind. [Alençon, S. Du Bois, c. 1529]), fols. A iii vo-iiii ro.

15) J. Bouchet, La deploration de leglise militante sur ses persecutions interiores et exteriores et imploration de aide en ses adversitez par elle solustenues en lan mil cinq cens dix: et cinq cens unze: que presidoit en la chaire mon seigneur saint pierre Julius Secundus (Paris, for G. Eustace, 1512).

16) J. Bouchet, Opuscles du traverseur des voyes perilleuses nouvellement par luy reveuz amandez et corrigez. Epistre de justice a linstruction et honneur des ministres dicelles. Le chappellet des princes. Ballades moralles. Deploration de leglise excitant les princes a paix (Poitiers, Jacques Bouchet, 1526), fol. I vii vo, my emphasis.

17) Recueil de plusieurs chansons spirituelles tant vieilles que nouvelles, avec le chant sur chascune: afin que le Chrestien se puisse esjouir en son Dieu et l'honorer: au lieu que les infidelles le deshonnorent par leurs chansons mondaines et impudiques ([Geneva, J. Girard], 1555), *Le Premier Livre*, pp. 188-189.

18) G. Petit, Le Viat de Salut, auquel est compris lexposition du symbole, des dix commandemens de la Loy, du Pater noster, et Ave Maria published with La Formation de l'homme et son excellence, et ce quil doit accomplir pour avoir Paradis etc. (Paris, G Du Pré, 1538), fol. 84 ro.

19) Le livre de vraye et parfaicte oraison (Paris, S. Du Bois, 1529), fols. lviii vo-lix ro. The work as a whole adopts the same over-all plan of composition as the Bethbüchlein (1522). The second exposition of the *Pater noster*, the second 'plus ample exposition' of the Ten Commandments, and most of the exposition of the Creed constitute partial translations of the corresponding sections of *Eyn kurz Form der zehn Gebot*, later incorporated in the Bethbüchlein.

20) Alphabet, ou Instruction Chrestienne, pour les petis Enfans. Nouvellement reveu et augmentee de plusieurs choses (Lyon, P. Estiard, 1555). See below Part Two Introduction, p. 202.

21) On the two sacraments see, Institution, IV, Ch. 19 (pp. 468-504); and on the communion of saints ibid., III, Ch. 20 (pp. 327-403). This point is made especially clearly in section 27, added in 1560.

22) A. Desiré, Plaisans et armonieux cantiques de devotion, composez sur le chant des Hymnes de nostre Mere sainte Eglise, à la louange de Dieu et de ses Saintz, qui est un second Contrepnison aux cinquante deux Chansons de Clement Marot (Paris, P. Gaultier, 1561), fols. 46 vo-47 ro.

23) R. Jordan, Contemplationes Idiote, edited J. Lefèvre d'Étaples (Paris, P. Regnault, 1538), fol. 49 ro. First published 1519.

24) J. Molinet, Les faictz et dictz de feu de bonne memoire Maistre Jehan Molinet contenans plusieurs beaulx Traictez, Oraisons, et Champs royaulx (Paris, vve. feu J. Saint-Denys, 1531).

25) Fr. Le Roy, Le dialogue de confidence en dieu moult devot, et consolatif pour relever lame pecheresse (Paris, S. Vostre, sd.), fol. b viii ro.

26) Florimond, Epistre Familiere de prier Dieu. Aultre epistre familiere d'almer Chrestienement. Item. Briefve doctrine pour deuement escrire selon la propriété du langage François (Paris, A. Augereau, 1531), fol. 3 vo and fols. 7 vo-8 ro. Published by Augereau as an appendix to his edition of the Miroir de l'ame pecheresse, which also includes J. Marot's L'Instruction et Foy d'ung Chrestien not listed on the title page. The same group of works was also published separately by S. Du Bois in 1533.

27) La Navire; ou Consolation du roi François Ier à sa soeur Marguerite, edited R. Marichal, BEHE, 306 (Paris, 1956), ll. 211-213. Written after the death of François Ier in 1547.

28) Marguerite de Navarre, Poésies Inédites, edited R. Sturel (Paris, 1914); (RSS, 2 (1914), 149-168), p. 2, my emphasis.

29) Sturel, loc. cit.

30) The Oraison de l'ame fidele was first published only in 1547 in the de Tournes edition of the Marguerites. According to Jourda, however, it was written some time before this, around the same time as the Miroir de l'ame pecheresse and thus it is likely to date from around 1527-1531, (Jourda, Marguerite d'Angoulême, II, p. 1109).

31) J. Gerson, Le mirouer de la vie de l'homme et de la femme, tres utile pour le salut des ames qui bien le visite et considere (also called Miroir de la court), (Paris, J. Real, 1549), fol. V vi ro.

32) J. Lefèvre d'Étaples, Commentarii initiatorii in quatuor evangelia (Cologne, P. Quentel, 1541), p. DCLX. Commenting upon John 17. The work was first published in 1522. Lefèvre in general shows the same concern for right devotion to the saints as Marguerite, emphasizing that their role is dependent on that of Christ. Whilst it is unlawful

to trust the saints more than Christ, the Blessed Virgin, for example, is not to be ignored, and God as he looks upon her sees those who stand with her. Cf. Boulding, pp. 234-236.

33) J. van Ruysbroeck, De ornatu spiritualium nuptiarum libri tres, edited J. Lefèvre d'Étaples (Paris, H. Stephanus, 1512), Lib. 2, cap. vi, 'Est autem gratia in anima similis candele in vase vitreo seu perspicua lucerna. nam illius instar vas ipsum id est hominem iustum calefacit, illuminat, et transradiat suo quidem habitatori se intrinsecus manifestans, si tamen sui fuerit attentus inspector, et per exteriora transradians opera, luceat proximis, virtutibus et exemplis ipsa vero gratie illuminatio hominem intrinsecus subito movet et excitat' (fol. 26 vo).

34) Line 12, 'Le saint esprit de Jesus en eulx crie' recalls the controversial evangelical text Rom. 8. 26. that reads in the Vulgate: 'Similiter autem et Spiritus adjuvat infirmitatem nostram: nam quid oremus sicut oportet, nescimus: sed Spiritus postulat pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilis'. Both Erasmus and Lefèvre substituted *interpellat* for *postulat* when translating the verse, thus initiating a controversy in which they were accused by Bêda of subscribing to the Macedonian heresy which makes the Holy Spirit a creature, and thus less important than the Father. At a scholarly level the debate centered on the nature of the Holy Spirit. In defence of *postulat* Bêda argued the text was to be understood 'nous fait postuler'; in defence of *interpellat* the evangelicals argued that Christ interceded with the Father, without any diminishment of his divinity. At a more practical level the Sorbonne interpretation emphasizes man's cooperation in prayer: the Holy Spirit 'nous fait prier'; for Erasmus and Lefèvre the Spirit prays at all times for all men. Thus Screech shows how Rabelais alludes to this text to assert i) the ability of all men to pray everywhere, as opposed to the idea of the prayers of some being more efficacious than those of others; ii) the assurance of grace. (For details of the controversy, as well as Rabelais's use of the text see, M.A. Screech, L'évangélisme de Rabelais, Aspects de la satire religieuse au XVI^e siècle, ER, 2 (Geneva, 1959), pp. 90-91.). Marguerite's allusion to the text here suggests a characteristic compromise. She affirms the prayer of the Spirit on our behalf, but this is situated in the heart of the believer, and thus it is that by the Holy Spirit the saints are drawn to share in the eternal intercession of Christ. Marguerite also believes all men can pray at all times and in all places (Dialogue, ll. 871-891), but she seems anxious to integrate this evangelical concept into a traditional religious framework. The prayers of the saints are not made superfluous by this discovery, but are given new value - the saints are supremely Christians, in whom the Spirit moves and who are associated with the prayer of Christ. (Cf. the Mirgix de l'ame pecheresse where this text is also alluded to. The same attitude to the text is apparent, but Marguerite's French betrays the influence of the Vulgate,

Par son Esprit fait un gémissement
Dens mon coeur, grand *inenarrablement*;
Et *postulant* le don, dont le sçavoir

Est incongnu à mon foible pouvoir.
(Marguerites, I, p. 18, my emphasis)).

35) Similar evidence is to be found in L'Heptaméron, edited M. François, (Paris, 1967). Cf. for example p. 388, Nouv. 65. In the ensuing discussion however there are expressions of approval for pious practices well-intentioned and free of superstition.

36) V. Brodeau, Les louanges De Jesus Nostre Sauveur, OEuvre tresexcellent Divin, et elegant... Avecques Les Louenges de la glorieuse Vierge Marie...Nouvellement Imprime veu et corrige (sl. 1540), fols. E iii vo-iv ro.

37) Mary is, 'la creature pleine de benediction, pleine de Dieu, pleine de sanctification. Sainte et immaculée virginité, par quel moyen te pourrois-je dignement louer, quant la souveraine deité t'a tant singulierement aymée, remplie de foy et de toute grace aornée, que tu es veritablement mere de ton Dieu, ton createur, ton sauveur et redempteur.... combien plus sur toutes creatures te doit on honorer, priser, estimer, quant en ton saint corps Dieu a voulu corporellement habiter et en ta precieuse ame spirituellement par foy demeurer, de laquelle spirituelle conception dit saint Augustin, que plus heureuse fut Marie en concepvant Dieu en son cuer par foy, que en le concepvant corporellement en son ventre.' J. Lefèvre d'Étaples, Epistres et Evangiles pour les cinquante et deux dimanches de l'an, edited G. Bedouelle and F. Giaccone (Leiden, 1976), pp. 368-369. On the history of this *topos* see, H. de Lubac, Exégèse médiévale. Les quatre sens de l'écriture, 4 vols (Paris, 1959-1964), IV, pp. 506-513. Lubac includes in his discussion of the history of this idea a brief consideration of the form it takes in the works of Marguerite de Navarre.

38) Cf. the final sestet of sonnet 32,

Car qui fait (disoit CHRIST) le vouloir de mon Pere,
Cestuy-là est ma soeur, et ma mere et mon frere;
La parenté charnelle est moins que celle-ci.
Soyons-luy donc ainsi mere spirituelle,
Et l'allaitons souvent d'une double mammelle;
C'est de l'amour de Dieu, et du prochain aussi.

A. de Marquets, Sonets spirituels. De feüe tres-vertueuse et tres-docte Dame Sr. Anne de Marquets Religieuse à Poissi, Sur les Dimanches et principales solennitez de l'Annee (Paris, C. Morel, 1605), p. 17. Published posthumously.

39) The theme of Mary as type of mystical union is not a primary one in the letters of Briçonnet, but it is touched upon occasionally, cf. Correspondance, II, pp. 78 and 268.

40) Cf. below Chapter 4, pp. 281-282.

41) This view is held by both St. Augustine (see, McGrath, I, pp. 32-33), and St. Thomas Aquinas (see, Summa Theologiae, 1a2ae, 109 art. 2,

4 and 5 (Blackfriars edition, various editors, 60 vols (London, Blackfriars, 1964-1976), XXX (1972), pp. 72-77, 80-87).

42) The emphasis on the role of faith in baptism itself is found also in Catholic writers, and does not detract from the effective nature of the sacrament. Cf. Cl. d'Espence who writes that primal innocence, 'perdu par Adam, trouve par Jesuchrist, nous est approprié par vive foy en sa parole au sacrement de baptesme' (Homilies sur la Parabole de l'enfant prodigue (Lyon, J. de Tournes 1547), p. 74.

43) Institution, IV, pp. 396-404, and elsewhere.

44) On Marcourt see, G. Berthoud, Antoine Marcourt, Réformateur et Pamphlétaire du « Livre des Marchans » aux Placards de 1534, THR, 129 (Geneva, 1973).

45) Ch. de Sainte-Marthe, La Poesie Francoise (Lyon, Le Prince, 1540), p. 111.

46) Cf. Cave, Devotional Poetry, pp. 203-216.

47) Luther, whilst rejecting the notion of indulgences, does not wholly reject the sacrament of confession. The seventh article of the Contra malignum Johannis Eccii Judicium M. Lutheri defensio (1519) states that only public and not private confession is of divine institution, but that private confession might still be beneficial if not, as was so often the case in contemporary practice, turned into a torment (D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe, edited H. Böhlau and others, 61 vols (Weimar, 1883-1983), II (1884), pp. 645-646). The Confitendi ratio (1520) also details practical reforms that need to be made in the way in which the sacrament is administered. Rejecting traditional formulas, Luther calls for an inner experience of forgiveness on the part of the penitent, he condemns traditional distinctions of sins as mortal and venial etc., and emphasizes that confession does not provoke God to forgive the penitent through his own exertions, but enables the latter to accept for himself God's promise of forgiveness (Werke, VI (1899), pp. 157-169). This is obviously untrue of marriage also which was greatly supported by the Reformers, who overturned the traditional Catholic hierarchy and affirmed marriage to be a higher state than that of chastity. They did not however regard it as a sacrament, despite its being a state instituted by God. As the debate about marriage was often as much a practical as a theological one, and Marguerite does not treat of it in her poetry in specifically religious terms, I do not include it in this study. Marguerite's attitude to marriage and to love in general has been examined by many critics, especially with reference to L'Heptaméron, and often in the context of a discussion of the nature and extent of the influence upon Marguerite of the ideas of neo-Platonism. See for example, N. Cazauran, L'Heptaméron de Marguerite de Navarre (Paris, 1976), pp. 244-255.

48) See works such as the Breve instruction pour soy confesser en verite, attributed by E. Droz to Jean Le Comte de la Croix (slnd. [Alençon, S. Du Bois, 1530-1534]); La Fontaine de Vie. De laquelle

resourdent tresdoulces consolations, singulierement necessaires aux cueurs affligez: Plus y est adjoûte linstruction pour les enfans (Paris, E. Caveiller, 1542); M. Marsurier, Instruction et doctrine a se bien confesser, et prier Dieu pour ses pechez, extraicte des saintes escriptures: tant du vieil que du nouveau testament (sl., 1550). A Catholic corrective to this work was published with the same title by R. Benoist, (Paris, G. Guillard and Th. Belot, 1565). Erasmus's Maniere de se confesser was censured retrospectively in the wake of the trial of Dolet in 1544, twenty years after its first publication.

49) Doré, Dialogue de la Foy, fols. lxi vo-lxvi ro; D'Espence, Homilies, pp. 44-57; Bouchet, Triumphes, fols. lxxxi vo-lxxxviii and ff.

50) Poésies du Roi François Ier, de Louise de Savoie duchesse d'Angoulême, de Marguerite, reine de Navarre, et correspondance intime du roi avec Diane de Poitiers et plusieurs autres dames de la cour, edited A. Champollion-Figeac (Paris, 1847), p. 144.

51) Cf. Jourda, Marguerite d'Angoulême, I, pp. 117-118.

52) Lefèvre, commenting upon the beginning of Romans 8. writes, 'Sed dices. Quomodo carni eius unitur caro nostra? Certe quoties sacrosanctum eius corpus sumimus: caro carni, et spiritus eius spiritui nostro unitur, ut unum corpus et unus spiritus in eo simus, et non secundum carnem sed secundum spiritum ambulemus' Epistolae divi Pauli apostoli, cum commentariis praeclarissimi viri Jacobi Fabri Stapulensis (Paris, J. Petit, 1531), fol. LXVIII vo; cf also fol. XCVII (I. Corinthians 11.). On the idea of Christiformity see Chapter 1 above, p. 66, and p. 88 n. 37.

53) For a comprehensive study of medieval and Reformation attitudes to the idea of the Eucharistic sacrifice, and a good summary of twentieth century scholars' understandings of these, see, E.L. Mascall, Corpus Christi. Essays on the Church and the Eucharist, second edition (London, 1965), Chapter V 'The Eucharistic Sacrifice I', esp. pp. 105-126, and Chapter VIII 'The Eucharistic Theology of St. Thomas', esp. pp. 215-218. For modern understandings see, Mascall, Chapter VI, and the 'Statement on Eucharistic Doctrine', II, art. 5, with the relevant Elucidation by the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission (The Final Report (Oxford, 1982)).

54) Lefèvre d'Étaples, Commentarii in epistolas Catholicas (Cologne, 1570), pp. 79-80.

55) It has only been in this century, in the wake of the Second Vatican Council, (the 'Constitution on Liturgy'), that this aspect of unction, now commonly called the sacrament of healing or of the sick, has been recovered and brought to the fore by the Catholic Church. Cf. the article on 'Unction', The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, edited F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone, second edition (Oxford, 1978), pp. 1406-1407.

56) See Boulding, pp. 159; 208-209; 238-240.

PART TWO

RELIGIOUS LANGUAGE

Introduction.

The Clash of Text and Context.

In the medieval Schools the study of theology was carried out according to the strict rules of logic. Fundamental to Scholastic method was the Aristotelian syllogism - a process of reasoning by which, from two propositions having a common or middle term, a third term might be deduced, from which this middle term was absent. So also, at the higher levels within the university, theology was expounded and taught primarily in debate governed by the principles of dialectic. A problem or question would be set, and arguments for and against put forward, often by young aspirants to the higher academic grades, after which a Doctor would draw distinctions and provide a solution to the problem, reconciling the hitherto seemingly contrary opinions. The *quaestio*, the *videtur quod*, *sed contra*, and *responsio*: these were the tools of the Schoolmen, and the weapons with which the young master must win his spurs if he wished to be admitted to the grade of Doctor.¹ A Scholastic text itself reads much like a debate. A proposition is put forward by the author, arguments against its veracity are often given first, followed by those that support it, and finally the writer's own position is stated. Where a problem appeared particularly difficult, distinctions were drawn to narrow the scope of the question down to manageable proportions, and focus more and more precisely upon its central issue. A resolution found to this could be expanded and elaborated until the question as it stood originally

could at last be answered.² Essential also to Scholastic method was the citing of authorities. Marginal references or short quotations from earlier theologians whose work was recognized as true would be assembled by a writer to lend weight and substance to whatever opinion he was expounding. If the authorities cited were recognized as authentic then so would the arguments being set forth.

From the combined force of all these different aspects of Scholastic method - the citing of authorities, the drawing of distinctions, and the process of logical dialectic - resulted a theology that could largely be conveyed through traditional, well tried and tested formulae. It is for this reason that so many Scholastic opinions and counter opinions came to be summed up by the Latin tags used to expound them. Are the sacraments effective *ex opere operato* or *ex opere operans*; is a particular grace in question created or uncreated, the *forma transformata* or the *forma transformans*; is it actual or habitual, *gratia gratis data* or *gratia gratum faciens*, is it *operans* or *cooperans*?³

In time, Scholastic formulae became consecrated through use. They were learned, repeated, and passed on. Many of them came to operate as a kind of shorthand and to summarize succinctly a complex theological position. Scholastic methodology assumes and indeed demands an attitude to language that might be termed *credal*. Every word and group of words within a text must be capable of standing as true on its own. Should the spotlight of dialectic be focussed on a phrase it must not crumble into ambiguity, but be able to resist,

theological meaning intact, the most rigorous logical analysis. The linguistic unit of Scholasticism is the *sententia*, the short phrase, or even the word, *verbum*; the smallest unit capable of conveying meaning. The Schoolmen normally made a point as concisely as possible. A Scholastic tome is long, as the author explores one aspect of a problem after another, but each individual paragraph is generally short. Here is a methodology that feeds off and exploits to the full the opportunities for concision and exactitude offered by a declined language like Latin. It is not on the whole a theology that translates easily or happily into the vernacular.

With the rise of humanism in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it is not an exaggeration to say that there develops a wholly new and alternative theological method to that of the Scholastics. New theological languages are introduced; as well as Latin, Hebrew and Greek must now be mastered by the theologian, and in contrast to the uni-lingual world of the Schoolmen, develops the tri-lingual world of humanist theology. Not only languages, but texts too multiply. In 1509 Lefèvre d'Étaples published the first edition of his Quincuplex Psalterium with its five texts of the psalter and critical commentary. In 1516 Erasmus published the first edition of his Novum Instrumentum, and in 1519 a much corrected and revised second edition, in which he sets his own Latin translation of the New Testament next to a critically established version of the Greek text.⁴ Erasmus's intention may not have been to tear up the Vulgate, but when Scholastic procedure was so dependent on the Latin *sententia*, with its

fixed forms of words, the challenge to their theological methodology ran the risk of being fundamental and devastating.

The humanists also adopt a new attitude to the authorities. With the Scholastic Doctors laid aside as corrupt and irrelevant, the humanists had recourse to the more ancient authorities. Erasmus and Lefèvre d'Étaples, men of very different theological outlooks in many ways, are nevertheless at one in their tendency to equate antiquity with authenticity in their assessment of the inherited theological tradition. Thus they prefer Augustine, Ambrose, Origen, and the Greek Fathers in general.⁵ What is more, no longer does the import and weight of a citation depend primarily upon the general reputation of the authority himself. Erasmus is quite willing to disagree with any of the most venerable of the Fathers on a particular issue when he thinks they are wrong. He will refute a particular patristic teaching, and in his support muster a galaxy of other authorities to allege a consensus of theological and patristic opinion in his favour. He thus demonstrates a much more synthetic attitude to the Fathers, based not upon their general reputation of irrefutability, but upon the strength of the arguments they use to support their teaching. Where one of the Fathers errs, Erasmus is quite prepared to enlighten him, bringing to bear the advantages of his own considerable scholarship, and that of other theologians too.⁶

So in the interests of the establishment of the most authentic texts and the most authentic authorities, comparison and contextuality come

into play with a force that serves to undermine the single texts of the past, and especially that text of all texts, the Vulgate Bible.

Context also becomes a vital concept in biblical exegesis. The humanists accused the Scholastics of lifting phrases out of the Scriptures without regard for the context within which they were situated, of thus divorcing them from the site within which they ought to have been interpreted, and of piling upon them irrelevant meanings. The classic text from the Epistle to the Hebrews that served the Sorbonne as a definition of faith is a case in point. The phrase, '*est autem fides sperandarum substantia rerum, argumentum non apparentium*', Hebrews. 11. 1. was used by certain theologians to support a definition of faith as not only a belief in God's promises and in his power to bring them to fulfilment, but also as a belief in each and all of the revealed teachings of the Church. As this text is set in the Epistle in the context of a eulogy on Abraham and the other righteous patriarchs of the Old Testament, it is necessary for those who adopt this interpretation of the text to argue that, if Abraham was justified by his faith, this must mean the faith he had in the Christ who was to come and in his Church. Erasmus, and other humanist theologians after him, finding this interpretation wholly implausible, argued that the context of the verse precluded this interpretation. Instead, he argued, the verse in question must be understood less as a definition of faith, than as a description in praise of faith and its attendant qualities. He thus interprets '*fides*' in this context as signifying *fiducia*, that is, trust, confidence, or assurance.⁷

It is one of the primary tenets of Erasmus's hermeneutics, expounded in his Ratio seu methodus compendio perveniendi ad veram thelogiam of 1518, that interpretations must not be hoist upon fragments of text, but that any interpretation of a pericope must arise from a careful reading of it within its proper context.

Accedet hinc quoque lucis nonnihil ad intelligendum scripturae sensum, si perpendamus non modo quid dicatur verum etiam a quo dicatur, cui dicatur, quibus verbis dicatur, quo tempore, qua occasione, quid praecedat, quid consequatur.⁹

It is also by collation and comparison of more than one text that difficulties of interpretation posed by passages of Scripture, whose meanings are obscure, are to be resolved.⁹

The Reformed, humanist theologian, Melanchthon, tries to show in his Elementa Rhetorices that the Scholastic four-fold exegesis of Scripture cannot always be applied to every verse of the Bible, and indeed if it is, only results in absurdities,

Sed quoniam huius rei mentio obiter incidit, duxi etiam adiciendam esse quarundam vocum interpretationem, quae alicubi occurrunt in Theologis. Quidam enim inepte tradiderunt quatuor esse scripturae sensus: Literalem, Tropologicum, Allegoricum et Anagogicum. Et sine discrimine omnes versus totius scripturae quadrifariam interpretati sunt. Id autem quam sit viciosum facile iudicari potest... Haec duxi hoc in loco, de quatuor sensibus dicenda esse, ut admonerem unam aliquam, ac simplicem, et certam sententiam in singulis locis quaerendam esse, quae cum perpetuo contextu orationis, et cum circumstantiis negotii consentit. Nec ubique licet allegorias quaerere, nec temere aliud ex grammatica sententia ratiocinandum est, sed videndum, quid in unoquoque loco deceat, nec pignantia fingenda sunt cum articulis fidei.¹⁰

We see emerging therefore a conflict of attitudes towards reading and language within the domain of theological expression. The attitude of

the Faculty of Theology of Paris is essentially credal, advocating the recapitulation of safe, tried and tested formulae, consecrated by usage and by time, whilst that of the humanists demands an approach involving contextuality, comparison and collation. The humanists force a reading of the whole text. They simplify the traditional four-fold exegesis of Scripture, formerly seen as applicable to every verse of the Bible, and replace it with a scholarly reading of texts within context, involving recourse to an allegorical interpretation only when the context invites this, or when the literal, historical sense of a passage would be meaningless. Likewise every phrase of humanist theology will very often not stand as complete and as true on its own, and must be read within the context of the whole work from which it is drawn. Though many a heterodox proposition might be extracted from the works of Erasmus, it is possible to argue for an orthodox interpretation of his thought as a whole. The linguistic unit of the humanists is not the *sententia*, or the *verbum*, but the *oratio*, the whole text, the copious discourse.' It is hardly surprising that these two methodological attitudes to the expression and reading of theology should come into conflict.

The conflict that in the sixteenth century comes to a head is fired also by the advent of printing. The increased possibilities that printing afforded for the dissemination of ideas in ever increasing volume, over much larger areas, and with greater rapidity and efficiency than ever before, made it more and more difficult for the ecclesiastical authorities to keep theological ideas on a tight rein. In the end the censors were simply not able to keep abreast of the

flood of new theology issuing from the printing presses of Europe. This conflict was not, however, a wholly new phenomenon and theologians like Meister Eckhart (c. 1260 - before 1329) had suffered as a result of it in the past. His writings contained ideas that verged at times on the heterodox, but which, if read in the context of the philosophical system his works sought to establish, were none the less perfectly capable of bearing an orthodox interpretation. In the case of Eckhart, the unsatisfactory nature of the process of censorship, that consisted of propositions being extracted from his works by subordinates of the commission of enquiry and submitted to the judges in isolation without their being required to examine his complete works, is attested even by the most eminent of those concerned with his trial.¹²

It is also important not to forget the historical situation within which this clash takes place. The climate in the pre-Tridentine Church of the first half of the sixteenth century, in which the orthodox or heretical nature of particular opinions was often a matter for debate, and in which a greater degree of freedom of interpretation and teaching was allowed than was to be tolerated later, is yet another factor that highlights the importance of the concept of context for an understanding of religious writing at this time. With so many shades of theological opinion that merge gradually into each other it is often impossible to draw sharp divisions between one school of thought and another. Despite the insistence of J.K. Farge upon the role of the Faculty of Theology in drawing together for the French people the disparate elements of Scripture, the Fathers and

Doctors, papal teaching, and conciliar decisions, so that it formed the unifying force at the centre of what he terms the 'organic magisterium' of the Church at this time,'¹³ it is also clear, as Higman points out, that the Faculty often stood on its own, wholly isolated *contra mundum*, and it is impossible to affirm that disagreement with the Faculty was necessarily to be regarded as heterodox.¹⁴ As Higman concludes, 'the Gallican Church [at least up until 1540] was an organism with many diverse tendencies; its doctrinaire, scholastic, *intégriste* wing (represented by the Sorbonne) was balanced by a liberal movement which could accommodate an attitude of radical reform of doctrine and practice within the body of the Church'.¹⁵

It is in this Church that a man like Claude d'Espence, Rector of the University of Paris in 1540, Doctor of the Faculty of Theology from 1542, advisor to the Cardinal de Lorraine, royal delegate to the Council of Trent by letters patent of 1547, can, in that same year, publish a Consolation en adversité that he dedicates to Marguerite de France, sister of Henry II, and which is nothing less than a faithful translation of a work by Martin Luther, the Tessaradecas Consolatoria of 1520. The work is largely spiritual and pastoral in nature, and contains little that could be suspected of being specifically heterodox, other than a passage on the honours to be paid to the saints, the tone of which is best described as Erasmian. Apparently, then, some churchmen were open-minded enough to be prepared to recognize spiritual teaching from whatever quarter it might come. In a post-script to his work, preferring, as he says, to imitate Pliny, who acknowledged his borrowings, rather than AEsop's raven, which

decked itself in the feathers of other birds, D'Espence writes: 'parquoy javoue en ce present livret n'y avoir grand cas du mien, oultre le temps et labeur de tourner dune langue en autre, et te prie ceste recongnissance me servir dexcuse envers toy contre toute ingratitude et larcin, quand Lauteur Latin un ou plusieurs de ceste consolation viendra en tes mains'.¹⁶ As there were no anonymous editions of the Latin text, it is impossible that D'Espence could be ignorant of the identity of his Latin author or authors.¹⁷ What is perhaps even more surprising is that D'Espence's translation is more faithful to Luther's original Latin text than the translation published by Simon Du Bois sometime between the mid 1520s and early 1530s.¹⁸

In the same year as the Consolation, D'Espence also published a Paraphrase, ou Meditation, sur l'oraison dominicale (Lyons, J. de Tournes), which again is not an original work, but almost wholly extracted from the Canonis Missae Expositio by the German, late-Scholastic theologian, Gabriel Biel. Two more distant theological poles than Luther and Biel it is difficult to imagine, yet they come together in the interests of this liberal, Gallican churchman, who died with the reputation of being the wisest theologian of his time.¹⁹ For his pains D'Espence saw both these translations condemned by the Sorbonne in August 1553, and again in September of the same year, and inscribed on the 1556 *Index* of prohibited books.

D'Espence must not be regarded as untypical of his time in the catholicity of his borrowings. Sections of works, prayers, or meditations, are often lifted by editors out of earlier works and

reprinted in later anthologies. Time and time again the modern reader is surprised to find pieces he recognizes turning up in unexpected contexts.

In 1555 Estiard published an Alphabet, ou Instruction Chrestienne, pour les petis Enfans. Despite the calendar of Catholic feasts with which the work opens, and which is no doubt intended to lend it a appearance of orthodoxy, the work is essentially Protestant in tone. It begins with an exposition of the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Apostles' Creed, the three essential introductory elements of any Protestant catechism, after which follows a collection of 'devotes et Chrestiennes oraisons, qui doivent estre apprinses et dictes ordinairement, non seulement des petis enfans, mais de toutes personnes chrestiennes', (fol. B vii ro). The various prayers in this anthology reflect many of the ideas of Luther. The role of sanctification as a contributory part of the process of salvation, in which man actively participates, is denied. Emphasis is placed instead upon man's justification by Christ, and upon sanctification given as a divine gift at the same time. Whilst the saints are completely absent from the work, the doctrine of the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist is strongly affirmed, as is the role of civil and secular authority in the providential ordering of the world, the Church being firmly subordinated to the ruling prince. Within this collection of prayers there is one for the peace of the Church, which, whilst not wholly discordant with the rest of the work, seems nevertheless to fit somewhat uneasily into its context, and much

of the precise significance of the sentiments expressed by the prayer are difficult to assess.

Lamenting the discord that tears the Church apart, it refers to the Church as Christ's 'tresaymée espouse', and asks him to 'flechir ces gracieux et doux yeux, desquelz tu regardas Pierre, le souverain Pasteur de ton Eglise, et incontinent il se repentit' (fol. E iv ro). The writer also complains 'que moult de loups sont entrés, tant par force, que par fraude, en ta bergerie' (fol. E iv vo). Whilst the prayer could be the work of a partisan of the Reformed Church, complaining of specific attacks upon the true Church by the wolves of Rome, it could equally be the work of a Catholic writer complaining of the usurping arrogance of the Lutherans, or indeed of the avarice and unscrupulous behaviour of other Catholics. Lupine imagery is used liberally and equally in polemical literature by all parties in the religious world to describe any of the others.

The prayer continues: 'Tu vois par quelz ventz, quelles vagues, quelz tourmens est agitée ta navire, hors laquelle tu ne veux à aucun estre salut. Que reste il, sinon qu'icelle noyée et enfondrée, nous perissions tous? Noz pechés ont élevé ceste tempeste, nous l'advouons et confessons' (fol. E iv vo). Here the prayer seems initially to reflect the attitude of a Catholic writer rather than a Protestant, with its affirmation of the Church as the only bark of salvation, and yet the admission that the Church might be liable to sink through the weakness of its members, and that their sinfulness has brought about the present disasters seems again to reflect more a Reformed concept

of the Church as a collection of the elect, rather than the Catholic idea of the Church as a divinely ordained institution. Again we wonder whether the prayer might be referring to a specific persecution of the Reformed Church by the Catholics. This impression is reinforced when we read the exhortation, 'Ne vueilles poser ce qui est deu à noz merites, mais ce qui convient à ta misericorde', (fol. E v ro).

The writer goes on to pray fervently for the renewal of the Church, and especially for its clergy. Though the word priest is not wholly eschewed, the word preferred to describe the Church's ministers is 'pasteurs'.

Fortifie d'un franc Esprit tant ton espouse sainte, que les pasteurs d'icelle... Donne aux pasteurs lesquelz il t'a pleu mettre en ton lieu, et leur bailler ton vicariat, le don et grace de Prophetie, à fin qu'ilz exposent les saintes escritures, non par sens humain, mais par ton inspiration. (fol. E vii ro-vo, viii ro).

Are these 'pasteurs' Lutheran ministers, Catholic priests, or even bishops? It is very difficult to ascertain the theological standpoint of the author, and what is more, our reading of the prayer is coloured by the context of the work within which we find it.

