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Misticismo en la obra de Margarita de Navarra  
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**Autor**

Jon Oria Osés

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MYSTICISM  
IN THE WORK OF  
MARGARITE DE NAVARRE

Thesis submitted for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

By

JON ORIA  
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BIRKBECK COLLEGE  
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## ÍNDICE GENERAL

INTRODUCTION .....	10
CHAPTER ONE	
Marguerite de Navarre's initiation (1521-1524) and her commitment to the mystical tenets of Meaux .....	15
I. Reforming experiments at Meaux .....	15
II. Marguerite's initiation into the mystical principles of Meaux .....	18
III. Techniques on initiation .....	23
IV. Progress of initiation in mystical understanding .....	28
CHAPTER TWO	
The Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne as an illustration of "Thy will be done" .....	35
I. Date and sources of the <u>Dialogue</u> . Internal structure of poem .....	35
II. Argumentative character and antispesulative attitude .....	38
III. Charlotte's evangelical credo; the roles of death and love .....	40
IV. Marguerite's grief at the death of Princess Charlotte. Mystic passivity and the Will of God. Marguerite's final acceptance of "Thy will be done" .....	44
CHAPTER THREE	
Le Miroir de l'âme pécheresse: Mystic Enigma as against Earthly Vision .....	49
I. Controversies around the <u>Miroir</u> , its connections with the Lutheran cause .....	49
II. The <u>Miroir</u> and the mystical "Speculum" tradition .....	55
III. The internal structure of the poem .....	64
IV. Its teaching on "raptus mysticus" and spiritual generation .....	71
V. Stylistic devices and mystical metaphors; its hermetic language .....	75
CHAPTER FOUR	
Guillaume Briçonnet's biblical hermeneutics and the "Ravie de Dieu, Bergère" in the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan .....	81
I. Marguerite's theatre .....	81
II. Theatre and mystic enigma; four hermetic characters in the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan .....	86
III. Mystic hermeneutics of the Bible and the interpretation of the play .....	94
IV. The "Bergère" as the "Amye" in the Song of Songs .....	102
V. Symbolic numbers and the four characters in the Comédie; "La Bergère's" anti-intellectual discernment .....	106

## CHAPTER FIVE

Les Prisons de la Reine de Navarre as Marguerite's mystical testament: the experience of God as immanent to the soul and His transcendence. ....	111
I. The <u>Prisons</u> as mirroring the spiritual preoccupations of Marguerite's contemporaries .....	111
II. Sources and first sketches of the poem .....	112
III. The three <u>Prisons</u> as the three stages of conversion: Purification, Illumination and Union .....	119
IV. Mystic ecstasy as a piercing experience of a mystic wound ....	138
V. Attempts to define the Divine .....	144
VI. The <u>Prisons</u> as Marguerite's final testament: new evangelical ideas within an old frame of medieval mysticism. Attempts to define the Divine .....	162

## CHAPTER SIX

Hermetic symbolism and mystic antitheses, recurrent leit-motifs in the work Marguerite de Navarre .....	164
I. Symbolic theology and mysticism. The symbols of Light and Darkness .....	164
II. Mystic conflict between the Soul and the Body.Sources and first sketches of the poem .....	177
III. Symbols of Ascent and Descent .....	181
IV. Divine symbols of perfection and mystic symbolism of colours and the letters of the alphabet .....	186
V. Mystic antitheses in Marguerite's works. Evangelical renewal symbolized in hermetic language .....	195

CONCLUSION .....	197
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NOTES .....	205
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## BY MEANS OF CONFIRMATION OF THE THESIS, NOVEMBER 2012

This current edition of the thesis combines the original text in English as presented to the University of London in 1981, with two versions in Spanish and Euskara as part of the celebration of the centenary of the conquest and invasion of the territories of “Alta Navarra” by the troops of King Ferdinand of Aragon in 1512. A few adjustments had to be made relating to anachronisms such as the title of young Marguerite as Queen of Navarre while she was still Princess of France, i.e. before her marriage to Henri II of Albret, King of Navarre in 1527; it was also necessary to change incorrect quotations, particularly from the Bible according to the classical saying “Aliquando dormitat Homerus”

In the entrance to my home in Torre Vieja is a photograph of the Cambridge Library, a reminder of those early stages of my investigation showing an imposing statue of Lord Byron in white marble from Mount Pentelic blocks, (similar to the Parthenon's, which means “the home for the Youth”), pointed at my second youth in the forties. The passing of time has succeeded in yielding “patina” to such enterprise, since my thesis was written at Birkbeck College after travelling through many countries in Europe, where I visited the Navarrese Renaissance in Pau, Nérac and Mont-de-Marsan, Meaux and Paris, Florence and Rome, as well as the Simancas's archives, which enabled me to confirm the places where Marguerite was when she wrote her poetic work, or the valuable documents related to the Humanism and Renaissance in Basse Navarre. The text of the thesis was approved by the University of London in 1981 under the title of “Mysticism in the Work of Marguerite of Navarre” and copies were sent to the Universities of London, Cambridge, Paris, Pau and Pamplona, keeping two for my own use. Several attempts have been made to publish it in the original English, but only recently a threefold edition in English, Spanish and Euskara is on the way in order to commemorate the 500th anniversary of the conquest of “Alta Navarra” by the troops of King Ferdinand of Aragón but the “Grupo Cultural Enrique de Albret” of Sangüesa wants to dedicate this present edition to King Henri II of Albret, born there in 1503, and to his wife Marguerite de Navarre.

A few problems arose when photocopying manuscripts from the British Library, some of them from early Renaissance documents needed to enlighten themes in the thesis, particularly those dealing with Marguerite's early “Correspondance” with the Bishop of Meaux. She then decided to forsake all her numerous French titles calling herself simply “La Reine de Navarre”. Most of her mystical works were written there, even though a copy of the “Miroir de l'Âme Pécheresse” appeared as the

volume to be condemned by the Sorbonne as heretical . The body of the thesis is centered on describing Marguerite's early initiation as a young Princesse into the Neoplatonic ideas of the Pseudodionisius, which left a mark on all her mystical work, first in her "Dialogue en forme de Visión Nocturne", which was followed by a treatise on Hermeneutics in "La Comedie Jouée au Mont-de-Marsan" as well as in a summary of her mystical postulates in the poem "Les Prisons de la Reine de Navarre". A detailed analysis of her mystical symbology will finally appear as a synthesis of her mystical ideas, all of which always appeared under the sole authorship of "La Reine de Navarre".



*The sequence of the composition of the thesis is straightforward commencing in 1975 while preparing my Postgraduation at Saint Hugh's College in Cambridge, inspired by a Shakespearian text which I heard at a recital in London's Globe Theatre, already part of our history. A few more years followed with the guidance of a tutor from London University, B.M.Sanderson, who encouraged me in constantly visiting the British Library close by Birkbeck College, the very centre of the city of Arts and Sciences.*



It must be added that all the works I have written about the Renaissance in Navarre have been based on the investigations carried out in public libraries and archives to clarify the philosophy taught in the royal Courts of Marguerite and her husband Henri II, and later on in the Humanistic Academies of her daughter, Queen Jeanne d'Albret, this being worthy of the tributes paid by the English bard William Shakespeare. As a confirmation I should mention my latest research on an early Renaissance tapestry restored for the Musée Basque de Bayonne, the interpretation of which was done by following a play by Marguerite of Navarre, "la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan", so dating the composition of both works around 1547.

In conclusión I acknowledge the help of those who have made possible this threefold edition of the thesis in the original English version as well as in the translation into Spanish and Euskara. My personal contribution consisted in correcting a few typing misprints and quotes in the original English version as well as carrying out the complete translation of the text into Spanish. Special thanks are owed to Aithor Antuñano for his presentation of the material, which was possible thanks to Joseba Arruebarrena's collaboration and help and for the whole translation of the thesis into Euskara under the constant supervision of Josu Lavin. I also thank my niece Blanca Oria and her husband Juan Zapater of Bilbaoarte's Enterprise for improving the quality of plates and illustrations accompanying the text. A special mention is finally due to the "Grupo Cultural Enrique II de Albret in Sangüesa", editors of "Zangotzarra", particularly to David Maruri, coordinator of the publication and to Angel Navalla's final "maquetting" of the thesis, without forgetting all those appearing in the list of collaborators.

Jon Oria Osés

## **ABSTRACT**

The purpose of this thesis is to go more deeply into the mystical ideas of Marguerite de Navarre as expressed in her major poetic works and to trace their sources in her Correspondance with Briçonnet.

Nowhere does she write a treatise on spirituality, nevertheless one can see a progression in the treatment of the themes relating to the elevation of the soul to God through contemplation. This involves a systematic interpretation of the symbolism she uses together with the identification of certain neo-Platonic elements in her poetry.

This research begins by determining the sources of her mystical ideas in her Correspondance with the Bishop of Meaux during the years 1521-1524. There follows an analysis of four of her works to illustrate the development of her thought from the appearance of her first mystical poem, the Dialogue (c. 1527) up to the completion of her masterpiece the Prisons (c. 1547). We find in them all the traditional concepts of initiation into the purification of the spirit, the passive contemplation of God, the state of ecstasy of the soul, the spiritual interpretation of the Bible and the mystical conception of the Divine.

Marguerite was above all interested in encouraging people to cling to certain basic beliefs during the troublesome early Reformation period, and to live according to them. The aim of her spirituality is therefore, in principle, practical, even if paradoxically her topics are obscured by a symbolic language frequently impenetrable to the ordinary reader. She was first of all concerned with the Evangelical purification of the Church from within, but there is no dogmatic attitude in her ideas and what we find is not a methodical guide to Christian perfection, but a global vision of Man as a spiritual being in relation to religious values.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

This research has been possible thanks to the financial help of Birbeck College and the Department of Education and Science's scholarships. I would like to thank specially Mrs. B. M. Sanderson, lecturer in French at Birbeck College, for her constant advice and encouragement during the composition of this thesis; I am also grateful to Professor Ross for his invaluable suggestions.

My thanks also go to C. Beresford of Academical Typing Services who so skilfully and patiently typed the script, and to RANK XEROX, who reproduced the text and plates, the technical superiority of which I can only admire.

I would also like to offer my gratitude to the following libraries: the British Library, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the Warburg Institute and Birbeck College. My final debt is to friends who have encouraged me at all times.

**ABREVIACIONES** (*Esto corresponde a la página 6 de la tesis original*)

AFLN-W	Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen.
ASI	Actualités Scientifiques et Industrielles, Paris.
BAEHRRE	Bulletin de l'Association d'Études sur l'Humanisme, la Réforme et la Renaissance
BGEPHE	Bibliothèque Générale de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études
BHR	Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance
BL	British Library, London
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
BSHPF	Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français
PUF	Presses Universitaires de France
RHLF	Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France
RR	Revue de la Renaissance
RSS	Revue du Seizième Siècle
SPCK	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
THR	Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance
ZRP	Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie

**Contracted forms of titles of works by Marguerite:**

<u>Correspondance</u>	<u>Guillaume Briçonnet, Marguerite de Navarre;</u> <u>Correspondance (1521-1524) 2 vols.</u>
<u>Chansons</u>	<u>Chansons spirituelles</u>
<u>Discord</u>	<u>Discord estant en l'homme par la contrariété</u> <u>de l'esprit</u>
<u>Inquisiteur</u>	<u>L'Inquisiteur en Théâtre profane</u>
<u>Miroir</u>	<u>Miroir de l'âme pécheresse</u>
<u>Navire</u>	<u>La Navire, ou consolation du Roy François Ier</u>
<u>Oraison</u>	<u>Oraison à nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ</u>

Bible quotations from the Revised Standard Version, London, 1971.  
All underlining in text is my own unless otherwise indicated.

## INTRODUCTION

Few personalities of the early French sixteenth century have attracted as much attention as Marguerite de Navarre, the sister of Francis I, often considered as Prince of the French Renaissance. Although there have been several attempts to give us a fair picture of Marguerite both as Duchess-Queen and as writer<sup>1</sup>, it was thanks to Pierre Jourda's masterly biography written in 1930, that we have a basic work on which the modern critic can write a more precise picture of particular aspects of this remarkable lady<sup>2</sup>. Marguerite was the first modern woman who was able to combine the ideals of the already crumbling God-centred world of the Middle Ages with the new humanistic values that were spreading fast throughout Europe<sup>3</sup>.

Marguerite's attempt to preserve old notions, while at the same time she was nurturing the seedlings of the newly born ideals, has often been the source of basic misunderstandings of her apparently split personality, whose integrity and authenticity have been so valiantly defended by Lucien Febvre in his criticism of a "double Marguerite"<sup>4</sup>. All these endeavours to present the Queen of Navarre as a "woman for all seasons", from her earliest biography published as an Oraison funèbre shortly after her death by Charles de Sainte-Marthe<sup>5</sup>, to contemporary works, are a clear indication of massive public interest in her remarkable personality<sup>6</sup>.

Marguerite, born on 11 April 1492 in the Château d'Angoulême, two years before her brother François, was the daughter of Charles d'Orléans and Louise de Savoie. When on 8 April 1498, King Charles VIII died leaving no male heir, the Duke of Orléans married his predecessor's widow, Anne de Bretagne, and after the death of Louis XII, the Angoulêmes saw a chance of accession to the Valois throne. Marguerite and her brother François, as the heir presumptive, had accordingly to spend their early years in the imposed seclusion then practised with royal heirs, first at Cognac in Angoumois and then at Blois and Amboise. There they led a lonely life and Marguerite, who was more gifted than her brother François for scholarly pursuits, was educated under the guidance of her well-read mother and a governess, Mme de Châtillon, in all disciplines then in vogue. They had the best of teachers to learn how to read and speak Latin, Italian and Spanish. Charles de Sainte-Marthe mentions Marguerite's early acquaintance with other disciplines and particularly with the neo-Platonic ideas that were then spreading from Florence, (Oraison funèbre, p. 24). In short she acquired the background to all the knowledge of her time, being interested, as Sainte-Marthe acknowledges, in the "Saints et salutaires preceptes de la Philosophie Évangélique, qui est la Parolle de Dieu", (*ibid.*, p. 27).

Even if court life may not have been totally ideal for this sort of training, Marguerite's works witness a very receptive mind<sup>7</sup>; it was nevertheless on 2 December 1509, that a personal sacrifice was demanded of the young princess for the sake of the House of Angoulême. She was asked to marry Charles, Duke of Alençon, an "époux médiocre et peu cultivé", as H. P. Clive calls him, hardly a suitable match for her refined mind, and who was not able to give her a child<sup>8</sup>. The enthronement of her brother François d'Angoulême as François Ier on 25 January 1515 must have cheered her and soon by 1519 she welcomed Cément Marot among others into her personal service<sup>9</sup>. Her cultured mind could hardly find rest unless surrounded by educated "protégés", who soon started considering her as the Maecenas of the new intellectual and literary Renaissance in France.

I am not directly concerned here with a re-appraisal of Marguerite's personality but with a fair judgement on her written work. However, I must examine her personal involvement in a drastic plan for the renewal of crumbling medieval values, a plan which, historically, we must confess, ended in a total fiasco. Her efforts to save the yeast of internal reformation through the evangelical plan of a small group of scholars gathered at Meaux by an outspoken Bishop, Guillaume Briçonnet, and an outstanding scholar, Lefèvre d'Étaples, met with the hardest opposition from the Sorbonne.

One cannot speak of a protestant schism in the early 1520s, even if the Faculty of la Sorbonne had solemnly condemned Luther's theses on 15 April 1521. It is true, on the other hand, that the Pope's bull "Exsurge Domine" had been issued on 15 June 1520, and on 3 January the rebel friar had been finally excommunicated<sup>10</sup>, but Marguerite's contemporaries did not have the same historical perspective as we have now.

I hope that a serious and detailed analysis of her written work will help to put this thorny problem in perspective and show that no matter how deeply she might have been involved in a strategic plan for evangelical renewal, she can hardly be called a Lutheran. As a matter of fact, she disagreed with two of the basic points of Luther's theology, his theory of "v'g" servant will<sup>11</sup> and his repudiation of the traditional interpretation of the Bible<sup>12</sup>.

The plan of the reformation as launched by the Meaux groups was definitely evangelical and Pauline in the most genuine sense of the word; they preached a return to the simplicity of the gospels and to the theology of St Paul, by proclaiming Christ as the only saviour of man and by asserting the Pauline doctrine of man's justification through faith. One can equally allege other elements in the theology of the group which reveal a substratum of mystical principles through which this internal change to accept Christ as the only link between God and man takes place.

It is not easy to define mysticism as it deals with secret codes of meanings that are shared by a relatively small group of people (the esoteric ones). Mystics seek a self-surrender to obtain some sort of absorption into the Divine, by means of which they aim to reach and understanding of the truths which are described by them as inexplicable or mystic; they avoid giving systematic explanations of all the principles that regulate this slow transformation of man which is called by them deification.

From the time of Eckhart the mystics assert a negative way of behaving towards God commonly called Quietism, since they adopt a passive attitude to His will. They tend to reinforce certain concepts such as Nothingness and Absorption and their primary concern is to tell what happens to a mystic when he is struck by a divine experience, and how to describe the object of their hidden encounter: “No one has ever seen God” (I John 4,12) but one can experience His experience through love (*ibid.*, 4,16). Since they are confronted with an impossible task they tend to avoid giving philosophical arguments to prove God’s existence and simply assert His presence by naming Him in different ways; there is a progression in their definitions of the Deity, starting by denying human concepts which imply limitations in Him (“Via Negativa”) such as finiteness, and so He is defined as infinite. Positive qualities such as goodness are on the other hand applied to Him absolutely and only proportionally to all other creatures (“Via Analogica”).

The word of God in the Bible is seen by the mystics as a means to arrive at further hidden meanings, since they proclaim that the Holy Spirit remains active in the books from the moment they were written. Christ is our Saviour, but he is also according to them the Word (John 1,1) which can explain all mysteries since he became flesh (*ibid.*, 1,14). Finally they adopt a code of secret symbols and metaphors, often very complex as in the case of Marguerite de Navarre, through which they think they can better pass their ideas to future initiated generations.

My work aims first of all at showing in Chapter 1 how deeply Marguerite was implicated in the reforming efforts that were taking place in the diocese of Meaux, a few kilometres North-East of Paris, in the early 1520s. This commitment was going to take the form of a personal involvement in a long process of initiation, embracing both personal contacts and epistolary instruction, which were aimed at inducting her into an esoteric language, full of hidden meanings, quite different from the straightforward Lutheran axioms of evangelical purity of doctrine. This initiation was to cover Marguerite’s formative years as a writer, from June 1521 till about October 1524, and can be traced step by step through a mystical Correspondance between her and the promoter of the Meldian plan of renewal, Guillaume Briçonnet.

Chapters 2 to 5 deal with four representative works written by Marguerite, two of them early works composed while she was under the direct impact of her initiation into the Meldian ideas. The first, her Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne is studied in Chapter 2; it reflects more directly than her other poems the dislikes of the school of Meaux for polemical treatises on philosophical subjects that verged on personal insults such as the long discussion between Erasmus and Luther in the 1520s on the nature of human will; the poem must be interpreted as a mystic illustration of Briçonnet's doctrine on God's Will in the "Our Father", perhaps sympathizing with Luther's early mystic works, one of which Marguerite versified at about the same time as she was writing her Dialogue, as we shall see.

Chapter 3 will explain in detail her most controversial poem, the Miroir de l'âme pécheresse, traditionally interpreted as a pro-Lutheran work. Its internal structure rather reveals the mystical solution to the hermetic riddles that the Duchess and Briçonnet had been exchanging throughout their long Correspondance. Chapter 4 deals with Marguerite's mystical play, the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, since it holds the key to the contacts she may have had with both Erasmus and Luther. Contrary to the traditional interpretation of most critics, I maintain that the Comédie is a straightforward "exposé" of the mystical hermeneutics of the school of Meaux, whose spiritual interpretation of the Bible runs parallel with Erasmus's position, clearly diverging from Luther's Evangelical tenets. Chapter 5 will explain her mystical doctrines as reflected in her most enterprising work, the Prisons de la Reine de Navarre.

Marguerite's spiritual neo-Platonism and her hermetic symbolism will be discussed at length on several occasions. I am, nevertheless, allotting Chapter 6 to a full analysis of her cryptic vocabulary, which, contrary to the speculation of many critics, appears constantly throughout her entire work. There I found no sign of discontinuity with the evangelical tenets of the school of Meaux. Consistently, in all her works, she shows the same wavering, the same influences, a certain turning towards Luther, not differing in terms from the other members of the group in the early 1530s<sup>13</sup>. It shows to the very end that she never broke with the spiritual principles she had accepted during her period of initiation under the personal care of Briçonnet.

My final conclusion will be to determine what sort of mystical principles had guided Marguerite while writing her works; she was a perceptive woman who had accepted to be guided more by common-sense than by any extraordinary mystical experience, in spite of her apparent

total commitment to a body of intellectual principles that remind us of the medieval masters of mysticism. This very human aspect of her nature added an undeniable warmth to her personality that was praised by her contemporaries.

Lucien Febvre already saw the necessity of looking into Marguerite's work from the mystical point of view, though he avoided the hard task, when he wrote:

“... il faut bien se dire qu'un examen minutieux, attentif, scrupuleux des cinq mille premiers vers de Marguerite -en attendant les milliers qui suivirent- exigerait un travail hors de proportion avec les résultats qu'on en peut escompter. Il y faudrait du reste un théologien qualifié, doublé d'un curieux très averti de l'histoire spirituelle. Or, s'il s'en trouvait un, par heureuse fortune, et qui ressentît le goût de pareils labeurs, ce serait grand-pitié que de l'employer à une tâche aussi peu payante. Certes, il courrait risque de faire, chemin faisant, maintes constatations amusantes et de rapporter, piqués sur ses plaques de liège, plusieurs de ces jolis coléoptères qui ravissent le spécialiste”<sup>14</sup>.

Febvre seems to imply that the last word on Marguerite's mysticism has already been said, while the details are left to the specialist; this is not the case and my research will prove, I hope, that it does not deal with “coléoptères”.



**CHAPTER ONE**  
**Marguerite de Navarre's initiation (1521-1524)**  
**and her commitment to the mystical tenets of Meaux.**

**I**

The year 1521 marks the beginning of Marguerite's determination to join the reforming group at Meaux, that had been gathered by its prelate, Guillaume Briçonnet; Lefèvre d'Étaples, Michel d'Arande, Gerard Roussel, Vatable, M. Mazurier, P. Caroli, G. Farel and a few others had responded to Briçonnet's call, in spite of the official opposition of the Sorbonne to any kind of experiment in evangelical renewal that might have had any resemblance to the hard Lutheran line of reforming the Church without its official backing. It must be noted that the Roman bull "Exsurge Domine" against Luther had been issued the previous year 1520, and the formation of the evangelical community at Meaux in 1521 coincided with the Sorbonne's initiative to condemn Luther's writings on 15 April that year. The arrival of Lefèvre in particular must have looked suspicious, since he had tried to intervene in favour of Reuchlin both at the Sorbonne and in Rome<sup>15</sup>; it may have been, as Martineau and Veissière suggest, the crisis caused by Luther's rebellion that made Lefèvre join the plan of an internal reform within the Church under the leadership of a Bishop, Briçonnet<sup>16</sup>. Lefèvre, while most probably welcoming Luther's radical position, was far less radical, in fact his ideas have little to do with the Lutheran tenets, even if the Sorbonne made little or no effort to separate Lefèvre's firm stand from Luther's open rebellion<sup>17</sup>.

Briçonnet's story was very different. He was more of a diplomat than of a scholar, though he had always showed a keen interest in the intellectual problems of his age; Lefèvre had dedicated to him his famous Commentaries on the Epistles of Saint Paul, in 1512<sup>18</sup>, as well as some of his edition of mystical texts and treatises<sup>19</sup>. Born in 1470 of an episcopal family<sup>20</sup>, Guillaume Briçonnet junior was elected Bishop of Lodève in 1489, being appointed Abbot-Bishop of Saint-Germain-des-Près in 1507 where he welcomed Lefèvre and started to design a plan for reforming his flock by educating his clergy<sup>21</sup>. Later he was excommunicated and lost all his benefices together with his brother Denis for taking part in the Gallican Council of Pisa in 1511, but the Briçonnets were soon reinstated and their father died in 1514 as Bishop of Narbonne<sup>22</sup>.

There has been a mounting conspiracy to defame Briçonnet in certain circles; he is rarely praised and unfairly criticised<sup>23</sup>, and some go as far as

maintaining that his only intention in trying to initiate Marguerite under the cover of a mystical relationship was to get her on his side against the violent attacks of the Sorbonne. What is more, this unfairness has gone so far as to deny a place for his letters to Marguerite in François Genin's Lettres de Marguerite d'Angoulême<sup>24</sup>. "des jugements très injustes", write Martineau and Veissière<sup>25</sup>, "pèsent sur cette Correspondance, que ne sont pas parvenues à détruire ni la belle étude que lui consacra en 1900 Philippe-Auguste Becker<sup>26</sup>, ni, de nos jours, les paroles pourtant percutentes à son sujet de Pierre Jourda<sup>27</sup> et Lucien Febvre<sup>28</sup>". A new portrait, however, of the Bishop of Meaux has begun to emerge thanks to Henry Heller's studies on the importance of Briçonnet's role during the difficult times that began to tear Europe apart in the early 1530s<sup>29</sup>. This picture nevertheless could only be completed after the publication of his Correspondance with Marguerite (1521-1522 and 1523-1524). The two volumes published by Martineau and Veissière, revealed a prelate who had served as a fair diplomat between Paris and Rome under Louis XII and François Ier, still nurturing certain Gallican pretensions but unquestionably committed to his task of reforming the Church in France<sup>30</sup>.

L. Febvre has quite rightly claimed that it would be impossible to draw any serious conclusions unless critics admit a fundamental identity in Marguerite de Navarre's life and work<sup>31</sup>. I must equally insist on the same fundamental identity between the Briçonnet of 1512, when he was able to win Lefèvre's dedication of his Commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul, and the Briçonnet reformer at Meaux, when Marguerite had to step in and defend him and his associates against all the accusations of heresy by the Sorbonne: "(...) que le Roi et Madame i ont bien deliberé de donner à cognoistre que la verité de Dieu n'est point heresie" (Correspondance, 1, p. 71).

The truth is that since the Sorbonne had stepped in, even after Briçonnet had gone as far as condemning Luther's rebellion in two pastoral letters of 13 December 1523 and of 10 January 1524<sup>32</sup>, the community of Meaux had to be disbanded and Briçonnet, who died in 1534, never recovered from this shock. A major question mark, though, remains in the minds of many critics: did Lefèvre and Marguerite look down upon the broken man, Briçonnet, after this surrender? My study, I hope, will show that, as far as Marguerite is concerned, she always admired the man who had preached the need for a change within the Church:

Le feu savoureux crie au dehors de l'Eglise. Il n'est point dedans.  
La doctrine evangelicque, sy peu encoires qu'elle se  
communiquie, c'est au dehors de l'esperit, par toutes inventions

pour complaire et faire noz sectes grandes et nous amplifier.  
L'Evangile n'est de present que plomb fondu. Il n'est solide  
comme il est baillé. (Correspondance, 1, pp. 124-125)

If anything his appeal was constantly softened by words of prudence, trying to control Marguerite's impatience: "La prudence est caller [abaissier les voiles], n'entreprendre ou ne continuer l'oeuvre dont l'issue n'est honorable ne volue" (ibid. 2, p. 127). His personal belief was more balanced: "Ung bon edifficateur ne bastist pour demolir" (ibid. 2, p. 105), thus condemning any drastic Lutheran experiment. My positive contribution to Briçonnet's rehabilitation will be the tracing of Marguerite's faithfulness to the end of her life throughout twenty years of active writing of poems and short plays, which in one way or another illustrate the doctrine of this remarkable Bishop, her personal tutor.

Professor M. A. Screech observes that the historical reason that led to the failure of the reforming plans at Meaux was "la défaite de Pavie, le 24 février 1525. Si l'on songe que Marguerite d'Alençon et le roi François lui-même avaient accorder leur appui au groupe de Meaux, il est permis de penser que, sans la défaite, Lefèvre d'Étaples et ses disciples auraient pu changer l'histoire religieuse de la France"<sup>33</sup>. Briçonnet lost the opportunity to be the link between the hierarchy and the reforming ideas, for which he could not blame himself. Historically it would be inaccurate to aver that Marguerite had chosen him that role, or that he had insinuated himself in the French court, assuming a role that was beyond his personal ability under the disguise of a false mysticism, as certain critics seem to maintain<sup>34</sup>. The fact is that within the court of François Ier there was a tacit admission of a need for internal renewal in the Church if a disaster was to be averted, but the reactionary Sorbonne was reluctant to accept it and saw with suspicion Marguerite's evangelical teaching in the Miroir, in which she clearly teaches that Christ is the only Saviour:

O Jesuchrist, des ames vray pescheur  
Et seul sauveur, amy sur tous amys (...)  
(Miroir, vv. 1164-1165)

If Marguerite and Lefèvre had welcomed Briçonnet's efforts to begin a serious plan of reformation starting with his diocese of Meaux, it was because they both thought that the whole operation was going to succeed in spite of the stern opposition of the Grey Friars in Meaux and by the Sorbonne in Paris. Martineau and Veissiere have followed these vicissitudes during the years 1521 and 1522:

(...) les esperances d'un plus large développement de la reforme de Meaux apparaissaient brillantes car la Cour de France avait été blessée profondément par l'élection d'Adrian d'Utrecht comme Pape. C'est dans ces circonstances que Briçonnet se rendit à la Cour. Les resultats de ce voyage se traduisirent sans aucun doute dans un ordre emanant du Roy pour que des conciles soient tenus dans les archevêchés du Royaume a partir du 8 mars 1522 (...) <sup>35</sup>.

The plan did not succeed in the end and Briçonnet's reforming ideas, mixed with certain Gallican pretensions which he had always nurtured in favour of French hegemony, were to fade away in a religious and political climate unfavourable to his reforming experiments. His group of Meaux had finally to be disbanded in 1525, after the disastrous French defeat at Pavia <sup>36</sup>.

## II

Marguerite was willing in 1521 to undergo the strong influence of Briçonnet and of his "protégés" at Meaux. Was this woman of thirty, without children, an easy prey? I cannot overlook her personal disappointment after she married the Duke of Alençon; Jourda writes about him: "Le duc ne pouvait en rien plaire a sa femme: sans culture, il faisait la guerre, paradaît dans les tournois, chassait, mais ne s'intéressait aux choses de l'esprit" <sup>37</sup>. Since she welcomed Marot in 1519, many supporters of change found shelter in the court of this extraordinary woman, until the end of her days on 21 December 1549. In 1521, however, she went so far as to identify herself with a mystic venture aimed at transforming French society through an evangelical scheme; this combined philosophical ideals that were germinating in Italian neo-Platonic circles, with religious notions, not totally original but freshly presented as a French evangelical reformation. When in June 1521 Marguerite asked to be accepted and introduced, she was certainly acquainted with the quintessence of Briçonnet's and Lefèvre's evangelical ideals as the text of her first letter to the Bishop of Meaux clearly shows:

Monsieur de Meaulx, congnoissant que ung seul est necessaire, m'adresse à vous pour vous prier envers luy vouloir estre par oraison moien qu'il luy plaise conduire selon la sainte volonté Monsieur d'Alençon qui, par le commandement du Roy, s'en va son lieutenant general en son armée que, je doute, ne se departira sans guerre. Et, pour ce que la paix et la victoire est en sa main, pensant que, oultre le bien publicque du royaulme, avez bon desir de ce qui touche son salut et le mien, vous emploie en mes affaires et vous demande le secours spirituel. (Correspondance, 1, p.25) <sup>38</sup>

Truly she asks here for advice about personal matters and consolation, since her husband was going to war, but also about something else normally overlooked by the critics, namely instruction in mystical matters such as the nature of God as “le Seul Necessaire”, and spiritual advice:

Car il me fault mesler de beaucoup de choses qui me doivent bien donner crainte. Et encores demain s'en va ma tante de Nemours en Savoye. Parquoy, vous faisant les recommandations d'elle et de moy et vous priant que sy congnoissez que le temps fust propre que maistre Michel peult faire ung voiage, ce me seroit consolation que je ne quiers que pour l'honneur de Dieu, le remectant à vostre bonne discretion et la sciencie. La toute vostre Marguerite. (ibid. 1, p. 25).

She thus formally agrees to submit her will to that of the Master, who is to decide what things are more suitable for her. Everything has been calculated; she has been promised the help of one of Briçonnet's “protégés”, Michel d'Arande, to guide her in case difficulties arise. Marguerite was impatient and could not wait any longer. Briçonnet was more prudent: Michel will be joining the Queen, but later<sup>39</sup>; regarding the rest of the matters treated in Marguerite's first letter, he wasted no time, almost immediately beginning to instruct his neophyte both in the understanding of the essence of God and in the nature of the fight the soul must be ready to wage to win the battle, thus transforming the literal meaning of Marguerite's “guerre” in her first letter into a spiritual one, as his first letter explains:

( ... ) car il est sa congnoissance et ne se peult que en luy mesme estre congneu, qui se communique par sa bonté infinie ses creatures. (...) D'amour assault d'amour se fault deffendre. La guerre est doulce, conduite par amour. Secours est bon, quant amour l'accompagne. En ce combat, foy mene l'avant-garde, esperance est cottoyant les helles de la bataille, par amour conduite. (ibid. 1, pp. 26-27).

He clearly announces his intentions of instructing her into the tripartite division of “Faith-Hope-Charity”. Marguerite replied almost immediately, (ibid. 1, pp. 29-30), though she waited for another letter from Briçonnet before committing herself wholeheartedly. Letter 5 of the Correspondance is perhaps the most important in as much as in it Marguerite unequivocally decides to undergo a formal training, using the technical expression “chemin de salut”. Note that this letter begins almost like the opening letter of the Correspondance with a request for mystic initiation:

Monsieur de Meaulx, je loue de toute ma puissance le seul bien nécessaire, qui, par sa bonté, permect a celle qui se peult dire moins que rien, tant de grace que d'avoir eu, par vostre lettre et celle de Maistre Michel, occasion de desirer de commencer d'entendre le chemin de salut. (ibid. 1, p.33).

Michel d'Arande, a friend of Lefevre, had joined the group of Meaux some time before the Correspondance between Marguerite and Briçonnet began in June 1521. He was well equipped to help the Queen to the understanding of some difficult concepts that, although theoretical, were the guiding rules for achieving a state of evangelical purity that was lacking in the Church according to Briçonnet and his associates. Professor Screech has summarized their preaching thus:

Elle est d'accord avec Luther au sujet de la justification par la foi seule; elle considère cette foi comme une confiance et une espérance en Dieu et comme un don de Dieu; elle montre une sainte horreur pour tout ce qui risquerait de détourner le fidèle de la vénération de Dieu seul et de Dieu toujours. Surtout, elle n'admet aucune autre source de la vérité chrétienne que la Bible.<sup>40</sup>

Truly all these doctrines appear over and over again in the Correspondance, but arrayed in a strange esoteric language, a mixture of religious neo-Platonism and hermetic mysticism that was to be most characteristic of Marguerite's writing. What may not be totally accurate is the assertion that Lefèvre and his friends were emulating in any way the straightforward exegesis of the Bible proclaimed by Luther, as Screech seems to maintain<sup>41</sup>, since Lefèvre's liturgical presentations of the Epistres et Evangiles are mere outlines of sermons that had probably been preached in the Diocese of Meaux rather than straightforward commentaries on the Bible. So far as I know a parallel study of the Correspondance and the sketches of sermons by Lefèvre has not been made, but it is clear that they are very similar and certain letter-treatises appear to be mystical expositions of Lefèvre's plan of evangelization through the Epistres et Evangiles<sup>42</sup>: To mention but one instance, Marguerite demanded "nourriture spirituelle" in her Letter 37 to Briçonnet (Correspondance, 1, pp. 193-194), since the lenten sermons were over: "...car voiez le caresme loing de nous, les sermons failliz, l'esté revenu..." (ibid. 1, p.194); Briçonnet answered with a long letter-treatise that follows Lefèvre's sketch for an Easter sermon: "Pour le iour de Pasques: Epistre en la premiere aux Corinthiens, Chapitre V"<sup>43</sup>, in which Lefèvre suggests the main themes of Briçonnet's letter-treatise, namely the spiritual interpretation of the passage across the Red Sea as proposed by St. Paul, and the mystical doctrine of the "manna-bread": "Le pain", says

Lefevre, “faict ce pain de toute pureté ne peut habiter sinon en lieu pur et net (...)”<sup>44</sup>; Briçonnet explains: “(...) ils ne portent avec eulx pain faict avec levain” (i.e. adulterated) “et qu’ilz eussent a manger sept jours entiers pain azime” (i.e. pure) (ibid. 1, p. 201).

Briçonnet’s letters often follow the arrangements of the liturgical adaptation of the biblical readings throughout the year; Letter 20, for instance, written by Briçonnet on 22 December 1521, is an Advent treatise aimed at preparing Marguerite for the Nativity; it contains a meditation on the meaning of the crib: “Là y trouverez le foing sur lequel il repose, assistant, l’asne et le bueuf. Par le foing entenderez noz pechéz (...). Par l’asne, la cecité (...). Par le bueuf, l’impuissance de nostre entendement (...)” (ibid. 1, p. 111). Briçonnet’s letters to the Duchess must not, therefore, be separated from Lefevre’s plan of evangelization at Meaux. The Correspondance contains Briçonnet’s own approach, but it forms, above all, as Febvre points out quite rightly, the doctrine of a group:

La correspondance de Briçonnet n’est pas l’improvisation d’un mystique de second plan, d’un mystique sans originalité profonde, avec une néophyte avide de consolations spirituelles. Ou du moins, elle n’est pas que cela. Elle transmet une doctrine. Et cette doctrine, ce n’est pas la doctrine individuelle d’un homme; c’est la doctrine d’un groupe.<sup>45</sup>

The letters were not only for Marguerite, since they were circulated, and Philiberthe de Nemours was one of their keenest readers<sup>46</sup>. Briçonnet’s aim to influence the whole court was obvious, both by sending Michel d’Arande as a preacher and by engaging Marguerite herself in his plan of evangelization. In Letter 47, for instance, he warns the Queen not to be overzealous in her efforts to convert even the King, her brother, to the evangelical cause (ibid. 1, pp. 229-230).

Even if there were several objectives running parallel in this long Correspondance, not the least Briçonnet’s determination to gain the favour of the French court against the fierce attacks of the Grey Friars at Meaux, who were accusing the group of spreading Lutheran doctrines in the diocese<sup>47</sup>, the main purpose was, nevertheless, the enlightenment of Marguerite through a masterly technique of initiation into a most complex “corpus doctrinae” that was carefully planned to cover several years of continuous epistolary intercourse between her and Briçonnet, with almost constant explanations “in persona” by either Briçonnet himself, or by Michel d’Arande or even by Lefèvre<sup>48</sup>.

Already in 1853 Charles Schmidt had clearly shown the mystical objectives of the school of Meaux in his article “Le Mysticisme Quiétiste en France au début de la Réformation sous François Ier:

Lefèvre d’Etaples - Guillaume Briçonnet - Marguerite de Navarre - Gerard Roussel - Michel d’Arande - le curé Coq - l’auteur anonyme d’un manuscrit inédit du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle”<sup>49</sup>. Although rather too general, it shows the path to be followed in the interpretation of the Correspondance between Briçonnet and Marguerite as a treatise on mystical initiation, following the footsteps of the Pseudo-Dionysius’s doctrine on spiritual contemplation. More recent studies have tried to determine the roots of the Queen’s neo-Platonic ideas ever since: Lefranc wrote his Marguerite et le Platonisme de la Renaissance, in 1914<sup>50</sup>, though the most important contribution to this theme comes from Glori Cappello<sup>51</sup> and Christine Martineau, in particular in a paper she read at the 16th “Colloque international d’Etudes Humanistes, Platon et Aristotele à la Renaissance” in July 1973, recently published as “Le Platonisme de Marguerite de Navarre”<sup>52</sup>. I warmly welcome this article by Martineau, since she contests Lefranc’s concept of Platonism as applied to Marguerite, proving that neither was there a direct impact of Plato’s work on the Queen, as in the case of Dolet or Bonaventure de Periers<sup>53</sup>, nor can one speak in her case of “neoplatonisme amoureux”<sup>54</sup>; Marguerite’s neo-Platonism was clearly dependent on her early initiation by Briçonnet into the spiritual neo-Platonism that had been present in the mystical schools of Europe ever since the III<sup>rd</sup> century A.D.: “C’est pourquoi”, concludes Martineau, “l’étude du néoplatonisme de Marguerite ne peut que passer par l’étude du néoplatonisme de Briçonnet”<sup>55</sup>.

When Marguerite in the 1540s was touched by a neo-Platonic “coup de foudre”, at the time she started to write most of her mature works, La Navire, the Chansons spirituelles, the Prisons and the Heptaméron, she was simply recalling her early reminiscences (in the Platonic sense) of her early initiation into neo-Platonic themes as presented by Briçonnet<sup>56</sup>. Glori Cappello offers some of these themes as they can be traced in his Correspondance with the-Queen; the main ones are:

- 1 The nature of the essence of God
- 2 The negative way (via negativa) of knowing the Divine
- 3 The opposition between the soul and the body
- 4 Mystic experience as a way of ascension
- 5 The problem of evil
- 6 Marriage as a symbol of mystic union of the soul with God
- 7 The knowledge of Christ as the apex of all speculative understanding.<sup>57</sup>



These are the doctrines that will appear in Marguerite's work, and these will be analysed step by step in my work; they were presented systematically by the Bishop, though she was a demanding pupil, often anticipating themes that were intended to be treated later; in fact the Bishop's letters are mostly replies to themes announced by her<sup>58</sup>. These tenets have often been taken for Lutheran principles, and not only by the Sorbonne who confused them for the sake of orthodoxy, but by many contemporary critics, not well informed in theological niceties as we shall see in this criticism, who still insist on Marguerite's dependance on Lutheran evangelism<sup>59</sup>.

### III

Marguerite's decision to be inducted into the evangelical ideas of the school of Meaux, through an esoteric language, heavily tinged with hermetism and religious neo-Platonism, coincided with her maturing years, a fact that has puzzled many critics; these are more interested in finding a psychological explanation for her downright determination than in the way in which it took place. She was approaching her thirties and after a wanton life, according to some, with tender love affairs with courtiers, she tried to find refuge in a religious conversion. She had a warm personality and Clément Marot often celebrated her gift of human friendship and her generosity:

A qui diray ma douleur ordinaire,  
Synon à toy, Princesse debonnaire,  
Qui m'as nourri et souvent secouru  
Avant qu'avoir devers toy recouru?  
A qui diray le regret qui entame  
Mon cueur de fraiz, synon à toy, Madame,  
Que j'ay trouee en ma première oppresse  
(Par dit et fait) plus mere que maistresse?<sup>60</sup>

Marot insists on her upright personality in a court full of "intrigues d'amour". Génin has rightly argued that "la vertu de Marguerite n'en a souffert aucune atteinte" from the poetic longings of her admirers<sup>61</sup>, nor have suspicions of an incestuous relationship with her brother François, for whom she always felt the most tender feelings<sup>62</sup>, any foundation<sup>63</sup>.

It is true that in 1930 Pierre Jourda did once and for all eliminate all suspicion of extramarital "liaisons sentimentales"<sup>64</sup>, insisting on a general "retour du royaume vers Dieu", rather than on a personal crisis of conscience

in Marguerite's soul, but the myth seems to persist in milder forms. It must be emphasized that when the Queen addressed herself to the Bishop of Meaux, asking for spiritual advice, she did not change externally; she decided to be initiated into the evangelical principles of Meaux without renouncing the pleasures of friendship or rejecting the beauties of nature and art, always welcoming writers like Rabelais, religious reformers like Calvin, neo-Platonic poets and writers such as Héroet and Charles de Sainte-Marthe. Fortunately we possess an autobiographical poem, written by Marguerite, the Prisons de la Reine de Navarre, that witnesses the sort of change that took place in her inner heart in about 1521, when she made up her mind to follow Brignonnet's call for evangelical detachment and the enjoyment of the highest perfection. Marguerite's Prisons only make sense if they are interpreted not as a rejection of love and knowledge, but as a longing for a higher form of understanding<sup>65</sup>. Let us say once and for all that there is no evidence of a troubled crisis in her life around 1521, nor can an objective critic speak of conflicting duties in her mind from 1525 to 1527, as Capiton had presumed, thus creating the theory of different "crises" in the Marguerite's conscience<sup>66</sup>. I must come back to this point since such a theory neither explains her unbroken ties with Meaux throughout her poetry, nor the sort of initiation she went through from June 1521, when she decided, blind-folded, to accept certain ideas from the reforming group of Meaux.

There is a common element in all sorts of initiation in spiritual training which separates the initiate from the non-initiate, not rarely binding under the promise of secrecy. "Those things", the Pseudo-Dionysius writes in his Mystical Theology, "thou must not disclose to any of the uninitiated, by whom I mean those who cling to the objects of human thought, and imagine there is no super-essential reality beyond"<sup>67</sup>. Some of the initiated did lead a normal life, unless compelled by a public vow, as was the case with members of third orders<sup>68</sup>. Above all one has to accept the total surrender of one's will to God and to one's Master:

Voiant que au Tout (promised Marguerite) n'estes rien et croiant vostre rien encloz dedans le Tout, me vueulx soubzmectre a ce qui sera par vostre rien dict, le tenant de la main du Tout, vous querant prier pour mon moins que rien, affin que l'eau puisse estre convertie en vin et que l'abisme par l'abisme invocque puisse abismer. (Correspondance, l. p. 134).

A formal application is normally required from the neophyte, but in exceptional cases the applicant can be accepted soon after the first contacts have been made:

Monsieur de Meaulx, je loue de toute ma puissance le seul bien nécessaire, qui, par sa bonté, permet à celle qui se peut dire moins que rien, tant de race que d'avoir eu, par vostre lettre et celle de Maistre Michel, occasion de desirer commencer d'entendre le chemin de salut. (ibid.1, p. 33).<sup>69</sup>

Briçonnet would, then, make a general plan for instruction and begin by sending some reading matter in the form of mystical treatises that Marguerite would read with the help of an initiated person. Unfortunately we do not know what sort of general reading was sent to her, since both the mystical treatises and Letter 2A were not copied by the amanuensis, probably because both were sent to Philiberthe de Nemours, who was also interested in following Marguerite's commitment to her mystical initiation. She acknowledged receiving the reading matter: "(...) je vous prie ne vous ennuyer de continuer. Car j'ay receu tous les traictz [read "traités] que m'avez envoiez, desquels ma tante de Nemours a eu sa part (...)" (ibid. 1, p. 30). Further reading matter was added shortly afterwards: "Madame (wrote Briçonnet), je vous envoie le double d'unes lettres que escripvoit quelque pere<sup>70</sup> à ses filles spirituelles, qui peuvent vous ayder à parvenir à la fin que dessus", (ibid. 1, p. 36).

It is very probable that some of the treatises sent to her were the mystical works of the Pseudo-Dionysius. They were regarded by the group of Meaux as second to none after the text of the Bible<sup>71</sup>:

"Monsieur saint Denis fait ung singulièrement beau chappitre, auquel il monstre aussy clerement que le soleil que mal n'est point et que mal comme mal ne subsiste point (...)" (ibid. 1, p. 149), which became one of the basic principles in mystical theology<sup>72</sup>. Several critics have already mentioned Marguerite's introduction to the spiritual teaching of the Pseudo-Dionysius, which, according to Heller, "formed an important part of Marguerite's instruction from Briçonnet"<sup>73</sup>. Martineau has been more specific, realizing that her Platonism had passed first through him, but had its real sources in the teachings of the pseudo-Dionysius<sup>74</sup> and of Nicolas of Cusa as suggested by Cappello<sup>75</sup>. A close analysis of Marguerite's difficult vocabulary, particularly that which she developed in her mature works of the 1540s such as the Prisons, will confirm that Briçonnet's mystical ideas were later to emerge as a reasonable consequence of the fact that she had been accepted into a school of thought closely linked to a spiritual conception of God as immanent in the soul while remaining transcendent<sup>76</sup>.

Another technique closely connected with the reading of mystical treatises was the allocation of an assistant in the long process of initiation;

Brignonnet kept for himself the major task of instructing her, but at the same time he adopted the traditional procedure of sending an “expositeur” of his ideas who would remain close to her in order to explain to her some of the most difficult points: “Le souldain partement de Maistre Michel (i.e. from Meaux to the court of Marguerite) excusera le surplus, lequel vous dira quelques propos auquel vous plaira pourveoir”, (ibid. 1, p.70). Michel d’Arande soon became the oral commentator, and the real link between Marguerite’s court and Meaux: Letter 7 written by her acknowledges that certain difficult ideas have become easier “avec l’aide de l’expositeur (i.e. Michel d’Arande) que m’avez laissé, dont tant mon ame vous est tenue, d’estudier vostre lesson (...)” (ibid. 1, p. 37). Michel’s ideas were more radical than those of Brignonnet, who had always preached moderation and who in the end obeyed the orders of the Sorbonne. Marguerite confessed in February 1522 that Michel had returned from Meaux rather softened: “J’ay trouve Maistre Michel amendé et adoulcy. Et ce que je ne sçay ne puis. J’espere que celluy le fera que je desire commencer à desirer”, (ibid. 1, p. 164)<sup>77</sup> Michel d’Arande, Brignonnet’s “expositeur” at Marguerite’s side, remained with her even after the dissolution of the Meaux group and shared with her in their bitter fight against the Sorbonne in 1533 as it will be explained in our special chapter on the fortunes of her Miroir, a work aimed at spreading the ideas of the school of Meaux, that had been interpreted by the Sorbonne as a pro-Lutheran treatise.

At least between 1521 and 1524 Brignonnet was the unquestionable Master of Marguerite. Even if, as Febvre has quite rightly suggested, there was an interaction in the initiation process between her and the Bishop, which he calls “ce grand duo mystique”, since certain themes are repeated by each other, in an echo-like kind of game that makes it difficult to determine who is the leader and who is the follower<sup>78</sup>, the process always results in Marguerite learning a new lesson. A good example of this complex technique can be found in Letter 53 written by Marguerite, reminding him that he had promised her a treatise on the mystical meaning of the “trois baisiers”: “(...) de vous prier que par escript veuillez refreschir la debile memoire des trois baisiers, bien que trop indigne est d’en oyr parler vostre inutile mere”, (ibid. 2, p. 53). Had Brignonnet been the first to suggest the theme by word of mouth, or had it been Marguerite herself? The Bishop of Meaux waited nevertheless for a while and on 21 July 1523, he wrote: “... en la contemplation des trois myrouers divins [i.e. the three persons of the Trinity] qui sont sans confusion...”, confessing that this doctrine was too difficult to be explained by letter, (ibid. 2, p. 139).

The whole Correspondance is full of references to a double initiation, oral-written, and the echoing of each other’s ideas. Marguerite would

begin: “Ainsi que la brebis en pais estrange errant, ignorant sa pasture par mescognoissance des nouveaulx pasteurs (...)” (ibid. 1, p. 37); the theme is immediately accepted by Briçonnet in a long letter-treatise: “Madame, la fecundité de voz lettres est sy grande que par une ne pourrois, ne par plusieurs, venans de mon ignorance, y satisfaire (...) Il est plusieurs sortes de brebis errantes”, (ibid. 1, p. 41).

The word “fecundité” was not chosen at random by Briçonnet; it is in fact the key to one of the most puzzling mystic riddles of the whole Correspondance; Marguerite’s longing for Briçonnet’s letters made her announce many of the themes the Bishop was about to develop in long letter-treatises, but it is true that Briçonnet’s voice always prevails and he must be considered the real source of the ideas in the Correspondance. It was therefore quite natural that she accepted the role of a pupil and of a daughter as the letters began to cross between the French court and Meaux. Letter 3, written by Marguerite ends: “La toute vostre fille, Marguerite”, (ibid. 1, p. 30). This theme is immediately rebuked by Briçonnet: “De Dieu seul estes fille et espouze” (ibid. 1, p. 32). She seems first to accept his rebuke, though soon she comes back to “(...)” *vostre bonne fille*” (ibid. 1, p. 49); then Briçonnet’s letters take a strange Platonic turn, since the Bishop reverses the theme of filiation, considering Marguerite’s soul as the fertile ground for his ideas, and the starting point, as it were, for his own mystical ascent. Letter 18, written by him on 22 December 1521, in response to Marguerite’s previous “vos tre pauvre fille” says: “Et de ce, Madame, non contente par le porteur (i.e. Michel d’Arande), accusez ma negligence que par voz excuses stimulez maternellement”, (ibid. 1, p. 77), thus resuming the theme he had announced in Letter 9, written on 24 October 1521: “Madame, la fecundité de voz lettres est sy grande que par une ne pourrois (...) y satisfaire”, (ibid. 1, p. 41). This mystical theme has many variants. It can appear as “viscerallement”:

Parquoy, Madame, je supplie au seul innominable et de tous noms nominable que en sa mort mourant soiez en son corps tellement inserée que l’effect soit correspondant à vostre non et indissoluble union avec vostre triumpant chief, pour, avec luy resuscitée, l’aymer viscerallement de tout vostre coeur, pour estre à jamais marguerite luisante au firmament d’éternité... (ibid. 1, p. 213)<sup>79</sup>

Briçonnet recognizes Marguerite’s spiritual fertility, following, no doubt, the myth of the pearl produced inside the shell, perfect in its roundness. His adoption of the Marguerite-Mother must therefore be connected with the mystical hermetic symbolism of the Marguerite-Perle that will appear in several passages of her poetic works<sup>80</sup>. When one is

dealing with the type of initiation I am studying, the fertility in the mind of the pupil can suggest themes in the mind of the Master: “Mais desirant comme filz subvenir à ma pauvre mendiante et bonne mere, (il) ne m’sest rien, soubz la protection du bon Seigneur qui a commandé honorer pere et mere, diffiile, qui me donnera a congnoistre vous pouvoir servir et estre necessaire”, (ibid, 2, p. 13)<sup>81</sup>.

Herminjard suggested that Marguerite’s “haute naissance” authorized the title of Marguerite-Mother given her by Briçonnet, a title that she readily acknowledged in January 1524 as “vostre vieille mere”<sup>82</sup>. It can more easily be explained, as Cappello writes, as a “préciosité” not uncommon among medieval mystics<sup>83</sup>. During the year 1524, when she was fully instructed by Briçonnet, she constantly calls herself “vostre inutile mere, Marguerite”, (ibid. 2, p. 108).

If I have followed the development of the “fille-père” and the “mère-filz”<sup>84</sup> step by step, it has been in order to show how the Correspondance was all the time enriching itself by adopting an echo-like technique, both from Briçonnet and from Marguerite. Similar expressions were interwoven in the same way: she would call herself the “pauvre aveugle” (ibid. 1, p. 37), “foible” (ibid. 1, p. 63), “indiscrete” (ibid.1, p. 64), “doublement malade” (ibid. 1, p. 71), to use but a few mystic symbols, chosen by both as a means to lead her through all the difficult and sinuous themes that had been traditionally used by the old masters; the Bishop of Meaux was one of the last links between medieval spirituality and the new spirit that was about to begin both from Luther’s Reformation and from Ignatius of Loyola’s counter-Reformation; Marguerite was not different as can clearly be seen through certain concepts that form the core of her poetic topics as we are going to see in Chapter 6.

## IV

The school of Meaux and more specifically its Bishop and moderator Briçonnet, had bitterly criticized all the ecclesiastical abuses and the monastic laxity of late medieval times; however they never went so far as their counterpart, Martin Luther and the northern reformers, who broke drastically with their past. Briçonnet believed at heart in moderation: “(...) que Martin Luther, qui en renverse tout l’ordre hierarchique (he wrote in the Synodal Decree of 15 October 1523) bouleverse et detruit l’etat qui contient tous les autres dans le devoir (...)”<sup>85</sup>. Above all he never broke like Luther with the mystical tradition of the medieval Church for the sake of the evangelical truth: “(...) et [Luther] méprise tous ceux des anciens qu’il trouve contraires à ses témérités.”<sup>86</sup>.

There is no wonder that in opposition to Luther's extreme evangelism, the Bishop had adopted from the very beginning a method of instruction for Marguerite that had been followed by the traditional mystic masters ever since religious Platonism had irrupted into the early Church. He would frequently adopt neo-Platonic concept of mystical Ascension as a means of arriving at the Summit of evangelical simplicity<sup>87</sup>. From the first letter of the Correspondance until the last, he is aiming at introducing her to the traditional teaching of the mystics on the internal purification of man. The soul must, little by little, arrive at higher spheres above the world of the senses: "l'ame est sourde, aveugle, sans goust et odorement, aussy paralticque", but until it reaches God it will have to pass through painful stages: "et, par ce, morte par l'absence de son necessaire, qui n'est que ung seul object, vie, sentiment, odeur, goust, veue et oÿe." (ibid., 2, p. 36).

Marguerite was little by little introduced through this purification of the five senses into a more complex concept of perfect union with the Divine. This process is called "chemin", "sentier" and "voie", (ibid., 1, pp. 134-135), and describes the painful ascent the soul must take to climb a high mountain, as it were. There are various stages in this rising, and a careful analysis of Briçonnet's letters shows a calculated presentation of its material under four main headings that will be allotted to the different periods she was meant to go through. Though the beginning of the Correspondance proves that she was more discerning than a mere neophyte, she had to accept a thorough process of initiation into the stages of climbing:

- Ist Stage: Marguerite had to be inducted into the internal purification of the world of the senses
- IInd Stage: Her soul could then proceed into a second process of illumination of the mind
- IIIrd Stage: A step further meant that the soul had to let itself be taken by the Spirit to be able to understand higher meanings in the reading of the Scripture
- IVth Stage: The soul would finally arrive at the summit by reaching the perfect union with the Divine. This could only be reached totally at the moment of death, which was interpreted by Briçonnet as the encounter with truth

These four stages are not clearly distinguished in the Correspondance, most probably because Marguerite was already acquainted with mystical reading, as her first letter to Briçonnet shows; besides, she often tried to advance ideas, and more often than not she would announce the themes to be developed in Briçonnet's long letter-treatises, as we have already

mentioned. He, on the other hand, was trying all the time to control the material and to present it organically, by first announcing the theme; only then he would proceed to its full treatment.

A good example of this technique can be seen in the manner in which the Bishop introduced Marguerite to the loftier or spiritual meaning of the Bible. By 1522 she was ready to begin her third stage of training, and he suggested the reading of certain difficult passages of the Scriptures: "... digerez tous les passaiges moult haultz et sublimes contenans nostre redemption." (ibid., 1, p. 202). Then he waited until 1523 to begin the real instructions:

Croiez, Madame, que l'Escripture Saincte est aultre marchandise que plusieurs ne cuydent. Ce que l'on y voist et congnoist est le moins de ce qui y est, et jusques à present n'en a esté trouvé, ne sera le fonds de l'intelligence. Car toute l'Escripture Saincte est ou spirituelle seulement, sans intelligence litterale, ou litterale sans la spirituelle (et bien peu), ou litterale et spirituelle ensemble, (ibid., 2, p. 13).

It took, nevertheless, two long years to complete her training in the understanding of all the complexities of mystical hermeneutics, as we will see in Chapter 5, devoted to Briçonnet's mystical interpretation of the Bible and "la Ravie de Dieu, Bergère" in Marguerite's play, the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan. Briçonnet had even suggested the help of Lefèvre, a scholar and an expert in the interpretation of the Bible: "...envoiez la au Fabre qui se tient en vostre edict hermitaige.", (Corr., 2, p. 14), since the initiation into the mystical understanding of the Bible was considered to be the most difficult task, as Briçonnet explains in April 1524, showing how the disciples of Jesus could not understand the secret meanings of His words at the time of His ascension: "Je ne suis esbahy si les disciples ne povoient entendre l'absence de leur Bon Pasteur estre necessaire (...) le paovre orphelin charnel ne peult entendre ce propos..." (ibid., 2, pp. 154-155).

By July of that year, 1524, Marguerite felt confident to ask Briçonnet for a letter-treatise on the secret meaning of the Hebrew letter of the alphabet Mem<sup>88</sup>, a symbol of the spiritual meaning of the Scripture: "...me faire capable et donner le temps d'oïr la parolle que l'Escripture faict desirer. Et je vous prie m'envoier la lettre mem escripte en hebrieu, ouverte et cloze, en grosse forme..." (ibid., 2, p. 229). The fact that the Hebrew letter is written in this way is interpreted by Marguerite cabbalistically as having an obvious (open) and a secret meaning (closed). Briçonnet, however, waited until September of that year to explain to her that the



thirteenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet, Mem, stood for “Messiet” (ibid., 2, p. 213). Letter 120 is a long treatise on passages of the Bible that are interpreted cabbalistically, since numbers in the Old Testament are read as referring to the year of the birth of Christ, (ibid., 2, pp. 277-278). No doubt the Bishop wanted to present a meaningful world of spiritual symbolism beyond the historical facts of the Scriptures, but it would be difficult to know if Marguerite could follow his explanations at that time.

What is clear is that Briçonnet introduced Marguerite to all this esoteric knowledge following a detailed plan of instruction. By the end of 1521, as Letters 18 to 21 witness, (ibid., 1, pp. 76-128), she was initiated into the first two stages, through the mystical symbols of “water” and “fire”, which will be studied in detail in Chapter 5 on the Prisons. By February, 1522, Marguerite was thought ready for the explanations of the higher meaning of the symbol of “manne” that represent, according to Briçonnet, (Corr., 1, pp. 138-153), a further step in a mystic understanding. The instruction on biblical hermeneutics was, however, delayed for a while as we have shown above, and the treatises on perfect union with the Divine, symbolized by human marriage, reached Marguerite in July 1524, (ibid., 2, pp. 196-198)<sup>89</sup>.

The summit, nevertheless, of his instruction through mystical symbolism was reserved for the end, and the letter MEM may hold the clue to many difficult passages that can be encountered in the hermetic works of Marguerite. It may be a monogram of the Marguerite-Mere as well as a metaphor for esoteric knowledge of the Bible. Briçonnet himself suggests a connection between the Marguerite’s name and the spiritual meaning of the Scripture: “L’intelligence spirituelle est la marguerite caschée, laquelle (...) ne se communique à chascun et n’en congnoissent la valeur et excellence”, (ibid., 2, p. 13). Marguerite will become fascinated by the M sound in its alliterations in “amour” and “mort” both in her Dialogue and in her Miroir<sup>90</sup>. The Hebrew letter of the Correspondance “MEM” is not only the quintessence of Briçonnet’s mystic teaching, but may be the secret monogram of Marguerite’s hermetic symbolism. What else could it mean but the adoption by the pupil however reluctantly at first, of the title of mother of Briçonnet, the mother-of-perle that contained the secret meaning of the precious marguerite as is explained by Matthew 7,6: “Do not cast thy pearls before swine”<sup>91</sup>. It appears that Marguerite’s most polemic work which begins with an M, the Miroir, a poem closely connected with the hermetic meaning of the symbol of the marguerite-perle<sup>92</sup>, also shares the emblem of the Hebrew letter “MEM”, in as much as the perfect “mirouer” is that which reflects the image-meaning most clearly. I would go so far as to suggest that even the title of Marguerite’s hermetic play, the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, contains the

monogram Mem in the name of the place: Mont-de-Marsan; the location may have reminded the Queen both of her own monogram and of the main theme of many of Briçonnet's latest letters. As I will argue later, this play has never been thoroughly understood by the critics. The Comédie contains Briçonnet's hermetic principles embodied in four characters, and its composition seems to have been dictated by Marguerite's meditation on the text of Briçonnet's Correspondance, reflecting the complex technique of her mystic initiation between 1521 and 1524.

It must be emphasized that both Marguerite and Briçonnet speak to us, modern readers, in nonsensical riddles, whose secret meanings must be deciphered if we wish to offer a fair criticism. Briçonnet, however, has been more unfairly criticized than Marguerite. His letters were described by F. Génin in 1841 as "l'oeuvre d'un fou"<sup>93</sup>, and this partial view colours many statements about the Bishop of Meaux. Only recently has his personality found more sympathetic expositors, particularly Martineau and Veissière. Heller had rightly noticed not only that his letters were "cumbersome", but that Marguerite shares with him the prolixity of language that was typical of the early Renaissance writers; their style was saturated with metaphors, allegories and strange paradoxes, a vogue that should not be condemned outright, but rather analysed systematically<sup>94</sup>.

It nevertheless remains a mystery why Briçonnet, who was able to write straightforward letters to the people and clergy of his diocese, as Heller remarks<sup>95</sup>, and Marguerite who made sense in all her other letters<sup>96</sup>, should have contrived such a hymn of folly. Neither the Bishop seems to polish his letters to her, nor does she take much trouble in presenting her literary works as a finished piece of writing. Arthur Tilley already noted in writing on the Heptaméron that Marguerite is conspicuously wanting in the artistic sense of proportion, the firm concentration and the dramatic power necessary for a narrator of short stories<sup>97</sup>. Perhaps, as Heller observes, those stylistic contrivances were deliberate: "Those critics who have found Briçonnet's style so reprehensible, have really missed the point, for Briçonnet, in accord with Pseudo-Dionysius, was deliberately using nonsense and gibberish as a means of religious expression."<sup>98</sup>.

No doubt our concept of a polished piece of literature differs considerably from the opinions of the contemporaries of Briçonnet and Marguerite. She was quite differently seen by Clément Marot who openly praised her:

Par devers qui prendront mes vers leur course  
Synon vers toy, d'eloquence la source,

Qui les entens sans les falloir gloser  
Et qui en sçais de meilleurs composer?<sup>99</sup>

The modern reader would be less ready to disregard the contrivances of her style than some of her contemporaries. Marot, for instance, seems to have identified her personal charm with her style for personal reasons since she was his patroness. In fact Marguerite had chosen neither Plato nor any of the classic writers as her models, as did some other sixteenth century writers; she often lacks the directness of Luther, Erasmus and Lefèvre and follows the style of Briçonnet, an admirer of the “Rhétoriqueurs” and of hermetic riddles, who thrived on the Dionysian texts. Capiton clearly saw the path she had chosen, and tried to divert her from her model, when he warned her in his “Dédicace” to Marguerite of his Commentarius in Hoseam Prophetam: “Vous avez également éprouvé combien cette philosophie de haute volée” (i .e. the ideas contained in Briçonnet’s letters)<sup>100</sup> “apporte avec elle de fatigue et combien elle procure peu de satisfaction”, (Herminjard, 2, p. 122). Capiton’s utterance is not a statement but a warning; he clearly saw how committed Marguerite was to the ideas of Briçonnet and tried to stop her already in 1528 when he wrote his “Dédicace” to her, in an attempt to gain her to the Lutheran cause. An analysis of her work, however, will reveal that all the works of Marguerite mirror and expound the ideas of the Bishop; his long letter-treatises are the source of all her works, from the early Dialogue to her more mature works, the Miroir, the Comédie des Innocents, the Triumphe de l’Agneau, the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan and her poetic masterpiece the Prisons. Even such works that may appear as Platonic interpretations of the nature of human love as the Heptaméron<sup>101</sup>, must be read as influenced by Briçonnet’s views on the human comedy. If her conception of man as a vessel in her Navire has Platonic overtones, was it not Briçonnet who wrote to her: “Les deux navires sont l’ame et le corps, uniz par grandeur et charité; les compaignons sont les sens de l’esperit et du corps, par lesquelz excersent respectivement leurs operacions, predominant l’ame, et seulle gectant le retz et, après la prinse, appelant le navire corporel...” (Correspondance, 2, p. 45).

My aim is to disentangle Marguerite’s cryptic net of hermetic ideas and symbols, which abound both in Briçonnet’s letters to her and in her mystic works, familiarizing the modern reader with

certain themes that make their works so difficult to us. No doubt their Correspondance was viewed by both Marguerite and Briçonnet as a genre for publication, if the Sorbonne had not intervened against the cause of Meaux in 1525. If Marguerite’s contemporaries had been able to enjoy her writings:

Suffise vous, ò lecteurs, de sçavoir  
Que c'est la fleur du monde, Marguerite.  
(Oraison funèbre, p. 131)

there is no reason why modern readers should be too reluctant in accepting all her contrivances, her inventiveness, paradoxical thinking, cryptic meanings, mystic riddles, hermetic symbols, forming one of the most striking productions of the early French Renaissance. An analysis of four of her works, followed by a more general study of her poetical symbols, will no doubt help to interpret such a complex net of ideas that show both the end of medieval preoccupations and the birth of new concerns and interests that are much nearer to the generation that arose after Marguerite's time.

I must not therefore separate this problem of style from our central point of the Queen's commitment to the mystical ideas of the school of Meaux. Every chapter will show that there is a connection between spiritual thinking and stylistic devices, but Chapter 6 will demonstrate that there is a link between the initiation she underwent between 1521 and 1524 under the direction of Briçonnet, and her constant hermetic use of symbols and paradoxes. Her mystic ideas were expounded, not as spiritual treatises, but as literary works, and it will be through the analysis of her poems and plays that I hope to organize a "corpus doctrinae" that may place Marguerite among the mystic writers of her generation.

## CHAPTER TWO

### The Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne as an illustration of “Thy will be done”

#### I

The first major poetic work that we possess by Marguerite is her Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne. It may not appear to be a particularly beautiful poem since she seems to be more concerned with rendering her ideas clearly, as well as with portraying her state of mind after a series of family tragedies, than with the actual presentation of her poetic feelings<sup>102</sup>: its style does not lack some charm occasionally when she lets herself be carried away by certain themes through a series of word images that render her state of bewilderment at that time<sup>103</sup>. Technically, however, the poem must be considered as an innovation in introducing the terza rima into French<sup>104</sup>.