Estiard's anthology is not, however, the first time that the prayer appears in print. In fact it is included in D'Espence's Paraphrase sur l'oraison dominicale, referred to already, and when the prayer is read in the context of his ideas and writings, it becomes at once much easier to make sense of it. Like Lefèvre d'étales and Guillaume Briçonnet, D'Espence was one of those Gallican churchmen who were

wholly committed to the unity of the Catholic Church and to whom all suggestions of schism were abhorrent. At the same time these men remained fervent advocates of the need for a thorough reform of the Church through the renewal of its members. Hence the traditional imagery in D'Espence's prayer of the Church as the Bride of Christ and only bark of salvation; hence the prayer's attribution of the lamentable disorder of the Church to the laxity and sinfulness of its members; hence too the invocation to Christ to effect their interior conversion and renewal. These churchmen were in the main aristocratic members of the high clergy, and their vision for the renewal of the Church hinged upon the renewal of the episcopate, which, through its example of fidelity and probity, was to initiate and to encourage the reformation of the rest of the clergy, and ultimately of the whole of the Body of Christ. It is a programme of reform that has been termed by one modern historian of the period 'a leadership without a following'.²⁰ Hence also the insistence with which D'Espence's prayer pleads for the quickening of the Church's pastors by the Holy Spirit. The word pastor, emphasizing as it does the obligations of the cure of souls exercised by the bishops, and their pastoral responsibilities rather than their princely authority, is the obvious choice of vocabulary for a man like D'Espence. Whilst, as we said earlier, the Paraphrase is largely a compilation of texts extracted from Gabriel Biel's Canonis Missae Expositio, the prayer for the peace of the Church is mainly the work of D'Espence and reflects supremely his concerns. Whilst it is possible to suggest which part of Biel's commentary probably served as D'Espence's initial inspiration, nevertheless original to D'Espence's prayer are precisely those

elements we have outlined above as representing his own peculiar attitudes and preoccupations.²¹

The first half of the sixteenth century, then, for both historical and ideological reasons, sees a remarkable clash between the idea of the text and the context. It is a time when the forces of two radically different theological ideologies are at play. In the domain of Church doctrine the copious discourse of humanism challenges the authority of the safe and oft repeated formulae of the Scholastics, and in the domain of biblical exegesis the historical and philological challenge the authority of the allegorical. The path we shall pursue in building up our picture of the context within which the works of Marguerite de Navarre are to be understood, will be to investigate which groups of writers use which theological formulae, images, and themes, in what context, and why they do so. It ought then to be possible to ascertain why Marguerite de Navarre herself adopts certain formulae, images, or themes and eschews others, and whether as a result of the context within which she uses them, their meanings remain constant, are altered, or multiplied. The importance of linguistic concepts and figures used in the expression of theological ideas on the nature and formulation of those ideas is patent, and it is on these grounds that we adopt this method.²²

Notes to Introduction Part Two.

1) For a detailed discussion of Scholastic training and its procedures see, Farge, pp. 7-54; and for a more general discussion of its methodology see Ozment, Chapter 1, esp. pp. 5-7; for a somewhat jaundiced assessment of neo-Scholasticism on the eve of the Reformation see, L. Febvre, Life in Renaissance France, second edition (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, 1979), pp. 78-82, five essays translated and edited by Marian Rothstein, first published in Revue des cours et conférences and reprinted in the author's Pour une histoire à part entière.

2) The influence of Scholastic methodology was to remain enormously far-reaching. Cf. its influence on a seventeenth-century thinker like Descartes, who, despite his hatred of the Schoolmen, and his abhorrence of the syllogism, nevertheless is obviously much influenced by them in the formulation of his own method. See, E.J. Kearns, Ideas in Seventeenth-Century France. The most important thinkers and the climate of ideas in which they worked. (New York, 1979), pp. 10-11, 48, 54-55, 183 n. 40.

3) For an explanation of these different Scholastic terms pertaining to the nature of grace see, McGrath, I, pp. 78-82 and 108-109.

4) There are modern editions of both these texts: J. Lefèvre d'Étaples, Quincuplex Psalterium. Fac-similé de l'édition de 1513, THR, 170 (Geneva, 1979); Erasmus' Annotations on the New Testament: Facsimile of the final Latin Text (1535), with all earlier variants (1516, 1519, 1522 and 1527), edited A. Reeve (London, 1986).

5) On the attitude of Lefèvre d'Étaples and his followers to the Fathers and Church tradition see, J.-P. Massaut, Critique et tradition à la veille de la réforme en France (Paris, 1974), esp. the conclusions pp. 107-109, cf. also pp. 67-69. On Erasmus and Lefèvre see M. Mann, Erasme et les débuts de la réforme française (1517-1536), BLR, nouv. sér., 22 (Paris, 1934), Chapters 2 and 3; and on Erasmus see also, M. O'Rourke Boyle, Erasmus on Language and Method in Theology (Toronto and Buffalo, 1977), pp. 13-17.

6) For instance his rejection of Saint Augustine's understanding of the Latin word *verbum*, and thus its suitability as a translation of the Greek *logos* in the Johannine Prologue. See, Boyle, pp. 19-21.

7) For a more detailed account of this controversy see, Screech, pp. 12-15.

8) Erasmus, Opera omnia, V, 85E.

9) See Boyle, p. 91.

10) P. Melanchthon, Elementorum rhetorices libri duo, in Opera omnia, edited by C.G. Bretschneider and H.E. Bindseil, Corpus Reformatorum, 28 vols (Brunswick, etc., 1834-1860), XIII (Halle, 1846), cols. 417-506, (cols. 466-472).

11) See, Boyle pp. 124-125.

12) See, Meister Eckhart, The Essential Sermons, Commentaries, Treatises, and Defense, translated and with introduction by E. Colledge OSA and Bernard McGinn, The Classics of Western Spirituality (New York, Ramsey, and Toronto, 1981), pp. 11-13.

13) See, Farge, pp. 161-162.

14) See, Higman, p. 29 and pp. 37-45.

15) Higman, p. 45.

16) Claude d'Espence, Consolation en adversité (Lyon, J. de Tournes, 1547), pp. 141-142.

17) For a list of editions of the Tessaradecas Consolatoria see, M. Luther, Werke, VI (1899), pp. 101-103.

18) This is the case, for example, with the passage on the honours due to the saints referred to above. The tone of this passage in Luther's original Latin text is Erasmian, and this is rendered faithfully into French by D'Espence. The translation published by Du Bois however, the Consolation chrestienne, significantly adapts the sense of the original to give it a much more Protestant emphasis.

19) See A. Cartier, Bibliographie des éditions des de Tournes, imprimeurs lyonnais, 2 vols (Paris, 1937-1938), I, p. 232.

20) H. Heller, The Conquest of Poverty. The Calvinist Revolt in Sixteenth Century France, SMRT, 35 (Leiden, 1986), p. 71 and Chapter 3 in general.

21) 'Sed fidem ecclesie tue benignus respice: in qua eam tibi in sponsam (propheta Osea teste) desponsasti Osee. ii. In qua eam lavacro aque in verbo vite: ut apostolus ait ad Ephesios. v. sanctificasti. In qua eam ne deficeret (ut Lucas ait c. xxii.) confirmasti. Ecclesie tue sponse tibi grate: sponse sine macula et crimine: sponse secundum sui partem unam te amplexantem in patria beatifice. Sequitur petitio. Eamque secundum sui alteram partem adhuc in valle lachrymarum peregrinantem: varias persecutiones ab infidelibus et hereticis sustinentem: in tuo tamen semper auxilio respirantem. Pacificare: ab infidelibus perfidis: et coadunare: in fidei et charitatis vinculis digneris: tu domine iesu christe secundum tuam voluntatem piissimam: ex qua in ipsa dignatus es carnem fragilem assumere secundum tuam voluntatem amorosissimam: ex qua dignatus es pro ipsa mortem tolerare secundam voluntatem tuam magnificentissimam: qua dignatus es teipsum in cibum sub hac sacramentali specie condonare: per eumque tanquam per viaticum ut te in celum ascendentem

sequi valeat roborare. Addunt aliqui Custodire a maculis et vitiis. Regere in prosperis et adversis: sed ordo romanus non habet. Quatenus in bonis pacificata: et in malis custodita: in charitate coadunata: intus forisque a te recta: tanti communione edulii habeatur digna. Qui vivis potenter: et regnas sapienter. Cum patre tibi consubstantiali [et] coeterno. In unitate spiritus sancti: qui nexus est amorosus. Deus: in essentia unus: in personis trinus. Per omnia secula seculorum eternaliter. Amen.', Gabriel Biel, Perspicacissimi...viri G. Biel...sacri Canonis missae tum mystica, tum literalis expositio (Lyons, 1542), fol. 215 ro. This extract comes from the part of the exposition dealing with the prayers coming immediately after the Lord's Prayer in the canon of the Mass, and forming part of the *Pax*.

22) Cf. Boyle's study of Erasmus in this respect. Her book seeks to answer the initial question: 'How does Erasmus' understanding of the nature and function of language inform his understanding of the nature and method of theology?', Boyle, p. xiii-xiv.

CHAPTER THREE.

The Consecration of Formulae and the Theological Virtues.

1) St. Paul, Augustine and Aquinas.

The practical nature of man's response to God, has always been one of the prime concerns of the theologian. One of the biblical texts that has inspired much of the thought on this subject in the West is the thirteenth chapter of the First Letter of St. Paul to the Corinthians, in which St. Paul describes three ways in which man responds to God: namely through faith, hope, and charity. Moreover St. Paul establishes the pre-eminence of charity, the third of what came to be known as the theological virtues, over the other two: 'Nunc autem manent, fides, spes, charitas: tria haec; maior autem horum est charitas' (I. Cor. 13. 13).

St. James, in his Catholic Epistle, stresses the need for the faith of the Christian to be shown in practical works if it is to be truly valid. He contrasts this living faith, by which a man is justified, with what he calls dead faith, which is nothing more than an intellectual assent to the existence of God, and which even the very devils possess, 'Tu credis quoniam unus est Deus: bene facis: et daemones credunt, et contremiscunt' (Iac. 2. 19).

Elsewhere in his writings, however, St. Paul seems to stress the unique role of faith in effecting a man's justification, and most notably in his Letter to the Romans. It must be said that whilst St. Paul treats elsewhere of the question of faith and works, in his First Letter to the Corinthians this is not his primary intention. Here he is examining the question of the relationship of faith and love as aspects of man's response to God, and his relationship with him: his faith in him, his hope through him, and his love of him. If St. Paul here makes it clear that faith without charity is of no value, so he stresses also that works without charity are equally useless. It is charity that will be the occupation of those souls who reach heaven's eternity.

There remains, however, the question of whether our faith in God or our love of him is the more important aspect of our relationship with him on earth, and if later generations of theologians searched the Scriptures for a text that would reconcile the apparent contradiction in this aspect of the thought of the Apostle of the Gentiles, they were to find it in the Letter to the Galatians: 'Nos enim spiritu ex fide, spem iustitiae expectamus. Nam in Christo Iesu neque circumcisio aliquid valet, neque praeputium: sed fides, quae per charitatem operatur' (Gal. 5. 5-6).

For St. Augustine faith was the gift of God by which justification came to man, but in his concept of justification as both act and process, it was charity that brought its augmentation, and led man to perfection. The work of man's regeneration, begun at baptism and

continued throughout his life, was effected by the Holy Spirit himself, who poured into the heart of the believer the love of God. For Augustine faith by itself was not enough to justify, and must needs be accompanied by love. Pure faith for Augustine signified intellectual assent, like that possessed by St. James's devils. The faith which justified, by contrast, was of the sort described by St. Paul in his Letter to the Galatians, since in the end it was love alone that could bring man into personal and intimate relationship with the Godhead. Again for Augustine the question was not perceived primarily in terms of faith and works, but of faith and love as aspects of man's relationship to God. In his commentary on the Letter to the Galatians, Augustine expounds faithfully the thought of St. Paul, who here contrasts the grace of faith that works through charity to a trust in the works of the Law.

Causa propter quam scribit Apostolus ad Galatas, haec est, ut intelligant gratiam Dei id secum agere, ut sub Lege jam non sint. Cum enim praedicata eis esset Evangelii gratia, non defuerunt quidam ex circumcisione, quamvis Christiani nomine, nondum tamen tenentes ipsum gratiae beneficium, et adhuc volentes esse sub oneribus Legis, quae Dominus Deus imposuerat, non iustitiae servientibus, sed peccato, justam scilicet Legem injustis hominibus dando ad demonstranda peccata eorum, non auferenda: non enim aufert peccata nisi gratia fidei, quae per dilectionem operatur.¹

It is for this reason that a modern scholar has said that if there is to be any summary of Augustine's theology of salvation, it must be not 'sola fide iustificamur', but 'sola caritate iustificamur'.²

To this first distinction by Augustine of different types of faith the Scholastic theologians were to bring their accustomed refinements and precisions. The Summa Theologiae of St. Thomas Aquinas devotes

many paragraphs to an examination of the relative virtues, merits, causes, and relationships of the three theological virtues. Making use of Aristotelian distinctions, St. Thomas affirms that charity is the form of faith. 'Et ideo caritas dicitur forma fidei, inquantum per caritatem actus fidei perficitur et formatur'.³ Although faith without charity, formless faith, is still a gift from God, nevertheless it cannot be said to be a virtue. Charity then is a special virtue, more excellent than both faith and hope, it alone can reach up to God, and without it all other virtues are no more than apparent.⁴

Although here again St. Thomas is not primarily concerned with the relationship between faith and works, this distinction between formed faith and unformed faith was to be used more than any other by Catholic writers in the sixteenth century in combatting the heresy, as they saw it, of Luther. They identified the virtue of charity more and more exclusively with the performing of works of piety and mercy, and in this way were able to assert, that the kind of faith which was merely a trust in God without works, was not enough in itself to justify the believer. It is to these writers that we now turn.

ii) Faith Formed and Unformed.

Jean Bouchet is typical of those Catholic vernacular writers of the early part of the sixteenth century who, in order to defend and expound orthodox teaching to the laity, have recourse to the formulae

of the Scholastics. Bouchet lived in an age of great theological dispute, and therefore he is always very careful to be precise when dealing with controversial issues. On the respective roles played by faith and works in the scheme of man's salvation he has the following to say:

Et quant aux bonnes oeuvres dont vous avez parle (dame Justice) vous scavez assez que par bonnes oeuvres onc homme ne femme nont este ne seront saulvez sans la foy, et que la foy avec penitence suffist en extremite pour obtenir pardon, car cuider avoir paradis par bonnes oeuvres simplement sans foy cest presumption, jentends bien que la foy est morte sans bonnes oeuvres: mais je dy aussi, que celluy qui a *vraye foy formee en charite* le saint esprit est avec luy: et puis que le saint esprit est en luy toutes ses operacions seront bonnes et a vous agreables, une personne qui a ceste *vraye et vifve foy*, il faict ce que Jesuchrist luy a commande par levangile, cest aymer dieu sur toutes choses et son prochain comme luy mesme pour lamour de luy. (*Triumphes*, fol. lxxviii vo, my emphasis).

Bouchet then uses the terms 'foy formee' and 'vraye et vifve foy' to say something about the nature of the faith by which man is justified and saved. Living faith, formed faith, true faith, is seen through the effects it produces; works cooperate with faith in the process of man's justification and, where they are absent, faith without form is not effective to save. As he writes in one of his *Epistres Morales*:

Puis l'ame es cieulx, ou en enfer tendra,
Es cieulx ira *par Foy qui est formée*
De Charité, mais si est difformée
D'aucun peché quand partira du corps
Sera damnée es enfers vilz et ors.
Foy formée est croire Dieu fermement
L'aymer sur tout, et puis secondement
En Dieu aymer ainsi que soy son proche...⁵

'Foy formée', 'vraye foy', and 'vive foy', are terms that are used again and again in this context by Catholic writers of the time. In Pierre

Doré's Dialogue de la foy, when asked by *Cornelius* what is necessary for salvation, *St. Peter* replies, 'Il [dieu] veult trois choses, cest assavoir foy, esperance, et amour en luy', and when pressed as to the nature of faith, *St. Peter* answers his catechumen with the classical definition adopted by the Sorbonne at this time, saying 'cest la substance des choses a esperer, argument des choses non apparentes' (fol. ii vo). When asked if this faith is enough for salvation *St. Peter* replies that it is, 'si elle est vive: ayant avec soy bonnes oeuvres faictes en grace de laquelle dit l'escripture: Iustus ex fide vivit, Le juste vit de la foy, cest assavoir *formee de charite*, aultrement elle est morte et ne saulve point: Car telle foy ont les diables: ainsi que escript S. Jacques: et nen sont pas meilleurs', (fol. ii vo, my emphasis).

Here reference to St. James is made explicitly to contrast faith that shows itself in works with the dead faith of the demons.

Catholic writers later in the century are still using these terms in exactly the same ways. The following sonnet is by Anne de Marquets:

[O] que le don de foy est de grand' dignité,
 Puis qu'a celui qui croit toute chose est possible:
 Et quiconque ha foy est tousjours invincible,
 Pourveu qu'elle soit *vive et jointe à charité*.
 La terre qui reçoit du soleil la clarté,
 Ne produict sans chaleur, cela est impossible:
 L'ame aussi n'est par foy de salut susceptible,
 Sans l'amour, qui produit les fruicts de pieté.
 Une femme en langueur par douze ans detenuë,
 Avec *amour et foy*, au Seigneur est venuë,
 Duquel touchant l'habit santé elle recoit:
 Puis Christ de Jairus ressuscite la fille,
 Monstrant qu'humble oraison n'est jamais inutile,
 Pourveu qu'en *vive foy* presentee elle soit.
 (Sonets spirituels, cccxxxii, p. 167, my emphasis).

For these Catholic writers 'vraye foy' or 'vive foy' means primarily faith that shows itself in works. And though the unity of the three theological virtues was maintained, the predominance of charity over the other two, strengthened over the centuries by Scholastic theologians like St. Thomas, suited their aims too well not to receive considerable emphasis. As Bouchet again writes:

Et dict la glose sur le premier chapitre saint Mathieu, que esperance procede de foy, et charite desperance: cest a dire que esperance parfaicte nest sans foy, et charite nest sans foy et esperance, pour ce que celluy qui a vraye foy formee en charite espere en dieu et ayme dieu sur toutes choses, et son prochain comme luy mesme pour lamour de dieu. (Triumphes, fol. xcix ro).

Bouchet here hints at a more complex and fuller understanding of the term 'foy formée' than that we have noted so far - that is faith shown in works of charity - and when he gives a full definition of his understanding of the term he does so as follows:

La foy vraye et vive quon appelle foy formee, est quant la personne croit dieu, a dieu: et en dieu: cest a dire que dieu est et a tous les articles de la foy: et fait ce quil a commande qui sont les oeuvres de la foy: La foy morte ou sans forme est croyre dieu: et a dieu: mais non faire ses commandemens: et aussi peu vault ceste foy que nen avoir poinct. (ibid. fol. xcviij vo).

The three necessary aspects of formed faith according to Bouchet are firstly, to believe that God exists, or faith of assent; secondly, to believe in the revealed teachings of the faith, or historic faith; and thirdly, to do the works demanded by faith, that is faith lived out in works of charity. It is the third of these qualities that is most

necessary, however, and without which the others are of but little value.

Doré too in his Dialogue adopts a tri-partite definition of formed faith, but although he uses the same distinctions as Bouchet, he interprets them in a somewhat different way.

Cest aultre chose croyre en dieu que croyre dieu, ou à dieu. Car croyre dieu, est croyre quil est, croyre à dieu, est croyre à tout ce quil a dict, et revelé en lescription. Tellement croyent les diables, Cest une foy que aulcunement on pourroit dire Historique...qui regarde seulement ung faict et hystoire. Mais croyre en dieu, est en croyant laymer tendre en luy par esperance, et dilection, et *se fier en luy du tout*. (fol. v ro, my emphasis).

Doré's first kind of faith, faith of assent to the existence of God, is exactly the same as Bouchet's, as is his second historic faith. Whereas Bouchet put the emphasis on the acceptance of all the revealed teachings of the faith, thus including those revealed through the Church, Doré bases his historic faith upon the revelation of the Scriptures. It is a difference of emphasis only, since Doré undoubtedly believed that all the teachings of the Church were present in the Scriptures, whether explicitly or implicitly. Where Doré does differ from Bouchet, however, is in the definition of the third quality of formed faith.⁶

'Se fier en luy', is a conception of faith very similar to that of *fiducia*, which according to Erasmus and the evangelicals was the highest manifestation of faith. This 'foi-confiance', as we shall call it, was generally treated by Scholastic theologians and by the Sorbonne as a branch of hope rather than of faith. It signifies a

complete trust in God and in his providence, a trust that he can and that he will bring his promises and his purposes to fulfillment.⁷ This particular kind of faith, that was so important to the evangelicals, came to be even more so for Protestant theologians, and it is in fact the only faith recognized by Calvin as being worthy of the name. It was not however a concept foreign to Catholic writers, especially those concerned for the spiritual integrity and renewal of the Church, though for them, as Doré demonstrates, it generally supplemented the other definitions of the nature of faith, rather than replaced them.

Branteghem's Vie de Nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ, which did not wholly escape censure by the Sorbonne,⁸ is another example of a work that whilst continually affirming the need for faith to be demonstrated in works of charity, recommends equally a total confidence in the promises of God: thus the petition addressed to Christ in the prayer following the account of the Apostle Thomas's doubting of the resurrection,

Donne nous grace d'avoir *vive foy en toutes tes oeuvres*, et principalement en ta glorieuse resurrection, car en icelle est nostre principale esperance, par laquelle nous sommes justifiez...donne nous grace d'avoir ceste *confiance* en toy, que ainsi que tu es ressuscité, aussi nous ressusciteront au jour de ton juste jugement. (fol. 164 vo, my emphasis).

Here then is a fourth meaning that circles the phrase 'vive foy'. It is one associated primarily with the evangelicals, and though not eschewed by certain Catholics, it yet comes to be linked more and more firmly with the Protestant writers. It is consecrated for the latter

by Calvin through his adoption of it in the Institution, not only as one definition of true faith, but indeed as the only definition of it.

iii) Calvin and *Foi-confiance*.

Jean Calvin in his Institution de la religion chrestienne devotes a whole chapter of Book Three of the work to a discussion, 'de la Foy: où la définition d'icelle et les choses qui luy sont propres sont expliquées'. Calvin takes issue specifically with the definition of faith propounded by the *Sorboniques*, and it is in the following terms that he introduces his subject:

Et faut que de tant plus grande diligence nous nous appliquions à cercher quelle est la vraye nature de la Foy, d'autant que nous voyons combien en est aujourdhuy l'ignorance pernitieuse. Car une grande partie du monde par le nom de la Foy n'entend autre chose, sinon une crédulité vulgaire, par laquelle l'homme assentist à ce qui est narré en l'Evangile. (Institution, III, p. 14).

If faith does not consist in a purely intellectual assent to the truths revealed in the Scriptures, neither does it consist in assent to those revealed by the Church:

Est-cela croire, de ne rien entendre, moyennant qu'on sumette son sens à l'Eglise? Certes la foy ne gist point en ignorance, mais en cognoissance; et icelle non seulement de Dieu, mais aussi de sa volonté. Car nous n'obtenons point salut à cause que nous soyons prests de recevoir pour vray tout ce que l'Eglise aura déterminé, ou pource que nous luy remettons la charge d'enquérir et cognoistre, mais entant que nous cognoissons Dieu nous estre Père bien vueillant, pour la réconciliation qui a esté faicte en Christ, et pource que nous recevons Christ comme à nous donné en iustice, sanctification et vie. (Institution, III. p. 16).

Calvin sets his debate on the nature of faith firmly within the categories traditionally defined by Catholic theology, only to proceed to a rejection of them. In the two passages above he rejects both historic faith, and also the closely allied concept of implicit faith.

Implicit faith was defined as assent to the teachings of the Church by an individual even if he or she did not wholly understand what those teachings were. Its aim was to prevent the exclusion from faith of those whose lack of education and intelligence precluded an understanding of the Articles of Faith in any depth. Whilst certain members of the Church were thus required to believe explicitly the Articles, that is to understand and to assent, the more simple were expected to believe them only implicitly, that is assent without understanding. In this distinction between implicit and explicit faith Calvin sees nothing more than an excuse not to instruct the people in the simple doctrines of the gospel. Faith can never be a question of intellectual assent of whatever sort:

Lequel mal, comme autres innumérables, se doit imputer aux Sophistes et Sorbonistes, lesquelz, outre ce qu'ilz amoindrissent la vertu d'icelle [la Foy] par leur obscure et ténébreuse diffinition, en adioustant ie ne say quelle distinction frivole de la Foy formée et informe, ilz attribuent le tiltre de Foy à une opinion vaine et vuide de la crainte de Dieu et de toute piété. (Institution, III, p. 16).

Here Calvin also rejects the distinction between formed and unformed faith, and later in the same chapter he expounds I Corinthians 13. in such a way as to reject the notion that charity is superior to faith, and faith without charity imperfect. He maintains that the faith St. Paul refers to in this passage is not the faith of the elect, but the

faith by which miracles may be performed, and whilst this faith may be given the name of faith, in reality it is not faith and so does not merit the name.⁹

As both historic faith and faith formed by charity that shows itself in works are rejected, we may be certain that faith as assent to the existence of God is rejected also! In their place only one definition is to stand. As we saw above, salvation comes 'entant que nous cognoissons Dieu nous estre Père bien vueillant, pour la réconciliation qui a esté faicte en Christ, et pource que nous recevons Christ comme à nous donné en iustice, sanctification et vie'. Faith indeed rests on the gospel, without which it stumbles and falls, (*Institution*, III, pp. 20-21), but it takes root in the heart, and not in the mind:

Il reste en après que ce que l'entendement a receu soit planté dedans le coeur. Car si la parolle de Dieu voltige seulement en la teste, elle n'est point encore receue par foy; mais a lors sa vraye réception quand elle a prins racine au profond du coeur, pour estre une forteresse invincible à soustenir et repousser tous assauts des tentations. (*ibid.*, III, p. 56).

This kind of faith once conceived is invincible, it can brook no doubt:

Car comme la foy ne se contente point d'une opinion douteuse et volage, aussi ne fait-elle d'une cogitation obscure et perplexe, mais requiert une *certitude pleine et arrestée*, telle qu'on a coustume d'avoir des choses bien esprouvées et entendues. (*ibid.*, III, p. 32, my emphasis).

So Calvin concludes:

Maintenant nous avons une pleine définition de la foy, si nous déterminons que c'est *une ferme et certaine cognoissance* de la bonne volonté de Dieu envers nous; laquelle, estant fondée sur la promesse gratuite donnée en Iesus Christ est révélée à nostre entendement, et scellée en nostre coeur par le saint Esprit. (*ibid.*, III, p. 23, my emphasis).

There are many vernacular works of devotion published in France at this time, and indeed somewhat earlier, that reflect the same conception of the nature of faith as that firmly and finally validated for Protestant writers by Calvin. This is true for example of the Livre de vraye et parfaicte oraison (1529) whose author states,

Je ne crois point seulement que tout ce que est dit ou escript de toy en la sainte escripture est vray: mais moy je croy davantaige en toy, mettant toute mon *esperance et fiance* en toy.
Et je croy *sans aulcune doubtaunce*, que tu seras tel vers moy, et me feras ainsi comme et ta sainte et veritable parolle *il est dit et promis*. (fol. liiii ro-vo, my emphasis).

This kind of trusting faith that does not doubt God's promises is held to be the true 'foy vivante' which God desires of men:

toute la puissance infernale, soit du diable, tentation ou peche, ne pevent riens contre la *vivante foy et fiance en toy*. (fol. lv ro, my emphasis).

Nowhere in the work is charity held to be a requisite part of faith, nor is there any suggestion that faith without works is imperfect, indeed a set of criteria for perfect faith is proposed altogether different from Catholic definitions of 'foy formée'. He who sins against the first commandment to love God, is,

Celuy qui ne ha point *foy parfaicte*, ains *ha doubtaunce* en la foy, et doute de la grande benevolence et bon vouloir que dieu ha envers nous a cause de son filz Jesuchrist: tellement que craignant que Jesuchrist ne soit point suffisant pour le saulver. (fol. lxvi ro, my emphasis).

The somewhat later Medecine de l'Ame is another example of a work that uses the same linguistic tags to similar effect: 'fiance',

'confiance', 'ferme foy', as well as other variations such as 'totalle fiance' and 'foy ferme et constante'.¹⁰ The work reflects something of a Calvinist understanding of the nature of justification and sanctification, in that it affirms that the elect will perform good works, but only as a result of faith, by which God works in them.¹¹ The same conception of the nature of faith is found also in the accompanying Maniere de consoler les Malades. In this work the term 'vive foy' is used only once, and this in the context of a description of the works of charity performed by the elect, that are the fruits of their faith and a sign that it is living, not dead:

Ce fruit de charité tesmoigne, et te faict certain que ta foy est vraye et vive, puis qu'elle a porté de bons et vrayz fruitz. C'est ce que veult saint Pierre quand il commande que faisons nostre vocation certaine par bonnes oeuvres, car il entend ces oeuvres estre tesmoins et signes que tu es esleu de Dieu et adopté pour filz aux joyes du salut eternal. (fols. K 1 vo-2 ro, my emphasis).

Whilst it is interesting that the writer should choose this particular formula when addressing himself to the question of good works (thus demonstrating perhaps how closely it was associated in the mind of sixteenth-century Christians with the idea of the association of faith with works), it must also be stressed that this in no way compromises the generally Calvinist tenor of his work. Calvin himself had written in the Institution:

Nous ne songeons point une foy qui soit vuyde de toutes bonnes oeuvres, ou une iustification qui puisse consister sans icelles; mais voilà le noeud de la matière, que ia soit que nous confessions la foy et les bonnes oeuvres estre nécessairement conioinctes ensemble, toutesfois nous situons la iustice en la foy, non pas aux oeuvres. (III, p. 274).

The adjective 'vive' is being used here in the same sense as it is in the Letter of St. James. In his explanation of the second chapter of this Letter, Calvin denies that St. James implies there are two kinds of faith, one dead, since it does not show itself through works of charity, and the other living, since it does. Calvin affirms that all faith is living and shows itself in works, and faith which does not do so, is, in the words of the Apostle himself, dead: that is, it is not faith at all.¹²

Thus 'vive foy', though found occasionally in the writings of sympathizers with the Reformation, is not on the whole a formula that such writers favour. It is more commonly used by Catholic writers as a synonym for faith lived out in works of charity, or formed faith of one sort or another. It is used also by writers of a more moderate evangelical inclination, though in their hands it conveys not so much its traditional meaning, as the concept of assured, evangelical 'foi-confiance'.

iv) *Foy Vive* and *Foy Ouvrant*.

There are Catholic writers, however, in whose works the virtue of charity is given prominence, and who stress that living faith must of necessity be accompanied by good works, who nevertheless seldom or never use the tag 'foy formée de charité'. They seem to prefer either

some other expression or to use a periphrasis to convey the same meaning. Guillaume Petit is one such writer.

Petit is anxious to set the theological virtues in their right relationship, though this he sometimes does at the expense of clarity of expression. In his Formation de l'homme, writing of man's nature fallen from perfection, he says:

Et speciallement dict quil y a deux remedes, Le premier est la foy et creance que nous avons en dieu et en son filz Jesuchrist pourveu quelle soit *joincte a charite*: qui est la mere des vertus et principale de toutes aultres vertus: laquelle neantmoins on ne peult avoir sans la foy.¹³

Whilst Petit does not wholly eschew the term 'foy formée de charité', he uses it only very seldom. In general he prefers expressions like the one he uses above, 'foy joincte a charité', or even more commonly 'foy charitable'.

Et par ainsi se le possedes par *foy charitable*, nostre seigneur viendra en ton cueur demourer, et y prendre logis par grace, avec le pere, et le filz, et le saint esperit. (La Formation, fol. 18 ro, my emphasis).

This choice of vocabulary may seem to emphasize the role of faith as the source of justification and the performing of good works, as opposed to the more traditional forms of expression which stress the role of charity in bringing faith to life, giving it form, and transforming it into a virtue - faith that without charity would be dead.

This is also true of another contemporary of Marguerite de Navarre, François Habert. Habert stresses in his work the complementarity of faith and charity, and seems to establish an equilibrium between them that he is reluctant to disturb, as in the following verses where Mary Magdalene describes to the ladies of Christendom how she found favour and forgiveness at the feet of the Saviour:

Dont il trouva pitoyables mes vœux
De voir ses pieds torchez de mes cheveux
Pour démonstrer mon trescharitable œuvre
Qui envers luy ma vive foy descœuvre.
(Epistres Heroides, fol. 82 vo).

'Vive foy' is the term *par excellence* used by Habert to describe that faith which, united with charity, shows itself in works, and though he avoids the more precise formulae such as 'foy formee', his meaning is always made clear. In his Institution de Liberalite chrestienne he sings of 'la foy vifve' in the following terms:

Donc la foy vifve en ce temple est requise,
Car par la foy, de Dieu la grace est quise.
Par vifve foy je ne crains en tout lieu
Des faulx Tyrans dessus moy la main mise,
Car si le corps meurt par leur entreprise,
Vie eternelle a mon ame est acquise
En ensuyvant les promesses de Dieu...
O vifve foy des Astres descendue
Fay que tu sois d'un chascun entendue
Chassant la foy dissimulée et faincte
Par qui au monde est charité perdue.
(Liberalite chrestienne, fol. 52 ro-vo).

There is another term that is often used by writers who are perhaps best described as more liberal-minded, Erasmian Catholics, or else evangelicals. In his Poesie Francoise, Charles de Sainte-Marthe has

the following *dixain* entitled, 'Foy, Esperance, et Charité, n'estre qu'un'.

Foy sans Amour, ne peut estre *Foy vive*,
Car vive Foy oeuvre par Charité.
 Et de ces deux, Esperance derive,
 Qui nous conduit a vivre en purité.
 Nous esperons ce que la Verité
 Nous a promis en croyant, par ainsy
 Accomplissons ce qu'il commande aussy,
 C'est d'avoir tout (comme Freres) commun
 Par Charité. Donc je metz par cecy.
 Foy, Charité, et Esperance en un.
 (*Poesie Francoise*, p. 44, my emphasis).

'La foy qui oeuvre par charité', or 'foy ouvrant par charité' is a term which, as we have seen, can be traced back through St. Augustine to St. Paul himself. For those who adopt it then, this tag has the advantage of both biblical and patristic precedent. It would appear to be a slightly more moderate term than 'foy formée', and somewhat less controversial. It enables those who use it to stress the necessity of the performing of good works in the process of salvation, whilst at the same time establishing a balance between charity that brings faith to life, and faith that makes acceptable to God the works of charity, that would otherwise be unacceptable. It is a formula that stresses the dynamic and practical nature of faith, in contrast to the portrayal of faith as something inert, awaiting the life-giving touch of charity.

It is the term preferred also by a writer like Claude d'Espence, who establishes the following balance between faith and works of charity in his exegesis of the parable of the Prodigal Son:

Mettre cest anneau en la main, cest declairer, exercer, et *confirmer sa foy par oeuvres*: et au contraire establir ou *faire valoir ses oeuvres par foy*: car foy sans oeuvres est morte, et oeuvres sans foy ne sont agreables ne plaisantes à Dieu, et par ainsi lanneau mis en la main (laquelle est symbole des oeuvres) cest *foy ouvrante et comme reluisante par charité*.. (Homilies, p. 76, my emphasis).

Lefèvre d'Étaples also uses this formula with great frequency. Discarding the distinctions of Aristotelian philosophy in favour of the testimony of Scripture, Lefèvre reveals a concern to emphasize the unity of the theological virtues. Steering a middle course between Catholic claims for the pre-eminence of charity, and Protestant claims for the pre-eminence of faith, Lefèvre and his evangelical followers affirm the inseparability of all three virtues. Faith which subsists without hope and charity is dead, and so in reality does not merit the name of faith at all. In this way they advocate a balance between faith and love based on interdependence rather than on hierarchy.

Commenting on the thirteenth chapter of St. Paul's First Letter to the Corinthians, appointed to be read as the Epistle at the Mass on Quinquagesima Sunday, Lefèvre writes:

Mes amys, c'est ung grand don que le don de prophetie, c'est ung grand don que le don de congnoissance, et entre tous autres, c'est ung grand don que le don de foy, car comme dit nostre seigneur: *Se vous avez foy ainsi comme est le grain de senevé, vous direz à ceste montaigne: Partz toy d'icy, et elle s'en partira, et riens ne vous sera impossible* - Mt XVII, 20 -. Nonobstant, se nous n'avons charité tous ces dons icy ne nous profitent riens. Et mesmement la foy que nous avons sans charité, [à proprement parler] ce n'est point foy, car ce n'est que une foy morte, une foy imparfaicte et non pas vive, car la *foy vive oeuvre par charité* - Ga V, 6 -. (Epistres et Evangiles, p. 113).

These then are the main terms used by writers of varying shades of theological persuasion that will serve as a foil for an examination of

the works of Marguerite de Navarre. Before proceeding to this examination, however, it is worth pointing out that on occasions it is possible to be surprised by the formulae a particular author uses. Occasionally in a single writer there converge attitudes to one issue that are quite conservative and traditional, and attitudes to another issue that are much more radical and Protestant.

v) Brodeau and Mailly.

If Branteghem is an example of a Catholic writer who makes ample use of the more evangelical concept of 'foi-confiance' or *fiducia*, writers like Victor Brodeau, Martial Masurier, and Nicole Mailly are examples of writers who accept a concept of the nature of man that reflects clearly the influence of the ideas of the Reformers, and yet combine this with a more traditional position on the roles of faith and charity. Although at times Brodeau stresses the given nature of sanctification, as opposed to the idea that man might in any way cooperate with grace, at others he does seem to allow man at least the capacity to receive and to respond. As he writes in the Epistre d'ung Pecheur à Jesus Christ,

Pour bien gagner ceste pleine indulgence,
Manifestons nostre pauvre indigence
A celuy là, qui seul la peult entendre.
Recongnoissons nostre foible impuissance,
En sa mort dure ayons nostre assurance
Par charité, foy vive, et esperance;
Il n'en fault point aultre querir, ne prendre.
(Poésies, p. 174).

In the Louanges de Jesus Nostre Sauveur, moreover, he expands upon the idea of 'vive foy' in fairly traditional terms. Thus he prays to the risen Christ:

Et au tiers jour de mort resuscite,
Preschant les tiens, *de foy, de charité,*
De paix, damour, de pure verite...
Nous enseignant *a bien faire et bien croire.*¹⁴

Nicole Mailly is another writer who combines an often pessimistic view of the nature of man with an insistence upon the performing of good works, making use of the most traditional formulae. In the Divine Cognoissance, writing of the nature of the faith needed to justify, Mailly assures his reader:

... nostre *foy formee*
De charite, en dieu bien ordonnee
Nous justifie en ceste vie humaine
...
Mais ceste foy comprise en mon escript
Est seulement fondee en Jhesuchrist
De charite formee et desesperance
Qui de bien faire a son prochain sadvance
Par laquelle a l'homme fruition
Et avec dieu participation.¹⁵

Having prepared our ground then, let us turn to the works of Marguerite de Navarre to see which of these formulae the Queen employs, and in what context she uses them.

vi) Marguerite de Navarre: Early Works.

The early works of Marguerite de Navarre also reveal a preoccupation with the nature of man's response to God, explored in terms of the three theological virtues, and their relationship one to another. The Queen initially is anxious to stress the unity of the three virtues, that flow from each other and ultimately from Christ, whilst accepting the traditional superiority accorded to charity over the other two. Towards the end of the Dialogue there is an extended allegorical sequence that portrays the soul being led to the portals of heaven by *Faith* and *Hope*, who have sustained it on its earthly pilgrimage, but who fall into non-existence as it enters upon the fullness of the beatific vision. With their death, *Charity* comes to life, and is to remain with the soul for eternity.

Sentir on poeut, par vraye espérance,
L'odeur de Foy sy trèsvivifiante,
Qu'en vray sçavoir tourne nostre créance.

Doubte n'y a qui plus nous espovente,
Ce scrupule n'est qui riens craindre nous face,
Tant say raison au doubter apparente....

Las! bienheureux est celluy qui trouver
En poeut la fin, où par Foy il veoirra
Son rien en tout comme bon approuver!

Ce qu'il a creu, sçaura; plus ne croira
Possedant ce qu'il aura esperé,
Et qu'il a voulu oyr, oyra...

Espoir et Foy m'ont bien sçeu adresser,
Et conduire jusques devant les portes,
Que sans elles je n'eusse sçeu parler.

Entrant au ciel les deux dames sont mortes,
Et Charité de leur mort a prins vie,
Car ilz ne sont ainsy, comme elle est, fortes.

En Charité, qui sur nul n'ha envie
 Me faict saouller du bien dont toutes deux
 Ne me sçeurent jamais rendre assouvie.

Contente suis d'elles: point ne me deulz;
 Car en moy ont engendré Charité,
 Qui me remplist au lieu où estre veulx.
 (ll. 1177-1182, 1189-1194, 1207-1218).

In the Miroir de l'ame pecheresse, the Queen explains that the superiority of charity over the other virtues lies in the fact that it is a special gift of God, who is himself Charity, and that thus it is the gift by which man is enabled to share in the divine nature itself. Faith precedes charity, since there is no virtue in the eyes of God without faith, but charity is the end and consummation of faith.

O tresgrand don de Foy, dont tel bien vient,
 Que posseder fait ce que l'on ne tient!
 Foy donne espoir par seure Verité,
 Et met en nous parfaite Charité.
 Et Charité est DIEU comme sçavons.
 Si en nous est, DIEU aussi nous avons.
 Il est en nous, et trestous en luy sommes.
 (Marguerites, I, pp. 67-68).

All three virtues, however, are gifts of God, and all three are necessary, as she makes clear in the Oraison de l'ame fidele,

Tu [Dieu] es la foy, l'espoir, la confiance,
 La charité, repoz de conscience
 De tes Eleuz, qui sans toy sont douteux,
 Desesperez et sans foy, sans science,
 Sans charité, repoz, ny patience,
 Mais sont tousjours en ton chemin boiteux.
 (ibid., I, p. 107).

In the 1520s and 1530s this aspect of Marguerite's thought has obvious affinities with that of Lefèvre d'Étaples, who also affirms the unity of the theological virtues. It also has strong affinities,

however, with that of writers like Bouchet who propound the traditional Scholastic hierarchy, according to which, though charity proceeds from hope, and hope from faith, charity, as the end and fulfilment of both faith and hope, is the superior.

Although Marguerite avoids the phrase 'foy formée de charité', like Lefèvre d'Étaples, Claude d'Espence, and Charles de Sainte-Marthe she accepts the role of works as a test of the nature of faith, and that faith to be true must work through charity. In the Dialogue, using a variation on the formula 'foy ouvrant par charité', she states:

La bonne oeuvre c'est le bon cueur naif,
Rempli de *Foy par charité prouvée*
A son prochain, en tout secours hastif.
(ll. 604-606, my emphasis).

Luther had stated that the first and only good work was to have faith. Here Marguerite affirms the same, with the important proviso that faith be proved by works of charity.

The term used by Marguerite again and again throughout the Dialogue and the other early works to describe the faith required from man is 'foy vive'.¹⁶ In this she may be compared to writers like François Habert who prefer this particular formula. Yet if we look more closely, it becomes apparent that for Marguerite, just as for Bouchet and Doré, there are other qualities that distinguish this justifying 'vive foy' from dead faith, as well as the performing of good works. *L'âme de madame Charlotte* in the Dialogue tells the *Royne de Navarre*,

that she will be united to Christ if she has faith in him, adding however,

Je diz la Foy, non point une foy molle,
Comme croyant que le Roy est en France,
Ou adjouster foy en chose frivolle.

J'entendz en dieu totale *confiance*,
Et de [soy] rien, sinon perdition,
Fondant sur luy de salut espérance.

Le sentant bon seul en perfection,
Croyant du tout sa promesse certaine,
Qui cause amour et grand dilection;

Seule pure en dieu, seul souveraine.
Et cest amour *se monstre s'espandant*
A son prochain, soustenant pour luy peine.
(ll. 634-645, my emphasis).

Both Bouchet and Doré had identified three qualities of true faith, the first two of which were belief in the existence of God and in the truths revealed about him in the Scriptures and through the Church. We called these respectively faith of assent and historic faith. Marguerite apparently considered neither of these aspects of faith important for true, living faith at all, and in the above passage is rejecting them as such. Faith in God is not to be thought of as assent to the mere veracity of a given proposition. Marguerite establishes two criteria for the discerning of true faith, namely that faith must be a complete and heart-felt love of God and trust that he will bring his purposes of redemption to fulfilment, and secondly that faith must be shown in works of neighbourly charity. These two criteria are in fact the third quality of true faith as defined by Doré and Bouchet respectively: 'foi-confiance', and faith shown in works.

Calvin also had denied that either faith of assent or historic faith had anything to do with living faith in Christ, and this is Marguerite's contention also. However whereas Calvin had affirmed that the only definition of true faith was 'foi-confiance', Marguerite does not limit herself to this single criterion, establishing instead a dual one, that includes both confidence in God and the will to do works pleasing to him. In the first of these Marguerite is close to Bouchet and his third quality of formed faith, and in the second she is close to Catholic writers like Doré and Branteghem, as well as to Erasmus and the evangelicals. For Marguerite true faith is never a matter of intellectual assent - be it to the truths revealed in the Scriptures, or through the Church - but of a loving and trusting relationship with God and with one's fellow men. In this she seems to have taken what she deemed most important of the various ideas on faith that were current at the time, revealing concerns that are essentially practical and pastoral. One of the accusations levelled most frequently at Luther by Catholic writers was that by denying any role to works in the scheme of salvation he was encouraging impiety, and dissuading people from performing good works. On the other hand the accusation levelled most frequently by the Protestant theologians against the traditional Scholastic definitions of the various levels of formed faith was that they encouraged a faith that was purely intellectual, dry, and devoid of any real love of or trust in God. Marguerite, in her adoption of 'foi-confiance' and faith lived out in works as her main criteria of living or true faith, reveals her sympathies with both these criticisms and her desire to avoid them equally, by maintaining, with evangelicals like Lefèvre d'Étaples and

Erasmus, a middle position which affirms the necessity of performing good works, but of the placing of one's highest trust, confidence, or *fiducia* in God, and in God alone.

The resolution of Marguerite's thought is always in these early works to be found in the gospel principle of loving God above all and one's neighbour as oneself.

La Royne de Navarre.

Mais encores demander il me fault
Comme je poeuz bien entendre ou sçavoir
Si j'ay ce don de Foy en qui tant vault.

L'âme de madame Charlote.

Quand vous voirrez que tout vostre vouloir
Par vray amour sera obéissant
En dieu, sans vouloir avoir pouvoir,

Croyant tousjours les yeulx du tout puissant
Estre sur vous, comme amy, père ou juge,
Vous regardant donnant ou punissant,

M'ayant à nul, qu'à luy tout seul, refuge,
Comme au Père; prenant tout de sa main
Soit bien, soit mal, seicheresse ou deluge.

Et puis après, quant d'ung vouloir humain
A voz prochains sentirez grand amour,
Et prompt secours sans attendre demain;

Quant voirrez que ne passerez jour
Que ne faciez, selon vostre puissance,
A l'ung plaisir et à l'autre ung bon tour;

Quant injures prendrez en patience,
Quant pour l'amour de dieu souffrirez tout,
Lhors aurez vous de Foy expérience.

Car les vertuz que chascun loue moult,
Sont de la Foy la démonstration,
Dont Charité est la fin et le bout.

Las! qui receoit la consolation
Du don d'amour et vive Foy non feincte,

Faire n'en poeut la déclaration!
 (Dialogue, ll. 1228-1254).

Similarly in the Oraison de l'ame fidele the Virgin Mary encourages the soul to follow her own example, saying: 'J'ay aymé DIEU d'un amour tresparfait,/ Et mon prochain d'un coeur non contrefait' (Marguerites, I, p. 126).

Marguerite does not use the formula 'foy formée', preferring instead to speak of 'foy vive'. She does, however, use repeatedly the term 'fiance' or 'confiance', which she defines in the following way:

Ne pensez pas que jamais homme faille
 Qui en son dieu ha ferme *confiance*,
 Ne que dehors de son amour il aille:

Il honore sa divine puissance,
 Il *croit* qu'il poeut ce qu'il voeult *acomplir*,
 Il se fie en sa grand sapience;

De laquelle luy plaise tous nous remplir,
 Sans amoindrir en riens sa plenitude,
 Pour nostre grand dureté assouplir.
 (Dialogue, ll. 1129-1137, my emphasis).

This definition of 'foi-confiance' as belief in God's power to bring about what he has promised is exactly that of Erasmus and the evangelicals who, rejecting the definition of faith generally defended by the theologians of the Sorbonne as assent to the teachings of the Church, replaced it with one centered not upon intellectual assent, but on personal relationship.

As we shall see, over the next decade from the mid-1530s to -1540s, Marguerite comes to place less emphasis on the definition of 'vive

foy' as involving the performing of good works, and to regard it more and more strongly in terms of 'foy-confiance'. Her understanding of the nature of faith comes, in other words, to be expressed more and more in terms whose resonance is more overtly evangelical or Protestant.

In the Miroir de l'ame pecheresse Marguerite had affirmed that only faith could unite the humble creature to his Creator, provided it was accompanied by charity.

Y a il riens qui me puisse plus nuyre,
Si Dieu me veult par foy à luy conduire?
J'entens la foy toute telle qu'il fault,
Digne d'avoir le nom du don d'enhault:
Foy, qui unist par charité ardente
Au createur sa treshumble servante.¹⁷

The biblical citation given in the margin next to this passage in the first, 1531 edition of the text, is the much used proof text from Galatians chapter five, 'La foy qui oeuvre par charité'. As early as 1533, however, in Antoine Augereau's second Paris edition, this proof text has been removed and replaced by a reference to the second chapter of the Letter to the Ephesians. The reader is referred presumably to verses eight to ten of this chapter which read in the Vulgate, 'Gratia enim estis salvati per fidem, et hoc non ex vobis: Dei enim donum est: non ex operibus, ut ne quis gloriatur. Ipsius enim sumus factura, creati in Christo Iesu in operibus bonis, quae praeparavit Deus ut in illis ambulemus'. This text places a greater emphasis on the idea that God himself works in man through faith, rather than on the idea that man himself may work with God's gift of

faith to him, and this is indicative of the direction in which the Queen's thought will evolve.

This shift in emphasis in Marguerite's understanding of the nature of faith is consistent with the tendencies we noted above regarding her understanding of the nature of justification, which also came to reflect more and more an influence of the Reformers on the Queen. Whilst she is far from abandoning the concept of charity in her later works, she comes nevertheless to describe true faith more in terms of confidence in God than the performance of good works, thus demonstrating the high esteem in which, in her later years, she holds the notion of *fiducia*.

vi) Marguerite de Navarre: Later Works.

Already in the Triomphe de l'agneau the virtue of charity figures much less prominently than it did in Marguerite's earlier works. Moreover when it is referred to, it is seen as a quality especially proper to God, by which God unites a soul with himself in a union of love. It is generally detached, in other words, from a context that would suggest a connection with good deeds done for one's fellow men. It is the relationship of Love between Christ and the Father - the Holy Spirit, and thus can never be possessed by men unless poured out upon them by the Father himself. So the triumphant Christ prays to his Father:

Donc te requiers un paternel office,
 C'est qu'en leurs coeurs pleinement tu espandes
 Et vivement en leurs bouches estendes
 Le feu ardent de nostre Charité,
 L'esprit vital de nostre deïté,
 L'eau, l'onction qui de tous deux procede.
 (Marguerites, III, p. 59).

The formula 'vive foy' is used several times in the work, but it seems on the whole to be explained in a way that equates it rather with confidence and assurance; certainly it is now divorced from any context that would suggest a connection with the performing of good deeds.

Mais rendez tous à cest Agneau l'honneur,
 Et confessez qu'il est grand gouverneur,
 Roy premier né sur toute creature,
 Lequel regit tout l'Estre de nature.
 Tenez le donc par Foy vive et entiere
 Le chef vivant des enfans de lumiere.
 (ibid., III, p. 56).

Indeed the term 'vive foy' is equated earlier in the work with an expression of confidence in justification by Christ alone, and accompanied by a denial that man's own works cooperate in this process in any real way. This represents a significant shift away from the sense in which Marguerite was using the term in her earlier works.

...et quand viendra aux rengs
 De confesser dont vient vostre innocence,
 Justice et paix, en pure conscience
 Lors vous direz que non par voz bienfaitz,
 Par oeuvre ou ditz, ne par biens qu'avez faitz,
 Mais que par moy vostre justice vient
 De vive Foy, laquelle pas n'advient
 Par volonté, par choix, ou par plaisir
 De Chair ou sang; car, avant que loisir
 Soit d'y penser, comme un don du Treshault

Elle descend à cil à qui n'en chault.
 (*Marguerites*, III, p. 30).

In the later poem *La Navire*, the term 'vive foy' is again used primarily to convey the notion of trust in God, and more especially of constancy in adversity. Thus *Marguerite* praises her brother's fortitude during his captivity in Spain after the defeat of Pavia in 1525:

Je te voy prins en païs estranger,
 Ou ta vertu, en lieu d'estre abatue,
 Croissoit ou plus y avoit de danger.

Par vive foy la mort fut combatue;
 Alors de toy conformant ton desir
 A ce bon Dieu qui vivifie et tue,

Au lict de mort on te veoit gesir,
 Et tes propos, ta grace et contenance,
 Sans peur de mort, mais mourois en plaisir.¹⁰

Here in any case *Marguerite* seems to be using the adjective 'vive' of faith, as much in order to mark a contrast between the faith which brings life and the outward circumstances of danger and possible death in which François had found himself, as for any other semantic reason.

It is not that *Marguerite* no longer affirms the need to perform good works, but that, just as she came to conceive of justification in increasingly Christocentric terms, so she seems increasingly in her later works to give the impression that works are less a test of faith of which they are an integral and necessary part, than the work of Christ himself in the believer who has faith. Attention to the context within which it is used, reveals that the term 'vive foy' is

used more and more to signify not faith lived out in works, but trust in God, or 'foi-confiance'. Often Marguerite seems to prefer the more evangelical formula, 'ferme foy', as an almost synonymous alternative to 'vive foy', even where faith is still associated with charity. This is true in the following passage, where *the King* is praised both for his 'ferme foy' by which he trusts in God without doubting him, and also the charity he shows to his fellow men.

Roy tres crestien, vivant en ferme foy
 Envers son Dieu, sans une seulle doubte;
 Roy qui n'avoit que charité en soy,

 Qui n'eut jamais de vengeance une goutte,
 Qui pardonnoit d'un cueur doux et humain:
 Fault il que mort d'avec toy me deboutte?

 Roy qui tousjours avoit prompte la main

 A secourir les pauvres douloureux,
 Qui ne cachoit en soy nulle ignorance,
 Tant il estoit d'apprendre desireux.
 (*La Navire*, ll. 136-147).

This same shift of emphasis can be seen in the Chansons spirituelles. The songs are full of references to charity, but this is essentially seen as the quality that unites the soul to God, and a gift of God himself, given for this purpose. There is only one mention of 'vive foy' in connection with charity in the whole of the songs, and even here it is impossible to ignore the fact that the context of *chanson* 11, which describes the nothingness of the soul in relation to God its life and its All, suggests that it is primarily two aspects of the soul's relationship with God that are being described:

Dont seul aymé soyez sans SI ne MAIS,
 Seul adoré de toute créature

Par vive Foy, et de charité pure
 Loué sans fin de nous, à tout jamais.
 (Chansons spirituelles, p. 35).

Indeed in the more intimate genre of the Chansons spirituelles, 'amour' often replaces 'charité' as the word used to describe the soul's relationship with God, as in *chanson* 28, 'Hélas, je languis d'Amours/ Pour Jésuchrist, mon espoux' (p. 73), and *chanson* 36, 'O bergère ma mye,/ Je ne vis que d'amours' (p. 99). This is equally true in the Comédies pieuses. Mary is above all the exemplum of perfect faith and perfect love. She has conceived Christ by faith in God's word, and is united to him through the love whereby God, in her, loves himself.¹⁹

In *chanson* 2, written after the death of François Ier, the term 'vive foy' is used as a synonym for 'créance', and apparently to highlight the life-giving properties of faith even in the face of death itself:

Tandis qu'il estoit sain et fort,
 La foy estoit son réconfort,
 Son Dieu possédoit par créance.
 En ceste Foy vive il est mort,
 Qui l'a conduit au très-seur port
 Où il ha de Dieu jouyssance. (Chansons, p. 9).

The tags 'fiance' and 'confiance' on the other hand are used with ever increasing frequency. *Chanson* 1, written during the King's illness, emphasizes precisely this aspect of François's devotion:

Hélas, c'est vostre vray David
 Qui en vous seul ha sa fiance;
 Vous vivez en luy tant qu'il vit,
 Car de vous ha vraye science;
 Vous réglez en sa conscience,
 Vous estes son Roy et son Dieu;
 En autre nul n'ha confiance,
 Ny n'ha son coeur en autre lieu. (ibid., p. 5, my emphasis).

The formula 'ferme foy' is also used several times, seemingly with similar connotations. It signifies a complete and absolute trust in God, a trust that precludes all doubt. In *chanson* 7 Christ exhorts the soul to contemplate the merits of his passion, with the assurance:

Tous ces biens sont à vous; par grâce je les donne
A qui par *ferme Foy* tout à moy s'abandonne.
(Chansons, p. 25, my emphasis).

Likewise in *chanson* 10, which uses the parable of the Prodigal Son as an allegory of the return to God of the sinful soul, the 'indigne enfant' returns to his Father 'en ferme Foy', that is, trusting wholly in God's mercy and desire to forgive (Chansons, p. 31).

In her choice of vocabulary Marguerite seems to be putting more and more emphasis on those aspects of faith stressed as important by the evangelicals and also by Protestant writers, whereas she refers less and less to works as a integral and necessary part of faith.

The Comédie du Désert contains a long passage that, recounting as it does the long list of Old Testament patriarchs and prophets who trusted in God through faith, is reminiscent of that passage from the Letter to the Hebrews that Erasmus had used to formulate his idea of 'foi-confiance'. Marguerite writes in similar vein, 'A Dieu ont creu, dont nully n'est deceu', (Marguerites, II, p. 208). The conclusion to this passage describes the arrival of the awaited Messiah:

C'est CHRIST ton Filz, c'est le promis Messie:
La fin, le but de toute prophetie,

Qui acomplit la Loy par vive Foy.
(Marguerites, II, p. 209).

Now the adjective 'vive' seems to be attributed to the faith brought by Christ in order to suggest its vivifying effect, this time in contrast to the Law (with its works), that brings only death. The context of the poem suggests again here that the same term 'vive foy' is being used to convey a meaning different from the one it had in the earlier works like the Dialogue.

If a tentative summary may be hasarded of the later works we have looked at so far, it is perhaps best expressed by two closely related themes from the Comédies pieuses: namely, that it is by 'vive foy' that the soul can conceive and give birth to Christ, and that God himself can thus live in the soul. God is the one who lives, and it is by his gift of faith in him that man also truly comes to life, since God himself then lives in his heart. *Dieu* commands *Inspiration* in the Comédie de l'adoration des trois roys:

A l'autre Roy, Dame Inspiration,
Allez soudain et le frappez au coeur;
Declarez luy ma grand dilection...
Tant que par Foy dedans son coeur je vive.
(Marguerites, II, p. 69-70, my emphasis).

The trend we have seen emerging is confirmed when we examine the Théâtre profane, and it is precisely this assured and confident faith that is stressed as important throughout the plays.

The *chambrière* in Le Malade, encourages her master to trust in God who, if his faith is sincere, will cure him of all his ills:

C'est le saint des saintz, le grant maistre
 Qui sanctifie pappe et roy.
 C'est Dieu, lequel *fermement croy*
 Que tous voz maulx vous oustera
 Quant par une *asseurée foy*
 Vostre cueur là s'arrestera. (ll. 75-80, my emphasis).

This 'foi-confiance', or 'foi-assurance', is shown in the play to be the direct cause of the *malade's* recovery - as he himself affirms, 'tous mes maulx s'en sont allez/ Seulement pour fermement croire'; and the *chambrière*, questioned as to the nature of the secret remedy she has used, replies it consists in nothing more than, 'Se fier aux promesses/ De Celluy qui jamais ne ment', (ll. 319-320; 349-350).

What is more, as well as implying a rejection of the superstitious faith of *la femme*, who would cure her husband by means of a variety of potions, the play also implies a rejection of the craft of the *médecin* as well.

The *médecin* himself acknowledges that his own art and that of *la femme* are related:

Les receptes dont vous usez
 Sont bonnes, elles viennent de nous.
 Toutesfoiz vous en abusez,
 Car vous voulez bailler a tous
 Ce qui est pour ung, oyez vous. (ll. 393-397).

If the woman represents the ordinary, superstitious 'woman in the pew', the doctor undoubtedly represents the institutional Church. When asked by the *femme* whether God ever works miracles, he replies that he did, but now he works through the mediation of the medical

profession.²⁰ To this the *malade* replies, 'Mais je croy qu'il voudroit encores/ Que l'on creust en luy comme en dieu'. It would not seem to be an exaggeration to discern here a covert rejection of that historic faith, defined by Catholic theologians as assent to the revealed doctrines of the Church, that was for them a necessary and integral part of all true faith.

It is only in the Comédie jouée au Mont de Marsan, written in 1547/1548, that the question of good works is broached again in the secular plays, and even then not in terms of the traditional 'foy vive' formula. *La Sage* expresses the following conception of the Christian life:

Croire il te fault fermement,
Puis suyvre son commandement,
En le servant *de cuer et d'euvre*.
(ll. 369-371, my emphasis).

Later in the play she affirms that men must do good works, without however setting store by them or taking pride in their achievements, an idea very similar to that expounded much earlier by *madame Charlote* in the Dialogue.²¹ No longer is this argument put in the mouth of a soul in paradise, however, and the rather ambiguous nature of the character of the *Sage*, cannot but undermine the ideas she expresses.

Though *la Sage* criticizes the *Supersticieuse* for trusting too much in her own works of piety, the *Sage* herself is open to the similar criticism that she trusts too much in the powers of her own reason.

In fact her disdainful dismissal of *la Ravie de Dieu* as a madwoman, might itself be interpreted as the result of her pride in her own learning. Each of the characters of the play introduces herself by her main characteristic in the very first lines she speaks. In the case of the *Sage* this is, 'Dieu a bien faict ung tresbeau don à l'homme/ De luy donner raison' (ll. 161-162).²² As the play continues the *Sage* defines herself more and more exclusively in terms of reason, up until the inevitable clash between her and the *Ravie*:

La Sage.

La femme, s'elle est raisonnable,
Doibt panser amour dommageable.

La Bergere chante:

Amour, nulle saison,
N'est amy de raison. (ll. 632-635).

This is not a condemnation of learning as such, rather of an excessive trust in anything human that leads man to be forgetful of grace and forgetful of love. It is ironic that at this late stage in the Queen's life a character as ambivalent as the *Sage* advocates the 'reasonable' view on the performing of works, of which she herself seemed to approve earlier.

In contrast to the *Sage*, the *Ravie* is possessed by 'ferme foy', which alone enables her to endure the pain of the separation from her Beloved to which she is constrained. It is 'ferme foy' of which the *Sage* is wholly ignorant:

La Bergere chante:

Las! on peult juger clairement

Par le desir de la presence,
 Quelle douleur et quel tourment
 Peult venir du mal de l'absence....

Vous qui estes ignorantes
 Que c'est que la ferme foy:
 O combien seriez contantes
 Sy vous le saviez comme moy! (ll. 686-689; 693-696).

At the same time the plays emphasize the worthlessness of man's works. In *L'Inquisiteur* when the *Inquisitor* asks one of the children, 'Des bonnes oeuvres, des mérittes,/ Qu'est ce?', the child replies simply, 'Cza' (ll. 432-433).

In *Les Prisons*, written in the last years of the Queen's life, we see that her position remains largely unaltered. The poem contains in its third and final book the accounts of the deaths of four of Marguerite's close relatives, and it is here that the question of faith and love is most prominent. There are many instances of the use of the formula 'vive foy', and in each case the context within which it is found obliges a reading of the term as signifying faith which is strong and vital, faith which can withstand trial.²³ Again the linguistic tags 'ferme foy', 'ferme courage' and 'fiance' all appear frequently.²⁴ 'Foy et amour' is another oft used expression, but once more seems to refer primarily to two aspects of the believer's relationship with God:

Devers son Dieu se print à retourner;
 Remply d'amour ardante et de foy forte,
 Laissa son corps et passa par la porte
 De ceste mort que si doulce esprouva,
 Que dedans elle et vie et Tout trouva;
 (*Les Prisons*, III, ll. 2838-2841).

There is discernible then in Marguerite's later works a marked preference for the more evangelical formulae such as 'ferme foy' and 'foy confiance' which come to be used more and more frequently. Moreover an attention to context reveals that on those occasions, and there are many, when the formula 'vive foy' is employed, it seems intended to be more or less synonymous with these evangelical terms: its primary significance is no longer the more traditional Catholic one it undoubtedly possesses within the context of the earlier works and the Dialogue in particular. There is less emphasis on works being an integral and necessary part of faith than there was in the earlier poems, and though the virtue of charity is still prominent, it appears less frequently in a context that would suggest an immediate association with the performing of good works. It is impossible not to see in this shift in the works of the Queen a reflection of the ground gained as the century advanced by both the ideas and the terminology of the Reformers. With time, both of these became more and more influential, as they proved that they were not merely a passing phenomenon but permanent innovations within the theological world. Nor is it surprising that this should happen as the Queen herself aged and grew nearer to death, which she had seen already at such close quarters in so many of her dearest relatives. The realization of human limitations, failings and weakness, is perhaps the prerogative of old age, and Marguerite in the last years of her life holds nothing more dear than the conviction that if man trusts in himself he is lost, but if he trusts in God he has hope. In her entire poetical *oeuvre* it seems that Marguerite uses the actual formula 'foy ouvrant par charité' only once - not as might be expected.

in an early work, but in the very last she wrote, L'art et usage du souverain mirouer du Chrestien.

In this second *miroir* the Queen develops an extended allegorical interpretation of the story of David and Goliath. Christ is addressed as the true David who has defeated the 'grand Goliath', taking as his weapon only one small stone that deals the fatal blow to the head:

Le geant bref qui si fort se ventoit,
 D'un seul caillou par terre abatis:
 Et de son coup ton peuple divertis.
O ferme foy par charité ouvrante,
 C'est toy qui es la pierre delivrante.
 [Au] nom de Dieu, duquel le jeune enfant
 Nud comme un ver, encontre un Elephant
 S'est defendu, par si grande vertu,
 Que le tresfort en terre a abatu!
 (*Mirouer*, fol. 30 vo-31 ro, my emphasis).

Next to the line in italics is a marginal reference to Galatians chapter 5. In a development then that has come full circle, and which seems to be very much Marguerite's own, faith working through charity is no longer seen as the means whereby man may come to God and work out his salvation, rather it is the means whereby God himself in Christ has come close to man, and works out his salvation for him. It is Christ who has faith, faith that works through charity, charity that delivers man from the enemy and unites him to God.

Notes to Chapter Three.