Still under the strong influence of Briçonnet's teaching, she tried what one could call the first mystic attempt of a proficient pupil, almost ready to liberate herself. Pierre Jourda had already suggested in 1927 that there were more than slight indications that the real source of the Dialogue was one of Briçonnet's letters to the Queen shortly after the death at Blois of the French princess Charlotte<sup>105</sup>. More recently, Christine Martineau and Christian Grouzelle have pursued this idea, proving that most of the ideas of the Dialogue come from one of the letters by Briçonnet:

Marguerite a composé son Dialogue sous l'impression de la lettre de Briçonnet du 15 septembre 1524, qui s'en révèle être la source directe. Sur cette première affirmation il est inutile de nous attarder: parmi les notes mises à l'édition celles qui signalent les recoupements entre les deux montrent avec évidence que les principaux thèmes et développements de l'épître du prélat sont passés dans le poème de la Duchesse d'Alençon.<sup>106</sup>

Marguerite had written to the Bishop of Meaux telling him how the young princess had appeared and talked to King François in a dream shortly after her death: “Adieu mon Roy, je voy en paradis...” (Correspondance, 2, p. 272). Briçonnet's answer was obviously a letter of sympathy with practical advice on how a Christian should face the problem of death<sup>107</sup>. Shortly afterwards Marguerite mentions in a letter dated October 1524 that she has already the draft of a text she would like Briçonnet to read and approve: “Et si Dieu veult que quelque chose commencée soit finée, bien que mal et mauvais langage, vous en auriez le pouvoir de correction,

où vous voirrez le debat que me faictes avant l'avoir veu estre, non si bien mais suivant vostre propos, comme si en pareil temps l'Esperit avoit aux deux parlé..." (ibid., 2, p. 292)

Did, therefore, Marguerite write the Dialogue, as Jourda had first suggested, to influence the King in favour of the group of Meaux?<sup>108</sup> Or was it intended, as this letter implies, as a mystic exercise to put into poetry Briçonnet's writing? I would be inclined to believe that through this work Marguerite was proving to Briçonnet that she was a proficient pupil and she no longer needed her "day-to-day" exchange of letters with him. Critics have often misread both Marguerite's first submission to the prelate in 1521 and her apparently sudden breaking off of their Correspondance shortly after the Dialogue was begun. It was quite normal to withdraw the "surrender of one's mind to a master" after a time of probation, as can still be seen in religious orders, where a novice is required to spend some time, which varies from one to three years as a rule, in almost total submission. Briçonnet in fact used the metaphor of Weaning in one of his letters, no doubt implying that learning and growing up were the aims of his instruction (ibid., 2, p. 175). Was Marguerite by September 1524 proving that she had learnt her lesson of initiation? Her Dialogue at least shows that she wanted Briçonnet to know how ready she felt to express her feelings of grief in a far more independent way than their Correspondance.

An analysis of the Dialogue proves that there are several levels at which Marguerite speaks; she not only regrets Charlotte's death in September 1524 or expresses her ideas on death and life, but she is carried away into long discussions and digressions all the time. However, if one would defend the unity of the poem, one must put it in some sort of order. It seems to me that the poem is not a confused series of themes piled up in 1,293 lines, but an attempt to organise the writer's thoughts around a central point. I would suggest a threefold level of ideas, realising both that all such divisions can only be artificial and that Marguerite is not very logical or orderly in the presentation of her material, though she is careful enough to begin and end with the same motive on "death and life" (Dialogue, vv. 1-2 and 1279-1291).

The poem naturally begins with Marguerite's deep grief after the death of her beloved niece. It is Charlotte who begins to assume a dominant role in it almost from the start of the Dialogue, *viz.* that of Master, by adopting a sort of teaching very much like that of Briçonnet in the Correspondance<sup>109</sup>. She clearly states the "evangelical credo" that was spreading through the influence of the Meaux group, particularly through

Lefèvre d'Étaples and Briçonnet, who were opposed to superstitious practices and preached the purity of the gospel<sup>110</sup>. What escapes a few critics when reading this poem of Marguerite's is the realisation that it was written shortly after Erasmus had finished his Discourse on Free Will against Luther in 1524<sup>111</sup>, and that the Dialogue had to receive the approval of Briçonnet, who had also condemned Luther the previous year on 15 October 1523<sup>112</sup>. Charlotte (i.e. Briçonnet) advises Marguerite neither to side with Erasmus, whose letters were ignored by the Queen in 1525 and 1527, nor to come out in defence of Luther's proclamation of the supremacy of faith over the human condition, and to keep a cool detachment in controversial matters.

It is only too obvious to insist on the polemic nature of the Dialogue, which reveals the nature of the problems of its time, particularly the venomous arguments on faith and free will. Marguerite wishes to know which opinion to follow; first on free will:

Las! Madame, donnez moy congnoissance:  
Ne m'a pas Dieu donné ung Franc Arbitre  
Pour en avoir entière jouyssance?  
(Dialogue, vv. 493-495)<sup>113</sup>

and secondly on works:

Nous n'avons donques besoning de faire bien,  
Ne bon oeuvre, puis que l'estimez,  
Mais nous fier que nous aurons le sien.  
(vv. 1000-1002)

In both cases it is Marguerite, not Charlotte, who presents the problem, while the latter tries to pursue the argument, now expressing one point of view, now the other, occasionally adopting strong pro-Lutheran overtones: Charlotte speaks of the "enslaved will", a particularly favourite theme of the reformer:

Qui de péché est prins et entaché  
Serf de péché sans liberté devient,  
Et dans la peau d'ung vieil homme caché.  
(vv. 511-514)

Thirdly the validity of prayers to the saints is argued, which had been belittled by Luther (vv. 571-573), and finally of predestination (vv. 448-450), but Marguerite avoids siding with the reformer, as she will give a different solution to all these problems.

## II

There is a clear danger of falling into a trap when reading all these and similar passages of the Dialogue, particularly certain sections dedicated to the discussions on free will (ibid., vv. 433-469) and on grace and human works (ibid., vv. 580-652). The fact that Charlotte exposes these ideas does not automatically imply that she accepts them, at least not in the Lutheran context. R. Marichal, to mention but one critic, for instance, seems to overlook the complexity of the problem when he writes:

C'est le Christ qui mérite pour nous; les "oeuvres" n'y peuvent rien ajouter. La Princesse Charlotte ne veut même pas leur accorder cette valeur de préparation à l'action de la grace que leur attribue Lefèvre. Comme pour Luther, pour elle, elles ne sont que la conséquence de l'amour, le signe de l'union à Dieu, la démonstration de la foi. Et Charlotte de prêcher avec insistance sur ce theme pour dissiper les erreurs de sa tante.<sup>114</sup>

Contrary to what Luther taught, and following the footsteps of Lefèvre and Briçonnet, Charlotte is not interested in knowing anything, since the whole discord between Erasmus and Luther was, according to her, a trivial discussion. The anti-speculative character of the Dialogue has been too often disregarded; as can be seen, Charlotte evidently dislikes the whole affair:

Ne vous mettez, Tante , en tel esmoy,  
Car le sçavoir de riens ne vous proffitte,  
Riens ne povez sans Dieu: dire le doib;

Mais si en luy vous estes bien conficte,  
Vous trouverez la Franche Liberté  
Que avoit Péché en Adam desconfite.  
(vv. 913-918)

She clearly warns Marguerite that she must forget the whole thing, adopting an attitude rather common among mystics like Thomas à Kempis or St. Teresa of Avila<sup>115</sup>; she must leave the discussion to the doctors and scholars, who think they know everything:

Je vous prie que ces fascheux debatz  
D'Arbitre Franc et Liberté laissez,  
Aux grandz docteurs qui l'ayantz ne l'ont pas.  
(vv. 961-963)



Real faith exceeds all reasoning, and where there is Faith there is no need for discussion (vv. 631-633). The supremacy of Faith over reason is stressed by the use of a capital “F”:

Regnant la Foy, raison sera destruite  
Pour commencer l’âme à édifier.<sup>116</sup>  
(vv. 269-270)

Brignonnet must have felt very pleased when reading these last verses, since the Queen had proved to be an excellent pupil who had absorbed his entire evangelical teaching, remaining faithful to the Meaux credo. In the Dialogue, for instance, saints are venerated as God’s mirrors, an idea not very helpful to the Lutheran cause:

Louez en eulx dieu, qui est leur estampe,  
Forge, patron, exemple et limage,  
Marteau et feu, pollissouer et trempe.  
(vv. 427-429)

To Marguerite’s question whether prayer to the saints was of any use (vv. 736-738). Charlotte answers by accepting the evangelical teaching of the group of Meaux on prayer to God’s faithful servants:

Je respondray donc à vostre demande.  
Si vous aymez bien vostre createur,  
Vous aimez tous ceulx qui sont de sa bende.<sup>117</sup>  
(vv. 739-741)

She avoids the Lutheran opposition between grace and free will by accepting that man is really free when God’s grace accompanies his acts:

Si l’on pense que sur ce corps de terre  
Sans la grace de Dieu l’on ayt puissance,  
Clest follie, et qui le croit il erre.  
(vv. 490-492)

identifying, according to the spiritual teaching of the mystics, the antithesis “freedom versus works” with the dichotomy “soul versus body” that runs parallel to the irreconcilable “in Christ” and “with Adam”. I cannot see the Lutheran connotations that some critics claim to trace in the Dialogue. “If man chooses to follow Adam and his works then he cannot be really free” is Charlotte’s motto. Luther’s doctrine is far more intellectual and far more drastic: man cannot be said to be really free since all his free actions are dictated by God’s grace<sup>118</sup>.

Charlotte, instead, concentrates upon a more positive teaching on Christocentric themes. The idea of Christ, the advocate between man and God, appears at the centre of the Dialogue:

Saint Paul au vray en a le tout escript, [I John 2,1]  
En appellant Jesus, par motz exprès,  
Nostre advocat (...)  
(vv. 361-363)

The same idea is expressed through a series of images that recur throughout the poem and give it perhaps its peculiar poetical charm. The image of the “tree” appears very often and is perhaps the real solution to the polemical side of the Dialogue: Christ is the “tree” [John 15] we are its “branches”; since we must be grafted onto Him to have life, we can only be free in Him. We are corrupted in Adam (vv. 667-669), but as long as we live in Christ, our works must be said to be good since we are His branches:

Ayant la Foy qui excède raison.  
En Jesuchrist vous croyant sa parole,  
Branche serez de luy toute saison.<sup>119</sup>  
(vv. 631-633)

Christ is for Charlotte the one who solves the problem of the opposition between reason (man’s) and grace (God’s) since, being the God-man, He can unite the two opposing principles.

### III

It must be stressed that these two central ideas, i.e. that knowledge helps little to an understanding of the problem of the will against grace, and that the only solution is that we are grafted onto Christ and so we are free, are the two themes that appear in the letter that Briçonnet wrote to Marguerite on 15 september 1524. The Bishop contributes with the themes that were to be expanded in the Dialogue: “...si bienheureux (...) est qui par unyon celere et prompte est par grâce preservé et n’est jamais descheu de l’arbre de vie par presumptueux desir de trop scavoir et ne s’est caché par sa nudité...” (Correspondance, 2, p. 269).

What really matters when reading this poem is the realisation that the teaching of the school of Meaux recurs all the time in contrast to the polemical attitude of Marguerite’s contemporaries. The prelate had been instructing her for three years, initiating her into a cryptic language. There

are ways of sharing the divine knowledge, Briçonnet would insist: “plus on en gouste, [plus] la fain croist en desir assouvi insaciable. Ledict metz purge, illumine et parfaict creature, par foy inserée en filiacion divine” (ibid., 2, p. 92).<sup>120</sup>

The same is expressed by Charlotte, using the traditional tripartite division of the mystic writers:

Mais la bonté de Dieu, qui taus 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 (...)  
(vv. 514-519)

Mystic teaching has always maintained with St. Paul that love is higher than faith and hope (1 Corinthians 13,13). Marguerite's hymn to love in her Dialogue has not been stressed sufficiently by her critics; in my opinion it appears in the poem as an illustration of her tenets on the thorny problem of faith and free will. The “lover”, by identifying his will with that of the beloved, can liberate himself of sin in this way; Charlotte uses a series of images such as Fire and Sun to explain the purifying effects of love:

Amour est feu, qui la piquante ortye  
Noircist, seiche, eschauffe et enflamme,  
Tant qu'en cendre l'ayt toute convertie.

Amour est plus qu'ung clair soleil sans blasme,  
Qui prend plaisir passer le clair voirre,  
Et en jouyr sans qu'il rompe ou entame.

Amour est ung sy très puissant tonnoire,  
Qu'il brusle tout là où il tumble ou rue,  
Laisant soudain l'homme vif cendre ou terre.

Amour est dieu seant sur ciel et nue,  
Estant pour tout selon son ban plaisir,  
Devant lequel n'y a chose incongneue.<sup>121</sup>  
(vv. 277-288)

It is not by chance that Marguerite plays with the letter “M”, as in this tercet of the Dialogue, where even the most difficult Christian commandment to love one’s enemies becomes easier through Love (Luke 6,27):

Mais quant le cueur en vray amour est myz,  
 Il ayme fort par amour amoureuse  
 Non seulement amyz, mais ennemyz.<sup>122</sup>  
 (vv. 754-756)

A similar alliteration occurs a few lines later, illustrating another passage of the Gospel; this time she plays with the letter “V”, defining Christ (God) as the Way, the Truth and the Life<sup>123</sup>:

Il est vie, et verité et voye;  
 Par luy qui est Voye, nous fault passer,  
 Et Verité à Vie nous convoie.  
 (vv. 805-807)

These lines evoke in the reader another parallel passage from the Queen’s Miroir de l’âme pecheresse, in which she also plays with the two soft consonants “V” and “M”, introducing this time, in this double alliteration, the word “mort” to the other key concepts “vie” and “amour”. Marguerite plays with the “V” and “M” alliterations and with the antithetical themes Life-Death:

Amour, amour, vous ayez faict l’accord,  
 Faisant unir à la vie la mort;  
 Mais l’union a mort vivifiée,  
Vie mourant d’amour deifiée,  
Vie sans fin a faict riostre mort vive.  
Mort a donné a vie mort neïfye.  
 Par ceste mort, moy morte, recoy vie;  
 Et au vivant, par la mort, je suis rayye.  
 En vous je vys; quant a moy, je suis morte.  
Mort ne m’est plus que d’une prison porte.

Vie m’est mort, car par mort suis vivante.  
Vie me rend triste, et mort me contente.  
 O quel mourir! qui faict mon ame vivre,  
 En la rendant par mort, de mort delivre.  
 Unie a vous par amour si puissante,  
 Que sans mourir elle meurt languissante.  
 (Miroir, vv. 881-896)<sup>124</sup>

Love and life are for Marguerite one and the same thing. Was she not thinking of the word “mort” when first alliterating with the word “amour” in the Dialogue? The text of the Miroir seems to confirm it, and the opposition between “vie” and “mort” appears in the poem as the central points she wanted to illustrate; Charlotte had died and the Duchess was full of grief at her loss. Charlotte feels that she has to give an answer to her cry:

Repondez moy, o doulce âme vivante,  
 Qui par la mort qui les fols espovente  
 Avez este d’ung petit corps delivre, (...)  
 (Dialogue, vv. 1-3)

the young princess urges her aunt not to take this attitude: “Tante, tante, de cela vous fault taire” (v. 115), explaining that life is not life but death, and that death is the only door to true life, in a passage that emphasises the heaviness of the body as against the lightness of the soul. These antitheses will later be developed in the Prisons. In the Dialogue they occupy a prominent place and serve to alleviate Marguerite’s sorrows: Death-Life appears as Heaviness-Lightness:

Je vous prometz, ma tante, sans mentir,  
 Que quant le corps, par douleur affoibly,  
 S’appesantist jusques à terre sentir,  
  
 Et l’esperit, par amour annobly,  
Tire tout droict au ciel par tel desir,  
 Que l’âme met tout son corps en oubly.  
 (vv. 208-213)

Man’s soul is imprisoned in the body by Adam’s fault (vv. 508-510), but can be liberated by God’s grace from his chains (vv. 544-546). Mystic writers are often obsessed with their feelings of Lightness and Heaviness<sup>125</sup>. Briçonnet, for instance, compares this experience to the unweighty Perfume, which has no “gravesse et pesanteur quelconque” (Correspondance, 2, p. 89).

It would be impossible to understand the Dialogue as a united work if we do not explain all its debates on freedom and grace through its main themes, the triumph over death and the feeling of liberation; these are explained through a series of images that justify the poem as a poetical work. Charlotte uses the image of being alight like a candle to teach Marguerite that the joy of light is intensified by death:

Ma lumière elle n'a point deffaïcte,  
Mais seulement a mouché la chandelle  
Dont la clarté trop plus grand est refaïcte.  
(vv. 163-165)

She also emphasises the feeling of being delivered from earthly existence through a series of images, such as being rescued from choking, from drowning and hanging (vv. 226-228). The feeling of being uprooted and given shape like timber is particularly interesting in Charlotte's teaching. God gives a divine resemblance to man (a Platonic concept) when his earthly sap has dried up:

Avant que soit ung gros arbre escarté,  
De la terre il le fault arracher,  
Et le tirer hors du desert esgaré,

Et puis après le fault tout esbrancher  
Et charpenter, tant qu'il plaist au grand maistre,  
A qui le bois sur bois a cousté cher.  
(vv. 244-249)

#### IV

If I have followed, intentionally, the inverse order in the analysis of the themes of the Dialogue, it is not a rhetorical device, but because I believe that the grief of Marguerite in this poem could not be explained without a thorough discussion of the whole poem. Her feeling of "entrusting her life to God's hands" runs parallel to that of "let God take over my life if I want to live". This does not occur in just a few passages, as P. Jourda seems to imply, but throughout the whole Dialogue, which is totally permeated by this mystic passiveness or Quietism: Charlotte speaks of the will of God taking over:<sup>126</sup>

Oh! que grand bien pour vous, Tante, sera  
Si le vouloir de dieu vous laissez faire  
Sans résister, ainsy qu'il pensera!  
(vv. 583-585)

A similar expression appears later in the poem, again put in Charlotte's mouth:

(...). Il fault premièrement  
Adorer dieu en pure et vive Foy,

Se confiant en luy entièrement;  
L'aymer du cueur, sans nulle fiction:  
J'entends Tout Seul et souverainement.  
(vv. 731-735)

I have taken the trouble to note the expression used by Marguerite, as voiced by Charlotte in this Dialogue with her aunt, to indicate that only acceptance of God's will, with Quietist connotations of "passivity", can restore peace to the Queen's mind. This is indicated by the varying meaning of words such as "cesser", "se fier", "laisser", "se confier", "sans résister", although they do not in every case have Quietist connotations; they sometimes imply orders not from God but from Charlotte herself: in v. 88, for instance, Charlotte tells Marguerite not to cry any longer, using one of these expressions:

Cesser le pleur de desolation  
Qui procède de la chair et du sang,  
Où trop avez myz vostre affection.  
(vv. 88-90)

meaning, "accept my death". The reason for this acceptance is that it was desired by God as Charlotte will teach when resuming the same theme towards the end of the Dialogue (v.1238). Marguerite must no longer discuss what man wills but what God wishes; she must simply accept His will without further discussion, as we have already seen in lines 961 and 962 on free will. Her exhortation is emphasized by her insistence on the verb "laisser" shortly afterwards:

Laissez voller oyseaux et courir bestes,  
Laissez parler ceulx qui se cuydent saiges,  
Laissez rompre aux obstinez leurs testes.  
(vv. 970-973)

The verb "se laisser" played an important role in the religious discussions in the sixteenth century. Some years after Marguerite's Dialogue, Montaigne also used a similar expression at the end of his celebrated "Apologie de Raymond Sebond", an essay often accused of Fideism: "...se laissant hausser et soublever par les moyens purement celestes"<sup>127</sup>. One can argue that Montaigne and Marguerite were very different personalities. Nevertheless, both adopt a similar position against the power of reason to bring certainty in life. Charlotte speaks:

Lhors est raison sur les sens souveraine;  
Mais toutesfois il ne s'y fault fier,  
Car contre Foy deviendrait trop haultaine.  
(vv. 265-267)

One could almost say that this is a synthesis of the Quietist position: do not trust reason, still less your senses. Charlotte defines living faith as “se fier en Dieu” (vv. 184-185). For once Marguerite herself speaks about “se fier”, but her position was too close to Luther’s ideas (vv. 1000-1002), and Charlotte had to intervene:

Vos motz ne sont pas saignement liméz.  
Impossible est vous garder de bien faire,  
Si vostre dieu parfaitement ayez.  
(vv. 1003-1005)

Marguerite clearly adopts the Socratic procedure by question and answer in the Dialogue, expressing not so much her own beliefs as eliciting the correct replies from her young niece Charlotte<sup>128</sup>. The starting point for the poem may have been François Ier’s dream and conversation with the young princess. From this Marguerite builds up a whole dialogue in which fundamental points are discussed, such as:

- 1) Man cannot have first-hand experience of God while still alive, (vv. 127-134)
- 2) Death is the door to this knowledge (vv. 241- 273)
- 3) Love is the nearest gift to this knowledge (vv. 274-288)
- 4) Christ’s role is to link man to the Divine (vv. 307- 336)
- 5) Passive attitude towards the complex discussions on theological themes (vv. 496-997)
- 6) Liberation from earthly pain and death (vv. 1-126)

The poem leads her to the Platonic realisation that death is the door to total bliss, which cannot easily be accepted without the gift of faith.

Marguerite feels mystically transformed in the last line of the Dialogue, seeing her niece going up to Heaven (vv. 1289-1293)<sup>129</sup>. Indeed, Charlotte has left her in a sort of ecstatic state of mind, which, to my mind, reflects the general mood of the Dialogue. The poem ends in a kind of mystic rapture similar to that felt by the disciples at the moment of Christ’s ascension into Heaven (Acts 1), (vv. 1279-1293). Its purpose is to illustrate Briçonnet’s teaching: be absorbed by the will of God in the same way as Charlotte is in Heaven. No critic has yet remarked that this poem, the first



poetic work by Marguerite, may be considered as a mystic illustration of the teaching of the will of God in the New Testament. After a careful reading we can see that it is possible to reconstruct many of the basic themes of the Lord's Prayer. It insists on the uselessness of the mechanical repetition of prayers (Matthew, Introduction to the prayer, 6,2):

Vous avez beau dire le Paternostre,  
Oyr vespres. matines et prou messes.  
Peu de bien est ce que dehors se monstre.  
(vv. 571-573)

Marguerite's evangelical commitment to purify religion from spurious practices prompts her to use the neologism "paternostrer", which echoes Rabelais's bitter criticism on hypocritical observances (Gargantua, 17), (Matthew 6, 7):

(...) Incessament. Non pas que à genoulx  
Paternostrant en l'église soyez.  
(vv. 871-872)

The themes of the Lord's Prayer appear scattered throughout the whole poem: God's fatherhood (Matthew 6,9) is at the very core of the Dialogue (vv. 127-129); prayer must be unselfish since God's goodness must be praised for its own sake (Matthew 6,9), (vv. 779-780); God's will must prevail over man's capricious desires (Matthew 6,10), (vv. 583-585)<sup>130</sup>. The Divine Goodness must be praised both in Heaven and on earth (Matthew 6, 10), (vv. 856-858). God helps us to free ourselves from our sins (Matthew reads: "Forgive us our sins", 6,12) (vv. 475-476 and 478-480) and finally his love and forgiveness encourage us to pardon each other's faults (Matthew 6,12), (vv. 754-756)<sup>131</sup>.

Charlotte would, finally, like Marguerite freed from danger of sin (Matthew 6, 13) as she herself is now, while enjoying the presence of God:

Delivrée suis de la tentation  
De tout danger de mon dieu offenser  
Par dict, par faict, ne par intention.  
(vv. 139-141)

In fact a whole section of the Dialogue (vv. 538-889) looks like a treatise on prayer, or, if we prefer to see in this poem a loose paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, it can be presented as an illustration of one of its many

themes, “thy will be done”. Mystics are very fond of all its topics<sup>132</sup>: Gregory of Nyssa, for instance, wrote a mystic treatise explaining the “Paternoster”<sup>133</sup>. Meister Eckhart also commented on it, verse by verse<sup>134</sup>, and Luther followed a long tradition of commentators of the Lord’s Prayer with a mystic exposition in 1518<sup>135</sup>, while still under the strong influence of the *Theologie Deutsch*, a famous mystic text, which he edited in 1516<sup>136</sup>.

We now know, thanks to W.G. Moore, that Marguerite used this commentary of the Lord’s Prayer by Luther in a mystic poem that was published by E. Parturier as “Le Pater Noster faict en translation directe et le dialogue par la Reine de Navarre”<sup>137</sup> fact a transposition into verse of the young reformer’s commentary, which she wrote about the same time as the *Dialogue* or shortly afterwards<sup>138</sup>. Since Marguerite knew no German, we must presume that she depended on a translation, the work probably of a defender of reforming ideas in France, even if Luther’s exposition of the Lord’s Prayer is entirely traditional.

If it is true that the internal structure of the *Dialogue* does not follow the thematic structure of the Lord’s Prayer, which is divided into personal requests to God, it must not be overlooked that between 1524 and 1527 Marguerite’s mind was preoccupied by its teaching, as can be seen in a letter to Briçonnet in which she asked for a spiritual explanation of the Biblical passage of the Pater Noster. Letter 103 of the *Correspondance* reads: “Et si l’Esprit, congnoissant en vous, a parfaict l’oraison donnée du Pere par le Filz [i.e. the Lord’s Prayer], sans oublier l’espitre de saint Denis, dont Madame a desir, je vous en demanderay voluntiers, sans crainte de reffus, le double...” (*Correspondance*, 2, p. 162)

We do not know what happened to Briçonnet’s letter-treatise mentioned here by Marguerite. He was not always quick in complying with her wishes, and if it was ever written, it was not collected by the amanuensis in the manuscript of the *Correspondance*, abruptly interrupted in November of that year. The spirit of the Lord’s Prayer is, nevertheless, present in both Briçonnet’s letter written to the Duchess shortly after the Death of young Princess Charlotte and in Marguerite’s *Dialogue*; both must be interpreted as an outlet to their personal grief as well as a mystic illustration of one of the Pater Noster’s main requests: “Thy will be done on earth” rather than ours.

**CHAPTER THREE**  
**Le Miroir de l'âme pécheresse:**  
**Mystic Enigma as against Earthly Vision**

**I**

The coolness that accompanied the publication of Marguerite's Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne and the secret popularity of her Miroir de l'âme pécheresse still remain a mystery. Finished about 1530,<sup>139</sup> the Miroir first appeared in 1531 and was available to the public in 1533 in at least four editions that we know of, the very year when it had to be rescued from the scrutiny of the Sorbonne by the dramatic intervention of Marguerite's brother, King Francis himself.

The early editions had been published by Simon Dubois and Antoine Augereau, who were both engaged in the publication of Lutheran literature, and who were anxious to find controversial subjects for their clients.<sup>140</sup> It still remains obscure to what extent Marguerite agreed to and approved of the editor's obvious use of the Miroir for propaganda purposes, since the Paris edition appeared with a French translation of Sebaldus Heyden's debatable "Salve Jesuchriste", a prayer in which all the titles traditionally attributed to Our Lady in the "Salve Regina" are attributed to Christ. M. Holban, for instance, implies that this biased presentation prevents us from seeing the real nature of her poem and has caused a general misrepresentation of the key ideas in this controversial work:

"Si l'on a pu se tromper sur la portée de cette oeuvre [she writes], la faute en est à l'édition parisienne du Miroir qui, au lieu de reproduire le titre exact tel qu'il parut en 1531, en composa un autre, peut-être même sans l'aveu de la reine. Car cette réédition du Miroir avait pour but de couvrir de l'autorité de la soeur du roi le contenu assez agressif du petit opuscule faisant suite."<sup>141</sup>

Most of the unanswered questions about the Miroir's connections with the Lutheran cause in France are due to the difficulty in determining the authorship of the "Je te salue, Jesuchrist" that appeared in some editions. Did Marguerite add a French translation of her own of Sebaldus Heyden's "Salve Jesuchriste" or was her Miroir a good opportunity for smuggling somebody else's ideas into an otherwise orthodox book? According to an authority as reliable as W.G. Moore, the style of the "Salve Jesuchriste" translation: "Je te salue Jesuchrist", could be attributed to Marguerite.<sup>142</sup> L. Febvre has retraced the story of the translation of the

“Salve Regina” as published by Moore in 1930.<sup>143</sup> Febvre speaks of a certain cleric, Dumoulin, who in 1526 translated Sebaldus Heyden’s Latin transposition “Salve Jesuchriste, rex misericordiae” (1525) into French. In my opinion the “Je te salue Jesuchrist, roy de misericorde” that appeared in the Augereau edition of the Miroir in 1533 was written by someone else, and not by the Queen of Navarre. Although Moore emphasises the differences in the two texts, it could be as easy to stress the similarities, not only with the Latin text from which both depend, but between the two French versions. On top of this the prayer that follows the poem that appeared in the Miroir, has a clearly liturgical shape, ending with the customary doxology, which is quite different from the free Pauline Doxology at the end of the Miroir, vv. 1431-1435, or the simple one at the end of the Oraison: “Louange à Dieu seul” (v. 155).

It will be difficult to establish how much part the Queen had in the insertion of the “Je te salue Jesuchrist”. The work betrays the hand of a cleric and it appears unlikely that she would have been interested in the translation of formal liturgical texts. Weiss comments otherwise: “bien faite pour exasperer les clerciaux”.<sup>144</sup> It would be more relevant to remark that there is a passage in a letter of Briçonnet that is closely related to the spirit of the Je te salue Jesuchrist, but notice the use of non-liturgical doxologies, in the manner of St Paul en et par Jesus: “Loué soit le superceleste Pere de misericorde et seigneur de toute consolacion, qui en et par son debonnaire filz a voullu engloutir et absorber toute tribulation (...)” (Correspondance, 2, pp. 33-34). The parallel between this text and the “Salve regina” is obvious. Perhaps the Queen approved the addition of the Je te salue Jesuchrist to the Miroir, since it resembled certain less radical ideas that were taught at Meaux, as this letter of Briçonnet clearly shows.

It is due to these historical controversies that a cloudy veil has been thrown over the real nature of Marguerite’s Miroir. Admittedly some of its passages speak of “Jesus l’advocat” and reject any other connection between man and God:

Et puis, je voy n’avoir accusateur  
Que Jesuchrist, qui est man redempteur,  
Qui par sa mort no us a restitué  
L’heritage, et s’est constitué  
Nostre advocat, devant Dieu presentant  
Ses merites, qui sont et vallent tant ( ... )  
(Miroir, vv. 1147-1152)

Christ is often presented as the only saviour, and as our defender before God:

O Jesuchrist, des ames vray pescheur  
 Et seul sauveur, amy sur tous amys,  
 Mon advocat icy vous estes mys,  
 Parlant pour moy, me daignant excuser,  
 Où me povez justement accuser.  
 (ibid., vv. 1164-1168)

This may have given Antoine Augereau, one of the publishers of the Miroir, a good pretext for inserting, first the translation of the "Salve Jesuchriste" and then a translation into French of the "VI Pseume de David" by Clement Marot from the original Hebrew in an edition that has the name neither of the publisher nor of the author.<sup>145</sup> The overzealous Faculty of the Sorbonne thought it had all gone too far, and the text of the Miroir was seized for examination. The unfortunate Augereau had to go through a far more complicated trial since he was burnt at the stake in the next year, on 24 December 1534.<sup>146</sup>

What elements of Lutheran propaganda did the Sorbonne find in the Miroir? Fortunately for posterity a copy of the "Procès verbaux" of the Faculty between the years 1505 and 1533 survives in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris.<sup>147</sup> Through this document we realise that, although the Sorbonne formally states that it had neither condemned nor examined Marguerite's Miroir,<sup>148</sup> this could only be because their Syndicus, Noel Béda, had already been exiled from Paris shortly before for his overt opposition to the preaching of Gerard Roussel, Marguerite's almoner, and they wished to avoid a second scandal.<sup>149</sup> We may be able to throw some light on the way the Faculty of the Sorbonne scrutinized the Miroir, by looking at the way its Doctors dealt with cases like G. Roussel's Lenten preaching at the royal court in 1533. We know that on 26 April of that year they held a meeting on: "quid agendum esset contra errores qui dicuntur hac quadragesima in pluribus cathedris hujus civitatis Parisiensis publice predicari, et de certis scedulis passim super indulgentiarum publicatione que dicuntur communi omnium consensu scandalose(...) quod scilicet videntur omnino tenere aut saltem fovere doctrinam lutheranam."<sup>150</sup> Witnesses were sent to collect evidence, particularly against Roussel within three days: "(...) et interim colligerent omnes articulos erroneos quos audire potuerunt predicatos fuisse per predictum Roussel et quod presentarentur intra triduum sibi aut consilio."<sup>151</sup> On 15 May 1533 the two witnesses appeared before the Faculty; one, called Boisel, refused to give evidence except "coram iudicibus"; the other, called Salignac, answered "audacter" that he had heard nothing unorthodox on controversial doctrines such as "de meritis", "de veneratione sanctorum", "de fide", "de Ecclesia et ejus potestate".<sup>152</sup>

The case did not end here. We know from a letter by Calvin that a comedy was performed at the College of Navarre, in which both Roussel and Marguerite had been satirized: Marguerite had been portrayed as being turned into a Fury at the vision of the Megaera (M.G. i.e. Maître Gerard).<sup>153</sup> Calvin then records a second personal attack against the Queen when a certain theologian, Nicholas Leclerc, who had been delegated by the Sorbonne to draw a list of books from the Paris bookshops, had seized, among others, Rabelais's *Pantagruel* and a book that had been published without the approval of the Faculty called *Le Miroir de l'ame pécheresse*. On 23 October, King Francis I had to write a paternal letter to the Sorbonne, and on the 27th of that month the whole Faculty signed a document stating that no one had condemned nor seen the *Miroir*.<sup>154</sup>

History however speaks otherwise: as far back as 2 May 1515, the Sorbonne had already recommended to François Ier a "Miroir", *Speculum oculare*, written by Jean Reuchlin, for condemnation by the Pope, on account of criticisms which it levelled against the Faculty of the Sorbonne.<sup>155</sup> There were obvious reasons why the *Miroir* by Marguerite had been selected for examination: first of all the poem appeared without the approval of the Faculty and it contained certain references to controversial subjects such as the role of faith in the justification of the sinner;<sup>156</sup> it also emphasised the indifference of human "œuvres", and what is more serious, a Hebrew text rather than the sacrosanct Latin Vulgate text had been chosen for the translation of a psalm of David by Marot, which was added to the *Miroir* by the editors. The Faculty's policy on the translations of the Bible<sup>157</sup> since 1523 was to consider them as "pernicieuses ( ...) et par conséquent qu'elles ne devaient pas être permises ni tolérées, mais éliminées de l'Eglise par les prélats de toute manière"<sup>158</sup> as A. Clerval noted. Charles Duplessis d'Argentré, in his *Collectio iudiciorum* of the Sorbonne, summarizes still more precisely the policy of the Faculty as regards the use of the Bible from sources other than the Vulgate: "(...) ne bibliam juxta graecum sermonem et hebraicum interpretarentur sine permissu et auctoritate universi studii Parisiensis. Cui postulatione Catholicus Procurator Regis annuit. Praeterea Theologi Parisienses Senatui rogarunt, ut iisdem novis Professari bus Regii Collegii interdiceretur, ne in suis interpretationibus biblice pro lege enuntiarent: "ita fertur in Hebraicis litteris", sive "Graecis". Perinde quasi hujusmodi interpretatio Vulgatae editioni Latinae, quam a tot abhinc saeculis Latina Ecclesia retinet, anteponenda sit".<sup>159</sup> In the light of this historical background one wonders whether Marguerite's edition of the *Miroir* would have escaped the scrutiny of the Sorbonne uncensored without the personal intervention of her brother.

Nevertheless, in spite of the Faculty's possible secret intentions about the future of the Miroir as a pro-Lutheran book, the question of its orthodoxy still remains open. Is the Miroir a Lutheran work because it proclaims the universality of sin, or because it preaches that the justification of the sinner can only be attained by pure faith? Briçonnet, a clear case of an anti-Lutheran thinker, had also taught these doctrines as we can read in one of his letters to Marguerite,<sup>160</sup> and yet the Sorbonne praised his utter Catholic orthodoxy.<sup>161</sup> A. Lefranc's influence has been too strong on most critics, who have tried to see solely Lutheran traces in the Miroir and the Discord. In fact they show incompetence in their exposition of the sources of ideas such as the "role of faith in the justification of man", since these concepts are quite orthodox in themselves.<sup>162</sup> She underlines the main effects of faith on the believer, such as his return to the state of innocence that man lost through Adam's sin, and his acceptance by the three persons of the Trinity:

L'homme est par foy faict filz du createur;  
 L'homme est par foy juste, saint, bienfacteur;  
 L'homme est par foy remiz en innocence;  
 L'homme est par foy roy en Christ regnateur;  
 Par foy avons l'esperit consolateur,  
 Uniz au pere et au mediateur;  
 Par foy j'ay Christ et tout en affluence.  
 (Discord, vv. 71-77)

In fact she is just reflecting on the main themes of the Pauline letter to the Romans; in her introduction to the Miroir she stresses the importance of faith in the initial justification of a sinner:

Quel est le coeur d'un homme, quant à soy,  
 Avant qu'il ait receu le don de foy,  
 Par lequel seul l'homme a la congnoissance  
 De la Bonte, Sapience et Puissance.  
 (Introduction, vv. 9-12)

But Marguerite's position on man's predestination and her strong feelings against predestinate condemnation to hell has not been sufficiently stressed by the critics; for her, man deserves his own salvation ("merite") and is not gratuitously reprobated by God:

Car si l'homme, par contemplation,  
 Amour, vertu, bonté, perfection,  
 Tient de l'ange et à la fin herite

Au ciel, le lieu de semblable merite,  
Le vicieux en enfer est puny  
Avec celluy à qui il s'est uny.  
Puis qu'à Satan du tout s'est comparé,  
Il tient le lieu qui luy est préparé.  
(Miroir, vv. 1207-1214)

In the eyes of the Sorbonne, Marguerite was a pupil of the Meaux group, and therefore suspiciously connected with some of the reforming ideas. Lefèvre in particular may have appeared to some of the Faculty as pro-Lutheran in his theological expositions, but there is a vital point which separates him from Luther, and in this context Marguerite sides with Lefèvre against Luther: this is the importance of retaining, beyond all theological controversies, the unity of the Church. Luther was ready to sacrifice it for the sake of truth; Marguerite prefers Lefèvre's "undivided Christ" in her poem but she seems to imply that, unless a reform took place within the Church, the breach was unavoidable. The Sorbonne no doubt scrutinized every single line of this passage as it discloses the views of the Meaux group with regard to this thorny problem:

O vray juge, Salomon veritable,  
Ouy avez le proces lamentable  
Et ordonné, contenant les parties,  
Que mon enfant fust mys en deux parties.  
La traistresse sy est bien accordee;  
Mais quant me suys de mon filz recordee,  
Plus tost en veulx souffrir privation  
Que de son corps la separation;  
Car vraye amour bien parfaicte et ardente  
De la moitié jamais ne se containte.  
...  
Bien meilleur m'est que je meure devant  
Que de souffrir Jesuchrist divisé.  
(vv. 445-461)

The Queen is not here interpreting the passage of the Old Testament on Solomon's judgement ethically as a fair verdict (1 Kings 3, 16-28)<sup>163</sup> but mystically: for her it symbolized the indivisibility of the Church; we will see in Chapter 4 how unpopular were to Luther these allegorical readings of the Scripture.<sup>164</sup>



## II

For most critics the historical need to investigate all the possible implications following the Miroir's involvement with a Lutheran trial at the Sorbonne has prevented them from tracing the actual origin of this book. F. Genin, for instance, finds the poem "excessivement ennuyeux", with too many implicit references to the Bible. As regards its general plan he sees "quelque chose d'analogue, quant au plan, aux Maximes des Saints" by the Archbishop of Cambrai<sup>165</sup>, without specifying in what way they are alike. J.B. Collins had more accurately noted the similarities between Marguerite's Miroir and a series of "Specula", both in their original Latin and in French translations. These had been extremely popular throughout Europe in the late fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries, particularly the Speculum peccatoris, traditionally attributed to Saint Augustin; this Mirror together with the Speculum amatorum mundi as well as the Speculum conversionis, were written by Dionysius de Rickel, whose works had been collected and published about the time of the preparation of Marguerite's Miroir. Though published in 1534, Rickel's works must have taken a considerable time to collect.<sup>166</sup> Collins suggests that Marguerite's Miroir was seen by the English court as one of a long series of spiritual treatises suitable for the nobility though superior to the customary ones. It was not a coincidence that the poem was translated into English in 1548 by a member of the royal family, Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Henri VIII. This version had made its appearance in English mystical literature after another Miroir, similar in style and matter, translated into English by Margaret of Richmond, mother of Henry VII<sup>167</sup>; this was printed by Winkin de Word in 1522, and bore the title Mirouer of Golde to the sinfull soule, from a French translation of Jacobus de Gruitroede's classic late medieval mystical treatise<sup>168</sup>.

No doubt a critic of Marguerite's work cannot ignore what I would call the "Speculum literature", in seeking to discover certain aspects that link her Miroir to the different forms under which the numerous "Specula" appeared. They were written for a specialized audience, which was invited to look at themselves through the books in order to examine their inmost being and change it accordingly.

J. de la Haye, for instance, a valet de chambre of Marguerite invites the reader in the 1547 edition of the Miroir to do just this:

C'est le Miroir où il fault regarder  
Qui bien voudra du monde se garder;

C'est le Miroir auquel qui bien se mire  
 De tout malheur et vice se retire,  
 Propre et requis pour bien se cointoyer,  
 Et pour l'esprit de taches nettoyer.<sup>169</sup>

When studying Marguerite's Miroir not enough attention has been paid to these various "Mirouers" or "Specula"; although the Queen of Navarre intended to remain independent of them, as far as we know, and her poem is far superior in the presentation of the traditional themes, nevertheless she borrowed many of their ideas; one can say that it is difficult to arrive at a full understanding of her poem without briefly analysing some of those "Mirouers" that appeared not long before or about the same period as Marguerite's Miroir.

The two most noticeable characteristics of many of the "Mirouers" are the so called appeal to one's internal change through the realization of the vanity of the world. In 1480 Jean Bouyer published at Poitiers a typical example of this "Speculum vanitatis" genre, through which he attempts to convince his audience of the ephemeral nature of human existence<sup>170</sup>: "Quoniam, patres carissimi, in via hujus saeculi fugientes sumus, dies nostri sicut umbra praetereunt; necesse est igitur corde sollicito memorari saepius et nostra fragilitas et nostra mortalis infirmitas (...) ecce feliciter poterim evadere periculum, si diligenter studeam sequi divinum consilium, quod est mortis periculum, salutis anti datum, peccatoris per icul um"<sup>171</sup>. The writer plays with the obvious meaning of the word "speculum", that was to be adopted by Marguerite some decades later: "Legat igitur lectionem istam insipiens ille qui hujus-modi est, et speculetur in hoc speculo imaginem suam"<sup>172</sup>.

Bouyer's work influenced many writers, since his Speculum had wrongly been attributed to Saint Augustine, whose authority was widely accepted by many mystic writers particularly in the West; perhaps Marguerite had also access to this master of the "vanitas-conversio" genre (see Plate 1), whose work was known throughout the whole of Europe. Jacobus de Guitroede's Speculum was published in Paris in 1500 by Antoine Caillout<sup>173</sup>; it was aimed at educating people both in the monasteries and in the courts of Europe, and in 1522 it was translated for the English court by the Countess of Richmond with the same idea in mind as that with which a few years later Marguerite de Navarre's Miroir was to be translated by another member of the royal family for the use of the English court, as previously mentioned.

A third major mystic of the "Speculum vanitatis et conversionis's" genre, whose work influenced considerably the mystic teaching of the

late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries was Dionysius Carthusianus, alias Dionysius de Lewis de Rickel, who tried to appeal to his readers by presenting traditional mystic ideas as found in the teachings of writers like Saint Bernard: “De ista materia (i.e. man must follow God’s ways) pulchra tractat in quodam sermone B. Bernardus”.<sup>174</sup>



*Plate 1.*

*Print of a “Speculum Vanitatis” from a woodcarving by Daniel Hopper (c.1470-1536). The devil and death are seen by the young lady reflected on the mirror. Note also the sandclock to remind her of the passing of time. G.F. Hartlaub, *Zauber des Spiegels*, Munich, 1951 (Plate 162). Plate 163 is also a “speculum vanitatis”, but rather coarse, as the young lady sees the devil’s private parts.*

Lewis de Rickel’s “Specula conversionis” are covered with references to biblical texts and with quotations from the early writers of the Church, particularly from Saint Jerome, Saint Augustin and Saint Gregory; Greek and Latin philosophers are also quoted occasionally. His works are intended at diverting the soul from false ways into the path that mirrors the christian faith: “Hoc est sane quod dicit Gregorius: contemne divitias, et locuples eris: contemne honores, et eris gloriosus, despice temporal em quietem et habebis aeternam”.<sup>175</sup>

Marguerite insists on the need of a personal conversion since the soul has left (“laisser”) the right path instead of abandoning itself (“se laisser”) into the hands of God, as Charlotte had advised in the *Dialogue*.<sup>176</sup> In a litany-like series of lines that follow the para-liturgical litanies of the Church for the dying called “Litaniae mortuorum” she warns of

the mirages that divert the soul from the right path. A kind of optical illusion is created by the rhetorical repetition of the phrase: “laissé vous ay” that may appear boring to the modern reader. These prayers were not technically liturgical, since they do not follow set patterns nor end in a doxology, but they were quite common in the devotional prayers of the Church until very recently:<sup>177</sup>

Laissé vous ay, oublyé et fouy.  
Laissé vous ay, pour suyvir mon plaisir.  
Laissé vous ay, pour ung mauvais choisir.  
Laissé vous ay, source de tout mon bien.  
Laissé vous ay en rampant le lien  
De vray amour et loyauté promise.  
(Miroir, vv. 642-647)

She also adopted the traditional medieval outlook, warning her readers of the dangers of the three enemies of man: the devil, the world and the flesh:

C'est l'ennemy et le monde et la chair,  
Qui sur la croix vous ont couste si cher,( ... )  
(vv. 659-660)

The late medieval “Miroir” or “Speculum” is often aimed at court ladies; they were a good audience for this kind of literature, though in some cases, where it was written by men, it took a strong anti-feminine attitude. This kind of Miroir genre is presented in two main forms, the “Mirouer des Dames et Demoiselles” and the “Miroir de Marie”.

In the introduction to the Miroir, for example, as part of les Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses, J. de la Haye remarks:

C'est le Miroir où Princesses et Dames  
Doyvent mirer et les corps et les ames,  
Comme tu fais, dont ce grant bien t'advient,  
Que ton haultz loz tousjours plus cler devient.<sup>178</sup>

Marguerite's Miroir was clearly linked with the late medieval “Mirours des Dames”, which was very popular at the end of the fifteenth century. G.A. Brunelli edited one of its many exponents, Jean Castel's Miroir, in 1958; it is divided in three parts and it maintains that a book is like a mirror, but people, particularly ladies, refuse to look at themselves in it.<sup>179</sup> Castel uses almost the same words as Jean de la Haye, who, as we know, introduced the late editions of Marguerite's Miroir:

Mirez vous cy, Dames et damoiselles  
Mirez vous cy et regardéz ma face:  
Helas! pensez, se vous estes bien belles.  
Comment la Mort toute beauté efface.<sup>180</sup>

The traditional “Speculum Mariae” presents Our Lady as the perfect woman, applying the interpretation of the spotless Bride in the Song of Songs directly to her. Marguerite’s Miroir follows this presentation of Mary as the perfect Lady; as in the popular piety, particularly in the fifteen mysteries of the rosary, the poem describes her as the perfect image of Christ. Some of its texts, however, present Mary in a rather negative way, distorting rather than mirroring Christ, as when her faith is put to trial when the young Jesus got lost in the temple of Jerusalem (Luke 2, 41-51). Luther had emphasised this negative side of mariology and I feel that this may well be the reason why Augereau had inserted the anti-Marian text “Je te salue Jesuschrist” into the same volume as the Miroir, as we mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Nevertheless the Miroir, unlike the Lutheran literature, stresses most of the traditional teachings about Mary.<sup>181</sup> A whole section of Marguerite’s poem, vv. 277-318, is in fact a “Speculum Mariae” in the traditional sense:

Mere et vierge estes parfaitement  
Avant, après, et en l’enfantement ( ... )  
(vv. 285-286)

Certain incidents in the life of Christ, such as the loss of the young Jesus in the temple of Jerusalem, events that are linked in Christian piety to the fifteen mysteries of the Marian beads which are common in the “Speculum Mariae” literature, inspired Marguerite’s Miroir too. It is surprising to find many similarities between the poem of Marguerite and a Speculum Sanctae Mariae Virginis printed by Gunther Zainer in Augsburg in 1471.<sup>182</sup> Books like this were not uncommon and Marguerite must have had access to a “Speculum Mariae” like the one written by G. Zainer, since both insist on very similar points: Zainer’s Speculum is a combination of “Mirouers”, like that of Marguerite, it stresses the “tristitia” (sorrows) and the “gaudia” (joys) of Mary throughout her lifetime and ends with a mystic interpretation of the “Song of Songs” as referring to her.

Marguerite also speaks of the “tristitia” and “gaudia” when the child Jesus is lost and found, but in her case she assumes the role of Mary:

O doux Jesus, vous ay je retrouvé  
Après avoir par ennuy espreuve

Si vous aymoie? moy qui vous ay perdu  
A moy mesmes vous vous estes rendu.  
(vv. 469-472)

Nevertheless what makes one suspect that Marguerite had access to a “*Speculum Mariae*” similar to that printed by Zainer, is Marguerite’s objection in her *Miroir* as regards the attribution to Mary of the spiritual meaning of the Song of Songs as we shall see.<sup>183</sup> Zainer’s text reads:

In pulcritudine delectatus Spiritus Sanctus ait in Canticis: Ecce tu pulchra es arnica mea. Ecce tu pulchra; oculi tui columbarum. Non mediocris pulchritudinis esse confirmatur que geminata voce predicatur.<sup>184</sup>

But Marguerite refuses to restrict this *sensus spiritualis* to Mary, and applies it mystically to the “*amye navrée d’amour*”:

Vous l’avez dit en lieu bien autentique  
Par Salomon en vostre doulx cantique,  
Disant: Ma soeur tu as navré mon cuer,  
Tu as navré mon cuer par la doulceur  
D’ung de tes yeulx, et d’ung de tes cheveulx.  
(vv. 327-331)

Marguerite seems to limit Mary’s role to that of “mother of faith”. Her faith is nevertheless tinged with certain evangelical texts that some reformers used to emphasize, explaining that her faith was weakened when the boy Jesus was lost in the temple (vv. 469-472, quoted above), and at the beginning of Jesus’s public ministry, (Matthew 12, 46-50):

Mais la raison à ma doubte bien mistes,  
Quant en preschant, estendant vos bras, distes:  
Ceulx qui feront le vouloir de mon pere  
Mes freres sont, et ma soeur, et ma mere.  
(vv. 265-268)

The story of the young Jesus lost in the temple in the *Miroir* refers to Christ’s rebuke of Mary as an anti-climax of the traditional overpraising “*Specula Mariae*” tradition. Although here Marguerite applies the words not to Mary but to the soul motivated by faith, a more careful reading will show that she is alluding to Elizabeth’s praise of Mary at the time of her visitation (Luke I, 46-55). See also a clear allusion to the “Magnificat” or song of Mary at the time of her Visitation to Elizabeth in the *Miroir*:

Elle paovre , ignorante, impotente  
Se sent en vous riche, sage, et puissante (...)  
(vv. 179-180)

Mary's antithetical parallelism, "paovre-riche" that is so characteristic of her "Magnificat" appears here in the Miroir as a "Speculum Mariae". In the Prisons Marguerite wrote something like an apology of Mary's song by identifying her humility with Marguerite's mystic teaching of the "Rien" that is in search of its "Tout":

Plus qu'autre femme en son cueur elle avoit  
Ce Rien, lequel gardoit et conservoit  
En s'unissant à luy de son bon gré (...)  
(Prisons, fol. 346 ro, p. 292)

We shall try to explain all the mystic implications of this "Rien-Tout" antithetical relationships in our Chapter 5 on the Prisons, Section V. Mary's motherhood was not overpraised by Marguerite as it was by the traditional writers, a position not uncommon among mystics; they rather prefer to stress the fatherhood of God, but she cannot be said to be unorthodox in the Miroir for this reason when she writes:

Je croy doncques (...)  
Que par amour je vous ay engendré;  
Dont sans crainte nom de mere prendray.

Mere de Dieu, doulce vierge Marie,  
Ne soyez pas de ce tiltre marrie.  
Nul larroncin ne fais, ny sacrilege,  
Riens ne pretendz sur vostre privilege,  
Car vous seule avez sur toute femme  
Receu de luy l'honneur si grand, ma dame,  
Que nul esperit de soy ne poeut comprendre (sic)  
Comme en vous a voulu nostre chair prendre.  
(vv. 269-285)

Here Marguerite uses an anti-speculum technique when she ignores the often exaggerated cult of the Madonna that was based on Mary's physical qualities such as her beauty, physical attractiveness and graceful character. The Queen does not underrate the importance of Mary's motherhood, but in her poem only the spiritual aspects mirror God's fatherhood. The Miroir's emphasis on Mary's choice by God as mother of Christ is based not on her merits but on her trust in God (Luke 1,45); the role of faith plays an important part in the mystic treatises or "Specula Fidei" of that

time; Marguerite claims that anyone can equal Mary's privilege at the level of Faith:

( ... )  
Car vous estes sa mere corporelle.  
Et sa mere par foy spirituelle;  
Mais en suivant vostre foy humblement  
Mere je suis spirituellement.  
(vv. 315-318)

The "Specula" were not written either as manuals of theology or as devotional books for personal prayer. They may contain brief references to the Christian dogma or certain supplications, but they rather emulate the rhetorical devices of preachers. They use various techniques to warn their readers of the dangers of careless living.<sup>185</sup> The Queen of Navarre, under the influence of the Meaux group, was aware of the importance of the role of faith in the Christian mystic tradition, through the teachings of St. Paul. Her Miroir had therefore to be devised as a "Speculum fidei" or a "Miroir de la foy". She was not undertaking an easy task; in fact the poem often becomes rather cumbersome and repetitive, and unlike the Dialogue, the Miroir cannot be related to a single incident in the life of Marguerite, but to a state of her mind; to use a modern expression, she wants to reveal her "cœur mis a nu".

The "Specula fidei", long before Luther's proclamation of the primacy of faith, stress a simple Christian truth, that in matters related to spiritual experience man is blind and can only be guided by God directly. J.M. Dechanet published in 1946 one of the most characteristic works of the "Speculum fidei" literature, which had for a long time been attributed to St. Bernard, but is the work of one of his disciples, Guillaume de Saint-Thierry, a Cistercian monk at Mont Dieu. St. Thierry, long before Marguerite, insisted on the importance of the word "veoir", not in the physical sense but in the mystical one: "Tria namque ut ha beat necesse est: oculos, quibus jam bene uti possit; ut aspiciat, ut videat".<sup>186</sup> Marguerite's Miroir is also a treatise on the obstacles to clear vision, and on her effort to let people "see" them. In the introduction to her work, which only appeared for the first time in the edition of 1533 published by Augereau, she clearly expresses the intentions of her work as a "Speculum videndi" or "Speculum fidei":

Si vous lisez ceste oeuvre toute entière,  
Arrestez vous, sans plus, a la matiere,  
En excusant la rhyne et le languaige,  
Voyant que c'est d'une femme l'ouvraige,



Qui n'a en soy science, ne sçavoir,  
Fors un desir, que chacun puisse veoir. ( ... )  
(“Au lecteur”, vv. 1-8)<sup>187</sup>

Like many mystics, Marguerite presents the mystic progression from faith to love through hope (1 Corinthians 13):

O tresgrand Don de foy, dont tel bien vient,  
Que posseder faict ce que l'on ne tient!  
Foy donne espoir par seure verité  
Qui engendre perfecté charité.  
Et charité est Dieu, comme sçavons.  
(vv. 1413-1417)

In the Dialogue Marguerite had praised the supremacy of love. The Miroir is not different, and faith and love are two of its main themes. Spiritual motherhood of Jesus, for instance, can only be attained through faith (vv. 317-318). The soul can equally reach the state of “spouse” through faith only:

Parquoy diray par amoureuse foy  
Qu'a vous je suis, et vous estes a moy.  
(vv. 339-340)

Marguerite wrote another “Mirouer” in the customary way (i.e. as a traditional poem to Jesus Christ through whom the reader is supposed to contemplate himself and God). It was published in Toulouse in 1552 as le Mirouer de J.C. Crucifié, composé par feu tres illustre princesse Marguerite de Valois, reine de Navarre:

C'est la vraye congnoissance  
Du peché et de l'ignorance  
Et qui se peult myrer et veoir  
En Crist en aura le sçavoir  
Car sans luy n'avons qui ignorance.<sup>188</sup>

This Miroir presents the same problems as the Miroir de l'âme pécheresse, with the only difference that here everything becomes clear: the soul has reached a state of purity and “vision” which will end in total union with Christ.

There are other aspects of the “Mirouer” literature, as for instance the “Speculum Salomonis”, with emphasis on its teaching of the “Song of Songs”,

since traditionally it has been considered as one of King Solomon's works; those aspects can also be found in Marguerite's Miroir, but the evidence we have offered here proves clearly that her poem has to be regarded as directly connected with the "Speculum" literature, with which she must have been acquainted. In fact Marguerite's poem seems to be their point of convergence, since she covers most of the "Speculum" themes. Did she have in her prie-dieu a series of "Mirouers" belonging to herself or to her mother? It would not be surprising, since these works were very popular, particularly among clerics and courtiers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

### III

Unlike the Dialogue, whose anecdotal character appears from the very beginning in trying to portray Marguerite's grief for the death of little Princess Charlotte and for the division of Christianity through the controversy between Erasmus and Luther, the Miroir has a very deceptive structure; it is more general and more detached from specific references, since it can be related to an entire era, in describing Marguerite's bewilderment between the years 1521 and 1531.

Critics agree that the Miroir was written after 1524 and must have taken some time to write due to its difficult theological digressions. Indeed its complex structure makes one think that it passed through many revisions before it was published in its present form in 1531.

In the previous section I have attempted to link the Miroir with the late medieval "Speculum" literature, since the connections are familiar. Marguerite, however, did not follow any specific source as far as we know. Marie Holban has subtly detected in 1936 certain themes common to Marguerite's Miroir and to the Epitres de la Noble et Amoureuse Dame of Jacques Bouchet, written about the same time.<sup>189</sup> She suggests that both works show a similar arrangement and development of ideas. Again an "editeur" had had the idea of compiling Bouchet's Epitres, presenting them to the general public in 1534 when "on venait justement de prendre l'imprimeur Antoine Augereau chez qui avait paru l'edition parisienne du Miroir de l'âme pécheresse".<sup>190</sup>

Bouchet's arrangement of ideas is in general similar to Marguerite's since he begins with the "plaintes de l'Ame, asservie au péché. Prenant conscience de sa triste decheance elle exprime sa contrition et son espoir entierement fondé sur la Passion du Christ".<sup>191</sup> Its next theme is dedicated to Mary and the saints and takes the form of an invective against "ceulx

qui veulent empescher l'honneur et reverence qu'an leur doit faire".<sup>192</sup> Mary appears then as in the Miroir, as the perfect example of "épouse" and "soeur".<sup>193</sup> Both works end with a song of love<sup>194</sup> and the desire to die in order to obtain perfect union with God.<sup>195</sup>

If the Miroir of Marguerite had been a straightforward book and it could be conclusively shown that the Queen of Navarre had had access to Bouchet's work before it was published at about the same time as her Miroir,<sup>196</sup> then the direct influence of the last "rhetoriqueur" would be acceptable as the obvious source of the Miroir de l'âme pécheresse. Unfortunately, however, Holban works on the assumption that Marguerite's poem was written "rapidement, d'un seul jet",<sup>197</sup> which goes against the obvious complexity of Marguerite's work.<sup>198</sup>

The general plan of the Miroir shows Marguerite's confession of her sins, the conversion of her soul and God's acceptance; but the total union can only take place after death. A more detailed analysis gives us the following complex structure:

I.- Man's creation by God is marred by Adam's fault (vv. 1-59)

Sin is stronger than man's will (vv. 60-104)

Man is unable to become worthy of God's promises (vv. 105-138).

II.- God's plan for salvation

God chooses man to be his brother, mother, spouse, and daughter (vv. 139-224)

The soul feels the "ravisement" of its election, being able to call God its father (vv. 225-260)

III.- The first "Mirouer": the "Speculum Mariae":

The soul can see itself in Mary, the perfect one, as against Eve: "Speculum Evae" (vv. 261-298)

Mary's "ravisement" (vv. 299-308)

Anti-climax: the physical motherhood of Mary is irrelevant without faith. Appeal to the "Song of Songs": everyone, not just Mary, is chosen (vv. 325-364)

IV.- The main theme of the "Miroir": the "Speculum conversionis":

Its central idea: love can only be attained by faith through hope: "Speculum fidei" (vv. 377- 379) the theme is announced.

The biblical "Speculum conversionis": the "prodigal son" as its perfect example: the "Speculum filii prodigi" (vv. 379- 396)

Conclusion of main theme: God's plan is not to punish but to deliver (vv. 397-414)

Return to the theme of the "Speculum fidei":

The soul as "mother of God by faith" (vv. 415-419)

The theology of sin (vv. 511-542)

V.- The "Specula Salomonis" and "Davidis"

Solomon's judgement; Christ cannot be divided (vv. 445-478)

David's and Aaron's faith failed them (vv. 511-542)

VI.- God's Choice: return to the "Speculum conversionis et vanitatis":

God calls the soul to be his "frere" and "soeur" (vv. 554-580)

A more intimate call to be God's "espouse" (vv. 581-630)

The "Speculum vanitatis": man rejects God's plan; the significance of the verb "laisser" (vv. 639-718)

Man is called back: the "Speculum conversionis" and the "Song of Songs" (vv. 735-746)

The "Speculum animae peccatricis" after the story of the adulterous woman in Jeremiah, III (vv. 747-804)

LE MIROIR God loves the sinful soul, in spite of its ingratitude. Marguerite appears as a "Mirouer" in which each man must look at himself realizing what happens to him when doing so: (vv. 805-830)

VII.- The climax of the "Miroir": the triumph of love

Play with the words "vous-moi" as love-words (vv. 831-880)

Love's triumph over death (vv. 901-982)

Mystic paradox: separation from the beloved is worse than hell (as if hell did not mean a separation) with the "puis que" text; repetitiveness in the language of love (vv. 1001-1086)

The hymn to death (it contains ideas already developed in the Dialogue) (vv. 1087-1090)

VIII.- The Ravissement of St Paul

(Marguerite re-affirms her belief in "love", without an anti-climax)

Man's attraction to sin-death-hell (vv. 1253-1280)

The triumph of love. Here Marguerite plays with the words "amour" and "mort", using the close repetition of the letter "M":

amour-mort (vv. 1040-1044)

mort-amye (vv. 1109-1110)

amyer-moy (vv. 1302-1312)

The littleness of the soul (riens) finds it difficult to embrace the infinity of God's immensity (Tout) (vv. 1313-1330)

The “Speculum Pauli”: St Paul’s “ravisement”. The whole poem is now converging on the mystical experience of St Paul as told in II Corinthians 12. He now appears as “l’ame pécheresse”; St Paul’s conversion takes place when he faces Christ on his way to Damascus: “(...) Trois jours sans veoir, ravy jusques au ciel (...)” (v. 1384). During this experience he came to a total understanding that God’s secrets cannot be expressed with words:

(...)  
Voz jugementz sont incomprehensibles,  
Et voz voies, selon tous noz possibles,  
A tous noz sens investigables sant.  
(vv. 1391-1393)

We can now realize what Marguerite is aiming at: “We only know as in a mirror, then we will see God face to face” (I Corinthians, 13,12). This is the secret of Marguerite’s Miroir: “D’ung tel secret ne parlez plus avant” (v. 1396).

The poem, as we shall realise after further analysis, will soon appear as a game, since the Queen plays with the intelligent reader; the secret of the poem is a game, and the game is a riddle whose meaning is her name (Marguerite), that crowns and closes the poem: “Qu’il luy plaist faire de moy sa Marguerite” (v. 1430). She was too conscious of the hidden meaning of her own name, since the Mirror blossoms, so to speak, in the shape of a Marguerite:

### MARGUERITE equals SECRET equals MIRROR

How did Marguerite arrive at this strange spiral structure in her Miroir that ends with the mystic symbol of her own name? Ending a poem with a riddle is not uncommon in lyric poetry, particularly in a sonnet. The Miroir does not return to its initial theme, i.e. to the conversion of the soul, but ends with St Paul’s “rapture into Heaven” which may have inspired the title of the poem and many of its revised themes. It follows a whole series of imperfect “Specula” which lead to the climax of perfect knowledge as people like St Paul experienced for a very short time.

If such is the case, as the structure of the book shows, can we arrive at its source in the extensive Correspondance between Briçonnet and Marguerite? Marie Holban, echoing the opinion of many critics maintains, without proving it, that the ideas of the Miroir come from this source: “Car on distingue une influence tres nette sinon sur ses idées religieuses” (here she is referring to Bouchet’s Triumphes) “qui sont celles de sa correspondance mystique avec Briçonnet et qui remontent donc à l’année 1521.”<sup>199</sup>

Indeed we must refer to Briçonnet's letters, and particularly to his early ones to realise how important they are for the understanding of the development of the themes in the Miroir. In a letter written in August 1521, Briçonnet was trying to guide Marguerite from the "purgative" into the "illuminative life" of the soul. He plays, like the Miroir, with words such as "veoir", "aveugle", "lumière" and "tenèbre".<sup>200</sup>

La superceleste, infinie, doulce, debonnaire, vrais et seulle lumière aveuglant et enluminant toute creature capable de la recevoir et qui, en la recevant, la dignifie de l'adoption filiale de Dieu, veuille, Madame, par son excessive et insuperable amour vous aveugler et illuminer,<sup>201</sup> a ce que soiez en cécité voyante, et voiant aveugle, pour parvenir au chemin sans chemin de veoir sans veoir,<sup>202</sup> cognoistre sans cognoistre les tenebres, esquelles la divine lumière infinie s'est cachée et fait sa demourance.

(Correspondance, I, p. 34)<sup>203</sup>

The language and the basic problems of both the Miroir and this letter of Briçonnet are basically the same: Man cannot arrive at a clear knowledge of God while still alive on this earth; even after the mystical experience of the soul, which has been attained by the "oeil de l'esprit", it still remains "aveuglée": "(...) lors accroist sa lumière et attire plus fermement et facilement l'oeil de la raison et de l'esprit,<sup>204</sup> auquel, de degré, se communique sy doulcement que, incontinent, la pauvre ame se sent surprise et, navrée d'amour sy excessive qu'elle la fait, par divers atouchemens et communication divine, trèsvoiante et cognoissante, et neantmoins ainsy aveuglée..." (Correspondance, I, p. 35).

Marguerite's Miroir speaks the same language, in almost the same words:

Las! mon frere. aultre bien je ne veulx  
Que vous navrant navrée me sentir;  
Par vostre amour bien m'y veulx consentir.  
(Miroir, vv. 332-334)

Briçonnet's letter mentions St. Paul's mystic experience on his way to Damascus as the best illustration of blindness of the body that leads to enlightenment of the soul:

Car son oeil n'est capable de telle lumière recevoir et croy, Madame, que vouldes aussi parler en voz lettres de ceste cécité, quant m'escrivez qu'estes plus que par nature aveuglée. Monsieur Saint Pol en fut moult

actainct en son ravissement, quant il vit sans veoir et oyt sans pouvoir esprimer ce qui passoit toute expression. (...) (Correspondance, 1, p. 36)

and Marguerite's Miroir, referring to the same incident in the life of St. Paul:

Onques nul oeil d'homme mortel ne vit,  
Ny aureille ne sceut jamais entendre.  
Ne dans le cuer, tant soit il bon, descendre  
Ce que Dieu a préparé et promiz.  
(Miroir, vv. 1400-1403)<sup>205</sup>  
Pourquoy venez, o bienheureux Saint Paul,  
Qui tant avez gousté ce doulx miel,  
Trois jours sans voir, ravy jusques au ciel...  
(vv. 1382-1384)

It cannot be a pure coincidence that both the Miroir and Briçonnet's letter arrive at the same conclusion, that the mystical union with God can only be attained in the manner of St. Paul, by transcending all ways of the senses and even of reason. For Marguerite this is the essence of her Miroir, a word that means that "we only know imperfectly", as in a misty mirror, using the Pauline expression "in specula". According to her and Briçonnet we only know "blindly", both using the same expression "voir sans voir".

Two years later the Bishop announces the themes of the Miroir even more clearly, by comparing the material (metal) mirror with the transparent (mystic) one, in a letter written in October 1523, which has obviously escaped the notice of the critics: "Sy mirouers materielz estoient vitaulx et animéz et fussent mis l'un devant l'autre, chascun d'iceulx verroit son compaignon et en luy soy mesme sans alteration quelzconques (...)", (Correspondance, 2, p. 64).

The symbol of the Mirror will remain in the Correspondance as a leit-motif. In March 1524, a year later, Marguerite echoes Briçonnet's mystic use of the "mirouer": "Le vray mirouer auquel regardant (...)", (Correspondance, 2, p. 133); that will soon be resumed by the Bishop: "Assez y a de myrouers qui se disent clers mais non polliz (...)".

In April of that year the theme of the encounter with the real "myrouer" will finally be explained as the real knowledge of Christ, who reflects the divine light on our minds: "...du mirouer sans macule [i.e. Christ], qui, ne lais(s)ant ce qu'il estoit [his divine nature], a prins par exinanition [his incarnation] ce qu'il n'avoit pour en noz mirouers oster

ce qu'il y estoit..." (ibid., 2, p. 135). If we conform our souls to Him, He may transform us "illuminant nostre cecité et parfaissant noz imperfections, là est le mirouer sans macule, auquel fault desrouiller, pollir et conformer les nostres..." (ibid., 2, pp. 145-146).

Perhaps a more decisive proof of the dependence of Marguerite's Miroir on Briçonnet's letters is to be found in the mystical use by both of the enigma-word "Marguerite". Briçonnet was the first to use it in a hidden way; in a letter he wrote on 11 November 1521, he states that perfect knowledge grows like a "perle": "Et, quant elle y sera, jointe et unie, lors cessera la piramide et retournera en son naturel rondeur circulaire." (ibid., 1,p.55). The round shape or the circle was, for the mystics, the image of the perfect soul:

( ... ) and the soul hath a circular movement - viz. an introversion from things without and the unified concentration of its spiritual powers - which gives it a kind of fixed revolution, and, turning it from the multiplicity without, draws it together first into itself and then (after it has reached this unified condition) unites it to those powers which are a perfect Unity, and thus leads it unto the Beautiful and Good (...) And the soul moves with a spiral motion whensoever (according to its capacity) it is enlightened with truths of Divine Knowledge (...) for this, as I said, is the circular motion.<sup>206</sup>

The mathematical perfection of the Circle evokes the divine perfection of Christ; the soul must aim to imitate Him, but His image is elusive:

Lors l'excellente et parfaicte marguerite, qui est le doulx Jesus,  
se peult achepter. C'est le pris pour lequel il se donne et pour  
aultre pris ne se peult avoir et ne se fault excuser sur pauvrette  
temporellé ou spirituelle. (Correspondance, 1, p. 55)

The secret meaning of the "marguerite" as a mystic enigma at the end of the Miroir (v. 1430) is the attainment of a purer knowledge of God: "Je crains, Madame, entrer en la mer du myrouer infini et eternal" (ibid., 2, p.58); Marguerite confesses in her poem that she has finally reached the state of discernment required by her Master Briçonnet during her initiation.



## IV

The Miroir can therefore be considered as an outline of Briçonnet's mystical teaching on total union with God, of which the "marguerite" is the enigma, having a round Christoform shape: "Puisque toute la vie du chrestien doit tendre à mort et plus en approche plus est christiforme, ne puis avoir pitié, par ce qu'elle est au chemin de la doublement malade: plus croistera la maladie, plus tost embrassera par mort le chief auquel elle desire estre marguerite" (ibid., 1, p. 72). The Queen became more conscious of its hidden meaning after reading Briçonnet's letters; she signs her name: "Marguerite, indigne du nom". She uses her own name as a symbol, to mean her mystic initiation into the spiritual life, with St. Paul's teaching as the main source of inspiration. Pauline ideas appear over and over again in the Miroir such as the need of the Spirit to help us in our weakness (Romans 8,26):

Par son esperit faict ung gémissement  
Dans mon cuer, grand inenarrablement,  
Qui postule le don, dont le sçavoir  
Est incognu à mon foible pouvoir.  
(vv. 83-86)

Only through this initiation of love can the soul reach the burning feeling of perfection:

( ... ) Las! c'est pour consumer,  
Fondre, brusler, du tout aneantir  
Lame qui poeut ceste doulceur sentir.  
(vv. 954-956)

This mysterious sensation cannot be described in human words that are related to purely physical experiences:

( ... )  
Ce qu'il ne poeut declarer ne nommer,  
Tirant noz cueurs, nostre amour, et espoir  
A desirer ce qui ne se poeut veoir.  
Que diz je veoir? mais penser, ny sentir:  
Qui rend content de mourir ung martyr.  
(vv. 1408-1412)

Skommodau calls this mystical experience, of which Marguerite is talking in her Miroir, "raptus mysticus".<sup>207</sup> Briçonnet had already given a description of this mystical union that could be applied to this poem:

Quant il sera en nous par union transformante (comme dict Monsieur saint Pol) (Philippians 3,21) et configurante le corps de nostre nichilité à son très digne et excellent corps de sa clarté, nous serons tous, par sa grace, deiformes, et ne se pourra riens veoir en nous que luisante divinité, non procedante de nous, mais de nostre vray feu, nous transformant en luy. Là sera la vraie et indubitable union, sans figure ne ombre. (Correspondance, 1, p.105).

This experience is expressed in the Miroir through a series of analogies related to physical feelings of pain such as being burnt or pierced. The key words to the reading of certain passages of the poem are:

ravi  
navré  
fendre  
brusler  
s'esbahir  
devenir folle  
perdre contenance  
perdre sens<sup>208</sup>

No one can doubt the sincerity of Marguerite in her writings. She had encountered what could be called a mystic experience,<sup>209</sup> perhaps some time before her first letter to the Bishop of Meaux in the early summer of 1521. Briçonnet understood from the beginning what she was asking for and began immediately his task. During the years of her Correspondance with him, the Queen underwent a series of personal trials and took refuge in her religious upbringing.

The Miroir reflects this initiation into the tripartite division of the path in which the soul must advance. Following the mystical tradition, charged with neo-Platonic overtones, Briçonnet had introduced the Queen into the “three maladies”, “purgative”, “illuminative” and “perficiente”, (Correspondance, 1, p.74), stressing that the soul must ascend to the “esprit ecstatique”<sup>210</sup> by the threefold ladder of purification, illumination and union (vv. 35 and 1207-1210).

Marguerite did not fully develop in her Miroir the last stage in the mystical ascent, that of total union with God. That was to be the scope of her later work, particularly the Prisons de la Reine de Navarre, through two key words “le Tout” and “le Rien”. She had learnt them from the Bishop, though she had been more eager than Briçonnet to use them in

the Correspondance. In January 1522 she wrote: “Voiant que au Tout n’estes rien et croiant vostre rien encloz dedans le Tout, me veulx soubzmettre à ce qui sera par vostre rien dict, le tenant de la main du Tout, vous querant prier pour mon moins que rien...” (Correspondance, 1, p. 134).

Marguerite is far more discreet in her Miroir than in her Correspondance, and only much later will feel confident to treat this theme of the “Tout-Rien” relationship in full in her Prisons:<sup>211</sup>

Mais quant à luy par amour est unie  
Si remply est son riens d’ ung peu de tout...  
(Miroir, vv. 1326-1327)<sup>212</sup>

More significant than the use of the “Tout” and “Rien” is another antithetical pair, that between God and man in the “Thou-Me” relationship, using Martin Buber’s analysis of the “I and Thou” intercourse.<sup>213</sup> She is trying to find a solution to the mystical concept of “ecstasy”, in which, according to the Pseudo-Dionysius, there is no difference between the Thee (God) and the Me (man).<sup>214</sup> Western mystics are often more concerned with this problem of communication between the soul and the Divine than with the absorption of man by the Divinity:<sup>215</sup>

(Je voy ... )  
Le bien de vous, qui est tant admirable,  
Le mal de moy, trop inconsiderable,  
Vostre haulteur, vostre essence trespure,  
Ma fragilité et mortelle nature,  
Voz dons, vos biens, vostre beatitude,  
Ma malice, et grande ingratitude.  
Quel vous m’estes et quelle je vous suis,  
(L’unq à l’autre comparer je ne puis)  
Qui me faict bien sans fin esmerveiller,  
Comme si fort vous a pleu travailler,  
Pour vous unir a moy contre raison  
Veu qu’il n’y a nulle comparaison.  
(ibid., vv. 865-876)

This “I-Thou” relationship will be worked out in the Miroir through a series of mystical kinships, leading to the two climatic stages:

- I. The spiritual marriage
- II. The generation of the Son of God in man

At the beginning of the Miroir the relationship between man and God is still somehow distant; it appears in the form of Filiation kinship.<sup>216</sup>

Est il pere à fille, ou frere à soeur  
Qui ung tel tour jamais eust voulu faire?  
(vv. 144-145)

and

Osera bien mon esperit s'avancer  
De vous nommer Pere? Ouy, et nostre,  
Ainsi l'avez dit en la Paternostre.  
(vv. 248-250)

The Song of Songs plays an important role in developing the Brother-Sister kinship:

Vous l'avez dit en lieu bien autentique  
Par Salomon en vostre doulx cantique,  
Disant: Ma soeur tu as navré mon cuer (...)  
(vv. 327-329)

Briçonnet had already written: "l'ame est fille, soeur et espouze à jamais du Roy des Roys" (Correspondance, 2, p. 227). Marguerite follows his teaching:

Puis que frere et soeur ensemble sommes,  
Il me chault peu de tous les aultres hommes.  
(Miroir, vv. 565-566)

L. Febvre finds unbearable what he calls Marguerite's litanies: "insupportables parfois dans leur redondance",<sup>217</sup> since the whole Miroir is filled with such allusions:

Filz, pere, espoux, et frere, entierement  
Pere, frere, filz, mary. O quelz dons  
De me donner le bien de tous ces noms!  
mon pere, quelle paternité  
mon frere, quelle fraternité!  
man enfant, quelle dilection!  
mon espoux, quelle conjunction!  
(vv. 933-939)

Marguerite proves in this text that she is well acquainted with the teachings of the mystics, particularly in the idea of union with the Divinity through the Marriage kinship comarison.<sup>218</sup>

(...)  
 Vous les avez portez de bon courage [i.e. “mes vices”]  
 Par l’union de nostre mariage.<sup>219</sup>  
 (vv. 1181-1182)

Nevertheless one of the most striking concepts in the Miroir is that of Filiation kinship, expressed by Marguerite through the traditional mystic concept of “la naissance de Dieu en nous”. Eckhart had written: “Now let us see where this birth [of Christ] takes place. It takes place, as I have so often said before, in the soul, exactly as it does in eternity and with no difference, for it is the same birth and occurs in the essence, the core of the soul.”<sup>220</sup>

( ... )  
 En luy donnant foy pour la recepvoir,  
 Qui luy a faict vostre filz concepvoir.  
 (Miroir, vv. 183-184)

and shortly afterwards:

Parquoy daignez l’asseurer qu’elle est mere  
 De vostre filz, dont vous estes seul pere.  
 (ibid., vv. 187-188)

The soul at this stage has reached the highest point of intimacy with God, called by the mystics perfect union or total bliss. In western mysticism it can only be surpassed by the static union of the Son of God within the Trinity.<sup>221</sup>

## V

A few stylistic devices have been already mentioned in the course of this study, particularly those connected with Marguerite’s attempt to follow the “Speculum” genre and its most characteristic use of the enigma or riddle about the secret meaning of her own name. Her technique does not differ from the traditional one: her Miroir, for instance, appears loaded with mystical devices taken from the patristic tradition of the Church and influenced by the Florentine neo-Platonic revival. We have mentioned the Platonic circle as the most perfect figure, of which Marguerite is the symbol, according to Briçonnet.<sup>222</sup>

Other traditional mystic devices that deserve mention are the binary classification, or dichotomies, that appear in the Miroir in different ways.

The Platonic emphasis on Light-Darkness, for instance in line 35, (already quoted): “Par sa clarté ma tenebre illumine”<sup>223</sup> is later resumed in the short treatise that has always been published with the Miroir ever since its first edition in 1531, and which is in fact an illustration of some of its more difficult points. In the Discord estant en l’homme par contrarité de l’esperit et de la chair et sa paix par vie spirituelle, qui est annotation sur la fin du 7 ch. et commencement du 8 de l’epistre Saint Paul aux Rom., the same binary structure is used to emphasise the paradoxical nature of man, with conflicting principles within himself (Romans 7,15):

Son vouloir veulx et mon vouloir me plaist;  
 Loy m’est à gré; je deteste la loy;  
 Je vis en paix; je vis en grand desroy;  
 En ne m’aymant, je n’ayme aultre que moy.  
 (Discord, vv. 10-13)

In fact both the Miroir and the Discord are filled with this binary paradoxical, scale-like division. The inner character of man appears in sharp contrast with its ideal, the perfect mirror, Christ:

the “Speculum Dei”	the Image of Man
Vouloir de Dieu	vouloir de l’homme
Grâce	péché
Clarté	ténèbre
Vie	mort
le Christ	Adam
Marie	Eve
Esperit	corps

Marguerite’s preference for vocabulary that defines God and mystic experience in a negative way has not been sufficiently stressed. While finding inspiration in St Paul’s Epistle to the Romans, she seems to develop them further. Here is a good example of the combination of Pauline vocabulary and a mystic antithesis:

(...)
   
Je voy en vous bonté si incongneue,
   
Grace et amour si incomprehensible,
   
Que la veue m’en demeure invisible.
   
(Miroir, vv. 854-856)

Briçonnet had introduced her to what is usually called in mystic theology the “via negativa” or “docta ignorantia”, a negative way of

avoiding positive predicates attached to God, since no human words nor concepts may legitimately be used according to the old mystic masters, to describe Him. Although a commonplace of all mysticism, both Eastern and Western, the Pseudo-Dionysius was perhaps its greatest exponent and his mystic treatise on the Divine Names had been very well known. His influence on Marguerite through Briçonnet will be dealt with in Chapter 5 on the Prisons, where her various attempts to offer a definition of God will be studied in detail.<sup>224</sup> This parallel text from Briçonnet's letter will show the impossibility of knowing the Divinity properly in this life, since all creatures can only mirror Him hazily: "Et sy je ouzois monter plus hault en son habitacle, où sa lumière superexcelente est tenebres, je le trouverois par rien plus dignement et excellentement que en ses creatures. Car il n'est creature ne toutes qui puissent explicquer ne que par icelles l'incomprehensibilité de l'incomprehensible qui est incommunicable se puisse comprendre et nommer." (Correspondance, 1, p. 78).

Metaphors, particularly that of Fire in its variants of "brusler", "feu", "ardeur", "scintille", have strong mystic overtones. In our case it is easy to trace their source in Briçonnet's Correspondance, particularly in his early letters, from which Marguerite was borrowing the main material for her Miroir.

Water and Fire are, according to the Bishop, symbols of the purgative and illuminative stages, while the Manna or Pasture signifies the mystical union with the Divinity:

L'excellent et beneficque abisme qui toutes creatures abisme en soy par grace sans intermission fluentes de son abissale charité en torrent de volupté abrevant, letifiant et remplissant les ames vrayment aneantyes et par harmonie d'amour uniez a luy en pureté de vaisseau vidé et appauvry. Lesquelles s'en rendent par volontaire abesement subsceptibles, liquefians leurs coeurs au doulx brasier qui les purge, illumine et parfaict pour estre monnoye d'or royalle et legitlme et lors que plus sont embrassées, l'abissale pasture les repaist de soy en soy et repaistre en lui, qui est abisme de eaue, de feu et pasture. (Correspondance, 1, pp. 76-77)

A further stage in the realisation of God's love for the soul becomes clearer when it has felt the first sparkles of His tenderness:

Aussi le cueur qui par façon subtile  
Sent de l'amour de Dieu une scintille.  
Treuve ce feu si grand et si terrible.

Si doux, si bon, qu'il ne luy est possible  
Dire que c'est d'amour; (...)  
(Miroir, vv. 1341-1345)

Marguerite is here confessing that, though called to the perfect union, she is still in her second stage, the one of Fire as described by Briçonnet in the Correspondance (1, pp. 114-128). The purgative stage is suggested on the other hand through a series of symbols that are directly connected with the essential theme of the “Miroir-Speculum”, that of “veoir” or “mirer”:

C'est le Miroir où Princesses et Dames  
Doyvent mirer et les corps et les ames<sup>225</sup>  
(Introduit. to the Miroir, by J.de la Haye,  
vv.73-74)

The obstacles to the purgative life are suggested by images connected with Darkness and Light:

( ... ) qui [i.e. “mes pechez”] sont en si grand nombre  
Qu'infinitude rend si obscure l'ombre  
Que les compter ne bien veoir je ne puyse...  
(Miroir, vv. 7-9)

Roots, as against Leaves and Branches, are also metaphors of darkness:

Bien sens en moy que j'en ay la racine,  
Et au dehors ne voy effect ne signe  
Qui ne soit tout branche, fleur, feuille, et fruit,  
Que tout autour de moy elle produict.  
(vv. 13-16)

Marguerite explains shortly afterwards that she is a prisoner of her own roots:

Voilà comment en peine, criz, et pleurs  
En terre gist sans clarté de lumiere  
Ma paovre ame, esclave, et prisonniere...  
(vv. 24-26)

Marguerite here announces a theme which will play an important role in her major work the Prisons. In fact the Miroir changes from metaphor to metaphor, most of them connected with the main theme of “blindness”. She goes as far as to say that she feels like a worm trapped in the earth:



Et vous ça bas à moy estes venu,  
 A moy, qui suis ver de terre tout nud.  
 Que dis je, ver? Je luy fais trop d'injure.  
 (vv. 99-101)

Sckommodau, without giving a detailed analysis of the complex problem of all the stylistic devices in Marguerite's poems, her symbols, similes, metaphors and comparisons, suggested that they could be traced in the extensive Correspondance between her and Briçonnet.<sup>226</sup> This is particularly true of the Miroir. The Queen cannot be accused of "plagiarism" since borrowing from others was then normal procedure, while at the same time the Bishop's imagery was carefully selected and controlled to suit her purpose of integrating them into her own thought.

As we have already explained, Marguerite's ideas cannot be related to any specific "Mirouer" or "Speculum". She was too busy and too involved in rendering Briçonnet's thought on the illuminative stage, while at the same time she was planning a major work on the unitive way:<sup>229</sup> the Prisons. Nevertheless the Miroir still preserves its secret, a hermetism even more concealed than the hidden symbols of the "Speculum" literature, and this secret or enigma defines the very nature of the Miroir; in I Corinthians, 13, 12, St Paul compares the imperfect knowledge of our present life to the imperfect representation of objects in an ancient metal mirror; later, however, in II Corinthians, 3, 18, St Paul was not so much concerned with what can be seen "in a mirror" but with the mirror itself, for Christians are compared to it inasmuch as they reflect the glory of Christ. The elusiveness of Marguerite's poem may stem from this double Pauline component. Her representation of the mirror had a clear circular image.<sup>230</sup> The miniature from the Livre d'Heures of Catherine de Medici which I have reproduced above (Plate 2, p.95) clearly supports the round image of a "Christoform" mirror, to use Briçonnet's expression (Correspondance, 1, p.58). The Queen invites the initiated to look at himself in her "Speculum", which, for herself, is an enigma as against clear vision. Briçonnet also wished her to arrive at a mirror-like state, which he calls "speculaire" in one of his letters; the soul must be purified: "...par l'ardente fournaise d'amour divine, qui l'a restituée a sa premiere nature et, rendue luisante speculaire et illuminée..." (ibid., 1, p. 138) he wrote in 1522. The following year he was even more explicit:

Sy mirouers materielz estoient vitaulx et animéz et fussent mis l'un devant l'autre, chascun d'iceulx verroit son compaignon et en luy soy mesme sans alteracion quelzconques et, sans ce, nul d'eulx est capable de se veoir. Plus insignement et sans proportion, Madame, se congnoist l'ame, mirouer créé, en son original et

vray mirouer, qui n'a besoing d'aulture myrouer pour se veoir et cognoistre (comme les materielz) ... Plus est le myrouer cler-luisant, beau et poly, plus represente au vray. Parquoy en toute excellence la divinité, myrouer sans macule, purgeant, illuminant et parfaissant tous aultres mirouers, est d'iceulx purgacion, illuminacion, et perfection veritable.  
(ibid., 2, p. 64-65)

Both the Bishop and Marguerite speak the same language, use the same images and reflect each other's ideas like Two mirrors. Perhaps their Correspondance could be called the solution to the enigma we encounter in Marguerite's most obscure work, her Miroir de l'âme pécheresse.



*Plate 2.*  
*Marguerite de Navarre dressed as a repentant sinner looking at herself in a mirror; hand mirrors are emblems of truth and their normally round shapes could be related to the perfection of the round figures as I am going to explain in Chapter 6, Section V. Portrait from le Livre d'Heures of Catherine de Medici. BL. a.lat. MS 82, fo1. 151.*

## CHAPTER FOUR

### Guillaume Briçonnet's biblical hermeneutics and the "Ravie de Dieu, Bergère" in the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan.

#### I

Sixteen years separate the publication of the *Miroir de l'âme pécheresse* in 1531 and the composition of the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan about 1547<sup>231</sup>, the next work by Marguerite, heavily tinged with mystic tendencies. To the uncritical reader it may appear that during that time she had been unconcerned with the four years of spiritual initiation under Briçonnet. This view is not recent since already in 1528 W.F. Capiton (alias Köpfel) in his 'dedicace' to Marguerite of his famous in Hoseam Prophetam Commentarius assumes that the Queen was about to forget Briçonnet's «philosophie de haute volée (qui) apporte avec elle de fatigue», while at the same time she was undergoing an evangelical conversion to a simpler spirituality under the guidance of the Lutheran reforming ideas.<sup>232</sup> Although we cannot avoid all the implications of this vital document contemporary with Marguerite, nevertheless Capiton's opinion may have had too great an influence on most critics at the expense of a more balanced consideration of the evolution of the Queen's thinking from the time her Correspondance with Briçonnet ended, till her more mature works were written from 1544-1549.<sup>233</sup>

The fact that a gap of sixteen years, 1531-1547, is left in this study does not mean a tacit acceptance of Capiton's position, since Marguerite constantly returns to certain mystic themes she had learnt from the Bishop, which had been at the core of works like the Dialogue and the Miroir.

The Varlet, for instance, in her play «L'inquisiteur», written in the early 1530s, teaches a "mystic ignorance" akin to the leit-motiv of the Dialogue:

#### LE VARLET

Je confesse qu'en innocence  
N'y a rien que felicité,  
Et qu'au pris de leur congnoissance  
Tout sçavoir n'est que cecite.  
Croyez qu'ilz ont attainct le bout  
Du repos de l'entendement.

L'INQUISITEUR  
 Que sçavent ilz?  
 LE VARLET  
 Ilz sçavent tout,  
 Fors que le mal tant seu'lement.  
 (Inquisiteur, vv.366-373)

One cannot deny that the Queen of Navarre, almost totally involved in the cares of the Court of Francis I, was giving less and less time to the consideration of certain themes that had motivated her in writing mystic poems such as the Miroir and the Dialogue. but she had not forgotten them. The Comédie du desert, for instance, would teach the mystical ideal of each man becoming the “generator of the Son of God through the power of faith”, a doctrine that had been expounded in the Miroir:

Qui croit comme moy  
 Par tres vive Foy,  
 Mere est du Sauveur;  
 En son coeur l'engendre  
 Mais qu'il puisse entendre  
 Sa grande faveur.<sup>234</sup>

Mary is presented in the Comédie de la Nativité, as it appeared in the Miroir, as the soul of “la Ravye” that has attained the perfect union with the Deity, a theme that will be taken up again by the Queen, at the end of her best mystic poem, written in 1547, the Prisons de la Reine de Navarre:

O le plaisir de l'union parfaite  
 Que ta bonté et toy et moy a faite.<sup>235</sup>

Even if there is a gap in her work of at least fifteen years during which she hardly developed any new themes, it would be uncritical to conclude that she is not concerned with Briçonnet's teaching on “mystical initiation”. Her four biblical plays, written in the early 1530s,<sup>236</sup> as well as her moral theatre, 1535-1539, continue the same line of thought that had made her write the puzzling Dialogue and the Miroir. Saulnier edited them as Théâtre profane to distinguish them from the Queen's biblical plays. Even so the reader must be warned not to consider them as entirely unreligious; in this I quite agree with Febvre in his valiant attack on those critics who suggest any duality in Marguerite's work, even in the most crude “nouvelles” of the Heptameron; in them she simply points at the dangers of human love left to itself and they are very much concerned with what is sacred.<sup>237</sup> The terms “ethical” or “moral” are, I think, far

more suitable to describe the real nature of Marguerite's interests in some of her plays; her four moral comedies, i.e. Le Malade, L'Inquisiteur, Trap, Prou, Peu, Moins and the Comédie des quatre femmes announce her preoccupations with the "comédie humaine" of the Heptaméron, in contrast with the "Divina Commedia" of her mystical writings. Marguerite herself expresses this duality in the Miroir in a passage where the "desire to die" could either be motivated by human passion or by divine love:

Si ainsi est que ces grandz passions  
Pleines de mal et d'imperfections,  
 De la mort font peu craindre le hasart,  
 Mais maintesfois leur semble venir tard,  
 Que doibt faire amour juste et louable.  
 Obligee et plus que raisonnable?  
 Que do i b t faire l I amour du createur?  
 Doibt elle point si fort brusler ung cueur,  
 Que transporte de telle affection,  
 Ne doibt sentir nulle aultre passion?  
 Helas! si faict, car mort est chose eueuse  
 A une ame de luy bien amoureuse;  
 Gracieuse elle estime la porte  
Par où il faut que de sa passion sorte.  
 (Miroir. vv. 1065-1078)

Marguerite's interests had not been solely those she learnt from her mystic Correspondance with Briçonnet; a careful comparison of her works reveals that her own observation as a woman was to be related to her experience of the Divine, in order to produce the unfinished series of 'nouvelles' of her best known work the Heptaméron.

The last years of Marguerite's life were more clearly marked by personal disenchantment. Lefranct's comments on this period, 1540-1549, are very revealing: "Marguerite ne trouvant a son propre foyer ni l'appui ni les consolations morales qu'elle eût aimé à y chercher, sentant, d'autre part, qu'elle n'était plus maîtresse des destinées de sa fille, fut amenée peu à peu à se désintéresser des choses extérieures, pour se réfugier dans la contemplation des choses divines et dans le culte des lettres ( ... )".<sup>238</sup> She might have liked a confidant-protégé with the qualities of Briçonnet, to whom she could have written as in 1521, asking him for guidance and further instruction: "Monsieur de Meaulx, congnoissant que ung seul est nécessaire [i.e. God], (je) m'adresse a vous pour vous prier envers luy vouloir estre par oraison moien quil luy plaise conduire selon la sainte volonte ( ... )" (Correspondance, 1, p.25). Instead she took refuge in writing,

producing what we now consider her more mature works, the Chansons spirituelles, La Navire, Les Prisons and the Heptaméron. Her partial retirement from political life after the marriage of her daughter Jeanne d'Albret to Guillaume, Duke of Clèves, in 1540, against the wishes of both mother and daughter, to suit the politics of François I, was to be most important for her career as a writer. She spent from 1542 to 1544 in her domains, the Kingdom of Navarre, for whose reunification she fought. She went first to Nérac, then to Mont-de-Marsan and Pau. For the first time in her life she had the chance to retire from public affairs and devote her life to reading and writing. From then on she would return more often to Navarre, and her mature works must be considered as the fruit of this partial withdrawal. Then on 31 March 1547, the King died in Rambouillet and she never recovered from this final shock. Just as in 1524 when Princess Charlotte died, Marguerite produced a poem, the Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne written under the direct impact of her personal experience, so in 1547 she embarked on what may rightly be called her first mystical play, the Comédie sur le trespas du Roy.

One must refer to Marichal 's study on La Navire ou consolation du Ray François Ier à sa soeur Marguerite to realize the importance of this mystic dialogue between François Ier and Marguerite. At the crucial moment, when the King appears to lose his own identity and assumed the spirit of the Bishop of Meaux, she hears similar reproaches to those she heard at the end of the Dialogue from young Princess Charlotte:<sup>239</sup>

Toy qui as tant de Dieu ouy le bien dire,  
Qui en tes mains tiens sa sainte Escriptrue,  
Laquelle peulx et doibz sans cesser lire ...  
(Navire, vv. 295-297)

And shortly after, the basic theme of the works written by Marguerite in about 1547 the mystic teaching of the Bible, symbolized in her own enigma-name "la Marguerite", is introduced:

Marguerite ,et pourquoy n'as tu trouuee  
La marguerite et perle evangelique  
Que l'Escripture a si fort aprouvee.  
(ibid., vv. 316-318)

It is curious to remark that here La Navire identifies Marguerite's name with the spiritual meaning of the Bible, the evangelical Pearl that should not be thrown to the pigs (i .e. the uninitiated). Her ideas here are far closer to the teachings of Lefevre and Briçonnet than in her earlier

poem Le Miroir, where the “marguerite” is a simple riddle for secret knowledge.<sup>240</sup> Febvre noted the interdependence of Lefevre and Briçonnet in the understanding of the Pearl as the esoteric interpretation of Scripture in Amour Sacré, and La Navire supports this opinion, since mystic hermeneutics was one of the basic tenets of the school of Meaux. Letter 59, written by Briçonnet on 16 January 1523, is a mystic instruction on the two meanings of the Bible, i.e. the literal and the spiritual, as Lefevre understood them: “L’intelligence spirituelle est la marguerite cachée, laquelle, par la lettre qui est la chandelle, se trouve que l’Ion laisse, la marguerite trouvée, laquelle ne se communique a chascun, et n’en congnoissent la vailleure et excellence” (Correspondance, 2,p.13). Lefevre’s introductory letter to his translations of the New Testament in the same year 1523 is also close to the text of La Navire: “Et devant ceux-la ( ... ) ne faut aucunement parler, ne semer les precieuses marguerites de l’Ecriture Sainte”.<sup>241</sup>

The conclusion is obvious: the Queen had been instructed in the mystical hermeneutics not only by Briçonnet through his Correspondance but by Lefevre himself, the main exponent of the Meaux group in interpreting the Bible spiritually. In exchange, perhaps, for Marguerite’s personal protection until his death in 1536, he must have initiated her in the difficult task of reading the Bible at different levels, since the Queen expected knowledge in exchange for her support.<sup>242</sup> A text in one of Marguerite’s early Biblical plays, L’Inquisiteur, written while Lefevre stayed in her Court, proves that she was interested in the early 1530s in all the intricacies of hermeneutics, since she clearly distinguishes the “literal” and the “spiritual” meaning of the Scripture:

#### L’INQUISITEUR

Qui t’a tant apprins d’Escripture?  
Pour vray, ;l est ainsi escript.

#### LE VARLET

Vous m’en avez fait la lecture,  
Et Dieu m’en a donné l’esprit.  
(Inquisiteur, vv. 378-381)

But in the 1540s the Queen had started to re-read Briçonnet’s letters. and through this Correspondance she was able to echo Lefevre’s spiritual teaching as we shall see, not only in La Navire but especially in one of her most hermetic works, the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan. There is a sentimental link between the Duchess’s early experiments in learning the Meaux group’s difficult tenets, and this mature interest in things she had learnt in her active youth.

## II

Shortly after the death of her brother in 1547, Marguerite wrote a puzzling work that has confused most of her sharp critics, and still remains as enigmatic as ever.<sup>243</sup> The Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan belongs together with the Comédie sur le trespas du Roy to the third stage in her thematic development. From 1530 and 1534 the Queen dealt mostly with biblical material; until the early 1540s she was interested in the ethical implications, and now in 1547, after the death of her brother, she started to treat mystical concepts, embodying them in the characters of her plays. Her mystical playwriting is characterized by a symbolic use of monograms and enigmas that may have been obvious to the audience at the Court of Navarre, but to the modern reader their significance is obscure. The Comédie sur le trespas du Roy is not totally cryptic, since it gives a clue to at least three of its four characters, while the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan is a riddle from beginning to end.<sup>244</sup> Clive has given a good resume of the critics's views on this work:

Pour A. Lefranc la Superstitieuse symbolise le catholicisme en general; la Sage, la Reforme; la Ravie, le libertinage spirituel. P. Jourda considere que la Superstitieuse represente le catholicisme étroit ("la pratique mécanique des oeuvres") ; la Sage, la foi chretienne raisonnée et intellectuelle; la Ravie, l'amour mystique. V.L. Saulnier, de son côté, propose les étiquettes suivantes : le matérialisme, la bigoterie, l'évangélisme. la foi du charbonnier (mais élevée à l'étage mystique); ces dernières étiquettes nous semblent resumer très justement les données essentielles des quatre positions.<sup>245</sup>

The complete disagreement of the critics among themselves ("quot homines tot sententiae"), and their facile labels reveals the difficulty of interpretation of the four characters of the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan. It is clear that we must go much deeper into the relevance of these "dramatis personae", without in any way isolating them from the mysticism and from the doctrine of spiritual hermeneutics of the authoress.

If it is true that Marguerite liked to associate her characters with people she knew, as is clear in the case of the three first "dramatis personae" of the Comédie sur le trespas du Roy, and those of the Heptaméron,<sup>246</sup> on the other hand certain characters like "Paracletis" have not been so far identified.<sup>247</sup> It is a pity that we know nothing of the actual text of the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan or of the stage directions for the play;



nevertheless criticism has been based almost entirely on pure speculation, and only a more detailed analysis of the Comédie's ideas can help the modern critic to decipher some of the riddles of this play.

The first character to appear in the Comédie is "la Mondaine", who only praises bodily pleasures. She states her ideals while speaking to «la Sage»:

LA MONDAINE  
Madame, je suis corporelle,  
Aymant mon corps, tant naturelle  
Qu'à riens fors à vivre ne pense:  
J'entens vivre joieusement  
En biens et honneur(s) longuement,  
En taus plaisirs, jeux, ris et dances.  
J'aime mon corps. voyla la fin.  
(Comédie. vv. 207-213)

"La Superstitieuse" is the next to appear. She is more subtle, since like the Pharisee in the parable ( Luke 18, 11-14) with which sometimes she seems to identify, she claims to fulfil, scrupulously, all the requirements of the law:

LA SUPERSTITIEUSE  
( ... )  
En jeunant, disant man office,  
Portant la here taus les jours  
Et la discipline tousjours;  
Pleurer, demourer sollitaire,  
Estre à beaulx genoulz nus au temple.  
Donner par jeunes bon exemple,  
Priant Dieu sans jamais se taire?<sup>248</sup>  
(vv. 236-242)

She embodies the strict Pharisaic attitude of total condemnation of the Publican, the sinner for whom she has no mercy. "La Sage" would therefore argue with her:

*LA SAGE* [speaking to "la Superstitieuse"]  
Mais si sans peche vous sentez,  
Contre elle vostre main metez  
Et jectez la premiere pierre.<sup>249</sup>  
(vv. 426-428)

“La Sage” despises “la Superstitieuse” more than she pities “la Mondaine” because of her arrogance: “C’est orgueil qui vous faict parler” (v.483); and in vv.107-108, “la Superstitieuse” claims against “la Mondaine”:

Au chemin par où je chemine,  
La mondanité point n’y passe.

The third character to appear is “la Sage”. She defends “reason” as against bodily pleasures and arrogance, since thinking distinguishes man from the rest of the creation:

LA SAGE  
Dieu a bien faict ung tres beau don à l’homme  
De luy donner raisan. savez vous camme?  
Comme a ung ange. Est ce pas don honneste?  
Par la raison il assemble et assomme,  
Ayme et congnoist les vertus et les nomme:  
Par la raison il differe a la beste ;  
Dieu luy a mis en hault regard et teste  
Pour contempler ce qui est par sur luy:  
La beste en bas a la terre s’aresté,<sup>250</sup>  
Et l’homme en hault dont vient tout son appuy.  
(vv. 161-170)

Unlike “la Superstitieuse”, “la Sage” offers “la Mondaine” a way of salvation through the evangelical Faith:

LA SAGE [*talking to “la Superstitieuse”*]  
Croire il te fault fermement  
Puis suyvre son commandement.  
En le servant de cueur et d’euvre.  
(vv. 369-371)

The outstanding feature, however, that seems to have escaped the critics is that her teaching is based on the literal understanding of the two Testaments of the Bible:

LA SAGE [*talking to “la Superstitieuse”*]  
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.  
(vv. 484-488)

The same solution is offered to “la Superstitieuse”, this time even more clearly:

LA SAGE  
Or, me lisez ceste escripture  
Où verité se faict entendre.  
(vv. 544-545)

After a long argument, which will be more fully analysed below because of its utmost importance for this study, “la Superstitieuse” surrenders to the wishes of “la Sage” and decides to read the text of the Bible: “J’y vois lire pour vous complaire” (v. 597).

If Marguerite’s Comédie had ended with the following vv.568-572 as the climax of the play - note incidentally that in v.568 the Scripture appears as a “Mirouer” - then the common opinion of the critics on the meaning of this play would seem less objectionable and more consistent:

LA SAGE  
C’est le mirouer qui esclaire  
Voz cueurs, et (puis) qui les descouvre  
Grand(e) joye j’ay de vous deux  
Veoir lire en cas livres si neufz,  
Que neufves serez en ceste euvre.  
(vv. 568-572)

Febvre, to mention but one, attributes to “la Sage”, who fails to offer a final solution in the Comédie, all that is most precious to the Queen of Navarre, her evangelical message, when he states:

Je dirais, pour ma part: la Sage représente, simplement, le contenu de cette religion peu chargée d’articles que tant de contemporains de Marguerite avaient, comme elle, extrait de la méditation du Nouveau Testament et des Epîtres pauliniennes - avec l’aide, tout à la fois, et des disciples de Lefevre d’Etaples. et des Erasméens et du Martin Luther des grands écrits réformateurs de 1520.<sup>251</sup>

Unfortunately and contrary to all these suppositions, it must be clearly pointed out that by the time Marguerite wrote the two mystic plays, the Comédie sur le trespas du Roy and the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, as well as the Prisons, she was moving away from her equivocal position in works like the Dialogue and the Miroir. Then the Queen had entangled

herself in the controversies that were beginning to split Western Christianity into two factions. though one cannot properly speak of Protestantism and Counter-Reformation as we know it today. On the other hand reformers tried very hard to believe that Marguerite was a Protestant in the same sense as Luther, for whose ideas the Queen had a certain amount of sympathy. For the modern critic, for instance, it seems absurd that a pro-Lutheran hand could have gone as far as to modify the actual text of the manuscript of the Correspondance between Briçonnet and Marguerite, most probably to prove that the Queen was on Luther's side.<sup>252</sup>

By the time the Comédie was written, a new figure far more radical than Luther had emerged in Geneva. Jean Calvin's reforming experiments were never looked on sympathetically by the Queen. Although Calvin had found protection in Marguerite's Court at Nérac, his bitter discussions with her other "protégés" had often disquieted her, since, to use R. Marichal's expression, "la rigueur du système Calviniste avoit de quoi l'effrayer", as for instance "la prédestination et le libre arbitre où elle préfère visiblement l'indecision a la rigueur" since it appears "que son temperament mystique s'accomodait mieux sans doute du "bouillant" Luther que de l'implacable Calvin".<sup>253</sup> Protestantism, not so much in Luther as in Calvin, had shown a clear opposition to mystic thinking, and when the Queen opened her doors to the "Libertins Spirituels", the latter went as far as to slander the reputation of Marguerite: "Je voy une secte la plus pernicieuse et exécrable qui fust oncques au monde. Je voy qu'elle nuyst beaucoup, et est au feu allume pour destruire et gaster tout, ou comme une contagion pour infectionner toute la terre, si l'on n'y remédie".<sup>254</sup> Marguerite's reaction against her former "protégé"'s intrusion was immediate and the suggestion that "la Sage" reflects the Queen's view of the Reformer would not be out of place, if by this is meant Calvin's intellectual intransigence.<sup>255</sup>

Hilda Graef summarizes the ideas of Protestant Reformers regarding mysticism as follows:

The theology of the Reformers, Luther (1483-1546) and Calvin (1509-1564), was fundamentally inimical to the development of genuine mysticism, even though mystical trends made themselves felt at times. Luther himself was interested in mysticism in his early years, even for some time after he had started the Reformation ( ... ). He was attracted by the German mystics, Master Eckhart and Tauler, and especially by an anonymous late fourteenth century treatise, the so called "Teologie Deutsch" (German Theology), which he published himself in 1616. Of this

he said that, except for the Bible and St. Augustine no book had ever taught him more about God and Christ and the human condition. This is very significant, for, though this book is fairly orthodox even if rather one-sided in its mystical teaching, it nevertheless emphasizes certain aspects which were later to be taken out of their mystical context and embodied in Luther's own doctrine.<sup>256</sup>

The fourth and last character in the Comédie is "la Ravie de Dieu, Bergere". While embodying simplicity itself, she is paradoxically the most complex of the four "dramatis personae", and her tenets have often been identified with the mystical principles of the "Libertins Spirituels". She is the "Ravie d'Amour":

LA BERGERE [*as she enters the stage*]  
Helas! je languys d'amours...  
Helas! je meurs tous les jours.  
(vv. 573-574)

She refuses to follow "La Sage"'s "chemin de science" (v.817)

LA SAGE  
Mais plustost vous juge ignorante,  
Qui s'esjouict sans savoir quoy.  
(vv. 807-808)

"La Bergere" rejects it since she prefers to follow the mystical way of the "Docta Ignorantia":

LA BERGERE  
Vous avez bien jugé de moy,  
Car ma joye ne congnois pas.  
Je m'esjouis et prens soulas  
Et ne congnois pas bien ma joye.  
(vv. 809-812)<sup>257</sup>

She, nevertheless, knows exactly what she is longing for:

LA BERGERE  
Je sçay ce que je veulx avoir:  
D'autre science n'ay besoign.  
(vv. 825-826)

“La Bergere”’s mystical teaching has wrongly been compared by a few critics to that of the Libertinism of the “Libertins Spirituels”. It is true that she preaches the primacy of love:

LA BERGERE

Qui vit d’amour a bien le cuer joieulx,  
Qui tient amour ne peult desirer mieulx,  
Qui scet amour (n’) ignore nul sçavoir,  
Qui void amour a tousjours rians yeulx,  
Qui baise amour il passe dans les cieulx,  
Qui vainc amour il a parfaict pouvoir,  
Qui ayme amour acomplyt son devoir,  
Qui est parte d’amour n’a nul (le) peine,  
Qui peult amour embrasser, prandre et veoir,  
Il (est) remply de grace souveraine.

(vv. 575-584)

Lefranc’s reaction is immediate:

( ... ) le langage de la Bergere “ravie d’amour” est absolument celui des libertins spirituels. C’est la doctrine de cette secte fameuse, secte qui fut la cause directe de la rupture survenue entre Calvin et Marguerite, qui se reflète, de façon la plus manifeste, dans les effusions hardies et brûlantes de ce personnage. Il n’y a au monde que l’amour: tout le reste n’est qu’apparence et vanité . La science est inutile; le coeur et ses impulsions doivent être les seuls guides de la vie humaine.<sup>258</sup>

Other critics are less dogmatic, as for instance Clive,<sup>259</sup> while Febvre quite rightly concludes that criticism on this matter has gone too far: «Soyons historiens. Etre historien, ce n’est pas mettre en contact des dates et des faits bruts et nouer entre ces éléments inertes des liens arbitraires”.<sup>260</sup> Parturier goes as far as to recognize the Libertine influence in Marguerite’s early writings, even before she had any contact with them: “Marguerite avait certainement connu leurs idées et les avait adoptées bien longtemps avant cette visite [*i.e. towards 1546*] car ses premiers écrits en portent déjà la trace”,<sup>261</sup> but this view can hardly be held, even in the milder form adopted by Jourda.<sup>262</sup>

It is true that in 1525 «un certain Coppin, originaire de Lille» enseigna la doctrine de la liberté spirituelle dans sa ville natale”, remarks Jundt in his interesting work Histoire du panthéisme populaire au Moyen Age et au seizieme siecle.<sup>263</sup> Then, towards 1534, Quintin appeared in France with Bertrand des Moulins. Together with Claude Parceval and Antoine

Pocques they started to spread their spiritual teaching in Paris, until they had to face Calvin who stopped them from diffusing their doctrine among the protestant community in the city. Pocques then moved to Strasbourg and Geneva in 1542. It was not until 1543 that Pocques and Quintin had to take refuge and became ‘protégés’ in Marguerite’s Court, with Calvin as their implacable enemy. Luther’s attitude was not different. In about 1525 he met a “Libertin Spirituel” at Wittenberg and soon afterwards the reformer wrote a letter to the people of Antwerp against a “demon incarné qui veut vous conduire en erreur et vous détourner de la vraie intelligence de l’Evangile”.<sup>264</sup>

We know too little about this sect of the “Libertins Spirituels” to be able to make a comparison with the doctrine of love preached by “la Bergere” in the Comédie, since their writings were suppressed by both catholics and protestants. We must deduce most of their spiritual tenets through the invectives of their enemies, particularly of Calvin who wrote no less than eight treatises against them, one of which was addressed against those who took refuge in the Court of Navarre, as well as against Queen Marguerite herself: “Petit traite montrant ce que doit faire un homme, regnoscant la vérité de l’Evangile quand il est entre les papistes”.<sup>265</sup> Fortunately however, for us, a collection of Traité mystiques written at the Court of Navarre during the years of Marguerite survived the destruction by both Catholics and Protestants and was published by C. Schmidt in 1876.<sup>266</sup> It shows certain similarities, though very vague, with the spiritual teachings taught by the Queen of Navarre, but the central theme of the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan regarding the literal and spiritual meaning of the Scriptures is totally different. If it is true that the “Libertins Spirituels” maintained that “il faut apprendre à dégager la lettre de l’esprit”, as well as the allegorical interpretation of the Bible, their three stages in its understanding were not the traditional ones of the Queen: they taught that there had been three epochs in the history of mankind, namely “celui de la loi” (in the Old Testament) «par le Père”, “celui de l’Evangile” (New Testament) “par le Filz” and “celui du Saint Esprit” (Amour);<sup>267</sup> these are totally incompatible with Marguerite’s traditional teaching, which, as we are to see, she learnt not from them nor from the Reformers, but from her spiritual initiation in hermeneutic theology through Briçonnet and Lefevre.<sup>268</sup> Already in 1524 the Bishop of Meaux had instructed her in the spiritual meaning of historic passages of the Old Testament, symbolized by the Hebrew letter “Mem” as we saw in Chapter 1 on Marguerite’s initiation into the mystical tenets of the group of Meaux, and I totally agree with Glori Cappello’s opinion that Marguerite’s mystic ideas on the Bible are different from those expressed by the “Libertins Spirituels”.<sup>269</sup>

### III

By the time the “Libertins Spirituels” arrived in the court of Navarre it was perhaps too late to make any real impression on Marguerite’s ideas, though she welcomed them, gave them protection and listened to their teaching. We have been left very little evidence of their actual initiation and it is difficult to compare their mystical ideas with those we encounter in Marguerite’s works written about 1547. The Queen had now time to read and to write, and the fact that the works she wrote during her long “retraites” in Navarre show remarkable similarities with the Correspondance she had held with the Bishop of Meaux, may prove that she was now studying their exchange of letters very closely; perhaps she now regretted that the precious collection she had ordered to be copied had been left unfinished by the royal amanuensis.<sup>270</sup>

The four puzzling characters of the Comédie can, as if miraculously, be re-created almost word for word from passages written twenty years previously, at the end of 1522. Briçonnet, following the Pauline distinction between the “homo spiritualis” and the “homo animalis”, (I Corinthians 2,14), writes of those who never arrive at total understanding because they follow their own desires:

either they follow their	Body (like “la Mondaine” in the Comédie)
or “ “ “	Superstition (like “la Superstitieuse”)
or “ “ “	Reason (like “la Sage”)

with only few arriving at a «clairvoyance” (like “la Bergère”) which is superior to reason. Speaking of the “trois sortes d’hommes”, the first one “charnel et terrestre, totalement aveugle comme la taulpe. Le second, animal voiant seulement ès tenebres, comme la sevesche et ne voyant en lumiere, juge du monde et peu ou rien de Dieu. Le tiers est spirituel, lequel comme l’aigle est clairvoiant en la lumiere du soleil de justice ...” (Correspondance, 1, p. 228). Briçonnet provides us with a most illuminating text, which in my opinion offered Marguerite a chance of a quotation in her Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan:

Il en est d’aultres qui macerent leurs corps [*he writes*],  
and LA SUPERSTITIEUSE [talking to “la Mondaine”]  
J’en loue le Dieu de bonté,  
Pour lequel mon corps j’ay dompté  
Tant qu’il ne se peult soubstenir.  
Je le bas, je le fais jeusner  
Et en voiage cheminer,  
Et de tous plaisirs abstenir.  
(vv. 441-446)



travaillant pour en sortir et plus y entrent: lesquelz comme asnes tournent alentour de la roue à leur plaisir, toutesfois prisonniers et attachez à icelle en la tournant. Ilz cuident par raison naturelle et animale penetrer et pour debvoir parvenir a la fin de la vie spirituelle viviffiante par jeusnes, oraisons, aulmosnes et aultrez oeuvres,<sup>271</sup> esquelz cuydent estre et consister leur justification, aussy par raison apprehender, congnoistre et entendre ce qui est plus sur raison qu elle n'est sur le corps et charnel le sensualité. Telz sont trap en corps qui en oeuvres corporelles et materielles mectent leur salut. Saint Pol les appelle anymaulx ( ... )

(Correspondance, 1, p.224)

*and the view of LA SAGE:*

Dieu a bien faict ung tres beau don a l 'homme ~  
De luy donner raison, savez vous comme?  
 Comme a unJange. Est ce pas don honneste?  
 (vv. 161-163)

*LA BERGERE prefers to fall in love:*

Je ne sçay rien sinon aimer.  
 Ce sçavoir la est man estude,  
 C'est man chemin, sans lacidude.  
 Où je courray tant que je vive.  
 (vv. 819-823)

Brignonnet often follows Marguerite's initiative, as can be seen in Letter 46 of the Correspondance, just quoted, in which he tries to illustrate the ending of one written by the Queen in November of 1522. In the previous year, once again following the Queen's initiative,<sup>272</sup> Brignonnet gave a mystic description of the fourth "brebis" as "l'aveugle en soy", whose spiritual unconcern for anything except God resembles the fourth character in the Comédie, disinterested in herself ("aveugle en soy") and totally possessed by love:

Elle brusle d'amour et charité<sup>273</sup> et se cuide froide.<sup>274</sup> Elle ayme sans aymer et est sans estre. Car elle est aveugle en soy et ne congnoist en elle que son seul necessaire, leque en elle, d'elle, par elle et pour elle faict toutes ses operations.<sup>275</sup> Elle est morte vivant(e)<sup>276</sup> car son seul necessaire vit en sa mortification.

(Correspondance, 1, p. 43)

When the "ravie" soul arrives at the fourth stage of perfection, all its operations (seeing, moving and even living) are absorbed by the will of

God; the expression “aveugle en soi” is a Quietist formula to mean that the soul no longer controls its own vision; but even if “la Bergère” echoes Briçonnet’s teaching on God’s control of the “aveugle en soi”, I personally feel that the play is more directly connected with the Bishop’s epistolary treatises written later at the end of 1522 and the beginning of 1523, when the Bishop was about to introduce Marguerite into spiritual hermeneutics, i.e. the mystic interpretation of the Bible, under the guidance of no less than three biblical scholars from Meaux who were staying at the royal court, Lefèvre d’Etaples. François Vatable and Gérard Roussel: “Et sachant les graces qu’il vous a données, et que ayant telle opportunité desdits trois personnaiges qui ont l’intelligence hebraicque et grecque, dont se peuvent esclaircir plusieurs tenebres qui sont par mauvalises translacions en l’Escripture Sainte, me jugeray vous tenir propos duquel vous [*vous*] excusez”. (Correspondance, 2, p.13)

There is no doubt that Marguerite was initiated into the secret technique of biblical interpretation by Briçonnet (*Ibid.*, 2, pp. 11-15), first perhaps by Michel d’Arande whom the Queen calls “l’expositeur” as early as September 1521 (*ibid.*, 1, p. 42). Their mutual Correspondance already attracted the attention of Henri de Lubac in his scholarly work Exégèse médiévale; les quatre sens de l’Ecriture.<sup>277</sup> Glori Cappello has recently made a more detailed analysis of both Lefèvre’s hermeneutics and those of Briçonnet, concluding that the Queen depends not on the doctrine of the “Libertins spirituels”, but totally on the exegesis of the school of Meaux.<sup>278</sup> It may be harder to show how successful a pupil the Queen had been under the direction of the best scholars France could then offer. The two quotations I have already given previously from L’Inquisiteur and La Navire show that Marguerite had been interested in the study of the different interpretations of the Bible. but only the Comédie proves that she was a proficient pupil who could cope with the most difficult task of applying different levels to the reading of the text in the Scripture. The apparent unconcern of “la Bergère” reflects her understanding from within under the guidance of the Spirit; this doctrine will later be developed by the Queen in the Prisons, where the spiritual meaning of the Word is preferred to its literal interpretation.<sup>279</sup> Unlike Briçonnet she was not interested in long scholarly expositions on the spiritual meaning of biblical passages like the miracle at Cana of Galilee, (Correspondance, 1, pp.81-82), or the biblical interpretation of the passage of the Hebrews through the Red Sea (*ibid.*, 1, pp.195-214), but she could attempt something more concrete and easy like the presentation of a character that would embody the ideas of Meaux on the spiritual meaning of the Scriptures.

So far, apart from Lubac and Cappello, there has been very little work on the use of mystical exegesis in the work of Marguerite. Febvre, it is true, had remarked the use of the Bible in two of her works, the Discord estant en l'homme and the Miroir.<sup>280</sup> Allaire has noted that the Bible glosses in the Miroir were taken from Lefevre's translations into French of the Scriptures<sup>281</sup> remarking at the same time that the personal copy of Marguerite can still be seen in the Turin Library with the ex libris "ce livre est à Madame Marguerite de France"<sup>282</sup>. Indeed she depends, not only on Lefevre's readings of the Bible, but on his criticism and on his mystical hermeneutics as well, and this through the spiritual initiation of the Bishop of Meaux. A more positive contribution has recently been made by Salminen and Veissiere-Martineau in their studies of Marguerite's quotations from the Scriptures in the Miroir and the Correspondance.<sup>283</sup>

We are here more directly concerned, not so much with what the doctrine of Briçonnet and Lefèvre was, but with the way it came to Marguerite through two years of almost constant exchange of letters with the Bishop. Already by 1522 Briçonnet had insinuated that the Bible can be read at two different levels, the obvious and the hidden. The letter he wrote to her on 18 May 1522 can be considered as the prologue to a mystical exposition on Moses's Canticle which he wrote eight months later on 16 January 1523:

Et puisque par nostre froideur autrement ne pouvons ne serons excuséz sy avec Moïse, sa soeur Marie et aultrez d'Israël ne chantons ordinairement le doulx canticque: "Cantemus Domino; gloriose eum honorificatus est, equum et ascensorem projecit in mare" [Exodus 15,1]. Lequel, comme est le premier de tous les canticques, aussy contient le mistere et figure de nostre innovacion et regeneration que vous prie, Madame, le lire d'autant plus devotement quant Dieu vous donnera la grace que l'ombre est descouvert par la verité, et en le disant, digerez tous les passaiges moult haultz et sublimes contenans nostre redemption. (Correspondance, 1, p. 202)

Briçonnet's letter is in fact an exposition on how to trace a spiritual sense in an historical book of the Old Testament, as in the case of Joshua who "Tel devoit du doulx Jesus estre l'ombre et la figure, car Josue est interprete salut et salvateur" (*ibid.*, 1, p.213), and "Il faudroit ung gros volume qui vouldroit, ayant l'esperit de Dieu pour guide et conduite, amplement declairer tout le progrez du veage umbratile des enfans d'Israël ( ... )" (*ibid.*, 1, p. 210). By this he signifies that the spiritual meaning is somehow subordinated to the actual inspiration of God for those who are ready to understand the secrets hidden in the obvious historical context.

It must be emphasized that neither for Lefèvre nor for Briçonnet is there opposition between the literal and the spiritual senses in the Bible, but the spiritual meaning is more profitable. By 1523 Marguerite was ready to understand this and other more subtle distinctions, as this letter of 16 January of that year proves:

Car toute l'Escripture Saincte est ou spirituelle seulement, sans intelligence litterale, ou litterale sans la spirituelle (et bien peu), ou litterale et spirituelle ensemble. Moings se trouvera de passages qui se puissent seulement entendre litteralement que des aultres deux. A ceste cause l'on dict que l'intelligence litterale est comme la chandelle qui ne couste que ung denier, dont on serche la marguerite qui est cachée en la maison. L'intelligence spirituelle est la marguerite caschée, laquelle, par la lettre qui est la chandelle, se trouve que l'on laisse, la marguerite trouvée, laquelle ne ce communique a chascun et n'en congnoissent la vailleure et excellence. Pour ceste cause deffend nostre Seigneur ne debvoir estre semées entre les pourceaulx, c'est a dire l'intelligence spirituelle ne fleurir ou sentir bon a plusieurs qui sont charnelz et litteraulx, qui voient sans veoir et oyent sans oyr ( ... ) (*ibid.*, 2, pp. 13-14).

It is on the last few words that I would insist in order to show what I maintain is the basic message of the four characters in the Comédie. If it is true that there is no opposition between the literal and the spiritual meanings of the Scripture, according to Lefèvre and Briçonnet. since the two senses complete one another, the Queen was following step by step the mystic tenets of the Meaux Group when, as Glori Cappello has pointed out, they maintained that: “La vraie clef de l'intelligence de l'Escripture Saincte est l'esperit et non la lettre ( ... )”.(*ibid.*, 2, p. 14). Marguerite's discussion between the four characters of her Comédie is directly connected with this problem of reading the Bible, and this, as far as I know, has escaped all the critics of this work.

“La Sage” appears from the very beginning as the blind guide of “la Mondaine” and “la Superstitieuse”; “la Sage” possesses the understanding of “la lettre” but never goes beyond its literal meaning. There are two passages in the play, an argument between her and «la Mondaine», and another with “la Superstitieuse”, that illustrate this point:

LA MONDAINE

Je ne scay pas où commencer:  
Je craindz seulement de penser  
Au mal qu'il fault que je descouvre,

LA SAGE

Pour vous metre toute a delivre,  
je vous faictz present de ce livre:  
C'est la loy et vieille et nouvelle.[i.e.the 2 Testaments]  
En luy verrez ce qu'il fault faire  
Et qui pour vous peult satisfaire,  
Pour vous metre en vie eternelle.

LA MONDAINE

Puis qu'il vous plaist de le me dire,  
Incessamment je le veux lire,  
Pour y chercher mon sauvement

LA SAGE

Ignorance, des folz marrastre,  
A sapience pour emplastre  
Bon sens, raison, entendement.  
(vv. 372-386)

A second parallel discussion between “la Sage” and “la Superstitieuse” begins soon after about the reading of the Scripture:

LA SAGE

Or, me lisez ceste escripture  
Où verité se faict entendre.

LA SUPERSTITIEUSE

Madame, je suys (bien) trop sotte  
Pour chanter de si haulte notte;  
Certe, je n'y puis rien comprendre.

LA SAGE

M'amy, lisez hardiment  
Le viel et nouveau Testament  
Que vous a laisse vostre pere.

LA SUPERSTITIEUSE

C'est a la personne savante:  
Mais moy qui suis tant ignorante,  
Cela me seroit impropere.  
(vv. 544- 554)

At the end even “la Superstitieuse” agrees to be instructed by “la Sage”: “Toutesfoys à vous me consens” (v. 559).

“La Bergère” remains all the time totally unconcerned with what the other three are discussing, while she understands, in her ignorance, that the discussion the other three characters are holding is nonsense:

LA BERGERE

Vous qui estes ignorantes

Que c'est que (la) ferme foy:

O combien seriez contantes

Sy le saviez comme moy!

(vv. 692-695)

The only way to penetrate the mysterious character of “la Bergère” is to understand the context of the hermeneutical discussions of the school of Meaux, of which Marguerite herself remained a member to the end. If it is true that some of the group passed over to the Lutherans, or were at least attracted by Luther’s first reforming efforts, they soon turn independent. After the dispersion of the Meaux group in 1525, when some of its members, Lefevre, Roussel and Michel d’Arande, had to take refuge in Strasbourg, Marguerite, who had to busy herself with serious political tasks such as the liberation of her brother from his imprisonment in Spain after the French defeat in Pavia, tried to salvage something from the wreck by gathering some of the members around the Court of France. Briçonnet could no longer shelter them nor join them in his official capacity as a Bishop of the official church.

What has not been emphasized enough is the fact that Briçonnet’s anti-Lutheran Synodal decree of 15 October 1523 was a defence of the policy of the Meaux group in a matter as serious as mystical hermeneutics of the Scripture, which were under attack by Luther:

Semblable à Chrysippe [says the Bishop as the main reason for rejecting Luther’s reforming efforts] qui se croyait seul sage, il tord à sa fantaisie par une interpretation nouvelle les saintes Ecritures, et meprise tous ceux des anciens qu’il trouve contraires à ses témérités; le bienheureux Denis entre autres, ce disciple de Paul, dont les écrits sont après les Evangiles et les livres apostoliques ce qu’il y a de plus sublime et de plus sacré, il le traite de novateur!<sup>284</sup>

The group of Meaux had taken the doctrine of the Pseudo-Denis very seriously, particularly his mystical interpretation of the Bible. Lefèvre had, for instance, defended the authenticity of the Areopagite against Erasmus, and this may be one of the main reasons why the man of Rotterdam was never able to form contact with Briçonnet’s group.<sup>285</sup>

denying the identification of Paul's first convert in Athens with St. Denis, the first martyr of France, would jeopardize the Gallican claims of Apostolic continuity.<sup>286</sup> Nevertheless Erasmus's position on biblical hermeneutics is not basically different from the traditional one adopted by Lefèvre and Briçonnet. In 1516 he had been asked by Capiton (alias W. Köpfel) to express his opinion as regards the "quadruplex sensus Scripturarum"; Erasmus first avoided answering the question: "unus adhuc scrupulus habet animum meum",<sup>287</sup> perhaps because he was against the abuse of allegories by some writers, but soon afterwards in 1518 (Ratio p.127) he included some guidance on a prudent use of the four meanings of the Bible: "Unum illud addam: Non satis esse circumspicere, quomodo juxta sensum historicum, qui simplex est; quomodo juxta tropologicum, qui ad mores et vitam communem pertinet; quomodo juxta allegoricum, qui capitis ac totius corporis mystici tractat arcana; quomodo juxta anagogicum, qui caelestem attingit hierarchiam, diuersimodis rebus variè explicat veritas (...)"<sup>288</sup>.

A. Skevington Wood has studied Luther's hermeneutic principles: "One of the most valuable of Luther's hermeneutic principles is his insistence on the primacy of the literal sense. He resolutely sets aside the verbal jugglery in multiple exegesis and firmly takes his stand upon the plain and obvious significance of the word. "The literal sense of Scripture alone", he asserts, "is the whole essence of faith and Christian theology"."<sup>289</sup>

Mystics tend to interpret allegorically most of the historical passages of the Old Testament. Briçonnet, for instance, sees Abraham, Isaac and Jacob as figures of the Trinity and David as an image of Christ, which he calls "proportion" (Correspondance, 2, p.201); the mystic motto tends to be "omnia in figura", everything in the Old Testament is an image of the New, following the numerous allegorical interpretations of Saint Paul. Some Protestant attitudes towards the mystical interpretation of the Bible in the time of Marguerite were totally different from that adopted by the Meaux group. The former usually accepted only the "innatae allegoriae", the symbolic meanings that can be read in the actual texts of the Scripture itself, particularly the interpretation of historical passages as seen by writers of the New Testament such as Saint Matthew<sup>290</sup> or Saint Paul.<sup>291</sup> According to Reformers all other "illatae allegoriae" were inventions of the "papicolae".<sup>292</sup>

This is the world in which the four puzzling characters lived; it is far more hermetic for us readers of the twentieth century than for those of the sixteenth century who may have read Marguerite's Comédie. When "la Sage", followed by "la Mondaine" and "la Superstitieuse" get tired of

“la Bergere”’s apparent unconcern for their discussion, they decide to leave her alone and continue their tasks of reading the text of the Bible:

LA SUPERSTITIEUSE  
Mieulx vaulx que lire je retourne  
Le temps perdons de plus parler  
(Comedie, vv. 926-927)

This is an illustration of Briçonnet’s doctrine, following the Pauline principle that the “homo animalis” can never understand the “homo spiritualis” (Romans 8,5-6). It is a pity that we do not possess any stage directions for the production of the Comédie that was played at Mont-de-Marsan “le jour de Caresme prenant mil cinq cens quarante sept”.<sup>293</sup> I am inclined to believe, from the minute analysis of the text itself, that “la Sage” had entered the stage carrying a copy of the family

Bible (v.551): “que vous a laissez vostre pere”. It was around this book that the main action evolved, by showing the different attitudes of the four characters towards Scripture. The first three characters would represent what Briçonnet had called “les trop en corps”:

“La Mondaine”	illustrated thus the carnal interpretation of the Sible; <sup>294</sup>
“la Superstitieuse”	embodied its credulous reading;
“la Sage”	represented its literal, intellectual understanding; <sup>295</sup>

Only “la Ravie de Dieu, Bergère” found favour in the eyes of Marguerite’s audience at Mont-de-Marsan, since she stood for the mystical, spiritual principles of the group of Meaux as taught by Lefèvre and Briçonnet in their biblical expositions.

#### IV

When in 1524 Briçonnet sent a copy of the translation of the Epistles of St. Paul by Jacques Lefèvre d’Etaples to Marguerite, the mystic Apple of 1523<sup>296</sup> had become a Royal Banquet, signifying the perfect understanding of God which is attained through the reading of the Bible: “Elles [*i.e. the Epistles of St. Paul*] sont metz roial, engressant sans corruption et guerissant de toutes maladies: plus on en gouste, [plus] la fain croist en desir assouvi, insaciable. Ledict metz purge, illumine et parfaict toute creature, par foy inserée en filiation divine” (Correspondance, 2, p.92). Marguerite had left, in the eyes of the Bishop, the intermediate stages by the time this letter was written. She had been purged of the vices of “la Mondaine” and “la



Superstitieuse” and was about to leave the stage of illumination (that of “la Sage”) to reach finally the union of “la Ravie de Dieu, Bergère”.

What the Bishop had taught her during at least four years, 1521-1524, was the traditional teaching of the mystic writers, particularly that of Origen, the Pseudo-Dionysius and St Bernard. Origen in particular had seen the Song of Songs that was attributed to Solomon as the “quintessence de l’enseignement de l’écriture”, as H. de Lubac comments quite rightly.<sup>297</sup> St Bernard had followed him closely. For him, the “doctor mellifluus et suavis”, the Canticle or Song of Songs represented the key to the understanding of the whole Scripture. since it was “mystique au double sens du mot”.<sup>298</sup> It is not surprising, then, that the Bishop of Meaux had adopted St. Bernard’s Honey, alias the Manna, as the symbol for the final stage in Marguerite’s initiation. The Manna thus became a symbol of her Fullness or plentiful measure (“gomor”): “l’ame ( ... ) impaciente de fain, actend et requiert ( ... ) la viviffiante manne en laquelle gist et est sa perfection et aliment, qui est vray pain de vie, sans lequel ne peult vivre et, pour la recevoir, reste preparée de longue main pour estre “gomor”,<sup>299</sup> mesure nette, parfaicte, vidée de toute aultre impleture ...”(ibid. ,1, pp.138-139).

Shortly afterwards he wrote to the Queen a letter that could well be the source of no less than two of Marguerite’s works, the Comédie des Innocents and the Triomphe de l’Agneau.<sup>300</sup> This letter had also an impact on her mystic use of the Song of Songs, in many of her main works like the Miroir, the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan and the Prisons. It must have been a precious document for the Queen because in it Briçonnet expands the doctrine of Origen and St.Bernard on the mystic meaning of the “Song of Songs”:

Vray coeur amant ne vit en soy, mais en la chose aymée. Par quay, sy aymons viscerellement<sup>301</sup> et de tout nostre coeur le triumpant amateur et libérateur de noz ames, le doulx Jesus, nous vivons en luy ( ... ) Amour est grant lyen odoriferant et attirant le coeur: c’est ung odeur qui faict courrir sans lassitude comme dient les ames («curremus in odorem ungentorum tuorum» [*Song of Songs* 1, 3], ennyvrées de l’extatique amour ravissant, nous courrons a l’odeur de vostre oignement” (Correspondance 1, p.208).

No better definition could have been given of Marguerite’s fourth character in her Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, “la Ravie de Dieu, Bergère” who entered the stage with the words of the “Beloved” in the “Song of Songs” 2,5:

LA BERGERE

Helas! je languys d'amours ...

Helas! je meurs tous les jours.

(vv. 573-574)

Briçonnet's mystical teaching to Marguerite on the "Song of Songs" has left its traces in almost every important work written by her. To quote but a few:

"La Ravie" in the Miroir (vv. 327-331)

Vous l'avez dit en lieu bien autentique

Par Salomon en vostre doulx cantique,

Disant: Ma soeur tu as navre mon cuer,

Tu as navré mon cuer par la douceur

d'ung de tes yeulx. et d'ung de tes cheveulx.

The "Epoux" declares his love for his "Amye" in the Triomphe de l' Agneau (vv. 730-739), using the words of the Song of Songs (2,10-16):

... En leur disant: "Mon Espouse et ancelle,

Ma mieux aymee, o ma tres chere Espouse.

Voicy le temps qu'il fault que vous espouse;

Voicy le temps, gratieuse Colombe,

Où tout florist, quand le froid hyver tombe;

Voicy le temps que jouyray de vous,

Et vous de moy; tant qu'ensemble nous tous

Un corps ferons. O belle Sulamithe ( ... )"

In the Comédie the love of the "Ravie" towards her "Mignon" keeps her, as in the Song of Songs, awake day and night:

LA BERGERE

"Pour penser en luy nuict et jour"

(Comédie, v.854)

for they love each other daintily:

LA BERGERE

Et je seray sy mignonne

Il sera mon grand mignon.

(ibid., vv. 920-921)

Marguerite's hermetic character, "la Bergère", plays with the two basic concepts of Play and Absence-Presence, which, although common to all lyric poetry, was applied by the Solomon literature to the mystic enjoyment of divine experience:

LA BERGERE  
Laissez moy aller, aller,  
Laisser moy aller jouer.<sup>302</sup>  
(ibid., vv. 928-929)

Playing in the presence of her “Amy” or longing for his company are ideas deeply rooted in mystic teaching. The “Absent” in the *Comédie* is obviously God, who speaks through his creatures while he is not present, since nature in mystic thinking is like a mirror which can recall the image of its creator:

LA BERGERE  
J’ayme mieulx une violette,  
Par quy me vient le souvenir  
De mon amy, que de tenir  
En mon guiron ung grand tresor,  
(vv. 763-766)

But it is “la Sage” who asks, surprisingly, the key question:

LA SAGE  
Comment vostre c(u)eur tousjours sent  
Cest amour present ou absant?  
(vv. 696-697)

“Amarissime” (i.e. Marguerite) could not expect any consolation from nature for the loss of her beloved “Pan” (i.e. François) in the *Comédie sur le trespas du Roy*, for only God gives her relief in solitude and prayer:<sup>303</sup>

AMARISSIME  
Ce lieu desert j’ay choisy pour mes pleurs,  
En delaissant pastourelle et pastours.  
Je (h)ay les bois, les verdures et fleurs,  
Prays et ruisseaulx, pallais, villes et tours.  
(vv. 25-28)

and:  
N’espere pas de me reconforter  
Nul rossignol, linotte, ny calandre.  
(vv. 33-34)

The *Prisons*, like the *Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan* show a different attitude to nature. The “Amy” of “la Bergere” misses her Beloved hidden behind natural beauty, and the Poet-Lover complains that nature does not mirror his presence:

Tenebre lors me sembloit lumineuse  
 Et le soleil lumiere tenebreuse.  
 (Prisons, fol. 265 ro, p.121)<sup>304</sup>

There is no contradiction in Marguerite's double way of looking at nature. She just follows the mystical tradition of the West, and, as E. Parturier remarks very subtly, she sounds very much like the medieval mystic Suso who envisages "la creation non pas comme dechue de sa splendeur ou comme étant le domaine du mal, mais comme une merveilleuse manifestation de Dieu".<sup>305</sup> This is at least, though not always, the case in the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, whose literal interpretation is very much like that traditionally given to the "Song of Songs". Everything is going the way of a young shepherdess who has fallen in love with a prince, from whom she receives advances and promises of marriage. Briçonnet had already used this comparison, and probably the Queen of Navarre sees the Song of Songs through the Bishop's eyes;<sup>306</sup> it cannot be a pure coincidence that as early as 1521 she had been the first to introduce the themes of "la Brebis" and "le grand Berger", that was going to be at the very centre of her two mystical plays, the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan and the Comédie sur le trespas du Roy. Mystically both works are very near the spiritual meaning of the Song of Songs. "Paracletis" announces that "Pan" has been united with "le grand Pasteur":

Vostre doux Pan est en son vray repos  
 Voire et va comme l'espouse à l'espoux  
 Au grant Pasteur reduict en son vray estre.  
 (Comédie sur le trespas du Roy, vv. 416-418)

and "la Bergère", who refuses to discover the name of her "Amy" (vv. 677-680) to the other three characters, at one moment betrays her secret by disclosing that, like the King in the Song of Songs, her Amy has fallen in love with her: "la Bergère" of the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan sings: "o bergere, m'amie je ne vy que d'amours" (v.618). But as in the Canticle, love cannot be taken literally; it is used to signify the state of mystical union with the divinity that all mystics, both in East and West, try to express by using the language of physical love symbolically as the most appropriate to express their inmost feelings.