- 1) Epistolae ad Galatas expositionis, Migne, PL, XXXV, cols. 2105-2106.
- 2) McGrath, I, pp. 29-32.
- 3) St. Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologiae, 2a2ae. 4, 3. Blackfriars edition, XXXI (1974), p. 124.
- 4) Summa, 2a2ae. 6, 2. (XXXI, p. 170); 2a2ae. 4, 5. (XXXI, p. 132); 2a2ae. 23, 4. (XXXIV (1975), p. 18); 2a2ae. 23, 6. (XXXIV, p. 24); 2a2ae. 23, 3. (XXXIV, p. 16); 2a2ae. 23, 7. (XXXIV, p. 28).
- 5) J. Bouchet, Epistres Morales et Familieres du Traverseur (Poitiers, Jacques Bouchet, 1545), Pt 1, fol. 26 ro-vo, my emphasis.
- 6) This does not mean that Doré does not also consider works to be a necessary part of formed faith, though he does omit them from his definition here. 'Foi-confiance' is required in addition to faith lived out in works, and does not replace it, cf. above, p. 215.
- 7) See above p. 196, and p. 207 n. 7; also Britnell, pp. 242-244.
- 8) See above, Chapter 1, pp. 49-51.
- 9) See sections 8-11 of Chapter 2, Book III, (Benoit, III, pp. 23-28).
- 10) Les Simulachres, et historiees faces de la mort, contenant La Medecine de l'Ame, utile et necessaire non seulement aux Malades, mais à tous qui sont en bonne disposition corporelle etc. (Lyons, J. et Fr. Frellon, 1542), fols. F 4 ro and vo; F 5 ro and vo; cf. also the accompanying Maniere de consoler les Malades, fol. I 7 ro; fol. I 8 ro and vo.
- 11) 'Aucuns pourroyent dire: S'il est ainsi comme vous dictes, il suffit à l'homme pour obtenir la vie eternelle de dire: Je croy en CHRIST. Et par ainsi les bonnes parolles et oeuvres commandées par les fideles docteurs et annonciateurs de la verité sont vaines et inutiles. Ceux qui parlent ainsi, n'ont point encor' bien entendu, que la FOY est une operation de Dieu en l'homme vive et bouillante, qui ne laisse point endormir, ou devenir paresseux: mais continuellement l'incite à toutes bonnes oeuvres. (La Medecine de l'Ame, fols. H 4 vo - H 5 ro).
- 12) See, Institution, Book III, Chapter 17, (Benoit, III, pp. 291-292).
- 13) G. Petit, La Formation de l'homme et son excellence, et ce qu'il doit accomplir pour avoir Paradis (Paris, G. du Pré, 1538), fol. # vii ro, my emphasis.

14) Fol. D ii ro, my emphasis. The tone of the Louanges is in general more traditional and conservative than that of the Epistre, (cf. also below Chapter 4, p. 288).

15) N. Mailly, La Divine Cognoissance compilee et extraicte tant du viel que nouveau testament, ensemble les cantiques divins de lame regrettant etc. (Paris, G. de Bossozel, 1541), fol. 13 vo and 18 vo, my emphasis.

16) Cf. notably, Dialogue, ll. 520, 1023, 1126-1127, 1154, 1277; Miroir, Marguerites, I, p. 14.

17) Le Miroir de l'ame pecheresse, edited J.L. Allaire (Munich, 1972), ll. 1279-1284.

18) La Navire, ll. 772-780. Cf. also ll. 532-534.

19) In the Comédie de la Nativité, Philetine says of Mary,

Or voy je ce qu'en Esaie ay leu:
C'est une Vierge ayant son Filz conceu;
Dame, c'est vous dont il parla sy bien.
Rosée que le ciel vouldé a pleu,
O terre heureuse, ayant par Foy receu,
Voire et germé le fruit, qui est lien
De Dieu en nous, nous qui dessoubz ce Rien
Viens habiter avec tes creatures!
(Marguerites, II, p. 40).

and Joseph explains to the Shepherds:

Amour de nous jamais ne prend naissance,
Mais vient de Dieu, qui donne congnoissance
De son amour en nous, qui ne sejourne,
Mais tout soudain dont elle vient retourne....
Dieu est Amour, qui en sa creature
Se veult aymer par sa charité pure.
(ibid., II, p. 46).

20)

Le Médecin.

Ouy vrayement, car je croy
Que Dieu faict miracles et signes.
C'estoit du temps de Jésuschrist
Que tout chascun il guarissoit;
Mais de nous dit le saint Escrip
Que le médecin, quel qu'il soit,
Fault honnorer. Poinct ne déçoit
Salomon, duquel par la bouche
La vérité de Dieu yssoit.
A nostre honneur nully ne touche.
Dieu, voyant que sa créature

Sans malladye ne peult vivre,
 Nous fist ayde de Nature
 Par qui de mal elle est délivre:
 Et ceste science en maint livre
 Nous ont laissée noz Docteurs,
 Si sçavans que ung homme est bien yvre
 Qui veult reprendre telz aucteurs.
 (Le Malade, ll. 375-392).

21)

La Sage.

C'est orgueil qui vous faict parler.
 Je vous dis qu'il vous <fault> aller
 Le chemin des commandemens,
 Et faire bien sans vous lasser,
 Et de prier ne vous passer,
 Rememorant ses Testamens.
 Mais si vostre cueur n'est bien net
 D'orguel, et une tache en ayt,
 Je dis que peu vault vostre ouvraige.
 Le cueur doux, humble et charitable,
 A seulement Dieu agreable;
 Aymer le fault de bon couraige.
 (Mont de Marsan, ll. 483-494).

22) 'J'ayme mon corps...', says the *Mondaine*, l. 1; the *Supersticieuse*, 'Je m'en vois faire ung voiage', l. 41; and the *Ravie*, 'Helas! je languys d'amours', l. 573.

23) Cf. especially Book III, ll. 2380, 2727, 2889.

24) Cf. especially Book III, ll. 2270, 2399, 2587, 2659, 2701-2702, and 2822.

CHAPTER FOUR.

Allegorical Hermeneutics: Approaches to Reading the Bible.

1) The Bible and its Use.

Scholars who to date have examined the biblical inspiration of Marguerite de Navarre's works have been mainly concerned to bring to light the various ways in which the Queen uses the Scriptures, as well as to reveal the particular versions of the Bible with which she works, and the parts of it on which she draws most frequently. To summarize, four main ways have been detailed in which Marguerite puts the Scriptures to use. Her works contain first, direct quotations from the Bible; secondly, more or less faithful paraphrases of certain passages; thirdly, obvious references or allusions to particular passages, stories, or images from the Bible; and fourthly, certain works give marginal references (or even quotations) which work as proof texts by which an idea expressed in the main text is supported.'

Critics have also looked at the question of whether the Queen is an advocate of the principle of *sola scriptura* as the basis of Christian revelation, and the question of whether the ordinary Christian as well as the Doctor of Theology is qualified to interpret the Bible. That Marguerite supported the translation of the Bible into the vernacular and its diffusion among the laity is well attested, as is her

conviction that the humble but simple soul, guided by the Spirit of God, is less likely to fall into error than the Doctor full of his own self-importance and pride in his learning.² Apposite to this question, however, is not just what Marguerite says about the Bible and those who read and interpret it, but how she does so herself.

The traditional way of interpreting the Scriptures in the Middle Ages had been the method of four-fold exegesis developed and handed down by the Fathers and Doctors. This method involved the potential discovery of four different levels of meaning in each passage of Scripture - the literal, the allegorical, the tropological and the anagogical. The first of these was concerned with the historical sense of a passage, the second with an ecclesiastical interpretation of it, the third with a personal and moral interpretation, and the fourth with an eschatological interpretation relating to the last things: death, judgement, heaven and hell.³ In this way, for example, a reference to Jerusalem in the Psalms could be read literally as referring to the historical city, allegorically as symbolizing the Church, tropologically as the soul of the baptized Christian, and anagogically as the heavenly Jerusalem, city of the saints. This way of reading the Scriptures grew out of the devotional life of the Church as it ruminated on the Word of God in prayerful meditation, though perhaps inevitably in the course of time many of the interpretations came to be standardized. Many of the humanists, as we have said, regarded the literal sense of Scripture as of foremost importance, insisting that passages must be read in context, though this of course did not preclude a spiritual interpretation of a verse.

or pericope where this might be appropriate, as in the case of a passage from the Psalms or the Prophets.⁴

The critical writings of Lefèvre d'Étaples are often regarded as representing a last flowering of the medieval pattern of four-fold exegesis, a fact partly to be explained by the important influence upon Lefèvre of the writers of the mystical tradition in general.⁵ Indeed with reference to the Psalms Lefèvre goes so far as to assert that their literal sense is in fact the *spiritual* one, and the literal sense is only for those who are blind and trapped within the letter of the text, rather than for those who are spiritual and can see. As he writes in the introduction to his Quincuplex Psalterium:

Quapropter duplicem crediderim sensum litteralem, hunc improprium caecutientium et non videntium qui divina solum carnaliter passibiliterque intelligunt; illum vero proprium videntium et illuminatorum; hunc humano sensu fictum, illum divino spiritu infusum; hunc deprimentem, illum vero mentem sursum attollentem... Absit igitur nobis credere hunc litteralem sensum quem litterae sensum appellant et David historicum potius facere quam prophetam, sed eum sensum litterae vocemus qui cum spiritu concordat et quem spiritus sanctus monstrat.⁶

Lefèvre's connections with Marguerite are well known and do not need to be detailed here. In addition to their earlier familiarity with each other, Lefèvre spent the last six years of his life from 1530 onwards at the Queen's court in Nérac. It would not be surprising therefore if we were to find in Marguerite's attitude and approach to the Bible a reflection of the thought of a man who was so close to her and so respected by her as was Lefèvre. More than this, however, Marguerite's other great spiritual mentor, Bishop Guillaume Briçonnet, was also a spiritual son to Lefèvre, and his letters written to the

Queen between the years 1521 and 1524, provided her with many practical examples of a spiritual exegesis, of which their master would have been proud.⁷ Those very people then who formed Marguerite in the faith, who impressed upon her the importance of reading the Scriptures and of meditating on the Word of God, taught her to do so in a particular way that stands within a very long and venerable tradition.

When we examine biblical poetry of a more Protestant or Reformed inspiration, the divergence of its writers from the traditions of the Middle Ages becomes obvious. The work of these writers is essentially one of translation and paraphrase, rather than of exegesis. Clément Marot, with the various editions of his translation of the Psalms, is the most obvious example of this kind of writer, but he is only one of many. Les Prières et Oraisons de la Bible, perhaps the work of Otto Brunfels, were also very successful, and re-edited many times after their initial appearance in 1529 from the presses of Vostermann and Lempereur in Antwerp. Somewhat later in the century, Claude Paradin first published his extremely successful Quadrins Historiques de la Bible (Lyons, 1555). All these works translate or recount episodes and stories from the Bible without in any way trying to use them. The stories are deemed to stand as fully valid, without recourse to the drawing of morals or allegories from them, however useful or edifying these might be. This is a characteristic they share with other works also dating from the middle of the century, like Charles Fontaine's Figures du Nouveau Testament and Gilles Corrozet's

Tapisserie de l'église,⁸ though these writers, if categorized, would perhaps be best described as evangelicals.

Only the first of these four works was ever censured by the Sorbonne, and this was in an edition by Dolet, perhaps as a result of a preface added by the printer, rather than the text itself, which consists of nothing more than a collection of prayers extracted from the Bible.⁹ The other three all share the same format; that is, they present a woodcut image of a particular scene, accompanied by a short poem of normally four, six or eight lines describing the picture. In this way they exploit for pedagogic ends the current vogue of the emblem book, and reveal at the same time a conception of the Bible story as essentially an image to be conveyed, rather than a narrative to be interpreted. There is a fundamental difference here between them and their more traditional, Catholic counterparts.

The procedure of the evangelical and Protestant poets here reflects the attitude to biblical hermeneutics of the Reformers, who on the whole are at least suspicious and more often than not contemptuous of traditional interpretations. For them, allegorical and spiritual interpretation is associated with monasteries and with clerics and thus not only with celibacy, but with an ecclesiastical hierarchy and an intellectual *élite* that reserves for itself the ability to interpret. The Reformers are concerned first and foremost that the laity should know the content of the two Testaments and be familiar especially with the gospel stories. In comparison with their predecessors, their own exegesis is much more down to earth, and though a tropological

interpretation that draws out the moral for the individual believer is far from excluded, nevertheless these morals are themselves indicative of the new values of their own moral teaching rather than of their traditional Catholic equivalents.¹⁰

Although Marguerite de Navarre must have appreciated this kind of biblical poetry, she did in fact write very little of it herself. She left no works that can be regarded strictly as translations from the Bible, though many of her works do contain copious citations from and references to the Scriptures. Moreover, those of her works that resemble most closely a paraphrase of a part of the Bible, such as the Discord de l'esprit et de la chair, which describes itself, in the first edition of the Miroir, as an 'annotation sur la fin du 7 ch. et commencement du 8 de l'epistre saint Paul aux Rom.', do in fact constitute more a work of embroidery around a theme than a systematic paraphrase.

It is time to recognize that there is another way in addition to those outlined at the beginning of this chapter in which Marguerite makes use of the Scriptures in her poems, and which has up until now been quite neglected by critics. The Queen indeed throughout her literary career reveals herself an adept spiritual exegete, much influenced by her spiritual masters and by those traditions in which they themselves were formed. She is not alone in using the Bible in this way, and many of her contemporaries writing devotional poetry stand in the same tradition. Like those of her age Marguerite has a love of allegory, and it is through allegories and tropes (though I will not

always distinguish formally here between the two), that she unlocks for herself and her readers, the *marguerite évangélique*, that is the pearl of great price, the spiritual interpretation of the Scriptures, and the fruit of the soul's devotion.

ii) St. John and the Oraison de l'ame fidele.

The Oraison de l'ame fidele, as its title indicates, is a prayer and can therefore be read to a certain extent as a model for devotion. It is pervaded by an atmosphere of intimacy as the soul communes with God. At the same time the poem is similar in feeling to the exercise of *lectio divina*, for the meditation on which the soul has embarked is fed by stories from the Scriptures, from which the spiritual sense is elicited. These stories are introduced in a very discreet way, the soul does not suddenly launch into a long exercise of exegesis that would be wholly inappropriate to its current occupation, but it does draw in by allusion particular stories from the Bible that serve both to feed and to give form to its prayer. The second chapter of St. John's Gospel provides two of these episodes - the changing of water into wine at the marriage at Cana in Galilee and the expulsion of the money changers from the Temple.

The first of these meditations comes towards the end of the poem as the soul seeks from the saints their testimony to Christ, by which it is encouraged and allayed of the fears it had conceived as it had

contemplated its own sinfulness. The soul comes to the Blessed Virgin:

Je suis certain, ma Dame, n'estre qu'un
 Ton Filz et toy; et que tout en commun
 Sont mis les biens de DIEU avecques toy;...
 Las, je me meurs, car je n'ay plus de vin,
 De ce breuvage amoureux et divin,
 Qui donne vie au corps, aussi à l'Ame;
 Aller ne veux à sorcier ny divin,
 Mais en pleurant, ayant le chef enclin,
 Secours je viens chercher de toy, ma Dame.
 Qu'en dis tu donc, ô tresheureuse femme,
 De tout peché exempte, et nette et pure?
 Oyez ces motz, qui sont plus doux que basme,
 Que plus au long verrez en l'Escriture:
 Ame, qui as par faute de breuvage
 Extreme soif, lieve toy, prens courage;
 Va à mon filz, fais ce qu'il te commande:
 C'est ton facteur et tu es son ouvrage;
 Il t'a, par mort, acquis son heritage,
 Il est à toy, ne crains; va et demande
 Ce qu'il te fault; il te dit que ta grande
 Hydrie et cœur tu ailles remplir d'eau.
 Et si de cœur tu pleures, pour l'amende,
 Ton eau sera tournée en vin nouveau.
 (Marguerites, I, p. 125-126).

This story is one of those episodes in the Bible that has always been regarded by Christian exegetes as of the greatest significance, and has thus over the centuries received much attention, and been read in many different ways. For St. Augustine the passage symbolized the marriage of Christ with the Church, the six jars representing the six ages of the world, and the water, the Law and the prophets turned into the wine of the Gospel.' This is a much more allegorical (that is ecclesiastical) interpretation of the story than that of the *ame fidele*, which is naturally a very personal and moral one, as befits the devotional context of the prayer. The interpretation given to the episode by Lefèvre d'étaples in his Commentarii initiatorii in quatuor

evangelia is also concerned with the Church and her marriage to Christ, though for him the six jars represent the six days of purification before the seventh day of union and rest in God. Where Lefèvre's interpretation comes closer to that of the Queen, is that for him, the wine represents purity of doctrine, charity and godly living, which in the Church is lacking. At the prayer of Our Lady the water of insipid doctrine and frigid devotion is transformed into spiritual doctrine and fervent devotion.¹² What Lefèvre then writes of the whole Church Marguerite applies to the individual soul.

Obviously we must look elsewhere for possible written sources of Marguerite's image. Amongst the devotional writers also, for whom this practice of using the Scriptures in a personal and moral way is common, the story of the marriage at Cana is popular and much used. I have not been able to find, however, any case in which it is used in exactly the same way as it is by Marguerite. Guillaume de Branteghem, for example, uses the story to signify how the Scriptures, without savour and like water before the coming of Christ, are changed by his advent so that their full meaning is revealed and in them man can taste the good wine of the consoling Spirit. For Anne de Marquets the story teaches us to turn in our need to the Blessed Virgin who will pray to Christ for us, so that he will change the water of our sorrow into the wine of joy.¹³

Evidently, Marguerite's practice of using Bible stories in this way is a common one, especially among those writing traditional works of devotion. Branteghem and Marquets were both Catholics and professed

religious. The use of stories in this way seems to spring both from the writer's own experience and his life in the Church, as he hears the Scriptures read, meditates on them in quiet, and converses devoutly about them with others. There are no doubt as many possible interpretations and variations of interpretations of these stories as there are individual souls.

If, however, we try to seek a more specific source that could have suggested this interpretation to Marguerite, we might reasonably search the correspondence between her and Guillaume Briçonnet. In his letter of 22 December 1521 the Bishop of Meaux does indeed expound the story in question. For him the water signifies humanity itself, which Christ unites to his Godhead at the Incarnation and transforms into the wine of divinity. The Christian has in the story of Cana a gage, that he can accept through faith, of what his new nature will be when united to Christ in the Resurrection. Earlier in this long letter, however, Briçonnet had discussed the three different streams of living water, by which the soul is enlivened and comes to union with God. The first of these streams, which is purgative, consists of tears of repentance by which the soul gains forgiveness.¹⁴ A conflation of these two particular ideas could have suggested to Marguerite an interpretation of the story, that beginning with the tears of human repentance would end in the transformation of these into the wine of union with Christ. Although this is not exactly what we have in the Oraison de l'ame fidele, it is a close approximation, and certainly makes clear *how* Marguerite comes to use the story in the way she does. That she makes this image apply personally to

herself at an early date is shown by a letter written before 20 January 1522, in which she presses Briçonnet to come to the court, and which she concludes: 'Voiant que au Tout n'estes rien et croiant vostre rien encloz dedans le Tout, me vueulx soubzmettre à ce qui sera par vostre rien dict, le tenant de la main du Tout, vous querant prier pour mon moings que rien affin que l'eau puisse estre convertie en vin et que l'abisme par l'abisme invocqué puisse abismer'.¹⁵

A second passage, which follows on directly from the first in St. John's Gospel and recounts the expulsion of the money changers from the Temple, also appears in the Oraison. This episode is reported by the other evangelists too, but generally receives greatest attention in the account given by St. John. The *ame fidele* confesses:

Mon coeur, qui doit estre à toy tout entier
 Pour te servir de temple et de moustier,
 Servir l'ay fait pour larrons et meschans,
 Car tous pechés y ont pris leur sentier,
 Que plusieurs fois as voulu nettoyer,
 Chassant dehors les vendeurs et marchans;
 Mais retournez sont, sy avant marchants
 Qu'au fonds du coeur ont usurpé ta place;
 Et je les ay receuz à joyeux chants,
 En desprisant toy, ton nom et ta grace.
 (Marguerites, I, p. 114).

Again it is not with the professional theologians that we find the source of Marguerite's interpretation. Lefèvre, following St. Augustine, interprets the story as signifying the overturning by Christ of the old dispensation of the Law with its carnal sacrifices, and as foreshadowing the new dispensation of the Church with its sacraments which are not venal. In a similar vein, but with perhaps an eye to the signs of the times, Briçonnet sees Christ turning over

the tables of false doctrine to inaugurate new and spiritual practices.¹⁶ Luther, when commenting on the passage, takes the opportunity to attack the venality and avarice of contemporary priests and to call for a purging of the Church.¹⁷

Let us turn to the devotional writers. Pierre Gringore, in the poems published in 1525 by Jean Petit with his Heures de nostre dame, uses the episode in a way which, whilst not identical to Marguerite's and having a distinctly more medieval flavour, nevertheless aims to produce the same effect in the reader.

O Mon seigneur correcteur de tout mal
 Qui voulus faire ung signe general
 Pour demonstrier ta puissance tresample
 Quant expulsas et mis hors du saint temple
 Par ta vertu les negociateurs
 Ou gens que on dict vendeurs et achepteurs
 Tout enflamme de divine puissance
 Qui en tes yeulx luysoit en habondance.
 Je te supply pour ton yre evader
 Que je pecheur te puisse regarder
 Ainsi terrible, affin que crainte jaye
 De te offenser, te ayment par crainte vraye.¹⁸

It is in Branteghem's prose, however, that we find the use of the story closest to that of Marguerite:

O Seigneur Dieu pere celeste, nous lamentons et plaignons nostre misere et captivité, que nostre temple, c'est nostre ame, laquelle par ta grace avois si richement aorné, en la lavant et nettoiant de ton precieux sang de toutes tasches et maculles: mais helas Seigneur par noz oeuvres et pechez est ton temple pollü, tellement que c'est plus tost fosse aux larrons et ville de Babylone pleine de nydz aux dragons. Mais Seigneur aye mercy de nous, et enchasse tous vendeurs et achetteurs par ton Saint Esprit, non seulement es places ou ta parolle est annonçee, mais aussi hors des coeurs de tous fideles, et en tout lieu qui te desplaist, affin que au temple de nostre coeur te

puissions a tousjours prier et adorer. (Vie de Nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ, fol. 23 ro-vo).

The only other place where I have found the same use made of the story is in a vernacular sermon by the German Dominican Johann Tauler, though it is not possible that Marguerite could have known this work.¹⁹ What this reveals, however, is that Marguerite, is operating within a tradition of using Bible stories in devotional writing, that permits the writer to draw both on personal experience and insight, and at the same time on a common and current fund of stories and interpretations to which all might have access.

iii) Water from the Rock: Numbers 20.

Another allusion made by Marguerite in the Oraison de l'ame fidele to a biblical episode found commonly in other writers is to the Book of Numbers 20. 1-11. These verses recount the story of Moses, who strikes the rock in the desert to produce water for the people to drink.

O forte Amour, plus forte que la Mort,
Qui la durté de nostre coeur tant fort
A departir, amollir, ou briser,
Vient approcher de toy par tel effort,
Que tu le romps, avecques tel support,
Qu'il ne sent point de mal au desbriser.
Ceste durté viens à pulveriser,
Et puis la rendz sy liquide et fluente,
Que tu peux eau de la pierre puiser,
Dont ta bonté demeure triumpante.
(Marguerites, I, p. 87).

This is a more standard use of a passage than the other two looked at so far, and thus it is easier than the others to account for.

Briçonnet in his letter to the Queen of 5 February 1522, expounds the signs performed by God for the Jews in the desert, and in passing he alludes to the above episode, noting with St. Paul, 'le tout avoir esté baillé en figure aux Juifz et escript pour nostre instruction'.²⁰ Briçonnet at this point does not expand upon this particular sign, concentrating rather on the giving of the manna to feed the people. What Marguerite has again done, however, is conflate two images found frequently throughout the Bishop's correspondence. Firstly hardness of heart is an image he uses again and again, as in the following extract where he writes of the softening of the heart through tribulation:

Et, combien qu'il [Dieu] semble couroussé en ouvrant la trousse des flesches et saiettes qu'il evacue, sa fin n'est occire, car il est pere et superexcellente bonté amoureuse et amour bonne. Ses traictz ne sont mortifereiz mais attractifz à vie, et ne cesse de tirer jusques à ce qu'il ayt actainct le coeur terrestre et mort pour le viviffier. Souspir et gémissement est signe de vie ès coeurs rochers et adaminatifz. (Correspondance, I, p. 220).

This image of hardness of heart Briçonnet applies to himself, joining to it the secondary idea of pulverization, when he explains that he will not be able to teach, and the waters of sound doctrine will never flow from him, unless Christ himself break open his heart with his grace:

Madame, je suis recordz que peult estre: insolemment vous ay promis feu et manne, ce qui n'est en moy. Le doulx Jesus distillera de ses eaues en telle mesure qu'il luy plaira. S'il ne la faict plus grande que ma foy ou qu'il l'amplifie par grace, ma part et portion sera petite. Il est puissant pour fondre, rompre et pulveriser ce coeur

rocher. A quoy vous supplie par voz prieres cooperer à ce qu'il en puisse sortir chose qui soit à son honneur pour courir jusques à vous à la fin que vous desire en luy. (Correspondance, I, p. 90).

From here it is a small step to the use made of the story by the Queen. She has only, following the example of her director, to apply the image to her own personal situation.

The interpretation given by Augustine is to read the rock as signifying Christ, from whom, when struck by the wood of the cross, flow forth the waters of grace. This is followed by the Glossa ordinaria,²¹ though on the whole the episode seems to receive only scant attention from theologians. Once again, it seems that this particular trope is the property of the devotional writers. Very similar to Marguerite's interpretation is that given by François Le Roy, also a religious, a monk of the reformed Fontevault, in his Mirouer de Penitence:

O benoiste croix tu es la verge de moyse de laquelle la pierre frappee rendit affluence deaues. Qui percussit petram et fluxerunt aque: car les cueurs durs comme pierre et rebelles quant il sont bien frappees de la verge de la croix il effundent les eaues de lermes de contrition, compunction et penitence. (Mirouer, fol. d i vo).

Marguerite herself uses the story a second time in a slightly different form in the Complainte pour un détenu prisonnier. This version is based not on the account in Numbers, but on a variation of the story given in Exodus 15. 22-25. In this alternative account Moses does not produce water from the rock, but changes water that is bitter into drinking water. The poet-prisoner of the Complainte exhorts his disciples not to drink from the fount of his Muse as they

were accustomed, since it has been turned to bitterness, until the Saviour, the true Moses, alleviating his troubles, has restored it to its former sweetness:

Petits Agneaux vestuz de blanche laine,
 Ne venez plus pour boire à ma fontaine;
 N'y venez plus, car son eau est amere:
 Mais faites tous pour elle une priere,
 Que tout ainsi que Moïse autresfois
 Feit adoucir par la vertu d'un bois
 Dens le desert les fontaines d'Helin,
 Le fiel aussi que ce torrent maling
 A espandu sur elle tost perisse,
 Par le vray bois où feut fait sacrifice
 Pour les pechés de l'humaine Nature:
 (Marguerites, III, p. 80)

Again this particular interpretation of the cross of Christ making possible the bearing of suffering and bringing the hope of comfort and consolation, is perhaps a reminiscence from the time of the Queen's exchange of letters with Briçonnet. On 22 December 1521 the Bishop had written to her in the following terms:

Le bois de Adam en mengeant du fruict defendu, a rendu les eaves et graces de Dieu ameres, lesquelles le bois de la croix du doulx Jesus a dulciffié(e)s. Aultre chose n'est l'Evangile que la croix du debonnaire Jesus dulcifiant de jour en jour les amaritudes et amertumes des pechéz et n'y a aultre science qui ayt ce pouvoir. (Correspondance, I, p. 89).

Here again we see the Bible being put to work in a particular way that reflects the medieval, spiritual traditions in which Marguerite herself was formed, along with so many other devotional writers of the time.

iv) Relationships New and Old.

The Miroir de l'ame pecheresse also interprets passages from the Bible allegorically. In this poem various characters from the Old and New Testaments are taken, and their stories used as paradigms for that of the sinful soul. The *ame pecheresse* likens itself to each in turn, assuming their stories, which become allegories of its own.²² Sometimes these same images are used in other poems, and where this is the case they will be discussed at the appropriate point.

The Prodigal Son.

The story of the Prodigal Son is to be found in chapter 15 of St. Luke's Gospel. It is undoubtedly one of the most well known and most widely used of all the parables of the New Testament. Adopting the persona of the Prodigal, Marguerite's *ame pecheresse*, addresses their common Father:

Donc, ô mon Pere! où gist amour non feinte,
 De quoy fault il qu'en mon coeur j'aye crainte?
 Je recongnois avoir fait tous les maux
 Que faire on peult; et que rien je ne vaux,
 Et que vous ay, comme l'enfant prodigue,
 Abandonné, suyvant la folle ligue,
 Où despendu j'ay toute ma substance,
 Et tous voz biens receuz en abondance;
 Mais povreté m'a seiché comme fein,
 Et mon esprit rendu tout mort de faim,
 Cerchant manger le relief des Pourceaux,
 Mais peu de goust trouvois en telz morseaux.
 Dont en voyant mon cas mal attourné,
 Mon Pere, à vous, par vous, suis retourné.
 Las! j'ay peché au Ciel et devant vous;
 Digne ne suis (je le dis devant tous)
 Me dire enfant; mais, Pere debonnaire,

Me me fais pis que à un mercenaire.
 Las! qu'est cecy? pas n'avez attendu
 Mon oraison, mais avez estendu
 La dextre main, me venant recevoir,
 Quand ne pensois que me daignissiez voir.
 En lieu d'avoir par vous punition,
 Vous m'asseurez de ma salvation.
 (Marguerites, I, pp. 29-30).

The parable had also figured in the Oraison de l'ame fidele, though
 here in a slightly different form:

L'enfant prodigue alla loing pour chercher
 Ce qu'il pensoit le repos de sa chair,
 Prenant plaisir (autant qu'il en peult prendre)
 A dances, jeux et à s'escarmoucher
 En maintz tournoys, où l'honneur couste cher.
 En beaux festins desirant tout despendre,
 Pour acomplir, comme il vouloit pretendre,
 Tout son plaisir, le cherchant au dehors,
 La povreté en fin luy fait entendre
 Que ce n'est rien ce que peult voir le corps.
 Parquoy contraint de la necessité,
 Ferma les yeux à l'immundicité
 De ce dehors, et retourna en soy,
 Où il congnut sa grande cecité,
 Et de tes serfs la grand' diversité,
 Qui vivent tous contens du pain chez toy.
 O Pere doux, la rigueur de ta Loy
 Tu luy monstras dont il dit: Peccavi!
 Puis, luy donnant seur espoir par la Foy,
 Tu l'embrassas, dont il fut tout ravy.
 L'homme hors de toy hors de soy mesmes sort,
 Mais demeurant en toy par divin sort,
 Il est en soy, car sans toy n'ha nul estre.
 Il est en toy joyeux et sage et fort,
 Mais hors de toy, triste, fol, laid et ord;
 Voire et plus serf où plus cuyde estre maistre,
 Du demourant des pourceaux veult repaistre,
 Dont ne se peult jamais saouler le fol.
 Las! s'il goustoit du doux pain de ta dextre,
 Il en seroit plus satisfait que fort.
 (Marguerites, I, pp. 89-90.)

The use of the parable of the Prodigal Son to represent the freedom
 God allows man to turn away from him, and to use his gifts against

him, is classic. It is found in Augustine and many other subsequent commentators, as well as in many devotional writers. For Augustine the Prodigal signifies first of all fallen man, who uses the gifts of free will and nature that God has given him to desert God and resist his will.²³ The Glossa ordinaria follows this interpretation to a certain extent, stressing the idea that in doing so, man becomes a slave to the things of this world, using up his natural resources in exterior pomp, remaining ever unsatisfied in the amount of sensual gratification he can obtain, always desiring more, the more he enjoys:

Et has vires tanto citius consumat quanto datorem deserit. Haec est prodiga vita, quae amat fundere et spatiari in pompis exterioribus, relinquens eum qui sibi est interior.²⁴

This is very similar to the picture given by Marguerite in the second of the two passages above, though she embellishes her description with specific references to many of the courtly activities of the day. For her, and her *ame fidele*, these exemplify that exterior pomp which can so easily draw the soul out of itself and make it forget its true nature.

The opposite of this process of squandering prodigality is, for Marguerite, a returning into one's own soul and the realization by man of the fact that without God he is nothing. Outside God he is in fact estranged from himself, and only in God does he find his true freedom. 'In se reversus', (Luke, 15. 17) are the words Marguerite has in mind here, and these Augustine glosses in the following way: 'Iam scilicet ab eis quae forinsecus frustra illiciunt et seducunt, in conscientiae interiora reducem faciens intentionem suam', (Augustine, loc. cit.).

In the case of the devotional writers this story is again one of the most widely used. In his Dialogue de confidence en dieu, Le Roy has *Reason* address the *soul* in the following way:

O mon ame, tu es fille prodigale...pource que tu as delaisse ton dieu doulx pere de misericorde et es allee en loingt pays, en la religion de dissimilitude cest adire en peche Car quelle est la chose plus loingt et estrange de dieu sinon iniquite Oultreplus tu as dissipe et degaste inutilement emploie la substance de ton pere: cestassavoir: les dons et graces quil tavoit donnees. Car dieu ta donne cler et vif entendement pour le congnoistre: et tu las applique totalement a choses vaines et inutiles, a la temporalite faisant contre ladmonition et exhortation de lapostre... Il te convient imiter et ensuir lenfant prodigue cestassavoir que tu retournes a ton createur par ferme propos de corriger et amender desormais en luy demandant pardon de tes fautes precedentes. etc. (fols. b iiii ro-vo, iv ro).

In the 1519 Lefèvre d'Étaples edition of Raymond Jordan's Contemplationes Idiote, the sinful soul, again in a way very similar to that of Marguerite's *ame pecheresse*, addresses its Lord through the assumed persona of the Prodigal:

Prostratus sum et elisus: et non possum me erigere, nec respicere sursum. Villicus sum iniquitatis, apud te multipliciter diffamatus: quia dissipavi bona naturae, gratiae, et fortunae, pauper et spoliatus sum vivendo inique. Hic fame pereor, et egestate laboro. Surgo igitur et venio ad tuam misericordiam: et dico cordo lachrymanti et poenitenti: Pater misericordiarum, et deus totius consolationis: peccavi in coelum et coram te...etc. (fols. 103 vo-104 ro).

There are many, many examples of a similar use of the parable by other writers; for example by Pierre Doré in his Miroir du Pénitent, and by Claude d'Espence in his Homilies sur l'enfant prodigue. It is used also by Gringore and by Branteghem, though the latter applies it to the people of the Gentiles as a whole rather than to the individual soul.²⁵

The Miroir is not the last time that Marguerite uses the story of the Prodigal Son, however, and she returns to it in number 10 of the Chansons spirituelles. Here the soul again casts itself in the role of the Prodigal, and follows the parable through from beginning to conclusion. God himself does not speak at any point in the song, and the whole adventure is related with hindsight by the soul. The first five stanzas are penitential in tone and recount in general terms the soul's disobedience, its sorrow over its sins, and its desire to return to God.

Père, je viens à vous de loing,
Car nécessité et besoing
Me font demander vostre grâce;
Le demourant du porchin groing
D'amasser par faim j'avois soing,
Estant privé de vostre face.

En moy-mesmes, plein de douleurs,
J'ay dit: combien de serviteurs
Sont saoulez de pain chez mon Père?
A luy j'iray en cris et pleurs;
Il exaucera mes clameurs,
Car par sa bonté je l'espère....
(Chansons, p. 31)

And so the soul returns to its Father and confesses its sin. The fifth stanza marks a point of transition in the poem, and the relationship between the praying soul and the persona of the Prodigal it has adopted becomes more complex. The soul becomes more and more self-conscious and begins to provide a commentary on the story, distancing itself to a certain extent as it does so from its original role:

C'est qu'il n'y a si grand Pécheur,
S'il revient à vous de bon cœur,
Qu'il n'ayt pardon de son offense:
Hélas, regardez ma douleur,

Qui de vostre juste rigueur,
 Père, appelle à vostre Clémence.
 (Chansons, p. 32).

The last five stanzas further this process of the disentanglement of the two characters of the soul and the Prodigal, and as the soul gains in confidence and independence *vis à vis* its biblical counterpart it continues with an allegorical interpretation of the rest of the parable. The soul asks for itself the allegorical equivalents of the various gifts given to the Son in the gospel story when he returns to his Father.

Las, donnez vertu à mon doy
 Pour recevoir l'anneau de Foy,
 Par lequel vous soye agréable;
 Couvrez ce corps d'Adam tout nu
 Du vestement sy cher tenu
 De vostre Charité louable.

Je suis venu pour demander
 Grâce qui me peult amender,
 Et faire aymer vostre service,
 Et ce qu'il vous plaist commander,
 Et Adieu aux vices mander,
 M'offrant à vous en sacrifice.

Père, par le sang de l'Agneau
 Refaites moy homme nouveau;
 Et que je puisse en vostre table
 Manger la chair du tendre veau,
 Qui moy laid fera venir beau
 Par mutation admirable.

Si mon Frère qui est dehors,
 Oyant la musique et accordz
 Du festin de Paix et concorde,
 Se confiant en ses bras forts,
 Murmure et se courrouce alors
 De vostre grand miséricorde,

Laisser le louer ses bienfaitz;
 Mais moy qui voy les miens infectz,
 Et que par bonté paternelle
 M'avez tiré dessous ce faix,

Avecques tous les saintz parfaitz
 Je vous en rends gloire éternelle.
 (Chansons, pp. 32-33.)

This allegorizing of each of the gifts given to the Son on his return to his Father is also to be found in the works both of the theologians and the devotional writers. For both D'Espence and Le Roy the white robes in which the Son is clothed signify the recovery of baptismal innocence. The ring is a sign of faith, which, when placed on the finger, signifies works performed through charity. The sacrifice of the fatted calf represents the sacrifice of Christ, and the memorial of this made by the Church in the Mass. In this they follow closely the Glossa ordinaria which offers similar interpretations of each of these figures.²⁶

Marguerite conforms to this tradition in her interpretation of the ring as a sign of faith and the robes as a sign of charity, and whilst her allegory is not exactly the same as the one above, it is clearly similar to it.²⁷ In the same way Marguerite makes a clear allusion to the sacrifice of Christ with the phrase 'par le sang de l'Agneau', which has no place in the original gospel story, and could only arise from her familiarity with traditions of biblical hermeneutics. The same stanza of the *chanson* is laden with Eucharistic imagery - 'Manger la chair du tendre veau,/ Qui moy laid fera venir beau/ Par mutation admirable'.

Finally, it was common to interpret the elder son as representing the people of the Jews, and the younger the Gentiles. Thus the Jews in

their keeping of the Law had stayed near to their Father's house working in his fields, but none the less remained outside it. The feast prepared for the Prodigal Son thus represented the Church, by which all are called to participate in the celebration of the Kingdom of God. The elder son therefore is the figure of those Jews who refuse to accept the justification of all men, including the Gentiles, by grace, and who go on trying to justify themselves by their works.²⁸ This interpretation is followed by D'Espence in his *Homilies*, but he also takes the elder son as representing the Pelagians and those within the Church who trust in their own works. Of these D'Espence does not temper his condemnation:

A lexemple de ce desdaigneux filz aîné, plusieurs hypocrites portent impatiemment que le pecheur soit receu en grace sans son merite, car telz se fient à leurs oeuvres, moult leurs attribuent, et peu à la bonté divine... Mais telz justiciars tant bien contens de leurs personnes, et malcontens du bien d'autrui sont injustes, et non justes...[such Pelagians even argue] que nature par bonnes oeuvres peult et doit meriter la premiere grace, l'homme prevenir Dieu, lobliger à soy, et rendre redevable, ignorans que tous bonnes oeuvres et merites de l'homme, pensees, ditz, faitz sont bonnes creatures, inspirations, mouvemens, dons et graces de Dieu eternal. (pp. 95-96, p. 111).

The contrast then that Marguerite draws in the final two stanzas of the *chanson* is also built into the exegetical and devotional traditions. Those who partake of the 'festin de Paix et concorde' are undoubtedly those who, called into the Church of Christ, live reconciled to God their Father. Those who, without and within, insist upon trying to justify themselves independently of God's grace and murmur against God's generosity, are, in the end, not members of the household of the 'saintz parfaits'.

Chanson 10 is a good example of a poem by Marguerite steeped in the traditions of Bible reading peculiar to the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance. Without an understanding of these traditions Marguerite's poem keeps to itself many of the resonances and allusions that go running through it. It is a poem that, like its creator, is profoundly of its time and of its type.

The Adulterous Wife.

The image of the sinful soul as the unfaithful wife is also a common one, and very simple. Christ in his work of redemption has made the soul his bride, clothing her in the garments of salvation. The soul responds not with gratitude, but by deceiving her husband and being unfaithful. Nevertheless, Christ is always willing to forgive and to receive back his unfaithful spouse. For Marguerite this is evidently a powerful image since it clashes so very obviously with the reality of human conduct as she observes it in her own environment at court, and in her remarks we catch a glimpse of the future author of the Heptaméron who has evidently already begun making her observations:

Si pere a eu de son enfant mercy,
 Si mere a eu pour son filz du soucy,
 Si frere à soeur a couvert le peché,
 Je n'ay point veu, ou il est bien caché,
 Que nul mary, pour à luy retourner,
 Ayt à sa femme onc voulu pardonner.
 Assez en est qui pour venger leur tort,
 Par jugement les ont fait mettre à mort.
 Autres, voyans leur peché, tout soudain
 A les tuer n'ont espargné leur main.
 (Marguerites, I, p. 37).

Thus the allegory is here inverted. From the human figure it is not possible to proceed to the divine, rather the divine action must reveal itself in its own terms and thus demonstrate what the human could and perhaps ought to be:

Parquoy, mon DIEU, nulle comparaison,
 Ne puis trouver en nul temps ne saison;
 Mais par amour, qui est en vous sy ample,
 Estes icy seul et parfait exemple.
 (*Marguerites*, I, pp. 37-38).

For Catholic writers like Branteghem the image of espousals is linked usually with baptism,²⁹ and so it is for Marguerite:

Qu'y a il plus? est ce tout? Helas! non:
 Il vous plaist bien luy donner autre nom,
 Vostre Espouse la nommer, et de vous,
 Vous appeller son mary et espoux;
 Luy declarant comme de franc courage
 Avez juré d'elle le mariage.
 Fait luy avez au Baptesme promesse
 De luy donner vostre bien et richesse.
 Ses maux prenez, car riens que peché n'ha,
 Lequel Adam son pere lui donna.
 (ibid., pp. 23-24).

The standard text on which this image was based is the story of the woman taken in adultery in St. John's Gospel 8. 1-11. Marguerite, however, in the margin of her text indicates, that she is basing her meditation on the opening of the Book of the Prophet Hosea. Hosea is instructed to take as his wife a prostitute to whom he is to remain faithful despite her infidelities. In this he is to be a sign to the people of Israel of how God loves them despite the way in which they despise his love. This passage is perhaps more apposite for Marguerite's purpose here. More than the story from St. John's Gospel it serves as a paradigm for God's generous, unfailing and unrequited

love for sinners - it is an allegory by which we pass not from the human to the divine but vice versa.

Salminen summarizes the evidence of Marguerite's familiarity in the 1520s and 1530s with certain of the works of Luther, and gives a detailed comparison between some of the ideas found in the Miroir and in Luther's treatise De Libertate Christiana.³⁰ The theme of marriage is common to both of these works, though for Luther the marriage of Christ and the soul is consummated not through baptism, but through faith. It is true, however, that with reference to the sacrament, Marguerite adopts in her description of the nature of this marriage, much of the dowry imagery used by Luther, who also draws his inspiration from Hosea. The bride and the bridegroom exchange gifts: the soul offers Christ its sins which he accepts as his own, and in return he imputes to her his righteousness which becomes as her own.

Tertia fidei gratia incomparabilis est haec, Quod animam copulat cum Christo, sicut sponsam cum sponso. Quo sacramento (ut Apostolus docet) Christus et anima efficiuntur una caro...et omnia eorum communia fieri tam bona quam mala, ut, quaecunque Christus habet, de iis tanquam suis praesumere et gloriari possit fidelis anima, Et quaecunque animae sunt, ea sibi arroget Christus tanquam sua. Conferamus ista, et videbimus inaestimabilia. Christus plenus est gratia, vita et salute, Anima plena est peccatis, morte et damnatione. Intercedat iam fides, et fiet, ut Christi sint peccata, mors et infernus, Animae vero gratia, vita et salus... Ita fit anima fidelis per arram fidei suae in Christo, sponso suo, omnibus peccatis libera, a morte segura et ab inferno tuta, donata aeterna iustitia, vita, salute sponsi sui Christi... Sic sponsat eam sibi in fide, in misericordia et miserationibus, in iustitia et iudicio, ut Oseae 2. dicit. (Miroir, ed. Salminen, p. 68).

Here then is a possible source for the use of Hosea rather than John, and for the contractual terminology used to describe the effects of baptism.³¹ However, by including in her allegory the important

concept of baptism, Marguerite again reveals that whilst willing to adopt terminology and imagery from Protestant theology, she does so by assimilation, integrating it into her own ideas, and making it part of the devotional tradition in which she stands, and by which she herself has been formed. It is interesting too that she should be attracted to an early work by Luther and one that contains much imagery. She is attracted above all to the allegory of the bride and the bridegroom (a standard topos of all theology), and her borrowing operates at a level which is essentially imagistic.

The Other Relationships.

Regarding the other characters that Marguerite takes as her exempla I have been able to find less material, and it would seem that her use of them is more individual. At any rate the stories she uses, whilst being well known, do not receive extensive treatment in the works of any of her contemporaries that I have looked at. Marguerite's use of them is perhaps partly to be explained by the structure of the Miroir itself. She has set herself the task of exploring the relationship between the soul and God in terms of four family relationships, and this no doubt sets her thinking of, or calls to mind, examples from her reading suitable for her purpose. Whilst there are less obvious sources for the following examples they are quite clearly still operating within the same traditions as those examined above.

The story of Miriam, the leprous sister of Moses, punished for criticizing her brother, is recounted in Numbers 12. 1-16. As Miriam

was punished for her presumption and cast outside the camp, so has the soul cast itself away from Christ and his people. Like Moses, however, who prays for his sister and obtains both her cure and readmittance, Christ obtains forgiveness for the sinful soul, and regains for it a place among the just (Marguerites, I, pp. 34-36).

Though Briçonnet makes passing reference to this story in one of his letters, he does not expand upon it (Correspondance, I, p. 212). Only in the works of Origen have I been able to find a commentary upon the story of Miriam that bears any resemblance to the use made of it here by Marguerite.³² This idea may have come to the Queen then through her acquaintance with men such as Lefèvre d'Étaples who would have known the works of Origen at first hand, or it may simply be the result of her own meditation and reading, or again it could result from a combination of both these possible sources. It is simply not possible to be certain.

The fourth and final allegory used in the Miroir and based upon I Kings 3. 16-28 (Vulgate, III Kings), is certainly the most unsuccessful, as well as being the most personal to the Queen herself.³³ The story recounted is of the theft by one prostitute of the baby of another, and the wise judgement of King Solomon who is able to discern which of the two is the real mother by threatening to have the baby severed in half. The allegory shows how the soul, having conceived and given birth to Christ, falls into the sleep of bestiality in the night of ignorance, and allows her neighbour sensuality to steal upon her and remove her living child and leave in

its place her own dead one, sin. Yet with the candle of grace the soul is at once able to see that the child it now has, and which is dead, is not its own. Appealing to the 'juge vray, Salomon veritable' - Christ, or God the Father? - the soul hears the sentence that its child must be divided in two between itself and the other mother who claims it as her own. The soul cannot be content with only half the Christ and chooses to renounce him altogether rather than to suffer him to be divided. It is thus that she is shown to be the real mother, and her son is returned to her. She proves her love by supporting trial and even separation from Christ, and by repentance of her past. Thus sin cannot ultimately have any power over her, and as her child grows up to manhood, he becomes stronger than any other to defend her from all further attacks of sensuality and her dead child, sin.

The above allegory is complex to such a degree as to be both confusing and ambiguous. It constantly shifts its ground so that, whilst at first sight it would claim to be a sustained interpretation of the story from Kings, it is in fact more a series of reflections on it that hang together only loosely. This complexity is, moreover, the only thing it has in common with any of the interpretations of the story I have found in the Fathers.

For Augustine, the two mothers represent respectively the Church and the Synagogue, the first giving birth to Christ in the Spirit, the second according to the letter of the Law, which is dead. They represent also, however, two types of people within the Church, those

with true charity and the hypocrites. Though the two types live in the same house until the day of judgement, the one group will finally be separated from the other by charity.³⁴ This interpretation is largely followed by the *Glossa ordinaria*,³⁵ but I have not been able to find a single case of the use of the story by any other of the devotional or theological writers of the sixteenth century I have examined. Conclusions regarding sources can not in such circumstances be even tentative; regarding method, however, the same conclusions as we have drawn throughout impose themselves.

v) The Ark of Salvation and the Image of the Ship.

Marguerite's later works serve only to confirm the approach to reading and allegorical exegesis observed so far. In *La Navire* it is the turn of Noah's Ark to act as a figure. The poetic character *François Ier* tries to fix his sister's attention on the Crucified in order to lead her from her earthly love of him which cannot bear the physical separation that death imposes, to a love of him rooted in the person of Christ in whom they are both united. Employing a very physical image he assures her:

Ce doux sauveur monstre bien comme aimer
Il luy a pleu sa pauvre creature;
Ce ceur ouvert tu doibz bien estimer:

Prens en ce ceur ta vie et ta pasture,
Duquel Amour le fondz a decouvert;
Fay de son sang ta vie et nourriture

Et cache toy dedans ce cœur ouvert,
 Ou le pescheur de l'ire du grand Juge
 N'est point trouvé, ou il est bien couvert.

Comme dans l'arche au temps du grant deluge
 Nul n'y perit qui par foy y prend place,
 Mett toy dedans, car il est ton refuge,

Et ne di pas: « Je suis trop foible et lasse,
 Il va trop tost, je ne le puis toucher! »
 Viens, il t'atent sans bouger d'une place. (ll. 895-909).

This association of the side of Christ, in which the sinner must hide to be carried through the waters of death and judgement, with the Ark which sheltered Noah and his family from the flood and brought them to safety, had also figured in the earlier Comédie du Desert. Mary contemplates her new born Son and sees in him the fulfilment of the Old Testament characters who were his types. Christ is not only the Ark that bears to safety, he is also the rainbow in the sky announcing peace, and the dove bearing the olive branch of God's love:

C'est [Christ] l'arc qui est pour la paix mis au Ciel,
 Convertissant en douceur l'amer fiel
 De la justice et de l'ire de Dieu.
 Helas! Pecheurs, de cest arc donc tirez
 Et par luy seul ceste grace attirez;
 De l'Eternel apprenez tous ce jeu.
 Son corps est l'arche qui voz maux osterà,
 Qui sur les Eaux sy bien vous portera
 Que vous n'aurez de vous submerger peur.
 C'est le Coulom portant la branche verte,
 Monstrant qu'amour la terre a decouverte
 A tous Escluz qui croiront de bon cœur.
 (Marguerites, II, pp. 210-211).

The identification of the Ark with the side of Christ pierced on the cross is repeated and amplified in the later Art et usage du souverain miroir du Chrestien, with the dove now playing an integral and vital part in the allegorical development:

Regarde icy dedans ce costé dextre
 Par vive foy, de l'arche la fenestre,
 Par qui du seing paternel a nous tombe:
 La pacifique et tresblanche colombe.
 Qui en son bec tient la branche d'olive:
 Nous assurant de paix ferme et naïve.
 Voyons saillir l'Eglise sans macule
 De ce costé, apportant une bulle
 A ses enfans, les assurant du don,
 Donné sans pris: c'est d'eternel pardon.
 (fol. 26 vo).

Here two texts combine to give rise to a complicated series of images: the story of the Ark (Genesis 8.) and the account of the piercing of Christ's side after his death on the cross, and the flowing out of blood and water (John 19. 34.). The side of Christ, the new Noah, is again compared initially to the Ark from which comes the dove of peace. Yet the dove is also a symbol of the Holy Spirit and so the Queen is led on to the idea of the Church being born at the same moment. The water and the blood that flow from Christ's side are traditionally interpreted as representing the two sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist which again signify the birth of the Church, bringing pardon and peace to the sinner. The birth of the Church from the side of Christ inevitably echoes of the story of the forming of Eve from the side of Adam (Christ being the second Adam, and the Church the second Eve), though this is not alluded to here specifically. The passage is of a remarkable richness, which will bear comparison with Augustine's commentary on the same text.

'Venerunt ergo milites, et primi quidem fregerunt crura, et alterius qui crucifixus est cum eo. Ad Jesum autem cum venissent, ut viderunt eum jam mortuum, non fregerunt ejus crura: sed unus militum lancea latus ejus aperuit, et continuo exivit sanguis et aqua.' Vigilanti verbo Evangelista usus est, ut non diceret, Latus ejus percussit, aut vulneravit, aut quid aliud; sed *aperuit*: ut illic quodammodo vitae ostium panderetur, unde Sacramenta Ecclesiae manaverunt, sine quibus ad vitam quae vera vita est, non intratur. Ille sanguis in

remissionem fusus est peccatorum: aqua illa salutare temperat poculum; haec et lavacrum praestat, et potum. Hoc praenuntiabat quod Noe in latere arcae ostium facere jussus est (*Gen.* VI, 16), qua intrarent animalia quae non erant diluvio peritura, quibus praefigurabatur Ecclesia. Propter hoc prima mulier facta est de latere viri dormientis (*Id.* II, 22), et appellata est vita materque vivorum (*Id.* III, 20). Magnum quippe significavit bonum, ante magnum praevaricationis malum. Hic secundus Adam inclinato capite in cruce dormivit, ut inde formaretur ei conjux, quod de latere dormientis effluxit. O mors unde mortui reviviscunt! Quid isto sanguine mundius? quid vulnere isto salubrius? ³⁶

Briçonnet, in a passage from one of his letters, had also touched upon some of these themes in an exposition of Genesis, which again may be the original source of Marguerite's familiarity with them:

Et (combien qu'il soit hors du texte), croy piteablement ladicte coste avoir esté prinse du costé du coeur, pour avoir faict passage au fer de la lance à plus facilement le percer en l'arbre de la croix, comme estant desarmé de l'une de ses pieces... Il dict avoir edifié la coste de Adam en femme, qui est la roche immobile, sur laquelle est l'edifice de l'Eglise, construit et basti: « Super hanc petram edificabo Ecclesiam meam. » (Correspondance II, p. 199).

Such a richness of allegorical allusion as that woven into the passage from the Mirouer is rare in a devotional writer, as becomes evident when comparisons are made. Brodeau's Louanges de Jesus Nostre Sauveur is a work more conservative in tone than his Epistre d'ung Pecheur, since it consists of an extended eulogy on Christ the Saviour as the fulfilment of all Old Testament typology. The poem comprises a long catalogue of patriarchs and prophets whose stories sing Christ's praise through allegory. Brodeau uses the story of the creation of Eve as an image of the Church being born from the side of Christ on the cross - a second Eve taken from the rib of the second Adam - but when he comes to the story of Noah, his allegory is disappointingly

straightforward - the Ark simply represents the Church - and its detail strikes us as idiosyncratically trivial:

Ceste arche cy, dun excellent ouvraige,
 Cest sainte Ecclise, avecques triple estaige
 De Charite, de Foy, et d'Esperance:
 Les animaulex en ont deulx pour partaige:
 Et toy Woe, avecques ton lignaige
 As le plus hault: pour rendre tesmoignaige
 De charite, et de sa grand puyssance.
 (fol. B i ro).

Later in the same poem Brodeau refers to the piercing of Christ's side, once again alluding to the birth of the Church:

De ton coste faisant ruisseaulx courir
 De sang et deau, pour nostre medecine:
 Lors lescription a este consommee
 Lecclise aussi ton espouse nommee
 De ce coste aprins son origine.
 Par sang et eau, est dignement formee
 Et par amour en luy tant transformee
 Que deux sont ung en volonte divine.
 (fol. D i vo).

Again Brodeau's allegory here is simple, in contrast to the composite allegory of the Mirouer, which fuses into a single passage a richness of allegorical allusion similar to that found in the commentary of Augustine. Marguerite's poetry here modulates easily from one image to another, carrying the reader with it, pointing out sights on a scriptural and patristic landscape as it does so. Neither is the passage from the Mirouer insistent about driving home a message; it seems to spring naturally from a rich spirituality to form a spiritually rich poetry, in comparison with which Brodeau's verse can only seem too heavily didactic.

To this particular exegesis is obviously linked very closely the image of the ship in general, used to represent the Church and its members. Though not strictly a commentary upon a particular story the image of the ship is inspired by a multiplicity of biblical passages, and as it is an image much used, both by Marguerite and other contemporary devotional writers, it is worth examining here.

The story of Noah's Ark was traditionally interpreted as referring to the Church. According to the Glossa ordinaria the Church, like the Ark, was formed of wood and water: the wood of the cross and the water of baptism; as the Ark carried the animals of all kinds within it to safety, so the Church gathered all nations of men into its redemptive unity; as the dove returned to the Ark with the olive branch, so the Holy Spirit was poured out through the Church on the baptized.³⁷ The Church then is a ship, bearing its cargo to safety. Buffeted by storms and winds nevertheless, under the guidance of Christ its head, it is assured that it will reach the safe harbour of its heavenly destiny.³⁸

The equivalent trope to this allegory of the *navire de l'Église* is to compare the individual Christian to a ship who, tossed about on the tumultuous seas of life, must guide himself towards the port of eternal salvation. Ultimately he will disembark from the body when he passes through the straits of death, and his soul will come to stand before its Maker and Judge.³⁹

This image of the Christian as ship - *navire* - is extremely common, and typical of the way it was used is the following passage from Le Roy's Femme forte.

Or retournons a nostre navire, laquelle est sur la mer: et signifie la forte femme constituee en la mer de ce monde: exposee en plusieurs perilz et dangers et aux vens et tempestes de diverses tentations. Et pourtant elle doit moult desirer parvenir au port de salut et y souspirer comme disant. O port de salvation. O port de joye et consolation je te desire car en ceste mer n'y a que desolation... O port de ferme stabilite je te affecte et desire car je suis fluctuante en ceste mer: agitee et impellee de plusieurs vens de floes et tempestes. O jherusalem celeste je te contemple de loing de tous biens affluente: helas je suis icy en grande indigence: car je n'ay pas la force et puissance de conduire ma navire a port sans aide et support. 40

A ship is a complex machine, however, and Le Roy and Catholic writers in general go on to exploit the full potential of the image to emphasize the various tools the soul has at its disposal to help it along its way. Ships are meant to be steered with skill, and on the whole, provided they encounter no disaster, they arrive at their destination. Le Roy elaborates: a ship must have 'ung bon gouvernail'. In the case of the soul, this is 'sapience et discretion' which will prevent it from straying off course to the left or the right, enable it to avoid the perils of rocks and to proceed with due measure, neither too quickly nor too sluggishly. Next the soul needs the 'avirons' of 'sainctes affections, sainctes desirs et meditations'; it needs the sails of 'purete et mundicite: et...le vent qui souffle lesdictz voilles cest le saint esperit lequel ayme les cueurs purs nectes et conduit au port de salut lame devote'. Next come the ropes of 'union paix amour et concorde' and the mast of 'haulte contemplation des choses celestes'. As every ship must carry provisions for its journey, the soul must be loaded with the 'belles et precieuses marchandises' which are 'les

vertus theologales, foy esperance et charite, et les vertus cardinales prudence justice force et temperance', nor must it set sail without adequate supply of bread - 'la sainte eucaristee', nor without a star by which to guide itself - the Blessed Virgin Mary. And so the commentary on the verse 'Facta est quasi navis' (Proverbs 31. 14) is completed, and we might think exhausted! (fols. e iiii ro-f iii ro).

The image merits detailed attention precisely because it is such a commonplace. It is used to convey a specific theological attitude - that the Christian is responsible for his own voyage through life, and that though weak, he nevertheless has at his disposal a not negligible stock of tools and resources of which he must make use to influence his own destiny.

But ships on occasion come to grief, and shipwreck may be more of a threat than some Catholic writers are willing to admit; this their more evangelical or Reformed counterparts are not slow to point out. Thus Brodeau writes in his Epistre d'ung Pecheur à Jesus-Christ:

Preserve moy en ce monde naufrage,
Là où l'on voit, que sans toy le plus sage,
Cent foyes le jour du seur port se desvoye.
Si justement j'y seuffre quelque orage,
Il ne m'en chault de matz, voile, cordage,
Ancre, avirons, et tout aultre equipage,
Mais que sans plus ta grace me convoye.
(Poésies, p. 176).

Brodeau's readers would no doubt have recognized his allusion to writers like Le Roy, and have noted equally the theological point being made. Brodeau takes delight in deconstructing an image shared

by his readers' common cultural consciousness. The world itself is a shipwreck, and without Christ everyone is on the wrong course already. When storms come, mast, oars and sails seem ever so fragile - grace alone will convey man safely.

Another writer, Nicolle Bargedé, in his Odes Penitentes du Moins que Rien takes this process of deconstruction even further. Bargedé is at sea we feel, not on a ship, but a raft or a plank he has been able to salvage from a wreck. He is completely isolated and abandoned even by God who seems not to heed his plight: the port he seeks is no longer heaven (how in such circumstances might this be possible?) but only grace. How far we are from the Catholic optimism which blew the winds of grace through the sails of all who asked, saint and sinner alike!

Helas je suis faict pareil et semblable
A cil qui est en mer espovantable
A la tourmente et ses vagues admis,
Sans nul espoir d'amis.

En dure mer dolente et solitaire
Eslongné suis du havre salulaire,
Au port de grace aborder je ne puis,
En mer languissant suis.

Et si ne scay de l'anchre faire espreuve,
Car de la mer de tout vice ay faict preuve,
Pouce en mon dueil mon travail et ennuy
Mon Dieu ne ma ouy.
(fol. B i vo).

It is obvious here how important imagery can be in the conveying of ideas. Through the deconstructon of an image it is possible to deconstruct an ideology, if that image is sufficiently common to be

shared by all, and associated strongly with a particular point of view.

Marguerite often uses the image of the ship too, firstly in connection with the theme of a desire for death and the soul's longing for heaven. *Chanson* 30 takes up the image in a way we recognize to be fairly conventional.

Comme la nef fait son effort,
 Preste à périr par grand tourmente,
 De trouver le désiré port
 Où est le bien de son attente,
 Ainsi par amour vehémente
 Mon âme désire la mort
 Pour jouyr du seur réconfort.
 (*Chansons*, p. 76).

The same is true of the use of the image in *chanson* 2, written after the death of her brother François:

Son Dieu possédoit par créance.
 En ceste Foy vive il est mort,
 Qui l'a conduit au très-seur port
 Où il ha de Dieu jouyssance.
 (ibid., p. 9).

The image of the *navire* representing the individual is used in *Les Prisons*, and occurs in a passage where Marguerite describes the teaching of the Doctors whose message is in conformity with the true spiritual sense of the Scriptures.

Mais les premiers qui suyvent sans nul si
 L'intention de la Bible sacrée,
 - Ceste doctrine au cueur doit estre ancrée
 Pour tirer hors nostre nef du naufrage
 Où rien ne sert, aviron ne cordage -
 Mais cest Esprit dans la parolle encolz,
 Quand il luy plaist, myeulx que à fer ou [à] cloux,
 Celluy qui est en nostre cueur imprime,

Et ce beau mot qui descend de la cime
 Du ciel treshault et du cein paternel
 Engrave en nous, dont le pouvoir est tel
 Que nostre nef, d'espoir deseparée,
 A sa venue est du tout réparée,
 L'unde abattue et rompu le vent fort,
 Tant qu'elle vient à son désiré port.
 (Les Prisons, III, ll. 1292-1306).

Initially it seems as if Marguerite is about to embark upon the same kind of deconstruction of the *navire* image as Brodeau and Bargedé: the ship of the individual has been wrecked and anchor, ropes and oars are no longer of any use. But Marguerite only deconstructs so that she can reconstruct, and what is not true of man in himself is true of man when renewed in Christ. The Word of God, descending into man's heart by the power of the Spirit, restores him and quite literally his ship is repaired, the storms around him stilled, and he is once more set back on course with an assurance that he will ultimately reach his desired destination. This dual emphasis on the weakness and lostness of man when left to himself, and his restoration to his former powers and pristine state in Christ, is wholly characteristic of Marguerite's theological outlook as we saw above, and like other devotional writers of both Catholic and Protestant confessions she also is able to convey a theological attitude by her own particular use of this wellworn commonplace image.

Finally then, the seriousness of the following injunction, addressed by poetic character *François Ier* to his sister *Marguerite*, is not to be overlooked,

« Navire loing du vray port assablee,
 Feuille agitee de l'impetueux vent,
 Ame qui est de douleur accablee,

Tire toy hors de ton corps non sçavant,
 Monte a l'espoir, laisse ta vielle masse,
 Sans regarder derriere viens avant...
 (La Navire, ll. 1-6).

The initial image of the poem gives the work its title and thus to a certain extent provides the context within which the ensuing dialogue between *François* and *Marguerite* is set.⁴¹ Too often the poem La Navire has been read simply as a consolation of Marguerite de Navarre by the soul of her brother François Ier, and on the grounds that Marguerite remains unchanged in her attitude at the end of it, it has been characterized as a poem which is undermined by itself: a consolation marked by an absence of consolation.⁴² It is essential however, and that this should be overlooked by so many critics is surprising, to distinguish between the historical people, one of whom is dead and the other writing a poem, and their poetic counterparts as they appear in La Navire. Marguerite de Navarre is the author who has created both *Marguerite* and *François*, and neither of these characters should be assumed to represent exclusively the feelings of the Queen of Navarre, who on the contrary is represented, if by anything, by the poem. The poem as a whole is an exteriorization of a conflict going on within the Queen - the conflict between her love for her brother, concrete and physical, and her faith in God which tells her that in him her brother is well. Neither of the two characters of the poem represents an attitude that is true to the exclusion of the other. That *François* is right and *Marguerite* wrong is simply not true, and many of the latter's arguments are cogent and convincing. Her case is merely overstated, as is that of *François*.

It is not coincidental that at the outset the lamenting *Marguerite* should be compared to a ship stranded out at sea far from port. We are being alerted to the fact that the question at stake, the conflict in progress, is one that affects *Marguerite's* eternal salvation, (and the extent to which *Marguerite* resembles *Marguerite* is the reason why the latter writes). *Marguerite* then is being hindered from making progress towards the port to which she must aim, her soul is 'accablee', she is without hope. What is the problem?

François upbraids *Marguerite* that her refusal to be consoled of her grief at his death shows a lack of faith. She is behaving like a pagan, not like a Christian who believes in a loving God and the resurrection of the dead. It is a serious charge.⁴³

It is a common theme of much devotional and spiritual writing that all people and things must be loved not for themselves but in God: that is to the extent that they are created, redeemed, and loved by him, and are able to reflect something of him. Briçonnet had written to *Marguerite* many times on the subject of *amour desordonnée* in the course of their correspondence:

Et quelque chose que nous aymons, soit nostre prochain, peres, meres ou amys, les fault aymer en, par et pour Dieu seullement. Qui ayme aultrement et non en Dieu, l'amour est illegitime et bastarde. Car la creature ne doibt rien aymer esgallement à Dieu et moins sur Dieu ne aussy avec Dieu. (Correspondance, I, p. 53).

It is a hard lesson, and if it is this at which the Queen was aiming there is little wonder conflict raged within her. It is not difficult to see the impossibility of her reconciling her strong love for her

brother with this spiritual attitude. Indeed the first part of the Navire, although arranged to look like a dialogue, in substance is hardly this at all. It is more like a conversation in which the participants speak two different languages: a dialogue without communication. The poem, like the Dialogue, also has elements of the debate about it. How are two seemingly irreconcilable attitudes going to come together? Many distinctions are obviously going to have to be drawn before this will be even thinkable. What is clear, however, is that what is at stake is the outcome of spiritual pilgrimage.

The poem describes an impasse, though towards the end a way forward seems to emerge. It is through the cross and the acceptance of human suffering that some kind of reconciliation may eventually become possible. *François* urges *Marguerite*:

Or, prent sa croix [de Christ] pour faire ung eschauffaut
De terre au ciel, et aussy pour destruire
Ton ennemy qui est cruel et cault:

En ceste croix verras ta vie luire,
Car le Vivant pour toy la croix a prise,
Lequel te doit a la porter instruire.