## V

At first sight the Comédie presents fewer problems than the Dialogue or the Miroir, because of its simple structure. There are of course obvious stylistic devices, like repetitions, alternations between singing and dialogue, borrowings from popular songs,<sup>307</sup> as well as from the Classics,<sup>308</sup> and even from Marguerite's own Chansons spirituelles.<sup>309</sup>

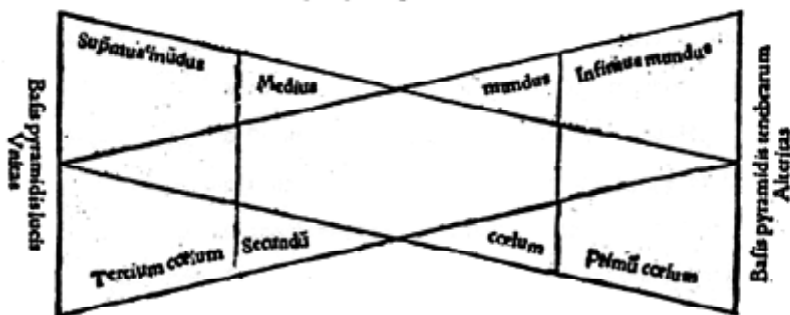
Biblical language, however, and the mystic conventions of the school of Meaux are its real sources of inspiration as I tried to show above, and there are certain problems of style Marguerite learnt from them that throw light on the complexities of this apparently simple work.

One must always be on guard when trying to see hermetic meaning in the Cabbalistic use of numbers,<sup>310</sup> particularly in numbers “three” and “four”, the favourite mystic cyphers. There is for instance no evidence that Marguerite intended to give a mystic meaning to the fact that she wrote four biblical plays, since she does not stress it. The fact that there are only “four” characters in the *Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan*, “a quatre personnages”, is quite different. H. de Lubac suggests that there is close relationship between the symbolic use of numbers Three and Four and the hermeneutical “triplex” and “quadruplex” meanings of the Scripture: number Three is the first organized number, simpler than Four, perhaps less perfect, but no less meaningful. (Cf. Diagram 4, p.294)<sup>311</sup>

**Sed iam ex Dionysio didicimus, mystica nomina excellere sensibilia & intelligibilia, & esse negatius in vertice pyramidis sicut mysticam Theologiam ab his auspicatur: quare nomina (substantiarum spiritualium, quancumque eminentia, non sunt mystica censenda: & ut profundius ascensum & descensum intelligere possis / cuius spe meminisse beatissimus pater accipe pyramidem Nicolai Cusani doctissimi mystici ex libro eius de coniectura, & libro de docta ignorantia.**

Cusanus.

Figura paradigmatica Cusani.



**Sed intelligibiliorem multo tibi cōmunebo pyramidem, in qua & gradus ensium, particulae portionum lucis & tenebrarum distinctissime videbis: nam participatio non est minima via les creatoris Theologi, ut in nostra Theologia negatius fufius explicabimus, & ex hoc longe facilius ascensum & descensum parare tibi poteris pro animi tui sententia ad institutum Dionysiacum: Hanc autem insignem & mirificam pyramidem, longe excedentem Aegyptiacas & Memphisicas pyramides, acceptam referre debes preceptorum nostrum opusculo Gregorio Reischio, Curtius montis S. Ioannis in Friburgo priori viro oppido venerando.**

Eddius

Gregorius Reischius.

Soli deo gloria:

E III 40

Figure 4.

Gregorius Reischius's geometrical diagram, which he calls “figura paradigmatica”, represents the interrelationship of concordant symbols within the pyramid of Light and their opposites within the pyramid of Darkness. It shows Nicolas of Cusa's conception of the Universe: created things there participate from both Light and Darkness, but the closer they are to the base of the pyramid of Light, the less corporeal they are. (De Mystica Theologia, op.cit., Cap.III, Pars II, Prop.III, fol. E IIII ro).

Briçonnet often uses either one or the other. Speaking of people, he sees them either using their “oeil charnel” or their “oeil de la raison” or their “oeil de l’esprit” (Correspondance, L pp.34-36). He is obviously framing them within the three ways of reading the Scripture. Marguerite is also fond of using symbolic numbers as Sckommodau has already remarked in her tripartite division of her Petit oeuvre dévot et contemplatif.<sup>312</sup> When she makes a threefold division in her Prisons. or insists on the “quatre personnages” both in the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan and in the Comédie sur le trespas du Roy, even if the latter includes other minor characters besides the four significant ones, “Amarissime”, “Securus”, “Agapy” and “Paraclesis”, this makes one wonder whether she is not making use of the hermetic meaning of the number Four, particularly since in both plays the fourth character is favoured by the Queen of Navarre with charismatic gifts.

The four characters of the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, like the Four Beverages of the commentators of the Bible,<sup>313</sup> have a particular meaning. Milk and Oil are still imperfect drinks while Wine is the symbol of wisdom (“la Sage”) and Honey embodies the idea of perfect understanding. When “la Bergère”, for instance, claims against the other three that:

Je ne sens corps, ame, ne vie  
Sinon amour ( ... )  
(vv. 870-871)

she is once again playing with a parallel quadripartite division. What she is simply doing is subdividing Briçonnet’s Three Eyes into Four and interpreting them, as the Bishop had done, as the four ways of understanding the Bible at different levels. These could be arranged, following the “scala perfectionis”<sup>314</sup> thus:

1 Corps	taste of milk	la Mondaine	l’oeil charnel
2 Ame	taste of oil	la Superstitieuse	
3 Vie	l’oeil de la raison	taste of wine	la Sage
4 Amour	l’oeil de l’esprit	taste of honey	la Bergère

Very closely connected with Marguerite’s use of hermetic numbers is the anti-intellectual character of the Comédie, since the Queen clearly adopts an anti-intellectual attitude in this play. “Securus” had already stated in her other mystic play, the Comédie sur le trespas du (vv. 337-338) by proclaiming:

## SECURUS

Raison, philosophie, exemple  
Ne servent plus icy de rien.

and “Amarissime” similarly proclaims: “Raison n’a peu de moy estre maistresse” (v.540). The Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan nevertheless goes a step further, since “la Bergère” adopts an anti-intellectual language aimed at confusing the other three characters, who end by concluding that she is out of her mind:

## LA SUPERSTITIEUSE

Elle est bien simple et bien naïve  
Rien ne sçait et ne veult sçavoir.  
(vv. 823-824)

and “la Sage” remarks that “la Bergère” has been tricked by someone:

## LA SAGE

Croiez qu’amour l’a abuzée,  
Et quelque amy l’a amuzée,  
Parquoy elle a perdu son sens.  
(vv. 832-834)

Marguerite uses “la Bergère” to proclaim her mystic preference for “la Docte Ignorance”. Briçonnet had in fact idealized “Dame Ygnorance” in one of his letters to the Queen: “Madame, en cuidant faire fin, me semble veoir vostre esperit insaciable, combien que repeu a souffisance, transporté par amoureuse et ravissable contemplacion hors de soy et envyré de ce qu’il ne veoit et ne verra jamais, vray ygnorant en sçavoir ...” (Correspondance, I, p.188), a text that makes one think of “la Ravie de Dieu, Bergère” of the Comédie. Shortly afterwards, in the same mystic letter-treatise, he adds: “Lors le sçavoir de saint Pol, qui est Jhesus Christ, le doulx aigneau, peut mener par science de son humanité jusques à l’huis. Mais ne peuvent plus avant penetrer dame Ygnorance qui ne habandonne jamais les devotz esperitz jusque ad ce qu’ils soient jusques au trosne des seraphins où dame Ygnorance tient son domicile ( ... )” (*ibid.*, pp. 192-193).

Through “la Bergère”, Marguerite praises Briçonnet’s “hors de soy” doctrine:

## LA BERGERE

Je suis trop sotte pour apprendre;  
Parquoy ne veulx faire ne dire  
Rien que ce (qui) me faict tant rire,  
Ny les fascheux ne veulx henter.  
(Comedie, vv. 879-882)

Brignonnet had studied the mystic hermeneutics of the Pseudo-Dionysius, his favourite writer, to whom he refers many times in his Correspondance with the Queen.<sup>315</sup> It was through the Pseudo-Areopagite that he had learnt to identify the “fourth sense” of the Scripture, with the mystic concept of ecstasy, or as he calls it the “hors de soy” state (Correspondance, I, p. 188). His praise of folly, or the ecstatic state, does not differ from the condition of “la Bergère” in Marguerite’s Comédie, in which she receives a series of not very polite compliments:

LA SAGE [*calls her*]  
Ha! ce n’est pas langage d’une folle?  
(v , 586)

LA SUPERSTITIEUSE [*adds*]  
VOUS estes folle, par ma foy.  
(v. 665)

[*and again*] LA SUPERSTITIEUSE  
Elle ravye ou est idiote.  
Mieulx vous appartient la marotte  
Que ne faiet pas vostre houllette.<sup>316</sup>  
(vv. 760-762)

It would not be contrary to our purpose to note that Lefèvre had been attracted by a series of mystic treatises written by a mediaeval writer, the Pseudo-Idiot. In 1519 he edited the Contemplationes Idiotae,<sup>317</sup> which end with the significant motto: “idiotae rapiunt caelos”. The position of “la Bergère” in Marguerite’s Comédie is not far from the Pseudo-Idiot’s maxim. By refusing to participate in the arguments of the other three characters in the play, “la Bergère” adopts the mystic hermeneutics of Lefèvre and Brignonnet, proclaiming that “la vray clef de l’intelligence de l’Escripture est l’esprit et non la lettre” (Correspondance, 2, p.14), and her “esgarement” is only an excuse to illustrate the mystic principles of Meaux through a play, an easier task for a writer like Marguerite who would have found it more difficult to write a scholarly exposition on the spiritual meaning of the Song of Songs. The Queen may lack in her works the theological jargon that abounds in theological treatises, but her Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan shows that she understands all the complexities of mystic hermeneutics, and that her mind was ready to produce her best mystic work in about 1547, les Prisons de la Reine de Navarre, which has almost been neglected by her critics.



**CHAPTER FIVE**  
**Les Prisons de la Reine de Navarre as Marguerite's**  
**mystical testament: the experience of God as immanent**  
**to the soul and His transcendence.**

**I**

If the last years in Marguerite's life, as I have pointed out at the beginning of the previous chapter on the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, had been marked by an apparent disenchantment with political life, her early partial retirement from the French court into her own Navarrese domains made it possible for her to fulfil the life-dream of many of the Renaissance men and women, the creation of a literary "corpus" that might win her lasting reputation. It is not surprising that Marguerite during the last years of her life, 1540-1549,<sup>318</sup> wrote more mature works than the early sketchy treatises of 1525-1531, one of which, the Miroir, had caused something of a sensation. Later in life her mind was engrossed not so much with popular recognition as with self-expression, when she attempted what we properly call her best poems, La Coche<sup>319</sup>, La Navire<sup>320</sup>, Les Chansons spirituelles<sup>321</sup>, and particularly her two major works, the Heptameron<sup>322</sup> and the Prisons<sup>323</sup>.

There is little doubt, judging by the number of editions, that the Heptameron has enjoyed from its very first appearance the greatest popularity. In spite of the fact that most of the "Nouvelles" had been written by 1545, Marguerite may not have attached so much importance to them as the work was still unfinished when she died four years later<sup>324</sup>. She may not have had the will to bring the long series of "nouvelles" to a conclusion in the form of a "Decameron" probably owing to the dramatic shock she received at the death of her brother, François Ier, in 1547. She concentrated instead on giving us a summary of her thoughts by writing poems such as La Navire, La Coche and in particular the Prisons which took precedence over all the others.

It is, however, paradoxical that even if a critic like Lefranc confessed in 1896 that the Prisons is "l'oeuvre capitale de la soeur de François Ier, par l'ampleur du sujet, l'étendue des proportions, l'exceptionnel intérêt des matières qui y sont traitées,..., véritable couronnement de sa carrière poétique"<sup>325</sup>, this mature work has remained almost untouched by the critics. Seldom referred to and rarely quoted, it could almost be called her unknown masterpiece, one that has only seen a single edition when Lefranc published it in 1896 as part of the Dernières poésies de Marguerite de Navarre<sup>326</sup>; and yet it could be said that what the Heptameron is to the

society of the sixteenth century<sup>327</sup>, the Prisons is to the intellectual ideas and preoccupations of that society, a work far more sophisticated than the modern reader is normally ready to accept.

Glori Cappello has already perceived the highly speculative character of the Prisons: “Les Dernieres Poesies de Marguerite de Navarre”, she points out quite acutely, contain “il poemetto dal titolo Prisons, interessante anche dal punto di vista filosofico”, and according to her it reflects preoccupations that had motivated the long Correspondance between Marguerite and Briçonnet<sup>328</sup>. If it is correct to affirm with Cappello that the Correspondance reflects the philosophical and theological formation of Marguerite, it is equally correct that without the Prisons it would be impossible to trace all her intellectual concerns in philosophy, theology, mysticism and art<sup>329</sup>. As we shall see, thanks to this work above all, we can realize how far the Queen went in the understanding of certain subtleties that had been introduced by Briçonnet into their Correspondance, which otherwise might have been thought to be beyond her grasp; but she was no fool, and this vital document is a clear proof that she could deal with the most subtle problems interesting the most brilliant minds of her time.<sup>330</sup>

## II

If we are to believe certain critics, Marguerite's mystic impulses come and go as she pleases; she may appear, according to them, one time totally submerged in the Divine, almost forgetting everything else, and the next moment she may be able to overlook it all, totally unconcerned with the mystic training she had cherished for the four critical years of her late twenties. “Elle s'est même élevée si haut”, writes Lefranc, “grâce à ce sentiment, qu'il serait peut-être teméraire de le qualifier d'exagéré. Sans doute, les traces du mysticisme des années de jeunesse reparaîtront ça là (sic) au milieu de l'ardeur nouvelle qui vient d'envahir son être”<sup>331</sup>. A myth seems to pass from generation to generation of Marguerite's rejection of Briçonnet's teaching which has undermined all serious attempts to examine her works objectively. From the moment Capiton's oracle had decided that she had made up her mind in 1528 to abandon her mystical training in the school of Meaux, and reject Briçonnet's “philosophie de haute volée”<sup>332</sup>, the general critical attitude to Marguerite's work assumes that she has been lured by the Reformers' ideas, “cette croix, que portent les églises secrètement disséminées sur le sol de la France”<sup>333</sup>, at the expense of the mystical principles she had followed under the school of Meaux.

I have already rejected this assumption in this study, as well as the opposite view that Marguerite was no longer interested in certain themes that would sound offensive to traditional ears such as the supremacy of Faith versus Works. According to Luther, however, human works are totally worthless since Faith justifies without them, while in Marguerite's mystical circle works must be subordinated to the leading role of Grace. "Chanson 5" for instance, written in the 1540s, does not reject the relevance of human actions but the theory that man can be justified without Faith:

Si quelcun parle de la Foy  
En la mettant quasi a riens  
Aux prix des oeuvres de la Loy,  
Les estimant les plus grans biens,  
Sa doctrine est nouvelle;  
Laissez le là, passez avant:  
Autant en emporte le vent.  
(Chanson 5, vv. 8-12)

To try to link the ideas of La Navire with Luther's concept of Works, as Marichal has done<sup>334</sup>:

Les oeuvres font tenir en seureté  
Roy et subjectz, pourquoy les fault aimer  
Et en user par sens et verité;  
(Navire, vv. 1177-1179)

is totally irrelevant to the clarification of the topics that were "en vogue" in the Court of Navarre. These topics were entirely disapproved by Calvin, as I have shown in my previous chapter on the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan<sup>335</sup>. In those lines the Queen was simply commenting on the ideas of her own circle on the theory of works that were seen by mystics as sparks struck out by the divine action on Man. Eckhart explained that "as God is almighty in action, the soul is also boundless in its capacity to take", insisting on the submissive role of man: "Our blessedness does not depend on the deeds we do but rather on our passiveness to God"<sup>336</sup>.

This theory of Works is closely linked in Marguerite's poetry to one of its central ideas, namely the neo-Platonic concept of the soul's imprisonment within the body. It appears in most of her poems; in the Dialogue the soul is presented as exposed to the painful experience of sinful actions (corrupted works) since it is united to the body:

Estant en luy joincte, c'est bien raison  
Que vous ayez la peine du peche  
Qui transforme liberte en prison.  
(Dialogue, vv. 508-510)

The Miroir is even more explicit in naming the sources of this corruption in man that causes human actions to be sinful works:

...  
*Moy, qui par eulx* (the devil, world and flesh) *longtemps avoie esté*  
Prisonniere, esclave, et tant liée ...  
(Miroir, vv.662-663)(also vv.691-692)

This concept of Prison is often closely linked with the neo-Platonic idea of “the body incarcerating the soul” in later works by Marguerite like the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan. Instead of mirroring the soul’s beauty, the body appears as its deceitful mask:

Dans vostre corps l’ame immortelle  
Est mise, et doit prandre en tutelle  
Le corps, vray masque ou bien mensonge.  
(Comédie , vv. 294-296)

One must refer, however, to La Navire, to find the concept of “prison” closely connected with the theme of “bodily pleasures” trapping the soul in their snares, as appears in the allegory of Book I of the Prisons:

O miserable et aveugle amour!  
Amour de chair, non amour mais fureur,  
Aveuglement, lien, prison et tour!  
(Navire, vv. 310-312)<sup>337</sup>

Not enough attention has been paid by the critics to the fact that Marguerite had gathered at the Court of Navarre people immersed in neo-Platonic thinking, such as Charles de Sainte-Marthe. This is already reflected in the development of certain ideas which were first implanted by Briçonnet, himself a great admirer of Plato, and, germinating in her earlier works such as the Miroir, blossomed later<sup>338</sup>. From the very beginning she was initiated into the neo-Platonic opposition between the spiritual “ravisement” of the soul when possessed by God and the soul’s imprisonment within the body. The Bishop had written to her: “Et qui pourra, Madam, voller plus hault par extaticque et transcendant ravisement en absorbicion de tout desir de vie, pour estre uny à son seul

nécessaire, encoires fault mourir a l'esperit. Telle vie est divine et non spirituelle que actendons et n'est viande pour nous tant que serons en ceste chartre et prison corporelle.” (Correspondance, I, pp.172-173). Straightforward neo-Platonic teaching would be spelled out to the Queen even more clearly by “oracles” like Sainte-Marthe, one of her “protégés” during the 1540s, who wrote on the occasion of her death: “Et Ciceron appelle nostre corps, la prison de l'Ame, pource que l'Ame, quand elle sort du corps, en est delivrée comme d'une prison. Se douloir donc de la mort de MARG., certes ce n'est aultre chose que la desirer estre enchesnee en liens perpetuels”<sup>339</sup>.

The neo-Platonic concept of the soul's imprisonment within the body had been learnt, no doubt, from Briçonnet, with Death and Love as the only possible outlet and solution (Dialogue, vv. 274-289 and 208-219). This early initiation in neo-Platonic themes of her early works was later reinforced by the presence at her Court of people like Sainte-Marthe in the 1540s; then she had more time for philosophical debates, as Marichal has so splendidly proved in his presentation of La Coche as a neo-Platonic treatise on the nature of love<sup>340</sup>; but the Queen was then torn between the loyalty to her brother Francis and the sense of duty to her conscience in the case of the King's liaison with the Duchesse d'Estampes; Marguerite nevertheless dedicated her work to her brother's “favorite”, partly, as Marichal suggests, because the Duchess opposed the strong influence of the Connetable Montmorency, partly because of her attitude as regards the Platonic “amour d'amitié”<sup>341</sup>. Nevertheless, in spite of this syncretism of Platonic and Christian ideas, her doctrine on the nature of love is orthodox<sup>342</sup>.

It was precisely in those early neo-Platonic 1540s, that the first sketch of the Prisons was written. So far as I know, no critic has noticed that Marguerite's Chansons Spirituelles<sup>343</sup> written then, contain a short poem, “Chanson 23”, which is a short version of the more ambitious Prisons. It seems likely that she had first written it as an outline of what was going to be her most cherished work. “Chanson 23” offers in fact the complete plan of the Prisons:

General theme: the need for a change:

Ame, tu n'es au chemin  
Ny en la voye  
De vraye félicité;  
Dieu t'y convoye.  
 (“Chanson 23”, vv. 1-4)

1st Prison: the allegory of the Poet-Lover, attracted by worldly pleasures:

Ame, où vas tu sy soudaint? (bis)  
-Je cours a plaisir mondain. (bis)  
-C'est en vain;  
Car plaisir mondain est faux;  
Tu te fourvoye,  
Qui en tristesse et tous maux  
Fine sa joye.  
(ibid., vv, 5-11)

IInd Prison: as in the Prisons, this “chanson” announces an even more sophisticated danger that awaits the Poet-Lover, namely “ambition”, together with “terriens biens” and “avarice”:

Ame, hélas! quel chemin tiens? (bis)  
-Tout droit aux terriens biens. (bis)  
-Ce n'est riens:  
Mais avarice le coeur  
Sy fort guerroye,  
Qu'elle le fait en douleur  
Du Diable proye.

Où vas tu à grand roideur? (bis)  
-A l'ambition d'honneur. (bis)  
-C'est erreur:  
Ambition trop blasmer  
Ne te pourroye;  
Son feu, en lieu d'allumer,  
Brusle et foudroye.  
(vv. 12-25)

IIIRD Prison: once again, as in the Prisons (Book III), the Poet-Lover is warned of the dangers of speculative learning:

Ame, où vas tu par ces deserts? (bis)  
-Vois sçavoir par gens experts. (bis)  
-Tu te perds:  
Sçavoir aux lettres trouver  
Bien tost sçauroye.  
Si l'esprit bien esprouver  
En toy pourrouye.  
(vv. 26-32)

Marguerite insists then on the necessity of spiritual experience and mystical meditation rather than of learning, to reach the Divine.

Où vas tu a sy grand pas? (bis)  
-Avec ces gens de la bas. (bis)  
-N'y va pas:  
*Combien qu'ilz soyent merchez* (i.e. marqués)  
*De noire croye*, (i.e. craié)  
Orgueil les tient attachez  
De sa courroye.  
(vv. 33-39)

End of "Chanson 23": as in the Prisons, it ends by summoning the "Ame" (Poet-Lover in the Prisons) to forget itself and aim at union with the Divine through mystical experience (i.e. love):

Ame, où vas tu, par ta foy? (bis)  
-*Je vois à l'amour de moy* (i.e. self love)(bis)  
-Garde toy  
D'aymer ce que rien ne vault:  
Si tu sçavoye  
L'amour et le don d'en-hault.  
Seul l'aymeroye.  
(vv. 40-46)

The Chansons Spirituelles treat the difficult mystical points in a more direct and often simpler way than her other longer poems. "Chanson 3", for instance, teaches the pleasures of the Divine Union:

Et par le Nom de ce Filz amiable,  
Recevez la pour espouse agreable (i.e. l'âme)  
En l'union du corps tant desirable  
Où vous voulez mettre en un voz amis.  
(“Chanson 3”, vv. 37-40)

Certain obscure concepts such as the mystic concept of ecstasy appear in them ennobled by lyric overtones:

Puisque Dieu par pure grace  
M'a tiré à soy.  
Et qu'en tous en toute place  
Luy tout seul je voy,  
Je suis remply de plaisir,

Veu que mon âme est s'ame,  
 Qu'il a d'Amour endormie;  
 Hé, laissez la dormir; Hé, laissez la dormir.  
 ("Chanson 12". vv. 1-8)

as well as the mystic rejection of the "Cuyder" or presumption (see "Chansons Spirituelles" 11, vv.1-4 and 27, vv. 37-44) which robs us the perfume of the Rose of Love (see "Chanson Spirituelle" 27, v. 41):

Maudit soit le Cuyder  
 Qui semble peu de chose,  
 Et fait de nous vuyder  
 La senteur de la Rose.  
 ("Chanson 27". vv. 1-4)

Many Chansons Spirituelles develop similar ideas to those treated in the Prisons, especially Nos. 5, 9<sup>344</sup>, 20<sup>345</sup> and in particular Chanson 43, in which the hermeneutical theory that the knowledge of the Bible is a source of freedom for the soul, is clearly taught<sup>346</sup>:

Sa parole nous présente:  
 C'est gracieuse leçon;  
 Et l'ennemy qui nous tente  
 Par luy est mis en prison.  
 ("Chanson 43", vv. 16-19)

Other sources have been suggested for the Prisons; Parturier had noticed certain similarities between the Prisons and a manuscript attributed to Marguerite, which he found without a title and published in 1904 as Récit allégorique de sa conversion<sup>347</sup>; this was re-edited in 1960 by Hans Sckommodau from another manuscript (N°3458 of BN), under the title Petit Oeuvre dévot et contemplatif<sup>348</sup>. According to Parturier, as he wrote in an article on his finding of the manuscript<sup>349</sup>, Marguerite used the allegory of the Lost Sheep in the Récit allégorique, whilst in the Prisons she used that of the "wandering Poet-Lover", and he concludes: "Elle y fait, sous le voile de l'allégorie, ce qu'on peut appeler le récit de sa conversion et nous trouvons dans ce poème comme une esquisse des Prisons"<sup>350</sup>. If such was the case, as is likely, she first announced the theme of the Poet-Lover in the Petit Oeuvre Devot et Contemplatif<sup>351</sup>, then sketched it in the Chansons Spirituelles, particularly in "Chanson 23", and finally developed it fully in the mature Prisons.



### III

Eastern and western mysticism alike insist that the approach to the Divine can only be made after a long and painful process of transformation involving the whole of man, senses, mind and spirit<sup>352</sup>.

This operation is normally described by them by means of an allegory<sup>353</sup>, since this is said to be the best way to make its meaning intelligible to the unfamiliar reader. Marguerite applies this device, so cherished by classical writers and the biblical tradition of exegesis<sup>354</sup>, to many of her mystical poems. She uses the four allegorical characters of her play the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan to illustrate man's different levels in the understanding of the Bible<sup>355</sup>. It first appears in the form of a mystical riddle in her most popular poem, the Miroir, in which she succeeded best in describing her mystical bewilderment by means of a sustained parallel Enigma-Mirror-Marguerite-perle<sup>356</sup>. The word Bewilderment is not chosen at random, since it can be found over and over again in the Correspondance as well as in her mystical poems.

Marguerite often provided themes and allegories and this seems particularly true of the parable of the Lost Sheep which probably inspired the Petit oeuvre dévot et contemplatif<sup>357</sup>. Briçonnet recognizes this when he writes: "Vous escripvez, Madame, que, comme 'la brebis en pais estrange errant, ignorant sa pasture par mescognoissance des nouveaulx pasteurs, leve naturellement la teste pour prandre l'air qui vient du lieu où le grand berger, par ses bons ministres, luy a acoustumé donner doulce nourriture, etc..." (Correspondance, 1, p. 4).

Briçonnet expanded Marguerite's allegory of the "lost sheep", weak (*ibid.*, 1, p. 7), blinded by the sun (*ibid.*, 1, p. 154), and in need (*ibid.*, 1, p. 136), and when she received his long letter-treatise, she must have welcomed this kind of "nourriture", for which her "famelicque" spirit was waiting (*ibid.*, p.38)<sup>358</sup>.

There are four kinds of "brebis" in Briçonnet's letter, written shortly after he had agreed to initiate the Queen into mysticism. The first has fallen through Adam's fault. The second represents those who, although saved by Christ's grace, are "tellement inveteréz que peché leur est naturel", and the third kind those who are the weak ones : "...toutesfois errans du chemin par ygnorance ou fragilité humaine..." (*ibid.*, 1, pp.41-42). Briçonnet pays little attention to the first three kinds of "brebis", and turns to the mystic lost sheep, "la quatrieme brebis errante", the only one that "se esgare au chemin, et toutesfois en se esgarant est au chemin sans se esgarer" (*ibid.*, 1, p.42). Only through mystic bewilderment, Briçonnet

was trying to explain, can one arrive at true knowledge: “Mais cest esgarement, en, verité, est vraie cognoissance” (*ibid.*, 1, p.45).

Marguerite’s preoccupation with this theme of mystic bewilderment lasted all her life. It often took the form of a dream foretelling her of the dangers of refusing to follow God’s invitation to attain a higher state of perfection. The young Princess Charlotte had appeared to her in a dream insisting on the need to accept the will of God (Dialogue, vv. 583-585). The “vieillard” equally appears to the Poet-Lover to be his guide during his journey (Prisons, fols 284 vo and 285 ro, p.164). In both cases it was the voice of Briçonnet talking to Marguerite; she still remembers his instructions and letters:

Mais d’autre part me monstra ung vieillard<sup>359</sup>  
Blanc et chenu, mais dispost et gaillart,  
...  
D’un marcher lent; ainsy le viz venir  
Tout droit à moy, dont ne me peuz tenir  
De m’incliner et faire reverence  
A l’ancien qui donnoit esperance,  
Le regardant seulement à sa myne,  
De recevoir de luy quelque doctrine,  
Car le sçavant, à dire verité,  
A d’un chacun grant honneur merité.  
(*ibid.*, fols 283 vo and 284 ro, p. 162)

The fact that the “vieillard” speaks to the Poet-Lover in the form of a dream is significant. Marguerite was fond of dreams and visions; sometimes she contrives encounters with her dead brother François, as in the Comédie sur le trespas du Roy and in the Navire ou consolation du Roy Franyois Ier à sa soeur; but Charles de Sainte-Marthe tells us that the Queen saw in some dreams signs of future events: “Or n’est il donc absurde , que nous avons dit. MARGUERITE avoir diviné par son songe, la mort estre prochaine.”<sup>360</sup>. Her first poem, the Dialogue, was originated by a vision of little Charlotte. This discussion between the Poet-Lover (Marguerite) and the “vieillard”, which occupies almost 500 lines, raises the main themes of the Prisons. We can presume that Marguerite had a vision of Briçonnet in a dream shortly after his death, since the poem insists so much on the actual “recognition” of the “vieillard” as her former tutor:

Trop tard l’avoys congneu, trop tost laissé.  
...  
Et qu’il m’avoit laissé pour mon besoiing

Livres remplis de son saige parler,  
En les lisant me prins à consoller.  
(Prisons, fol. 292 ro, p.179)

Had it not been the Princess herself who had chosen the Bishop of Meaux in 1521 to help her to “tirer hors de ses tristes tenebres la toute vostre Marguerite”? (Correspondance, p.37). Letter 7 of the Correspondance is a most important document for the interpretation of the “esgarements” in the Prisons, since Briçonnet -the “vieillart”- was chosen for the purpose of introducing her to the last stage in her ascension to the state of “union”, normally called “perfection” by the mystics. If the Prisons are to be interpreted as an autobiographical analysis of Marguerite’s “ame mise a nu”, Briçonnet’s role must be seen in its historical perspective, as the Queen herself had seen it. She often complained in her letters that he was delaying her introduction to the last mystic stage, symbolized by “la Manne”:

Le temps est sy froit et le coeur sy glace que l’eau chaulde ne le tres-ardant feu ne peuvent desgeller sa froide dureté. Car, comme insatiable après avoir eu, par la bonte de Dieu, eau et feu pour resister au temps et à sa soif, dont a luy seul le blasma s’il n’y a proufité, crye maintenant à la faim desirant viande douce et de substance. (Correspondance, I, p.132).

This letter ends with the words “Vostre gellée, altere et affamée fille Marguerite” (*ibid.*, I, p.132); apparently Briçonnet has little time to pursue the initiation through the symbols of Water (Purification) and Fire (Illumination); he complains of being kept busy by the troublesome “cordeliers” of Meaux (*ibid.*, I, p.133).<sup>361</sup> But most probably he thought that the climbing process of mystic initiation should be undertaken slowly. The letters that were exchanged between the Court at Saint-Germain-en-Laye and Meaux show the unwillingness of the Bishop to speed the process as against Marguerite’s excessive enthusiasm; in one of his shortest letters he explains that he himself needs God’s help as much as anybody; it is this practical lesson in humility the Queen has to learn: “Supplyez, Madame, au debonnaire Jesus qu’il luy plaise apauvrir celluy auquel demandez la manne, car depuis quelque temps il est devenu sy riche de coeur et de biens qu’il ne veult et ne peult bien faire, le vouloir duquel [*i.e. Briçonnet’s will*], graces à Dieu, est encoires pauvre, est en danger sy ne le secourez promptement” (Correspondance, I, p.137).

In fact one of the most distinctive characteristics of the whole Correspondance is the impatience and enthusiasm of Marguerite in her

short letters to get through the initiation on the four “esgarements”, and the method adopted by Briçonnet to lead her to the final stages, the soul must go through a series of difficult stages symbolized by images like “abisme”, “sans sentir”, “sans chemin” and “esgarement”:

L'abisme qui tout abisme previent pour en le desabismant l'abismer en abisme sans l'abismer, auquel abisme est fons sans fons, voie des errans sans chemin ne sentier, qui les desvoiez retire d'erreur pour abissalement les desvoier en voie abissale, abissalement desvoiant, et plus desvoie moins desvoie. Esgarement est voie et voye est esgarement menant au port, auquel sont plus arrestéz, plus s'esgarent et errent sans erreur. (*ibid.*, 1, pp.134-135)

until she reaches the evangelical stage of humility (Matthew 18): “...en vous humiliant de plus en plus vers l'abisme de toute humilité...” (*ibid.*, 1, p.135).

Mystic speculative writers normally distinguish either three or four different stages that lead the soul from Conversion to Purification, then to Illumination and Union with the Deity: “These three ways or stages of the mystical ascent: Purification, Illumination and Union” writes J.B. Collins about the Miroir de l'âme pécheresse, “are readily discerned in this work, which is also in accord with the Christocentric type of contemplation; as part of the purgative process, one observes at the outset the brief evidence of a “conversion” which has taken place in Marguerite's soul, and her decision to change the tenor of her life.”<sup>362</sup>. If this can be said to be true of all Marguerite's principal mystic poems, particularly the Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne, the Miroir and the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, all the more reason to think that it applies to her major mystic treatise, the Prisons in which the Queen reiterates all the major themes of her mystical poems.

### Ist Prison, or the purifying stage

There are three kinds of knowledge, according to the mystics, which correspond to the three stages: sensual, intellectual and spiritual or mystic. Meister Eckhart would define them thus: “the first is sensual: the eye sees things at a distance. The second is intellectual and is much higher in rank. The third represents (the function of) that aristocratic agent of the soul, which ranks so high that it communicates with God, face to face, as he is”<sup>363</sup>. According to Marguerite man's most imperfect apprehension is shared by other “ignobles creatures”:

Parquoy, laissant l'estat et digne lieu  
 De filz de Dieu, semblable a l'elephant<sup>364</sup>  
 Tendre te veux. Las! C'est ung pitieux jeu!  
 (Navire, vv. 304-306)

The more man pursues his own pleasures, the more he sinks into his earthly condition. Marguerite here follows the traditional spirituality with neo-Platonic overtones, exactly as Briçonnet had done in the Correspondance. He had used the metaphor of the "maladie" to illustrate this traditional teaching. In one of his letters he distinguishes three kinds of "ailments" which coincide with the "three prisons": "Des deux maladies que dessus la premiere est purgatrice, la seconde illuminative: elle allume la chandelle de congnoissance, dont venoit le bien perdu, pour le sercher. Il y en a une troiziesme qui est perficiente" (Correspondance, 1, p.74). The same teaching is elucidated through another allegory that had been cherished by the mediaeval mystics. The Three Ailments were closely connected with the three meanings of the Bible in spiritual hermeneutics, namely that of the Three Eyes: "Après, Madame, que l'excellente, douce, debonnaire et attraiante lumiere, en illuminant, a aveuglé l'oeil de la sensualité et terreistrité de l'ame, en la mortiffiant et cruciffiant au monde (...) lors accroist sa lumiere et attire plus fermement et facilement l'oeil de la raison et de l'esprit..." (*ibid.*, 1, p.35)<sup>365</sup>.

Marguerite adopts the symbol of "Seeing" to illustrate the different levels in understanding:

...  
 Car je n'avoys laisse nulle fenestre  
 Pour veoir dehors, car, lisant a par(t) moy,  
 Tout le dehors, tout le monde et sa loy  
Voyoys plus cler, et myeulx le congnoissoys  
 Que quand myeulx veoir à cler je le pensoys.  
 Car, estant pris de leurs tentations,  
 Ne povoy's veoir leurs imperfections,  
 Et en lisant povoy's appercevoir  
 Le monde myeulx que quand le cuydoys veoir;  
 De terre et cieulx l'oeil ne voit la nature,  
 En les voyant, si bien qu'en l'escripture.  
 (Prisons, fol. 300 vo, p.197)<sup>366</sup>

The Eye can be a prisoner of its own vision when it is not able to read beyond what is actually written in the text (*ibid.*, fol.301, vo, pp.198-199). Neo-Platonic writers taught that for the actual understanding of the latter

the soul must be seized by a “fureur divine”, a doctrine that was equally applied to the interpretation of the Bible.<sup>367</sup>

The first book of the Prisons tries to follow the mystic teaching of Brignonnet on the first attempts of the Soul to purify herself, by illustrating the Bishop’s counselling with a most realistic story of a Poet-Lover who is painfully re-building a stronghold in the shape of a mediaeval castle, where he will be able to fondle and defend his “Amye”. Its apparent reminiscences of mediaeval tales, such as the love story of Aucassin and Nicolette within the precincts of a tower-prison, soon show the beginning of a new spirit when love’s subtleties began to be re-examined<sup>368</sup>:

Car sans cesser sçavez que je faisoyz  
Estant tout seul: mes chaines je baisoyz,  
Puis j’embrassoys, d’amour par trop espris,  
Les pesantz ceptz où courbe j’estoys pris,  
Puis me tournoys a la porte ferrée  
Qui de verroulx redoublez fut serrée,  
Tout doucement sa force regardoys,  
Ou y touchois et puis baisoyz mes doigtz;  
Après, alloys contempler ma fenestre,  
Où, en sautant, n’eusse sçeu de ma dextre  
Ne d’un baston de deux toises toucher;  
A deux genoulx, en lieu d’en aprocher,  
Je l’adoroys et sa grille rebelle,  
Qui plus epaisse estoit, plus m’estoit belle.  
(fol.266 vo , pp.124-125)

But realism such as is encountered in the mediaeval love stories, with important exceptions like the allegorical Roman de la Rose<sup>369</sup>, is not the main characteristic of this allegory of the Poet-Lover, since the poet has added a strange “pathos” to it that makes one think of modern story-tellers: the first prison is nearer some novels of our times with philosophical insights into the human condition than any of the “Nouvelles” of the Heptaméron. The Poet-Lover does not try to escape from the crumbling ruins of the castle and his situation is reminiscent of the surrealistic world of writers like Kafka, whose characters are similarly entrapped.

Marguerite’s Book I of the Prisons is nevertheless closer in its ending to certain biblical allegories and parables, such as that of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15,11-32); its technique as an open-ended story about a Poet-Lover makes the book at first appear more as a moral than as a mystic

story, except that she intended it to be read primarily as a spiritual allegory: God's sudden intervention (fol. 268 ro) makes one see it more as a mystical than as a moral work. When the Poet-Lover's "Amye" tries to tumble down his defences, he insists on becoming a prisoner of his own conceits:

( ... ) pour me faire endurer  
Dix mille mortz, m'avez en trahyson  
Par les petis demoly ma maison.  
Mais, en pensant de moy tout le contraire,  
Je ne cessoys moy mesmes la reffaïre,  
Dont prisonnier de moy mesmes j'estoys,  
Non plus de vous ( ... ).  
(fol. 270 ro, p.132)

Marguerite's subtle insight into the nature of human love in the first book of the Prisons, could have made her a master of the sustained story or novel as we understand it today, but she simply followed the pattern of the biblical allegories<sup>370</sup>; this parable is merely intended to teach us a mystic lesson. One will never understand this complex story if it is read as a moralizing effort to show the dangers of human love. It is true that it shares certain similar preoccupations with her major work, the Heptaméron, but their differences are too obvious. There is no ending, for instance, to the story of the Poet-Lover, whereas there is a denouement in each of the seventy-two "nouvelles" of the Heptameron. The absence here, of a logical ending is arbitrarily imposed by the writer. It is up to the reader to form his own conclusion:

(The Queen introduces God's action as the only way to solve this stale-mate-like situation of the Poet-Lover re-building the tower, while his "Amye" is equally engaged in destroying it):

Mais Cestuy là, qui seul est incongneu  
Fors de luy seul, voyant le temps venu  
De liberté qu'il avoit limité  
Pour me tirer hors de calamité,  
Fist vostre cueur pour mon bien si muable,  
Qu'il proposa, non par voie amyable,  
Me delivrer, non pour ma liberté  
*Mais par sa trop grande legereté* [i.e.that of his "Amye"],  
De ma prison, ...  
(Prisons, fol.268 ro and vo, p.128)

This intervention of God in the story reveals that the nature of the tale is more mystic than moral, and that the Queen is not primarily speaking here about love, as Briçonnet was not speaking of carnal desires when referring to “l’oeil carnal”. Both of them, with similar metaphors, are pointing to the first stage of any mortal endeavour to reach contact with the Divine. According to the mystics such a step can only be made if God decides to purify man of all earthly desires and links with the physical world, and this preliminary stage is called “purification”.

### IIInd Prison, or the process of illumination:

It is not usual for a writer to plan works as different in scope as the Prisons and the Heptaméron at the same time; Marguerite had encountered a vast amount of experiences to be able to control such difficult material as that described in both masterpieces. Love for her, as it was for the neo-Platonics, was the very essence of the Divine but man could only mime it, often ludicrously as in some of the stories of the Heptaméron, while in the Prisons the story of the Poet-Lover is only an excuse to uncover the first attempts to understand God. Critics often describe the obvious without attempting to interpret the meaning of the symbol of imperfect love in the poem. Lefranc wrote: “Le Poème des Prisons se compose de trois chants dont le premier est tout entier consacré à l’amour humain”<sup>371</sup>; Sckommodau agrees with him<sup>372</sup> but interprets the second and third prisons more symbolically<sup>373</sup>.

It is not easy to tackle Marguerite’s hermetism in the Prisons, a work intended for the initiated reader who can read from the “inside”, without getting lost among the “exoteric” references<sup>374</sup>. From the moment a person is able to leave his first prison, a clearer way is open to him. Briçonnet calls this second stage the “illuminative way”. According to him Water purifies the soul from the outside (Book I of the Prisons), but Fire is needed to burn away all blemishes (Book II):

C’est le vray feu qui faict bouillir le pot d’amour et coeurs de ses creatures et les embrase par divers atouchements et sy tres-vehementes navrencez d’amour, qu’il n’est creature qui puisse les porter. C’est le feu importable et ravissant (...) qui (...) les transporte alieue et met hors de soy sans alienacion et commutacion de lieu, leur donne passion sans passion, insportans les coeurs en joie inexpressible. (Correspondance, I, pp. 108-109)<sup>375</sup>

Marguerite’s Book II of the Prisons can only be fully understood as an illustration of Briçonnet’s traditional doctrine of the painful process of



“illumination”, which in fact takes place under the benevolent “vieillard”, whose doctrine is unfolded under the allegory of a second “prison”. The Queen had already stated in her Miroir: “Par sa clarté ma tenebre illumine” (v. 35). By the time Marguerite was writing the Prisons, she had assimilated much better Briçonnet’s association of the process of “illumination” with the purifying role of the Holy Spirit<sup>376</sup>. In connection with Hermes Pimander’s definition of God as “Je Suys qui Suys”<sup>377</sup>, she writes:

Ce mot icy je congneuz en Hermes  
 Plus clairement qu’en nul si ne mais, [i.e. a moins  
 que],  
 Lion ne sçauroit Pere et Filz demander  
 Ne Saint Esprit plus clair qu’en Pimander;  
 Or n’estoit il de nation juifve.  
 Mais il avoit congnoissance naïfve  
Par cest esprit, qui tout homme illumine (John, 1,9)  
 Venant au monde et qui ça bas chemine,  
 De Cil qui Est, duquel l’election  
 L’avoit tire a la perfection  
 De ce sçavoir qui n’est par l’homme aquis,  
 Et qui seul est à l’homme bien requis.  
 (Prisons , fol. 306 ro, p. 208)

Marguerite clearly distinguishes the three stages here: “election”, “illumination” and “perfection”, following the traditional teaching. Briçonnet had called them, following the Pseudo-Dionysius, Purgation, Illumination and Perfection. By adopting the Areopagite’s mystic teaching and calling him “Monsieur Saint Denis”, matching him with “Monsieur Saint Pol” (Correspondance, I, p.167) and “Monsieur Saint Jean” (ibid., I, p.43), Briçonnet was simply defending the Meaux position against Luther and Erasmus that the Areopagite’s doctrine had the authority of a post-apostolic document, next to the verdict of Holy Scripture: “ E t comme Monsieur saint Denis met trois ierarchie et ordres entre les anges, aussi y a il trois sortes de telles ames, selon les effectz et proprieté de chacunes dessus dictes ierarchie. Il est des ames qui commencent, les aultres prouffitent, et les aultres languissent, comme cuyde quelque fois (combien que sommairement) avoir escript” (ibid., I, pp.118-119)<sup>378</sup>.

It is in this context that the three “prisons” must be interpreted. Like the three beasts that frightened Dante:

Soyez, Amye, ung petit souvenante  
 Qu’en vous comptant de Beatrix et de Dente,

Je n'oubliai de vous dire que troys bestes  
 Mettoit au lieu de tyrantz deshonestes,  
 C'est assavoir l'ourse, lyonne et louve.  
 (Prisons, fol.293 ro, pp.181-182)<sup>379</sup>

and the enemies of the soul, of which St John speaks (I John 2,16):

Mais voulez vous livre plus autantique,  
 Voyez saint Jehan, dedans sa canonique,  
 Commant il dit qu'en la subjection  
 Des troys puissans va en perdition  
 Le monde, et tout ce qu'il enclost et tient.  
 (ibid., fol.293 vo, p.182)

these “mirages” of enemies that appear in the Prisons are like obstacles the soul must overcome to reach a mystic union through a total purification<sup>380</sup>. Marguerite's allegory of the “second prison” of the Poet-Lover begins by presenting the Poet-Lover free from his first prison, symbolized by the snares of the old castle; now he is able to enjoy himself and look at nature in all its beauty (ibid., fol.276 ro, p.145). But he feels unable to maintain this enjoyment of pure contemplation of beauty in nature, and is drawn by an inordinate desire to build:

Car ma prison, bien qu'elle fust mal faicte,  
 Trouvée avoys si belle et si parfaicte,  
 Que je n'avoys oeil ny entendement  
 Jamais tourne sur autre bastiment.  
 Mais, délivré de ma prison antique,  
Ambition, dont le feu brulle et pique,  
Me vint saisir par desir de bastir  
 Mille maisons et de les assortir,  
 Et d'aquerir possessions et terres  
 (ibid., fol. 279 ro, pp. 150-151)

He will now enjoy himself admiring all sorts of beautiful edifices, like those dreamed of by the monarchs of the Renaissance (ibid., fol. 279 vo, p. 152). Marguerite's second book of the Prisons illustrates many aspects of the Renaissance court life, such as its cult of good food, music and perfect love (fol.280, p.155)<sup>381</sup>. But all its splendour lodged human stories, akin to those portrayed by Marguerite in the Heptameron: her allegory of court life as a more subtle “Prison” than the Poet-Lover's walled castle is a sharp criticism of a way of life by a Renaissance monarch who favoured all the refinements that flourished in a sixteenth century court<sup>382</sup>.

The climax of the second book of the Prisons is clearly marked by the guiding role of the “vieillart”, who volunteers to lead the Poet-Lover out of his entanglements in the second Prison:

Je respondis: “Monseigneur, j’ay esté,  
“Je le confesse, en prison arresté,  
“Plus de dix ans. et d’amour enyvreté,  
“Mais, Dieu mercy, j’en suis bien délivré;  
“Je suys dehors de prison et de peyne,  
“En liberté partout je me promayne (...)  
(ibid., fol.284 vo, p.163)

The second “prison” really consists of this reluctance of the Poet-Lover to accept that he is now entangled by a far more subtle tie than that symbolized by Love in the first Prison. The “vieillart” argues:

“L’autre lyen, qui vous tient par les yeulx,  
“Sans vous souffrir de les lever aux cyeulx,  
“Il est d’or fin, si bien fait et si riche,  
“Que vostre oeil plus qu’en ung lieu ne se fiche (...)  
(ibid., fol.290 ro, p.175)

It must be remarked that the vision of the “vieillart” in the second book of the Prisons runs parallel to the role of the Sun in the first book and that of the Spirit in the third book. Up to the stage of purification, as symbolized by the allegory of the castle in the first book, the shining rays of the Sun had not been able to penetrate into the voluntary imprisonment of the Poet-Lover; but the guiding role of the Sun will disappear, to allow the “vieillart” to take over as I have mentioned above when referring to Briçonnet’s role in introducing Marguerite to mystic understanding:

...  
Au plain midy le soleil m’esclaira  
Qui man estot plus plaisant declaira.  
Car je trovay par son rayon luyant  
Ce monde bas desirable et plaisant,  
Mais. d’autre part me monstra ung vieillart  
Blanc et chenu, mais dispost et gaillart, (...)  
(ibid., fol.283 vo, p.162)

Lefranc remarked that Marguerite had shown in the Prisons all the prevailing ideas of her time as regards Astrology, when the Sun, together with all the other stars assumes a guiding role in human affairs<sup>383</sup>. But she is far more interested in describing her “etat d’ame”, than in giving a

picture either of court life or of any of the sciences of her time. The image of the Sun that leads to the vision of the “vieillard” is simply a skilful way of continuing the allegory of the Poet-Lover now reaching, in this Book II of the poem, the next stage in his ascent to total union with the Deity. Marguerite uses the same metaphors as Briçonnet when she speaks of the Illuminating Fire:

...  
Je viz soudain par ce feu abattant,  
Et tant s'en fault qu'il allast rien gastant,  
Que sa clarte, qui tout illuminoit,  
Double beaulte a taus livres donnoit,  
Où l'escripture et l'art estoit garde.  
(ibid., fol.310 vo, p.218)

or of a blinding experience:

Ce fort esprit aveuglant les voyans,  
Illuminant les aveugles croyans,  
Monstre qu'ung seul estre et vie a tous donne:  
(ibid., fol.308 vo, p.214)

The conclusion is self evident. The second book of the Prisons is not very far from the doctrine Briçonnet had taught the poet in December 1521:

Qui met le feu au bois verd, il ne bruslera ne fera flambe, du commencement jusques ad ce quil ayt chassé son contraire et purge le boys des humeurs froides et contraires en les chassant et dessecheant. Et lors qu'il est purge, assoufiré [i.e. rempli], la flamme vient qui illumine et ne cesse qu'il n'ay consommé et parfaict le bois par union à luy. (Correspondance, 1, p.102).

The voice of the “vieillard” is indeed the voice of Briçonnet.

### IIIrd Prison or the piercing experience of vision

The greatest obstacle any reader will encounter when facing an hermetic book like the Prisons is the difficulty of finding a thread that will help him to separate its obvious sense from its secret meaning. No doubt Marguerite's contemporaries would have been better equipped to understand all these difficult points, but its date of publication had been delayed perhaps because of fear of censure by the Sorbonne, since certain

debatable subjects such as the primacy of the Bible and the doctrine of Christ as the only mediator appear in the poem.

When it was published in 1896<sup>384</sup>, it was acclaimed by the critics as her masterpiece, on par with the Heptameron which had known by then countless editions and translations since its first publication

in 1558<sup>385</sup>. The Prisons, however, still remain practically ignored by the critics who prefer to study other poems of Marguerite, such as the Dialogue, the Miroir and the Comédie which have had more recent editions. Perhaps its length of about 5000 lines and the impregnable obscurity, particularly of Book III, has deterred them, since until the publication of the Correspondance (1975 and 1979) it would have been very difficult for the modern reader to unveil fully the meaning of this obscure book. Marguerite's Book III of the Prisons is a far more complex undertaking than the two previous "chants" put together<sup>386</sup>. She must have been expanding its original form for quite a long time, since its basically simple structure is rich in long digressions from its main theme which is the final attempt to reach the climax of perfect union with the Divine. The only way to trace the central lines of thought of this long book is to make a structural analysis of all its themes one by one, stressing the significance of all its digressions:

#### The ascent to perfect union:

The Poet-Lover as described in the previous two books had been liberated from the enclosure of his Tower by the Sun but soon he was attracted by the beauties of created things and had to be freed again by the illuminating guidance of the "vieillard". Now he has reached a final trial since he finds himself trapped by his disorderly desire to know (fols 295-299).

The Spirit now lets him feel its direct impact. It teaches him that knowledge can only be reached through his personal inspiration, since the letter kills but the spirit vivifies (fols 299-300).

#### On the mystic experience:

The mystic pilgrimage of the Poet-Lover has ended. Under the guidance of the Spirit he has to learn a series of difficult topics. First of all he is brought to the realization that it is not easy to describe the experience of knowing God; a series of metaphors dealing mostly with the feeling of being pierced by a dart or wounded by a knife are used to portray the agony of the soul when facing the divine mystery (fol. 302). The clue of this understanding appears to be the mystic comprehension of the biblical

text as a sharp experience (fol. 303). I deal in full with these themes and similar concepts such as the neo-Platonic “fureur poetique” (fol.309) and the mystic concept of rapture (fol.322) in Section IV of this Chapter.

#### On the definitions of God:

The Queen was obviously the Poet-Lover who was aiming at describing the object of her longings through a series of mystic definitions of God. Several formulae are adopted since no single definition can describe Him fully. She adopts traditional formulae such as Hermes Pimander’s definition of God as “Celuy qui Est” (Exodus 3,14) (fols 303-306) and the Platonic description “the perfect Circle” (fol. 308). Mystic antitheses such as “Petit-Grand” (fol. 307), the “Loing-Près” (fol.317) are adopted as well as formulae from the Bible (fol. 310). A detailed analysis of all the attempts of Marguerite to describe God can be seen in Section V of this chapter.

#### On the art of mystic confirmation:

Marguerite does not wish to end her poem abruptly. Imperilling the unity of the work she seeks to demonstrate with a series of “recits” that experience shows the impossibility of reaching unfailing freedom before man realizes that his state as a prisoner will end only at the moment of his death. Freedom can only be attained step by step, but total liberation from earthly bondage is not possible on earth<sup>387</sup>: this was clear to the Queen since 1524 when she wrote her Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne. When her brother died, she never recovered from the impact of the news she received at her Court of Navarre. She spent four months at Tusson monastery and her poems, La Navire ou consolation du Roy François 1er and the Comédie sur le trespas du Roy, written in about 1547, as well as some of the Chansons Spirituelles, corroborate the position of the Prisons, which views death as a painful, piercing experience of man’s final encounter with the Divine.

1st “recit”, on the death of Marguerite de Lorraine, mother of Marguerite’s first husband, Charles d’Alençon, who died in 1521<sup>388</sup>. Marguerite justifies her death with the mystic concept of earthly departure as the eagle-like confrontation with the vision of the Sun; this relates to the old belief found in the physiologists that the eagle renewed its failing eyesight by gazing at the sun<sup>389</sup>:

Car, sans ung mot delaisser de sa reigle,  
Son oeil de foy, regardant comme l’aigle  
Le vray soleil où estoit sa fiance,

Trouvoit en luy repos de conscience.  
(Prisons, fol.331 ro, pp.260-261)

IInd “récit”, on the death of Charles d’Alençon, first husband of Marguerite. She records the most minute details of that day in April 1525, emphasizing that his departure was like facing the mystical Sun:

Mais en faisant du corps au ciel passaige,  
Le clair soleil sur ce pasle visaige  
Ung beau rayon fist si très fort reluyre,  
Qui sembloit estre un cheriot pour conduyre  
L’espouse au ciel, l’ame a son createur.  
(ibid., fol.335 vo, p.270)

IIIRD “récit”, on the death of Louise de Savoye, who had died on 22nd of September 1531. The death of her mother had again confirmed Marguerite’s mystic tenet that only at the moment of death does man reach perfect freedom; she confessed:

“Or maintenant quaproche la deffaicte  
“De la prison de ce vieil corps charnel,  
“Las! plaise vous, o mon pere eternal,  
“Entre voz braz l’ame et l’esprit reprendre  
“Que de bon cuer entre voz mains vois rendre.  
(ibid., fol.338 ro, p.275)

IVth “récit”, on the death of her beloved brother François Ier. His life had not been particularly praiseworthy, but his death had shown that only then can man become acquainted with the “Tout” (God). In a litany-like and very moving repetition of “Memento Mori” themes<sup>390</sup> she insists on François’s conversion shortly before his death:

Souviene vous que sa mort il congneut;  
Souviene vous qu’humblement il receut  
Ses sacremens, que tous il demanda.  
(ibid., fol.341 vo, p.282)

Marguerite writes more comprehensible lines when she mentions her personal experiences than when she describes abstract concepts. Undoubtedly she was moved by François’s acceptance of death and her poetry conveys her warm personality:

...  
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.  
(ibid., fol.342 ro, p.284)

Mystic paraphrase of Mary's "Magnificat" (Luke I, 46-56):

Marguerite resumes the mystic themes of the "Tout" and the "Rien" at the end of the death of François Ier, but this time she applies the term "Rien" to Mary's humility at the time of her visit to her cousin Elizabeth<sup>391</sup>:

Quand elle dist que sa nichilité,  
Son povre Rien, bassese, humilité,  
Son Dieu avoit par pitié regardée ...  
(ibid., fol. 345 ro, p. 292)

Mary, by recognizing her "Rien", was accepted by the "Tout". So was François whose humble disposition brought him close to the Deity at the time of his death. Marguerite then returns to the theme of God's antithetical definition as the "Tout" and the "Rien", which will be analysed later in Section IV of this Chapter, in order to preserve the unity of Book III of the Prisons. Finally the general theme of the whole poem is resumed by referring to the Poet-Lover who has finally reached freedom from all the bondages of the three Prisons:

Ceste voix là ne puy ny ne doy taire:  
où l'esprit est divin et vehement,  
La liberte y est parfaitement.  
(ibid., fol. 348 ro and vo, p. 297)

Any critic must be aware of the dangers involved in suggesting divisions and parts within literary works which have not been indicated or avowed by the author. The problem is however that it becomes unavoidable to try to organize the ideas of the poem through a structural division if we want to follow the dominant thoughts of so complex a work as the Prisons. Only then can we realize what is the intention of Book III, the last step in the mystical ascension.

What makes the third book of the Prisons most difficult to follow, apart from its length, are the constant digressions and the lack of a clear guiding thread in the story of the Poet-Lover; in the previous two books, Marguerite describes his incidents and the saving roles of the "soleil"



and the “vieillart” but now he is presented facing difficult problems before ascending the summit of perfection:

Montant plus hault à la perfection,  
Plus je descends a ceste affection  
Qui est de Dieu très fort recommandée  
Et de l'Amour a l'amant demandée (...)  
(ibid., fol.295 ro, p.185)

Thus begins Book III of the Prisons. The overall tone of Marguerite's work has suddenly changed, as the Poet-Lover begins wondering what the real cause of his delay in reaching the summit can be. Perhaps he had misunderstood the suggestions of the Sun to look at nature, since it proved a trap; the “vieillart” told him how to reach wisdom:

“Amy, j'ay nom de science Amateur,  
“Je te requiers de m'estre imitateur:  
“Tenez. voyez, contemplez et lisez.  
(ibid., fol.291 vo, p.178)

Knowledge is above beauty in the scale of values, unless they are written with capital letters, in which case they are both identifiable with God as the source of Harmony and Knowledge. The Poet-Lover seems to be slow in understanding this, which causes a delay in reaching real knowledge of the true scale of values. As a woman of the Renaissance, well acquainted with all the knowledge of her time, Marguerite could have hardly maintained Wisdom to be a trap for man, particularly in its most excellent manifestations, through Rhetoric, Philosophy and Theology:

Ainsy posay ce beau pillier antique  
De ceste tant aymée rhétorique  
Auprès duquel mys la theologie,  
Où je gastay mainct flambeau de bougye,  
Lisant de nuict docteurs irrefragables,  
Docteus subtilz, serafiques, amables<sup>392</sup>,  
Les anciens, les moyens, les modernes,  
Que l'on congnoist par les oeuvres externes.  
(ibid., fol. 298 vo, p. 193)<sup>393</sup>

The story of the Poet-Lover is resumed in Book III, but in a different manner from that of the two previous books. How will he be able to reach the top in the domain of knowledge, to which he has been introduced by the “vieillart”? Marguerite seldom uses humour in her poetic works as

she does in her Heptameron, but implying in Book III of the Prisons that the Poet-Lover starts piling up books on which to climb up, she depicts him in a comical situation:

Des livres fiz ung pillier, et sembloit  
Que sa grandeur terre et ciel assembloit.<sup>394</sup>  
Ce pillier fait, ung aultre j'en bastiz  
De livres grans, et moyens et petis (...)  
(ibid., fol.296 vo, p.189)

she is suggesting that the Poet-Lover has misinterpreted the mystical teaching both of the Sun and the “vieillart”. The process of Illumination, as Briçonnet had taught her, could only be completed by the understanding not of the letter, but of the spirit of the Scripture. The “vieillart” had advised:

“Si plus avant voulez faire lecture,  
“Prendre vous fault ceste Sainte Escripture,  
“où vous verrez ce qui est commandé  
“Et defendu de Dieu et demandé.  
(ibid., fol.291 ro, p.177)

The Poet-Lover realizes this at last:

Et tout en hault mys la Bible admirable  
Comme le bout où tous les autres tendent (...)  
(ibid., fol.299 vo, p.194)

Thus only by acknowledging that the mystic teaching of Scripture is the goal of all knowledge, could the Poet-Lover climb to the top of a more secure summit than a pile of books. The reader may by now realise that the “vieillart” is simply repeating Briçonnet’s mystic hermeneutics, and that this doctrine of the Prisons had already been illustrated through the four hermetic characters in the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan.

Commentators normally try to explain the Holy Scriptures from historical or textual points of view. A mystic must read it from inside since all external criticisms help little to perceive their real meaning; in these verses the Poet-Lover (alias Marguerite) warns of the dangers of Mediaeval textual criticism since it can obscure the true meaning (“obscure rendue”) with its endless translations, paraphrases, notes and glosses:

Et qui les a bien leuz et bien sondez,  
 Il pourra veoir qu'ils sont tres bien fundez  
De declairer l'Escripture très sainte  
Selon leur sens et n'ont use de faincte,  
 Bien que les uns l'ont au vray entendue,  
 Les autres non, mais obscure rendue.  
 Les uns n'ont fait que des translations  
 Pour les montrer a toutes nations;  
 Autres ont pris labour à l'exposer.  
 A la notter ou bien à la gloser.  
 Paraphraser ou aditionner.  
 (ibid., fols 298 vo and 299 ro, p. 193)

Not until the Holy Spirit takes over the guiding role from the Sun and the “vieillard”, by assuming an active task in explaining the mystic meaning of the Bible, can the Poet-Lover claim that he has grasped its meaning while reading it:

Mais cet esprit, qui n'est de nul contrainct,  
 Monstre l'esprit, auquel il a emprainct  
 Son feu très cler qui ne se peult celler,  
 Mais par escript il se fait reveler.  
 (ibid., fol.299 ro, pp. 193-194)

By now it is finally clear that in Marguerite's third Prison it was not knowledge, but the “letter as against the spirit” that was keeping the Poet-Lover from reaching the summit:

Voilà comment enfermé dans la lettre  
 En liberté je pensoys du tout estre.  
 (ibid., fol.300, p.196)

thus making it impossible for him to reach the final stage of ascension as proclaimed at the beginning of Book III (ibid., fol.295 vo, p.185). Briçonnet's three stages of initiation in his Correspondance had been exactly timed in the same way as Marguerite plans the slow progress of the Poet-Lover. The Bishop had started by adopting the metaphor of “eau” to illustrate the first process of Purification<sup>395</sup> then proceeding to the stage of Illumination by adopting the image of “feu”<sup>396</sup>, he finally spoke of the Unitive Process through the symbol of “manne”<sup>397</sup>. He then complemented this last stage with the spiritual initiation into the mystical hermeneutics of the Bible<sup>398</sup>. Finally he drew a parallel between Christian marriage and the mystic union with the Divinity<sup>399</sup>. So too the Poet-Lover

of the Prisons, or rather Marguerite herself, has finally admitted that the painful climb has led him/her to the vision of the Godhead, a climb beautifully illustrated through the allegory of the “Amy” who has been hindered by all sorts of obstacles, expressed by the metaphors of the three “prisons”. While the “exoteric” reader of later times will be left totally in darkness, the “esoteric” initiate was able to see behind these symbolic veils, since he alone was able to read beyond the allegory of the Poet-Lover<sup>400</sup>. As in the Miroir, words like “veoir” and “oeil” play an essential role in the understanding of the hermetic nature of the Prisons. Not until the Poet-Lover has achieved the sharp vision of the Eagle, will he be able to claim that he has reached the piercing experience of face to face vision:

Son oeil de foy, regardant comme l'aigle  
 Le vray soleil où estoit sa fiance,  
Trouvoit en luy repos de conscience.

(ibid., fol.331 ro, pp. 260-261)<sup>401</sup>

but this can only be attained fully at the time of death, as Marguerite of Lorraine had experienced<sup>402</sup>, though there can be some anticipations of this acute feeling at the moment of mystic ecstasy. .

#### IV

The analysis I have just offered of the complex structure of Book III, reveals that there must have been a first draft of the work to which material was added. Marguerite wanted this poem to be her major treatise on spiritual experience, and she felt therefore that she had to expand certain topics of paramount importance such as mystic experience as a rapture, and the problem of the definition of God as “le Tout et le Rien”, which she wanted to incorporate from other works, particularly from the Chansons Spirituelles in which the very theme of the Prisons had originated<sup>403</sup>. She had to convince the reader that she was not simply agglomerating material, but expanding the main theme of her poem; she never jumps from one theme to another, but constantly returns to the idea of Prison, in order to keep a sense of unity in her poem. Before abandoning the allegory of the Poet-Lover, for instance, she summarizes her thoughts and gives us a synopsis of the whole work, first confessing that in her last stage she was lost in the prison of the letter:

Je desiroys le plaisant fruict manger  
 De tout sçavoir, sans craindre le danger (...)  
 (ibid., fol.301 ro, p.198)

He finds himself trapped in a prison more subtle than the previous one, that of hypocrisy:

...  
Laquelle faiz et bastys de moy mesmes,  
Où je passay maintz advantz et caresmes,  
Jeunant veillant pour estudier myeulx (...)  
(ibid., fol.295 ro, p.185)

The Poet-Lover looks as lost as “la Superstitieuse” in the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan and tries to see more clearly. Knowledge from books (cf. the role of “la Sage” in the Comédie) only brings confusion:

Ces livres sont a ouvrir bien faciles,  
Mais a suyvir les vertuz difficiles.  
(ibid., fol.298 ro, p.191)

until he reaches the mystic union with God, praised by “la Bergere”: “Où l’ame en Dieu sans mourir est ravie” (ibid., fol.301 ro, p.198), when the “esprit dans la parolle encloz” (ibid., fol.316 vo, p. 229) reveals to him the meaning hidden behind the veil of the letter:

Mais par douceur, qui est son vray cousteau,  
Glesve trenchant, flamboyant, clair et beau,  
Par ceste esprit esgu, fort et puyssant.  
Mamelle et chair et os departissant,  
Qui met à rien ce euyder vain et sot  
De tout sçavoir, sans plus, par ung seul mot.  
(ibid., fol.302 vo, p.201)

There is no doubt that Marguerite intends to connect the third stage of knowledge in her Prisons as the mystic understanding of the Bible to her mystical doctrine of “spiritual rapture” as a piercing experience, as of being transfixed by a knife<sup>404</sup>. This mystic feeling of being internally pierced by a knife is explained as the elucidation of a truth which can be read in the Bible at different levels, but only the simple minded (“les petis”) succeed in understanding it (Matthew 11,25):

De tel cousteau tuant non punissant,  
Qui doucement adonques le Puyssant,  
Qui droit au cueur par l’oeil tant soudain entre,  
Frappe le myen, au plus prefend du centre;

Et la façon fut en lisant ung texte  
 Où Jesuchrist sa bonté manifeste,  
 Disant à Dieu: “Pere, je te rendz graces,  
 “Qui aux petis et à personnes basses  
 “As revelé tes tresors et secretz,  
 “Et aux sçavans, gentz doctes et discretz,  
 “Les as cachez: tel est ton bon plaisir.”  
 (ibid., fols 302 vo and 303 ro, pp. 201-202)

These are not two isolated instances of Marguerite’s connection of ecstasy with the mystic understanding of the Bible<sup>405</sup>. If it is true that she had announced the theme of “rapture” in some of her earlier works, particularly in the Miroir and in the Comédie<sup>406</sup>, in no other of her works had she connected the perception of light or the hearing of a “voice” with the third stage of understanding as explained in Book III of the Prisons; one of its precious passages needs very careful reading as it combines difficult concepts: in it “rapture” is directly connected with the spiritual understanding of a biblical text:

Quand, en lisant, premierement j’ouÿ  
 Celluy qui Est se declairer sans faincte  
 En toute lettre et escripture maincte,  
 Dont contanter assez je me devoys,  
 Ceste seconde insupportable voix  
 Me resjouyt et m’attyra à soy  
 En me faisant passer par dessus moy.  
 (ibid., fol.322 ro, p.240)

The Poet-Lover then confesses, like St Paul (II Corinthians 12), the impossibility of describing his experience in human terms:

Mais je ne peuz du très grand bien jouyr  
 De la parolle en ceste voyx ouyr  
 Toute par rang, car elle fut si prompte  
 Qu’impossible est que je le vous racompte.  
 (ibid. 322 ro, p. 240)

He then complains of its almost instantaneous nature, though confessing that he could not say whether it took any time at all, adding that if it had lasted it might have caused him actual death (ibid., p. 241).

Time is an important element when dealing with a mystic experience of God who is timeless by nature. Marguerite had treated it as past-present-future in “Chanson 35”:

Le temps passé je souspire,  
 Et l'advenir je désire;  
 Le présent me fasche fort,  
 Le temps plaisant me fait rire,  
 Et, facheux, cause ma mort.

(vv. 1-5)

She became concerned with what Bergson would have called the distinction between the psychological time that affects us and is therefore measurable by our feelings, and the mathematical division of time as a span of seconds, minutes and hours. He calls them “durée” and “temps mathématique”<sup>407</sup>.

Le temps est très variable  
*Et du bien ou mal muable* [i.e. “la durée”]  
 Le temps n'arreste ung seul pas [i.e. “le temps  
 mathématique”]

(ibid., vv. 36-38)

What she intended was to arrive at a “Timeless Being” who was neither affected by the “durée” nor by the measurable time, namely “a Celuy qui est sans temps” (ibid., v. 45). God was for her:

Qui est, est et le sera;  
 Le constant tousjours demeure,  
 Le présent ne crainct nulle heure,  
 Passé passe et passera.

(“Chanson 40”, vv. 21-24)

She was obviously aiming at a timeless mystic experience that did not depend on feelings of pleasure that make time run faster:

...  
*Sachant que vous* [the Amye] *aussy seul me teniez*  
 Et que may seul sans plus entreteniez,  
 Demouré suys en si plaisant sejour  
 Que j'y trouvoys l'an plus court que le jour.

(Prisons, fol. 265 vo, p.122)

Time is a theme that occurs over and over again, particularly in Books I and II of the Prisons as something that one must fight against. Although it helps the Poet-Lover to discover his miserable existence inside the tower of Love (ibid., fol. 269 ro, p.129), its influence becomes destructive since

it will “tout aneantir” (ibid., fol.270 ro , pp.131-132). We must remember that Marguerite is aiming at the last stage of Union with the Deity, where man no longer depends on his own<sup>408</sup>.

She had also written:

Le Temps chanu, qui toujours envieillit,  
Qui tant de faitz soubz soy ensevelit  
Plus hault que n'est ce hault regne demeure,  
Plus bas il court se changeant d'heure en heure.  
(Le Triomphe de l'Agneau, vv. 1459-1462)

Marguerite's clear descriptions of the “raptus mysticus” or ecstasy which we find in the Prisons, are the apex of a series of other instances which can be traced in most of the other mystic poems of Marguerite.

O mon Sauveur, par foy je suis plantee,  
Et par amour en vous joincte et entee.  
Quelle Union! quelle bienheureté!  
(Miroir, vv. 927-929)<sup>409</sup>

Not until 1524 had Marguerite been initiated by Briçonnet into the “mariage envisagé comme figure de l'union avec Dieu et comme sacrement”<sup>410</sup>, but this mystic teaching appears in most of her poems.<sup>411</sup>

Sckommodau has already noted that the fourth character of the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, the “Ravye de Dieu, Bergère”, was teaching the principles of the “raptus mysticus”<sup>412</sup>. The “Bergère” is of course describing Marguerite's personal experiences of mystic ecstasy as they took place when she was able to grasp the spiritual meaning of the Bible. This experience, although described as sudden in the Prisons, must not be aken as instantaneous in time, but as a process that cannot be spoken of as we do of temporal things<sup>413</sup>. Any attempt therefore to relate her “raptus mysticus” to any single event in her life, even to specific periods, seems, consequently profitless unless historical evidence can be found.

Was she not emulating Catherine of Siena, who had tried to combine active life with the experience of contemplation? Both Sainte-Marthe and the Queen had great admiration for that astonishing woman who was able to combine practical efforts to reform the established Church with the practice of mystic experience<sup>414</sup>. Marguerite may have envisaged her as the ideal example of the raptured woman in the Prisons when she wrote:



Mais entre tous j'en viz ung [livre] d'une femme,  
 Depuys cent ans escript, remply de flamme  
 De charité, si très ardentement  
 Que rien qu'amour n'estoit son argument,( ... )<sup>415</sup>  
 (Prisons, fol.316 vo, p.230)

She was, however, trying to explain the “raptus mysticus” as a piercing experience, by referring to a parallel feeling that was to be celebrated by one of her admirers, Pontus de Tyara<sup>416</sup>. She was very much aware of the “fureur poetique” when she wrote:

Lors je congneuz que les poetes tous  
 Ont très bien dit de dire “Dieu en nous”,  
 Car Dieu en eulx leur a fait souvent dire  
 Ce que jamais par ouyr ne par lire  
 N'avoient congneu. O pouvoir autentique  
 Qui les [a fait], par fureur poetique,  
 Le temps futur predire clerement  
 Et le passé monstrier couuertement  
 Soubz fiction la verité rendue,  
 Qui n'estoit point de leurs sens entendue.  
 Car si le vray, lequel est contenu  
 En leurs escriptz, fust a leurs cueurs venu,  
 Il y eust eu autant de bans prophetes  
 Qu'il ya eu d'agreables poetes.  
 (ibid., fol.309 ro, pp. 214-215)<sup>417</sup>

Marguerite is here reflecting the general interest of her generation in neo-Platonic ideas, such as the understanding of God through natural poetic intuitiveness. St Paul had already acknowledged it, but only partly, in his praise of Greek poets (Acts 17,28); according to the mystics the “fureur poétique” is only a glimpse while the “raptus mysticus” is a total absorption by the Divine; Briçonnet, for instance, compares the mystic ecstatic state to the mythological tendency of the Eagle to be endlessly staring at the Sun:

Tant sont toutesfois ennyvréz<sup>418</sup> de l'excellence de l'infinitude de l'esperit<sup>419</sup> qui leur est communiqué qu'ilz veulent, en ung petit raion, par ardant desir comprendre l'immensité du soleil, et par une goutellette, la plenitude de la mer<sup>420</sup>, et congnoissant l'impuissance de leur vol souhaitent helles aquilaires<sup>421</sup>. Lesquelles par graces impetrees, ne leur prouffitent pour parvenir à leur desir et congnoissent que la pesanteur du corps, combien

que passe par la fournaise de charité, embrase, aneanti et pulverisé, empesche parvenir au vol désiré et de repoux... (Correspondance, I, p. 227).

Brignonnet offers other interesting descriptions of the “raptus mysticus” which might have remained in Marguerite’s mind or been re-read by her shortly before the composition of her Prisons<sup>422</sup> and of the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan. Of all his descriptions, the most remarkable was written shortly before this letter just mentioned. On 5 February Brignonnet tried to adapt the doctrine of the Pseudo-Dionysius on the “Divines Hierarchies” to the “three stages in the spiritual life”<sup>423</sup>. The Prisons follows very closely not only this tripartite division but his description of the “raptus mysticus” as “hors de soi” in the letters written either at the end of 1521 or early in 1522:

... Et qui plus hault vollera, laissant les terres et penetrant les cielz, incomprehensible, infini, eternal<sup>424</sup> et qui jà sera par excellente et ravissable grace hors de soy ne pourra plus le nommer, le contemplant en silence de coeur oultre et feru d’amour, sans parler, sans le contempler, pour l’offuscacion de lumineuses tenebres, esquelles, pour l’excelente et tout surmontant lumière, son entendement est obtenebré, absorbé et nayé (...) qui, desamparant l’esperit du corps sans separacion le congnoissant, sans congnoistre, Tout, et son rien au Tout abismé. (Correspondance, I, p. 150)<sup>425</sup>

What mystics are aiming at in their desire to describe their ecstatic experiences is not easily expressed. “Ravisement” according to the Pseudo-Dionysius means “vanishing in the Super-Essence”. For Marguerite it means “repoz” (Prisons, fol. 321 ro, p.239), a state of almost total absorption by the Divinity. This problem of “losing one’s identity” rarely worried the Eastern mystics who were under the scrutiny of the establishment. Western mystics were sometimes condemned by the Church<sup>426</sup>, and often found it difficult to justify their pantheistic tendencies, for which they had to pay very dearly, without abdicating their right to express their ecstatic sensations<sup>427</sup>. They affirm the differences between themselves and the Divinity when they describe their “raptus mysticus” often as a “duel”, and their feelings as the piercing experience of being “wounded” by an external force<sup>428</sup>.

## V

Closely connected to the theme of mystical experience as a piercing wound is Marguerite’s endeavour to give us a summary of her ideas about

the nature of God. Mystics are often accused of pantheistic tendencies when they try to identify themselves, then everything, with the Divinity<sup>429</sup>, while at the same time they seem to stress God's remoteness. Yet, at the same time, they must attempt to give us a definition of the Deity, not by using an intellectual process like the philosophers, but by analysing their own experiences. They are aware of the fact that while stressing the identity of the soul with God at the moment of ecstasy, the soul must, at the same time, assert God's objective existence as different from their own feelings, if they want to assert their own mystic experience as real.

Marguerite had been attracted by this problem from the very beginning when she started to write her mystic poems. As early as in the late 1520s she sketched a most complex definition of God derived from the "I and Thou" relationship that leads the soul to a series of mystical kinships with the Divinity, as I explained in examining the Miroir de l'âme pécheresse:

Mon Pere, quoy? voire mon createur,  
Mon protecteur et mon conservateur.  
Vostre soeur? Las! voicy grand amytié.  
Or, fendez vous man cueur par la moitié;  
Faictes place a ce frere tant doux.  
(Miroir, vv. 355-359)

The soul thus becomes God's brother, sister, wife, beloved, even arriving at the most intimate kinship of a "mystic wedding" that will make it possible for it to claim a part in the "generation of the Son of God":

Mais quand j'ay JESUS receu,  
Par Foy conceu,  
Me suis du malheur non sceu  
Bien apperceu.  
("Chanson Spirituelle 9", vv. 4-7)<sup>430</sup>

She explores many definitions of God in her poetic works, like that of the "jealous husband" in the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan:

Et luy , qui est le Dieu jaloux,  
Ne veult [qu']autre amy et espoux  
Ayez, ou mettez vostre cueur,(...)  
(Comédie, vv. 522-524)

In the Miroir Marguerite had treated the theme of the “Jealous God” who, nevertheless, always pardons his unfaithful wife, the soul (Miroir, vv. 685-756). The unfaithfulness of the Bride is also connected with the feeling of being imprisoned, and its punishment is presented as a means of purification (ibid., vv. 691-692). But not until the Prisons did she attempt to develop the mystic theme of “naming God” as a treatise within the subject matter of its Book III. The Poet-Lover has reached the last stage in his search for freedom. He has felt the piercing experience of the Holy Spirit as a “wound”, thus making him understand the spiritual meaning of the Word of God in Scripture through the “raptus mysticus”. This is the moment to reflect on what happened to him during his long itinerary, by turning to the source of these changes. Who and what is God? In the Oraison à nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ the Queen had attempted this definition:

Mon Pere donc, mais quel Pere? eternel,  
Invisible, immuable, immortel, (...) <sup>431</sup>

Marguerite here follows the traditional “Via Negativa” by defining God through negative words such as (not) visible, (not) changeable and (not) mortal. God, according to the mystics, can more easily be described by denying limited human concepts than by applying created qualities to Him. In the Oraison de l’âme fidèle, however, positively good attributes are used to define Him, but these are consequently either denied to mere creatures or predicated of them analogically (“Via Analogica”):

Dites DIEU seul estre beau, sage, doux  
Puissant et bon; (...) <sup>432</sup>

The last section of the Prisons, which runs from fol. 303 vo to fol. 331 ro, and from fol. 342 vo to the end of Book III on fol. 348 vo, can be considered either as a series of attempts to resume previous definitions of God which she had already attempted in some other mystic poems, or as new approaches to this thorny subject, one of the most difficult topics in mystic theology. Marguerite is aware of the excessive space she is devoting to this theme in its seven main forms:

- God as:
1. “Celuy qui Est”
  2. the Perfect Circle
  3. “le Petit-Grand”
  4. “le Loing-Près”
  5. “le Tout-Rien”
  6. the Divine Androgyne (the Half and the Whole)
  7. the “Verité, Voie et Vie”

She tries to return from time to time to the theme of the prison of the Poet-Lover, particularly at the end of Book III, but it is obvious that these happy digressions, which contain perhaps the most inspired lines in all her works, could have been developed separately into at least three mystic poems<sup>433</sup>.

Marguerite tried to arrive at a notion of God that is drawn from her spiritual ecstasy as a personal experience, or from the biblical theophanies of people who had had contact with the Divine, as in the case of St Stephen who saw the heavens open (Acts 7,56):

Qui au milieu des pierres combattant  
Pour son Seigneur, le voyoit en estant  
Dedans les cyeulx aux dextres de son pere,(...)  
(Prisons, fol. 328 vo, p. 254)

Or at the time of the Annunciation, when Mary arrived at the perfect knowledge of God as she exclaimed:

O que ce Rien pleut à ceste pucelle  
Quand elle dist: “Voicy de Dieu l’ancelle”,(...)  
(*ibid.*, fol.345 vo, p. 291)<sup>434</sup>

Or even in the case of pagan philosophers, like Socrates, who had been “illuminés” by the Holy Spirit. If she did not go, perhaps, so far as Erasmus in proclaiming “Sancte Socrate, ora pro nobis”, the Greek philosopher had felt, in Marguerite’s view, an ecstatic urge or illumination of the Spirit:

Ce clair esprit les yeulx illumina  
De Socrates, quand il determina  
D’endurer mort pour obeyr aux loix (...)  
(*ibid.*, fol. 313 ro, p. 223)<sup>435</sup>

The perfect example, however, of ecstatic knowledge, was not Socrates but Hermes Pimander. Lefevre had edited in 1505 the Pimander Mercurii Trismegisti liber de sapientia et potestate Dei; it was probably this mystic treatise, together with others published later by Lefevre such as the Dionisii Caelestis Hierarchia Ecclesiastica, Divina Nomina et Theologia Vivificans, both dedicated “sacro antistiti Guillermo Briçonneto episcopo”<sup>436</sup>, which had been sent to Marguerite for a careful study under the coaching and guidance of Michel d’Arande (Correspondance, I, p. 208). The use of the word “illumination” in connection with the mystic

works of Hermes Pimander<sup>437</sup> suggests that it is comparable to the divine theophanies of the Old and New Testament:

Or n'estoit il de nation juïfve [i.e. Pimander],  
Mais il avoit congnoissance naïfve  
Par cest esprit qui tout homme illumine (...)  
(Prisons, fol .306 ro, p. 208)

The word “illumination” is the key concept in trying to clarify all the different attempts by Marguerite to define the nature of God. The problem was to reconcile the opposing view of total union (or surrender) to the Spirit<sup>438</sup> with the acknowledgement that “God is there”, and the subsequent affirmation of the human self. Her first serious attempt to give us a mystic treatise on the nature of God was in one of her rather inconspicuous poems, the Oraison à nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ:

Vostre nom est si grand et admirable  
Que naturel esprit ou raisonnable  
Ne vous scauroit nommer parfaitement.  
Tous noms avez, estantz innomables  
Dont nostre sens est si trespeu capable,  
Qu'il ne congnoist que c'est, quoy, ne comment.  
Il me suffit de croire seulement  
Que de tout bien estes commencement,  
Moien et fin, en tous temps immuable,  
Puissant, ban, beau, sapient, veritable;  
Car tous les noms que nostre entendement  
Vous poeut donner en chose vrayesemblable  
Cela n'est riens; car indiciblement  
Estes celluy qui vous estes vrayment,  
Dont a nous est le sçavoir importable.  
(Oraison, vv. 53-67)

Marguerite's theory that it is impossible to describe God by using a limited number of human concepts: “tous noms avez, estanz innomables”, can be found almost with the same terms in a letter written to her by Briçonnet in May 1522; the Bishop had been an admirer of the Pseudo-Dionysius's treatise The Divine Names: “Parquoy, Madame, je supplie au seul innomable et de tous noms nominable...” (Correspondance, I, p. 213). He had already written to Marguerite on 5 February 1522 on the attribution of names to God: “Aussy qui voudra le Tout-Verbe superceleste, qui est vraye manne, appeller ban, saige, beau, fort, riche, puissant et d'autres noms, il est non seulement tel, mais la source qui se communique à

toutes choses créez, qui sont bannes, saiges, belles, fortes, riches, puissantes et par luy sont telles, qui est de tout nom” (ibid., 1, p. 148).

#### A. The definition of God as “Je Suys qui Suys”

Of all the definitions of God that appear in Marguerite’s work, this is that which may have affected her most, having already appeared in the Oraison:

...  
Estes celluy qui vous estes vrayment,  
Dont à nous est le sçavoir importable.  
(vv. 66-67)

It could only be understood by employing the “Via Analogica” by denying one’s existence and regarding God as the only real Being:

Car, en disant: “Je suis qui suys”, tel maistre  
M’aprint alors lequel estoit mon estre;  
S’il est qui Est, hors de luy je ne puy  
Dire de moy sinon que je ne suys.  
Si rien ne suis, las! où est ma fiance,  
Vertu, bonté et droicte conscience?  
Or suis je riens, s’il est Celluy qui Est?  
(Prisons, fol. 303 vo, p.203)<sup>439</sup>

But how can man arrive at the understanding of such a complex definition of God as “the only Existing Being”? Certainly not through philosophic dissertations<sup>440</sup>, or through a literal analysis of the words of the biblical text “Sum qui Sum” (Exodus 3,14), but by a direct illumination, akin to a mystic ecstasy, of the Spirit; the soul must first abandon presumption (“le cuyder”) and learn humility:

Ce mot là, c’est ung glaive qui reveille  
Le fondz des cueurs par façon non nouvelle,  
Et qui en a l’ame bien transpercée  
Feindre ne peult ne couvrir sa pensée.  
Ce mot: “Je suys” l’hypocrisie chasse ,  
Et le cuyder pert son lieu et la place; (...)  
“Je suys qui suys”, qui si hault très tonna,  
Que tous mes sens et force(s) estonna,  
En me faisant veoir le sens de la lettre:

C'est qu'il luy plaist aux cueurs des petis mettre<sup>441</sup>  
 Son Saint Esprit, par lequel reveler  
 Se fait en eulx pour les renouveler  
 Au jeune estat de la pure innocence, (...)  
 (ibid., fol. 305 vo, p. 207)

Moses had been the first to have this experience before the burning bush when he heard God calling himself “the Only Being” (ibid., fol. 303, p. 203). But it was not denied to others like the uncircumcised Job (ibid., fol. 306 ro and vo, p. 209), or the Samaritan woman, while still a sinner (ibid., fol. 303 ro, p. 204). It had been granted to many pagan philosophers who had sought truth, like Plato and Socrates (ibid., fols 306 ro, p. 209 and 316 vo, pp. 223-224). In fact its understanding is not denied to anyone<sup>442</sup>, as long as the Spirit “dans la parole encloz” (ibid., fol. 316 vo, p. 229) is able to make one see through the veil of what is written in the letter to the mystic sense of the text of the Bible:

...  
 Quand, en lisant. premierement j'ouï  
 Celluy qui Est se declairer sans faincte  
 En toute lettre et escripture maincte,  
 ...  
 (ibid., fols 321 vo and 322 ro, p. 240)

It is difficult to grasp Marguerite's definition of God as “Celuy qui Est” without recalling the problem of mystic hermeneutics, or the spiritual understanding of Holy Scripture, as proposed in the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan. By accepting and illustrating the theory of the school of Meaux as expressed by Lefevre and Briçonnet, Marguerite was able in the Prisons to raise her mystic voice in a personal way, claiming that unless the Spirit is revealed once and for all to the soul (the Poet-Lover), no one can claim to reach the depths of a knowledge that, being hermetic by nature, can only be attained through mystic ecstasy.

B. God as the “Concordantia Oppositorum”, i.e. the conjunction of opposites, known through three mystic antitheses: “le Grand-Petit”, “le Tout-Rien” and “le Près-loing”, in the “Prisons”, and Christ as the “Divine androgyne”:

Marguerite's various attempts to define God in several ways throughout her mystic poems demonstrate the impossibility of giving a comprehensive view of His Divine Nature, while using human vocabulary. There was another traditional way of attempting to define Him as the



“conjunction of opposites”, since no single idea can be adequate to render His simultaneously simple and complex nature. God can be called, according to Meister Eckhart, “Great and Small”, “Same and Different”, “Like and Unlike”, “Standing and Moving”<sup>443</sup>. Marguerite’s antithetical pairs, too, reconcile apparently opposing notions:

O petit grand! O Rien en Tout fondu!  
O Tout gagné par Rien en toy perdu!  
(Prisons, fol. 327 ro , p. 251)

While certain antitheses, like the “Petit-Grand”, or the “gagné-perdu”, were simply mentioned by Marguerite in the Prisons, the conjunction of opposites “Tout-Rien” was placed at the very core of the poem, appearing as the leit-motif throughout the last twenty-four folios of Book III. It had already been announced in the Miroir:

Mais quant à luy par amour est unie [l’ame],  
Si remply est son riens d’ung peu de tout,  
Qu’à declairer ne poeut trouver le bout.  
(Miroir, vv. 1326-1328)

The presence of this “Tout-Rien” antithesis can be felt in her plays of the 1530s. Her moral theatre uses it in an ethical context; “Peu” and “Moins” appear as having little to lose:

PEU  
Lon ne peult brebis raze tondre;  
Qui n’ha riens, riens aussi ne perd.

MOINS  
Qui ne porte riens, riens n’appert;  
Parquoy ceste lettre est bien close  
A cil, qui cherche quelque chose.

PEU  
Ilz n’en peuvent trouver le bout.  
Helas, ilz pensent avoir tout;  
Mais ce tout là qu’ilz disent leur,  
Ce n’est en fin que tout malheur:  
Nostre Tout n’est pas de la sorte.

MOINS

Certes il fault que ce Tout sorte

De riens pour estre cher tenu.

(Trop, Prou, Peu, Moins, vv. 301-311)

Christ, however, will embody this mystic antithesis, since He alone can claim to be at the same time man (Rien) and God (Tout); Marguerite writes in the Comédie de l'adoration:

Et pour son Rien, il aura Tout vrayment.

Anges. chantez, en voyant eslevé

Rien en son Tout , et Sathan reprouvé;

Son Tout à Rien est mis par ma puissance;

Cuyder est nul, ou est ma congnoissance.<sup>444</sup>

Christ as the “Rien” is even more clearly depicted in the Comédie du desert, where He appears as humbling Himself (divine “kenosis”) by becoming man:

Mais le Petit du Grand est triumpant

S'humiliant a rien, a mort, et peine.<sup>445</sup>

One must, nevertheless, wait until Marguerite's mature years, between 1540 and 1549, for the theme of the conjunction of the “Rien” with the “Tout” to appear in her work and be repeated most clearly, almost to satiety. The soul must leave what is human (“le Rien”) to achieve perfection (“le Tout”):

Qui sent d'amour l'aneantissement,

Se resjouyst, perdant ce qui n'est rien

Pour recevoir son Tout entierement.

(Navire, vv. 91-93)

while in the Chansons Spirituelles it takes on ecstatic overtones, signifying the union of the soul with its Divine Tout:

Unissant le Rien qu'il ame

En son Tout divinement,

L'espouse se perd et pasme

En son Tout joyeusement.

(“Chanson 21” vv. 24-28)

with mystic allusions to the theme of Love:

Baisez moy, acolez moy,  
 Mon Tout en tous.  
 Unissez moy par la Foy  
 Du tout à vous .  
 (“Chanson 17” vv. 25-28)

The insistence of the Chansons Spirituelles on the mystic antithesis “Tout-Rien”<sup>446</sup> can only be equalled in a rather neglected short poem published as part of the Marguerites in 1547. It is surprising to notice how freely the Queen uses this antithesis in her Oraison de l’âme fidèle, suggesting that the soul has only existence in God, with whom it was before being united to the body:

...  
 Estre n’avoit en soy, mais en presence  
 De toy estoit, en qui tout est parfait.  
 Son Estre donc n’est, luy mourant, defait;  
 Car il estoit avant qu’il fust au monde.  
 S’il te congnoist son Estre, il est refait,  
 Il est heureux en l’un et l’autre monde<sup>447</sup>

The Oraison is much closer to the spirit of the Prisons than any other of the mystical poems in the treatment of the “Rien-Tout” opposites. The latter also emphasizes the pantheistic idea that the existence of creatures (“le rien”) depends on the overflowing existence of the “Tout”:

( ... );ce qu’il fait est et sera a naistre,  
 Car par ce Tout et en ce Tout ant estre.  
 Il les enclost par grandeur indicible  
 Et vit en eulx par façon invisible.  
 (Prisons, fol. 324 vo, p. 245)

I must confess that the Tout-Rien “chant” of the Prisons is far too extensive to show Marguerite’s ideas on this mystical antithesis, and that the Oraison de l’âme fidèle is ideal for our purpose as it seems to illuminate all the sinuosities of the far more complex Book III of the Prisons. All its pantheistic overtones are solved in the mystical concealment of Christ’s renunciation of his divine nature, by adopting the form of a “Rien”, so making it possible for everyone to share with him his divine nature in God. Marguerite is obviously referring to the Pauline doctrine of Christ’s “kenosis” (i.e. emptying of his previous divine state)<sup>448</sup>. This is brought out in the Oraison:

Très volontiers a Rien tu t'es soubmiz,  
 Afin qu'à Rien Adam par toy fust mis (...)  
 Car en toy sont, qui Rien as voulu estre:  
 Lors ayant mis a Rien la Creature  
 La reünis a son Tout, par ta dextre.<sup>449</sup>

soon to be echoed in the Prisons; man's human condition symbolized by Adam (man "par excellence") could only be saved by Christ's humiliation and death:

Mais par ce Filz, transmis à nous ça bas,  
 Sont appeisez ces differentz debatiz,  
 Car nostre chair il a prise et l'a mise  
Du Tout à Rien: là gist nostre franchise.  
 Et ce Rien là il voulut esprouver,  
 Quand sur la croix se monstra estre ung ver  
 Et homme non, en s'aneantissant  
Et nostre Rien de cuyder nettissant.  
 (Prisons, fol. 325 vo, p. 248)

The Oraison de l'âme fidèle can be used to clarify the antithesis of the "Rien" and the "Tout", which are trying to find each other in the image of the "Divine Androgyne", in one of the most puzzling passage of the Prisons:

Celuy qui Est, à qui bien l'ymagine,  
Se voit aussy dedans ceste Androgine,  
 Qui sa moictié ne cesse de chercher  
 Ne la trouvant ne se fait que fascher.  
 (ibid., fol. 310 ro, p. 217)<sup>450</sup>

Only one step separates the cryptic image of the "Androgyne" that is in search of its other self and the "Rien" (Christ) in pursuit of its higher nature, the "Tout" (God). This can only take place through a mystic "kenosis", (le Rien) and the attainment of the other self (le Tout). Marguerite calls mystic experience "aneantissement" in a most interesting passage of the Oraison de l'âme fidèle, which could throw light on many of the cryptic passages of the Prisons:

O doux regard iusques au coeur perçant  
 L'âme et le corps, et l'esprit traversant,  
Vien moy navrer, fais ton pover sentir  
 A mon dur coeur, en peche malversant;  
 Que desespoir va de sy pres pressant,

Qu'il fait quasi l'espoir de moy sortir.  
O forte Amour, vien moy aneantir  
Par ce regard tant doux et amyable.<sup>451</sup>

This "anéantissement" - kenosis of Christ in the "Divine Androgyne" is the key to Marguerite's mystical antithesis in the Prisons. No "rien" can understand the "Tout", except the "Rien" which is in pursuit of its other self, i.e. Christ as "man" in search of his other, divine, nature:

Qui pourra done ce Tout emprisonner?  
Nul, car sur tous a povoir d'ordonner.  
Et cestuy là qui ce Tout a congneu  
Tant qu'il est Rien en son sens devenu,  
Ne se sentant plus estre ne plus vivre

...

(Prisons, fol. 324 vo, pp. 245-246)

Marguerite may have been introduced to Meister Eckhart's mystic sermons on the "Wholeness" of God, and the "Nothingness" of all the rest. God is everything, Eckhart said, but the creatures are non-existent<sup>452</sup>. The scholars at Meaux had had real contact with the Rhenish school, as J. Orcibal and M. Certeau noticed<sup>453</sup>. "Nothingness" "Rien" according to such Rhenish mystics as Eckhart, Suso and Ruysbroeck, as it was for the Pseudo-Dionysius, John Seatus Erigena and the Kabbalists<sup>454</sup>, was not so much non-existence as sub-existence under the power of God. To understand all the implications of the "Tout-Rien" and "Estre-Neant" antitheses "one must strip oneself, according to the mystics, of all seemingly positive but actually limiting thought, and descend into the depths of Nothing, so encountering the Reality of Him who is "le Tout"<sup>455</sup>.

Many mystic writers were inspired by the writings of the Rhenish Masters, who had taught not only the Quietistic submissive attitude towards the Will of God which is reflected in Marguerite's Dialogue, but also a sort of mystic absorption into the divine Being as a necessary step for man to find his very existence. She may have drawn her mystical antitheses between "le Rien" and "le Tout" from the expositions and adaptations made by Lefevre and Briçonnet, rather than from the manuscripts that were spreading from the Carthusian monastery of Vauvert, in the vicinity of Paris<sup>456</sup>. I am inclined to think that she had learnt her mystic antithesis at the time of her Correspondance with Briçonnet between 1521 and 1524, since the similarities of the expressions used by Briçonnet and by her are astonishing. From the very beginning of her initiation she introduced the antithetical "Tout-Rien":

Bien eureulx est rien qui tout possede, et tant plus est rien, et plus est cappable tout amour. Qui vit en soy et au monde, a rien en rien; Qui y est mort, a tout en rien, lequel diffinie nostre rien en luy. Rien fault devenir qui en son tout veult estre.  
(Correspondance, 1, pp. 31-32)

The Bishop must have given her the theme of the “Rien-Tout” antithesis which can be found both in the Chansons Spirituelles and in Book III of the Prisons, since in them she follows Briçonnet’s distinction between imperfect human knowledge and mystic understanding of Christ as the “Tout-Verbe”:

Madame, je cuyde tant congnoistre de vostre desir et vouloir que s’il y avoit au bout du royaume ung docteur, qui, par ung seul verbe abregé, peult aprendre toute la grammaire, autant qu’il est possible d’en sçavoir, et ung aultre de la rheticque et ung aultre la philosophie, et aussi des sept ars liberaulx<sup>457</sup>, chacun d’eulx par ung verbe abregé, vous y courriez comme au feu et n’y voudriez riens espargner<sup>458</sup>. Et toutesfois, combien que sceussiez tout ce que dessus, seriez pauvre affamée en voz richesses qui ne seroient que pauvreté sans le Tout-Verbe, hors lequel rien et en l’ayant avez tout. Car en luy sont tous les tresors de science et sapience, comme dict est [Colossians, 2,3] caschéz.  
(Correspondance, 1, pp.152-153)

Marguerite’s reaction to her initiation by Briçonnet was to be expected. It was not only the Bishop who used freely the mystic antithesis between the “Tout” and the “Rien”. She wrote: “Voiant que au Tout n’estes rien et croiant vostre rien encloz dans le Tout, me vueulx subzmettre a ce qui sera par vostre rien dict, le tenant de la main du Tout, vous querant prier pour mon moins que rien affin que l’eau puisse estre convertie en vin et que l’abisme par l’abisme invocqué puisse abismer”  
(Correspondance, 1, p. 134)

One wonders whether the Correspondance is but the echo of Lefèvre’s mystical ideas, both Briçonnet and Marguerite mirroring the sort of discussions that were taking place at Meaux and at the Court of the Princess under the guidance of the most brilliant scholar France could then offer. It is significant that the letters between Marguerite and Briçonnet coincide with Lefèvre’s Christocentric anti-thesis between “le Tout” and “le Rien”; Christ, the Divine Androgyne, who shares as man our Nothingness (“le Rien”), is man’s existence in God (“le Tout”), as we find in Him life through His word: “Mais Jesuschrist est tout”, he wrote in his introduction

to the four Gospels, in 1523, “il est tout homme et toute divinite. Et tout homme n'est riens sinon en luy et nulle parolle d'homme n'est riens sinon en la parolle de luy”<sup>459</sup>.

The reader must have realized that there is a logical development from the antithetical use of the “Rien” and the “Tout” in the Correspondance to the handling of the theme in Book III. By the time the latter was written in the 1540s, Marguerite was able to use these terms with far more sophistication, signifying that the two diverging elements, namely the “Rien” and the “Tout” could only converge in the perfect “Androgyne”, whose lower part (le Rien) was able to be united again with its upper self (le Tout) in the person of Jesus Christ (Prisons, fol. 348 ro, p. 296).

The antithetical concepts of “le Rien” and “le Tout” are two basic Christocentric concepts in the theology of Meaux; they are referred to events in the life of Christ, namely His humiliation in becoming man (the “kenosis” of the incarnation in the “Rien”) and His final glorification (the ascension into the “Tout”). Man can share this mystical glorification by associating himself with Christ. This is the conclusion of the Prisons:

L'homme est remis, car joint par cest esprit  
A Rien, a mort, a croix en Jesuchrist,  
Est fait en luy Rien, mort, crucifié;  
Aussy en luy il est deifié,  
Uny au Tout et au souverain Bien  
Pour estre fait aveques Jesus Rien.  
(Prisons, fol. 348 ro, p. 296)

Never had Marguerite handled a mystical theme with better ability than the antithesis between the “Rien” and the “Tout”, and she must have been conscious of it as she was playing with it most skilfully both in the Chansons Spirituelles and in the Prisons. To prove, nevertheless, that she was the master of all her resources, she presented a parallel antithesis with similar “Androgyne-Christ” overtones. Jesus is able to re-unite what is near to us (“le Près”) with what has become too far off (“le Loing”); in Him man and God can find a place near each other:

(...) par son pouvoir  
Ce Loing est Près, et le ciel à la terre  
Amour fait joindre, mettant fin a la guerre  
D'entre le Loing et Près, par tel accord  
Que le très Loing, vaincu par une mort,  
Est près de nous, mais je vous dy si près

Que je ne puyz trouver termes exprès  
 Pour declairer comme est près ce très Loing.  
 Mais qui a veu, par extresme besoing,  
 Combien de mal vient du Loing purement  
 Qui a perdu du Près le sentement,  
 Dira le Près nous estre en tout affaire  
 Comme la vie et l'estre necessaire.  
Gentil Loing-Près! et que ce nom est beau!  
 (Prisons, fol. 317 vo, pp. 231-232)

Christ is also antithetically called the “Petit-Grand” (ibid., fol. 327 ro, p. 251); Marguerite could have hardly given a better description of what she understood to be the main problem when faced with the difficulty of using human terms to describe divine realities. Christ, the “Divine Androgyne”, can be the only conjunction of the opposing principles, since in Him the “Rien” finds its missing “Tout”, the “Loing” becomes “Près” and the “Petit” reaches its fulness (“le Grand”). According to the mystical principles laid down by Marguerite’s teachers, Lefèvre and Briçonnet, when a man wishes to return to the state of innocence, which can only happen when he is able to hold the image of God as the perfect “Androgyne”, as Adam did before sin, he reaches this condition of ecstatic union with Jesus Christ.

### C. The definition of God as “the sameness of the Circle”

Marguerite’s first aim in Book III of the Prisons is to tell her reader that a single definition of God will be totally inadequate to show His manifold aspects. She tries definition after definition, always returning to the main ones, like leit-motifs, first to the definition of God as “Celuy qui Est”, and then to the antithetical “man is Nothing” (Rien), God is Everything (Tout). In between, other more difficult neo-Platonic concepts are applied to God in which He is presented as the Circle without the limitations of the Circumference:

“Celluy qui est fait du tout [sic] ce qu’il veut  
 “Du sercle rond sans la circumference  
 “Par taus costez egal sans difference;  
 “Commancement ne fin ne s’y retrouve,  
 “Et n’y a chose estant ou vieille ou neufve  
 “Qui de ce rand n’ayt pris creation  
 “Et nourriture et conservation.  
 (ibid., fol. 308 ro, p. 212)<sup>460</sup>



The same theme can be found in Rabelais's Tiers Livre: "De là receoit participation insigne de sa prime et divine origine, et en contemplation de ceste infinie et intellectuelle sphaere, le centre de laquelle est en chascun lieu de l'univers, la circumference point (C'est Dieu selon la doctrine de Hermes Trismegistus)..."<sup>461</sup> The perfection of the circle to predicate simplicity and stability in God was common among the admirers of Plato<sup>462</sup>. Ficino had explained it thus: "Quid ergo Deus est? Ut ita dixerimus, Circulus Spiritualis, cujus centrum est ubique, circumferentia nusquam"<sup>463</sup>.

Although the similarities between this text by Ficino and the previous one by Marguerite are remarkable, it is more probable that this neo-Platonic definition of God as the "Perfect Circle" had been learned by the Queen during her years of initiation under Briçonnet's guidance. The Bishop had been an assiduous reader of the Pseudo-Dionysius and of Nicholas of Cusa, and, as Glori Cappello has shown, many of the passages of the Correspondance are paraphrasing neo-Platonic texts from Nicholas of Cusa. The Bishop of Meaux explains:

... combien que partout est le milieu, puisque elle [i.e. la terre] est spherique et n'y a milieu en circumference de forme sphericque plus d'un costé que d'autre, mais par le milieu de la terre, en laquelle le grand architecte a faict oeuvre de salut, entend la vie avoir este centrale en toute nature humaine et, comme lignes innumerables viennent du centre de la circumference, esgallement distantes<sup>464</sup>, aussi la restitution est a tous uniforme (...); mais au milieu est nostre salut. (Correspondance, 2, p. 240)<sup>465</sup>

Nicholas of Cusa says in De Docta Ignorantia (II, II): "Centrum igitur mundi coincidit cum circumferentia. Non habet igitur mundus circumferentiam ( ... ) cum igitur non sit possibile mundum claudi intra centrum corporale et circumferentiam, non intelligitur mundus, cuius centrum et circumferentia sunt Deus", and in De Ludo Globi (II): "Centrum autem punctus fixus est, erit igitur motus maximus seu infinitus et pariter minimus, ubi inde est centrum et circumferentia. Et vocamus ipsum vitam viventium, in sua fixa aeternitate omnem possibilem vitae motum complicantem"<sup>466</sup>. Like Nicholas of Cusa and Briçonnet, Marguerite was obviously intrigued by the possibilities of using mathematical language to render an idea of God as the "unchangeable, perfect being" and she follows them:

"De l'exterieur en l'interieur entre  
 "Qui va par moy, et au milieu du centre

“Me trouvera qui suys le point unique,  
 “La fin, le but de la mathématique;  
 “Le cercle suys dont toute chose vient,  
 “Le point où tout retourne et se maintient.  
 “Je suys qui suys triangle très parfait, ( ... )  
 (Prisons, fol. 308 ro and vo, p. 213)

Mathematical language has been applied to God, as “the perfect triangle” and “the perfect circle”, by mystic writers, such as the Pseudo-Dionysius, who had applied the language of circular movement to man’s spiritual experience. While there is no movement of God in the centre:

... the soul hath a circular movement - viz. an introversion from things without and the unified concentration of its spiritual powers - which gives it a kind of fixed revolution, and, turning it from the multiplicity without, draws it together first into itself and then (after it has reached this unified condition) unites it to those powers which are perfect Unity and this leads it on unto the Beautiful and Good, which is beyond all things, and is One and is the Same. without beginning or end.<sup>467</sup>

This condition of the soul was called “Apex” or “Synderesis” by the mystics<sup>468</sup>, and it describes the rotary movement of the soul around its centre (God) which remains unchangeable: “Le point où tout retourne et se maintient” (Prisons, fol. 308 ro, p. 213).

The Pseudo-Dionysius had already defined God as “Sameness”: “Merely this - that God remains what He is in Himself and is firmly fixed in an immovable Sameness wherein His transcendent Being is fast rooted, and that He acts under the same modes and around the same Centre without changing”<sup>469</sup>. According to him “Roundness” and “Sameness” are interchangeable with one another and with the last stage of perfect union with the Divinity. The mystic enigma of the “Marguerite” as it appears at the end of the Miroir contains all these qualities together<sup>470</sup>. Sainte-Marthe was equally conscious of the hermetic riddle of the MARGUERITE, which often appears in capital letters in his Oraison Funèbre: “Car la Marguerite, est une precieuse pierre, que Plin dit, emporter l’honneur et le pris, sur toutes choses precieuses: Et havoit perfection en blancheur, grandeur, rotondité, et pois” (Oraison funèbre, p. 16). It is obvious that for him, as it had been for Briçonnet, the “Marguerite-Perle” embodied the divine qualities of “perfection”, “transparency”, “roundness” and “solidity” which make it a perfect image of the Divine Union<sup>471</sup> and a definition of the Godhead.

#### D. The Pauline-Johannine definitions of God as Vie-Verité-Voye

Among the numerous definitions of God given by Marguerite in her mystical poems, there are at least three taken from the New Testament, which may throw some light on the global picture of her various attempts to express the concept of God drawn from her own spiritual experience.

1. The first, which can be expressed as “God is love”, was developed from the Johannine formula (I John 14,16) particularly in her Miroir (v. 1417).

2. A second Johannine formula, which forms an axis in the Gospel according to John, is “Christ is the Way, the Truth and the Life” (John 14,6). It can be traced in many of her early poems; in the Dialogue it is given a place of honour, since the softness of the “v” alliteration suggests the tone of the mystical conversation between Marguerite and her niece, little Princess Charlotte:

Il est vie et verité et voye;  
Par luy qui est Voye, nous fault passer,  
Et Verite à Vie nous convoye.  
(Dialogue, vv. 805-807)<sup>472</sup>

3. A third formula appears in the Prisons taken from what may be called the Pauline definition of God as “Life, Movement and Being”; St Luke records it in the Acts (17,28): “Since, [Paul said to the Athenians], in Him we live and move and have our being”, Marguerite has reproduced it carefully in the Prisons, since, according to the Gallican tradition of which Lefevre was a main exponent against Erasmus, Dionysius the Areopagyte (the Pseudo-Dionysius) had been present at Paul’s speech and had been converted by him to Christianity:

Bien monstre icy le Tout son grant pouvoir  
Quand luy seul est l’estre, vie et mouvoir  
De ce qui est si different sur terre (...)  
(Prisons, fol. 327 vo, pp. 251-252)<sup>473</sup>

Marguerite was concerned with formulating a definition of God from a Christocentric point of view by assuring us that the mystery of Christ’s death is the only way to reach total knowledge of “le Tout” from His resurrection as a man (“le Rien”) (ibid., fol. 348 ro, p. 296); this was an initial development from the so-called mediaeval “God-mysticism” to the evangelical “Christ-mysticism”<sup>474</sup>. Though she favoured Lefèvre’s efforts to move from the mediaeval and neo-Platonic interest in defining the essence of God; towards a definition of the Divinity through a close study of the personality of Jesus<sup>475</sup>, Marguerite is far more traditional than

Lefèvre, since Christ hardly matters in her mystic treatises as a historical person, either in her Miroir or in the Triomphe de l'Agneau, or in the Chansons Spirituelles or in her masterpiece, the Prisons. Christ the "Divine Androgyne" is however far nearer the "Johannine Theocentric Mysticism of the Logos", to borrow the famous expression of Albert Schweitzer<sup>476</sup>, than it is to Lefèvre's "Pauline Christocentric Mysticism". Christ, according to Marguerite is "le Rien" who can bring us to "le Tout":

Qui prendra donc ce Rien qui est vollé  
Jusqu'à son Tout auquel est si collé  
Que la haulteur du ciel, ny le profond,  
Empeschement à l'union ne font?  
(*ibid.*, fol. 325 ro, pp. 246-247)

Christ's death and resurrection as well as his glorification and union are expressed in "Logos" form. He, "le Près", is the only certainty of God's nearness:

Il est puyssant pour faire du tumbeau  
Saillir le mort, car, où ce Loing Près vient,  
Mort ny enfer le pecheur ne detient.  
Gentil Loing Près! ( ... )  
(*ibid.*, fol. 317 vo, p. 232)

Yet she hardly speaks of Christ's death and resurrection as actual historic saving events, the great principles in Pauline theology and mysticism<sup>477</sup>. Does it mean that she never reached a clear Pauline attitude? Marguerite never went as far as Lefèvre in visualizing the coming shift from the neo-Platonic God-centered spirituality to the "Biblical Meditations" of Luther or the "Spiritual Exercises" of Ignatius of Loyola. Though she refers to Christ's saving events a few times (*ibid.*, fol. 317 vo, pp. 231-232) hinting a change of attitude, she visualizes the solution of the conjunction of opposites in God as transforming mystic events of Christ, the Word made flesh, in his role of "Rien-Logos" (Johannine theology), rather than as saving historical events (Pauline theology).

## VI

If Marguerite's mystic poems have not met with popular recognition, and if her masterpiece, the Prisons, has so far only been published once in 1896 by Lefranc, this may be explained by the fact that there was a sudden shift of interest in the 1540s from mystical to evangelical themes.

Besides the Heptaméron which was opening new paths in literature, and the Miroir, which some in France took for a Lutheran Manifesto, the Queen's work must be seen as reflecting the new spirit that was preparing Europe for both a Reformation and a Counter-Reformation, and for a major split within Western Christianity.

Marguerite, however, no matter how much some reformers and even some contemporary critics have tried to prove her allegiance to Luther's cause, never went beyond the paths explored by Briçonnet and his group of Meaux. When the group was dispersed in 1525, a few joined the Lutheran banner, whilst others like Briçonnet himself immediately disavowed the split he saw to be inevitable within the Church<sup>478</sup>. It may have taken a little longer for the Queen to follow Briçonnet's rejection of the new spirituality as proclaimed by Luther in his rejection of the mediaeval God-centered spirituality; in fact none of her works follows very convincingly the Christ-centred spirituality, and by the time she settled down to write the Prisons in the 1540s, her allegiance to Briçonnet's principles was final.

Most critics have shown excessive preoccupation with the problem of Marguerite's involvement with the Lutheran cause in France. In my opinion this has led them to neglect what is far and away the most important aspect of her poetic works, her mysticism. The most important of these works is the Prisons and it must be considered both as a "résumé" of the mystical Correspondance between herself and Briçonnet, and her own final attempt to leave a summary of her thinking. Up to then her thought had been expressed only fragmentarily in her various works, particularly in the Dialogue, the Miroir, the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, La Navire and the Chansons Spirituelles. In all these works Marguerite had remained a faithful pupil of Briçonnet, and her old guide would re-emerge in her most important work, the Prisons, under the symbolic role of the "vieillard". Neither Briçonnet nor she herself had totally crossed the line that separated the old mediaeval neo-Platonic mysticism from the new challenging ideas brought into being first by Erasmus and Lefevre<sup>479</sup> and finally expressed by Luther and the Reformers. Her mysticism, from the Dialogue (1524) to the Prisons (1547), had always been revolving round the "Johannine Logos" relationship to God. Her "God-mysticism" could hardly liberate itself from neo-Platonic themes, and an almost endless litany of mystic symbols she had learnt during her instruction by the prudent Bishop of Meaux, as we are going to see in Chapter 6 of this study.

## CHAPTER SIX

### Hermetic symbolism and mystic antitheses, recurrent leit-motifs in the work Marguerite de Navarre

#### I

So far we have seen Marguerite's spiritual development in the four works that I have tried to analyse in detail; she has progressed from a simple Quietistic acceptance of God's will in the Dialogue to a more profound expression of mystical experience in the Prisons. My aim in this final chapter is to give a coherent view of the symbols that appear in Marguerite's works, trying to link all the mystical themes of her poems through her own symbolic vision. I must first of all clarify that there are many kinds of "images" used by writers; some are publicly acknowledged, such as the Cross which stands for the whole complex of Christianity; others take their significance from the total context in which they appear and often overlap with metaphors; in some cases they are not easily defined and are expressible only in terms of themselves. There is symbolism almost in every great imaginative writer, but modern man seems to think more in terms of "*signs*" rather than of "*symbols*": the sign that instructs the motorist to stop has to be efficient and simple, while a symbol is normally far more complex.

The reader cannot fail to have noticed that all the mystical themes in Marguerite's works appear through a chain of interwoven symbols, often interchangeable, which run through all her poetic and dramatic works. They may be the real key to the justification of my claims for the essential unity of Marguerite's work, since they appear as a constant characteristic in some sort of esoteric knowledge, religiously withheld from the uninitiated. I have already tried to explain the hermetic meaning of a few of her symbols as embodied in her four major mystic poems, namely the enigmas of the Eye,<sup>480</sup> the Mirror-Marguerite-Pearl,<sup>481</sup> the Prison,<sup>482</sup> and the Circle,<sup>483</sup> but I have not been able to give a global picture of the extent of Marguerite's use of hermetic images throughout all her works. This chapter serves both as an exposition of her consistent application of a body of mystic symbols and as a detector of the basic unity of her work throughout her career.

The hermetic character of symbolic images has recently attracted a few modern critics,<sup>484</sup> anthropologists<sup>485</sup> and psychologists,<sup>486</sup> and some of them claim that the social role of the metaphor is gradually losing ground being replaced by the more conventional use of "signs"; this might make it difficult for modern man to understand certain concepts that are inexpressible except through a code of images.<sup>487</sup> The first rational effort,

before the Reformation, to desymbolize human thinking had been unsuccessfully attempted in the twelfth century by Maimonides, who had rejected as a fantastic dream all existing allegorical interpretations of the Bible. As a reaction to his philosophy, the Kabbalah tradition spread first in Provence and then in Spain, influencing all Western mystic thinking.<sup>488</sup> The more twentieth century man claims to reject symbolism, the more his de mythologizing attempts prevent him from understanding certain levels of thinking expressed not only by mediaeval mystic authors, but even perhaps by modern writers who are too often considered as difficult to understand.<sup>489</sup>

A symbol as it was understood by the mediaeval mystics was initially a metaphor; aspects of an object such as the sun with its brilliance and roundness and its correlatives fire and light were transferred to the spiritual spheres. For them, “the world is full of metaphors, constructed by God, to communicate a secret meaning when interpreted properly”, writes T. Hawkes.<sup>490</sup> In fact not only words have meaning at different levels, as Dante had explained in his famous letter to his patron Can Grande della Scala,<sup>491</sup> but things themselves may become symbols of other things. A metaphor can only be called functional or structural when it has a complex meaning.<sup>492</sup> In mystical symbolism the image retains its own meaning while at the same time it becomes as it were a door through which the spiritual truth can be reached. There cannot be, for instance, opposition between the literal meaning of the Bible and its spiritual interpretation. This is the most characteristic teaching in Lefevre’s mystical hermeneutics. His doctrine was closely followed by Briçonnet and Marguerite, as I have shown in my chapter on mystical hermeneutics in the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan.<sup>493</sup> The basis for all this structuralisation of the several levels of meaning in the symbolic metaphor is the role of the Analogy: when a mystic tries to describe his spiritual experience to others, he can only do so by borrowing words from everybody’s immediate experience. The metaphor of the Door is, in my opinion, the best means of explaining this complex process, since its opening allows us to see what is beyond. Plato used the symbol of the Opening of the Cave, which enables man to have a link with the Real World as opposed to the World of Images;<sup>494</sup> in Platonism the material world is in fact related to its prototype in the spiritual spheres.<sup>495</sup>

Book is a symbol of discernment in Marguerite’s works. It stands for Christ’s revelation since He is the Word of God (John 1,1). It appears in the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan where the four “dramatis personae” play their role around the family Bible (see Chapter 4, Section III). In the Comedie du desert it is shown as “Grand Livre”:



*Plate 6.*

*Symbolic representation of Christ's Ascension into heaven through a series of symbols: the Cross is the Way to arrive at the Foot of the Mountain where a Tomb inside a Church represents the Descent and a triangular Hill portrays the Ascent, with the help of Winged creatures (the Angels), to the Summit. Christ here inaugurates the "Scala Mystica" which joins heaven and earth. Champeaux, *Symboles*, op.cit., Fig. 90, p.179. There is a similar representation of the Ascension of Christ in a MS in EL Eg 608 fol. 134, where a series of triangular Hills describe the gradual climbing up; there is also a Cross at the background, the Sun is on the top and two Angels are helping Him to climb.*

Seigneur, je prens de ta main ce grand Livre,  
Par qui pourra t'ame en joye vivre,  
Le regardant en ce desert estrange.<sup>496</sup>

or as the Old Book:

Ce Livre vieux luy feras au long voir,  
Du man vouloir se peul t du tout sçavoir,<sup>497</sup>

or signifying the Great Book of Nature:

...  
Et que par may ce beau grand Livre voye,  
C'est de Nature.<sup>498</sup>



There is a correlation between the reading of the spiritual sense of the Bible through the guidance of the Spirit, and the discovery of the Divine in the Great Book of Nature, through the inspiration of the same Spirit:

Quant est de moy je te monstre la Lettre  
Mais cest Esprit qu'il plaist au Seigneur mettre  
En toy, qui es de luy toute remplie,  
Te fera voir le sens, sans rien omettre.<sup>499</sup>

Mediaeval mystics sometimes consider themselves as *symbolic theologians*, since they maintain that man must use all his word resources to describe God. Inasmuch as everything can be predicated of God, they call their doctrine "Theologia Maxima in verbis"; He is, however, beyond definition ("innominabilis") and so a complex code of symbols has to be adopted to express inadequately the Divine ("minima in verbis"). The terms "Theologia Maxima/minima" are not common among mystical theologians but they render their teaching that images are the best means to define God:

Aut certe Maxima est Theologia propter omnium rerum positiones de Deo dictas [*writes the editor of a mystic treatise published shortly after Marguerite de Navarre's death in 1549*] et rursus minima, cum deus innominabilis, nullo nomine effari possit; maxima rursus dici potest explicative vero complicative. Aut vicinius ad mentem Sancti patris, Maxima est Theologia symbolica, quae pluribus verbis, minima est Theologia mystica quae paucissimis utitur verbis. Maxima item potest dici theologia in virtute, minima in verbis.<sup>500</sup>

The Theologia Symbolica, as it was understood in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, played with a certain number of symbols, most of them taken from the early cosmogonies, such as the Fire, the Water or the Four Seasons and the Four Cardinal Points of the compass, as will be seen in this chapter. It must also be noted that these were arranged in mathematical hierarchies following the two basic figures of the Circle and the Triangle. These two mathematical figures are normally kept dissociated by the symbolic theologians, but occasionally they appear together as in Eckius's complex diagram of a cylinder, two cones, a triangle and two half circles (*Plate 5, p.264*). There was a third non-mathematical figure drawn from the biblical tradition which was very popular among mediaeval mystics: the Ladder of Ascent, normally connected with the Ladder of Jacob, which embraces certain lofty symbols such as the Wing and the Angel.<sup>501</sup>

Tractatus de Anatomia Humana

Metaphysis

Pelvis

Intestina

Uterus

Vesica

Ovaria

Pulmones

Cor

Ficus

Stomachus

[illegible]

*This diagram by J. Eckius shows the different participation of Light and Darkness by all creatures as they ascend from pure existence ("esse") to living ("vivere"), feeling ("sentire") and thinking ("homo intelligentiae capax"). Man is half way up, but can reach the upper spheres ("Metaphysica") through grace. The pyramids here take the shapes of Cones. (De Mystica Theologia, op.cit., Cap.III, Pars II, Prop.III. fol. E IIII vo).*

Plus qu'un éclair ton oeil est importable,  
Plus qu'un tonnerre est ta voix effrayable,  
Plus qu'un grand vent ton esprit nous estonne,

Plus que fouldre est ton coup inevitable,  
 Plus que Mort est ton ire espoventable,  
 Plus que nul feu ton courroux peine donne.

...

Plus qu'un Soleil ton regard est luisant,

... <sup>504</sup>

Ex in hanc formulam apparet B. Ambrosius nomina diuina triuaria distinxisse, vt Petrus Longos bardus cum renarrat, alia enim cōstituit perfonalia, vt pater, filius verbum, generat, Alia effentia, vt sapientia, virtus, creator: Postrema poluit translaticia, vt splendor, speculum, Ieo X. Verum Bonauentura cum affectu lapsus est, non affecutus veram intelligenciam scriptorum beatissimi patris, potissimū in nominibus symbolicis: Existimat enim nomina rerum corporalium esse symbolica: spiritaliū vero substantiarum nomina, mystica appellat: mentē suam oculis subiiciat, diopoliū in eodem cylindro duabus pyramidibus in hunc modum.

Ambrosius

Bonauent.  
 Dif. 22, p. 1  
 m.



Plate 3.

A diagram of the internal organization of symbols into two triangles; spiritual realities have mystical names, but material objects are symbols of the spiritual according to St Bonaventure (De Theologia Symbolica, op.cit., Cap.III, Pars II, Prop.III, Fol. E IIII ro).

Mystic writers have often tried not only to combine and interchange images, but even to organize them into “*Paradigmata*” of Light and Darkness. These diagrams present the interwoven human and divine actions, and man’s effort to find symbols and mystic names “nomina” to express this interaction. Far from being followers of the Nominalists who labelled the “universals” (i.e. the abstract concepts) as mere names and so had no faith in the logical relation between words and objects (against the Realists), mystics just show the incapacity of human language to describe the invisible realities. (*See the way human concepts and symbols can be predicated of God in Plates 3 to 5, pp. 260-264*).

The two pyramids or cones of Light and Darkness (Plate 5, p.264) play a most important role in Marguerite’s poetry; we find it in several of their correlatives:

Sun: Spark, Light, Illumination

Eclipse of the Sun: Darkness, Blindness, the Colour Black.

Eye: the Internal Eye, the Inspired Eye, the Eye of Faith,  
the Eye of the Flesh, the Blind Eye

Eagle: It can face the Sun, and by doing so maintain its strength.

I have already mentioned in the previous chapter on the Prisons that the role of the Sun in the first book, as a symbol of internal purification,<sup>505</sup> is to lead the Poet-Lover from the Shadows of the first Prison to the Light of further understanding; “this is what happened to Paul”, explains Meister Eckhart, “when God touched him with light on the road (to Damascus), and spoke to him”,<sup>506</sup> and most mystics seem to describe their direct experiences under the image of Light.<sup>507</sup>

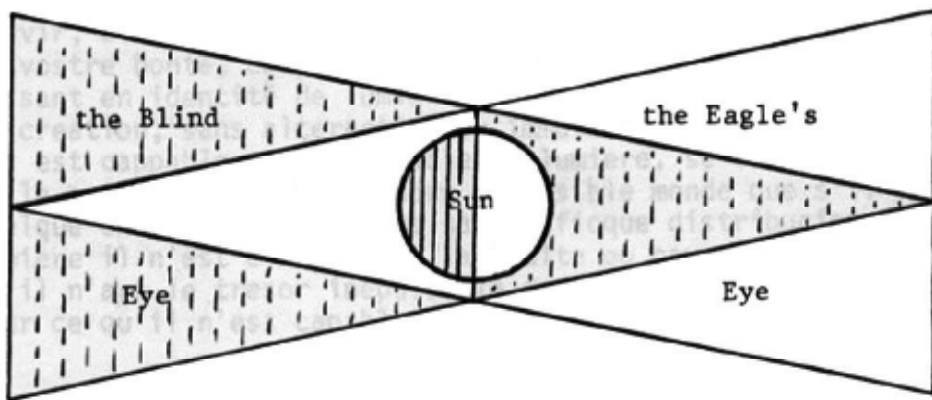


Diagram 1.

Diagram illustrating Marguerite's interwoven pyramids of Light and Darkness. Man's Blind Eye moves from the base of the pyramid on the left but encounters the darkened Sun on its ascent towards the summit of perfection (right). The Eagle's Eye, on the contrary, has to face the brightness of the Sun as it moves from right to left. The role of many other guiding symbols such as Fire, Mirror, Pearl, and so on must be interpreted likewise, as will be seen in Section IV of this Chapter.

The Sun as the archetype of Light is in fact one of the most constant symbols in Marguerite's poetry.<sup>508</sup> In the Miroir it appears as blinding the Eye when man crosses the line that separates the two pyramids (see Diagram I, p.270). The human eye, consequently, can never comprehend the immensity of the Sun (“la grand clarté entière”):

Quant le soleil d'une seule estincelle  
Aveugle l'oeil, sa gran lumiere celle;  
Mais demandez a l'oeil qu'il a senty;  
Il dira tout; mais il aura menty;  
Car aveugle de petite lumiere,

Il ne poeut veoir la grand clarté entiere  
Et demeure toutesvoies si content,  
Qu'il luy semble s'il en avoit autant,  
N'estre puissant pour endurer  
Ceste clarté qu'il ne poeut mesurer.  
(Miroir, vv.1331-1340)

In the sixteenth century it was believed that the Sun was the source of all energy, following the teachings of the ancient cosmogonies; Rabelais describes the Sun as "l'organe et promptuaire de toute lumiere terrestre et syderale ...".<sup>509</sup> In Marguerite's Chansons Spirituelles it appears as a constant leit-motif. ("Chansons" 15,20,26). In the Navire it will be loaded with neo-Platonic overtones, as a symbol of realities which stand beyond our immediate experience:

Le Soleil luyt plain d'amour charitable,  
Ouvre tes yeulx et alors tu verras  
Que ton pleurer est cruel et dannable.  
(Navire, vv. 1324-1326)

since inwardly it reveals the meaning of outward realities:

Desja qa bas regarde le soleil,  
Croy qu'en ton c(u)eur le souleil clair et chault  
Luire te veult par amour non pareil.  
(*ibid.*, vv. 1402-1404)

Nevertheless the mystic symbolism of the Sun with many of its variants will be more clearly expressed in Book II of the Prisons:

...  
Au plain midy le soleil m'esclaira  
Qui mon estat plus plaisant declaira,  
(Prisons, fol. 283 vo, p. 162)

since without its illuminating role the Poet-Lover will never be able to attain to perfect knowledge:

'Confessez donc, et ne le cellez pas,  
'Que, sans avoir du soleil la lumiere  
'Qui vous monstra muable et mensongere  
'Celle que tant ten(i)ez loyalle et ferme,  
'Jamais n'eussiez saily hors de ce terme.  
(*ibid.* fol. 285 ro and vo, p. 165)

This Light emanating from the Sun has not only an illuminating effect on the soul, but a power to burn it internally through the mystic Flame of Love, as the Miroir explains:

...

Aussi le cueur qui par façon subtile  
Sent de l'amour de Dieu une scintille,  
Treuve ce feu si grand et si terrible,  
Si doux, si bon, qu'il ne luy est possible  
Dire que c'est d'amour; ( ... )  
(Miroir, vv. 1341-1345)

The effects of this mystic Fire are described as “consommer”, “fondre”, “brusler” and “aneantir” (*ibid.*, vv , 954-956) and the soul’s feelings are compared to the melting of wax: “...Ton coeur fondoit comme la cire, contre / Un ardent Feu ..”.<sup>510</sup>

Fire is a symbol full of meaning in symbolism. It can burn away all impurities, while in its most pure form, the Sun remains unchangeable.<sup>511</sup> It can make things incandescent like itself. Richard of St Victor (1123-1175) compares the soul plunged into the Divine Love to iron cast into a furnace and transmuted to a different quality of being, and Jan van Ruysbroeck (1293-1381) had a vision of the Divine Union of man with God as “every soul like a coal burnt up by God in the heart of his infinite love”.<sup>512</sup>

On the other hand the absence of the Sun creates a sensation of helplessness. The soul enters the mystic garden in darkness hoping to experience the “union de mon Espoux” (Chanson 20, v.21) symbolized by the Sunlight:

A Dieu pour tout jamais, A Dieu.  
En l'ignorance du matin,  
Sans voir du vray Soleil le jour,  
De plaisir j'entre au Jardin  
Plein d'honneur et biens a l'entour,  
Pour jamais n'en faire retour.  
(*ibid.*, vv. 1-6)

The soul has to enter the garden in which the Rose is the symbol of the Burning Sun; but human concern with “Biens, plaisirs et honneurs” (“Chanson 27”, v.17) robs us of its perfume:

Maudit soit le Cuyder  
Qui semble peu de chose  
Et fait de nous vuyder  
La senteur de la Rose, ...  
(ibid., vv. 1-4)<sup>513</sup>

But its Redness,<sup>514</sup> which has the magical effect of burning all human concerns, is restored by divine intervention:

...  
Nous redonnant l'odeur  
De la Rose vermeille,  
Bruslant par son ardeur  
Cuyder, qui nous conseille, ...  
(ibid., vv. 37-41)<sup>515</sup>

Naturally Eclipse and Darkness are symbolic words frequently used by Marguerite:

Mort trop soudain a esclipsé la face  
De mon soleil me laissant sans lumiere  
Aux tenebres de ceste terre basse.  
(Navire, vv, 124-126)

It must be noted that the sensation of being unable to see, of almost total Blindness, can be produced both by the absence of Light and by an attempt to look directly at the Sun:

Mais, regardant ce hault ciel desirable,  
L'ardant soleil vint esbloir ma vue,  
Me fermant l'eul par lumiere importable.  
(ibid., vv. 1435-1439)

The symbolic group of Sun includes eventually the Eye. Meister Eckhart (c.1260-1328) writes: "St Bernard asks: 'Why do my eyes behold the sky not my feet? It is because my eyes are more like the sky than like my feet'. If then my soul is to see God, it must be heavenly".<sup>516</sup>

Marguerite speaks of the Eye of the Flesh as being unable to hold the Light and leaving the whole body in Darkness, paraphrasing the biblical symbolism in St Matthew's Gospel: "The Eye is the lamp of the body..." (6,22-23):

...  
 Mais Sa lumière et vertu estoit telle  
 Que l'oeil charnel la trouva importable,  
 Pour estre trap luyante et agreable;  
 Ce feu, par qui tout mal est consummé,  
 Par mon oeil cloz, ne fut mains alumé  
 Dedans mon cuer, qui luy estoit esprit  
 Avant que l'oeil l'eust conceu ne compris.  
 (Prisons, fol.303 vo, p.202)

She plays with the symbol of the Eye in most of her mystic poems as I have already stressed in my previous chapters on the Miroir and the Prisons, speaking of the Weak Eye of the Flesh, or the Visible Eye, also called the Eye of the Flesh in opposition to the Eye of God:<sup>517</sup>

... *il [le pecheur] si revestu*  
 De Jesuchrist, que luy abhominable  
 A l'oeil de Dieu est fait très agreable...  
 (Prisons, fol. 320, p. 236)

In Marguerite's mystic symbolism the soul's Eye must achieve the purity of the Eagle's Eye, only then being able to see the Sun's Light face to face:

...  
 Son oeil de foy, regardant comme l'aigle  
Le vray soleil où estoit sa fiance ...  
 (ibid., 330 ro, p.260)

"It is possible, then, [writes the pseudo-Dionysius] I think, to find within each of the many parts of our body images harmonious to the heavenly powers, whilst we affirm that the powers of vision denote the most transparent elevation towards the Divine".<sup>518</sup>

It would be an endless task to distinguish each of the symbols mystically connected with the Sun, and to try to discover all sources. Marguerite had absorbed all this complex imagery with its strong neo-Platonic and Dionysian overtones from a convinced admirer both of Plato and of the Pseudo-Dionysius.<sup>519</sup> According to Briçonnet, the soul must reach the purity of the Eagle's Flight, using a similar comparison to that accepted by both Marguerite and the Pseudo-Dionysius: "Gousté en avoit [*i.e. Le fruit de la guerre spirituelle, another mystic symbol to be mentioned later*] quelque petite estincelle le bon prophete David, quand il invitoit ung chascun a la savourer et, par impatient desir, demandoit les helles de



l'aigle<sup>520</sup> pour, par haulte et eslevée contemplation, se ennyvrer de telle douce liqueur liquefiant son coeur, comme la cire devant le feu". (Correspondance, 1, pp. 27-28)

Indeed Marguerite's symbols connected with Light and Shadow can be grouped into a geometrical diagram similar in shape to the mystical paradigm of the two intercrossing pyramids of Nicolas of Cusa (*Plate 4*, p.262) by simply following her Correspondance with Briçonnet. I have, however, indicated that many of their symbols run parallel and it is difficult to separate them and present them in their purest state. Nevertheless the following schema (*Appendix 6*) may help the reader to reconstruct the two superimposed pyramids of the "Theologia Symbolica" of the neo-Platonism of the early Renaissance.

The Sun, according to Briçonnet, is a creature which does not change, by its very nature, a concept common to mediaeval cosmogonists, taken from the Platonic Spheres; man's Eye appears as the Mole, as it cannot face the divine Radiance:

La lumiere materielle est trop plus cogneue que les coulleurs<sup>521</sup> qu'elle illumine, comme est la cause devant les effectz.

O douce lumiere et douceur lumineuse, dulciffiez par humilité mon esperit à se cognoistre taulpe et vous rendre gloire et graces de ce que luy communicquez et permectez qu'il puisse par vostre creature solaire, veoir de loing vostre abissale mer de lumiere,<sup>522</sup> car de près n'est permis à creature!

(Correspondance, 1, p. 189)

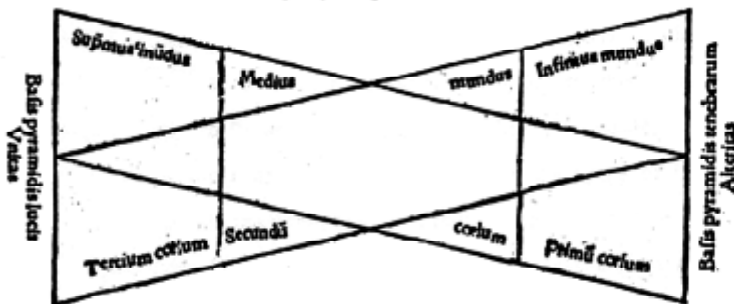
The Sun appears later in the same letter as the most perfect creature symbolizing divine wholeness ("vostre ymaige materiele"); the Sun is able to attract the human Eye "hors ce visible monde", but the latter often fails to reach the Divine, either because "il n'est capable ou qu'il fuit la lumiere":

Equalité de lumiere qui ne croist ne décroist, ains est identité sans variacion, luysez en mon coeur à ce qu'il ne congnoisse ce qui n'est vous et neantmoins eslevez l'esperit de vostre chambriere pour, en vostre ymaige materiele, par son oeil corporel, penetrer autant qu'il vous plaira la tirer pour vous servir, aimer et honorer en contemplant ceste grandeur d'image de vostre bonté, corps luminaire, solaire, tousjours esgallement luisant en identité de lumiere constante et permanente depuis

Sed iam ex Dionysio didicimus, mystica nomina excedere sensibilia & intelligibilia, & esse negatius in vertice pyramidis sicut mysticam Theologiam ab his suscipitur: quare nomina substantiarum spiritualium, quantumcumque eminentia, non sunt mystica censenda: & ut profundius ascensum & descensum intelligere possis / cuius spe meminisse beatissimus pater accipe pyramidem Nicolai Cusani doctissimi mystici ex libro eius de coniectura, & libro de docta ignorantia.

Cusanus.

Figura paradigmatica Cusani.



Sed intelligibiliorem multo tibi cōmunicabo pyramidem, in qua & gradus eandem, particulae partionem lucis & tenebrarum distinctissime videbis: nam participatio non est minima via les creionis Theologicę, ut in nostra Theologia negatiua fufius explicabimus, & ex hoc longe facilius ascensum & descensum parare tibi poteris pro animi tui sententia ad institutum Dionysiacum: Hanc autem insignem & mirificam pyramidem, longe excedentem Aegyptiacę & Memphisicę pyramides, acceptam referre debes preceptori nostro optimo Gregorio Reischio, Cartularie monestis S. Iohannis in Friburgo priori viro oppido venerando.

Eddus.

Gregorius Reischius.

Soli deo gloria:

E III ro

#### Plate 4.

Gregorius Reischius's geometrical diagram, which he calls "figura paradigmatica", represents the interrelationship of concurring symbols within the pyramid of Light and their opposites within the pyramid of Darkness. It shows Nicolas of Cusa's conception of the Universe: created things there participate from both Light and Darkness, but the closer they are to the base of the pyramid of Light, the less corporeal they are. (*De Mystica Theologia*, op.cit., Cap.III, Pars II, Prop.III, fol. E III ro).

sa creation, sans alteration ou immutacion, illuminant tout ce qui est cappable et susceptible de lumiere, se communicant en telle amplitude dedans et hors ce visible monde que s'il y a quelque chose qui ne recoive sa beneficque distribucion de lumiere il n'est à imputer à la faulte ou pauvreté du soleil qu'il n'ayt le tresor inepuisible de sa lumiere, mais c'est ou pour ce qu'il n'est capable ou qu'il fuit la lumiere.