Embrasse la, ceste croix, et la prise,
En adorant celluy duquel la vye
Fut une croix que l'ignorant desprise;

Parfaicte amour de l'aymer te convye,
Veu que Jhesus, le tres parfaict amant,
De la porter pour toy a eu envye.
(La Navire, ll. 862-873).

Marguerite does not immediately implement her *brother's* suggestion, but it is not true to say that she receives no consolation at all, for she tells us that *François* departs, 'en me laissant paix en lieu de

soucy' (l. 1416), and in the final stanzas of the poem, giving thanks to God for his goodness, she is able to affirm:

J'ay ferme espoir qu'en ceste bergerie
Me pourteras en la Paternité.
Ta Deité sur toute seignorie

Sera louee en la fraternité
De tous esleuz, pour qui ton filz te prie:
Dieu tout en tous, ung seul en Trinité.
(La Navire, ll. 1459-1464).

With an affirmation of her faith in her future salvation and a willingness in the meantime to share with Christ in his sufferings, *Marguerite* has managed to a certain extent to resolve the spiritual crisis that assailed her at the beginning of the poem, and a new confidence inspires her pilgrimage. Who knows, perhaps the Queen of Navarre too may have been reassured by the outcome of the poem over whose creation she brooded?

vi) The *Vray David*.

We had cause above to refer to a passage from the Mirouer, *Marguerite's* second *miroir*, containing a Christological interpretation of the story of David and Goliath - it is time now to return to this passage, with an eye to its use of allegory.⁴⁴

Le geant bref qui si fort se ventoit,
D'un seul caillou par terre abatis:
Et de son coup ton peuple divertis.
O ferme foy par charité ouvrante,
C'est toy qui es la pierre delivrante.
[Au] nom de Dieu, duquel le jeune enfant

Mud comme un ver, rencontre un Elephant
 S'est defendu, par si grande vertu,
 Que le tresfort en terre a abatu!
 (fols. 30 vo-31 ro).

To see in the Old Testament patriarchs and prophets prefigurations of Christ is perhaps the most common of all exegetical practices. Christ is the *vray David*, the *vray Noe*, the *vray Moyse* or whatever, and their stories form allegories of that of the Messiah. In the case of the Mirouer these stories do not form the subject of the poem - being given a Christological interpretation to make them more relevant to the Christian - on the contrary, they are introduced into a meditation about Christ himself, to illuminate and illustrate the story of the Messiah. If the Old Testament must be read allegorically in the light of the New to reveal its full meaning, this does not prevent the New being enriched when read in the light of the Old. The fascination of allegory for Marguerite seems to have been quite as strong as that of narrative.

It may seem surprising then, that in the first of the Chansons spirituelles we find the term 'vray David' attributed not to Christ, but to the ailing François Ier.

Hélas, c'est vostre vray David
 Qui en vous [Dieu] seul ha sa fiance;
 Vous vivez en luy tant qu'il vit,
 Car de vous ha vraye science;
 Vous régnéz en sa conscience,
 Vous estes son Roy et son Dieu;
 En autre nul n'ha confiance,
 Ny n'ha son coeur en autre lieu.
 (Chansons, p. 5).

We know that David represents the type of kingship, that he is the one whom God himself chose and anointed to lead his people, but in light of Marguerite's use of 'vray David' elsewhere it is not possible to ignore the fact that she seems to be comparing François to Christ himself. 'Vous vivez en luy tant qu'il vit' reinforces this impression, with its resonances of the Johannine descriptions of Christ who lives in his Father while his Father lives in him. Thus we are already prepared for the invocation later in the poem:

Las, Seigneur Dieu, esveillez vous,
Et vostre oeil sa douceur desplie,
Sauvant vostre Christ et nous tous.
(Chansons, p. 7)

Though both Marguerite and other sixteenth-century writers frequently compare the King to pagan gods such as Pan,⁴⁵ it is much more unusual for him to be compared to the Messiah, and here an awareness of Marguerite's use of biblical stories and imagery is needed to appreciate the full impact of the metaphor.

Elucidation is provided by another poem (published by Champollion-Figeac), that takes the form of an *Epistre de la Royne de Navarre, envoyée au roy par Frotté avec ung Davit pour ses estrennes*. The poem as it were speaks on behalf of the statue, and *David* assures François of his support:

Croyez aussi que l'homme incirconcy
Ne trouvera jamais de moy mercy.
Incirconcys je tiens ceulx qui conspirent
Contre Dieu seul, et tous les jours empirent
Leurs volentez à l'encontre du Roy,
Qui est de Dieu le christ; et, je le croy,
Du Filz de Dieu, vray Christ, je suis figure,
Duquel le Roy est vraye portraicture.⁴⁶

Here it becomes clear that Marguerite is using *christ* in its sense of anointed one. The monarch like Christ is anointed to rule, and by divine providence shares in some measure in his Kingship. David is a figure of Christ, whom he precedes; King François, coming after Christ, bears his resemblance. Lest this should seem too presumptuous David is quick to add that they both stand in a relationship to Christ based not on any inherent ontological likeness, but on what in Christ they are called to be:

Bien que n'ayons au Christ nulle semblance
 Quant aux vertuz de sa grande puissance,
 Le Roy et moy semblables à luy sommes
 En ce que veult de nous, qu'il congnoist hommes.
 (p. 65).

From an allegorical reading of the Bible based on typology, the Queen passes to an allegorical politics. If the Old Testament kings provide figures of Christ, so too do those of sixteenth-century France. Moreover, as well as being the type of kingship and the anointed one, David is also the lyrical shepherd and writer of the Psalms, so that perhaps *François-David* and *François-Pan* are not so disparate from each other as might at first seem.

The meaning of other poems too can be clarified if allusions to biblical interpretations are recognized. In *chanson* 6 a young hunter is assured by 'une femme heureuse et sage' that he will never succeed in catching his prey since he is a 'mauvais chasseur'. The young man cannot understand his fault until he realizes the lady is referring not to a physical hunt for the stag, but to the spiritual hunt of the soul

for the Stag of Stags, Christ. This explains the lady's statement, which he had earlier found impossible to believe, that rather than by exerting himself he would do better 'Sans travailler ne faire un pas,/ Seulement par aymer et croire' (ll. 53-54). In another linguistic register 'croire' and 'aymer' might legitimately become 'foy' and 'charité', and here we have the clue to the meaning of an image earlier in the poem, that without reference to the above passage from the Mirouer remains enigmatic and puzzling.

Et si ne fault point que l'on fonde
 Son salut, fors qu'au Créateur:
 Vertu peu vault s'il n'y abonde
 Par son Esprit, force et valeur.
 Las, vous en seriez possesseur
 Si de David aviez la fonde:
 Mais vous estes mauvais chasseur.
 (Chansons, p. 17, my emphasis).

The stone that Christ-David fires from his sling, is, we know from the Mirouer, 'ferme foy par charité ouvrante', and so indeed the spiritual prize is gained 'seulement par aymer et croire'. As we noted above, Marguerite uses the allegory in the Mirouer to overturn the normal conception of salvation through faith formed by charity.⁴⁷ It is Christ who saves men by his faith and by his works. So too the hunter in the song must learn not to hunt but to be hunted, and the same reversal of values has to be accepted before there can be progress. He must simply put his loving faith in the Christ-David, who shows true faith working through charity and works for man's deliverance:

S'il vous plaisoit seoir et poser
 Dessus le bort d'une fontaine,
 Et corps et esprit reposer,
 Puisant de l'eau très-vive et saine,

Certes sans y prendre autre peine,
 Le cerf viendrait à vous tout droit;
 Et pour l'arrester, ne faudroit
 Que le retz de vostre humble cœur
 Où par Charité se prendroit;
 Mais vous estes mauvais chasseur...

Le cerf est sy humain et doux,
 Que si vostre cœur voulez tendre,
 Par amour il viendra à vous;
 En vous prenant, se lairra prendre.
 (Chansons, pp. 18-19).

In a poem which is itself an allegory, there seems to be much evidence to affirm not only with Jourda that the works of the Queen are steeped in allusions and references to the Bible as well as in quotations from it, but also that they are thoroughly penetrated with those allegories and tropes built upon the Scriptures by successive generations, and which were so many spring-boards ensuring that reading might pass into private prayer and understanding into devotion.

vii) A Theory of Allegorical Hermeneutics.

There are many more examples that could be given of allegorical interpretations of the Bible in the works of the Queen of Navarre. The noted *chanson* 34, describing the soul's pilgrimage through the desert of tribulation and renunciation towards God, draws heavily on a spiritual interpretation of Exodus.⁴⁰ The Comédies pieuses also draw heavily on the tradition of spiritual interpretation of the Scriptures - they are as much exegetical exercises around the Nativity stories, as they are dramatizations of them. The Comédies have been well

discussed elsewhere, and on these grounds I do not intend to look at them here in detail; despite Marguerite's innovations they reflect many of the traditions of popular theatre and the mystery plays, and many of the traditional biblical interpretations associated with these.⁴⁹ The Comédies do contain instances of the kind of descriptive allegorical reading with which we have been concerned so far, though they also act out such allegorization dramatically. Such an instance is the episode of the three landlords in Bethlehem who turn away Mary and Joseph after their long journey, and who reveal themselves to be *Avarice*, *Ambition* and *Luxure* respectively, turning away the unborn Christ-child in the interest of the blind pursuit of their passion. The Comédies also contain dramatizations of the *theory* of allegorical reading.

We referred in Chapter 2 above (pp. 109-113) to the three books presented to Mary in the Comédie du Desert, the second of which, brought by *Memoire*, consisted of the Old Testament. The effective use of God's Word depended upon its being interpreted spiritually and allegorically. The Old Testament read literally can bring only despair at the news of man's condemnation, but a spiritual interpretation restores hope by discerning prophecies foretelling the advent of the Saviour (Marguerites, II, pp. 205-213). The theory of allegorical hermeneutics will be discussed below with reference to Les Prisons where it receives a fuller treatment than in any of Marguerite's other works.

The process of allegorical reading seems to have stayed with Marguerite throughout her life, and the works we have looked at in this chapter range from the earliest years of her literary output to the latest. It is noticeable, however, that allegory seems to flourish more in certain types of poem than in others. Many of those we have examined are in fact meditations of one sort or another - *miroirs*, *oraisons*, *chansons*, *consolations*.

The Dialogue arranged in the form of a structured debate and exploring theological issues in precise theological language does not abound in allegory. The Discord and the Triomphe de l'agneau are themselves more paraphrastic in conception and thus their relation to the Scriptures is established through resonances more precisely textual. Nor is the Théâtre profane very fertile ground here. Though the plays operate at the level of allegory they are not biblical, and have most in common with the morality and the *sotie*.

Les Prisons too are an allegory - a description of the spiritual journey of a soul through life. The vision of this poem is more global than any other written by the Queen, and Simone Glasson is right to remark that it has often been regarded as 'une somme'.⁵⁰ It is in the strongest sense of the word a reflection, a looking back. It is a poem that, though it describes a journey, is nevertheless written from a position of stasis and accomplishment - a poem from the end of a life. When we reach the point from which the author writes, or the narrator narrates, there remains nothing more than to dive headlong into a desire for death, a *cupido dissolvi*, that will

lead to death and life: life in death and death in life. The poem is less a doing than a description, and this too is in the nature of a *summa*. Unlike the *oraisons*, the *chansons* and the *miroirs*, we are not privy here to the soul's performing its devotion nor the exercise of its spiritual relationship with God, but we are treated to a description of these. In this poem we do not find examples of an allegorical reading of Scripture, but a rationale for it - the nearest we come in Marguerite's works to a *ratio sacrae scripturae legendae*, or an allegorical hermeneutic.

It is in the third and last book of Les Prisons that the problem of knowledge is treated. After building various pillars such as those of philosophy, poetry, law, mathematics, music, et cetera the pilgrim-hero begins assembling the pillar of theology. At the top of this pillar comes the Bible, followed by the writings of the Fathers arranged in descending order, beginning with those dating from apostolic times through to the more modern at the bottom. So the pilgrim-hero begins his task of reading.

Du Livre Sainct que au plus hault j'avoys mys
 Souvent m'estoys à le lire soubmys,
En regardant la lettre et la figure
 Où je prenoys souvent en ce pasture.
 Couvert estoit de la peau d'un aigneau,
 [Goutté] de sang tresvermeil et nouveau,
 De sept fermans fermé lequel [encore]
 A l'ignorant qui le dedans ignore.
 (Les Prisons, III, ll. 293-300, my emphasis).

Already there are important similarities here with the ideas of Lefèvre d'Étaples - the equation of antiquity with authenticity with regard to the patristic inheritance; the insistence upon an awareness

of the figure as well as of the letter; and the affirmation that only Christ himself can illuminate the mind and grant understanding to the reader. But our pilgrim-hero's mistake is precisely to imprison himself in the letter. He contemplates 'de la Loy l'importable rigueur' without enough attention to 'de grace la vigueur'. He thus launches himself into a series of works and penances aimed at justifying himself, and meriting some reward:

Velà commant, enferm   dans la lettre,
En libert   je pensoys du tout estre.
Je environnay de ces pilliers ma tour,
O   de papiers fiz ung mur alentour.
(III, ll. 329-332).

It is the Word of God alone that can free him from the impasse to which he has brought himself -

Et la fa  on fut en lisant ung texte
O   Jesuchrist sa bont   manifeste,
Disant    Dieu: « Pere, je te rendz graces,
Qui aux petis et    personnes basses
As revel   les tresors et secretz,
Et aux s  avants, gentz doctes et discretz,
Les as cachez; tel est ton bon plaisir.»
Lisant ce mot, soudain me vint saisir
Une clart   plaisante    veoir et belle;
Mais sa lumiere et vertu estoit telle
Que l'oeil charnel la trouva importable,
Pour estre trop luysante et agreable.
(III, ll. 483-494).

It is only some time later, having long resisted this revelation, that the pilgrim is enabled to hear a second voice - the voice that addressed Moses from the burning bush: 'Je suis qui suis'; and with the realization of the omnipotence of God comes the conviction of his own weakness and inadequacy (III, ll. 511 ff.). Now, like the Samaritan woman who meets Jesus at the well, he can leave aside the

bucket with which he used to draw physical water, and drink in the water of the Spirit instead. Marguerite here uses two self-conscious images to describe the pilgrim-hero's progress. He is led by the Word of God itself towards a spiritual interpretation of the Scriptures. Both the story of Moses and the burning bush, and especially that of the woman of Samaria at the well are about the need for spiritual rather than literal and physical understanding. The modulation towards allegorical reading is effected through two stories from the Bible that not only demand or invite a spiritual interpretation, but make the necessity for spiritual interpretation their subject. The interpretation of these stories turns out to be a self-reflexive validation of itself. Christ himself, in the heart of the simple and the devout reveals the inner meaning of the letter of the Scriptures:

Viz la lumiere et entendiz ce mot
 « Je suys qui suys », qui si treshault tonna
 [Que] tous mes sens et forces estonna
 En me faisant veoir le sens de la lettre:
 C'est qu'il luy plaist au cueur des petis mettre
 Son saint Esprit, par lequel reveler
 Se fait en eulx pour les renouveler
 Au jeune estat de la pure innocence,
 Tant seulement par ceste congnoissance; (III, ll. 640-648).

As simplicity and closeness to God bring knowledge of his mysteries, so even certain pagans were able to come to an appreciation of a degree of the truth - Hermes Trismegistus, Job, Socrates and Plato, (III, ll. 677-720).⁵¹ As the temple of knowledge that was shattered by the Word of God is rebuilt, Marguerite makes clear that knowledge is good to the extent it is subject to and leads towards God. The physician is warned that he must remember that 'ministre il est du grand vouloir divin' (l. 725). Thus the allegorical interpretation of

the Scriptures opens the way for an allegorical interpretation of the created order as a whole:

Par cest Esprit congneuz qu'il n'y a rien
 Créé çà bas qui ne nous soit moyen
 Pour eslever en hault nostre penser.
 De les nommer je ne veulx commancer,
 Mais tant y a, que toute creature
 Du Createur est belle couverture.
 L'oeil charnel rien que le dehors ne voit,
 Et c'est le mal qui l'aveugle deçoyt;
 Car il croit estre en l'herbe la vertu,
 Sans veoir que Dieu est d'elle revestu,
 Pour aveugler celluy qui cuyde veoir
 Et le dedans ne peult appercevoir,
 Mais le dehors travaille de congnoistre
 Sans regarder dont la vertu prent estre.
 (III, ll. 733-746).

The diversity of the creation is like a galaxy of so many poetic fictions set before us to be interpreted. Thus even pagan poetry may be profitably read (ll. 841 ff.), and in the fictions of the poets through allegory can truth be found:

La fiction faicte subtilement
 Ne donnoit plus du vray l'empeschement,
 Lors je congneuz que les poetes tous
 Ont tresbien dit de dire: « Dieu en nous »,...
 Car si le vray, lequel est contenu
 En leurs escriptz, fust à leurs cueurs venu,
 Il y eust eu autant de bons prophetes
 Qu'il y a eu de agreables poetes.
 (III, ll. 847-850, 859-862).

Theory out of the way, the Queen embarks upon a Christian reading of Ovid, undoubtedly suggested by the tradition of the Metamorphoses moralisés which flourished in the first half of the sixteenth century, but which by this time were losing some of their credibility (III, ll. 865-920).⁵²

As the pillar of theology is reconstructed it is now emphasized that it is the Spirit who enables man to understand the Scriptures since he also is their author:

Ces livres là par tout se doivent lire,
Et cestuy là les sçaura bien eslire
Qui a tousjours son sens excercité
En l'Escripture, et qui est excité
De cest Esprit divin qui est aucteur
De verité contre l'esprit menteur.
(III, ll. 1307-1312).

Marguerite takes as her example of the inspired reader Marguerite Porete, the fourteenth-century *béguine* and author of the Miroir des simples âmes. Although she was condemned as a heretic and burned at the stake in 1310, Marguerite de Navarre was almost certainly unaware of her identity, and knew the work only in an anonymous manuscript copy.⁵³ Contrasting the ignorance of the writer of the work to the learning of the theologians Marguerite writes:

Mais ceste cy, remplye d'ignorance,
Qui n'avoit point des lettres apparence,
Et qui n'avoit fréquenté nulle escolle
Fors de l'Esprit qui tout estre console,
En l'escoutant parler clair comme ung ange,
Je n'en sçauroys donner nulle louange
A ceste là qui est de sçavoir plaine
Sans son labeur, son estude ou sa payne,
Mais à Celluy duquel elle est aymée
Et par amour toute en luy transformée
En fault donner l'honneur entierement. (III, ll. 1385-1395).

Here then we have an approach to Bible reading that involves a Christological interpretation inspired by the Spirit to those who are humble of heart. The Spirit will illuminate the mind of the prayerful and simple, and to them the Scriptures will reveal the secrets hidden

within their letter, that to so many of the learned remain wholly obscure.

De même que l'Esprit-Saint est l'auteur de l'Ecriture, de même il en est le lecteur en nous, *Christo adjutore*, par le mystère de l'Incarnation du Verbe. Dans le Christ, vrai Dieu et vrai homme, réside la clef des Ecritures et de leur intelligence, car elles parlent toutes de lui. Mais elles ne peuvent nous parler du Christ que dans la mesure où l'Esprit nous rend semblables à Lui par l'humilité qui, pour nous, est la correspondance de sa kénose: ainsi de l'*imitatio Christi* l'Esprit nous conduit vers la *Christiformitas*.

Bedouelle here is summarizing the approach to scriptural exegesis of Lefèvre d'Étaples,⁵⁴ but what he writes stands equally true of Marguerite de Navarre. At the end of her life the Queen advocates the prayerful reading of the Bible, a reading that must be illuminated by the Spirit and centered on Christ the Redeemer, a reading that both springs from and feeds the reader's own Christ-likeness, shown chiefly through humility. For Lefèvre too the prerequisite of all true exegesis is a humble mind and a desire to be enlightened by grace. Thus the simple who believe the gospel are often wiser than the intelligent, who miss the true point.⁵⁵ This is one of the greatest examples of that *docta ignorantia* by which the soul may begin to pierce the very mystery of God.

La Sage.

Ignorance, des folz marrastre,
A sapience pour emplastre,
Bon sens, raison, entendement.
(Théâtre profane, p. 291, ll. 384-386).

So the *Sage* assures *la Mondaine* and *la Supersticieuse* in the Comédie jouée au Mont de Marsan, but her words sound hollow when she confronts the fourth character of the play, *la Ravie*:

La Sage.

Mais plustost vous juge ignorante,
Qui s'esjouict sans savoir quoy...
C'est ce beau chemin de science,
Que chascun doibt tant estimer.

La Bergere.

Je ne sçay rien sinon aimer.
Ce sçavoir là est mon estude,
C'est mon chemin, sans lacitéde
Où je courray tant que je vive...
Tel cuide estre près qui est loing,
Mais qui est près, sy loing se cuide
Que sans cesser crye à l'aide,
De peur qu'il a aymer trop peu.
(Théâtre profane, pp. 313-314).

So the Comédie du Mont de Marsan, written also towards the end of Marguerite's life, would seem to confirm the picture we have outlined. If the letter kills, it is the Spirit that gives life, and the Spirit that gives light and understanding to the simple is also a Spirit that delights in allegory.

It is impossible to draw firm conclusions that apply universally to the way in which Marguerite uses allegory as a key for interpreting the Bible. The examples we have examined are simply too varied and too diverse to permit this. At times, and perhaps mostly in the earlier works such as the Oraison de l'ame fidele and the Miroir de l'ame pecheresse, the allegories she uses are of a fairly straightforward and moral type. Similar to the trope of the

theologians, they present a spiritual interpretation, simple and personal. Of such interpretations there are literally innumerable similar examples in the devotional literature of the time. It is a common practice and represents what is undoubtedly a popular tradition, springing perhaps initially from the monasteries and propagated through countless manuals and wayside sermons by those desirous of promoting lay piety. It represents an approach to the Scriptures as narrative, quite different from that of the vernacular Protestant writers. The concerns of these latter are dissimilar both in their conception of piety and in their didactic methods. Such simple allegorical interpretations form the stock in trade of Catholic devotional writers, many of whom are themselves monastics. Other allegories which Marguerite uses, however, seem more properly theological in nature and undoubtedly reflect the fact that the Queen was surrounded at her court by some of the most highly respected theologians and scholars of her day, of whom Lefèvre d'Étaples is the most notable example. Again, the exegetical writings of Protestant theologians seem to have impinged little upon Marguerite, unless at an essentially superficial and linguistic level. Allegory for them is not of primary importance, and through Lefèvre and Briçonnet Marguerite would appear to have contact with the much older traditions of the Fathers and Doctors. Finally, there are allegories that seem to be products of the Queen's own imagination, though these cannot always be said to be among her happiest or most successful. They seem often to be tailored to fit a particular situation or to illustrate a given point, and the feeling that the Scriptures have been contorted is sometimes inescapable. Yet even in their clumsiness these allegories

reveal a commitment to a particular way of reading and interpreting, not only the Scriptures, but all texts, and ultimately to a world view in which God in Christ is All in all, and all in Christ may be an allegory of the All.

'Louenge à Dieu seul'^{ss}

Notes to Chapter Four.

1) Allaire in the introduction to his edition of the 1531 *editio princeps* of the Miroir, the only edition to print biblical quotations in the margin, points out that for the most part these reproduce exactly, or almost exactly, the French translation of the Bible by Lefèvre d'Étaples, though certain minor discrepancies in detail from the original would suggest that Marguerite is citing from memory (Miroir, edited Allaire, pp. 21-22). Jourda too is anxious to stress the unconscious way in which the Scriptures inspire the Queen. Her ways of thinking and of expression are both formed by her reading of the Bible and impregnated with allusions to it (Jourda, Marguerite d'Angoulême, I, pp. 354-372, 396-406). A more detailed analysis of the different ways in which this biblical inspiration can be discerned in particular in the Miroir is given by Salminen in her introduction to the Antoine Augereau edition of the Miroir (Paris, Dec. 1533), (Miroir de l'ame pecheressa, edited R. Salminen, pp. 31-40). Salminen also highlights the influence of the Vulgate on the Queen's vernacular. Critics in general remark on the Pauline bias of Marguerite's biblical inspiration.

2) See the discussion of these questions in, J.L. Allaire, 'L'Évangélisme', Chapter 4. Allaire notes in this connection that Marguerite does not reject the authority of the Fathers with regard to the interpretation of the Bible, and refers to Les Prisons, Book 3, ll. 272-280, where in the pillar of theology a position of honour is given especially to the works of the early Fathers, which are placed nearest to the books of the Bible at the top.

3) For the fullest history of the development of biblical exegesis see, Lubac, Exégèse médiévale, and for a more concise summary see, Ozment, pp. 63-69.

4) See above pp. 196-198. Whilst Erasmus regarded the principle of reading in context as of the utmost importance, and whilst he was in no way an advocate of the medieval system of exegesis, nevertheless he did continually stress the importance of interpreting the Scriptures according to the spirit, rather than the letter. See, Lubac, IV, pp. 427-453.

5) On Lefèvre's methods of exegesis see, Lubac, IV, pp. 411-423; also Ozment, pp. 69-71. On the contrast between Lefèvre's approach to that of the humanist Erasmus see, Mann, Erasme et les débuts de la réforme française, pp. 9-22; also, A. Renaudet, Préréforme et humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d'Italie (1494-1517) (Paris, 1953), pp. 436, and 481-488.

6) G.T. Bedouelle, Le Quincuplex Psalterium de Lefèvre d'Étaples. Un guide de Lecture, THR, 171 (Geneva, 1979), pp. 23-24.

7) For example the long and detailed exegesis of parts of Genesis in letters 108, 112, 113 and 116, and of Exodus in letters 38 and 109, (Correspondance, Martineau and Velssière).

8) Ch. Fontaine, Figures du Nouveau Testament (Lyons, J. de Tournes, 1556); G. Corrozet, La Tapisserie de l'église chrestienne et catholique: en laquelle sont despainctes la Nativité, Vie, Passion, Mort, et Resurrection de nostre Sauveur et Redempteur Jesus Christ (Paris, E. Groulleau, sd.).

9) See, Higman, pp. 127 and 99, n. 76.

10) For example the story of the changing of the water into wine at the marriage at Cana is used by Luther to praise the excellence of the state of marriage over that of chastity, and the story of the cleansing of the Temple to inveigh against contemporary ecclesiastical corruptions and priestly avarice (Werke, XXXVI (1912), pp. 139-144; pp. 725-729). Though scholars see in Luther's work of exegesis a development of two late medieval schools of interpretation, both the literalist school of Nicholas of Lyra and the spiritual and Christocentric school of Lefèvre d'Étaples (cf. Ozment, pp. 71-72), the different nature of the moral interpretations drawn must be stressed. The latter tendency is in fact associated primarily with Luther's early work.

11) St. Augustine of Hippo, Tractatus IX in Evangelium sancti Joannis, Migne, PL, XXXV, cols 1458-1466.

12) 'Vinum, est doctrinae puritas, et charitas inebrians. Quibus deficientibus in ecclesia (nam in nuptiis discumbentes, ecclesia sunt) mater filium precatur, ut ea discumbentibus suppediret... Qui etiam si dixerit, nihil deo cum mortali esse, et nondum venire horam nuptiarum suarum: ad manifestandam tamen suam eximiam bonitatem, et supereminentem gloriam, et propter orantium fiduciam, modo ministri nuptiarum, qui sunt mysteriorum ecclesiae ministri, verbis eius pareant aquam frigidam quae sunt insipidae doctrinae et frigidae devotiones eorum, mutat et convertit in optimum vinum: qui est illuminata, et vitalis spiritus doctrina, fervens devotio, et in deum solum charitas, et vehemens quidem et inebrians charitas', Lefèvre d'Étaples, Commentarii Initiatorii, p. DIIII.

13) Branteghem, Vie de Nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ, fol. 22 vo; Marquets, Sonets spirituels, p. 40.

14) Correspondance, I, p. 82 and pp. 78-81.

15) Correspondance, I, p. 134.

16) St. Augustine, Tractatus X in Evangelium sancti Joannis, Migne, PL, XXXV, cols 1468-1469; Lefèvre d'Étaples, op. cit., p. DV; Correspondance, II, pp. 125-126.

17) M. Luther, Auslegung des ersten und zweiten kapitels Johannis in Predigten, in Werke, XXXVI, pp. 725-729.

18) P. Gringore, Heures de nostre dame translatees de latin en francoys et mises en rhyme... Additionnee de plusieurs chantz royaulx etc. (Paris, J. Petit, 1525), fol. e ii vo.

19) ' "My house shall be called the house of prayer." Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Eternal Son of God has faithfully taught us here, what we must do that our hearts may be clean and pure houses of prayer; for man is really and truly a Holy Temple of God. But all traders must first be driven out of this Temple of God; that is all the fancies and imaginations which are not really of God; and also all delight in the creature and in our own will; therefore this temple must first be cleansed with tears of repentance and the Love of God, that it may be made clean and pure... Therefore this Temple of God is a pure clean heart; and it is truly a Temple of God, where the Eternal God ever dwelleth in truth, when all that is unlike Him has been driven out and cast forth.', J. Tauler, The Inner Way, Being thirty-six Sermons for Festivals, edited A.W. Hutton (London, 1901), pp. 308-309. E. Parturier suggests the Rhineland mystics as a source of many of Marguerite de Navarre's spiritual ideas, pointing out many points of similarity between her thought and theirs ('Les sources du mysticisme'). J. Dagens, however, with a greater attention to bibliographical evidence, shows that the works of the Rhineland mystics with which Marguerite could possibly have been familiar are very few; of these none are by Tauler ('Le « Miroir des simples âmes » et Marguerite de Navarre', in La Mystique Rhénane, Travaux du Centre des études Supérieures spécialisé d'histoire des religions de Strasbourg, Colloque de Strasbourg 1961 (Paris, 1963), pp. 281-289 (p. 288)).

20) Correspondance, I, p. 140, cf. I Cor. 10. 11.

21) Anselm of Laon, Glossa ordinaria (attributed by Migne to Walafrid of Strabo), Migne, PL CXIII (1852), cols 67-1316, CXIV (1852), cols 9-752 (CXIII, col 414).

22) Cf. Chapter 1 above, pp. 72-74.

23) Augustine, Quaestionum in Evangeliorum Liber secundus, Migne, PL, XXXV, cols 1344-1345.

24) Glossa ordinaria, Migne, PL, CXIV, col 312.

25) P. Doré, Le Miroir du Penitent, fol. A ii vo ff; D'Espence, Homilies sur l'enfant prodigue, esp. pp. 6-11; Gringore, Heures de nostre dame, fol. d iii ro; Branteghem, Vie de Nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ, fols. 98 ro-99 vo.

26) D'Espence, Homilies, pp. 74-76, 80-81; Le Roy, Dialogue de confidence, fol. b iv ro-vo; Migne, PL, CXIV, cols 313-314.

27) On Marguerite's attitude to the virtues faith and charity, and the issue of the relative importance of belief and works, see Chapter 3 above.

28) See, Augustine, op. cit., cols 1346-1347; Glossa ordinaria, Migne, PL, CXIV, loc. cit.; Lefèvre d'Étaples, Commentarii Initiatorii, pp. CCCCXXVI-CCCCXXVII.

29) 'Nous te prions donq tresbon Seigneur que tu ayes pitié de nous. car si tu regard[es] a nos pechez, nous ne serons point une fois trouvez en adultere, mais plus de mille fois. Car Seigneur Dieu nous t'avons laissé, toy qui es la fontaine d'eau vive... Toy qui nous as espousé en nostre baptesme, et nous as promis de nous donner ton royaume, moyennant que nous portions la croix que tu nous envoyes.' (Branteghem, Vie de Nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ, fols. 82 vo-83 ro).

30) Miroir, edited R. Salminen, pp. 65-70

31) On Marguerite's attitude to baptism see Chapter 2 above, pp. 159-168.

32) 'Isti ergo quia detrahunt Moysi, habent lepram in anima sua et sunt in homine interiore leprosi, et ideo habentur extra castra Ecclesiae Dei. Sive ergo haeretici sint qui derogant Moysi, sive de Ecclesia sint qui detrahunt fratribus, et male loquuntur de proximis suis, omnes qui hoc vitio aguntur, dubitandum non est quin leprosi sint in anima sua. Et Maria quidem interveniente Aaron pontifice septima die curatur: nos vero si obtrectationis vitio inciderimus in animae lepram, usque ad finem septimanae mundi, id est, usque ad resurrectionis tempus leprosi in anima permanebimus, et immundi: nisi dum poenitendi tempus est, corrigamur, et conversi ad Dominum Jesum, ac supplicantes ei per poenitentiam purgemur ab immunditia leprae nostrae', Origen, In Numeros homilia VII, in, J.-P. Migne, edited, Patrologia Graeca, 162 vols (Paris, 1857-1912), XII (1857), cols 611-620 (col 612). Two editions of Origen's Opera were published in 1512, and further editions in 1519 and 1522. Erasmus published his edition in 1536.

33) Marguerites, I, pp. 30-33. The image of motherhood is closely related to another theme common in the works of Marguerite: that of the spiritual conception of Christ in the soul of the believer through faith. See above Chapter 2, pp. 154-155, and relevant notes.

34) Augustine, Tractatus de iudicio Salomonis inter duas mulieres meretrices, Corpus Christianorum series latina, (Turnhout, 1953-), XLI, Sermones de vetere testamento (1961), pp. 153-159.

35) Migne, PL, CXIII, cols 582-583.

36) Augustine, Tractatus CXX in Evangelium sancti Joannis, Migne, PL, XXXV, col 1953.

37) Migne, PL, CXIII, cols 105-110.

38) Cf. D'Espence's prayer for the peace of the Church above, p. 203; Briçonnet alludes in passing to this image (Correspondance, II, p. 222).