(ibid., 1, p. 191)<sup>523</sup>

These are two most illuminating passages, which, while throwing light on the sixteenth century's static conception of the universe as "Cosmos", show an exchange of symbols such as Fire, Sun, Mole, Light, Eclipse and Sea, which makes it resemble the double pyramid of Light and Darkness as reconstructed from Marguerite's symbolic poems. Letter 6 of the Correspondance confirms the same schema: "Madame, moult est [h]eureuse l'ame qui se sent et cognoist telle, car elle est aveugle voiante,

luisant l'infinie lumiere en ses tenebres. Et plus y luist, plus l'aveugle, et en aveuglant illumine". (*ibid.*, 1, pp. 34-35)

It is very significant that both Briçonnet and Marguerite call themselves "aveugles": she wrote first "la riche aveugle, Marguerite" (*ibid.*, 1, p. 154), he acknowledged: "Helas! Madame, tirez y le pauvre aveugle, s'il vous plaist, par voz prieres" (*ibid.*, 1, p. 187); both influenced each other and enriched each other's symbols with further nuances in meaning, which gave Marguerite, in later years, the possibility of constructing such a complex Pyramid of symbols on Light and Shadows as appears particularly in her later mystic poems, the Chansons Spirituelles and the Prisons.

## II

The purpose of this chapter is not to give an alphabetical series of such mystic metaphors as can be found in Marguerite's works, nor to try to cover them all, but to organize the main symbols structurally in order to make her mystic concepts more understandable. In fact the detailed analysis of some of them can reveal the very nature of her mysticism. The real danger is, above all, that of entangling the reader in this labyrinth of images and symbols. The curious reader can consult the index, which contains an alphabetical list of some of the images which can be found in Marguerite's works.

If God is Light and the soul is imprisoned in Darkness by the body, there cannot be any reconciliation between the two while man is alive. To this must be added a further conflict: man's soul is light (as opposed to being weighty) while the body is heavy.<sup>524</sup> Marguerite's second antithetical pyramid of symbols, closely related to the previous one of Light and Darkness and in many ways interchangeable with it, represents the opposition between the Lower and the Higher through a series of symbols which can be organized into two main groups:

I. The body's conflict with the soul's incorporeal components: the Root, the Worm and the Prison.

II. The soul's conflict with the Divine: the Struggle, the Arrow, the Wound, the Dart, the Sword and the soul's Fight against the Giant.

The Queen amalgamates these two pyramids of Light and Darkness with man's conflict in his eagerness to know in the Prisons: when the Sun's Rays suddenly liberate the Poet-Lover from his self-imposed chains, showing him the Light and its freedom, it wounds him internally with its Ray-Dart.<sup>525</sup>

The soul's Fight to liberate itself from the body shows man's earthly condition; God must come to his aid with His love:

Et annoncez, disant à mon Espoux,  
Que forte Amour, par desir, ne me fine  
De tourmenter iusques a la racine;  
Qu'il vienne donc abbreger mes longs iours.  
Car Luy TOUT SEUL en est la medicine;  
Làs, vien, JESUS, car je languiz d'amours.<sup>526</sup>

Briçonnet explains that human earthly existence with its "terrestreitez et animalitez" hinder the divine Fire from reaching man's sinful being. Here he is referring to the Pauline idea that natural man comes from Adam's corrupted stock and must be grafted onto a cultivated tree (Christ) through Faith if he is to be productive (Romans 11,13-24): "... descheant les occasions qui renouvellent les terrestritez et animalitez de nostre vieil homme de peche [*i.e. Adam*], qui empesche que le feu ne penetre jusques a l'exication [*i.e. dessèchement*] des maistresses racines" (Correspondance, 1, p.103).

Princess Charlotte had developed Briçonnet's theme of "getting rid of the old roots; the soul is grafted onto the Tree of Christ (the Cross)" in the Dialogue:

Jesuchrist est le ban arbre qui monte  
Jusques au ciel, donnant fruict en son temps:  
N'ayez jamais d'estre sa branche honte.  
(Dialogue, vv. 613-615)<sup>527</sup>

Man's soul resembles Fire, with its tendency to rise "en pyramide en hault" as Briçonnet explains:

Le siege de vray repos et vraye demeure du feu materiel est au plus hault de tous les corps celestes, comme celluy qui predomyne à toutes creatures corporelles et ne peult ailleurs estre en repos quand il est cy bas. C'est pour la matiere, a laquelle il est attaché, qu'il desire convertir et transmuier en soy, pour incontinent retourner en son trosne. Aussy voions que la flamme tend en piramide en hault, pour monstrier sa naissance et origine et n'est visible que en la matiere qu'il unist à soy, demourant en soy invisible. Il est leger, agile, sublime, qui ne peult estre contrainct hors matiere de demourer en bas et quant il y est, par desir qu'il a naturel de transmuier taus corps en luy.

(Correspondance, 1, p. 105)

Obviously the principal symbol of man's earthly existence in Marguerite's work is the Prisons, and this has been discussed on the previous chapter. The soul's condition, symbolized by the Poet-Lover of the Prisons, equally occupies an important place in her imagery. Her litany-like series of symbols used to illustrate the Struggle of the soul to liberate itself from its earthly existence is as rich as her images connected with the Pyramids of Light and Darkness. She speaks of a Battle in the Discord:

Et de ce vient que bataille obstinee  
Est dedans l'homme et ne sera finée  
Tant qu'il aura vie dessus la terre  
(Discord. vv. 29-31)

or of a duel with swords in the Prisons:

Bien longuement ceste lutte dura  
Entre nous deux, dont mon cuer endura,  
Par maincte annee et longue experience  
(Prisons, fol. 303, pp. 202-203)

This conflict involves the soul in another at a higher level, in which it is as if it were attacked from below (the body) and from above (Divine Knowledge). The Dart-Wound is here used as a symbol of the soul's Lost Battle. "La Bergère" exclaims in the Comédie :

O doux amour! O doux regard,  
Qui me transperce de ton dar(d).  
(Comédie , vv. 958-959)

God's Eye and his Vision are equally presented by Marguerite under the symbolism of a Dart:

A[vez] vous de moy tourne vostre regard?  
Non, mais vostre oeil m'a esté ung doulx dard,  
Qui m'a navre le cuer jusques a la mort,  
En me donnant de mes pechez remort.  
(Miroir, vv. 809-812)

As I mentioned in Chapter 5 on the Prisons, Marguerite compares the ecstasy of mystic experience to the piercing sensation of being wounded. Briçonnet had already initiated her into the possibilities of this theme in an unforgettable passage of his Correspondance.

According to him some people are so materialistic (“charnels et animaulx”), that they think they can “sans helles voller pour cuider comprendre l’incomprehensible” (Correspondance, 1, p. 227); they refuse to reach the source of Light “en orient”, while the “spirituels” are longing for the Sun almost rising over the horizon, but they lack the power to fly and this longing for the Eagle’s Wings causes in them a frustration, here represented by the Dart:

Tant sont toutefois ennyvrez de l’excellence de l’infinitude de l’esperit qui leur est communicque qu’ilz veullent, en ung petit raion, par ardent desir comprendre l’immensite du Soleil, et par une goutellette, la plenitude de la mer, et congnoissant l’impuissance de leur vol soubhaitent helles aquilaires. Lesquelles, par grace impetrees, en leur prouffitent pour parvenir à leur desir et congnoissent que la pesanteur du corps, combien que passe par la fournaise de charité, embrasé, aneanti et pulverisé, empesche parvenir au vol desiré et de repoux, et telz ne reputent estre trop en corps et crient avec Saint Pol, de coeur fervent, feru et empané des dars d’amour.

(ibid., 1, p. 227)

The God-soul relationship takes another dimension when Marguerite echoes Briçonnet’s Correspondance expressing the divine search for man as “le grand pas comme un geant”:

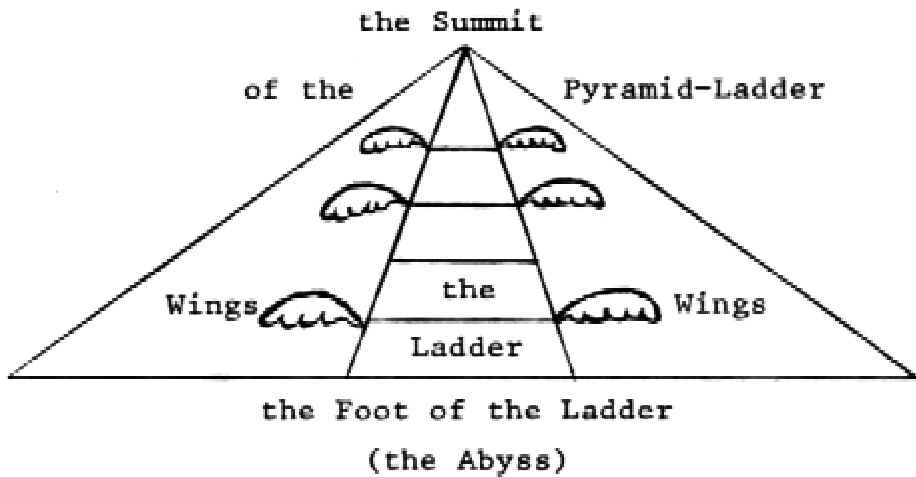
Qui t’a haste de courir le grand pas  
Comme un geant; me mettre hors de la meule  
Qui me brisoit, pour en faire un repas  
Au grand enfer, qui m’avoit en sa gueule;<sup>528</sup>

This simile that had been used as a symbol by Briçonnet, implies for him that the soul can never be satisfied on earth (“plus on en goust, plus on la desire”), and before a Fight which resembles that of Jacob with the Angel (Genesis 32,23-32), the soul must be able to eat “la viande” (i.e. The Spiritual food) of the perfect (Hebrews 5,14) in order to beat “le geant d’amour insuperable”: “Plus on en goust, plus on la desire, et par impatient desir serchez secours et ayde pour combattre le grand geant d’amour insuperable. Coeur aneanty et bien mortiffie a grand pouvoir pour le geant combattre” (Correspondance, 1, p. 27).<sup>529</sup> There cannot be any doubt that the Giant as understood by Briçonnet and Marguerite is God Himself, since in another letter the Bishop returns to the same subject: “Madame, Dieu sçait que je prens sans fiction, consolacion et plaisir indicible de congnoistre par voz lettres la grace evidente que le

grand geant d'amour insuperable vous faict en vous mectant au cours de sa vigne, ..." (Correspondance, 1, p.162).

### III

Perhaps the most poetic symbols we can find in Marguerite's works in verse are those connected with the basic diagram of the Ladder as opposed to the symbol of the Abyss. The mystic pyramid of the Ladder is a basic schema intended to express the actual liberation of the soul from its earthly tendencies. Man must climb to the top step by step, or fly by means of Wings (Appendix 7).



*Diagram 2.*

*A diagram of mine illustrating the ascent of the soul from the Foot of the Ladder to the Summit of the Pyramid as described in Marguerite's poems. I have used the elementary Simplicity of the triangle and the progressing movement of the pyramid of Darkness towards Light of the "theologia symbolica".*

G. Durand in his work on archaeology explains the elementary structure of the symbol of the Wing as the natural image of Vertical Ascent: "L'outil ascensionnel par excellence, c'est bien l'aile dont l'échelle du Chanana ou l'escalier de la Ziggurat n'est qu'un grossier succédané. Cette extrapolation naturelle de verticalisation posturale est la raison profonde qui motive la facilité avec laquelle la reverie volante, techniquement absurde, est acceptée et privilégiée par le désir d'angelisme".<sup>530</sup> According to Briçonnet, the Mountain represents the meeting of heaven and earth (Correspondance, 2, p.37). Marguerite also uses this angelic symbol to

satiety, often combining it with other groups of images. In the Navire she gives the following basic elements of the Mountain-Ladder:

Qui vit en chair, il vit en une abisme  
De tout peché, demeurant en l'eschelle  
Tousjours au pied, sans regarder la cime.  
(Navire, vv. 328-330)

She suggests that man's basic desire to climb upwards, symbolized by the mediaeval architects by the arches, vaults and spires of Gothic cathedrals,<sup>531</sup> is hindered by human sin.

En attendant que icy puisses voller,  
Du tu viendras si ta foy ne te fault,  
Le bien que j'ay je ne veulx celler.  
(*ibid.*, vv. 457-459)

Like the poet in the Bible, whose desire was to climb the Mountain of the Lord: "Who shall ascend the hill of the Lord? And who shall stand in his holy place? He who has clean hands and a pure heart ..." (Psalm 24, 3-4), Marguerite echoes this basic desire in many of her poems:

Montant plus hault a la perfection,  
(Prisons, fol. 295 ro, p. 185)

after escaping from the Prison of the Abyss:

Adieu l'abisme où j'estois englouty,...  
(*ibid.*, fol. 275 ro, p. 143)

It must, nevertheless, be explained that the term Abyss does not necessarily mean the baser part of man and his base desires. It could be a symbol of the fathomless and incomprehensible nature of the Divine.

Briçonnet wrote to Marguerite about the dazzling effect of being face to face with the divine mysteries: "L'abisme qui tout abisme previent pour en le desabismant l'abismer en abisme sans l'abismer, auquel abisme est fons sans fons, voie des errans sans chemin ne sentier, qui les desvoiez retire d'erreur pour abissablement les desvoier en voie abissale, abissablement desvoiant, et plus desvoi e moings desvoie" (Correspondance, 1, pp.134-135). In this text he combines several symbols such as the "*abisme*", the "*chemin*", the "*fons*" and the "*voie*" within a "*jeu de grand rhetoriqueur*". In mysticism there is no Path to reach God except



through His own mysterious Way, in which the soul must lose itself to be able to understand the divine Abyss, by progressing in knowledge from Water into Wine (from imperfect to perfect understanding): "...affin que l'eau puisse estre convertie en vin et que l'abisme par l'abisme invoque puisse abismer" (ibid., 1, p.134).<sup>532</sup>

From this bottomless Abyss or Wandering in the mysterious Divine ways, the soul must shoot upwards, vertically, as the Chansons Spirituelles explain:

Descendons bas en nostre âme  
Pour monter plus hautement.  
(“Chanson” 21, vv. 1-2)<sup>533</sup>

“Chanson 21” connects the images of Ascending and Descending with the mystic themes of the “Rien” and the “Tout” that I have analysed in the Prisons. Christ helps the soul to join in His “Kenosis” (*descendre jusqu’au Rien*) to be able to join Him in His mystical glorification (*monter jusqu’au Tout*)<sup>534</sup>:

De Christ, duquel sera la femme  
Jointe inséparablement,  
L’âme estant Rien, sera dame  
De Tout par son Tout, vrayment.  
Descendons.  
(ibid., vv. 13-17)

Mystics draw a double pyramid of descending and ascending elements when trying to explain mysticism (Plate 7, Appendix 9). Champeaux and Sterckx explain it symbolically as the vision Jacob had in Bethel (Genesis 28,12):

En songe, Jacob a vu l’échelle mystérieuse sur laquelle des anges montaient et descendaient en une incessante communication de la terre au ciel. Le Christ reprendra l’image à son compte pour faire entendre qu’il est l’échelle qui rétablit les communications entre l’humanité pécheresse et le ciel enfin rouvert: “En vérité, en vérité, je vous le dis, vous verrez le ciel ouvert et les anges de Dieu monter et descendre au-dessus du Fils de l’homme” (John 1,51).<sup>535</sup>

Marguerite identifies this Ladder with the Cross as did other mystics.

O CHRIST en Croix, tu es la vraye eschelle  
Par qui le Ciel se ravist et eschelle,

Qui as pour nous fait telle violence, ( ... )  
 O douce eschelle, à t'embrasser m'avance; ...<sup>536</sup>

a symbol that was expressed by the image of the scaffold (i.e. Jacob's dream of the *Scala Mystica* in Genesis 28) in the Navire:

Or, prent sa croix pour faire ung eschauffaut  
 De terre au ciel. et aussy pour destruire  
 Ton ennemy qui est cruel et cault.  
 (Navire, vv. 862-864)



Plate 7.

A geometrical diagram of the ascending and descending pyramids of definitions and symbols that can be applied to God. Any positive human concept such as “bonum” or “pulchrum” can be said of Him positively (*Deus est...*), but only analogically of creatures (*via Analogica*). Imperfect predicates such as “finite” or “created” must be predicated of Him negatively (*via Negativa*): “*Deus non est finitus*” or “*Deus est infinitus*” (Introduction, p.10). Certain creatures such as the Sun and the Star are nearer God than others (e.g. the Stone and the Worm) since they mirror His divine qualities more accurately and so can be predicated of Him symbolically. The *Mystica Theologia*, unlike Marguerite, places Fire in this diagram very low in the *Scala Mystica*. (*De Mystica Theologia*, op. cit., Cap.III, Pars II, Prop.III, fol. D IIII ro).

John Ferguson explains that the ascent to the three-tiered universe is often associated with flying: “Jewish mysticism acknowledges three forms of ascension: direct ascension into heaven of a few chosen ones such as Enoch and Elijah; ascension and return, granted to Moses; and the ascension of the soul in Hasidic mystical experience”.<sup>537</sup> Meister Eckhart has a strange explanation of this Ascent-Descent experience in his theory of the Rising Water and the Falling Stone, to explain the natural desire of the soul to shoot upwards and of the body to fall downwards; he explains:

“There is, however, another action more essential to the stone than falling. It is the constant downward tendency ingrained in it and which neither God nor man nor creature can take away”.<sup>538</sup> Water is meant, according to him, to have a lofty tendency to ascend: “... it is the way of water to flow downwards into the valley and that is its custom; but under the influence and action of the moon up in the sky, water forsakes and forgets its own way and flows, uphill and its rising is easier than its downflow”.<sup>539</sup> Eckhart also explains the symbolism of the Wing and Ascent, telling how the soul has this tendency by means of an agent: “...it is the property of the soul [*i.e. its natural tendency to lift man*] ever to struggle upwards by means of this agent, and if it looks aside, or relents from the way upwards, that is sin. The soul cannot bear to have anything above it. I believe that it cannot bear to have even God above it.”<sup>540</sup>

It is obvious that the experience of Rising, as depicted by Eckhart, is closely related to the sensation of Flying, and mystic experience is frequently associated with the image of the Wing; Marguerite often adopts and combines them in her works, particularly in the Prisons:

...  
 Car la beaulté d'un seul si fort te plaist  
 Que le dehors, tant soit beau, te desplaist,  
 Sinon d'autant qu'il doit servir d'eschelle,  
 Pour adresser le voller de ton aile  
 Par la facture au Facteur, et montant  
 Aller tousjours ses louanges chantant...  
 (Prisons. fol.328 ro p.253)

This doctrine of the natural ascension to the knowledge of God through his own creation is a leit-motif in mystic symbolism (Romans 1,19-20).

Plato wrote of the Wing, the upward tendency of the soul, that “it is the orporeal element which is most akin to the divine, and which by nature tends to soar aloft and carry that which gravitates downwards into the upper region, which is the habitation of the gods”.<sup>541</sup> Briçonnet, a great admirer of Plato, and of the “eschelles d'essurrection” of the Pseudo-Dionysius,<sup>542</sup> had initiated Marguerite into this difficult science of symbols:

Et, apres que la bonne brebis s'est bien ennyvree en son dict ru[i]sseau, par yvresse extaticque et amour desmesurée a voullu prendre les helles de l'aigle pour faire l'extreme vol pour cognoistre la force et puissance de charité, qui a faict que equalité

et inégalité, grand et petit,<sup>543</sup> createur et creature. tout et rien  
sont ensemble et coincident ...<sup>544</sup>

(Correspondance, 1, p. 47)

According to him the “Helles de la bataille” (ibid., 1, p. 27) are needed to reach the final stage that only the Eagle, aiming to reach the sun can attain to.<sup>545</sup> By 1523 he was realizing that Marguerite was ready to start the final Flight upwards: “Madame, vous laissant l’ame de l’homme, sachant que Dieu vous a donne helles non vulgaires pour voller où le vend vous transportera, que debvrez suivre et vous reposer en luy...” (Correspondance, 2, p. 35) and to understand more difficult symbols that embody the hermetic doctrines of the nature of the Divine and bring the soul to the final Kiss and Wedding, another image of reaching the Summit, as Chanson 17 explains:

Ce jour de nopces, Seigneur,  
Me tarde tant,  
Que de nul bien ny honneur  
Ne suis content

...

Baissez moy, acolez moy,<sup>546</sup>  
Mon Tout en tous,  
Unissez moy par la Foy  
Du tout à vous.

(“Chanson 17”, vv. 14-26)

#### IV

Straight Lines, particularly in the geometrical form of a Square, are symbolically connected with human activities, such as buildings, or with the creature’s vertical tendencies to climb upwards or to fall downwards, as mediaeval mystics understood these activities.<sup>547</sup> But the Circle is related to the Divine because of its dynamic shape, as it is the basis of all rotary movements. Many of the symbols used by Marguerite, such as the Eye or the Sun are circular in shape, and therefore they have connotations of the unblemished Absolute, though as natural symbols, they can be deficient as they approach the basis of the Pyramid.

I have already mentioned the Road as an outstanding symbol of a human tendency to become engaged in Divine action. Marguerite has a good example in her Comédie sur le Trespas du Roy:

## SECURUS

Le droict chemin je ne te veux celler:  
De la grand croix il se faict appeller,  
C'est le chemin de la haulte montaigne.

## AGAPY

De la grand croix? Ce chemin là je sçay,  
Car j'en ay faict souvent le rude essay,  
Des yeulx la voy et dans le cueur la parte.  
(Comédie sur le Trespas du Roy, vv. 242-247)

But this mystic symbol of the Road must be applied to Christ eminently; He is often described by Marguerite as the Way, the Truth and the Life, following the Johannine definitions of the Divine, as we saw in previous Chapter 5, Section V D:

Tu es la voye et le chemin tresample  
Par ou lon va au grand celeste temple.<sup>548</sup>

Water is connected with God's grace by the mystics. It takes many forms in Marguerite's poetry. The Streams and the Fountain, for instance, may be images of man's suffering, as when she comments on the death of her brother in La Navire:

O chef roial, qui fontainne s'est faicte,  
Dont tes yeulx sont les abondans ruisseaulx,  
Par fort pleurer ceste dure defaicte.  
(Navire, vv. 1030-1032)

They are usually symbols of God's mercy, as when Charlotte exclaims in the Dialogue, vv. 418-419:

Sa grace est un ruisseau qui court fort royde  
Dans une ame distribuant ses dons,...

The arrival of the deer at the Running Waters is a mystic symbol of the encounter of the soul with the Divine (Correspondance,<sup>1</sup> p. 79):

S'il vous [*i.e. the soul*] plaisoit seoir et poser  
Dessus le bart d'une fontaine,  
Et corps et esprit reposer,  
Puisant de l'eau tres-vive et saine,  
Certes sans y prendre autre peine.  
Le cerf [*God*] viendrait A vous tout droit.  
("Chanson 6", vv. 41-46)

Water appears as a natural symbol (“*Signe*”) in the Dialogue:

Soubdainement, faisant de Adam defaïcte,  
L'ensepuelist, recepuant Leaue pour Signe  
En Jesuchrist, où son ame est refaïcte  
(Dialogue, vv. 697-699)

This symbol is taken from St Paul's mystic interpretation of the “crossing by the Israelites of the Red Sea”,<sup>549</sup> a theme she borrowed from Briçonnet in one of his letters to her: “... et moings pourrions passer le mer Rouge, sy la puissante verge ne l'ouvroit, arrestoit et sechoit: par le baptesme le ciel nous est Ouvert, la puissance tirannique arrestée et la source de peche originel sechée et tarie, de sorte que sommes, après le baptesme, vrais enfans de Dieu...” (Correspondance, 1, p. 199).

Water for Briçonnet and for Marguerite is one of the three basic symbols, together with Fire and Manna, as I have already mentioned previously when I presented them as the three illustrations of Marguerite's Three Prisons. Furthermore, Briçonnet developed the analogy of the stream in one of his letters very much in the manner of Marguerite, comparing the Running Water to the three stages in the development of the soul:

Et, pour continuer nostre eaue beneficque et salvificque, d'icelle trouvons yssir trois ru[i]sseaulex qui ne sont que ung. Par l'ung, en l'amour et nectoiant, il purge et est eaue purgative. Par l'autre, ouvre les yeulx et oste la taye de cecite et ygnorance, et, par ce, est illuminatisve. Par la troiziesme, par ce qu'il ne laisse riens imparfaict, elle est eaue perficiente. La purgacion et illumination, et, pour aultrement exprimer, le doulx Jesus, est, par habondance des eaux de grace, purgeant, illuminant, et parfaissant en luy nature humaine, de laquelle est purgation, illumination et perfection.

(Correspondance, 1, p. 79)

Christ, according to Briçonnet, brings abundance of “eaux de grace”, through which He mystically purifies, illuminates and improves the soul, three operations that correspond to the three persons of the Trinity (Correspondance, 1, p. 96). Marguerite wrote a mystic poem about Christ's saving power through Water which is associated with the three operations of God in the soul: Election (by the Father), affection of love (by the Son) and fruition of knowledge (by the Spirit):

Sans or, argent, ny avoir  
L'eau donne en abondance,  
 Non labeur ne devoir  
 Par merite ou puissance;  
 Mais par pure Election  
 D'une grande affection,  
 Nous donne fruition  
 De l'eau de cognoissance,  
 A la clere Fontenelle.  
 ("Chanson 14", vv . 43-51)

Brignonnet combines the diagram of the "Scala Perfectionis" with the symbolism of Water when he suggests that the Sheep, (which for him means the ecstatic soul) will be able to climb upwards after drinking Water from the sweet fountain:

... et toutesfois la fontaine ne diminueoit point. et incontinent s'en va [la brebis] plonger en son ru[i]sseau, qui la suivoit et environnoit, et en levant les yeux plus hault, aperchoit que de la bouche de vie procedoit ceste douce fontaine ( ... ) Et, après que la bonne brebis s'est bien ennyvrée en son dict ru[i]sseau par yvresse extatique et amour desmssurée a voullu prendre les helles de l'aigle pour faire l'extreme vol pour cognoistre la force et puissance de charité,(...)  
 (Correspondance, 1, p. 47)

Briconnet's Correspondance and Marguerite's poems are full of mystic symbols which deal with mystic experience; both connect the teaching of the Song of Songs<sup>550</sup> with Manna, the sweetness of which symbolizes St Paul's experience on his way to Damascus. Marguerite's Miroir states:

Parquoy venez, o bien[h]eureux saint Paul,  
 Qui tant avez gousté ce doux miel,  
 Trois jours sans veoir, ravy jusques au ciel ...  
 (Miroir, vv. 1382-1384)

an idea more clearly developed in one of Brignonnet's letters to Marguerite. He compares Christ to the true Manna: "Mais le Verbe eternal, doux Jesus, vraye manne, est trop plus excellentement repaissant l'esperit que n'avoit faict au desert le corps" (Correspondance, 1, p. 145). People who had tasted it like St Paul through faith were happy, but its understanding can only be incomplete until they see him in glory: "Bien

[h]eureulx est qui par foy le gousté, aiant esperance en luy que au royaume de paradis sera en verité gousté et congneu, non comme en couverture et figure egnigmaticque (comme il est icy, ainsy que dict Monsieur saint Pol) [I Corinthians 13,12] mais comme il est en verité, comme congnoissons estre advenu au Juifz en leur figure litterale et numerale manne...” (ibid., 1, pp.145-146).<sup>551</sup> Mystic symbolism, as Briçonnet implies at the end of this passage, is very closely connected with the mystical interpretation of the Bible; he sees in the Manna (“figure litterale”) and in its symbolic longing of the Jews for the Promised Land (“figure numerale”) the mystic encounter of the soul with Christ (John 6).

Colours could also be interpreted symbolically, and indeed they are found in one of Marguerite’s most hermetic passages of what could be called the Solar Spectrum with its four basic colours, as were used in the Chinese and Mexican Calendars, namely Red, Blue, White and Green. The four colours, often used in heraldry, were associated with the four cardinal points, the four elements and the four seasons.<sup>552</sup> Marguerite writes in the Prisons:

Ces livres sont couvertz de quatre sortes:  
D’or tout semé de feu et flambes fortes,  
D’asur remply de differentz oyseaulx,  
D’argent tout plain de poisson[s], de bateaulx,  
De vert paré de tous arbres et bestes, ...  
 (Prisons, fol. 297 ro, p.190)

These four basic colours can be found, with symbolic meaning, in Chinese and Mexican “Codices of the Sun”.<sup>553</sup> Marguerite was interested in Sun-Calendars as her early Horoscope of 1510, still unpublished, shows.<sup>554</sup> Colours appear as well in the Renaissance “emblems” and were often applied to biblical texts, often distorting the meaning of the Scripture.<sup>555</sup> Many of these exotic ideas were reaching the European Courts as the discoverers were arriving from America and the Far East, and scholars showed interest in hermetic symbols. For the Chinese, the four elementary colours were connected with the Four Elements.<sup>556</sup> In the Prisons there are similar connotations:

<u>Or</u>	Fire
<u>Azur</u>	Air (oyseaulx)
<u>Argent</u>	Water (poissons, bateaulx)
<u>Vert</u>	Earth (arbres, bestes).

There has been some discussion about the symbolism of colours as used by Marot and Rabeais, who were “protégés” of Marguerite. Marot



ridicules those who went too far in interpreting Black and White symbolically in “Epître VII”:

Et par ainsi, quand ferme je seroys,  
Pour prendre nair le blanc je laisseroys;  
Car fermeté c’est le noir par droicture,  
Pource que perdre il ne peult sa taincture.

Or porteray le blanc, ce temps pendant  
Bonne fortune en amours attendant. ( ... )  
Si j’ayme bien les blanches ceincturettes,  
J’ayme encor mieulx Dames qui sont brunettes.<sup>557</sup>

Rabelais also mentions Blue, White and Black as symbolic colours in *Gargantua*. (Chapters VIII-IX): “Et diray en un mot que le bleu signifie certainement le ciel et choses celestes, par mesmes symboles que le blanc signifioit jouye et plaisir”, while Black stands for “deuil”;<sup>558</sup> he is, however, only interested in colours that have universal meaning for people: “Par le blanc ... tout le monde a entendu joye ...”,<sup>559</sup> criticizing their arbitrary interpretation by the emblematisers of his time who “voulent leur arbitre tenir lieu de raison”.<sup>560</sup> Marguerite takes the interpretation of colours much further and organizes them hierarchically in a “Scala Mystica”, and Red represents the “Rose vermeille” (“Chanson 27”, v. 38), and the Sun, God’s most perfect creature:

Longtemps après en demoure esblouy [*i.e. du soleil*],  
Bien qu’il ayt peu de sa beaulté jouy,  
Tant que partout pense veoir ung soleil  
Du que tout est ou dare ou vermeil [*bright red*].  
(*Prisons*, fol.265 ro, pp.122-123)

Their order is in descending scale of value:

- 1 Red (Gold)
- 2 Blue
- 3 White (Silver)
- 4 Green
- 5 Black

When Marguerite, for instance, asks in “Chanson 25” to pass from Black to Green:

Or chantons matin et soir  
Sans nous asseoir;

Dançons par joye immortelle;  
 Changeons en verd nostre noir,  
 (“Chanson 25”, vv. 49-52)

she is inviting her readers to start climbing the Pyramid of Ascent, since changes of colour are here connected with a clearer knowledge of the divine nature and Green must be interpreted as the first step of the soul in understanding God.

Closely connected with the symbolic grading of Colours is the use of the letters of the alphabet: “Much mystical and religious thought”, writes Ferguson, “regards a name having a power or bearing a substitute relation to its object. The letters of the alphabet thus become in a sense the elements of the universe and fit objects for contemplation”.<sup>561</sup> Letters had been interpreted in different ways: If Christ is for St John the “Alpha” and “Omega”, the beginning and the end, for Marguerite the Hebrew letter “Tau” is a symbol of the Cross. “Tau” was the mark made with the blood of the Paschal Lamb on the houses of the Israelites to protect their first born from the angel of death (Exodus 12). Marguerite seems to refer to a similar Christian custom, to bless oneself, with a Tau (the sign of the Cross) when she writes:

Tout vostre corps avez laissé hascher,  
 Piedz, mains percer, et mort a la croix prendre,  
 Et par ruisseaux vostre saint sang respandre,  
*Pour du signe TAU nos frontz mercher* [marquer (see Diagram 3)  
 (*Oraison a nostre seigneur Jesus Christ*, vv.30-33)<sup>562</sup>

The most hermetic letter is neither the first nor the last, but the central letter M. It is at the same time masculine and feminine<sup>563</sup> like the Androgyne (*see Diagram 3, p. 293*), and “is a symbol of water in its original state (of the Great Abyss)”<sup>564</sup>. Both Marguerite and Briçonnet adopted the letter “Mem” to represent the furthest step in mystic initiation, namely the ecstatic piercing of the soul by the Spirit that makes it understand the spiritual meaning of the Bible, as it was taught in Marguerite’s main hermeneutic works, the *Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan* and the *Prisons*.<sup>565</sup>

It was she who first asked the Bishop to initiate her into the complex meaning of the “lettre mem escripte en hebrieu, ouverte et cloze, en grosse forme...” (*Correspondance*, 2, p. 229). Briçonnet delayed his answer for some months and then he sent a long dissertation on the literal (open) and symbolic (hidden) meanings of the letter “Mem” (*ibid.*, 2, pp. 277-278).



*Diagram 3.*

*The Hebrew letter “Mem”; It’s shape normally is open below, but it is close in final position: “ouverte et close, en grosse forme (capital)...” (Correspondance, 2, p. 229), symbolized in Marguerite’s circle a series of mystic meanings related to the Messianic prophesies in the Old Testament (ibid., 2, p. 213) as well as to the interpretation of “le Miroir” and “la Marguerite” (cf. Chapter 3 on the Miroir, Section III). Letter “M” occupies the middle position in the Latin alphabet. In Hebrew Aleph takes position 1, Mem 13 and Tau 22. Briçonnet’s and Marguerite’s choice of “M” as the most perfect letter, as the symbol of Christ the Messiah, must refer to this middle position in the alphabet. From there it can accomplish and unite all things (Ephesians) and be the Alpha and Omega, the first and last letters of the Greek alphabet. (Cf. Revelation 22,13).*

The Hebrew letter “Mem”, like the Bright Red (Gold) among the other less perfect colours, is a symbol of perfection and must be explained as signifying a deeper understanding of all the esoteric mystical concepts of the school of Meaux. Marguerite and Briçonnet aimed at reviving the weakening Church, by injecting new life into it through the internal renewal of the soul symbolized in many of the symbols. That is why the last series of images I have analysed are connected with man’s imperfections and God’s faultlessness.

If man’s nature is in itself incomplete and divided as Marguerite puts it in the Prisons by using the symbol of the Androgyne in search of its other half, Christ is the perfect Divine Androgyne since it embraces both the masculine and the feminine principles. In the same way letter MEM implies perfection since it embodies opposing closed and open principles as it can be explained both literally and symbolically. The Divine appears explained by a series of images connected with symbols of perfection such as the

Circle (see Diagram 4 below)  
 Round Mirror  
 Marguerite Flower  
*Marguerite + Pearl* (see Plate 2, p. 95)

I have already mentioned the significance of certain round symbols such as the Circle in my previous chapter on the Prisons, when I spoke of it as the best way of expressing God's unchangeable nature. The Roundness of the Pearl could equally be taken as a symbol of Union and Perfection. Sainte-Marthe explains it in his Oraison Funèbre on the occasion of Marguerite's funeral ceremony where he seems to adopt a similar symbolism to that used by Briçonnet and Marguerite herself; here he plays with the Latin word for Marguerite-Pearl "*Unio*": "Car la Marguerite, est une precieuse pierre, que Pline dit, emporte l'honneur et le pris, sur toutes choses precieuses: Et havoit perfection en blancheur, grandeur, rotondité et pois.(...) Les François en leur langue, nomment la Marguerite PERLE: (...) je dy, que celle a bon droit est appelée Union, qui ne devoit laisser au monde sa pareille".<sup>566</sup>

I have already explained the symbolic meaning of the Roundness of the Marguerite-Pearl-Flower in my previous chapter on the Miroir where the precious stone stands as a symbol of the secret meaning of the book.<sup>567</sup> G. Champeaux remarks that the Circle embraces not only perfection of the Divine but the scales of perfection (hierarchies créées) in all other creatures: "Le cercle peut encore symboliser, non plus les perfections cachées du Point primordial, mais ses *effets créés*; autrement dit, le monde en tant qu'il se distingue de son Principe. Les cercles concentriques representent les degrés d'etres, les hiérarchies créées".<sup>568</sup> In the hierarchy of symbols the bright Red colour, together with the letter MEM which stands for Miroir and Marguerite and the Androgyne are the nearest to the Centre in Marguerite's mystical teaching. Briçonnet had explained the relevance of the Circle in mystic teaching:

La forme ronde et circulaire est la perfection de toutes les aultres figures. Pour ceste cause est le ciel circulaire, comme forme la plus parfaite, et par ce, les ames ne peuvent estre que perles circulaires et rondes; ...Et comme ung sercle ne se peult faire par le compas qu'il ne se ferme au mesme poinct, auquel il a esté commancé, et n'y a que ung point qui commence et cloust le sercle, aussy ne doibvent les ames avoir aultre point que Dieu, duquel commencent et est leur fin en luy. Et, combien que ceste semence de perle circulaire, que la vraye superceleste perle a semé es arnes fidelles,<sup>569</sup> soit ronde et circulaire, comme dict est, toutesfois, quant à elle, a esté quelque temps pacifiant le corps de, l'ame et les eschauffant en soy, qui est amour et charité.  
(Correspondance, I, p. 57)

## V

Marguerite often builds up symbols as antitheses in order to reconcile seemingly opposing concepts. Some of her most remarkable definitions of God are based on the “*conjunction of opposites*” theory, as the three mystical antitheses, namely the “*Tout-Rien*”, the “*Grand-Petit*” and the “*Loing-Près*” show in the Prisons.<sup>570</sup> Pairs of them had appeared in many of the letters of the Correspondance between Marguerite and Briçonnet which remind the reader of the “*Rhétoriciens*”:

veues aveuglees  
peines joieuses  
courses reposantes  
vies mortes  
mortz vives  
aveuglée clere-voiant heure  
(Correspondance, 1, pp. 177-178)

Mystic symbols such as Light and Darkness are presented in her poetry as opposites:

Mais qui peult veoir lumiere sans nuée  
L'obscurité en clarté voyt muée,  
Car la clarté a tenebre est contraire:  
Lune venant, l'autre convient retraire,  
(Prisons, fol. 274 ro, p. 205)

but the human eye often cannot distinguish things either because of lack of light or because of excessive brightness. The Light that comes from the Sun can blind the Eye, and Marguerite often complains of this: “La plus aveuglée de toutz, ( ... ) Marguerite” (Correspondance, 1, p. 37). But when the Poet-Lover has to face the Light as he escapes from the Darkness of his first Prison, he finds that the brilliance of the Sun no longer hurts his Blind Eye:

...  
Car vous sçavez que par [là] l'impossible  
Possible fut, l'invisible visible.  
(Prisons, fol. 274 ro, p. 141)

She presents a contrasting sequence of symbols, to express opposing sensations in this curious farewell by the Poet-Lover of the Prisons:

Adieu l'abisme où j'estois englouty,  
Adieu le feu ou souvent fuz rosty,  
Adieu la glace où maincte nuict tremblay,  
Adieu le lac de larmes assemblé,  
Adieu le mont pour may innaccessible,  
D'y retourner il ne m'est plus possible.  
(Prisons, fol. 275 ro, p. 143)

As he approaches the top of the Mountain he has the feeling of being nearer perfection (*"monter à la perfection"*) together with a greater desire to know God better (*"descendre à l'affection d'Amour"*):

Montant plus hault à la perfection,  
Plus je descends à ceste affection  
Qui est de Dieu très fort recommandée  
Et de l'Amour a l'amant demandée,  
Et plus vertu rend mon esprit content.  
(Prisons, fol. 295 ro, p. 185)

Marguerite's remarkable use of symbolically mystic antitheses can only be appreciated after a careful analysis of her Correspondance with Briçonnet. Here in two of her letters she plays with the images of Fire, Ice, Light, Darkness, Eye, Honey, in endless combinations, often opposing each other. They are formal demands to be introduced to an esoteric knowledge already familiar to her. In June 1521, she requests:

Monsieur de Meaulx, je loue de toute ma puissance le seul bien nécessaire, qui, par sa bonté, permect a celle qui se peult dire moins que rien, tant de grace que d'avoir eu, par vostre lettre et celle de Maistre Michel, occasion de desirer commancer d'entendre le chemin de salut. Et, puisqu'il luy plaist avoir ouvert l'oeil (puisque par nature aveugle) et par vostre bon moyen l'avoir tourné de cousté de la lumiere, je vous prie, en l'honneur de luy, que, par faulte de continuer voz tant salutaires lettres, ne le laissez en paresse recloure, mais par coustume de fructueuse leçon, rompre la trop grande ignorance de mon entendement, affin que le pauvre coeur verglacé et mort en froit puisse sentir quelque estincelle de l'amour en quoy je le desire consummer et brusler en cendre.( ... ) je demande l'aide de voz bonnes prieres, par le moien desquelles j'espere en la parfaicte bonté parvenir à gouter le miel dont la bresche de voz escriptures me donnent appetit.  
(Correspondance, I, p. 33)

She was demanding a more formal initiation into the language of hermetic symbols that will appear in her poetic works later. In another demand, written after Easter 1522, she asks for more solid food (“pain”), comparing her own condition to that of a “pelerinaige”, once again referring to Israel’s wandering in the desert (“la voie desvoïée”) and to the Johannine doctrine of Christ the Manna-Bread (Exodus 16) (John 6):

Je n’ay voulu empescher vostre esperit, ce temps passé, doubtant le divertissement de voz meilleurs effortz par vous donner travail et moindre bien. Mais nécessité contrainct de vous importuner opportunément, car voiez le caresme loing de nous, les sermons failliz, l’esté revenu, retourner au pelerinaige de la court, en danger d’avoir souvent faulte de pain [*another symbol for Manna*]. Usez de compassion et nous distribuez aulmosne de telle provision que ne defaillons en la voye desvoïée.

(ibid., 1, p.194)

There is an endless repetition in all these groups of symbols in both Marguerite and Briçonnet. But each image adds something new to the others, presenting the material from another point of view. These mystic truths can be found in the ancient axioms, accepted and illustrated by the Pseudo-Dionysius and the neo-Platonic tradition, as also by Meister Eckhart and the Rhenish school, by Nicolas of Cusa and the Florentines. Jacques Lefèvre, though opening new ways and moving forwards to what may be called modern spirituality, was a great admirer of the old masters.<sup>571</sup> Marguerite and Briçonnet, though inspired by Lefèvre’s ideas, remained nevertheless within the old frame of thought, the old images and symbols, and their mysticism could be summed up thus: “God is Everything (the “Tout”) and man is Nothingness (the “Rien”); in between is Christ, being the “Tout-Rien” (God -Man). He can harmonize these two opposing principles (Correspondance, 2, p. 32) by uniting all things in God (Ephesians 1)”. It is on these lines that all symbols and antithetical themes in Marguerite’s works, particularly in the Miroir, the Dialogue and the Prisons must be viewed.

## CONCLUSION

Each chapter of this study has been primarily concerned with an aspect of Marguerite de Navarre’s mysticism. While writing them I have referred to her complex personality, which I would like to describe briefly for the reader at the conclusion of this work. She was much more tolerant than most sixteenth century monarchs, who were feeling threatened by sudden changes; the doors of her Court were open to those propagating

all sorts of avant-garde ideas and movements in science, poetry, philosophy and religion, such as Marot, Lefèvre, Michel d'Arande and Rabelais. This has caused a certain confusion, since people tended to credit her with beliefs which were those of her "*protégés*". Even Calvin himself took her for a crypto-Libertine Spirituelle.<sup>572</sup>

As protector of thinkers whose ideas have fashioned the character of modern man, she can be likened to the most brilliant of her contemporaries. In her zeal for truth she was like Luther; in her commitment to save a world in turmoil she resembled Erasmus and Lefèvre d'Étaples, and, in her utter dedication to making the French language a perfect means of expression, she was like the early writers of the French Renaissance.

The most characteristic element of her thought is her total commitment to preserving the evangelical message of the group of Meaux, from the moment when in 1525 Briçonnet had to abandon any kind of experimental attempt at reforming the Church from within. Her mystic Correspondance and her long poems, often very difficult to interpret, are, nevertheless, extremely rich and meaningful, indeed they are among the most valuable documents we possess for tracing the development of the ideas which shaped the intellectual history of sixteenth century France.

The most misrepresented side of her personality, however, has been her close association with Briçonnet. Many critics would prefer to separate her, if not from Meaux, at least from the dominant role of its Bishop as the real exponent of the ideas of the group. A minute analysis of Marguerite's works however shows an almost total dependance, often verbal, on Briçonnet's teaching. Would she have been a grater writer if she had not become so attached to her Master? Would she have been a more original thinker if she had followed Plato, the Pseudo-Dionysius, the Florentines, Erasmus or Luher? The fact that these influenced her very deeply does not count for certain critics who seem to imply that their effect on her was blemished by her early training by Briçonnet, without realizing the underlying consistency of that mystic training throughout her life. All these speculations, though often sincere, have filled hundreds of pages but have helped little, since they have diverted critics from their real task. Some of them go as far as to despise the task of tracing all the sources of Marguerite's ideas as if it were the hobby of a collector of rare insect specimens<sup>573</sup>. In any case it is arguable that Briçonnet's dominant influence on her during the reforming years of Meaux did not form part of a common strategy to restore the collapsing Church. What is true is that both belonged to a transitional period of renewal, when some people felt unsure what means to adopt to reform Western Christianity; this is reflected in their often heavy, repetitive style, in their cryptic presentation



of themes in their Correspondance, and in Marguerite's poetic works which often resemble the windings of a labyrinth likely to lead the readers astray.

Marguerite's involvement with all the themes of sixteenth century mysticism is such that one wonders why she has been omitted from some encyclopaedias on mysticism<sup>574</sup>. Perhaps this omission can be explained by the fact that her connection with the school of Meaux has not been taken seriously enough, and, what is more significant, that no original "corpus doctrinae" has previously been traced running through her lengthy, often prolix poems.

Her Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne has not hitherto been viewed as the exposition of her Quietist attitude in the face of the Polemics between Erasmus and Luther. Some of its conclusions may appear too harsh to the modern reader since death is presented in the poem as the door to total bliss, which can only be attained by faith. Its charm lies in the personal level of the discussion between Marguerite and her niece, the young princess Charlotte, whose death filled the Queen with grief. Its theme mirrors Briçonnet's teaching on the evangelical text "*Thy will be done*", and presents a calm attitude in difficult times for Marguerite after a series of family tragedies<sup>575</sup>.

The controversies surrounding the first edition of the Miroir de l'âme pécheresse have diverted the critics from their main task of analysing the complex structure of Marguerite's poem. Instead of tracing its links with late mediaeval "Speculum" literature, they have considered it as a Lutheran or crypto-Lutheran work. Its elusive nature has kept its secrets from the uninitiated since all the teachings of the Meaux school appear in it under a series of obscure riddles and symbols. The M(iroir) and the M(arguerite) form a focal centre for scores of mystic satellite images which embody her spiritual doctrine on internal purification through the three stages towards union with the Deity. In this poem Marguerite develops certain difficult concepts such as those of mystic rapture, the nature of God and the possibility of a close partnership with the Divine, all of them through a series of images; these are related to the basic ideas symbolically expressed by the pyramid of Light and Darkness which is described in detail in Chapter 6. Her consistent use of a world of symbols throughout her poems is contrived to give unity to her entire poetic creation.

Marguerite's most mature works were written when she withdrew from active political life at the French Court in the early 1540s. Her prolific writings, including the Heptaméron, each illustrate some particular points of the views of the mystic school of Meaux. The Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan was not intended to confuse its readers, but its critics have

interpreted it so badly that it will be a long time before its original pristine simplicity is restored. The Bible was the point of controversy between traditional and progressive Christians, symbolized by the four characters in the play. Marguerite adopted the position of Meaux, by supporting its spiritual interpretation, which was not favoured by the Reformers. Far from teaching unorthodox doctrines, the Comédie is perhaps her least controversial work since it adopts the mystic interpretation of Holy Scripture, at the time when Calvin had disowned her as a sincere evangelist.

Her Prisons, on the other hand, concentrates on all the major problems of mysticism, such as the slow process of reaching a clear knowledge of the nature of God, the various attempts to describe Him in human terms and the concept of ecstasy. The Prisons may be considered her masterpiece, but it is not so well known, partly because of its length and complex internal structure. The poem was most probably written as Marguerite's spiritual testament since it returns to all the major themes of her poetry, skillfully describing the painful process of climbing to blissful knowledge through the guidance of Dantean type characters such as the "Soleil", the "vieillard", Dante himself, Pimander and many of the philosophers. The Poet-Lover (i.e. Marguerite) has to go through a series of experiences until he reaches the top of a high mountain which symbolises the Divinity; only then can he attempt to define God as Perfection by means of mystic symbols such as the Circle, the "Tout" and the "Rien"; the poem ends with the theme of the Dialogue by presenting a series of people close to Marguerite who were able to face death as the door to total bliss.

Indeed, her work can be described as a self-portrait, revealing a balanced woman, dealing with day to day events (though she was detached from them), and in her last years she escaped into a solitary life. Her Correspondance with Brignonnet clearly shows no need for a basic change at any point of her life and she must have appeared to her contemporaries to be in perfect control of everyday events, like Pantagruel in his mastery of the situation during the tempest in Rabelais's Quart Livre<sup>576</sup>. The Correspondance does not give evidence of either a personal or a marriage crisis between Marguerite and Charles d'Alençon in 1524, but rather shows a reinforcement of her family ties<sup>577</sup>. From her work we can draw a picture of a warm personality. When in 1523 Princes Charlotte died, her Dialogue showed her reluctance to accept this bereavement, but the voice of Brignonnet soon prevailed, leading her to a further step towards compliance with the will of God. Her Miroir reflects her moods over a transitional period, although it is often referred to as betraying the allurements for her of Lutheran anti-mysticism. If she had ever felt this, it would have formed the real crisis in her life. An analysis of that mystical work shows, indeed, a certain sympathy for Lutheran reforming ideas, but also a clear rejection

of Lutheran anti-mystical tenets. The Miroir shows a growth in her understanding of the many themes which Marguerite had learned from Meaux. The group that gathered in 1530s in her Court in France, and in the 1540s in Navarre, have often been accused of protestantism since it sheltered people like Calvin, but enmities soon arose between committed reformers and her “*protégés*”, and the bitter attacks of Calvin against the Libertins Spirituels, Rabelais and Marguerite herself indicate that she was not in favour of Calvin’s drastic reforming experiments at Geneva. Her later works reveal her “*coeur mis à nu*”, but no traces of a changing of direction at any time. The “*raptus mysticus*” of “*la Bergère*” in the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan and the Poet-Lover in the Prisons mirror Marguerite’s mystical views, and must be identified with a deepening of spiritual ideas rather than with any extraordinary event or experience. Marguerite’s work does not reveal a total transformation of her life such as that experienced by St Paul on the way to Damascus, often referred to by both Briçonnet and Marguerite<sup>578</sup>. Experiences of this kind leave a clear trace in the lives of mystic writers, as the works of Teresa of Avila, Ignatius of Loyola, Paul Claudel and Simone Weil clearly witness. There are, nevertheless, two periods in her life particularly marked by family tragedies and political crises in France and Navarre, during which she sought a deeper understanding of mystic themes and reached an evangelical ataraxia or spiritual detachment from earthly events, typical of mediaeval masters and tinged with neo-Platonic thinking, thanks to the influence of Briçonnet and of Sainte-Marthe.

Some of her contemporaries, like Calvin, depicted her as a two-faced person, supporting reformers in private but publicly appearing as orthodox. He named her and some of her “*protégés*” Nicodemites, since they were taking precautions for their personal safety, as did Nicodemus before the Roman authorities when Christ was crucified<sup>579</sup>. Those of her contemporaries who knew Marguerite well, present her very differently and their sketches coincide with the impression one receives from reading her works. Marot who was her “*protégé*” from the early 1520s described the Queen as having a woman’s body, a man’s heart and an angelic mind:

Ma Maistresse est de si haulte valeur  
 Qu’elle a le corps droit, beau, chaste et pudique;  
 Son cueur constant n’est pour heur ou malheur  
 Jamais trop gay ne trop melancolique.  
 Elle a au Chef ung Esprit Angelique  
 Le plus subtil qui onc aux Cieulx volla.  
 O grand merveille! On peult veoir par cela  
 Que je suis Serf d’un Monstre fort estrange,

Monstre je dy, car pour tout vray elle a  
Corps femenin, Cueur d'homme et Teste d'Ange.<sup>580</sup>

Briçonnet knew her better but his portraits of Marguerite as a young princess are symbolic rather than real; he viewed her growing like a Pearl (*ibid.*, 1, p. 72), a symbol that will appear in many of her poetic works. J. de la Haye, one of her admirers, describes her as France's cherished "fleur" in his preface to the *Miroir*:

Que celle fleur qui nostre siecle honnore,  
Et les beaux Liz, et la France decore,  
Ne porte fruitz d'ineestimable prix,  
Dont soyent repeuz tant de nobles esprits,  
Qu'ores on voit par les terres Galliques  
A tout sçavoir et vertus heroïques  
Estre addonez. Ces adoux fruitz immortelz  
Sy rares sont, qu'il n'en est point de telz.<sup>581</sup>



Plate 8. Renaissance artists habitually ennobled the features of their royal patrons; yet they show their personal admirations. Jean Clouet, who painted the sensual worldly King François around 1525, sketched this very revealing portrait of Marguerite, shortly after the death of her husband, the Duke of Alençon, in 1525. She appears in it dignified and self-controlled, still wearing white in mourning for Charles. Drawing of Marguerite by Jean Clouet; Musée Condé, Chantilly.

We must wait until the 1540s for another mystical portrait of Marguerite by one who had known her personally. Charles de Sainte-Marthe describes her shortly after her death in 1549: “la MARGUERITE, femme incomparable: qui n’eut onc rien en ce monde (sinon le corps) commun avec les aultres mortels”<sup>582</sup>, thus identifying her with the perfect creature, which the neo-Platonists had envisaged in their treatises.

Most of these pictures of Marguerite are abstract portrayals, often presenting her almost as a celestial rather than a human person. The most outstanding of all her portraits was drawn by Rabelais. Although of a quite different spirit, he felt a deep sympathy for the Queen who had welcomed him as one of her “*protégés*”. At times he may not have approved of her exceeding pious nature<sup>583</sup>, but he liked her warm personality and so he also joined the choir of her admirers by drawing the most extraordinary portrait of the Queen; in it he tries to make Marguerite descend from her ecstatic “*manoir divin, perpetuel*” and deign to read the down-to-earth stories of his Tiers Livre:

Esprit abstrait, ravy, et ecstatic,  
Qui frequentant les cieulx, ton origine,  
As delaissé ton hoste et domestic,  
Ton corps concords, qui tant se morigine  
A tes edictz, en vie peregrine,  
Sans sentement, et comme en Apathie:  
Vouldrois tu point faire quelque sortie  
De ton manoir divin, perpetuel?  
Et ça bas veoir une tierce partie  
Des faictz joyeux du bon Pantagruel?<sup>584</sup>

In this portrait we can feel the deep sympathy of Rabelais for Marguerite, whose hermetic ideas and fortunes have much in common with his own<sup>585</sup>. Her “*protégé*” combines the idealistic Platonic ecstatic state (“*Sans sentement, et comme en Apathie*”) with the Christian ideal but he does not lose sight of the practical aspects of the Queen who was able to understand human problems as we can see in the Heptaméron<sup>586</sup>. He may have borrowed from her certain qualities that Pantagruel described as ideal in a ruler, such as her integrity and her serenity: “...certaine gayeté d’esprit conficte en mepris des choses fortuites...” as he defines Pantagruelism<sup>587</sup>. Moreover, Pantagruel’s total control of the situation during the storm may be linked with the Queen’s mastery of the situation during the political and religious crises in France in the first half of the sixteenth century.

Rabelais's portrait of the Queen differs from more conventional portraits of mystics in that it combines a self-controlled attitude with action. A few mystics have enjoyed this rare quality; among others two extraordinary women, Teresa of Avila and Catherine of Siena, were very active while at the same time they sought a deepening understanding of mystical themes. Marguerite stressed particularly a certain neo-Platonic view on man and his relation with the deity and showed her preoccupation, like many of her Renaissance contemporaries, with excellence. If there are blemishes in her style this is due not so much to Briçonnet's role as to her failure to overcome the strong stylistic influence of the "rhétoriqueurs" in a transitional age that was to give birth to modern man. She could be perhaps best described as a highly intelligent and perceptive woman who saw the world in the process of changing and tried to introduce the new values without destroying the old.

## NOTES

- 1 See, among several early attempts to give an account of Marguerite de Navarre's life, Abbé Goujet, Marguerite, Reine de Navarre in Bibliothèque Française, vol. XI, (Paris, 1747). Also Charlotte-Rose Caumont de la Force, Histoire de Marguerite de Valois, Reine de Navarre, soeur de François Ier, (Paris, 1816); Théodore Muret, Histoire de Jeanne d'Albret (it contains a study on her mother Marguerite de Navarre), (Paris, 1861); H. de la Ferrière, Marguerite de Navarre: son livre de dépenses (1540-1549); étude sur ses dernières années, (Paris, 1862); A. Mary & F. Robinson, Marguerite of Angoulême, Queen of Navarre in Eminent Women Series, (London, 1886); and H. Noel Williams, The Pearl of the Princesses: the life of Marguerite d'Angoulême, Queen of Navarre (London, 1916).
- 2 Pierre Jourda, Marguerite d'Angoulême, Duchesse d'Alençon, Reine de Navarre (1492-1549), 2 vols (Paris, 1930).
- 3 Cf. Samuel Putnam, Marguerite de Navarre, first Modern Woman, (New York, 1936); Suzanne Engelson, Une grande figure de Femme de la Renaissance; la Reine Marguerite d'Angoulême, in Rencontre Orient-Occident, (Geneva, 1969); and particularly Emile V. Telle, L'Oeuvre de Marguerite d'Angoulême, Reine de Navarre et la Querelle des Femmes (Toulouse, 1937).
- 4 Lucien Febvre, Amour sacré, amour profane; autour de l'Heptaméron, (Paris, 1944).
- 5 Charles de Sainte-Marthe, Oraison funèbre de l'incomparable Marguerite, Royne de Navarre, Duchesse d'Alençon, (Paris, 1550).
- 6 For more recent biographies of Marguerite see Maurice and Paulette Deubère and Renya Salminen, La Belle et Véridique Vie de Marguerite, in Aesculape, vol. 6, pp. 4-66, (Paris, 1972); E. Chamberlin, Marguerite de Navarre, (New York, 1972); Robert Joseph, Marguerite d'Angoulême, (Agen, 1975).
- 7 L. Febvre comments on Marguerite's family milieu:  
 "Un père prodigue, léger, artiste, bon vivant, mais de poids médiocre dans la France politique de ce temps, et parce qu'il était pauvre et parce qu'il avait conspiré sans en avoir les moyens. Une mère à rude école dès sa jeunesse, une mère silencieuse qui avait vécu de charité et appris à céder, à plier, à tout endurer bouche close!" (Amour sacré, op. cit., p. 23).
- 8 See, H. P. Clive, Marguerite de Navarre; oeuvres choisies, I, Introduction, p. 10.
- 9 See, C. A. Mayer, Clément Marot, (Paris, Nizet, 1972), Chapter 2: "Au service de Marguerite", pp. 35-82.
- 10 A. Clerval, Registre des procès-verbaux de la Faculté de Théologie de Paris; archives de l'histoire religieuse de la France, (Paris, 1917). Luther had been reported to the Sorbonne by George, Duke of Saxony, on 14 October 1519; on 14 September the Faculty started the close examination of Luther's books, p. 275. On 15 November his doctrines were discussed, (ibid., p. 278). He was condemned in April 1521, (ibid., p. 285), and his works burnt in public, ("publica exustione"), together with those of Melanchton, (ibid., 357). See my study of Marguerite's involvement in the Lutheran cause in Chapter 3 on the Miroir, Section I.
- 11 See Ernst F. Winter, Erasmus-Luther; Discourse on Free Will, translated and edited by, (New York, 1967).
- 12 See my study on the Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne, Chapter 2, where I

- discuss Marguerite's attitude to the discussions between Erasmus and Luther in Section II. Also her attitude towards the interpretation of the Bible in Chapter 4, on mystical hermeneutics in the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, Section II.
- 13 H. Heller, "Marguerite de Navarre and the Reformers of Meaux", BHR, vol. XXXIII, pp. 271-310.
  - 14 L. Febvre, Amour sacré, op. cit., p. 58.
  - 15 A. Renaudet, Préréforme et Humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d'Italie (1494-1514), (Paris, 1916) pp. 647-654.
  - 16 Christine Martineau and M. Veissière comment: "En outre, elles (i.e. "ces luttes" to reform the Church through the study of the Bible which looked suspicious to the Sorbonne) le préparèrent à abandonner la vie contemplative qu'il préférait, c'est évident, et le conduisirent à participer activement à l'oeuvre de réforme de Meaux. Toutefois il semble que ce fut la crise provoquée par Luther qui le poussa à faire ce dernier pas". Correspondance, 1, Introduction, p. 17.
  - 17 Ibid., p. 18.
  - 18 Ibid., pp. 4-5.
  - 19 Lefèvre dedicated to Briçonnet, among several of his translations of mystical treatises, his Dionisii Caelestis Hierarchia, Divina Nomina et Theologia Vivificans (Paris, 1515). In his dedication of the book he wrote: "Reverendo in Christo Patri ac domino D. Guillelmo Briçonneto, episcopo Lodovensi dignissimo"; cf. Dédicace, a II ro. BL pressmark 3625. a. 1.
  - 20 See Guy Bretonneau's study on the Briçonnet family, Histoire Généalogique de la Maison des Briçonnets, (Paris, 1621).
  - 21 Michel Veissière, "Guillaume Briçonnet, abbé réformateur de Saint-Germain-des-Près (1507-1534)" in Revue d'Histoire de l'Eglise de France, vol. LX, N° 164, janvier-juin, (1974) pp. 65-84.
  - 22 A. Renaudet, Le Concile Gallican de Pise-Milan, in Documents Florentins, 1510-1512, (Paris, 1922).
  - 23 Bretonneau describes G. Briçonnet junior as "le saint et sçavant Prelat" totally ignoring that the Sorbonne had not been pleased with his reforming efforts at Meaux; "Nos Princes ont estimé la fidelité de ce grand Prelat, et fait un état particulier de sa prevoiance en la conduite de leurs affaires; les Pontifes Romains ont admiré son Eloquence en pleins consistoire de Cardinaux, et tout le monde a respecté avec etonnement sa Saintité", Histoire Genealogique de la Maison des Briçonnets, op. cit., pp. 133-134. Bretonneau goes too far comparing him to S. Jérôme who had attacked the early heresies of the Church, "De sorte que comme l'incomparable S. Ierôme feût surnommé le marteau des Heretiques, pour la cruelle guerre qu'il leur menoît par ses écrits, nôtre Briçonnet merita pareillement l'estre appelé": Factionis Lutheranae debellator Acerrimus"; ibid., p. 164.
  - 24 Genin, Lettres Inédites de la Reine de Navarre, Paris 1841, and Nouvelles Lettres (Paris, 1842).
  - 25 Martineau, Correspondance, 1, Introduction, p. 1.
  - 26 Philippe-Auguste Becker, "Marguerite, Duchesse d'Alençon et Guillaume Briçonnet, évêque de Meaux, d'après leur correspondance manuscrite" in BSHPF (Paris, 1900) pp. 393-477.
  - 27 Pierre Jourda describes Briçonnet's role in the initiation of the Queen in Marguerite d'Angoulême, Duchesse d'Alençon, Reine de Navarre (1492-1549) 2 vols (Paris



- 1930), vol. I, pp. 68-78. He has good insights into Briçonnet's enthusiasm in gaining Marguerite to his cause, but still the Queen's own personal commitment to the cause of Meaux remains a mystery.
- 28 Febvre has bitter comments against all the Briçonnets; Briçonnet's father, Guillaume senior, dreamed of becoming an anti-pope: "Il put même, un jour, avec quelque illusion, entrevoir dans ses rêves mieux qu'un chapeau une tiare". L. Febvre, Amour Sacré, op. cit., p. 98. According to him, Guillaume junior was simply: "Un gallican résolu, acharné, et qui faisait bon marché des prérogatives pontificales. Un diplomate enfin, plein d'expérience, mêlé à de grandes affaires (...) c'est lui qui, sans hésiter, projeta, aux environs de 1518, de prendre la tête d'un mouvement de réforme de l'Eglise gallicane original et neuf"; *ibid.*, p. 100. See also L. Febvre "Le Cas Briçonnet" in Au Coeur Religieux du XVIe Siècle, (Paris, 1957), pp. 145-161.
- 29 See Henry Heller, "The Briçonnet Case Reconsidered" in Journal of Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies, 1972, pp. 223-258. See Also Glori Capello's picture of Briçonnet's life in "Neoplatonismo e Riforma in Francia dall'epistolario tra Guglielmo Briçonnet e Margherita di Navarre", in Logica e Semantica ed Altri Saggi (Padova, 1975) pp. 141-148.
- 30 Martineau and Veissière have just published the second volume of the Correspondance (1523-1524), Geneva 1979; this publication gives a fair picture of the vital years of Marguerite's initiation under the guidance of Briçonnet.
- 31 L. Febvre, Amour sacré, op. cit., pp. 326-370.
- 32 See Briçonnet's pastoral decrees against Luther in Herminjard, La Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de langue française. 9 vols, 1866-1897. vol. I, Nos. 77 and 78, pp. 153-158.
- 33 M. A. Screech edit., Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples et ses disciples; Epistres et Evangiles pour les cinquante et deux semaines de l'an; facsimilé de la première édition par Simon du Bois; (Geneva, 1964), Introduction, p. 9.
- 34 L. Febvre does not rid himself of the old prejudice that Briçonnet's main motivation in writing his letters to Marguerite was a cover to disguise his political and religious pretensions under a mystical appearance: "Or, c'est ce prélat, riche, heureux, magnifiquement apparenté, fort mêlé pendant des années à la grande politique, c'est ce bénéficiaire des pires abus qui, par une singulière contradiction (je veux dire, par ce que nous appelons, nous, une contradiction) se réfugie de bonne heure dans la spéculation mystique". Amour sacré, op. cit., p. 100.
- 35 Martineau, Correspondance, 1, Introduction, p. 129.
- 36 See Ph-Aug. Becker's historical background of the Correspondance in his study, Marguerite, Duchesse d'Alençon, op. cit., pp. 393-477.
- 37 Pierre Jourda, Marguerite d'Angoulême, op. cit., vol. I, p. 66.
- 38 Letter 1 of Correspondance was written by Marguerite in June 1521. The beginning of this letter, in which she talks about the essence of God, proves that she was acquainted with these mystical ideas by the time she accepted to be initiated by Briçonnet. See Marguerite's definition of God as the necessary being: "Je Suys qui Suys" in Chapter 5, Section 5.
- 39 Michel d'Arande joined Marguerite's court in October 1521; Correspondance, 1, p. 37.
- 40 Screech, Epistres et Evangiles, op. cit., Introduction, p. 16.

- 41 Ibid., p. 13. See Friedrich Beisser's study of Luther's biblical principles of interpretation of the Bible in Luther's Hermeneutics; claritas Scripturae (Göttingen, 1966). Also Shevington Wood, Luther's principles of Biblical Interpretation, London 1960. I will study this particular point in Chapter 4, when dealing with the Comédie Jouée au Mont-de-Marsan as an illustration of Briçonnet's and Lefèvre's hermeneutical principles which vary substantially from Luther's principles of interpretation of the Bible.
- 42 If it is true, as Screech maintains, that the Epistres et Evangiles were published in 1525, cf. op. cit., Introduction p. 9, it looks likely that the scheme of these sermons had been tried before, most probably for some years before its publication, by the members of the group of Meaux.
- 43 Screech, Epistres et Evangiles, op. cit., fol. CXVI.
- 44 Ibid., fol. CXVIII.
- 45 Febvre, Amour sacré, op. cit., p. 120.
- 46 See Letter 2A, lost because it was sent to Philiberte de Nemours. Correspondance, p. 29.
- 47 Ibid., 1, Introduction, pp. 15-16.
- 48 Since Briçonnet found it difficult to explain in writing certain hermeneutical problems, he suggests that the Duchess get into personal contact with Lefèvre and other scholars from Meaux that were staying in her court. Letter 49 of the Correspondance, 2, pp. 13-14.
- 49 Charles Schmidt, "Le Mysticisme Quiétiste en France au début de la Renaissance" in BSHPF, 1853, pp. 449-464. Schmidt wrote another interesting article "Etudes sur le mysticisme allemand au XVe siècle", Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences Politiques; savants étrangers, vol. II, 1847.
- 50 A. Lefranc, Marguerite de Navarre et le Platonisme de la Renaissance (Paris, 1914). I give a bibliography on Marguerite de Navarre's Platonism in Chapter 5 on the Prisons.
- 51 Glori Capello, "Neoplatonismo e Riforma in Francia", op. cit. She has also studied Nicolas of Cusa's influence in the Correspondance in her study, "Nicolo Cusano nella Corrispondenza di Briçonnet con Margherita di Navarra" in Medioevo, Rivista di Storia della Filosofia Medievale (Padova, 1975) vol. I, pp. 97-128.
- 52 See Martineau's paper read at Tours "16e colloque international d'études humanistes: Platon et Aristote à la Renaissance" which was published as "Le Platonisme de Marguerite de Navarre?" in Bulletin de l'Association d'Etudes sur l'Humanisme, la Réforme et la Renaissance (France du Centre et Sud-Est, 1976), N°4, pp. 12-35.
- 53 Ibid., p. 13.
- 54 Martineau has rejected Lefranc's and Lajarte's opinion that there are traces of "néo-platonisme amoureux" in Marguerite's works. Ibid., p. 14.
- 55 Ibid., p. 19.
- 56 Martineau comments:  
 Nous saisissons ainsi au passage la raison du coup de foudre qu'elle ressentit, aux environs de 1540, pour tout ce qui touchait au renouveau platonicien. Si nous ne craignons pas d'avoir l'air de vouloir être dans le ton, nous dirions qu'il s'agit là pour elle d'une espèce de cas de reminiscence, au sens platonicien du terme. Elle reconnut sa pensée dans ces doctrines, parce qu'elle avait subi, à son insu, une préimprégnation de platonisme.  
 "Le Platonisme de Marguerite de Navarre?" op. cit., p. 18.

- 57 Cappello, “Nicòlo Cusano nella Corrispondenza”, op. cit., pp. 100-103.
- 58 See Letter 16, written by Briçonnet as a reply to themes announced by Marguerite in previous letters, “la doublement malade”, Correspondance, 1, pp. 72-74.
- 59 See our rejection of Marguerite’s dependance on Luther in her most controversial work, the Miroir, in Chapter 3, Section 1.
- 60 See C.A. Mayer’s edition of Clément Marot’s Les Epîtres (London, 1958). Epistre XLVI, vv. 5-12, pp. 243-244. Marot acknowledges here that Marguerite welcomed him in 1519 and that she defended him when he was exiled in 1535. See Introduction, pp. 11-12.
- 61 Génin, Lettres de Marguerite d’Angoulême, op. cit., vol. I, p. 41.
- 62 Marguerite’s feelings towards her brother François can be seen in a few poems she wrote shortly after his death on 31 March 1547, particularly the Navire ou consolation du Roi François Ier à sa soeur Marguerite; it was published by R. Marichal in Paris, 1956. She wrote also a play, Comédie sur le trespas du Roy, which has been also recently published by H.P. Clive Oeuvres Choiesies, op. cit., vol. II. Part of her “Book III” in the Prisons is also dedicated to François’s last memories; see A. Lefranc’s edition (Paris, 1896), fols 340-342.
- 63 Jourda rejects Genin’s supposition that Marguerite “a aimé son frère” and Michelet’s theory of François’s love for his sister. Marguerite d’Angoulême, op. cit., vol. I, footnote 111, p. 64. In fact he rejects any suspicion of extra-marital relationship in Marguerite’s life; *ibid.*, pp. 64-69.
- 64 Febvre seems to be attracted by the titillating legends concerning Marguerite’s loves, when he writes: “Être aimée et, par là, échapper à la solitude; être dirigée et soutenue, sentir une présence très douce et très efficace auprès de soi; le voeu secret, sans doute, d’une femme qui, ne trouvant pas dans le mariage le réconfort dont elle avait besoin (...)”. Amour sacré, op. cit., p. 106.
- 65 See my interpretation of the Prisons, not as a rejection of natural pleasures, but as warnings against the Platonic assumption that love, science and nature lead naturally to the highest form of knowledge, that of the Divine. See Chapter 6, Section III, and also Briçonnet’s concept of the neo-Platonic love in Martineau “Le Platonisme de Marguerite de Navarre?” op. cit., p. 25.
- 66 I question Capiton’s assumption that Marguerite had in fact rejected Briçonnet’s “philosophie de haute volée”, as well as the decisive influence of his opinion on future criticism in Chapter 3, Section 1.
- 67 See the edition of Dionysius the Areopagite by C.E. Rolt, The Divine Names and Mystical Theology (London, 1920). In The Divine Names the Pseudo-Dionysius explains the idea of what a neophyte should do to keep the secrets of his initiation: “Thou, therefore, o good Timothy, must guard these truths according to the holy Ordinance, nor must thou utter or divulge the heavenly mysteries unto the uninitiate”; p. 64. The sources of passages like this can be traced in the Gospel according to Matthew 7,6: “Do not throw your pearls before pigs”, which mystics interpreted as “do not divulge mysteries to non-initiated”.
- 68 There are three kinds of members in some orders, the First Order of men, the Second Order of women and the Third Order of lay people.
- 69 There is a parallel text in the Correspondance of a petition to be initiated in the principles of Meaux by Marguerite to Briçonnet on behalf of a young scholar who was sent to Meaux by the Queen; see Letter 37, written in April 22, Correspondance,

1, pp. 193-194. It also seems that Briçonnet had certain hopes of King François, in spite of his worldly life, becoming disposed to receive instruction with a view to a formal initiation; Letter 58, written to Marguerite in June 1523, speaks of these hopes:

Ayant hier, Madame, en la bouche du Roy oÿ propos selon son nom très-chrestien (dont loué soit le Pere de lumiere, qui les tenebres de nature humaine par lumiere filiale a illuminé) a esté d'une part joieux et consolé, voyant la superexcellente divine bonté se cascher de ceulx qui presument et cuident avoir la clef de sapience divine, de laquelle estantz excludz n'y permectent aultres entrer, et luire ès coeurs humbles se confiant de la seulle doulceur et misericorde...

Correspondance, 2, p. 41.

- 70 Martineau and Veissière believe that the mention of these treatises could refer to a letter by Michel d'Arande, or more probably to letter-treatises Briçonnet had written himself for the instruction of some nuns at Faremoutiers, a monastery in the Diocese of Meaux; they contained an extract from the Contemplationes Idiotae by R. Jordan; Correspondance, 1, Footnote 24, p. 36.
- 71 See my comment on the members of Meaux's stand against both Erasmus's and Luther's rejection of the authenticity of the Pseudo-Dionysius, in Chapter 4, on the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, Section III.
- 72 H. Heller has traced the source of Briçonnet's teaching in the Pseudo-Dionysius's On the Divine Names; see Marguerite de Navarre and the Reformers of Meaux, 1518-1525, (Thesis), (Cornell University, USA, 1969), p. 275.
- 73 Ibid., p. 275.
- 74 Martineau concludes: "C'est pourquoi l'étude du néoplatonisme de Marguerite ne peut que passer par l'étude du néoplatonisme de Briçonnet"; "Le Platonisme de Marguerite de Navarre?" op. cit., p. 19.
- 75 Glori Cappello, "Nicòlo Cusano nella Corrispondenza di Briçonnet con Margherita di Navarra", op. cit, pp. 105-112.
- 76 See my study of Marguerite's ideas on God's Immanence and Transcendence in Chapter 5, Section V.
- 77 Martineau and Veissière suggest that Marguerite is here referring either to an illness or to a change in Michel d'Arande's ideas after a visit to Meaux; *ibid.*, Footnote 11, p. 164.
- 78 Febvre, Amour sacré, op. cit., p. 12.
- 79 See the "viscerallement" theme in Letter 30, written by Briçonnet in February 1522, Correspondance, 1, pp. 154-155.
- 80 See my interpretation of the hermetic meaning of the Marguerite-Perle as a perfect symbol of roundness in Chapter 2 of this study, Section V. Note that in Spanish and Italian, languages known to Marguerite, the mother-of-pearl is called "madreperla".
- 81 Briçonnet accepts his spiritual adoption by Marguerite in Letter 95. Correspondance, 2, p. 149.
- 82 Herminjard comments on the "filz-mère" relationship: "Elle avait à peine trente-un ans; l'évêque de Meaux en avoit cinquante-trois. Mais selon les idées du temps, la haute naissance de Marguerite autorisait le titre qu'elle prend ici, en s'adressant à Briçonnet", La Correspondance, op. cit., vol. I, Footnote 3, p. 109.
- 83 Glori Cappello explains: "Le lettere di Margherita, d'altro canto, sono caratterizzate

- da espressioni preziose: ella, ad esempio, si firma “vostre inutile mère” (e Briçonnet risponde “vostre inutil fils”); si dice “la voyante aveugle” e “la vivante en mort”. Tali espressioni sono comuni a molti scritti mistici medievali e rinascimentali e non debbono stupire, perché anche in uno scrittore ispirato al misticismo speculativo, l’ansia di rendere la povertà delle creature ed il suo totale abbandono a Dio ha il sopravvento, spesso, sul ragionamento filosofico o sulla illustrazione dei legami dell’uomo al Cristo”. “Neoplatonismo e Riforma in Francia dall’Epistolario tra Guglielmo Briçonnet e Margherita di Navarra”. op. cit., p. 180.
- 84 Marguerite applied this terminology to God, calling him “Père, Filz, Frère” in her Miroir, vv. 933-939. See my study of her mystical kinships in Chapter 3, Section IV.
- 85 See the “Décret Synodal contre les doctrines et livres de Luther” promulgated by Briçonnet on 15 October 1523. Herminjard, La Correspondance, op. cit., I, p. 154.
- 86 Ibid., p. 154.
- 87 See my study of the mystical symbol of Divine Ascension in Chapter 6, Section IV.
- 88 J.E. Cirlot observes: “M is the most sacred of letters for it is at once masculine and feminine and also symbolic of water in its original state (or the Great Abyss)” A Dictionary of Symbols; translated from the Spanish by J. Sage, London, 1971, (first edition, 1962); see “letters of the alphabet”.
- 89 Briçonnet’s doctrine on human love is that it is always imperfect and insufficient to show the Love of God (Correspondance, 2, p. 251); he also taught Marguerite that human love in its two highest stages, namely the “charnel” and “spirituel” marriages are symbols of the divine love within the Trinity (ibid., 2, p. 227). In the Heptaméron the discussion on “Nouvelle” 53 leads to the Pauline definition of Christian love as “in osculo sancto” (I Corinthians 16,20).
- 90 See my study on Marguerite’s alliterations in the Dialogue and the Miroir in Chapter 2, Section III.
- 91 Febvre had very shrewdly remarked that not only Briçonnet had adopted the symbol of the Marguerite Mother-of-Pearl as a receptacle of the precious stone (meaning the spiritual understanding of the Bible), but also Lefèvre when he wrote in his “à tous les chrétiens”: “Et devant ceux-là (i.e. the “pourceaux” and the “chiens”) (...) ne faut aucunement parler, ne semer les précieuses marguerites de l’Ecriture Sainte”; Amour sacré, op. cit., p. 122. Briçonnet also explains: “...à ces porchins, rozes et marguerites déplaisent” (Correspondance, 2, p. 224).
- 92 See my study of the “mirouer” as a mystical symbol in Chapter 4, Section III.
- 93 Génin, Lettres de Marguerite, op. cit., Introduction, p. 6.
- 94 H. Heller, “Marguerite de Navarre and the Reformers of Meaux”, op. cit., p. 278.
- 95 Heller writes: “In other instances, e.g. in his sermons and decrees, he was often able to express himself with forcefulness and eloquence, indeed with lucidity”, ibid., p. 278.
- 96 Marguerite’s usual tone in her letters is natural, quite different from the often obscure style and ideas used in her Correspondance with Briçonnet. See P. Jourda, Répertoire analytique et chronologique de la correspondance de Marguerite d’Angoulême, Duchesse d’Alençon, Reine de Navarre (1492-1549) (Geneva, 1973)
- 97 A. Tilley, Literature of the French Renaissance, (Cambridge, 1904), vol. I, p. 112.
- 98 Heller, Marguerite de Navarre and the Reformers of Meaux, op. cit., p. 278.
- 99 See Mayer edit., Clément Marot, Les Epistres, op. cit., p. 243.
- 100 Herminjard interprets Capiton’s expressions in his “Dédicace” to Marguerite as

- referring to Briçonnet's letters to her; Correspondance, op. cit., vol. II, N°227. Footnote 13, p. 122. I deal more thoroughly with the importance of Capiton's efforts to draw Marguerite from the influence of the group of Meaux in Chapter 4, Section I.
- 101 See Martineau's study of Marguerite's religious neo-Platonism in "Le Platonisme de Marguerite de Navarre?", where she studies the dependance of Marguerite's Heptaméron on Briçonnet's letters to her; op. cit., pp. 29-34.
- 102 The main events in 1524 that particularly affected Marguerite's feelings are summarised by Febvre thus:  
Publics, et c'est l'invasion de la Provence par Bourbon et les Impériaux; ils sont à Aix le 8 août et devant Marseille le 19. Privés, et c'est d'abord une grave maladie de Louise de Savoie, qui s'alite en mars à Blois, d'un pleurésie (...). C'est, fin avril, la mort prématurée de la jeune tante et amie de Marguerite, Philiberte de Savoie, duchesse de Nemours, à qui elle avait fait connaître les hommes de Meaux et leurs oeuvres; après quoi survint la maladie, et, à la fin de juillet, le trépas de la reine Claude. La maladie et la mort de la petite Charlotte vinrent couronner ces tragédies. (Febvre, Amour sacré, op. cit., pp. 48-49).
- 103 We speak about Marguerite's bewilderment and mental confusion at the end of this chapter on the Dialogue and of its impact on the poem. Bewilderment as a mystical theme is treated in Chapter 5, Section III.
- 104 Carlo Péligrini, La prima opera di Margherite di Navarra, Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne, et la terza rima in Francia. Catania, 1920.
- 105 Pierre Jourda, "Sur la date du Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne" in RSS vol. XIV, pp. 150-161.
- 106 Christine Martineau and Christian Grouzelle, "La Source première du Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne, la lettre de G. Briçonnet à Marguerite de Navarre du 15 septembre 1524; publication et commentaire" in BHR, vol. XXXII, pp. 559-577 (p. 569).
- 107 P. Jourda had already detected two phrases that appear in this letter that make their way into the Dialogue; see "Sur la date du Dialogue", op. cit., pp. 153-154, but it is thanks to Martineau and Grouzelle that we realise that the ideas of the Dialogue depend upon one of Briçonnet's letters to the Queen; see "La Source première du Dialogue", op. cit.
- 108 P. Jourda, "Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne" in RSS, vol. XIII. Jourda comments:  
Le Dialogue est une synthèse des idées que l'on voit apparaître une à une dans les lettres échangées avec Briçonnet: il les sous une forme précise et raisonnée. Et qui sait s'il n'a pas été composé pour être lu par le Roi? L'hypothèse est peut-être audacieuse. On peu cependant la formuler, si l'on se reporte à certains passages de la correspondance de Marguerite avec Briçonnet. (Introduction, p. 4).
- 109 Martineau and Grouzelle quite accurately suggest that: "Nous comprenons maintenant d'où vient (...) cette voix assurée et parfois hautaine (...) que plus qu'une fois elle malmène pour la forcer à plier la tête: c'est celle du grand maître de l'Évangélisme (...) Guillaume Briçonnet."  
("La Source première du Dialogue", op. cit., p. 570).
- 110 See the main themes of the Credo of Meaux in previous Chapter, Section II.
- 111 Erasmus published his Diatribes seu de libero arbitrio on 1 September 1524, after

- writing it in one sitting. Luther soon finished his bitter counter-attack, De servo arbitrio in December 1525 and his Catechism in 1529. The whole of Christianity was then divided by this discussion. See Erasmus-Luther: discourse on free will, translation and edition by E.F. Winter.
- 112 Briçonnet's decree against Luther can be read in Herminjard, La Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de langue française, vol. I, N°77, pp. 153-155, cf. also N°78 and 81.
- 113 All our quotations of the Dialogue follow Jourda's edition.
- 114 R. Marichal, La Navire, Introduction, p. 14.
- 115 Imitation of Christian by Thomas à Kempis. Book I, Chapter 5, on reading Holy Scriptures says, "The authority of the writer should not trouble you, whether he is of small or great scholarship; but let a love of pure truth attract you to the reading". The doctrine is of St Augustine on Psalm 26.
- Briçonnet had already warned Marguerite against the vain presumption of knowing too much in the very letter signed 15 September 1524 which she had before her while writing this Dialogue: "... et n'est jamais descheu de l'arbre de vie par presumptueux desir de trop scavoir..." (Correspondance, 2, p. 269).
- Rabelais equally shows his dislike for discussions on God's power and predestination: "Et de qui estes vous apprins ainsi discourir et parler de la puissance et praedestination de Dieu, paouvres gens?" Le Quart Livre, Prologue. Cf. Marguerite's dislike of theological discussions in Heptameron, Nouvelle 25, where she states that they must be left to theologians.
- 116 Lefranc, who maintains that Marguerite's ideas were deeply influenced by Lutheran theology, is nevertheless very clear-sighted when he states that the nature of this Dialogue is polemical, even if Marguerite does not let herself be involved in the diatribe:
- On retrouve, dans un certain nombre de pages de ce poème, l'écho de cette dispute si importante qui signala l'année 1524 et que l'Europe pensante suivit avec tant d'attention. Il semble que Marguerite, qui n'éprouvait point une grande sympathie pour Erasme, ait assisté avec quelque scepticisme à cette lutte fameuse, qui lui apparait comme une querelle de théologiens savants et subtils."
- (A. Lefranc, Les idées religieuses de Marguerite de Navarre d'après son oeuvre poétique (Les marguerites et les dernières poésies), p. 11).
- 117 See also vv. 425-426, 727-729 and 829-831.
- 118 See E.F. Winter, Erasmus-Luther, op. cit., p. 112. Luther will go as far as to state that man's will "is like a beast of burden".
- 119 See also vv. 709-711, 244-249, 625-627 and throughout the whole Dialogue. Briçonnet's doctrine on the theory of works is the same: "Aussi adherant avec Jesus Christ, il est membre de membre (from I Corinthians 12,27) de son corps par unyon spirituelle et si prolifions et faisons oeuvres spirituelles ou que plaisons à Dieu, n'est de nous mais pour ce que sommes inseréz en la chair et humanité du debonnaire espoux..." (Correspondance, 2, p. 217).
- 120 See also Correspondance, 2, pp. 40 and 99 on the three stages in the spiritual climbing of the soul to perfect union with God.
- 121 St John's teaching that "God is love" (I John 4,16) was very important in mystic teaching. Here Marguerite reverses the word order to emphasize the concept,

- assuming Platonic overtones. The same phrase appears in v. 565 and is a key concept in her work, particularly in her non-religious works, mainly in the *Heptameron* (see a reference to the Epistle of St John on God as Love in the Prologue to the “sixiesme journée”).
- 122 Luke, 6, 27, “but I say unto you which hear: love your enemies”.
- 123 See St John’s expression in his Gospel: “I am the Way and the Truth and the Life”. In Chapter 6, Section V (d), I study this Johannine expression as one of Marguerite’s definitions of the Deity.
- 124 Ronsard follows Marguerite and Marot in praising death as liberator of the human condition; see H. Chamard, *Histoire de la Pléiade* (Paris 1939-40), vol. II, Chapter 16: “Les Hymnes de Ronsard”, pp. 175-207, particularly pp. 201-205 on “L’Hymne de la Mort”.
- 125 See a more recent work by S. Weil, *La pesanteur et la grâce* (Paris, 1948).
- 126 P. Jourda remarked in his introduction to the *Dialogue*: “Il faut noter qu’en un passage au moins, v. 582, Marguerite déclare qu’il faut laisser agir la grâce en nous et nous fier à elle. N’est-ce point l’éveil en elle des théories que lui prêcheront plus tard Pocque et Quintin, les libertins spirituels?” op. cit., footnote 1, p. 4.
- 127 Montaigne, *Oeuvres complètes*, Book II, Chapter 12, “Apologie de Raymond Sebond”, edit. Pléiade, p. 189. In this “Apologie”, Montaigne rejects Luther’s theology, *ibid.*, p. 416.
- 128 It might be interesting to note that Charlotte presents the saints not as active but as passive works of God (vv. 427-429). God appears as their “estampe”, “forge”, “patron”, “exemple”, “image”, “marteau”, “feu”, “pollisouer” and “trempe”.
- 129 In a letter to Briçonnet, Marguerite finishes with these words: “...affin que en vie, vive soit et non en mort la pis que morte”. See Letter 31 of the *Correspondance*, 1, p. 160. This should confirm Martineau’s opinion expressed in “La Source première du Dialogue”, op. cit., that Marguerite is addressing herself to Briçonnet while pretending to speak to Charlotte (p. 570).
- 130 Compare Briçonnet’s letter to Marguerite of 15 September 1524: “Le vouloir de Dieu est a preferer au propre...” (*Correspondance*, 2, p. 264). See also *Dialogue*, vv. 731, 735, 1231 and 1238.
- 131 Briçonnet wrote to Marguerite: “Si d’aventure l’un a trebuché par offence quelconque envers l’autre (posé qu’il scache luy estre pardonné), a extreme regret, peine et ennuy et d’autant plus que l’amour est plus grande”. Briçonnet insists on the need to support each other to be able to enjoy God’s pardon and peace. (*ibid.*, 2, p. 269).
- 132 Sebastian Castellion, a liberal reformer who fought against Calvin, presented his translations of the *Theologie Deutsch* in French and Latin versions (1557-1558) with a summary of its mystic teaching; its author, an unknown Rhenish Master, has ideas remarkably similar to those of Marguerite’s *Dialogue*: “La raison est telle que l’homme, estant tombé par suivre son propre vouloir (...) il faut necessairement qu’il delaisse entièrement son propre vouloir et suive celui de Dieu, veu que les remèdes des choses sont toujours par leur contraire; joinct que le vouloir de l’homme est contraire à celui de Dieu”. One feels tempted to say that all mystics speak the same language, and that their basic theme when dealing with the problem of the human will is to illustrate the theme of the Lord’s Prayer: “Thy will be done”. *La Theologie germanique; chapitres choisis*, introduite par S. Castellion et traduite par Pierre Poiret (Haarlem 1950), Introduction p. 6.



- 133 Gregoy of Nyssa, The Lord's Prayer and the Beatitudes, translation and annotation by Hilda C. Graef (London, 1954).
- 134 Meister Eckhart, "Exposition of the Pater noster qui est en celis", published by A. Jundt as Appendix II in his Histoire du panthéisme populaire au Moyen Age et au seizième siècle (Paris, 1875) pp. 231-235.
- 135 See W.G. Moore, La Réforme allemande et la littérature française: Recherches sur la notoriété de Luther en France, pp. 432-441.
- 136 See Jean Orcibal, "La Rencontre du Carmel Thérésien avec les mystiques du nord" in BEHE, Section des sciences religieuses, vol. LXX, 1959, p. 63: "Martin Luther avait publié, en 1516, un texte "A" plus court... et en 1518, il avait fait paraître sous les titres Eine Deutsche Theologie et Theologie Detsch, une version "B" en cinquante chapitres qui est restée la plus courante". See our previous note 31 of this chapter on the theme of the Lord's Prayer in a commentator of the Theologie Deutsch.
- 137 E. Parturier, "Le Pater noster faict en translation et dialogue par la Royne de Navarre", in RR, vol. II, pp. 178-190 and 273-276.
- 138 Moore maintains that Marguerite's "Pater noster" must have been written before 1527 since the manuscript mentions her as "Madame la Duchesse". La Réforme allemande et la littérature française, op. cit., pp. 187-188.
- 139 Joseph L. Allaire has established the date of the final text of the Miroir as we have it in the edition princeps of 1531. He remarked that the quotations of the Bible in the margins are from the Vulgate version, often through Lefèvre's translation into French (Allaire edit., Le Miroir de l'âme pécheresse, Munich, pp. 19-20). These quotations could have nevertheless been added by the publishers at the margins, as R. Salminen remarks, and the Queen follows the Vulgate translated freely to fit into the verses (Salminen edit., Le Miroir de l'âme pécheresse (thesis), Helsinki, 1979, p. 40).
- 140 W.G. Moore, La Réforme allemande et la littérature française; recherches sur la notoriété de Luther en France (thèse) (Strasbourg, 1930). See also N. Weiss: "Une Victime du Miroir de l'âme pécheresse de Marguerite d'Angoulême, soeur de François I: l'imprimeur Antoine Augereau et sa famille (1534-1559)", in BSHPE, vol. XLII, Paris 1893, pp. 242-247.
- 141 M. Holban, "Le Miroir de l'âme pécheresse et les Epistres de la Noble et Amoureuse Dame", Mélanges Offerts à M.A. Lefranc (Paris, 1936), pp. 142-154, (pp. 152-153).
- 142 Moore, La Réforme allemande, op. cit., p. 189.
- 143 Febvre, Amour sacré, op. cit., pp. 151-153.
- 144 Weiss, "Une Victime du Miroir", op. cit, p. 245.
- 145 Allaire, op. cit., Introduction, p. 21.
- 146 Weiss, op. cit., p. 244.
- 147 Leopold Victor Delisle, Notice sur un registre des procès-verbaux de la Faculté de Théologie de Paris pendant les années 1505-1533; manuscrit des archives de la maison de la Trémoille aujourd'hui à la Bibliothèque Nationale N°1782 du fonds français des nouvelles acquisitions, vol. XXXVI, pp. 315-408.
- 148 Delisle, op. cit., p. 405. Rabelais ridicules Bédas's prominent abdomen in Pantagruel, Chapter 7: "De optimitate triparum".
- 149 Walter Frederic Bense, Noël Bédas and the Humanist Reformation at Paris: 1504-1534 (thesis), (Cambridge Mass., 1967). Harvard Univ. discussion (obtainable in

- microfilm). Bense emphasizes the fact that the Miroir's case was examined during Bédard's exile from Paris; pp. 812-813.
- 150 Delisle, op. cit., pp. 398-399.
- 151 Ibid., p. 399.
- 152 Ibid., p. 402.
- 153 A.L. Herminjard, La Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de langue française (Geneva, 1866-1897), vol. III, pp. 106-111.
- 154 Delisle, op. cit., pp. 405-406.
- 155 Ibid., p. 323.
- 156 See Allaire; op. cit., Introduction, pp. 20-21.
- 157 Pierre Jourda had already suggested that the policy adopted by the Sorbonne as regards translation of the Bible was the main reason for the action taken. P. Jourda, Marguerite d'Angoulême, Duchesse d'Alençon, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 172-180.
- 158 A. Clerval, Registre des procès-verbaux de la Faculté de Théologie de Paris; archives de l'histoire religieuse de la France, (Paris, 1917), p. 424 note 88.
- 159 Charles Duplessis d'Argentré, Collectio iuditorum de novis erroribus qui ab initio duodecimi seculi post incarnationem Verbi, usque ad annum 1623 in Ecclesia proscripti sunt et notati; Paris 1728, vol. II, p. 101.
- 160 Briçonnet's teaching on the uselessness of human works before the initial justification by faith follows St. Paul's theology as can be seen from the Latin quotation from the Vulgate: "Par grace et bonté sommes créés, par icelles conservés et entretenus, par graces saulvés et non par nos oeuvres, comme dict Monsieur saint Pol: "Gratia enim salvati estis et hoc non, etc., ex vobis. Dei enim donum est et non ex operibus, ut ne quis gloriatur" [taken from Ephesians 2, 8-9 in the Vulgate text]. Nous sommes saulvés par foy en la grace de Dieu et non de nous. Il vient du don de Dieu et non de nos oeuvres à ce qu'il n'y ayt creature qui se puisse glorifier." (Correspondance, I, p. 119).
- 161 Caesar Egassius Bulaeus, Historia Universitatis Parisiensis. T. VI; ab anno 1500-1600. Paris, 1673. In 1523, 15 January, the Faculty made the following statement about Briçonnet, who had been accused among other things by the "Frères Mineurs" of Meaux of following Luther's doctrine by trying to "détourner de lire les Histoires et legendes desdits Saints et vénérer les Reliques approuvées par l'Eglise", vol. VI, p. 184: "Vita et gesta Guillermi Briçonnet, tunc Episcopi Meldensis, eum omnino reddunt a calumnia istiusmodi et a suspitione haeresos immunem: Quippe nemo acrius Lutheranam haeresim injectatus est, nemo ferventius Catholicam tutatus". Ibid. p. 184.
- 162 Lefranc wrote in 1898: "Marguerite y parle d'un bout à l'autre (...) des dogmes et principes de la Réforme; elle y révèle non seulement les mêmes méthodes, mais aussi les mêmes habitudes d'esprit qui caractérisaient les partisans de la révolution religieuse". His extreme position has been so influential that other aspects of Marguerite's thought have been almost overlooked, as if she was only and primarily concerned with reforming ideas. Quotation from Les Idées religieuses de Marguerite de Navarre, op. cit., p. 15.
- 163 See Ephesians 1,22: "He made him [i.e. Jesus] as the ruler of everything, the head of the Church, which is his body".
- 164 See Chapter 4 on mystical hermeneutics in Marguerite's Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, Section III.

- 165 F. Genin, Lettres de Marguerite d'Angoulême, op. cit, Introduction, p. 112.
- 166 J.B. Collins, Christian Mysticism in the Elizabethan Age, with its background in mystical methodology, (Baltimore, 1940), p. 83, footnote 7.
- 167 The title of the English version of Marguerite's Miroir appeared as following: A godly medytacyon of the Christen Sowle concerninge a love towards God and hys Christe, complied in frenche by lady Margarete quene of Navarre and aptely translated into English by the ryght vertuose lady Elyzabeth, doughter to our Soverayne Kynge Henri the VIII. Edited in Wesen, April 1548. A copy is in Brit. Library; pressmark C.12.d.1. Johan Bale introduced the translation with a strong anti-Papist introduction against those who "boast the good workes of the lawe (...) wretched Ydyotes for advantage of Masses", *ibid.* fol. 7 vo. and fol. 8. R. Salminen has just published a critical edition of this translation of Marguerite's poem by Princess Elizabeth as Le Miroir of the Synneful Soule together with the Miroir, Helsinki, 1979.
- 168 Collins, Christian Mysticism, op. cit., p. 82. A copy of J. Gruitroede's version into English by Margaret of Richmond is in Brit. Library, pressmark 1412, c. 11. There is also a copy of the 1526 version in BL, pressmark G.12042.
- 169 Frank's edition of the Miroir in Les Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses, from the 1547 edition, with Introduction and Notes. (Paris, 1873). Miroir, Introduction, p. 6, vv. 1-6-
- 170 The "Speculum" literature was influenced by the Biblical Wisdom tradition, particularly through the Solomon literature in books like "Ecclesiastes", "Job" and "Proverbs".
- 171 Jean Bouyer: Incipit Speculum Peccatoris, Poitiers 1480. Bouyer's work had been attributed to St. Augustine; see Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. XL, pp. 983-991, (Paris, 1895). A copy of the 1480 edition is in the British Library, pressmark Ia.42812.
- 172 *Ibid.*, aVI vo.
- 173 A copy of this 1500 Paris edition of Guitroede's Speculum is in British Library, pressmak IA.39567. Also an earlier Cologne edition of c. 1949, BL pressmark IA.4896.
- 174 The works of the Carthusian Dionysius, alias Lewis de Rickel, weer very influential at the time of Marguerite's Miroir. They were collected and published in Cologne in 1533. See a copy of this edition in British Library which includes four mystical treatises: De arca viae salutis, Amatorum mundi Speculum, De enormitate et gravitate peccati and De conversione peccatorum. BL pressmark 846b.19. An earlier edition of his Speculum conversionis peccatoris published in Flanders in 1473 is also in BL, pressmark IA.49003. Quotation from De arca salutatis B VII vo.
- 175 *Ibid.*, E I vo.
- 176 See the use of the verb "se laisser" in the Dialogue, meaning the quietist attitude of the soul in accepting the will of God. Chapter 2, Section IV.
- 177 Marguerite used this technique of the "Litaniae mortuorum" while describing the death of her brother François in the Prisons, fol. 341 vo. The litanies of the Church do not follow the complicated structures of the liturgy and are simple repetitions adapted to the general use. See Marguerite's avoidance of liturgical doxologies in text to Note 6.
- 178 See Frank's edition of the Miroir in Les Marguerites, op.cit., Introduction, p. 6, vv. 7-10.

- 179 See Jean Castel, Lo specchio delle dame, introduced by G.A. Brunelli and translated from the French Le Miroir des dames (Florence 1958). In its introduction Brunelli says: “le fonti spirituali di questi tre componenti [i.e. its three parts] sono dei sermoni e delle poesie latine attribuiti a San Bernardo”. Introduction p. 24. There are some copies of Castel’s “Miroirs” copied in Paris in the fifteenth century. BL pressmarks IA.39393 and 11437.b.5.
- 180 Ibid., p. 50.
- 181 Marguerite develops this idea of Mary as the perfect example of total union with God in her Comédie de la Nativité. H. Skommodau, Die religiösen Dichtungen Margarettens von Navarre (Cologne 1954), pp. 113-114. Also P. Sage, La Sainte Vierge dans l’oeuvre de Marguerite de Navarre, in Bull. Des Fac. Catholiques de Lyon, 1954.  
In Marguerite’s Prisons, Mary appears as the “pucelle de Dieu”, the only creature who had assimilated God’s “Rien”. (Prisons, fol. 345 vo – 346 ro, pp. 291-292).
- 182 Gunther Zainer, Speculum humanae salvationis and Speculum Sanctae Mariae Virginis, (Augsburg 1471). A copy is in BL, pressmark IB.5469.
- 183 See my study of Marguerite’s interpretation of the “Song of Songs” in Chapter 4 on the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, Section IV.
- 184 There is no pagination in the Ms. of the British Library. This quotation is in last chapter of Zainer’s edition of the Speculum Sanctae Mariae Virginis, op. cit.
- 185 Efforts to give different aspects of the “Speculum” genre were not uncommon at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries. Johannes de Westfalia, for instance, in about 1480 presented together as Jacobus de Gruitroede’s, Dionysius Carthusianus’s and Rodericus’s (Bishop of Zamora, Spain) various “Mirouers”. Their “Specula” are mostly “Specula Sacerdotum” (Mirrors for Priests), “Specula Mortis” (to prepare for death) or “Ars Moriendi”. There are two copies in BL pressmarks IB.49225 and IB.49226.
- 186 J.M. Dechanet, Guillaume de Saint-Thierry; le Miroir de la foy, (Paris 1946), p. 50. Dechanet also wrote Guillaume de Saint-Thierry, l’homme et son oeuvre, Bruges 1942. He published his Commentarium in Canticum e scriptis Sti. Ambrosii, Paris 1962. Marguerite’s Miroir combines both lines of thought since it is a “Speculum fidei” and a “Speculum cantici” mixed with other “Specula”.
- 187 Miroir, op. cit., Appendix, p. 99.
- 188 BN, f. fr., MS 1525.2, fol. 192 ro.
- 189 CF. Marie Holban, Le Miroir de l’âme pécheresse et les Epistres de la Noble et Amoureuse Dame, op. cit. See Note 3 of this chapter.
- 190 Ibid., p. 144.
- 191 Ibid., p. 145.
- 192 Ibid., p. 146.
- 193 Ibid., pp. 147-148.
- 194 Ibid., p. 148.
- 195 Ibid., p. 151.
- 196 J. Bouchet had already dedicated one of his works, his Labyrinthe de Fortune to Marguerite in 1522. Holban presumes, rightly or wrongly, that Bouchet had sent a copy of his Triumphes to the Queen before the work was published. Ibid., p. 153.
- 197 Ibid., p. 153.
- 198 It is likely that the similarities are due to their similar historical context. In any

- case Bouchet's attack on anti-"Speculum Mariae" ideas would have made his book unwelcomed by the Queen at the time of the composition of the Miroir. See Note 3 of this Chapter.
- 199 M. Holban, op. cit., p. 154.
- 200 See Chapter 6, Section II where Marguerite's use of symbols connected with the Pyramid of light are studied in detail.
- 201 Compare with Miroir, v. 35: "Par sa clarté ma tenebre illumine".
- 202 Compare with Miroir, v. 31: "(...) à ce que je puis veoir".
- 203 Compare Briçonnet's letter with Miroir, vv. 853-858:  
 Las! Qu'est cecy? Jettant en hault ma veue,  
 Je voy en vous bonté si incogneue,  
 Grace et amour si incomprehensible,  
 Que la veue m'en demeure invisible,  
 Et par force faict mon regard cesser,  
 Qui me contrainct en bas mes yeulx baisser.
- 204 Briçonnet, here, refers to the classical mystic distinctions of "oeil charnel", "oeil de la raison" and "oeil de l'esprit"; only the initiated can arrive to the vision of the "oeil de l'esprit", while ordinary persons can only "see" with their visual faculty or with their bare reasoning. See R. Javalet, Psychologie des auteurs du XIIe siècle, in Revue des sciences religieuses, Strasbourg, vol. XXXIII, January 1959, p. 25.
- 205 Compare with Isaiah 64,4 and I Corinthians 2,9.
- 206 Pseudo-Dionysius, The Divine Names, Chapter 9. C.E. Rolt, translation and introduction, London 1972, pp. 98-99. See my study of the definition of God as a sphere whose centre is everywhere and whose circumference is nowhere in Chapter 6, Section V.  
 See also R. Llul: "Circulus est figura ultima, eo equia perfectior est quam aliqua alia figura: ipse enim continet in se omnes alias figuras, et ab ipsis descendit, et constitutus est". Ars generalis ultima, (Palma Mallorca, 1645), Pars 10; de app. Cap. 14, art. 46; de circulo, p. 354.
- 207 H. Sckommodau, Die religiöse Dichtungen, op. cit., p. 42.
- 208 See some lines in the Miroir which mention mystic experience:  
 Qui m'a navré le cuer jusques à la mort (v. 811)  
Mourir, brusler, par amour importable. (v. 345)  
 C'est d'ung tel filz que tout le cuer m'en fend. (v. 348)  
 Or, fendez vous mon cuer par la moitié. (v. 358)  
 Et au vivant, par la mort, je suis ravve. (v. 888)  
Je m'esbahis que tout soudainement  
 Elle ne sort de son entendement.  
Je m'esbahis qu'elle ne devient folle,  
En perdant sens, contenance et parolle. (vv. 243-246)
- 209 Pierre Jourda mentions a mystic crisis in Marguerite's life during the time of the composition of the Miroir. Marguerite d'Angoulême, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 66-67. J.B. Collins comments that "as part of the purgative process, one observes at the outset the brief evidence of a conversion which has taken place in Marguerite's soul, and her decision to change the tenor of her life for the better", op. cit., p. 84. I have already studied Marguerite's decision to get initiated by Briçonnet into all the complex techniques of the school of Meaux in Chapter 1.

- 210 L. Febvre, following Rabelais, calls Marguerite's mystic state "esprit ecstatique". See Rabelais's sketch of Marguerite in final Chapter on mystic portraits of the Queen as drawn by her contemporaries.
- 211 See Marguerite's mystical use of the antithetical "Tout" and "Rien" in Chapter 5 on the Prisons, Section V.
- 212 See the various interpretations in Martineau, Correspondance, op. cit., p. 71. Herminjard, Correspondance, op. cit., 1, p. 78. Becker, Marguerite la Duchesse, op. cit., p. 405.
- 213 Martin Buber, by R.G. Smidt, London, The Carey Kingstate Press Ltd. 1966 Buber is famous for his phenomenal analysis of the mystic relationship "I and Thou". He wrote his Ich und Du in 1922.
- 214 Rolt comments on the Pseudo-Dionysius's relationships:  
 "The human self and the Uncreated Light stand in the mutual relationship of "Me" and "Thee". That which says "Me" is not the Being which is addressed as "Thee"; and the Being addressed as "Thee" is not that which says "Me". The two stand over against one another.  
 This relationship must now be transcended by a process leading to ecstasy. The human spirit must seek to go forth out of itself (i.e. out of its created being)(...) Casting selfhood away, it strives to gain its true being and selfhood by losing them in the super-Essence. Laying its intellectual activity to rest it obtains, by a higher spiritual activity, a momentary glimpse into the depths of the Super-Essence, and perceives that the distinction between "Me" and "Thee" is not." The Divine Names, op. cit. Introduction, VIII: "the psychology of contemplation", p. 27.
- 215 See our study on mystic ecstasy as a wound in our chapter 5 on the Prisons, section III.
- 216 J. G. Arintero explains the two relationships Father-Son and Mother-Daughter from the relationship between the persons in the Trinity: "He desired to be our Brother and when we say "Our Father" to God, this is made manifest in us. For he who says "Our Father" to God, says "Brother" to Christ. Therefore he who has God for his Father and Christ for his Brother need not fear the dreadful day". The Mystical Evolution in the Development and Vitality of the Church, Translated from the Spanish by Jordan Auman, (New York, Herder, 1950) vol. 1, p. 152. Arintero is here referring to St. Augustine's Enarrationes in Psalmum 48.
- 217 See Febvre, Amour sacré, op. cit., p. 60. Rabelais made a parody of the "estranges alliances de l'isle Ennasin" in the Quart Livre, Chapter 9, where he criticized the abuse of this kind of language.
- 218 Collins sees in the Miroir the influence of the traditional medieval mysticism, particularly through Ruysbroeck's Spiritual Marriage and through the works of the Pseudo-Dionysius. The Spirit of Mysticism, op. cit., pp. 86-87.  
 In a letter to Marguerite, Brignonnet mentions the divine principles of the mystical theology of "Monsieur Saint Denis", and, following Hugh of Saint-Victor, he applies the mystical doctrine of the "Three Spiritual Stages" to the Pseudo-Dionysius's doctrine of the tripartite Divine Hierarchies.  
Correspondance, 1, pp. 115-118.
- 219 Brignonnet wrote to Marguerite: "Là sera la vraie et indubitable union, sans figure ne ombre" (Correspondance, 1, p. 105). Saint Paul speaks of this union in several passages of his epistles. See Philippians 3,21; Romans 8,29-30 and II Corinthians 3,18.
- 220 R. B. Blackney edit., Meister Eckhart, "sermon 2", New York, Harper, 1941, p. 102.

- 221 The traditional doctrine of the Trinity is to be found in these tripartite divisions used both by Marguerite in the Miroir and in the Briçonnet-Marguerite Correspondance. Briçonnet is nevertheless even more explicit: “Leau pouvons attribuer au Superceleste Pere eternal. Le feu au debonnaire Jesus. Le fruit au Saint Esperit, qui procede commele fruit de l’arbre et de l’eau et du feu” (Correspondance, 1, p. 96).
- 222 See study of the symbolic meaning of the Circle as the perfect image of Divinity in Chapter 6, Section III.
- 223 See study of the mystic symbols of Light and Darkness in Chapter 6, Section V.
- 224 See our study of the different definitions of God in Marguerite’s work in Chapter 5, Section V.
- 225 See other examples:  
     Au lecteur: “brusler” (v. 15)  
     vv. 831-832: “ardeur”, “bruller”.
- 226 See Sckommodau’s comments that the symbols of Briçonnet remained in Marguerite’s memory appearing later in her poetry. Die religiösen Dichtungen, op. cit., p. 46.
- 227 See a copy of this 1490 edition of Lull’s Speculum in BL, pressmark IA.39982. Lull’s writings were widely read by the Renaissance writers as well as the writings of the Kabbalah school.
- 228 When Clément Marot had to flee from Ferrara, his house was searched and several of his books were confiscated, among which there were works of the Kabbalah. Some of their doctrines had hidden meaning and were considered dangerous by the Sorbonne:  
     On y trouva; mais cela n’est offence  
     A ung poëte, à qui on doit lascher  
     La bride longue, et rien ne luy cascher  
     Soit d’art magicq, nygromance ou caballe.  
     Clément Marot, Les Epîtres, Epître XXXVI: “Epître au Roy, du temps de son exil à Ferrara”, written in the summer of 1535. Mayer edit., op. cit., pp. 202-203.  
     “Kabbalah” means “the received” (i.e. received and handed down as a mystical secret); it inspired the traditional mysticism and its understanding of God and the universe! John Ferguson, An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Mysticism and the Mystery Religions, (London 1976), “Kabbalah”, pp. 98-99.  
     For further bibliography on Kabbalistic mysticism, see Lubac, Exégèse Médiévale, op. cit., notes on Part II, p. 406.
- 229 See study on the Three Stages in spiritual experience in Chapter 5 on the Prisons, Section III.
- 230 J. de la Haye compared Marguerite to a flower in his introduction to the Miroir:  
     Fleur de pourpris, fleur tousjours fleurissant,  
     Fleur de beauté naïve, fleur yssant  
     Du royal tyge et semence Royale. (...)  
     (Frank’s edition of the Miroir, op. cit., p. 4)  
     and shortly afterwards Marguerite’s valet de chambre adds:  
     C’est le Miroi où il fault regarder  
     Qui bien voudra du monde se garder;  
     C’est le Miroi auquel qui bien se mire

Du tout malheur et vice se retire...

(ibid., p. 6)

- Rabelais mentions the transparent mirror-like stone in the Quart Livre: “Sus la poupe de la second [navire] estoit hault enlevée une lanterne antiquaire, faicte industrieusement de pierre sphingitide et speculaire, denotant qu’ils passeroient par Lanternoys”. Chapter 1. Jourda interprets it as “La pierre sphegnitide doit être une pierre d’albâtre; la pierre spéculaire, une pierre transparente: du mica”. Edition by Jourda (Paris, Garnier, 1962), vol. 2, note 6 on p. 32.
- 231 H. P. Clive, Marguerite de Navarre; oeuvres choisies, 2 vols (New York, 1968), vol. II, pp. 2-4. Here Clive studies the chronology of all the plays by Marguerite de Navarre.
- 232 See the text of Capiton’s “Dédicace” to Marguerite de Navarre in A. L. Herminjard, La correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de langue française, 9 vols (Paris, 1866-1897); see N°227: “In Hoseam Prophetam, V.F. Capitonis commentarius”, vol. II, pp. 119-123.
- 233 It would be illogical to suppose, unless clear evidence is presented that the Correspondance between Marguerite and Briçonnet ended suddenly in the autumn 1524; it is true that the last one was left unfinished and no others have been traced, but Becker concludes: “Car il saute aux yeux que la Correspondance ne finissait pas ainsi”. Ph.-Aug. Becker, “Marguerite, Duchesse d’Alençon, et Guillaume, évêque de Meaux, d’après leur correspondance manuscrite”, in BSHP, Paris, 1901, pp. 393-477 and 661-667, (p. 476).
- 234 Comédie du désert, Edited by Frank as part of Les Marguerites op. cit., vol. I, p. 353.
- 235 See the Comédie de la Nativité de Jésus Christ, edited by F. Frank, ibid., vol. I, p. 10.
- 236 According to V.L. Saulnier, Marguerite’s four biblical plays, the Comédie de la Nativité de Jésus Christ, the Comédie des Innocents, the Comédie de l’adoration des trois Roys à Jésus Christ and the Comédie du désert, were written about 1530. Théâtre profane, op. cit., Introduction, p. XXIII.
- 237 L. Febvre, Amour sacré, op. cit., pp. 326-370. Christine Martineau’s conclusions on Marguerite’s Platonism are that even in the Heptaméron she reflects the evangelical position of the school of Meaux rather than the neo-Platonic tendencies of her epoch; see “le Platonisme de Marguerite de Navarre” in BAEHRR, 1976, pp. 12-13.
- 238 A. Lefranc, les Marguerites, op. cit., Introduction, p. XI.
- 239 The comparison is not mine; P. Jourda draws a parallel between the two poems of Marguerite. See Marguerite d’Angoulême, Duchesse d’Alençon, op. cit., vol. I, p. 583. Marichal is even more specific in a comparative study of the two poems; see La Navire (Paris, 1956); Introduction, pp. 9-10.
- 240 I am in agreement with Marichal, with some reservation nevertheless, as regards Marguerite’s real attraction to some of the points of the theology of Luther: Elle ne s’intéresse plus, elle ne s’est jamais, peut-être, intéressée profondément à ces audaces des théologiens et elle semble être revenue à l’attitude plus reconciliante de Lefèvre d’Etaples qu’elle a, ne l’oublions pas, hébergé à Nérac et entouré jusqu’à sa mort (1536) des soins les plus affectueux. Mais de Luther, elle a gardé “le plus intime”: cette religion intérieure, ce primat de la foi, cet abandon à Jésus-Christ,



- bref, en plus “robuste”, en plus “agissant”, comme dit L. Febvre, ce qui l’avait déjà séduite dans les leçons de Briçonnet, de sorte que La Navire de 1547 est beaucoup plus proche de l’enseignement de Briçonnet que le Dialogue de 1524.
- R. Marichal, op. cit., Introduction, pp. 16-17.
- 241 Febvre remarked the similarities between the text of Briçonnet’s letter to Marguerite and that of Lefèvre’s Introduction to his translation of the New Testament. Amour sacré, op. cit., p. 122.
- 242 Marguerite often refers to her promises of protection to the Meaux group throughout her Correspondance with Briçonnet. In Letter 5, for instance, referring to the Franciscan Friars who were opposing Briçonnet’s efforts to reform his diocese, she writes: “... et je m’oblige que, ainsy que serez mes bons advocatz envers le tout, qu’il luy plaira me faire estre la vostre en ceste court en toutz les affaires...” (Correspondance, I, p. 33)
- 243 According to Clive the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan was written at the beginning of 1548. Marguerite de Navarre, op. cit., vol. II, p. 4.
- 244 Clive writes: “...Amarissime n’est autre que Marguerite elle-même (...) Quant aux deux autres personnages, les critiques sont d’accord pour identifier Securus avec Henri d’Albret, second mari de Marguerite, et Agapy avec Henri II”. op. cit., vol. II, p.3.
- 245 Ibid., p.8.
- 246 See Febvre on the identification of many of the characters in the Heptaméron. Amour sacré, op. cit., p. 258. Also J. Palermo in “L’Histoire des devisants de l’Heptaméron” in RHLF, 49 (1969), pp. 193-202.
- 247 “Paraclesis” is the last character to appear in the Comédie sur le trespas du Roy.
- 248 This looks like Orgon’s description of Tartuffe, I, 5 v. 281 sqqs.
- 249 See the story of the adulterous woman in John 8, 1-11. The evangelical doctrine of the adulterous woman being forgiven by her husband appears in “Nouvelles 32” and “61” of the Heptaméron. In contrast “Nouvelle 35” describes the punished unfaithful love: “Un miroir où il fault se regarder”. Note the use of a human “miroir” in contrast with the divine one she applied to her mystical poem the Miroir, in which God is more forgiving than man (cf. Miroir, vv. 685-718).
- 250 See a parallel text in Marot’s translation of Ovide’s Metamorphoses, in Clive’s edition Maguerite de Navarre, op. cit., note on line 167, vol. II, p. 89.
- 251 L. Febvre, Amour sacré, op. cit., p. 347.
- 252 Ph. Aug. Becker comments on the corrections of the text of the manuscript, N°11495 “du fonds français”, Bibliothèque Nationale: “Ces corrections, contraires aux sentiments des deux correspondants, trahissent une main étrangère. Elles pourraient provenir d’une personne, protestante de convictions, qui aurait songé un instant à la publication du précieux manuscrit, mais que bientôt, pour une raison ou pour une autre, se serait desistée de ce projet”. “Marguerite d’Alençon et Guillaume Briçonnet, évêque de Meaux, d’après leur correspondance manuscrite, 1521-1524”, in BSHP, (Paris, 1901), pp. 393-477 (p. 396).
- 253 R. Marichal, La Navire, op. cit., Introduction, pp. 20-21.
- 254 See the text of Calvin’s letter to the Queen of Navarre in A. Lefranc, Les Idées religieuses de Marguerite de Navarre, (Paris, 1896), pp. 130-132 (p.131).
- 255 See Marguerite’s reaction to Calvin’s letter in A. Jundt’s comments: “la Reine, dont les nouveaux venus, [i.e. Quintin and Pocques], avaient gagné la faveur,

- s'imaginant que Calvin leur avait fait tort en les traitant avec si peu de ménagement, en exprima hautement son déplaisir au réformateur. Elle lui reprocha d'avoir écrit ce traité contre elle-même et contre ses serviteurs". Histoire du panthéisme populaire au Moyen Age et au Seizième Siècle, Paris, 1875, p. 129.
- 256 Hilda Graef, The Story of Mysticism, London 1966, pp. 227-228. See also Herman Hering's study of Luther's early interest in Die Mystik Luthers im zusammenhange seiner Theologie in ihrem Verhältniss zur älteren Mystik, (Leipzig, 1879).
- 257 See our special study of Marguerite's use of mystical ignorance and of negative vocabulary in our previous Chapter 3 on the Miroir, Section IV.
- 258 A. Lefranc, Les Idées religieuses de Marguerite de Navarre, op. cit., pp. 112-113.
- 259 H.P. Clive, Marguerite de Navarre, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 6-7.
- 260 L. Febvre, Amour sacré, op. cit., p. 355.
- 261 E. Parturier, "Les Sources du mysticisme de Marguerite de Navarre" in RR, vol. V, (1904), pp.1-16 and 49-62, (p. 56).
- 262 P. Jourda is less adamant than Parturier in his analysis of the Dialogue: "Il faut noter qu'en un passage au moins, v. 582, Marguerite déclare qu'il faut laisser agir la grâce en nous et nous fier à elle. N'est-ce point l'éveil en elle des théories que lui prêcheront plus tard Pocques et Quintin, les Libertins Spirituels?" Introduction to his edition of the Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne in RSS, vol. XIII, 1926. p. 4, footnote 1.
- 263 A. Jundt, Histoire du panthéisme populaire, op. cit.
- 264 Ibid., pp. 122-123.
- 265 Henri-Albert Blind, Marguerite de Navarre dans ses rapports avec la Réforme (thèse), (Strasbourg, 1868), p. 31. Also V.L. Saulnier, L'Evangélisme du Pierre du Val et le problème des Libertins in BHR, vol. IV, (1952), pp. 205-218.
- 266 Ch. Schmidt, Libertins Spirituels; traités mystiques écrits dans les années 1547-1549, publiés d'après le manuscrit original, (Geneva, 1876).
- 267 Ibid., Introduction, p. VIII.
- 268 Glori Capello, "Per la storia dell'Ermeneutica biblica nel '500: Guglielmo Briçonnet", Gregoriana, (Padova, 1975), pp. 293-304 (p. 300).
- 269 See my study of Marguerite's initiation into biblical hermeneutics by Lefèvre and Briçonnet in Chapter 1, section IV.
- 270 The collection of these letters of the Correspondance was not gathered in Meaux, but in the court of the Queen of Navarre. See Becker, Marguerite, Duchesse d'Alençon, op. cit., p. 395.
- 271 See vv. 47-86 and 405-410 of the Comédie in which the general plan of internal regeneration as offered by "la Superstitieuse" is very similar to that offered by Briçonnet here.
- 272 Marguerite had compared herself in her previous letter to Briçonnet Letter N°7, to the "lost sheep", which is subsequently echoed by Briçonnet: "Ainsy que la brebis en pais estrange errant..." (Correspondance, I, p. 37)
- 273 See vv. 575-584 (already quoted in Section II of this chapter) in the Comédie. Also v. 1004, said by "la Bergère": "Que tu me brusle sans sejour".
- 274 Also vv. 933-934, in which "la Bergère" accuses the others of being cold:  
Vostre amour froide et lante  
N'entend ponct le secret
- 275 The spiritual quietism of "la Bergère" is evident throughout the whole play, but it

- would be unnecessary to see any connections with the “Libertins Spirituels”, since the Queen is illustrating the “laissez faire” concept as she found it in Briçonnet’s Correspondance, vv. 1000-1010 are particularly interesting; note that she emphasizes the weakness of the soul and the strength of divine action.
- 276 See v. 574 sung by “la Bergère”: “Helas! Je meurs tous les jours”.
- 277 Henri de Lubac, Exégèse Médiévale; les quatre sens de l’Ecriture. 4 vols (Paris, 1959-1964).
- 278 Glori Capello, “Per la storia dell’Ermeneutica”, op. cit., p. 300. A. Winandy draws the same conclusion as G. Capello, after a minute analysis of the ideas of the “Libertins Spirituels”: “Despite the parallelism and comparison between her (Marguerite’s) poetry and the Libertine theses, there is no congruence but rather an emphatic difference. Marguerite never, in effect, advocated the doctrine of the three ages of man”. “Piety and Humanistic Symbolism in the work of Marguerite de Navarre”, Yale French studies, 1972, pp. 145-169; p. 168.
- 279 The role of the Spirit in the interpretation of the Bible is studied in Chapter 5, Section V, A.
- 280 Febvre gives an interesting account of these quotations in Amour sacré, op. cit., pp. 130-131. Marichal also provides a tabulation of Marguerite’s quotations of the Bible in La Navire, op. cit., Introduction, p. 39.
- 281 Lefèvre’s translation of the Bible was published between 1524 and 1530 as La sainte Bible en francoys translatee selon la pure et entiere traduction de Saint Hierome conferee et entierement reusitee selon les plus anciens et plus correctes exemplaires; (Anvers, Lampereur, 1530), cum gratia et privilegio imperiali (gothique). A copy can be seen at the British Library, pressmark C.18 C.12.
- 282 See Allaire, Miroir, Introduction, op. cit., pp. 18-19.
- 283 See Salminen edit., Miroir, op. cit., pp. 31-40. Veissière-Martineau edit., Correspondance, 2, Appendix.
- 284 See the text of this “Décret synodal contre les doctrines de Luther” in Herminjard, La Correspondance, vol. I, N°77, pp. 153-155, p. 154.
- 285 The gap between Erasmus and the Meaux group, although real, has been exaggerated by quite a few critics, in my opinion. If Marguerite, for instance, did not answer his two letters of 1525 and 1527, it was not so much because their attitudes were totally opposite, as L. Febvre seems to imply (see Amour sacré, op. cit., pp. 68-69), but because Erasmus, the Humanist, had hurt Lefèvre on at least one occasion. In a letter to Martin Dorp written in 1515, speaking of Lefèvre, Erasmus had written: “I very much admire his undertaking, though here again I disagree with him in several places – reluctantly, for I’d gladly be “of one mind” with such a friend in all respects, but truth must count for more than friendship, especially with regard to the holy scriptures”. See letter to Martin Dorp in A. H. T. Levi, edit., Erasmus, Praise of Folly (Hammondsworth, 1971), p. 249.
- 286 Martineau and Veissière give an interesting account of the Gallican background to the Correspondance between Briçonnet and Marguerite; Correspondance, 1, pp. 20-21. The efforts of the Refomation that were taking place at Meaux, were based on the conviction that the Church was failing in bringing about a real Reformation so badly needed, and that it was the duty of the King of France to help the French hierarchy to reform it; Marguerite shared this opinion with the Meaux group.
- 287 Lubac, Exégèse Médiévale, op. cit., vol IV, p. 447.

- 288 Ibid., p. 448. Lubac has a detailed study on Erasmus's hermeneutics, *ibid.*, pp. 427-487.
- 289 A. Skevington Wood, Luther's principles of Biblical Interpretation; (London, 1960), p. 24. See also Friedrich Beisser, Claritas Scripturae bei Martin Luther (Göttingen, 1966).
- 290 See Marguerite's use of Rachel's lamentations in her Comédie des Innocents; See edition by F. Frank in Les Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses, *op. cit.*, p. 166. This is a clear case of a symbolic use of a passage of the Old Testament as seen by an Evangelist, Matthew 2,18.
- 291 St. Paul wrote referring to historical passages of the Old Testament: "This can be regarded as an allegory", Galatians, 4,18.
- 292 Lubac, Exégèse Médiévale, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 70.
- 293 See title page; Clive, Marguerite de Navarre, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 83.
- 294 According to Lefèvre "carnal" means "deadly": "Quapropter qui alio modo scripta intelligunt, [writes Lefèvre in his exposition of Galatians 4] et alii applicant quam intendit Spiritus prophetae, non est sensus litteralis nisi judaicus, carnalis et letifer; et est littera quae occidit". Lubac, Exégèse Médiévale, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 414. Briçonnet uses a similar expression: see text to note 41 of this chapter.
- 295 Lubac explains:  
Les premiers sont avant tout les spirituels; ils cherchent d'emblée dans l'Écriture "spiritualis vitae intelligentiam"; les seconds sont avant tout des hommes de doctrine. Ils y cherchent d'abord "spiritualia de Christo arcana". Mais ce qui est explicite chez les uns se trouve implicite chez les autres, et vice-versa. Les premiers n'entendent pas tarir la vie spirituelle en la coupant de sa source, ni les seconds blasphémer cette source en niant ou négligeant sa fécondité spirituelle (...) Toute l'Écriture est évangélique, lorsqu'elle est contemplée, comme elle doit être, "dans l'esprit du Seigneur".  
Exégèse Médiévale, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 356.
- 296 Herminjard, La Correspondance, *op. cit.*, N°59, vol. I, p. 111.
- 297 Lubac writes of the three senses of the Bible according to Origen: the "sensus ethicus" corresponds to the "Book of Proverbs"; the second, or "sensus physicus" is represented by the "Book of Ecclesiasticus"; the third or "sensus enopticus" is embodied in the Song of Songs. See Exégèse Médiévale, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 221-238.
- 298 Ibid., p. 237.
- 299 Martineau and Veissière explain the meaning of the Hebrew word "ômér" as "unité de mesure (...) en rapport avec la manne", Exodus 16,16 sqs. See Correspondance, I, p. 139.
- 300 The letters of the Correspondance may have been the source of many poems of Marguerite, if not of all; the Queen studied those letters very carefully until her death and certain unfinished themes seem to reappear and develop further. Briçonnet, for instance, announces the canticle of Marguerite's Comédie des Innocents (vv. 100 and sqs): "Quelle melodie et cantique peuvent avoir chanté la belle et virginale bande de innocence naguères pour luy occise, aussy toutes les aultres bandes, selon leur hierarchie et tous ensemble par union d'ardeur, d'amour et charité", Correspondance, I, p. 200.  
This same Letter 38 could be the source of Marguerite's Triomphe de l'Agneau, as "l'agneau occis" appears as one of its mystic themes.

- 301 The last word of this quotation “viscéralement” is directly connected with the Queen’s mystical doctrine of the “naissance de Dieu en l’homme” that the Queen later developed in her Miroir. See previous Chapter 3, Section IV.
- 302 Compare with Proverbs 8, 30-31: “I was by his side, a craftsman, delighting him day after day, ever at play in his presence, at play everywhere in his world”.
- 303 Marot had already celebrated his royal protectors as the Divine Pan (“O Pan, dieu tres sacré”) and priceless Marguerite (“Margot, bergère qui tant vault”) in his Eglogue de Marot au Roys; see Mayer, Marot, Oeuvres lyriques, London, Athlone Press, 1964, pp. 343-353. There is also a reference to the death of Pan in Rabelais, Quart Livre, Chapter 28.
- 304 The first book of the Prisons is in fact a mystic treatise on the opposition between natural knowledge of this world of nature and the mystical knowledge of the Divine. See my study on the “first prison” in Chapter 5, Section III.
- 305 Parturier, “Les Sources du mysticisme de Marguerite”, op. cit., p. 53.
- 306 Letter 8, written by Briçonnet to Marguerite in October 1521, is a mystic treatise on “le doux et debonnaire Jhesus vray pasteur des ames”, Correspondance, 1, pp. 38-39.
- 307 Clive remarks that vv. 635-636, 677-680 and 933-934 have been borrowed by the Queen from a poem by Melin de Saint-Gelays. See op. cit., note on p. 110.
- 308 vv. 165-167 were inspired, according to Clive, by Marot’s translation of Ovid’s Métamorphoses. Ibid., p. 89.
- 309 Clive compares v. 618 with Marguerite’s “Chanson Spirituelle 27” *ibid.*, p. 109. See also note on vv. 165-167, *ibid.*, p. 89.
- 310 See D. Mahute, Unendliche Sphäre, Beiträge zur Genealogie des mathematischen Mystik, (Halle, 1937). Also J. Bonnefoy Mystique des nombres, RAM, XXV, (1949), p. 533-550. And V. F. Hopper, Medieval Number Symbolism; its Sources, Meaning and Influence on Thought and Expression, (New York, 1938)
- 311 Lubac, Exégèse Médiévale, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 27.
- 312 Sckommodau, H., Petit Oeuvre Dévot et Contemplative: Neuuedition und Versucht einer Erklärung, in Analecta Romanica (9), (Frankfurt, 1960). Introduction, p. 18.
- 313 Lubac, Exégèse Médiévale, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 28. See also Honorius’s Speculum Ecclesiae in Migne, Patrologia Latina, vol. 172, p. 883 c.
- 314 See Marguerite’s use of the Ladder of Perfection as a mystic symbol in Chapter 5, Section IV. Rabelais applies the Scales of Taste to human love in Pantagruel, Chapter 21, speaking of Panurge’s love for “une haulte dame de Paris”: “ce n’est que miel, ce n’est que sucre, ce n’est que manne celeste, de tout ce qu’est en vous”. He also refers to the symbolic knowledge of numbers in Tiers Livre, Chapter 20: “Il denote mariage, et d’abondant le nombre trentenaire, selon la proffesion des Pythagoriens. Vous serez marié!”
- 315 In Letter N°21 we find a good example of Briçonnet’s application of the pseudo-Denis’s Divine Hierarchies to the three stages of the mystical ascent. Martineau, Correspondance, 1, pp. 115 and 118-119.
- 316 Clive, Marguerite de Navarre, op. cit., note on v. 761 of the Comédie explains “la marotte” as “attribut traditionnel du fou dans le théâtre du moyen âge”, p. 117. Erasmus had praised Folly in his influential work Moriae encomium, (1509). See its translation by B. Radice with Introduction and Notes by A. H. T. Levi op. cit. I maintained that Marguerite does not follow Erasmus’s ideas here, but the pseudo-Dionysius doctrine; see Chapter 1, Section IV. See also Rabelais’s praise

- of the Fool in Tiers Livre, Chapter 37.
- 317 A copy of Lefèvre's edition of the Contemplationes Idiotae, 1519, published by Henricus Stephanus, is in BL, pressmark 848.d.' (1).
- 318 Marguerite de Navarre died at the Chateau d'Odos on 21 December 1549. Henri d'Albret, her second husband, died six years later in 1555.
- 319 La Coche has been recently published by R. Marichal (Geneva, 1971). This neo-Platonic poem about the nature of love was written, in his view, around 1541; Introduction p. 36. Montaigne also adopted the theme of the 'coches' in one of his Essais, Book III, VI.
- 320 La Navire ou Consolation du Roy François Ier was also edited by Marichal (Geneva, 1956). It was published shortly after the death of François on 1<sup>st</sup> March, 1547. See Introduction by Marichal, p. 5.
- 321 Dottin published the Chansons Spirituelles in Geneva, 1971. He regards most of them as having been written between 1540 and 1547; Introduction, pp. VII-VIII.
- 322 The great majority of the seventy 'nouvelles' of the Heptaméron were written, according to L. Febvre, between 1542 and 1546; Amour Sacré, op. cit., p. 201.
- 323 The Prisons were most probably written about the year of the death of François Ier in 1547; a 'récit' of his death was incorporated at the end of Book III, fols 340 ro to 342 vo.
- 324 Febvre, Amour Sacré, op. cit., p. 201. The Heptaméron was first published nine years after Marguerite's death in 1558; this first edition appeared under the title of Histoires des amants fortunez, which was not written by Marguerite. Its popularity was so great that it was again published in 1559 under its present title and with its real author named: L'Heptaméron des Nouvelles de très illustre et très excellente Princesse Marguerite de Valois, Royne de Navarre, remis en son vray ordre, confus auparavant en sa première impression; M. François's edition of the Heptaméron (Paris, Garnier, 1967), Introduction p. XXV. François edit. gives a list of all the manuscripts and its numerous editions since 1558; Introduction pp. XXI-XXVI.
- 325 A. Lefranc, Les Dernières Poésies de Marguerite de Navarre, Paris, 1896; Introduction, pp. XLV-XLVI. Clive is not so adamant: "Ce dernier poème, véritable odyssee spirituelle, est une des créations littéraires les plus remarquables du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Marguerite nous y offre, en forme allégorique, le résumé de ses idées morales et religieuses". Marguerite de Navarre; Oeuvres Choiesies, op. cit., vol. I, Introduction, p. 21.
- 326 Lefranc, Les Dernières Poésies, op. cit. Clive announces the preparation of a second critical edition of the Prisons in a footnote to the publication of Marguerite's Oeuvres Choiesies, op. cit.; vol. I, Footnote 21, p. 7.
- 327 Febvre gives a much more interesting analysis of the Heptaméron in the 'Ile partie' of his Amour Sacré; op. cit., than in his exposition of her poetic works in the 'Iere partie'. There we find a vivid picture of the Queen's preoccupations with the society of an entire epoch, on themes as diverse as the clandestine marriage (ibid., p. 317), the unpopularity of the 'cordeliers' (p. 332), and religious and social ideas in the mid 1500s. See also Jourda, "L'Heptaméron et la société du XVI<sup>e</sup>me siècle" in Vie Intellectuelle, vol. IV (1932), pp. 478-497.
- 328 Glori Capello, "Neoplatonismo e Riforma in Francia dall'espistolario tra Guglielmo Briçonnet e Margherita di Navarra" in Logica e Semantica ed altri saggi (Padova, 1975), pp. 139-182. Footnote 39, p. 151.

- 329 Ibid., p. 155.
- 330 I have hinted in my previous chapter on the Miroir that Marguerite lacked in her early works the technical jargon to treat theological and hermeneutical problems. By the time she wrote the Prisons she was better acquainted with it and far more precise.
- 331 Lefranc, Les Dernières Poésies, op .cit., Introduction, p. XV.
- 332 Herminjard published the translation into French of the Latin text in Argentorat, (Paris, 1708). He explains that Capiton had given a series of lectures on Hosea the Prophet during the summers of 1526 and 1527. In his “dedicace” to the Queen of Navarre of his Commentarius in Hoseam Prophetam, which he later published, he assumed that Marguerite had rejected Briçonnet’s mystic principles as expressed in his Correspondance with her: “J’ai lu”, he writes, “moi-même deux lettres en français qui vous étaient adressées, et dans lesquelles, à l’imitation de Nicolas de Cusa, on philosophait sur l’essence et la puissance de Dieu (...) Vous avez également éprouvé combien cette philosophie de haute volée apporte avec elle de fatigue et combien elle procure peu de satisfaction”; Herminjard, Correspondance, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 119-121. Febvre quite rightly concludes that Capiton is referring to Briçonnet’s letters; Amour Sacré, op. cit., p. 178. My conclusion will be that Marguerite never rejected Briçonnet’s ideas, and that the Prisons were her best way to show that she understood his ideas about the various definitions of God, as we shall see in the last section of this chapter.
- 333 Ibid., p. 122.
- 334 Marichal, La Navire, op. cit., Note on line 1177, p. 292.
- 335 See my previous chapter on the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, which explains why the ideas of the Court of Marguerite could not be accepted by reformers like Calvin, Part II, Chapter 3, Section II.
- 336 Meister Eckhart, R.B. Blackney edit., “Sermon 2”, op. cit., p. 108.
- 337 The symbol of the soul captive in a Prison appears quite often in the Navire: cf. vv. 187-192; 799-801; 153.
- 338 Thanks to Glori Cappello we know of the neo-Platonic background to the Correspondance between Marguerite and Briçonnet. She explains that many Platonic themes can be seen in the Correspondance such as the idea that the body is the prison of the soul, as well as the tripartite division of the soul, which, according to Plato has lower componenets (the concupiscent and the irascible energies and reason) and higher elements (memory, intelligence and will). “Neoplatonismo et Riforma in Francia”, op. cit., pp. 154-155. Cappello points to the fact that there is a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, MS 6568, dated 1472, of a translation of Plato’s works by Leonardo Bruno, some of which had belonged at one time to Briçonnet: “I possessori sono: Guillaume Briçonnet, quando era vescovo di Lodève, il quale regalò il manoscritto al cardinale di Rouen, Giorgio d’Amboise”. Ibid., note 52, p. 155.
- 339 Oraison Funèbre, p. 115. The capital letters are in the text.
- 340 Marichal, La Coche, op. cit., pp. 35-40.
- 341 Marichal fixes the date of La Coche at about 1541, a year full of “intrigues politiques” in the French Court. Ibid., p. 39.
- 342 Montaigne also remarked another inconsistency in Marguerite’s forbearing of François’s easy life, since she reports that he used to say prayers before going to

- visit one of his mistresses (“Nouvelles 25” of the Heptaméron), though Montaigne colours his observation with antifeminine feelings: “... les femmes ne sont propres à traiter les matieres de la Theologie”. Essais, Book I, Chapter 56; (Paris, Pléiade, p. 310).
- 343 There is a disagreement about the date of the composition of some of the Chansons Spirituelles; Dottin, op. cit., Introduction, pp. VII-VIII. What is clear is that Marguerite used some of them in quotation within other major works, like the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan; Clive, Oeuvres Choisies, op. cit., vol. II, note on v. 618, p. 109.
- 344 “Chanson 9” refers to “trois moyens” of enslaving the soul, i.e. “l’amour terrestre”, “le monde” and “la puissance” (vv. 29-31).
- 345 “Chanson 20” brings the garden of “plaisir” on v. 4, and the “ambition d’honneur” on v. 14.
- 346 Marguerite devotes a long section of the Prisons, as she had done with the main theme of the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan (see previous chapter), to the saving power of Holy Scripture. Cf. Prisons, fols 319 ro to 320 vo. Lefranc, Dernières Poésies, op. cit., pp. 234-237.
- 347 E. Parturier published Marguerite’s translation of Luther’s “Our Father” into French verse, together with a mystic treatise; Revue de la Renaissance, vol. II, Paris, 1904, pp. 108-114, 178-190 and 273-276.
- 348 Hans Sckommodau, Margarete von Navarra; Petit Oeuvre dévot et contemplatif; Neuedition und Versuch einer Erklärang, Frankfurt, Analecta Romanica, 1960.
- 349 Parturier, “Les sources du mysticisme de Marguerite de Navarre”, in Revue de la Renaissance, vol. VI, 1905, pp. 1-16 and 49-62.
- 350 Ibid., p. 2.
- 351 Sckommodau, Petit Oeuvre, op. cit., Note on v. 3, p. 40. Marguerite’s “Chanson 34” has a similar arrangement to that of Petit Oeuvre; the soul is lost not in the desert however, but while climbing a mountain. Compare: Petit Oeuvre, vv. 19-21:  
Branches, ronces prindrent à m’assaillir,  
Et espines me picquerent si fort  
Que je sentiz ma force deffaillir.  
with “Chanson 34”, vv. 65-68:  
Elle n’espargne pas ses plantes  
De marcher sur rocher eslevez,  
Sur chardons et ronces picquantes,  
Car ce sont tous tappis vellus.
- 352 There are quite a few studies on the nature of mysticism and of mystic experience, a subject that has attracted much attention recently. See Mircea Eliade, Myths, Dreams and Mysteries, translated by P. Maiset, London, 1960. Hilda Graef, Mystics of our Times, London, 1962. John Ferguson offers a most interesting bibliography on mysticism at the end of his An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Mysticism and Mystery of Religions, London, 1976.
- 353 See John McQueen’s work, Allegory, the critical idiom series, N°14, London, Methuen, 1970; it also offers an interesting bibliography at the end.
- 354 Ibid. See particularly Chapter 1 on Greek and Roman allegories, and Chapter 2 on biblical allegories, op. cit., pp. 1-36.