39) Though he does not use the image of the ship to represent the individual pilgrim - his *Ame incorporee* - Bouchet does present the drama of the soul's final moments on earth using the image of a sea battle. The soul as it makes haste towards the 'port du salut' is attacked at the 'pas de mort' by various assailants. 'Larmee de mer' of the soul has three ships, in the first are *Grace divine*, and *Memory*, *Understanding* and *Will*, in the second are the three theological, and in the third the four cardinal virtues. 'Larmee de mer' of the 'prince de malice' comprises 'la nef de la chair', 'la nef du monde' and 'la nef du diable', (*Triumphes*, fols. cxxxvii ro-cxxxviii vo). Briçonnet contrasts the plight of the living to that of the recently departed Duchesse de Nemours, who, he says, has 'desemparé son navire et mis pied en terre des vivantz, mais les povres encores fluctuans et voltigeans en la grand mer', (*Correspondance*, II, p. 156).

40) Fr. Le Roy, Le livre de la femme forte et vertueuse declaratif du cantique de salomon es proverbes au chapitre final qui ce commence. Mulierem fortem quis inveniet. Laquelle exposition est extraicte de plusieurs excellens docteurs utile et prouffitable a personnes religieuses et autres gens de devotion etc. (Paris, S. Vostre, sd.), fols. e iii vo-iiii ro.

41) R. Cottrell (*The Grammar of Silence, A Reading of Marguerite de Navarre's Poetry* (Washington DC, 1986), pp. 203-204.) argues that not much significance is to be attributed to the title of *La Navire* which is probably scribal, and taken from the poem's first line. If this is accepted, however, the significance for the medieval and Renaissance reader of the opening words of a poem must be recognized as the basis of this practice.

42) Cf. Cottrell, pp. 216-219.

43) Cf. *Dialogue*, ll. 85-93 where the same charge is levelled against the *Royne de Navarre* by *l'âme de madame Charlote*, see also ll. 220-231.

44) See Chapter 3 above, p. 251.

45) François was commonly compared to the god Pan, cf. Marguerite's own *Comédie sur le trespas du Roy*. The most well known instance is perhaps Cl. Marot's 'Eglogue de Marot au Roy, soubz les noms de Pan et Robin', written c. 1539 (*Oeuvres complètes*, edited C.A. Mayer, 6 vols (London, 1958-1980), III (1964), pp. 343-353.); cf. also B. de La Tour d'Albenas, *Le Siecle d'or* (Lyons, J. de Tournes and G. Gazeau, 1551), pp. 53 ff. This 'Chant elegiaque de La Republique, Sus la mort de hault, et magnanime prince, François premier de ce nom, Roy de France' was first published separately in 1547; cf also Fr. Habert, *Petit OEuvre Bucolique*, published with *La Nouvelle Pallas etc.* (Lyons, J. de Tournes, 1545). Habert, having extolled François Ier, announces (pp. 67-68) that he will do so no longer, but will lavish his eulogy rather on the dauphin Henry, whose patronage is more readily forthcoming! Jean Marot's description of the King as the 'Dieu terrestre' of the people of Paris, who await his return from war like souls in purgatory, is probably a demonstration of a reaction of Gallican

sentiment against the papal claims of the ultra-montanes, (Le Recueil, pp. 20 ff.).

46) A. Champollion-Figeac edited, Poésies du Roi François Ier, de Louise de Savoie duchesse d'Angoulême, de Marguerite, reine de Navarre, et correspondance intime du roi avec Diane de Poitiers et plusieurs autres dames de la cour (Paris, 1847), pp. 64-65.

47) See note 44 above.

48) Cf. *chanson* 34 ll. 45 ff. The story of the Israelite's journey through the desert receives extended treatment in several of the letters of Briçonnet, cf. note 7 above.

49) For a detailed comparison of the plays with medieval mystery plays see, Jourda, Marguerite d'Angoulême, I, pp. 431-482; also C. Kraus, Der religiöse Lyriismus Margaretes von Navarra, Münchener Romanistische Arbeiten, 53 (Munich, 1981), pp. 80-112. Kraus, however, minimalizes Marguerite's dependence on the mystery plays. For her, the Comédies pieuses demonstrate more of the characteristics of the morality play, in which the Queen expounds her own theological ideas on the basis of the biblical stories.

50) Les Prisons, p. 12.

51) Cf. above Chapter 2, pp. 113-118.

52) See, A. Moss, Ovid in Renaissance France, A Survey of the Latin Editions of Ovid and Commentaries Printed in France before 1600, Warburg Institute Surveys, 8 (London, 1982), pp. 23-27. Pierre Bersuire completed his Ovide moralisé by the mid-fourteenth century. It was much published in its Latin version in the early sixteenth century, as well as forming the basis of Colard Mansion's vernacular Bible des poètes, published six times between 1484 and 1531. The interpretation of Acteon as representing Christ (Les Prisons, III, ll. 889-892) is found in Bersuire. With the rise of humanism, however, this way of reading came to be somewhat discredited and was ridiculed by both Rabelais and Erasmus. Marguerite's ideas reveal themselves here as rather conservative and old-fashioned. It is interesting also that Bersuire conceived his commentary as a companion volume to his De expositione et moralizatione figurarum et Scripturarum enigmatibus, seeing sacred and profane allegory as intimately related.

53) See, Dagens, art. cit., and Le Miroir des simples Ames, edited R. Guarnieri, Archivio Italiano per la storia della pietà, 4 (Rome, 1965), 351-635 (pp. 490-491).

54) Bedouelle, Lefèvre d'Etaples, p. 140.

55) Cf. the preface to the Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles, Bedouelle, op. cit., pp. 141-151.

56) The device that closed Marguerite's first published work the *editio princeps* of the Miroir de l'ame pecheresse (edited J. Allaire, p. 98).

CONCLUSIONS.

Conclusions here need to be no more than brief. The primary aim of the thesis has been the foregoing exposition, and a lengthy recapitulation is unnecessary. Conclusions regarding the separate issues examined in each chapter have been drawn already, so that it remains only to make certain general observations.

We have set the poetic works of Marguerite de Navarre in the context of the devotional literature of the late Middle Ages and early Reformation. We have focussed on the conceptual frameworks and uses of language proper to devotional writing, and so we have been able to explore Marguerite's attitudes to the most important religious questions of her day.

We have discovered that throughout her life, Marguerite retains a high regard for traditional, historical and ecclesiastical structures - for the Church and its members, for the sacraments, and for the saints. We have discovered that her approach to reading the Bible is also essentially traditional in nature. Marguerite's traditionalism on these issues, however, is balanced by a desire to see a spiritual renewal of the Church, and, with many other evangelicals of her time, she is concerned to promote the worthy celebration and reception of the sacraments, a piety which is theologically sound and free from superstition, and the wide diffusion of the Bible in the vernacular.

Regarding the other major issues of theological dispute at the Reformation - the nature of justification and the role of faith and works - Marguerite's writings reveal an understanding which is once more expressed initially in terms which are traditional, but upon which the influence of the Reformers becomes increasingly obvious as the years go by.

The evolution of the Queen's choice of language and structures when discussing these questions has been identified here as an increasing preference on her part for the ideas and terminology of the Reformers. Such a conclusion seems to go against the grain of critical material devoted to Marguerite hitherto, which on the whole tends to suggest that it is to be explained by her increasing lack of interest in theological questions. Amongst those critics who have argued for the Queen's fundamental adherence to the doctrines of Protestantism there has been in fact a marked tendency to concentrate on her earlier works, notably the Miroir and the Dialogue, and also the Triomphe. On the other hand, those who have maintained that her primary interest is spiritual rather than theological, have concentrated more often on the later works: Les Prisons, the Comédies pieuses and the later plays of the Théâtre profane, with the exception of certain of the earliest works, for example the Petit OEuvre. This division accounts for the fact that the over-all impression which has often been conveyed of Marguerite, is of someone, who in her youth was more interested in precise theological questions, but who in her maturity mellowed, her later interests being spiritual and mystical. Thus a Queen, won over in her youth to Protestantism, becomes increasingly an adept of her

own private religion, according to which only love matters, and all else remains nebulous and vague. Even Pierre Jourda's judgement of Marguerite's religious convictions in her later years is that: 'aux environs de 1545 la Reine de Navarre semble s'être fait une doctrine personnelle, hors de tout dogme défini, à côté de toute église' (Marguerite d'Angoulême, I, p. 303). Such a simplified and generalized summary of critical opinion as this is of course a distortion, but it is one which has been too readily accepted and has had too much influence for too long.

Against it must be said, on the one hand, that the ideas and the rhetoric of mysticism were familiar to Marguerite from her correspondence with Briçonnet, and thus represent one of the earliest and most important influences on her. Moreover, many of the earlier works are undergirded by traditional concepts, they use traditional language, images and formulae. This is clearly the case regarding the two crucial questions of justification and of faith and works.

On the other hand, the impact of Protestantism in France is not limited to the 1520s and 1530s, the time of the initial infiltration of Luther's ideas into the country across the German border. This influence continues, and indeed is heightened and becomes particularly effective towards the middle of the century, through the writings of Calvin and others, which issue from the presses of Geneva.

It would be short-sighted, therefore, to ignore the influence of the Reformers when assessing the drift, discernible in Marguerite's later

works, from a concept of justification as intrinsic towards one of it as extrinsic, and also from an emphasis on the necessity of faith being proved by works of charity, towards a definition of faith made increasingly in terms of trust or confidence in God.

Marguerite may, in her later years, have mellowed; it may be that she came to emphasize spiritual attitude over dogmatic statement. However, we have noted already with regard to the issues of justification and faith and works, that those simplifications and emphases historically associated with mystical writing, coincide in the sixteenth century with many of the concerns of the Reformers. Marguerite's writings reveal a person for whom religious questions were of the greatest possible interest. If therefore it were the case that she came to neglect or lose interest in theological structures and doctrine, such an attitude, at the time of the Reformation, would in itself be of dogmatic interest and have important theological implications. To attribute the developments we have outlined in the thinking of the Queen to a mere loss of interest or a growing indifference to religious issues is false to the Marguerite we have discovered in this thesis. On the contrary, her thought seems to develop consistently, and reveal considerable theological integrity. Marguerite's religion is balanced and considered, and never haphazard or vague: she remains throughout her life open both to the traditions she inherits, and to the ideas of the great thinkers and innovators of her day.

APPENDIX.

Estienne's Sommaire.

1) History.

The initial appearance of the first of Estienne's two *tabulae* is among the prefatory material to his Latin Bible of 1532 bearing the title, Haec docent Sacra Biblorum scripta, (Biblia Sacra, fol. # iii ro).

It is next printed by Martin Lempereur in his 1534 Anvers edition of Lefèvre d'Étaples's Bible, this time translated into French. This first French translation of the tract already shows several variations from the Latin original, though on the whole these differences can be attributed to a desire on the translator's part to amplify the original text, and do not in any sense constitute a modification of the theological import of the work. Though the identity of the translator is uncertain, for want of contradictory evidence and a more likely hypothesis, it seems to be generally accepted that the translation may be the work of Lefèvre d'Étaples himself. At the end of the last century the differences between these two versions of the text, and the relative merits of each and thus of their supposed authors, Estienne and Lefèvre, was a subject of disagreement and an exchange of articles between Nathanaël Weiss and Orentin Douen.'

It is not until the 1540s that the text is reprinted, when a version of it is again placed by Estienne among the prefatory material to his 1540 Bible, bearing now the title Summa totius sacrae Scripturae, (Biblia Sacra, fol. * iii vo). This Latin text however, contains important variants from the earlier versions of 1532 and 1534, and certain sections of it have been wholly reworked. This modified text went on to receive several reprintings by Estienne as an independent work in pamphlet form, both in Latin in 1542, and also at about the same time in French.² It is this 1540 reworked text that also forms the basis of subsequent editions by other printers: Dolet in 1542; Janot in 1543; Macé Bonhomme in 1550, as well as of the later reprintings of the text by Estienne himself, in 1547, and in his 1552 Geneva Bible and his 1553 New Testament.³

It remains to detail only one further edition of the Sommaire, and this is its printing in broadsheet or placard form in French. Copies of this placard form of the text are extremely rare, but one does exist in the library of the SHPF, and was reprinted by N. Weiss in the Society's Bulletin in 1894.⁴ Inevitably, the placard is undated, though basing his arguments on evidence given by Estienne himself in his Censures des Theologiens de Paris etc., Weiss concludes that the separate printing of the Sommaire in placard and pamphlet form could have taken place only subsequent to its printing in the 1540 Latin Bible. He therefore dates the placard around or just later than 1540, and in this he has been followed by almost all other critics.⁵

What is particularly interesting about the French placard, is that it is not a translation of the new modified Latin text that appeared in the introduction to the Latin Bible of 1540, but an exact reproduction of the earlier French text of 1534, attributed to Lefèvre d'Étaples. It is this Estienne edition that Lucien Febvre compares to the 1542 Dolet edition of the text.⁶ Noting the fact that important differences exist between the two French texts, Febvre asks whether these could be the work of Dolet. As he points out, it would be not without interest that the text used by Estienne in his 1552 Genevan Bible, produced under the supervision of Calvin himself, should be based on a revision of Estienne's original text by Dolet. Indeed it would not. But Febvre admits that he does not know which edition of the Sommaire Dolet could have used as his original.⁷ He is unaware of the modified text printed by Estienne himself for the first time in 1540 and subsequently in 1542, which seem to be the editions that Febvre regrets not being able to find, and for which he launches an appeal.

It seems certain then that between 1534 and 1540 Estienne revises his text himself, or has someone else work on it for him. The question remains why he did not use the new reworked text for the placard of [1540?]. Is it possible that Estienne prepared the text of his placard for printing before printing his Latin Bible with the new text in 1540, but did not actually carry out the printing until afterwards? This is implausible, and would contradict Estienne's own account of events given in his Censures des Theologiens de Paris etc.. It is also possible that Estienne did not have time to prepare a new French translation of the text of the Sommaire before printing the placard,

though this too seems hardly likely. It seems more reasonable to conclude that, when preparing a French edition of the text as he himself writes, 'en une feuille, de belle et grosse lettre, pour les attacher contre les parois',² he deemed it more prudent to reproduce the more conservative version of the text from 1534 than to risk such an overt publication of his new text. Nevertheless he did not shy away from slipping it more cautiously, in Latin, into the prefatory material of his Bible, nor from printing it in pamphlet form two years later in French. Whatever the explanation, it remains that the placard [1540?] stands chronologically with the later reworked editions of the text, but ideologically with the earlier editions of it dating from the early part of the preceding decade.

An examination of the content of the tract reveals important evidence of the vulgarization of the new Protestant ideas on the theological question of justification between the crucial years of 1532 and 1540.

Notes.

1) N. Weiss, 'Les premières professions de foi des protestants français 1532-1547', BSHPE, 43 (1894), pp. 57-79; O. Douen, 'Les premières professions de foi des protestants français, Robert Estienne - Lefèvre d'Étaples - Calvin', BSHPE, 43 (1894), pp. 449-454, and N. Weiss's appendix to Douen's article, pp. 455-460. Weiss stresses the importance of Estienne as the initial author of the text, Douen that of Lefèvre as the author of the first version in French.

2) Summa totius Sacrae scripturae. Decem Dei verba, sive praecepta (Paris, R. Stephanus, 1542); Le Sommaire des livres du Vieil et Nouveau testament. Les dix parolles, ou Commandemens de Dieu (ind. [Paris, 1542?]). It was also reprinted subsequently by Estienne, see n. 3 below.

3) For details of these and all other later editions and reprintings of the text see, J.M. de Bujanda, F. Higman and J.K. Farge, Index de L'Université de Paris 1544, 1545, 1547, 1549, 1551, 1556., Index des livres interdits, 1 (Sherbrooke, Centre d'études de la Renaissance, Univ. de Sherbrooke, 1985), pp. 402-404.

4) Icy est brievement comprins tout ce que les livres de la sainte Bible enseignent a tous Chrestiens (slnd. [1540?]). Reprinted BSHPF, 43 (1894), pp. 75-79.

5) M. Weiss, art. cit., pp. 72-75. See also, Bujanda, Higman and Farge, pp. 402-404; Higman, pp. 92-93; Febvre, 'Dolet propagateur de l'évangile', p. 113, n. 1.

6) Febvre, art. cit., n. 5 above.

7) Febvre, art. cit., p. 123.

8) R. Estienne, Les censures des Theologiens de Paris, par lesquelles ils avoyent faulsement condamne les Bibles imprimees par Robert Estienne imprimeur du Roy; avec la response d'iceluy Robert Estienne. Traduictes de Latin en Francois (Geneva, R. Estienne, 1552), fol. 6 ro.

ii) Texts.

Marginal headings are given in square brackets.

French Placard [1540?], 'd'.

Icy est brievement comprins tout ce que les livres de la sainte Bible enseignent a tous Chrestiens.

[Lagneau/Lhostiel] Il nous est doncques expressement declare au nouveau testament que Jesuchrist le vray agneau et hostie est venu pour nous remettre en grace et amour envers son pere, payant et souffrant en la croix les peines deues a noz pechez: affin de nous delivrer de la servitude du diable, auquel servions par peche, nous adopter et avouer pour enfans de dieu: [Paix] nous donnant la vraye paix et repos de conscience, [Foy] ne craignans plus destre damnez, par une vive foy, asseurance et fiance, laquelle le pere nous donne, nous tirant a son filz. Car certainement ceste foy la, de laquelle nous croyons que Jesuchrist est venu en ce monde pour saulver les pecheurs, est ung don de dieu, de si grande efficace que ceulx qui lont, desyrent faire et accomplir les oeuvres de charite envers ung chascun, comme Jesuchrist a faict envers eulx. [Le saint esperit] Car apres avoir receu ceste foy, dieu baille son saint esperit, duquel il marque tous ceulx a qui il donne foy, et est les arres que certainement aurons lheritage de vie eternelle, lequel esperit tesmoigne a nostre esperit, et faict croire que sommes les filz de dieu, [Charitel] et expand en nous telle charite

et amour que descript Saint Pol aux Corinthiens. A cause dicelle foy et fiance en Jesuchrist, laquelle se monstre par oeuvres charitables, et meut l'homme a icelles faire, nous sommes justifiez, cest a dire que le pere de Jesuchrist (qui est aussi nostre pere a cause de Jesuchrist nostre frere) nous tient pour justes et pour filz, [Justification] de sa grace ne faisant aucune estime de noz pechez, ne nous les contant point pour pechez.

[Bonnes oeuvres/Sanctification] Il est finalement venu, affin que apres que par luy serions purgez de noz pechez, et sanctifiez, cest a dire consacrez a son pere, a faire ce que son pere veult, renoncans a toutes oeuvres charnelles, dung franc vouloir, sans contrainte, luy servions en vivant justement et saintement toute nostre vie, par bonnes oeuvres (pour lesquelles faire dieu nous a preparez) demonstrans que certainement sommes appelez a ceste grace, car qui ne les faict: il se monstre navoir aucune foy en Jesuchrist.

French pamphlet [1542?], 'f'. (Significant variations).

Le sommaire des livres du Vieil et Nouveau testament.

[Foy] Car certes sans l'operation du Saint esprit, par lequel nous sommes instruitz, et comme d'ung seau appose sommes certifiez et asseurez de ce que croyons, nous ne povons croire que Dieu ait envoye en ce monde le Messias, ne que JESUS soit celuy Messias. Car comme dict S. Pol, nul ne peult confesser que JESUS soit Dieu et Seigneur ayant le pouvoir de sauver, si ce n'est par le moyen et instigation du Saint esprit. [Charité] Ce mesme Esprit tesmoigne a nostre esprit, et le fait croire que sommes enfans de Dieu, et espond en nous ceste grande charité et amour que descript saint Pol aux Corinthiens (fols. a iiii vo-v ro).

Il ne fault pas estimer le fruict de la foy estre petit, et de petite vertu: car par fiance et foy en JESUCHRIST, laquelle se monstre par oeuvres charitables, et meut l'homme a icelles faire, [Justification et sanctification] nous sommes justifiez et sanctifiez, c'est a dire que Dieu, le pere de nostre Seigneur JESUCHRIST...nous tient et ha pour justes et saints de sa pure grace, et bonté: ne faisant aucune estime de nos pechez (fols. a v vo-vi ro)... [Bonnes oeuvres] JESUCHRIST est finalement venu en ce monde...que par bonnes oeuvres (lesquelles Dieu a dressees et preparees devant nostre vocation pour estre par nous faictes) demonstrions que sommes appelez a ceste grace et don de foy. Lesquelles bonnes oeuvres qui ne fait, monstre n'avoir la foy en JESUCHRIST telle qu'il requiert de nous. (fol. a vi ro-vi vo).

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

I) WORKS BY MARGUERITE DE NAVARRE

i) Manuscript Sources

Paris, BN, ms. ff. 24298 Les dernieres oeuvres de La Royne de navarre, lesquelles nont este Imprimees

ii) Printed Editions

Les Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses (Lyons, J. de Tournes, 1547), edited F. Frank, Cabinet du Bibliophile, 16, 4 vols (Paris, 1873). Reprinted Slatkine, 4 vols in 1 (Geneva, 1970).

Les Dernières Poésies de Marguerite de Navarre, edited A. Lefranc (Paris, 1896).

Chansons spirituelles, edited G. Dottin (Geneva, 1971).

La Coche, edited R. Marichal (Geneva, 1971).

Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne, edited P. Jourda, RSS, 13 (1926), 1-49. Published separately (Paris, 1926).

La fable du faulx cuyder contenant L'histoire des Nymphes de Dyane, transmuées en saulles (Paris, A. Saulnier, 1543).

L'Heptaméron, edited M. François (Paris, 1967).

Le miroir de lame pecheresse, auquel elle recongnoist ses fautes et pechez, aussi les graces et benefices a elle faictz par Jesuchrist son espoux (Alençon, S. Du Bois, 1531).

Le Miroir de lame pecheresse, auquel elle recongnoist ses fautes et pechez, aussi les graces et benefices a elle faictz par Jesuchrist son espoux [Paris, A. Augereau, 1533].

Le Miroir de treschrestienne princesse Marguerite de France, Royne de Navarre, Duchesse D'Alençon et de Berry: auquel elle voit et son neant, et son tout (Paris, A. Augereau, 1533).

Le Miroir de l'ame pecheresse, edited J.L. Allaire (Munich, 1972).

Le Miroir de l'ame pecheresse, edited R. Salminen, Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Dissertationes Humanarum Litterarum, 22 (Helsinki, 1979).

L'art et usage du souverain mirouer du Chrestien (Paris, G. le Noir, 1556).

La Navire; ou Consolation du roi François Ier à sa soeur Marguerite, edited R. Marichal, BEHE, 306 (Paris, 1956).

Petit Oeuvre dévot et contemplatif, edited E. Parturier (entitled Le Récit de la conversion de la reine de Navarre), 'Les sources du mysticisme de Marguerite de Navarre à propos d'un manuscrit inédit', RR, 5 (1904), 1-16, 49-62, 108-114, 178-190, 273-280. Reprinted Slatkine (Geneva, 1968).

Petit Oeuvre dévot et contemplatif. Neuedition und Versuch einer Erklärung von Hans Sckommodau, Analecta Romanica, 9 (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1960).

Les Prisons, edited S. Glasson (Geneva, 1978).

Théâtre Profane, edited V.L. Saulnier, revised edition (Geneva, 1978).

Annonces de l'Esprit, et de l'ame fidele. Contenant Le Cantique des Cantiques de Salomon en ryme Française, [by Marie de Brabant] Avec Le Triomphe de l'Agneau par tres-illustre Princesse Marguerite Royne de Navarre. Plus Autres oeuvres de mesme sujet, la plus part encores de la mesme Princesse (S. Gervais, hoirs E. Vignon, 1602).

Becker, Ph.-Aug., 'Jugendgedichte Margaretas aus einer Wiener Handschrift', Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen, 131 (1913), 334-346.

Champollion-Figeac, A., Poésies du Roi François Ier, de Louise de Savoie duchesse d'Angoulême, de Marguerite, reine de Navarre, et correspondance intime du roi avec Diane de Poitiers et plusieurs autres dames de la cour (Paris, 1847).

Gohin, F., Huitains Inédits de Marguerite de Navarre et d'un amant platonique (Paris, 1913).

Sturel, R., Poésies Inédites (Paris, 1914); (RSS, 2 (1914), 149-168).

iii) Studies of the Works of Marguerite de Navarre

Allaire, J.L., 'L'Evangélisme de Marguerite de Navarre' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Wayne State University, 1966).

Atance, F.R., 'Marguerite de Navarre et ses activités en faveur des novateurs', Neophilologus, 60 (1976), 505-524.

Bambeck, M., 'Religiöse Skepsis bei Margarete von Navarra?', Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur, 77 (1967), 12-22.

Becker, Ph.-Aug., 'Marguerite, duchesse d'Alençon et Guillaume Briçonnet, évêque de Meaux, d'après leur correspondance manuscrite 1521-1524', BSHPE, 49 (1900), 392-477.

Cazauran, M., L'Heptaméron de Marguerite de Navarre (Paris, 1976).

Clive, H.P., Marguerite de Navarre: An Annotated Bibliography, Research Bibliographies and Checklists, 34 (Valencia, 1983).

Cottrell, R.D., The Grammar of Silence. A Reading of Marguerite de Navarre's Poetry (Washington DC, 1986).

Dagens, J., 'Le « Miroir des simples âmes » et Marguerite de Navarre', in La Mystique Rhénane, Travaux du Centre des études Supérieures spécialisé d'histoire des religions de Strasbourg, Colloque de Strasbourg 1961 (Paris, 1963), pp. 281-289.

Doumic, R., 'Marguerite de Navarre d'après ses dernières poésies', Revue des Deux Mondes, 135 (1896), 934-945.

Febvre, L., Amour sacré, amour profane: autour de l'Heptaméron (Paris, 1971).

Glasson, S., 'Marguerite de Valois, reine de Navarre, 1492-1549', in Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique: Doctrine et histoire, edited M. Vieller and others (Paris, 1937-), X (1977), cols 345-348.

Heller, H., 'Marguerite of Navarre and the Reformers of Meaux', BHR, 33 (1971), 271-310.

Holban, M., '« Le Miroir de l'âme pécheresse » et les « épistres de la noble et amoureuse dame »', in Mélanges offerts à M. Abel Lefranc (Paris, 1936), pp. 142-154.

Jourda, P., Marguerite d'Angoulême, duchesse d'Alençon, reine de Navarre (1492-1549), BLR, nouv. sér. 19 and 20, 2 vols (Paris, 1930).

--, 'Un Document sur les idées religieuses de Marguerite de Navarre', BSHPE, 78 (1929), 371-381.

Kraus, C., Der religiöse Lyriismus Margaretes von Navarra, Münchener Romanistische Arbeiten, 53 (Munich, 1981).

Lebègue, R., 'Le Second Miroir de Marguerite de Navarre', Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (1963), 46-56.

Lefranc, A., 'Les Idées religieuses de Marguerite de Navarre d'après son œuvre poétique', BSHPE, 46 (1897), 7-30, 72-84, 137-148, 295-311, 418-442; 47 (1898), 69-81, 115-136.

--, 'Marguerite de Navarre et le Platonisme de la Renaissance', Bibliothèque de l'école des Chartes, 58 (1897), 259-292; 59 (1898), 712-757.

Mann Philips, M., 'Marguerite de Navarre et Erasme: une reconsidération', Revue de littérature comparée, 52 (1978), 194-201.

Martineau, C., 'Le Platonisme de Marguerite de Navarre?', Réforme, Humanisme, Renaissance, 14 (Nov. 1976), 12-35.

--, and Grouzelle, C., 'La Source première et directe du Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne: la lettre de Guillaume Briçonnet à Marguerite de Navarre, du 15 septembre 1524. Publication et commentaire', BHR, 32 (1970), 559-577.

Renaudet, A., 'Marguerite de Navarre à propos d'un ouvrage récent', RSS, 18 (1931), 272-308.

Sage, P., 'La Sainte Vierge dans l'oeuvre de Marguerite de Navarre', Bulletin des Facultés Catholiques de Lyon, nouv. sér., 16 (1954), 17-27.

Saulnier, V.L., 'études critiques sur les comédies profanes de Marguerite de Navarre', BHR, 9 (1947), 36-77.

Sckommodau, H., Die religiösen Dichtungen Margaretes von Navarra (Cologne and Opladen, 1954).

Wiley, W.L., 'The Complexities of Marguerite de Navarre's Secular Theatre', in French Renaissance Studies in Honour of Isidore Silver, Kentucky Romance Quarterly, 21, supplement 2 (1974), pp. 319-330.

Winandy, A., 'Piety and humanistic symbolism in the works of Marguerite d'Angoulême, Queen of Navarre', Yale French Studies, 47 (1972), 145-169.

II) WRITERS AND WORKS BEFORE 1600.

Almanach spirituel et perpetuel, necessaire a tout homme sensuel et temporel (sind. [Alençon, S. Du Bois, 1529?]).

Alphabet, ou Instruction Chrestienne, pour les petis Enfants. Nouvellement reveu et augmentee de plusieurs choses (Lyons, P. Estiard, 1555).

Alphabet ou Instruction Chrestienne, pour les petis enfans. Nouvellement reveué et augmentée de plusieurs choses (Lyons, P. Estiard, 1558).

Amboise, Katherine d', Les Devotes Epistres de Katherine d'Amboise publiées pour la première fois par M. L'abbé J.-J. Bourassé chancine de l'église métropolitaine de Tours (Tours, A. Mame, 1861).

Amboise, Michel d', Les cent epigrammes avecques la vision, la complainte de vertu traduyte de frere baptiste Mantuan en son livre

des calamitez des temps, et la fable de lamoureuse Biblis et de Caunus traduyte Davide par Michel dambrnye dit lesclave fortune seigneur de Chevillon (Paris, A. Lotrian, sd.).

Aurigny, Gilles d', Le Tuteur D'amour auquel est comprise la fortune de l'innocent en amours... Ensemble un livre ou sont Epistres, Elegies, Complainctes, Epitaphes, Chantz royaulx, Ballades, et Rondeaux. Avec un aultre livre d'Epigrammes (Paris, F. Girault, 1546).

Bargedé, Nicolle, Les Odes Penitentes du Moins que Rien (Paris, Longis, 1550).

Beaulieu, Eustorg de, Les Divers Rapportz. Contenantz plusieurs Rondeaux, Huictains, Dixains, Ballades, Chansons, Epistres, Blasons, Epitaphes, et aultres joyeusetez. (Paris, A. Lotrian, 1544).

--, L'Espinglier des filles compose par Eustorg, autrement dict: Hector de beaulieu, Ministre evangelique... Reveu et augmente par luy mesme (despuis sa premiere impression) comme on verra (Basle, 1550).

Belleau, Rémy, Les Oeuvres Poétiques (Rouen, Cl. le Villain, 1604).

Bernard, Saint of Clairvaux, On the Song of Songs, translated and edited by a religious of the CSMV (London, 1952).

Biel, Gabriel, Sacri Canonis missae tum mystica, tum literalis expositio (Lyons, 1542).

Bouchet, Jean, La deploration de leglise militante sur ses persecutions interiores et exteriores et imploration de aide en ses adversitez par elle sofustenues en lan mil cinq cens dix; et cinq cens unze: que presidoit en la chaire mon seigneur saint pierre Julius Secundus. (Paris, for G. Eustace, 1512).

--, Epistres, Elegies, Epigrammes et Epitaphes Composez sur et pour raison du deces de feu tresillustra et tresreligieuse Dame Madame Renee de Bourbon en son vivant Abbessse du Royal monastere et ordre de Fontevrault avec aultres choses concernans la Sainctete de ladicte Religion. (Poitiers, 1535).

--, Epistres Morales et Familieres du Traverseur (Poitiers, Jacques Bouchet, 1545).

--, Opuscles du traverseur des voyes perilleuses nouvellement par luy reveuz amandez et corrigez. Epistre de justice a linstruction et honneur des ministres dicelles. Le chappellet des princes. Ballades moralles. Deploration de leglise excitant les princes a paix (Poitiers, Jacques Bouchet, 1526).

--, Les Triumphe De la Noble et ampureuse dame. Et lart de honnestement aymer. (Paris, P. Sergent, 1536).

Bougain, Michel, Le Jardin spirituel de lame devote. (Paris, sd.).

Branteghem, Guillaume de, La vie de Nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ par figures selon le texte des quatre Evangelistes, et les Evangiles, Epistres et Propheties de toute l'année, chantées en la Messe, avec aucunes oraisons (Paris, C. Weobar, 1540).

Breve instruction pour soy confesser en verite (slnd. [Alençon, S. Du Bois, 1530-1534]).

Briçonnet, Guillaume and Marguerite d'Angoulême, Correspondance (1521-1524), edited C. Martineau and M. Veissière, introductions H. Heller, 2 vols, vol 1, Années 1521-1522, THR, 141 (Geneva, 1975), vol 2, Années 1523-1524, THR, 173 (Geneva, 1979).

Brief recueil de la substance et principal fondement de la doctrine Evangelique [Paris, S. Du Bois, c. 1525].

Brodeau, Victor, Les louanges De Jesus Mostre Sauveur OEuvre tresexcellent Divin, et elegant... Avecques Les Louenges de la glorieuse Vierge Marie... Nouvellement Imprime veu et corrige (sl., [Paris?] 1540).

--, Poésies, edited H.M. Tomlinson (Geneva, 1982).

[Brunfels, Otto?], Les Prieres, et Oraisons de la Bible, Faictes par les Sainctz Peres, tant du Vieil, que du Nouveau Testament (Lyons, J. de Tournes, 1543).

Calvin, Jean, Institution de la religion chrestienne, edited J.-D. Benoit, Bibliothèque des Textes Philosophiques, 5 vols (Paris, 1957-1963).

--, Commentary on the Gospel according to John, translated W. Pringle, Calvin's Commentaries, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1847).

--, Commentary on a Harmony of the Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, translated W. Pringle, Calvin's Commentaries, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1845-1846).

--, Letters, edited J. Bonnet, Burt Franklin: Research and Source Works Series, Philosophy and Religious History Monographs, 116, 4 vols (New York, 1972). First printed Philadelphia, 1858.

Caracciolo, Antonio, Le mirouer de vraye religion (Paris, S. de Colines, 1544).

Castel, Jean de, Le mirouer des pecheurs et pecheresses (Paris, A. Vérard, 1495).

Champier, Symphorien, La nef des dames vertueuses...contenant quatre livres. Le premier est intitule la fleur des dames. Le second est du regime de mariage. Le tiers est des propheties des sibilles. Et le quart est le livre de vraye amour nouvellement imprimez etc. (Paris, J. de Lagarde, 1515).

Chansons spirituelles. See, Recueil.

Chappuyx, Claude, Poésies Intimes, edited E.M. Best (Geneva, 1967).

Colet, Claude, Remonstrance a sagon, a la huterie, et au Poete Champestre, par maistre dalue Locet, Pamanchoyx. (On la vend...Devant le College de Reims, sd.).

Colin Bucher, Germain, Un émule de Clément Marot: les poésies de G. Colin Bucher, edited J. Denais (Paris, 1890).

Collerye, Roger, Les Oeuvres...lesquelles il composa en sa jeunesse. Contenant diverses matieres plaines de grant recreation et passetemps (Paris, P. Roffet, 1536).

Corpus Christianorum, series latina, (Turnhout, 1953-)

Corrozet, Gilles, Les Divers Propos memorables des nobles et illustres hommes de la Chrestienté...Reveuz et augmentez pour la seconde edition (Paris, G. Corrozet, 1557).

--, La Tapisserie de l'eglise chrestienne et catholique: en laquelle sont depainctes la Nativité, Vie, Passion, Mort, et Resurrection de nostre Sauveur et Redempteur Jesus Christ. Avec un huictain soubz chacune hystoire, pour l'intelligence d'icelle (Paris, E. Groulleau, sd.).

--, edited, Le Parnasse des poetes françois modernes, contenant leurs plus riches et graves Sentences, Discours, Descriptions, et doctes enseignemens (Paris, G. Corrozet, 1571).

Crétin, Guillaume, Chantz royaulx oraisons et aultres petitiz traictez... (Paris, S. Du Bois, 1527).

Cusa, Nicholas of, [Nikolaus von Kues], Werke, reprint Strasburg edition 1488, edited P. Wilpert, 2 vols (Berlin, 1967).

--, Of Learned Ignorance, translated G. Heron, introduction D.J.B. Hawkins (London, 1954).

De imitatione Christi et de contemptu omnium vanitatum mundi, Jean Gerson (Paris, Higman, 1489).

Denisot, Nicolas, Cantiques du premier advenement de Jesuchrist (Paris, vve Maurice de la Porte, 1553).

Desiré, Artus, Le Contre poison des cinquante deux Chansons de Clement Marot, faulsement intitulées par luy Psalmes de David, faict et composé de plusieurs bonnes doctrines et sentences preservatives d'Herésie (Paris, P. Gaultier, 1562).

--, Plaisans et armonieux cantiques de devotion, composez sur le chant des Hymnes de nostre Mere sainte Eglise, à la louange de Dieu et de ses Saintz, qui est un second Contrepoison aux cinquante deux Chansons de Clement Marot (Paris, P. Gaultier, 1561).

Des Periers, Bonaventure, Oeuvres Françaises, edited L. Lacour, 2 vols (Paris, 1856).

--, Le Cymbalum Mundi, edited F. Frank (Paris, 1873).

--, Les Nouvelles Recreations et Joyeux devis (Lyons, R. Granjon, 1558). Facsimile edition, Sté. des Anciens Livres (Paris, 1914).

Dionysius, the Areopagite, The Divine Names. The Mystical Theology, translated C.E. Rolt (Colchester and London, 1983).

Divers Cantiques esleus et extraits entre les plus notables du vieil et nouveau Testament: Partie traduits selon l'Hebreu, et reduits quasi mot à mot: partie reduits en Metaphrases, pour esclarcir aucunes phrases Hebraïques peu convenables ou mal entendibles en nostre langue vulgaire, sans toutesfois esloigner le sens, comme verra le Lecteur de bon jugement. Par Accasse Dalbiac, dit du Flessis (Geneva, J. Crespin, 1558).

Les dix belles et devotes doctrines et instructions pour parvenir a perfection (Paris, S. Vostre, sd. [before 1520]).

[Dolet, Estiennel, Exhortation a la lecture des saintes lettres. Avec suffisante probation des Docteurs de l'Eglise, qu'il est licite, et necessaire, icelles estre translatées en langue vulgaire: et mesmement en la Francoyse (Lyons, E. Dolet, 1542).

Doré, Pierre, Le College de Sapience, fondé en Luniversité de Vertu, auquel cest rendue escolliere Magdelaine disciple et Apostole de Jesus. Avec le Dialogue de la Foy, adjousté et recongneu (Paris, A. Bonnemere, 1539).

--, Dialogue de la justification chrestienne, entre nostre sauveur Jesus, et la Samaritaine (Paris, J. Ruelle, 1554).

--, Le Miroir du Penitent. Contenant Cinq Livres (Paris, J. Ruelle, 1557).

Dumoulin, Antoine, Deploration de Venus, sur la mort du bel Adonis. Avec plusieurs chansons nouvelles (Lyons, J. de Tournes, 1547).

Du Val, Pierre, Le Puy du Souverain Amour tenu par la Deesse Pallas avec lordre du nuptial banquet faict a l'honneur dung des siens enfans (Rouen, J. Petit, 1543). Facsimile edition (Rouen, 1920).

Duval, Pierre, Bishop of Seez, De la grandeur de dieu, et de la cognoissance qu'on peut avoir de luy par ses oeuvres (Paris, M. de Vascosan, 1553).

Eckhart (Meister), The Essential Sermons, Commentaries, Treatises, and Defense, translated and with introduction by E. Colledge OSA and Bernard McGinn, The Classics of Western Spirituality (New York, Ramsey, and Toronto, 1981).

Erasmus, Desiderius of Rotterdam, Opera omnia, edited J. Clericus, 10 vols (Leiden, 1703-1706).

--, Erasmus' Annotations on the New Testament: Facsimile of the final Latin Text (1535), with all earlier variants (1516, 1519, 1522, and 1527), edited A. Reeve (London, 1986).

--, Enchiridion Militis Christiani: an English version, the London edition of 1533, edited A. O'Donnell, The Early English Text Society, orig. series, 282 (Oxford, etc., 1981).

--, The Enchiridion, translated and edited F.L. Battles, in Advocates of Reform, Library of Christian Classics, 14 (London, 1953).

--, De Libero Arbitrio diatribe seu collatio, translated and edited E.G. Rupp and A.W. Marlow, in Luther and Erasmus: Free Will and Salvation, The Library of Christian Classics, 17 (London, 1969).

--, Maniere de se confesser, translated Cl. Chansonnette (Basle, 1524).

[--], Le preparatif a la mort. Livre tres utile et necessaire a chascun Chrestien (Paris, O. Mallart pour G. du Pre, 1537).

Espence, Claude d', Consolation en adversité (Lyons, J. de Tournes, 1547).

--, Homilies sur la Parabole de l'enfant prodigue, (Lyons, J. de Tournes, 1547).

--, Paraphrase, ou Meditation, sur l'oraison dominicale, (Lyons, J. de Tournes, 1547).

Estienne, Robert, Les censures des Theologiens de Paris, par lesquelles ils avoyent faulsement condamne les Bibles imprimees par Robert Estienne imprimeur du Roy: avec la response d'iceluy Robert Estienne. Traduictes de Latin en Francois (Geneval, R. Estienne, 1552).

La Fleur de Poesie Francoyse. Recueil joyeux contenant plusieurs huictains, Dixains, Quatrains, Chansons, et aultres dictéz de diverses matieres mis en notes musicales par plusieurs auteurs, et reduictz en ce petit livre (Paris, A. Lotrian, 1543).

Florimond, Epistre Familiere de prier Dieu. Aultre epistre familiere d'aimer Chrestienement. Item, Briefve doctrine pour deuement escrire selon la propriété du langage François (Paris, A. Augereau, 1533).

--, Epistre Familiere de prier Dieu. Aultre epistre familiere d'aymer Chrestienement. Item, Briefve doctrine pour deuement escrire selon la propriété du langage François (Alencon, S. Du Bois, 1533).

La Fontaine de Vie. De laquelle resourdent tresdoulces consolations, singulierement necessaires aux cueurs affligez. Plus y est adjoûte l'instruction pour les enfans (Paris, E. Caveiller, 1542).

Fontaine, Charles, Figures du Nouveau Testament (Lyons, J. de Tournes, 1556).

François Ier, OEuvres Poétiques, edited J.E. Kane (Geneva, 1984).

Gerson, Jean Charlier de, OEuvres complètes, edited P. Glorieux, 10 vols in 11 (Paris, 1960-1974).

--, [De imitatione Christil, See, De imitatione Christi.

--, attributed to, Le livre intitule Internelle consolation tresutile et profitable a tous Chrestiens qui desirent faire le salut de leurs ames. Nouvellement reveu et corrige (Paris, P. Le Noir, 1533).

Le Livre de l'Internelle consolacion, première version françoise de l'imitation de Jésus-Christ, edited L. Moland and Ch. Héricault (Paris, 1856).

--, Cy commence ung petit treicte contemplatif intitule de la mendicite spirituelle et povrete desperit (Paris, M. Le Noir, 1500).

--, Le mirover de la vie de l'homme et de la femme, tres utile pour le salut des ames qui bien le visite et considere, also called Mirover de la court (Paris, J. Real, 1549).

--, Cy sensuit le livre du tresor de sapience...ou il y a de bonnes doctrines (Lyons, G. Le Roy, sd.).

Gringore, Pierre, Le Casteau damours (Paris, J. Trepperel, [before 1500]).

--, Chantz Royaulx figurez moralement sur les misteres miraculeux de Nostre sauveur et redempteur Jesuchrist et sur la Passion etc. (Paris, J. Petit, 1527).

--, La chasse au cerf des cerfz (Paris, c. 1510).

--, Heures de nostre dame translatees de latin en francoys et mises en rhyme Additionnee de plusieurs chantz royaulx figurez et moralitez sur les mysteres miraculeux de la Passion de nostre redempteur Jesuchrist: Avec plusieurs belles Oraisons et Rondeaulx contemplatifz (Paris, J. Petit, 1525).

Habert, François, Les Epistres Heroides, tressalutaires, pour servir d'exemple a toute ame fidele...avec aucuns Epigrammes, Cantiques spirituelz, et Alphabet moral pour l'instruction d'un jeune Prince, ou Princesse. Item la Paraphrase Latine, et Françoise sur l'oraison Dominicale (Paris, M. Fezandat and R. Granjon, 1550).

--, Les Epistres Heroides, pour servir d'exemple aux Chrestiens. Reveues et amplifiées depuis la premiere impression (Paris, M. Fezandat, 1560).

--, L'institution de Liberalite chrestienne avec la misere et calamité de l'homme naissant en ce monde (Paris, G. Thyout, 1551).

--, La Nouvelle Juno Presentee à ma Dame la Daulphine... Avec l'Estrene donnee à ladicte Dame le premier jour de l'An. Aussi l'Estrene au petit Duc, Filz de monseigneur le Daulphin (Lyons, J. de Tournes, 1545).

--, La Nouvelle Pallas... Item, La naissance de Monseigneur le Duc de Bretagne... Avec un petit oeuvre Bucolique. Aussi le cantique du Pecheur converti à Dieu (Lyons, J. de Tournes, 1545).

--, Le Philosophe parfaict (Paris, P. Roffet, 1542).

Hecatomphe. De vulgaire Italien tourné en langage François. Les fleurs de Poesie François (Paris, G. Du Pre, 1534).

Heroët, Antoine, OEuvres Poétiques, edited F. Gohin (Paris, 1909).

Herp, Henri de, Directoire des contemplatifz, Premiere partie... laquelle traicte de la vie active, donnant singuliere instruction et briefve doctrine a tous chrestiens pour parvenir a la vie spirituelle et contemplative. Depuis nagueres traduicte de latin en François, nouvellement corrigee et imprimee. Avec le Mirouer de la court compose par maistre Jehan Gerson (Paris, J. Real, 1549).

La seconde partie... lequel parle de la vie contemplative et parfaite contemplation (Paris, 1552).

Heyden, Sebald, Unum Christum, Mediatorem esse et advocatum nostrum apud patrem, non matrem eius, negue divos: unde ipsi, non matri, quae in cantilena, cuius initium Salve regina continentur, occinenda, Apologia (sl., 1525).

Jeffery, B., edited, The Chanson Verse of the Early Renaissance, 2 vols (London, 1971).

Jordan, Raymond, Contemplationes Idiote, edited J. Lefèvre d'Étaples (Paris, P. Regnault, 1538).

--, Les Contemplations de Idiote, Homme de sainte vie etc., translated J. Tigeou (Paris, chez G. Chaudière, 1613).

La Tour d'Albenas, Bérenger de, Le Siecle d'or. Et autres Vers divers (Lyons, J. de Tournes and G. Gazeau, 1551).

La Vigne, André de, Moralité de l'aveugle et du boiteux, in Poésies Gothiques Françaises, edited F. Michel, Poésies des xve et xvie siècles (Paris, 1831).

Lefèvre d'Étaples, Jacques, Epistolae divi Pauli apostoli, cum commentariis (Paris, J. Petit, 1531).

--, Epistres et Evangiles pour les cinquante et deux dimanches de l'an, edited G. Bedouelle and F. Giaccone (Leiden, 1976).

--, Commentarii in epistolas Catholicas (Cologne, 1570).

--, Commentarii initiatorii in quatuor evangelia (Cologne, 1541).

---, Quincuplex Psalterium, facsimile of 1513 edition, THR, 170 (Geneva, 1979).

Le Roy, François, Le dialogue de confidence en dieu moult devot, et consolatif pour relever lame pecheresse (Paris, S. Vostre, sd.).

--, Le dialogue de consolation entre lame et raison etc. (Paris, S. Vostre, sd.).

--, Le livre de la femme forte et vertueuse declaratif du cantique de salomon es proverbes au chapitre final qui ce commence. Mulierem fortem quis inveniet. Laquelle exposition est extraicte de pluieurs excellens docteurs utile et prouffitable a personnes religieuses et autres gens de devotion (Paris, S. Vostre, sd.).

--, Le miroir de penitence tresdevot et salutaire: tresutile et profitable a toutes personnes et specialement a gens de religion desirans de leurs meurs faire conversion et tendre a perfection (Paris, S. Vostre, [1512]).

Le livre de vraye et parfaicte oraison (Paris, S. Du Bois, 1529).

Lull, Ramon, L'Ami et L'Aimé, translated from Catalan by G.L. Mano and J. Palau (Paris, 1972).

Luther, Martin, D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe, edited H. Böhlau and others, 61 vols (Weimar, 1883-1983).

--, Luther's Works, American edition, edited J. Pelikan and H.T. Lehmann, 55 vols (St. Louis and Philadelphia, 1955-1986).

--, De Servo Arbitrio, translated and edited P.S. Watson and B. Drewery, in Luther and Erasmus: Free Will and Salvation, The Library of Christian Classics, 17 (London, 1969).

--, Ein trostlichs buchlein Doc. Martini Lutheri Augustiners: in aller widerwertigkeyt eynes yglichen Christglaubigen menschen: newlich gedeutscht durch Magistrum Georgium Spalatinum (Leipzig, M. Lotther, 1520).

--, Consolation chrestienne, contre les afflictions de ce monde, et scrupules de conscience (sind. [Alençon, S. Du Bois, 1525-1529?/1530-1534?]).

[--], Quatre instructions fideles pour les simples, et les rudes [Alençon, S. Du Bois, 1530-1534].

Mailly, Nicole, La Divine Cognoissance compilee et extraicte tant du viel que nouveau testament, ensemble les cantiques divins de l'ame regrettant, joinct l'exposition de l'oraison dominicalle (Paris, G. du Pre, 1541).

Margarita evangelica, incomparabilis thesaurus divinae sapientiae, nunc vero primum aeditus Latine (Cologne, ex off. M. Novesiani, 1545).

--, La Parle Evangelicq Tresor incomparable de la Sapience divine. Nouvellement traduit De Latin en Francois Par les PP. Ch. lez Paris (Paris, Vve. G. de la Nouë, 1602).

Marie de Brabant, Annonces de l'Esprit, et de l'ame fidele. Contenant Le Cantique des Cantiques de Salomon en ryme Françoise etc. (S. Gervais, hoirs d'E. Vignon, 1602).

Marot, Clément, OEvres complètes, edited C.A. Mayer, 6 vols (London, 1958-1980).

---, Cinquante Pseaumes de David, Traduictz en rithme Francoyse selon la verité Hebraique (Paris, J. Ruelle, 1545).

Marot, Jean, Le Recueil Jean Marot de Caen (Paris, Vve. P. Roffet, sd.). FRSF, 3 (Menston, 1971).

Marquets, Anne de, Les Divines Poesies de Marc Antoine Flaminus: Contenant diverses Prieres, Meditations, Hymnes, et actions de graces à Dieu: Mises en François, avec le Latin respondant l'un à l'autre. Avec plusieurs Sonets et Cantiques, ou Chansons Spirituelles pour louer Dieu (Paris, N. Chesneau, 1568).

--, Sonets, prieres et devises, en forme de Pasquins, pour l'assemblée de Messieurs les Prelats et Docteurs, tenue à Poissy (Paris, G. Morel, 1562).

--, Sonets spirituels, De feüe tres-vertueuse et tres-docte Dame Sr. Anne de Marquets Religieuse à Poissi, Sur les Dimanches et principales solennitez de l'Annee (Paris, C. Morel, 1605).

Martin, Nicolas, Noelz et Chansons Nouvellement composez tant en vulgaire François que Savoyzien dict Patoys (Lyons, M. Bonhomme, 1556).

Masurier, Martial, Instruction et doctrine a se bien confesser, et prier Dieu pour ses pechez, extraicte des saintes escriptures: tant du vieil que du nouveau testament (sl., 1550).

--, Instruction et doctrine a se bien confesser, et prier Dieu pour ses pechez, extraicte des saintes escriptures: tant du vieil que du nouveau testament composée premierement Par Martial Masurier, Docteur regent en la faculté de Theologie, Chanoine et penitencier de Paris. Et puis corrigée et dressée selon la forme de l'Eglise Catholique, par M. René Benoist Angevin aussi Docteur à Paris (Paris, G. Guillard and Th. Belot, 1565).

La Medecine de l'Ame. See, Les Simulachres etc.

Meditation tres devotte pour chascune heure du jour sur la passion douloureuse de nostre doux sauveur Jhesus Avec les heures de la croix (sind.).

Melanchthon, Philip, Opera omnia, edited by C.G. Bretschneider and H.E. Bindseil, Corpus Reformatorum, 28 vols (Brunswick, etc., 1834-1860).

Migne, J.-P., edited, Patrologia Graeca, 162 vols (Paris, 1858-1912).

--, edited, Patrologia Latina, 221 vols (Paris, 1844-1864).

Molinet, Jean, Les faictz et dictz de feu de bonne memoire Maistre Jehan Molinet contenans plusieurs beaulx Traictez Oraisons et Champs royaulx (Paris, Vve feu J. Saint-Denis, 1531).

Olivier, Pierre, Le mirouer du Chrestien et moyen de cognoistre Dieu et soymesme (Paris, G. Le Noir, 1556).

Paradin, Claude, Quadrins Historiques de la Bible (Lyons, J. de Tournes, 1558).

Parmentier, Jean, Description nouvelle des merveilles de ce monde, et de la dignite de l'homme, composee en rithme francoyse en maniere de exhortation (Paris, 1531).

Peletier, Jacques (du Mans), Oeuvres Poétiques, published by L. Séché after the edition of 1547 (Paris, RR, 1904).

Perle. See, Margarita.

Petit, Guillaume, La Formation de l'homme et son excellence, et ce quil doit accomplir pour avoir Paradis... Avec plusieurs bonnes doctrines, et enseignemens utiles et neccessaires a tous chrestiens (Paris, G. Du Pré, 1538). Containing Le viat de salut. Instruction pour scavoir soy confesser. Ave angelique salut. Plusieurs devotes contemplations et meditations etc.

--, Tresdevotes oraisons A lhonneur de la tressacree et glorieuse vierge Marie, mere de dieu, avec plusieurs aultres devotes chansons (Paris, S. de Colines, sd.).

Cy commence une petite instruction et maniere de vivre pour une femme seculiere, comment elle se doit conduire en pensees, parolles et oeuvres tout au long du jour pour tous les jours de sa vie pour plaire a nostre seigneur jesucrist et amasser richesses celestes au profit et salut de son ame. (sind.).

Pinelle, Louis, Les quinze fontaines vitales utiles et salutaires etc. (sind., marque de S. Vostre.).

Poesie. See, Recueil.

Porete, Marguerite, Le Miroir des simples Ames, edited R. Guarnieri, Archivio Italiano per la storia della pietà, 4 (Rome, 1965), 351-635.

--, Le Miroir des âmes simples et anéanties, translated and introduction by M.H. de Longchamp (Paris, 1984).

Postel, Guillaume, Les tres-merveilleuses victoires des femmes du Nouveau Monde. Et comment elles doibvent à tout le monde par raison commander, et même à ceulx qui auront la Monarchie du Monde vieil...A la fin est adjoustée: La Doctrine du Siècle doré, ou de l'évangélique Règne de Jesus Roy des Roys, edition sur l'imprimé (Paris, J. Ruelle, 1553).

Recueil de plusieurs chansons spirituelles tant vieilles que nouvelles, avec le chant sur chascune: afin que le Chrestien se puisse esjouir en son Dieu et l'honorer: au lieu que les infidelles le deshonnorent par leurs chansons mondaines et impudiques (sl. [Geneva, Girard], 1555).

Recueil de vraye Poesie Francoyse, prinse de plusieurs Poetes, les plus excellentz de ce regne (Paris, D. Janot, 1544).

Ruysbroeck, Jan van, De ornatu spiritualium nuptiarum libri tres, edited J. Lefèvre d'Étaples (Paris, H. Stephanus, 1512).

--, The Adornment of the Spiritual Marriage, The Sparkling Stone, The Book of the Supreme Truth, translated C.A. Wynschenk, edited and introduction E. Underhill (London, 1951).

--, The Kingdom of the Lovers of God, translated and introduction by T.A. Hyde (London, 1919).

--, The Seven Steps of the Ladder of Spiritual Love, translated F.S. Taylor, introduction J. Bolland SJ (Westminster, 1944).

Sainte-Marthe, Charles de, La Poesie Francoise etc. (Lyons, Le Prince, 1540).

Salé, Hugues, Les oeuvres (Paris, for E. Roffet, sd.).

Sauvage, Jehan, Sensuit leschelle damour divine (Paris, sd.).

Les Simulachres, et historiees faces de la mort, contenant La Medecine de l'Ame, utile et necessaire non seulement aux Malades, mais à tous qui sont en bonne disposition corporelle. D'advantage, La Forme et maniere de consoler les Malades. Sermon de saint Cecile Cyprian, intitulé, de Mortalite. Sermon de S. Jan Chrysostome, pour nous exhorter à Patience: traictant aussi de la consommation de ce siecle, et du second Advenement de Jesus christ, de la Joye eternelle des justes, de la peine et Damnation des mauvais, et autres choses necessaires à un chascun chrestien, pour bien vivre et bien mourir (Lyons, J. and Fr. Frellon, 1542).

Sommaire. Icy est brievement comprins tout ce que les livres de la sainte Bible enseignent à tous Chrestiens (sl., [1540].)

-- Le sommaire des livres du Vieil et Nouveau testament. Les dix parolles, ou Commandemens de Dieu (Paris, H. Estienne, c. 1542).

-- Summa totius Sacrae scripturae. Decem Dei verba, sive praecepta (Paris, H. Estienne, 1542).

Suso, Henry, Little Book of Eternal Wisdom, translated C.H. McKenna OP (London, 1910).

Tauler, Johann, The Inner Way, Being thirty-six Sermons for Festivals, edited and introduction A.W. Hutton, (London, 1901).

Thomas, Saint Aquinas, Summa Theologiae, Blackfriars edition, various editors, 60 vols (London, Blackfriars, 1964-1976).

Traité. Traité Mystiques écrits dans les années 1547-1549, edited C.G.A. Schmidt, (Paris, 1876).

III) WRITERS AND WORKS POST 1600

Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission, The Final Report (Oxford, 1982).

Armstrong, A.E., Robert Estienne, Royal Printer (Cambridge, 1954).

Bainton, R.H., Erasmus of Christendom (London, 1970).

--, The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century (London, 1953).

Baudrier, H., Bibliographie lyonnaise, 12 vols (Lyons, 1895-1921), reprinted (Paris, 1964).

Bayle, P., Dictionnaire Critique et Historique, edited A.J.Q. Beuchot, 16 vols (Paris, 1820-(24)).

Becker, Ph.-Aug., 'Les Idées religieuses de Guillaume Briçonnet, évêque de Meaux', RIQR, 9 (Montauban, 1900), 318-358, 377-416.

Bedouelle, G., Lefèvre d'Étaples et l'intelligence des Écritures, THR, 152 (Geneva, 1976).

--, Le Quincuplex Psalterium de Lefèvre d'Étaples. Un guide de lecture, THR, 171 (Geneva, 1979).

Berthoud, G., Antoine Marcourt, Réformateur et Pamphlétaire du « Livre des Marchans » aux Flacards de 1534, THR, 129 (Geneva, 1973).

Boisset, J., 'Les épîtres et évangiles pour les Cinquante et Deux Semaines de l'an par Lefèvre d'Étaples', XVIe Colloque International de Tours, Platon et Aristote à la Renaissance (Paris, 1976), pp. 79-91.

Bonner, G., St. Augustine of Hippo, Life and Controversies, second edition (Norwich, 1986).

Bossy, J., Christianity in the West 1400-1700 (Oxford, 1985).

Boulding, M.C., 'The Ecclesiology of Faber Stapulensis discernible in his Scripture Commentaries and other Related Works' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Durham, 1982).

Boyle, M. O'Rourke, Erasmus on Language and Method in Theology (Toronto and Buffalo, 1977).

Britnell, J., Jean Bouchet (Edinburgh, 1986).

Bujanda, J.M., Higman, F., and Farge, J.K., Index de l'Université de Paris 1544, 1545, 1547, 1549, 1551, 1556, Index des livres interdits, 1 (Sherbrooke, Centre d'études de la Renaissance, Univ. de Sherbrooke, 1985).

Cartier, A., Bibliographie des éditions des de Tournes, imprimeurs lyonnais, 2 vols (Paris, 1937-1938).

Cave, T., The Cornucopian Text. Problems of Writing in the French Renaissance (Oxford, 1979).

--, Devotional Poetry in France c. 1570-1613 (Cambridge, 1969).

Colledge OSA, E., 'Liberty of Spirit: "The Mirror of Simple Souls"', in Renewal of Religious Structures. Proceedings of the Congress on the Theology of the Renewal of the Church, edited L.K. Shook CSB (New York, 1968), pp. 100-117.

Congar, R.P., 'Langage des spirituels et langage des théologiens', in La Mystique Rhénane, Travaux du Centre des études Supérieures spécialisé d'histoire des religions de Strasbourg. Colloque de Strasbourg 1961 (Paris, 1963), pp. 15-34.

Connolly, J.L., John Gerson, Reformer and Mystic (Louvain, 1928).

A Critical Bibliography of French Literature, edited R.A. Brooks, 6 vols, II, revised, The Sixteenth Century, edited R.C. La Charité (Syracuse, New York, 1985).

Curtius, E.R., European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, translated from German by W.R. Trask (London, 1953).

Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques, edited A. Baudrillart, A. Vogt, U. Rouziès and others (Paris, 1912-).

Douen, O., 'Les premières professions de foi des protestants français, Robert Estienne - Lefèvre d'étaples - Calvin', BSHPE, 43 (1894), 449-454.

Du Plessis d'Argentré, Ch., Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus, qui ab initio duodecimi seculi post Incarnationem Verbi, usque ad annum 1632 in Ecclesia proscripti sunt, 3 vols (Paris, 1724-1736).

Farge, J.K., Orthodoxy and Reform in Early Reformation France. The Faculty of Theology of Paris, 1500-1543, SMRT, 32 (Leiden, 1985).

Febvre, L., 'Dolet propagateur de l'évangile', BHR, 6 (1945), 98-170. Reprinted Slatkine (Geneva, 1974)

--, Au coeur religieux du XVIe siècle (Paris, 1957).

--, Le Problème de l'incroyance au XVIe siècle. La Religion de Rabelais, L'évolution de l'Humanité, synthèse collective, 53 (Paris, 1947).

--, Life in Renaissance France, second edition (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, 1979). Five essays translated and edited by M. Rothstein, first published in Revue des cours et conférences and reprinted in the author's Pour une histoire à part entière.

--, Martin Luther: A Destiny, translated R. Tapley (London, 1930). From the French, Un Destin: Martin Luther (Paris, 1928).

--, and Martin, H.-J., L'Apparition du livre, second edition (Paris, 1971).

Fife, R.H., The Revolt of Martin Luther (New York, 1957).

Greene, T.M., The Light in Troy. Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry, The Elizabethan Club Series, 7 (New Haven and London, 1982).

Haag, E. and E., La France Protestante, 10 vols (Paris, 1846-1859). Reprinted Slatkine (Geneva, 1966).

Hauser, H., Etudes sur la réforme française (Paris, 1909).

Heller, H., 'The Briçonnet Case Reconsidered', JMRS, 2 (Fall 1972), 223-258.

--, The Conquest of Poverty. The Calvinist Revolt in Sixteenth Century France, SMRT, 35 (Leiden, 1986).

--, 'Nicholas of Cusa and Early French Evangelicism', AR, 63 (1972), 6-21.

Higman, F.M., Censorship and the Sorbonne. A Bibliographical study of books in French censored by the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris, 1520-1551, THR, 172 (Geneva, 1979).

Huizinga, J., L'Automne du Moyen Age (Paris, 1980). First published 1919 in Dutch, translated into French 1932.

Imbart de la Tour, P., Les Origines de la réforme, 4 vols (Paris, 1905-1935).

Jeanneret, M., Poésie et tradition biblique au XVIe siècle (Paris, 1969).

Kearns, E.J., Ideas in Seventeenth-Century France. The most important thinkers and the climate of ideas in which they worked (New York, 1979).

Knecht, R.J., Francis I (Cambridge 1982).

Kuntz, M.L., Guillaume Postel, Prophet of the Restitution of All Things His Life and Thought, International Archives of the History of Ideas, 98 (The Hague, 1981).

La Garanderie, M.-M. de, Christianisme et lettres profanes (1515-1535) (Lille and Paris, 1976).

La Maynardière, H., Poètes chrétiens du XVIe siècle (Paris, 1908).

Leclercq, Dom J., L'Amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu (Paris, 1957).

Lefranc, A., 'Le Platonisme et la littérature en France à l'époque de la Renaissance (1500-1550)', RHLE, 3 (1896), 1-44.

Lubac, H. de, Exégèse médiévale, Les quatre sens de l'écriture, 4 vols (Paris, 1959-1964).

McFarlane, I.D., A Literary History of France. Renaissance France 1470-1589 (London and New York, 1974).

McGrath, A.E., Iustitia Dei. A History of Christian doctrine of Justification 2 vols (Cambridge, London, etc., 1986).

Mandrou, R., Introduction à la France moderne, 1500-1640, L'évolution de l'Humanité, 52 (Paris, 1961).

Mann, M., Erasme et les débuts de la réforme française (1517-1536), BLR, nouv. sér., 22 (Paris, 1934).

Mascall, E.L., Corpus Christi, Essays on the Church and the Eucharist, second edition (London, 1965).

Massaut, J.-P., Critique et tradition à la veille de la réforme en France (Paris, 1974).

--, 'Mystique rhénane et humanisme chrétien d'Eckhart à érasme', in The Late Middle Ages and the Dawn of Humanism outside Italy, edited M.G. Verbeke and J. Ijsewijn (Louvain and The Hague, 1972), pp. 112-130.

Moore, W.G., La Réforme Allemande et la littérature française (Strasburg, 1930).

Moreau, B., Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVIe siècle (Paris, Abbeville, 1972-).

Moss, A., Ovid in Renaissance France. A Study of the Latin Editions of Ovid and Commentaries Printed in France before 1600, Warburg Institute Surveys, 8 (London, 1982).

Muller, A., La Poésie Religieuse Catholique de Marot à Malherbe (Paris, 1950).

Neuner SJ, J., and Dupuis SJ, J., The Christian Faith in the Doctrinal Documents of the Catholic Church, revised edition (Glasgow, 1983).

Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church (The), edited F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone, second edition (Oxford, 1978).

Ozment, S., The Age of Reform 1250-1550. An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe (New Haven and London, 1980).

Picard, H.R., Dichtung und Religion. Die Kunst der Poesie im Dienst der religiösen Rede (Constance, 1984).

Renaudet, A., Préréforme et humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d'Italie (1494-1517) (Paris, 1953).

Renouard, A.A., Annales de l'imprimerie des Estienne, second edition (Paris, 1843), reprinted (Geneva, 1971).

Renouard, P., Imprimeurs et libraires parisiens du XVIe siècle (Paris, 1964-).

--, Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens...(1470) jusqu'à la fin du seizième siècle (Paris, 1965).

Schmidt, C.G.A., Gérard Roussel, Prédicateur de la Reine Marguerite de Navarre (Paris, 1845).

Sckommodau, H., 'Vortridentinisches Klima in der französischen Renaissance-Literatur', RF, 65 (1954), 69-93.

Screech, M.A., L'évangélisme de Rabelais. Aspects de la satire religieuse au XVIe siècle, ER, 2 (Geneve 1959).

Smitmans, A., Das Weinwunder von Kana, Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese, 6 (Tübingen, 1966).

Strohl, H., De Marguerite de Navarre à Louise Scheppler. Quelques étapes de l'évolution de la piété protestante en France (Strasburg, 1926).

Tuve, R., Allegorical Imagery. Some Mediaeval Books and Their Posterity (Princeton, 1966).

Weiss, N., 'La littérature de la Réforme française. Notes sur les traités de Luther traduits en français et imprimés en France entre 1525 et 1534', BSHPE, 36 (1887), 664-671; 37 (1888), 155-163, 432-439, 500-503.

--, 'Les premières professions de foi des protestants français 1532-1547', BSHPE, 43 (1894), 57-79.