- 355 See my previous chapter on biblical hermeneutics in the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, Section III.
- 356 See Chapter 2 on the Miroir as a mystic enigma, Section III.
- 357 Sckommodau recognizes the impact of the biblical allegory of the lost sheep in the Gospels of Matthew 18 and Luke 15, in the Petit Oeuvre, op. cit., Note on v. 3, p. 40.
- 358 The allegory of the lost sheep is a constant theme in both Old and New Testaments; see Esdras 54,6; Ezzechiel 34,6; Matthew 18 and Luke 15.
- 359 Marot in his “Epistre à ma Dame la Duchesse d’Alençon” describes himself as a victim of “la Crainte”: “foible”, “faily”, “fasché”, “forclus”, “confuz”, “coursé” when he arrived to the Court of Marguerite; Hope comes to his help disguised as an Old Man, as in the Prisons:

...  
 Ung bon vieillard, portant chere joyeuse,  
 Comportatif, de parole amoureuse,  
 Bien ressemblant homme de grand renom,  
 Et s’appeloit Bon Espoir par son nom.

- Mayer edit., les Epistres, op. cit., p. 101.
- 360 Sainte-Marthe, Oraison Funèbre, op. cit., p. 108. He argues that after this experience in a dream, Marguerite abandoned all the cares of their Kingdom of Navarre to her husband, King Henri d’Albret; in fact Sainte-Marthe makes an apology of dreams in the Oraison Funèbre, by appealing to such authorities as Plato and Socrates; *ibid.*, pp. 106-108. Cf. Rabelais’s concern with dreams in Tiers Livre, Chapter 13.
- 361 Martineau and Veissière comment on the Cordeliers’ opposition to Briçonnet’s efforts to reform his diocese; *ibid.*, Introduction, p. 16.
- 362 J. B. Collins, Christian Mysticism in the Elizabethan Age, with its Background in Mystical Methodology, Baltimore, John Hopkins Press, 1940, p. 84.
- 363 See Eckhart’s Sermon 12: “When God shows himself”; Raymond Blackney edit., Meister Eckhart; a modern translation, New York, Harper Torchbooks, 1941, p. 153.
- 364 Marguerite also compares man in his lowest state to the “Jument” in the Prisons:  
 Et si l’honneur qu’il en reçoit l’empire,  
 En l’ignorant, il sera fait semblable  
 A la jument et plus abhominable.  
 (fol. 277, vo, p. 148)
- and to the “cerf” or the “veau” (*ibid.*, fol. 292 ro, p. 179)
- 365 Martineau and Veissière observe, on one occasion, that the distinction between the “oeil de la raison” and the “oeil de l’esprit” is closely connected with the traditional, classical interpretation of the Bible; Correspondance, Note 15, p. 35.
- 366 It is worth noting that Marguerite gives a place of importance to the sense of sight in the Prisons as she had done earlier in the Miroir (see Chapter 3); but she is now following Briçonnet’s distinctions even more closely. “Le vieillard” (representing Briçonnet’s views) calls the Poet-Lover “povre aveugle” (Prisons, fol. 284 vo, p. 164) and “aveugle fol” (*ibid.*, fol. 286 vo, p. 168). There are, moreover, several passages in the Prisons that teach his doctrine with expressions very similar to those used in the Correspondance: “l’oeil de chair” (Prisons, fol. 327 vo, p. 252); “l’oeil charnel” (*ibid.*, fol. 328 ro, p. 253); “l’oeil de foy” (*ibid.*, fol. 331, p. 260) and “l’oeil inspiré” (*ibid.*, fol. 312 vo, p. 221).

- 367 See Pontus de Tyard's teaching on the "fureur poétique" in Solitaire Premier, edit. by S. F. Baridon, Geneva, Droz, 1950, pp. 1-12. See also the spiritual meaning of a text in contrast with its literal meaning in Chapter 4 on the Comédie, Section III.
- 368 See M. Roque edit., Aucassin et Nicolette, Paris, 1969. Although the differences between this story and Marguerite's story of the Poet-Lover of the Prisons are evident, there are nevertheless some points in common, particularly the treatment of the castle as a prison of love and their allegory of the escape into the beauty of nature.
- 369 Jean Clopinel, the "Romant de la Roze" is mentioned in "Nouvelle 9" of the Heptaméron.
- 370 See MacQueen's work on Allegory, Chapter 2: "Biblical Allegory", op. cit., pp. 18-36.
- 371 Lefranc, Dernières Poésies, op. cit., Introduction, p. LVII.
- 372 Sckommodau, Die religiösen Dichtungen Margaretes von Navarre, Cologne, Westdeutscher Verlag, 1955, p. 145.
- 373 Sckommodau's position is perhaps less dogmatic than adopted by Lefranc, when he interprets the prison of nature symbolically as "Weltleben" (i. e. worldly life) and the third prison of science as "Wissen" (i.e. Knowledge); op. cit., p. 145. See Lefranc's position in Dernières Poésies, op. cit., Introduction, p. LXII.
- 374 Mystics often claim that only through a period of initiation can man arrive at the esoteric knowledge of their hidden discernment of the Divine. Those who are "exoterically" unfamiliar with their mysterious vocabulary will only misrepresent what they are writing about. The process of initiation contained for them a process of purification and a vow of "secrecy". Ferguson, Encyclopaedia of Mysticism, op. cit., pp. 86-88.
- 375 "Letter 20" is a mystic treatise on the spiritual meaning of "feu", as the second stage in spiritual understanding (Correspondance, 1, pp. 97-113).
- 376 Briçonnet clearly associates the three stages of mystic understanding with the three roles of the persons of the Christian mystery of the Trinity, by attributing the process of purification through "eau" to the Father, that of illumination through "feu" to the Son, and the role of union as a "fruit" of the Holy Spirit; in Letter 19, dated 22 December 1521, he concludes: "L'eau povons attribuer attribuer au superceleste Pere eternal. Le feu au debonnaire Jesus. Le fruit au Saint-Esprit, qui procede d'eulx comme le fruit de l'arbre, de l'eau et du feu"; (ibid. 1, p. 96)
- 377 It must be emphasized that Marguerite's concept of "illumination" in the Prisons, as attributed to the Holy Spirit, follows Hermes Pimander's definition of God as "Je Suys qui Suys". Both Briçonnet and Lefèvre had been interested in hermetic mysticism. "Lefèvre d'Étaples", writes Yates, "gave the lead in importing Hermetism into France and in warning against the magic of Asclepius (...). The volume (Pimander and Asclepius) was dedicated to a famous French bishop, Guillaume Briçonnet, thus inaugurating the ecclesiastical career of Hermetism without magic in France". Frances A. Yates, Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition, London, Routledge and Kegan, 1964, pp. 170-171. J. Dagens also has an interesting study on the impact of Hermetism in France, "Hermétisme et Cabala en France, de Lefèvre d'Étaples à Bossuet", in Revue de Littérature Comparée, janvier-mars, 1961.
- 378 Martineau and Veissière note, after Heller, that Briçonnet is here applying the angelic hierarchies according to the Pseudo-Dionysius to the three stages in the

mystic ascension. This had previously been done by Hugh of Saint Victor (1096-1141) (Correspondance, 1, Note 77, p. 158). Marguerite follows their footsteps in the Prisons:

Celluy qui seul conduit la monarchie,  
La fait asseoir sur toute hierarchie.  
(fol. 311 vo, p. 219).

- The edition of the Caelestis Hierarchia together with the Ecclesiastica Hierarchia and the Divina Nomina as well as the Mystica Theologia, with eleven letters by the early martyrs Ignatius and Polycarpus was published by Lefèvre and dedicated to Briçonnet in 1515. A copy of this edition is in the British Library, pressmark 3625.a.1.
- 379 The second book of the Prisons gives the “Dante” spelling as well as “Dente” in fol.293, ro, p. 182.
- 380 The Libertins Spirituels also distinguished three stages, but they have little to do with Marguerite’s division. They maintained that there are three “Ages”:  
“Moÿse estoit la loy ancienne, dure et importable. Jesus-Christ la douce, gracieuse et tractable. Elie estoit le dernier, signifiant la fin du monde, comme il montra en son partement en un chariot ardent, plein de feu, appelé double esprit, et par lequel nous sommes consommés hors de ce monde terrestre (...) Les Libertins Spirituels se croyaient appelés à inaugurer cette troisième période, celle du Saint-Esprit ou d’Elie.”
- A. Jundt, Histoire du Panthéisme populaire au Moyen Age et au seizième siècle, Strasbourg (Printed), 1875, p. 145.
- 381 It is surprising to find this neo-Platonic cult of “perfect love” much better emphasized in Book II than in the story of the Poet-Lover in the first book of the Prisons: “Parfaicte amour fut ma force et mon soing” (ibid., p. 155)
- 382 Marguerite does not always criticise Court life in her Prisons. She appreciated the “art of conversation”, which was developed in the Renaissance Court and which forms the frame-story of the Heptameron’s “nouvelles”. She must have been extremely fond of the “bien parler” of people who were around her (Prisons, fol. 283 ro, p. 161)
- 383 Lefranc had already remarked that the Prisons offer the common ideas on Astronomy that were popular at the time of Marguerite de Navarre; cf. Dernières Poésies, op. cit., Note 1 on fol. 276 vo, p. 147.
- 384 The Prisons was first edited in 1896, and then only as part of Lefranc’s Dernières Poésies. Clive announces as in preparation a much needed modern edition. See Oeuvres Choisies, op. cit., vol. I, Footnote 21, p. 7.
- 385 Michel François lists at least 24 editions of the Heptaméron between 1558 and 1880; Marguerite de Navarre: l’Heptaméron, Paris, Garnier, 1967; Introduction, pp. XXV-XXVI.
- 386 Book I of the Prisons fills ten folios only, written on both sides (fol. 265 vo to 275 vo); Book II covers 18 fols, (fol. 276 ro to 294 ro), while Book III runs from fol. 295 ro to 348 vo; all in all it has 53 folios.
- 387 See St Paul’s idea of the liberation of the spirit from the body in Romans 7,24.
- 388 Marguerite also tells the story of a contemporary Christian martyr, Kabitz, who died in the hands of the Turks (Prisons, fol. 330 ro, p. 257). This anecdote may have been the starting point for the four “récits” in the Prisons.
- 389 It was at the time of Marguerite de Lorraine’s death that the Queen presented the

- soul as facing the “Soleil” like an Eagle (Prisons, fol. 331 ro, p. 260).
- 390 The “Memento mori” and the “Litaniae mortuorum” are prayers that help people to face death with Christian resignation. They are in some cases deprecatory prayers to God to appease Him for human failures, as in this passage from the Prisons. Compare this text with Rabelais: “Ce disant, ouyt la letanie et les Mementos des prebstres qui portoyent sa femme [i.e. Gargantua’s] en terre...” Pantagruel, Chapter 3, Paris, Garnier, 1962, vol. 1, p. 233.
- 391 Briçonnet has an exposition on the “Magnificat” as a mystic hymn in Letter 70 of the Correspondance, 2, pp. 68-69. See also Chapter 3 on the Miroir, Section II.
- 392 Alexander of Hales was called the “doctor irrefragibilis”; Duns Scotus the “doctor subtilis” and St Bonaventure the “doctor seraphicus”.
- 393 In fol. 311 ro God is defined as the “orator”: “Celluy qui Est le seul orateur” (Prisons, p. 218)
- 394 See the story of the Tower of Babel in Genesis 11,1-9.
- 395 Letters 18 and 19 are mystic treatises on the process of purification through “eau”; they were written just before Christmas of 1521 (Correspondance, 1, pp. 76-96).
- 396 Briçonnet sent another letter to Marguerite on the same date, 22 December 1521, on the spiritual meaning of illumination through Fire; this is one of his longest letters (*ibid.*, 1, pp. 97-113).
- 397 Briçonnet delayed his much promised letter on the meaning of Manna in spite of the frequent requests by Marguerite, who calls herself “affamée fille”; *ibid.*, p. 132. When he finally found time to please her, he wrote a long letter-tratise on 5 February 1522 (*ibid.*, 1, pp. 138-153).
- 398 Briçonnet waited until the next year 1523 to write to her about mystic hermeneutics (*ibid.*, 2, pp. 11-15).
- 399 It was in 1524 when Marguerite was introduced into the theme of marriage as a symbol of Divine Union between the soul and God; (*ibid.*, 2, pp. 193-211).
- 400 Christ after telling the “parable of the sower” (Mark 4,1-9), explained that the real meaning is reserved to the small group of the disciples, or initiated: “So that they [i.e. The non-initiated] may see and see again, but not perceive”. (*ibid.*, 4,12).
- 401 According to Harold Bayley, who studied The Lost Language of Mysticism; an inquiry into the origins of certain letters, words, names, fairy-tales, folk-lore and mythologies, the eagle on top of the “scala perfectionis” stands for “the Goal of Vision” of the Divine; London, 1968, Part I, p. 77.
- 402 See previous note N°72.
- 403 Certain Chansons Spirituelles treat themes that were to be developed by Marguerite in the Prisons. Chansons 21 and 30, for instance, speak of mystical experience: “Espouse se perd et pasme” (Chanson 21, vv. 23-26). The soul is united with Christ and so is able to reach a perfect accord with the Divine (Chanson 30, vv. 38-41). Many of the Chansons give definitions of God similar to those in the Prisons, such as the “Tout” (Chanson 42, v. 81; Chanson 44, v. 13; Chanson 17, v. 26) or its antithesis the “Rien” (Chanson 6, vv. 106-108).
- 404 Ecstasy brings to the soul a sense of relief, together with a timeless experience of a “trance”. See the word “ecstasy” in Ferguson, Encyclopaedia of Mysticism, op. cit., p. 50. Catherine of Siena and Teresa of Avila describe these experiences as different from anaesthesia conditions.
- 405 Marguerite compares the ecstatic understanding of the Bible to the struggle

- between Moses and God at the time of the theophany in the form of a Burning bush (Prisons, fol. 303 ro and vo, pp. 202-203).
- 406 The Miroir speaks of the “Raptus Mysticus” with words such as “raver”, “navrer”, “fendre”; see Chapter 3 on the Miroir, Section IV. It is in this context that the puzzling character of the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, “la Ravie de Dieu, Bergère” must be interpreted too.
- 407 Henri Bergson, Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience (Chapter 2) in Oeuvre complètes, Paris, PUF, 1963, p. 98.
- 408 See Ferguson, “Encyclopaedia of Mysticism”: “Ecstasy”, according to the mystics, is a “timeless experience”, op. cit., p. 51. Time plays an important role in “Nouvelle 24” of the Heptaméron: a queen tries the sincerity of a nobleman’s love by sending him to a distant country; when he comes back seven years later and finds that he has been wasting his time in vain, he leaves for God; his farewell to her is a hymn to the “temps perdu” (ibid., p. 199):  
 Le temps m’a faict veoir amour pauvre et nud  
 Tout tel qu’il est et dont il est venu.  
 See also “La notion du temps, dans Gargantua” in Jean Larmat, Le Moyen Age dans le Gargantua de Rabelais, Nice, Faculté de Lettres et Sciences Humaines N°12, 1973, pp. 25-37. Rabelais’s concern with time is very close to Marguerite’s concept: “...car le temps qui toutes choses ronge et diminue, augmente et accroist les bienfaictz, parce q’un bon tour liberalement faict à l’homme de raison croist continuellement par noble pensée et remembrance” (Gargantua, Chapter 50, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 184). Speaking of God as “l’intellectuelle sphaere” he describes Him as timeless: “...à laquelle rien ne advient, rien ne passe, rien ne dechet, tous temps sont praesens, note non seulement les choses passées en mouvements inferieurs mais aussi les futures...” (Le Tiers Livre, Chapter 13, ibid., vol. 1, p. 453).
- 409 Cf. other texts on mystic union in Miroir, vv. 85-88; 919-925 and 1180-1182.
- 410 Cf. Becker, Marguerite, Duchesse d’Alençon, op. cit., p. 467.
- 411 “Chanson 17” develops the theme of “mystical espousals” particularly vv. 5-12.
- 412 See Sckommodau, Die religiösen Dichtungen Margaretes von Navarra; op. cit., p. 141.
- 413 See text to Note 91 on Marguerite’s concept of Timeless Existence both in God and in the soul’s ecstatic union with Him.
- 414 Sainte-Marthe has an apology for “Catherine de Sienne” in the Oraison Funèbre for the Queen of Navarre, op. cit., p. 72.
- 415 Lefranc suggests that Marguerite is here speaking most probably of Catherine of Siena; Dernières Poésies, op. cit., Note 1, p. 230. What he does not stress is that the Queen soon moves to another mystic woman, whose experience by Jacob’s well as described in the Gospel according to John (4,5-26) will be of paramount importance in Book III of the Prisons. Perhaps Marguerite felt a similar “raptus mysticus”, while reading the works of St Catherine, as the Samaritan woman listening to the words of Jesus by the well at Samaria; she mentions the Samaritan woman in Prisons, fol. 304 ro, p. 204.
- 416 Pontus de Tyard, one of Marguerite’s “protégés” at the Court of Navarre, wrote in his “dédicace” of 1552 to his neo-Platonic treatise Solitaire Premier: “Peuvent ne voir les Taupes de ce siècle la splendeur d’une et une autre Princesse Marguerite? Desquelles celle nous laissa autant de deuil et mescontentement à sa mort, comme

- ceste nous apporte d'admiration par la perfection de sa doctrine et accomplissement de ses graces"; edition by S. Baridon, Geneva, Droz, 1950, Introduction, p. XXII.
- 417 See also Pontus de Tyard's exposition of the "fureur poétique" in Solitaire Premier, op. cit., pp. 1-12. Marguerite tried to identify the "fureur poétique" with the "fureur prophétique" very much in the same way. Perhaps she was comparing her own feelings as a poet with her mystical experiences, drawing a close analogy between them. Parturier noted that: "C'est de cette doctrine qu'est sortie la théorie de l'inspiration poétique des poètes de la Pléiade. Elle est d'ailleurs dans Platon". "Les sources du mysticisme de Marguerite de Navarre" in Revue de la Renaissance, Paris, vol. V, 1904, pp. 1-16 and 49-62; Note 4, p. 12. Cf. also "la fureur poétique" in Rabelais, Le Tiers Livre, Chapter 22.
- 418 Mystics often appeal to the sensory faculties to describe their ecstatic experiences. We find in the Prisons references to the sense of hearing in expressions like:  
 Impossible est qu'une mortelle oreille  
 Sceust distinguer ceste voix non pareille  
 ...  
 (fol. 322 ro, pp. 240-241)
- The sense of touch appears in "De tel cousteau tuant non punissant" (fol. 302 vo, p. 201). Sight is often found: "Qui droict au cueur par l'oeil tant soudain entre" (fol. 303 ro, p. 201). It is rare to appeal to the senses of smell and taste (fol. 301, p. 198), and the second account of the "raptus mysticus" is almost entirely based on the tactile sense (fol. 232 ro, pp. 240-241).
- 419 The role of the Spirit is very important in the Prisons. It takes over those roles of the "soleil" and the "vieillard" in Book III:  
 ...  
 Par cest esprit qui me fist recouvrer  
 L'intelligence et le sens trop caché,  
 Je ne fuz plus des livres empesché.  
 (fol. 307 vo, p. 211)
- The vital role of the Spirit in connection with mystical experience is that of guide to the understanding of the spiritual meaning of the Bible as against a purely literal and superficial reading.
- 420 "La mer" is also presented as a symbol of freedom: "Car par la mer où les rivières vont navigages increables se font" (ibid., fol. 277 vo, p. 149).
- 421 The Eagle appears in the Prisons to describe Marguerite de Lorraine's death as a mystic experience (ibid., fol. 331Ro, p. 260).
- 422 I have already suggested that she had direct access to the manuscript of the Correspondance, which she had ordered her own secretary to copy. See Becker, Marguerite, Duchesse d'Alençon, op. cit., p. 395.
- 423 See Letter N°11 of the Correspondance, written on 11 November 1521, op. cit., I, p. 59.
- 424 See the next section on the definitions of God to be traced in all the works of Marguerite, particularly in the Prisons; many of them follow Briçonnet's ideas on the nature of God.
- 425 The theme of the "Tout" and the "Rien" here introduced at the end of Briçonnet's letter in his description of the "raptus mysticus" will be taken up by Marguerite in the Prisons, as we will see in Section V. B of this chapter.

- 426 Meister Eckhart's works were condemned by Pope John XXII, on 27 March 1329, shortly after his death; Blackney, Meister Eckhart, op. cit., Introduction, p. XXIV.
- 427 St John of the Cross was persecuted for his mystic ideas. While in prison he wrote some of his best works, the Dark Night of the Soul and the Ascent of Mount Carmel; Ferguson, Encyclopaedia of Mysticism, op. cit., "Juan de la Cruz", op. cit., pp. 93-94.
- 428 Mystic experience is often expressed as a "figth" between man and God. Moses's theophany was thus described in the Bible (Exodus 3, 1-15), as the young shepherd saw the burning bush (cf. Prisons, fol. 303 vo, pp. 202-203).
- 429 The Svetasvatara Upanishad defines God as:  
 That is the fire,  
 That is the sun,  
 That is the air,  
 That is the moon,  
 That is the pure,  
 That is Brahman,  
 That is the waters -  
 That is the creator of all.  
 (translation by A.G. Parrinder; see Ferguson, Encyclopaedia of Mysticism, "Pantheism", op. cit., p.138)  
 See also Jundt, Histoire du panthéisme populaire, op. cit. Equally interesting is the work of L. Febvre, Le Problème de l'incroyance au XVIème siècle, Paris, Series l'Evolution de l'Humanité, N°53, 1942.
- 430 Cf. also Miroir, v. 937: "O mon enfant, quelle dilection".
- 431 Marguerites, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 143.
- 432 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 89. The Oraison de l'âme fidèle gives a series of definitions of God worth noting: "ferme, stable et constant" (Marguerites, op. cit., p. 90). "Bon, Juste, Saint", "Sage, Saint, fort" (ibid., p. 96). "...de ton filz seul nommé il peult estre" (ibid., p. 112).
- 433 Marguerite is all the time concerned with keeping Book III of the Prisons properly connected with the rest of the poem, while at the same time realizing that she is diverging from the original plan, since she is adding material all the time and expanding other themes, such as the sections on mystic experience and on the definition of God. Already in the second book she mentions the theme of the Poet Lover being imprisoned by his own conceits (Prisons, fol. 284 vo, p. 163). The same could be said of Book III, since Marguerite refers back to the previous Books I and II; (ibid., fol. 301 vo, p. 199). It should be remarked, for instance, that the four "récits" of the deaths of Marguerite de Lorraine, Charles d'Alençon, Louise de Savoie and François Ier (ibid., fols 331 ro to 342 ro) are carefully linked to the whole poem by the theme of the mystical "Tout et Rien": "Et en tout lieu faillloit le Tout cercher" (ibid., fol. 331 ro, p. 260) and the general theme of the Prisons: "En liberté avec son Tout vivante" (ibid., p. 261).
- 434 Luke 1, 46-55. The "Magnificat" was paraphrased by Marguerite in the Prisons since Mary's song is seen by the Queen as the best exposition of the spiritual doctrine of the "Rien" (Mary) and the "Tout" (God). (Prisons, fol. 345 ro, p. 219)
- 435 According to Marguerite, Socrates's death (in 339 BC) has set an example to all Christians:

O chrestiens, qui la foy catholique  
 Pensez avoir, regardez ceste etnique,  
 Au moins tel est de l'Eglise tenu,  
 Voyez à quel sçavoir il est venu:  
 De Celluy seul qui Est a eu science,  
 Car autrement n'auroit eu passience.

(Prisons, fol. 313 vo, pp. 223-224)

All this evidence from the Prisons, as well as the doctrine of Marguerite on mystical hermeneutics of the Bible (see Part II, Chapter 1 on the Comédie, Section III), make one doubt Febvre's conclusions that her ideas are nearer to Luther than to Erasmus; Amour Sacré, op. cit., pp. 68-69.

- 436 A copy of this edition of Lefèvre's edition of Hermes's works (1505) is in BL, pressmark 3625.a.1. The dedication to Briçonnet of the Hermes Pimander's works reads: "Reverendo in Christo Patri ac Domino D. Guillelmo Briçonneto Episcopo Lodovensi dignissimo" (BL. 3625.a.1).
- 437 The Corpus Hermeticum, written about the 1<sup>st</sup> century of the Christian era, was a collection of treatises, like the Bible of a sect. It has been attributed to Hermes Trismegistus, an identification of the Egyptian god Thoth with the Greek Hermes, under the title of "Trismegistus", i.e. thrice greatest. Marguerite identifies its "threefold revelation" of God with the Christian mystery of the Trinity. The doctrine of the Pseudo-Hermes was important in the Meaux milieu. Lefèvre had edited the Pimander Mercurii Trismegisti Liber de Sapientia et Potestate Dei in 1505. A copy is in BL, pressmark 1248.d.21.
- 438 Thomas à Kempis wrote: "When shall I full gather myself in Thee, that for thy love, I feel not myself, but Thee alone, above all feeling and all manner, in a manner not known to all?" Imitation of Christ, Book III, Chapter 23.
- 439 The device "Gratia Dei sum id quod sum" was used by the House of d'Albret on coins struck for Navarre-Béarn. It appears on those of Marguerite's husband Henri II and on those of her grandson Henri III (IV of France).
- 440 Marguerite does not hold contempt for philosophy, as God is presented as inspiring the philosophers (Prisons, fols 306 vo and 307 ro, p. 210).
- 441 Marguerite assumes that Hermes Trismegistus, Socrates, Plato and others had been illuminated by the knowledge of the Holy Spirit.
- 442 Marguerite even mentions mythological characters, whose creative powers, she believed, were influenced by the power of the Spirit. Prisons, fols 309 vo and 310 ro, pp. 215-217; she mentions "Athlas", "Palas", "Jupiter", "Acteon" and others.
- 443 Rolt, edition of the Divine Names, Chapter 9: "Concerning Great, Small, Same, Different, Like, Unlike, Standing, Motion, Equality" op. cit., pp. 162-169.
- 444 Comédie de la Nativité in Marguerites, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 204.
- 445 Comédie du desert, in Marguerites, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 367.
- 446 The antithetical themes of "le Tout" and "le Rien" can be found in many of the Chansons Spirituelles; see Nos. 6, 11, 13, 17, 30, 39, 42 and 44.
- 447 Oraison de l'âme fidèle, in Marguerites, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 95.
- 448 See the concept of "kenosis" in the Epistle of St Paul to the Philippians 2,7: "He emptied himself, to assume the condition of a slave".
- 449 Oraison de l'âme fidèle, in Marguerites, op. cit., pp. 101-102.
- 450 The sixteenth century alchemical texts presented the creation of man and woman



- as a single being. Marriage was said to be a mystical yearning for the lost part of oneself, since the Divine Image had been lost in the separation of man from woman. Ferguson, Encyclopaedia of Mysticism, “Androgyne”, op. cit., pp. 12-13.
- 451 Oraison de l’âme fidèle, in Marguerites, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 121. See other similar descriptions of the “raptus mysticus” on Section IV of this chapter. The Pauline concept of “anéantissement” (“kenosis”), Philippians 2,7, can be found in Briçonnet and must have influenced Marguerite’s ideas: “(...) car aussy peu et moins povons de nous que la brebis se elle n’est gardée et, en ce, nous fauldront à tousjours louer le peu loué, digne de tous lotz, en nous pulverisant par vray aneantissement” (Correspondance, 1, pp. 90-100). Also “Le grant en divinité est devenu petit par exinanition” (ibid., 1, p. 112).
- 452 Eckhart wrote in his fifth sermon on “The Love of God: In hoc apparuit caritas Dei in nobis (I John 4,9)”: “In the third place, you must have got rid of all “Not””. Asked in 1317 to explain this phrase among several that were later condemned by Pope John XXII in 1329, he wrote in his “Defence IX” that “all creatures are pure nothing”. Blackney, Meister Eckhart, op. cit., Introduction, pp. XXIII-XXIV.
- 453 J. Orcibal remarked that the publication in 1512 of Ruysbroek’s De Ornatu by Lefèvre “couronnait les campagnes qu’il avait menées, en liaison avec Marcile Ficin et l’école de Florence, pour la diffusion du néoplatonisme dionysien. Les germes ainsi semés commençaient à se développer (en particulier dans le cercle de Marguerite de Navarre)”. La Rencontre du Carmel Thérésien avec les mystiques du nord. Bibliothèque de l’École des Hautes Études, Paris, 1959, p. 3. On the other hand Michel Certeau has been able to show more detailed connections between Lefèvre and the Renish School through a Carthusian monastery at Vauvert, in the Grand-Bornard valley, not far from Paris. There Lefèvre made friends with Sutor, its Prior, though he did not share his views when Sutor wrote a work against Erasmus and in defence of monasticism in 1524. Certeau gives a series of manuscripts that were published from 1491 at Vauvert. It was most probably there that Lefèvre had access to manuscripts that he later edited. See M. Certeau, Mémorial du Bienheureux Pierre Favre, Paris, Brower, 1959, pp. 29-30.
- 454 See the term “Nothing” in Ferguson, Encyclopaedia of Mysticism, op. cit., p. 134.
- 455 Ibid., p. 134.
- 456 See our previous Note N°136.
- 457 The Chansons Spirituelles also emphasize the superiority of mystic knowledge over simple understanding (Chanson 23, vv. 29-32).
- 458 This longing for non-mystic understanding, as it is here described allegorically by Briçonnet, is in fact the opening theme of Book III of the Prisons (fols 295 ro to 303 vo).
- 459 See the introduction to the translation of the Four Gospels into French by Lefèvre in 1523; fol. a III vo. A copy of this translation is in BL, pressmark C111, c. 13.
- 460 Lefranc comments on the difficulty of this text, “que nous n’avons pas cru devoir nous permettre d’y changer un mot (...)” Marguerites, op. cit., Note 1, p. 212.
- 461 Tiers Livre, Chapter XIII, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 453. Rabelais uses another definition of God that can be found in Marguerite’s Prisons: “Celluy qui Est, respondit Pantagruel, par nostre théologique doctrine, est Dieu”; Quart Livre, Chapter XLVIII, op. cit., p. 180; this definition also appears in Gargantua, Chapter II. See H. Hornik: “More on the Hermetica and French Renaissance Literature (M.

- d'Angoulême, Rabelais, A. d'Aubigné, Scève)" in Studi Francesi, vol. XVIII (Turin 1974) pp. 1-12. Also E.U. Bertalot, "Rabelais et la Bible, d'après les quatre premiers livres" in Etudes Rabelaisiennes THR, vol. V (1964), pp. 19-40.
- 462 Plato uses the "Circle" as a symbol to represent God's "sameness" in Phaedrus, as well as in his Symposium (Banquet), though he had borrowed it from such early pre-Socratic sources as the writings of Parmenides and Xenophon. See Lefranc, "Marguerite de Navarre et le Platonisme de la Renaissance" in Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, vols. LVIII (1897), pp. 259-292 and LIX (1898) pp. 712-757.
- 463 M. Ficinus, Theologiae Platonicae de immortalitate animarum, Libri XVIII. It was published in Paris in 1559. The symbol of the circle as the perfect figure was treated by most neo-Platonic writers. R. Lull wrote: "Circulus est figura ultima. Et dicitur ultima, eo quod perfectior est quam aliqua alia figura"; Ars Generalis Ultima, "de circulo" (Palma Mallorca, 1645), pars 10, de applic., cap. 14, art. 46, p. 354.
- 464 Cf. Prisons, fol. 308 ro, p. 212:  
 Dans ma divine eternelle rondeur;  
 La ligne suys (...)
- 465 Glori Capello's study "Nicolò Cusano nella Corrispondenza di Briçonnet con Margherita di Navarra", op. cit., p. 118. She throws light on the influence of Nicolas of Cusa's writings on the initiation of Marguerite through Briçonnet's letters from 1521-1524.
- 466 Ibid., p. 119.
- 467 Rolt, Dionysius the Areopagite; Divine Names, Chapter 4, 9, op. cit., pp. 98-99.
- 468 Ibid., Note 2, p. 99.
- 469 Rolt, Dionysius the Areopagite; Divine Names, p. 167.
- 470 See in the end of the Miroir, v. 1430. See analysis of this text in Chapter 3 on the Miroir, Section III.
- 471 See Briçonnet's use of the riddle of the "Marguerite" in Chapter 2, Section III, also Chapter 6, Section V.
- 472 See the study on the mystical alliterations "V" and "M" both in the Dialogue and the Miroir in Chapter 2, Section III. The definition of God as "Verité, Voie, Vie" appears in the Chansons Spirituelles a few times (Chanson 30 v.4; Chanson 31, vv. 5 and 19).
- 473 In fol. 324 vo Marguerite combines the Johannine and the so-called Pauline formulas in the Prisons:  
 ... Et qu'il est Tout en tous, la vie et l'estre; [Pauline]  
 La verité monstrant ce Tout parfaict. [Johannine]  
 (fol. 324 vo, p. 246)
- 474 W. F. Bense remarked:  
 "This emphasis on faith brings Lefèvre's spirituality closer to so-called "Christ-mysticism" than to "God-mysticism" popularized by John Gerson and the New Devotion with its great emphasis on love. It is very tempting to label Lefèvre's spirituality "evangelical mysticism" or even "Lutheran mysticism", and Béda would undoubtedly be the first to embrace this terminology. But for the present, we content ourselves with the less argumentative term "faith-mysticism" as we seek to describe how Lefèvre's spiritualism qualifies his view of God, of man and of the physical universe."  
Noël Béda and the Humanistic Reformation at Paris, 1504-1534 (Thesis), Cambridge Mass. 1967, Harvard Univ. Phil. Disc. (Available in microphil), p. 492-493.

- 475 Ibid., p. 492.
- 476 Albert Schweizer distinguishes two kinds of mysticism in the New Testament. The first one is, according to him, the Pauline one and is based on the contemplation of the “historical Jesus”, as St Paul had done in his Epistles to the early Christian communities, by drawing conclusions from the mysteries of Jesus’s Life, Death and Resurrection. The second kind was Hellenistic and was nearer to “God-mysticism”, or “Logos-mysticism”, since it is based on the beginning of the Gospel according to John I,1: “And the Word was God”. A. Schweizer, The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle (translated by W. Montgomery) New York 1931. See particularly Chapter 13: “The Hellenization of Paul’s mysticism by Ignatius and the Johannine theology”; *ibid.*, pp. 334-375.
- 477 Although it would be untrue to say that Marguerite was first follower of the evangelism of Paul and then of the mysticism of John (Logos); one can establish that in later years she became very keen on the Johannine texts. See, for instance, this passage from the Heptaméron:  
 Le matin, plus tost que de coustume, madame Oisille alla preparer sa leçon en la salle; mais la compaignye, qui en fut advertye, pour le desir qu’elle avoit d’oyr sa bonne instruction, se dilligenta tant de se habiller, qu’ilz ne la firent gueres attendre. Et elle, cognoissant la ferveur, leur vat lire l’epistre de Saint Jean l’evangeliste, qui n’est plaine que d’amour, pour ce que les jours passez elle leur avoit déclaré celle de Saint Paul aux Romains. La compaignye trouva ceste viande si doulce, que, combien qu’ilz y fussent demye heure plus qu’ilz n’avoient esté les aultres jours, si leur sembloit-il n’y avoir pas esté ung quart.  
Heptaméron, Paris, Garnier, 1967, Prologue to the “VIe Journée”, p. 238. Cf. Prologue to “VIIe Journée”.
- 478 Briçonnet’s rejection of Luther’s anti-traditional attitude is discussed in Chapter 4, Section III.
- 479 Professor M. A. Screech has just published a work on Erasmus’s spirituality, Ecstasy and the Praise of Folly, London, Duckworth, 1980. Unfortunately I have not been able to study it during the writing of this thesis.
- 480 See my study of the symbols of the Eye and Seeing in the Chapter on the Miroir, Chapter 3, Section II, where the poem is interpreted as a “Speculum Videndi”.
- 481 The Mirror appears as a mystic enigma, as well as the symbol of the Marguerite-Pearl, *ibid.*, Section III.
- 482 See the meaning of the symbol of Prison in Chapter 5 on the Prisons, Section III.
- 483 See the meaning of the Circle, as the immutability of God, *ibid.*, Section V, D.
- 484 See the following works on symbols: Harold Bayley, The Lost Language of Symbolism; an Inquiry into the Origin of Certain Letters, Words, Names, Fairy-Tales, Folklore and Mythology, 2 vols (London, 1951).  
 Also Gérard de Champeaux and Sébastien Steckx, Introduction au monde des symboles, Mulhaus-Dornach (Haut-Rhin), 1972. See also list of dictionaries on symbols in the bibliography at the end of this study.
- 485 Mircea Eliade, Images et Symboles (Paris, 1952), and Gilbert Durand, les Structures anthropologiques de l’imaginaire, introduction à l’archétypologie générale, (Paris 1960).
- 486 C. G. Jung, Studies on Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious, collected works, translated by R. F. C. Hull (London, 1970).

- 487 Terence Hawkes warns the modern reader against possible misinterpretations of symbols and metaphors of the pre-Reformation sort:  
 “However, [he writes], it is important to understand the role given to metaphor in a society that is almost wholly Christian, and a failure to do so has led to serious misconceptions in our time. We tend, after all, to think of metaphor as a means of achieving a direct linguistic realization of personal experience. Even banalities such as ‘like a sledge hammer’; ‘a hot knife through butter’; ‘a bull in a china shop’; aim at a ‘vivid’, ‘striking’ and ‘physical’ quality that relates accurately to events in the world, and communicates something about them with some degree of exactitude. But in Christian society, particularly of the pre-Reformation sort, the purely personal experience tends to be of less interest and importance than the experience of the society at large, manifested in its general view of the world it inhabits. Such a society’s view of metaphor -and, indeed, its metaphors themselves- will naturally tend to relate to collective experience, and will concern themselves less with personal accuracy than with public acceptability.  
Metaphor, in the Critical Idiom series, N°25 (London, 1972), pp. 16-17.
- 488 See Bayley’s study, The Lost Language of Symbolism, in which he presents a series of hermetic and cabalistic signs that spread throughout Europe as a counterpoise to Maimonides’s influence on mediaeval philosophy; op. cit., p. 8. See also Bernard Pic, the Open Court, a study on the storm that broke out first in Provence and then in Spain and the whole of Europe as the cabalistic reaction against the anti-allegorical interpretation of the Bible as represented in Maimonides’s rationalistic philosophy (London 1909).
- 489 See John Ferguson’s study of mystical traces in some modern writers in his Encyclopaedia of Mysticism and the Mystery Religions, (London, 1976); he refers to Ch. Baudelaire’s “universal symbolism”, p. 24; W. Blake’s “manyfold vision”, p. 28; Aldous Huxley’s “heightening perception”, p. 81; and R. M. Rilke’s “angels as symbols of the unity between the visible and the invisible”, p. 157.
- 490 Hawkes, Metaphor, op. cit., p. 17.
- 491 There are four levels, according to Dante, at which the Divine Comedy could be read and interpreted; the reader should be aware first of all of the “literal or historical level”, that which actually occurs; then of the “moral implications”; there is a higher, third level called “allegorical”, which throws light on more universal truths than the actual historical meaning, revealing realities that appertain to mankind in general; finally there is an “anagogical or spiritual level”, which reveals an eternal truth. K. Benson and A. Gang, A reader’s Guide to Literary Terms (London, 1970), p. 72. It soon dawns on the reader that Dante’s four meanings coincide with the four interpretations of the Bible that I have studied in Chapter 4, on the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan. See also H. de Lubac, Les Quatre Sens de l’Ecriture, 4 vols (Paris, 1959-1964).
- 492 Benson explains: “When a metaphor serves to illustrate an idea which can be expressed in other ways, it is merely decorative, as when we speak of the ‘ship of the State’. When, however, a metaphor expresses a complex of thought and feeling that is so subtle or precise that it cannot be expressed in any other way, it is called functional, organic, or structural metaphor”. See A Reader’s Guide, op. cit., term “metaphor”, p. 128. I am here using the term “functional metaphor” in this way.
- 493 See discussion of Briçonnet’s biblical hermeneutics in Chapter 4, Section III.

- 494 See the “myth of the Cave” in Plato’s Republic, Book VII.
- 495 See Ferguson on the Platonic elements of the metaphor in Encyclopaedia of Mysticism, op. cit., p. 181.
- 496 Comédie du desert in Marguerites, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 321.
- 497 Ibid., p. 322.
- 498 Ibid., p. 331.
- 499 Ibid., p. 341.
- 500 De Mystica Theologia, Liber I, graece et latine, Johanne Sarraceno, Ambrosio Camaldunensi, Marcilio Ficino interpretibus cum Vescellencis extractione; J. Eckius commentarios adjecit pro theologia negativa, (Ingolastadii, 1553); cap. I, pars IIII. Prop. I, c.iiii vo. According to these symbolic theologians the good qualities that can be seen in the created beings are but reflections of God’s goodness, in whom these attributes are found “eminenter”, i.e. without imperfection: “Radix huius theologiae ponitur in divo Paulo ad Rom.: Invisibilia ipsius Dei, per ea quae facta sunt, intellecta conspiciuntur, sempiterna quoque eius virtus et divinitas... [Romans 1,20] et in hac theologia Deus est omninomius, omnium enim rerum nomina in se suscipit, sicut omnium rerum perfectionem, eminenter in se continet”, ibid., prologi propositiones, A III, vo. A copy of this Symbolic Theology is in Cambridge University Library, H\* 8.22.
- 501 The vision of the Ladder is described in Genesis 28,12: “And he [i.e. Jacob] dreamed that there was a ladder set up on earth, and the top of it reached the heaven; and behold the angels of God were ascending and descending on it”.
- 502 Harold Bayley gives a series of lost symbols used by book printers, which were common among book printers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These symbols were water-marks, added at the margin of the newly printed books to pass esoteric knowledge, and many of them were used by the Waldenses (Vaudois) and Albigenses, heretical sects that flourished in the thirteenth century. See The Lost Language of Symbolism, op. cit., Introduction, pp. 1-6.
- 503 Symbolism has not entirely disappeared from the modern world. Ian Simpson presented a series of five programmes for the BBC in January 1977 on signs and symbols that play an important role in our daily life. See also Henry Dryfuss’s encyclopaedia of the uses of graphic symbols in modern society: in agriculture, recreation, photography, communications, etc., in Symbol Source book; an authoritative guide to International Graphic Symbols, (London, 1967).
- 504 Oraison de l’âme fidèle à son Seigneur Dieu, in Les Marguerites, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 77-78.
- 505 See previous Chapter 5 on the Prisons, Section III.
- 506 See Eckhart’s “Sermon 2, this is another sermon: ‘Ubi est qui natus est Rex Iudaeorum?’”; R.B. Blackney, edit., Meister Eckhart; a Modern Translation, (New York, 1941), p. 104.
- 507 Ferguson mentions the case of Mother Daurelle’s allusion to her mystical experiences by using the symbol of Light: “The light which has filled my soul has come not from books but from the Holy Spirit”. Encyclopaedia of Mysticism, op. cit., p. 105.
- 508 The Pseudo-Dionysius explained the symbolism of the Sun as the archetype of the Divine: “And what shall I say concerning the sun’s rays considered in themselves? From the Good comes the light which is the image of Goodness; wherefore the Good is described by the name of ‘Light’, being the archetype thereof which is

- revealed in that image". C.E. Rolt, Dionysius the Areopagite: the Divine Names, (London, 1972), p. 91. God is called the Spiritual Light, because, according to the Pseudo-Dionysius, "He is an Originating Beam and Overflowing Radiance, illuminating with his fulness every Mind above the world, around it, or within it". Ibid., p. 94.
- 509 P Jourda edit., Gargantua in Oeuvres complètes, Paris, Garnier, 1962, Chapter 10, p. 46.
- 510 See Thomas edition of Le Triomphe de l'Agneau in Marguerites, vol. I, p. 388. Marguerite also compares mystical experience to that of burning, when she writes of Catherine of Siena:
- Mais entre tous j'en viz ung d'une femme,  
Depuis cent ans escript, remply de flamme  
De charité, si très ardentement  
Que rien qu'amour n'estoit son argument, ...  
(Prisons, fol. 316 vo, p. 230)
- See also the section on the mystical encounter as the piercing experience of a wound, in Chapter 5 on the Prisons, Section IV.
- 511 See Durand's study of Fire as a symbol in his classic work Les structures anthropologiques de l'imaginaire, op. cit., p. 182.
- 512 See Ferguson's Encyclopaedia of Mysticism, term "Fire", op. cit., p. 61.
- 513 I have already suggested certain links between Marguerite's Prisons and the Roman de la Rose in Chapter 5, Section III. See also Note 36 of this chapter on the mystical concept of "Cuyder".
- 514 See the study of colours Green, Silver (White), Blue and Bright Red (Gold), in this Chapter, Section V.
- 515 The "Cuyder" here mentioned by Marguerite was one of her mystic concepts. It meant the human concern with oneself in opposition to the will, which is burnt by the Fire of the Rose. Briçonnet once wrote to her:
- "... tout le Testament Nouveau ne tend a aultre fin que monstrier que soions par le doux Jesus delivrez de la servitude de la loy et peché, vivans en Jesus Christ ou louy en nous, qui est nostre liberté, et hors luy toute servitude et prison. Mais qui veult ceste liberté captiver par presumption de liberal arbitre et cuyder de soy (comme soy et par soy) faire quelque bonne chose, il apperçoit bien tos que l'esperit de presumption encloz en son liberal arbitre faict ruyner et cheoir les tours..." (Correspondance, 1, pp. 115-116)
- "Cuyder" comes from the Latin "cogitare" and it means the way man plans his own life in opposition to God's purposes, *ibid.*, p. 115-116. See my study of man's passivity to God's action in Marguerite's works in Chapter 2, section IV. Heller mentions Calvin's fierce attack against the use of this concept by the Libertins Spirituels in "Marguerite of Navarre and the Reformers of Meaux", in BHR, XXXIII (1971), pp. 271-310.
- 516 Blackney, Meister Eckhart, Sermon 6: "the Kingdom of God is at hand: Scitote quia prope est regnum Dei" (Luke XXI, 31), op. cit., p. 130.
- 517 See reference to the terms "Oeil" and "Veoir" in Chapter 3, Section III, and in Chapter 5, Section III. Also in Prisons (fols 308 vo and 328 ro) and in the Comédie du desert in Marguerites, op. cit., pp. 335-336.
- 518 J. Parker edit., The Celestial and Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, London, Skeffington, 1844, "Celestial Hierarchy", Chapter 15, p. 45.

- 519 See Briçonnet's interest in Plato's ideas in Chapter 5 on the Prisons, Section III, as well as his defence of Lefèvre's standing for (the) Dionysius's cause against Luther on the one hand and against Erasmus on the other in Chapter 4 on the Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, Section III.
- 520 *Psalm 55,6 reads: "Oh! That I had wings like a dove". Briçonnet intentionally changes the biblical text "sicut columbae" into "quis dabit michi pennas sicut aquil[a]e" (Correspondance, I, p. 59) obviously combining a biblical theme with the neo-Platonic symbol of the Eagle.*
- 521 See the study of colours as mystic symbols in Section V of this chapter.
- 522 The Sea and the Abyss are constants in Marguerite's mystic symbolism; see Section IV of this chapter.
- 523 A. Winardy recognizes the direct impact of Briçonnet's imagery on Marguerite in "Piety and Humanistic Symbolism in the work Marguerite de Navarre" in Yale French Studies, 1972, pp. 145-169.
- 524 This is the theme of one of Marguerite's less well known poems, Le Discord en l'homme par la contrariété de l'esperit et de la chair; It appeared together with the Miroir in Alençon, 1531. It is also one of the main themes running through the Diagoue en forme de vision nocturne; the body appears as Heavy, while the soul has Light qualities:  
CHARLOTTE  
Je vous prometz, ma tante, sans mentir,  
Que quant le corps, par douceur affoibly,  
S'appesantist jusques à terre sentir,  
Et l'esperit, par amour annobly  
Tire tout droict au ciel par tel désir,  
Que l'ame met tout son corps en oubly.  
(Dialogue, vv. 208-213)
- 525 See the role of the Sun in Chapter 5 on the Prisons, Section III.
- 526 Oraison de l'âme fidèle à son Seigneur Dieu in Thomas's edition of the Marguerites, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 134-135.
- 527 Marguerite uses this combined symbol of the Root and the Branch in her Miroir, complementing them with others such as the Flower, the Leaf and the Fruit:  
Bien sens en moy que j'en ay la racine,  
Et au dehors ne voy effect ne signe  
Qui ne soit tout branche, fleur, feuille, et fruit,  
Que tout autour de moy elle produit.  
(Miroir, vv. 13-16)
- 528 Thomas's edition of the Oraison de l'âme fidèle in Les Marguerites, op. cit., vol. I, p. 118.
- 529 It must be noted that it is Briçonnet's first letter, written on 12<sup>th</sup> June 1521, and that, although the theme of the War had been supplied by Marguerite in her very first letter to him in which she asked to be initiated into the mystic principles of Meaux, fighting had been used in the literal and obvious sense; Marguerite mentions her husband, the Duke of Alençon going to war: "...ne se departira sans guerre" (Correspondance, I, p. 25). Briçonnet transforms this literal sense into a symbolic meaning: "Par glaive de feu commence, et se termine par feu d'amour", *ibid.*, p. 27.
- 530 Durand, Les Structures Anthropologiques de l'Imaginaire, op. cit., p. 133.
- 531 G. Leiser wrote a book on the analysis of Sacred Geometry as it was interpreted by

- mediaeval architects: Gothic Cathedrals and Sacred Geometry, 2 vols (London, 1957).
- 532 The symbolic use of Wanderings as understood by Brignonnet was studied in Chapter 5 on the Prisons, Section III.
- 533 Brignonnet has a similar use of the symbolism of Ascending in Letter 56: "...En montant la montaigne, qui est luy..." (Correspondance, 2, p. 37).
- 534 See the concept of Christ's "Kenosis" (the "Rien") in Chapter 5, Section V B.
- 535 G. De Champeaux and S. Sterckx, Le Monde des Symboles, op. cit., p. 162. See also "L'ascension et les hauteurs", *ibid.*, p. 162.
- 536 Oraison de l'âme fidèle, in Thomas's Les Marguerites, op. cit., vol. I, p. 131.
- 537 Ferguson, Encyclopaedia of Mysticism, op. cit., term "Ascension", p. 18.
- 538 Blackney, Meister Eckhart, op. cit., "the book of Divine Comfort", p. 59.
- 539 *Ibid.*, p. 63.
- 540 *Ibid.*, Sermon 14: "Nothing above the Soul: Consideravit semitas domus suae et panem otiosa non comedit" (Proverbs 29,31), *ibid.*, p. 163.
- 541 Plato, Phaedrus, in The Dialogues of Plato, edited by Jowett, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 263.
- 542 See Glori Capello's exposition of the Climbing Ladders in her article comparing Brignonnet and the Pseudo-Dionysius: "Neoplatonismo e Riforma in Francia dall'Epistolario tra Guglielmo Brignonnet e Margherita di Navarra" in Logica e Semantica ed Altri Saggi (Padova, 1975), pp. 156-158.
- 543 See the definition of God as the "Coincidentia Oppositorum" in its various antithetical forms, such as "Petit-Grand", "Loing-Près" and "Tout-Rien" in Chapter 5, Section V B.
- 544 The word "coincident" as used by Brignonnet agrees with Marguerite's definitions of God as "Coincidentia Oppositorum". See note 64 above.
- 545 Brignonnet wrote to Marguerite: "Cognoissant l'impuissance de leur vol souhaitent helles aquilaires" (Correspondance, 1, p. 227). Also: "...quand ils avoient abbaiséz leurs helles de contemplation..." *ibid.*, 2, p. 31.
- 546 The symbol of the Kiss appears also in "Chanson 38":  
 Car le baiser de sa bouche  
 Et le regard de son oeil  
 Jusques au fond du cueur touche,  
 Dont il chasse ennuy et dueil.  
 (vv. 85-86)
- It combines the symbol of the Kiss with that of the Eye. The Kiss had already appeared in the Correspondance; Marguerite asked Brignonnet: "...de (...) refreschir la debile memoire des trois baisers..." (Correspondance, 2, p. 53); the Bishop was less enthusiastic on the theme and so never developed it.
- 547 See text to Notes 59-61 on Eckhart's bizarre explanations on Water's natural tendency to rise.
- 548 Oraison de l'âme fidèle in Thomas's Les Marguerites, op. cit., vol. I, p. 97.
- 549 Exodus 12. St Paul interprets this passage of the Red Sea symbolically as meaning the Coming out from Water and Baptism in I Corinthians 10,1-2. Brignonnet speaks of the symbolic (spiritual) meaning of the Crossing of the Red Sea in Letter 38, Correspondance, 1, pp. 195-214, particularly in fol. 199, p. 198. Here he recalls Paul's mystic interpretation of this passage.
- 550 See above on the Song of Songs in Marguerite's Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, Chapter 4, Section IV.



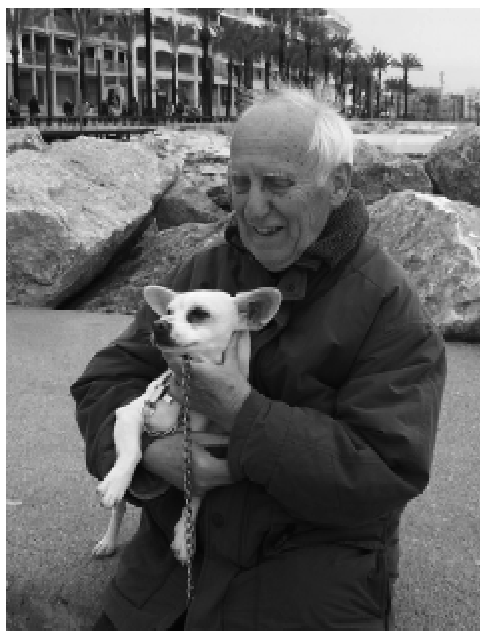
- 551 *Brignonnet calls Manna the “figure litterale et numerale” as he is referring to John’s interpretation of Manna as Christ’s multiplication in the eucharistic bread (John 6).*
- 552 See Marie-Rose Séguy’s Catalogue of the Exhibition of Mexican Sundials and calendars in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, 1976). Aztlar, Terre des Aztèques; Images d’un nouveau monde: “Au culte du Soleil, l’un des rites religieux essentiels, s’associait celui des quatre points cardinaux symbolisés par les quatre éléments sur chacun desquels se greffèrent un certain nombre de concordances (points cardinaux, éléments, couleurs, directions de l’univers, saisons, jours, animaux) évoquant singulièrement les figurations codées des diagrammes chinois illustrant le microcosme et le macrocosme”, “Croyances Religieuses”, p. 15.
- 553 Séguy comments on fig. 72-73 of Catalogue of the Codex du Soleil: “Les manuscrits pictographiques, quels que soient leurs sujets, se présentent sous la forme de tableaux et d’images où les couleurs fondamentales du spectre solaire (rouge, jaune, vert, bleu et noir) et leur attribution est symbolique”. Cat. 1976, op. cit., p. 75.  
In December 1976 I met Mlle Séguy who showed surprise at finding a similar attribution of significance to colours in Marguerite’s Prisons to that which can be found in Chinese and Mexican Calendars. She commented that Chinese symbolism of Colours had been known in the West through visitors who had been there since the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.
- 554 See Marguerite de Navarre, Horoscope, Traité de Révolution, manuscript in Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français, N°2082. She was eighteen years old when she composed it.
- 555 The symbolic use of colours in emblems reached the French Court at about the time of the publication of Rabelais’s Gargantua in 1534, at least ten years before the composition of Marguerite’s Prisons (See Calder R. edit., Gargantua, Geneva, Droz, 1970, Note on pp. 60-61 by prof. M.A. Screech). Rabelais criticizes the way they interpret arbitrarily biblical texts containing references to colours (e.g. Matthew 17,2)(*ibid.*, Note on pp. 72-73).
- 556 Joseph Needham writes about the relationship between the four basic colours with the elements (Fire, Air, Water, Earth), the seasons and the cardinal points: “The association of the elements with the seasons was obvious enough (among the Chinese), and it had been on their association with the cardinal points that the various sequences had been built up. What could have been more unavoidable than to link Fire with Summer and the South? This must have been of the highest antiquity since one finds fire (i.e. Heat, and the grain ripened by it) in the Autumn harvest... Since the cradle of Chinese civilization was the land of Yellow soil in the upper Yellow River basin (modern Shansi and Shensi) it is quite plausible to suppose that for the centre that colour imposed itself. The White in the West should stand for the perpetual snows of the Tibetan Massif, with Green (or Blue) in the East for the fertile plains or the seemingly infinite Ocean. Finally Red in the South may have taken its origin from the red soil of Szechuan.”  
Science and Civilization in China, 2 vols, Cambridge University Press, 1954, vol. 2, “History of Scientific Thought”, p. 261. Jacques Soustelle interprets the colours as used by the Aztecs conveying symbolic meaning in la Pensée cosmologique des anciens Mexicains (représentation du monde et de l’espace), (Paris, 1940), p. 12. According to Séguy the symbolic use of colours as found in the Mexican Calendars may have had its origin in their previous symbolic use in China. See Notes 73 & 74

- above. These links are possible, but Marguerite's interest in the symbolic use of colours and her preoccupation that goes beyond that of mediaeval heraldry, reflects an interest in ideas brought to Europe by the discoverers.
- 557 Mayer edit., Marot, Epistres, op. cit., p. 120.
- 558 R. Calder edit., Gargantua, op. cit., p. 78.
- 559 Ibid., p. 72.
- 560 Ibid., p. 65. Prof. Screech has very illuminating commentaries on Rabelais's criticism of the emblematisers of his time that were forcing the meanings of emblems and colours to suit their own tastes (see Notes to Gargantua, Chapters VIII and IX, *ibid.*, pp. 64-78).
- 561 Ferguson, Encyclopaedia of Mysticism, term "Alphabet", op. cit., p. 11. Cf. also J. Naveh, Origins of the Alphabet, London, Casell, 1975.
- 562 It is interesting to note F. Roch's comment on modern man's connection of the letters of the Alphabet with their actual sound, instead of perceiving any symbolic meaning in them. Modern man is "so accustomed to connect the idea of sounds with the sound of them, that it is only with difficulty that we can dissociate the letters from this, and think of them as symbols". According to him the letter Tau is a sign of the Cross. The Book of Symbols, (London, 1930), p. 35.
- 563 The M symbol was masculine and feminine for Marguerite's group. It stood for la Marguerite and le Miroir. (See Chapter 3 on the Miroir, Section III). The Androgyne symbol is studied in detail in Chapter 5, Section V B. Rabelais mentions it in Gargantua, Chapter IV.
- 564 J. E. Cirlot, A dictionary of Symbols, op. cit., "Letters of the alphabet", pp. 182-184.
- 565 See Chapter 4 on the Comédie, Section III, and Chapter 5 on the Prisons, and their mystical and symbolic interpretation.
- 566 Sainte-Marthe, Oraison Funèbre, op. cit., pp. 16-17.
- 567 See the secret meaning of the mystic enigma, the Marguerite-Pearl in Chapter 3 on the Miroir, Section III.
- 568 Champeaux, Le Monde des Symboles, op. cit., p. 24.
- 569 M. Eliade explains the birth of the Pearl as understood by the old cosmogonies and the alchemists: "Une tradition d'origine orientale explique la naissance de la perle comme le fruit de l'éclair pénétrant dans la moule. La perle serait le résultat de l'union entre le Feu et l'Eau. Saint Ephrem utilise ce mythe ancien pour illustrer aussi bien l'Immaculée Conception que la naissance spirituelle du Christ dans le baptême de Feu". Images et Symboles; Essais sur le symbolisme magico-religieux, "Le Mythe de la Perle", (Paris, 1962), p. 195.
- 570 The antithetical definitions of God in Marguerite's poetry are studied in Chapter 5 on the Prisons, Section V B.
- 571 E.-F. Rice, Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples and the Mediaeval Mystics; Essays presented to Wallace K. Ferguson (Toronto, 1971), pp. 89-124.
- 572 See Chapter 4, Section II on Calvin's disapproval of Marguerite's sheltering of the Libertins Spirituels in her Court in Navarre. Note 12 of this conclusion also refers to Calvin's criticism of Marguerite's connections with them.
- 573 See L. Febvre, Amour Sacré, Amour Profane, op. cit., pp. 58-59. I have already criticized Febvre's uncritical attitude in my Introduction.
- 574 Marguerite's name seldom appears in encyclopaedias or dictionaries of mysticism.

- But in Dictionnaire de spiritualité, S. Glasson has recently contributed with a short study on some of her mystic ideas; see fascicules LXIV-LV, pp. 346-347, (Paris, 1937-1980; still unfinished).
- 575 See Chapter 2 on the Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne, Section I.
- 576 See Pantagruel's calmness and unconcern, very much like that of Christ among his disciples, during the storm in Le Quart Livre, Chapter 28.
- 577 See Letters 103-113 of the Correspondance.
- 578 See above, Marguerite's reference to St Paul's experience as a "mirouer" in Chapter 3, Section V.
- 579 See Francis M. Higman's edition of Calvin's Three Treatises (London, Athlone, 1970), Introduction, pp. 21-26 and 133-153. One of them is headed "Excuse de Jehan Calvin, à Messieurs les Nicodemites, sur la complaincte qu'ilz font de sa trop gran' rigueur".
- 580 Clément Marot, Les Epigrammes, London, Athlone, 1970, IV, p. 97.
- 581 See introductory "Epistre" to the Miroir in Frank's edition of the Marguerites, op. cit., p. 4.
- 582 Oraison funèbre, op. cit., p. 5.
- 583 Marguerite, in spite of her strong evangelical convictions against certain popular devotional practices, used to say the "prières des accouchées" to St Marguerite. Rabelais ridicules the use of this prayer in Gargantua, Chapter V; (Pierre Jourda edit., op. cit., vol. I, p. 29, Note 3).
- 584 See the "dedicace" of the Tiers Livre in Jourda's edition, (Paris, Garnier, 1962), vol. 1, p. 291.
- 585 See the study of the fortunes of Marguerite's Miroir and Rabelais's Pantagruel, both seized by the Sorbonne for thorough examination, in Chapter 3, Section I. Rabelais lived at Marguerite's Court in the 1530s and his interest in the type of mystic symbolism which was accepted in her group is obvious. See Chapter 6, Notes 90, 93, and 97; also Chapter 5, Notes 84, 86, 107, 135, 165, etc. See also H. Hornik, "More on the Hermetica and French Renaissance Literature (M. d'Angoulême, Rabelais, A. d'Aubigne, Scève)" in Studi Francesi, (Torino, 1974) vol. XVIII, pp. 1-12.
- 586 *Marguerite presents herself as an understanding person in the Heptaméron, "Nouvelle 72": A young nun had been abused by a "cordelier" but no one would believe her; the Queen put things straight by taking the case before the Bishop.*
- 587 Quart Livre, Prologue, Jourda edition, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 11-12.



*Jon Oria en 1961. En su casa de Torre Vieja, habitación empapelada con reproducciones de sus numerosos diplomas. Fotografía de David Maruri (12.03.2011).*



*Jon Oria y su fiel acompañante "Zuri", en Torre Vieja. Fotografía de David Maruri (12.03.2011).*

MISTIZISMOA  
NAFARROAKO MARGARITAREN  
IDAZLANETAN

FILISOFIAN DOKTORETZA  
gradua erdiesteko aurkeztutako tesia

por

JON ORIA  
1981

LONDRESKO UNIBERTSITATEA  
LABURPENA

EGILEAREN OHARRA KONFIRMAZIO GISA, 2012KO	
AZAROAN .....	254
ESKERRAK .....	257
LABURTZAPENAK .....	258
SARRERA .....	259
LEHEN KAPITULUA .....	264
Nafarroako Margaritaren mistikarako sarbidea (1521-1524) eta Meauxeko eskolaren postulatu mistikoekiko engaiamendua. ....	264
I .....	264
II .....	267
III .....	272
IV .....	277
BIGARREN KAPITULUA .....	284
Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne .....	284
“Egin bedi zure nahia”ren ilustrazio gisa. ....	284
I .....	284
II .....	287
III .....	289
IV .....	293
HIRUGARREN KAPITULUA .....	298
Le Miroir de l’âme pécheresse: .....	298
Enigma Mistikoa, Lurreko Ikuspenaren aurkako .....	298
I .....	298
II .....	304
III .....	313
IV .....	320
V .....	324
LAUGARREN KAPITULUA: .....	330
Hermeneutika biblikoa, Guillaume Briçonneten .....	330
eta “Ravie de Dieu, Bergère”ren arabera, .....	330
Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan obran. ....	330
I .....	330
II .....	335
III .....	343
IV .....	351
V .....	356

BOSGARREN KAPITULUA .....	360
Les Prisons de la Reine de Navarre, Margaritaren .....	360
testamentu mistikoa: Jainkoaren esperientzia, .....	360
arimarekiko eta Bere trszendentziarekiko immanente .....	360
I .....	360
II .....	361
III .....	368
IV .....	387
V .....	394
VI .....	412
SEIGARREN KAPITULUA .....	413
Sinbolismo hermetikoa eta antitesi mistikoak, .....	413
Nafarroako Margaritaren obretako “leit-motif” konstanteak .....	413
I .....	413
II .....	426
III .....	430
IV .....	435
V .....	444
ONDORIOAK .....	447
OHARRAK .....	454

## EGILEAREN OHARRA KONFIRMAZIO GISA, 2012KO AZAROAN

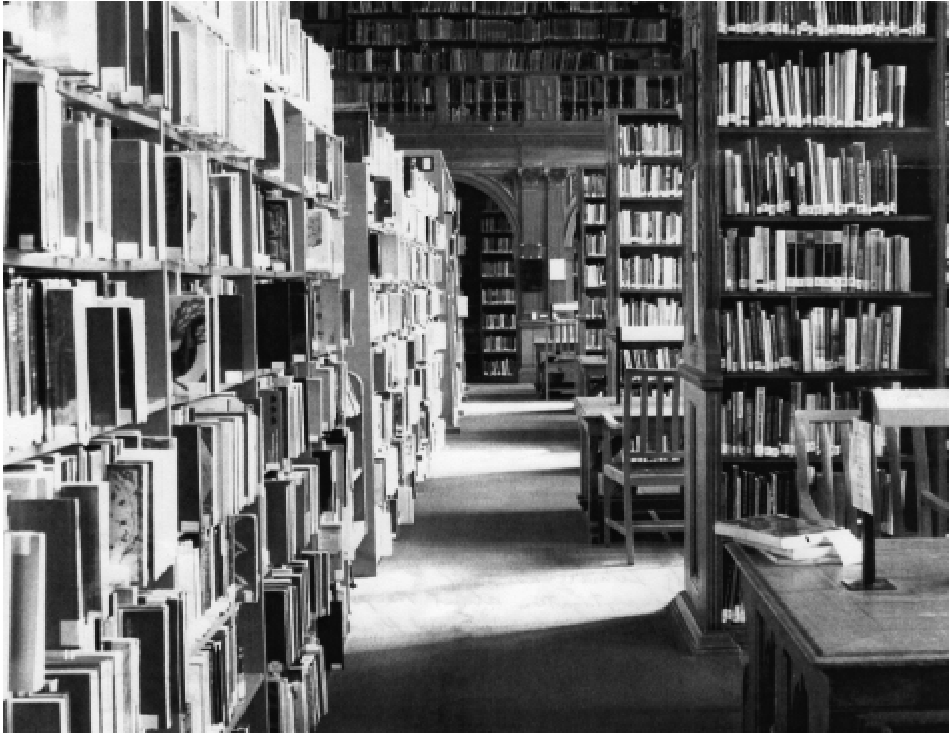
Tesiaren edizio hau da ingelesezko jatorrizko textua, zeina Londoneko unibertsitateari 1981 urtean aurkeztu bainion, orain 2012an gehitzen zaizkiolarik gaztelerazko eta euskarazko bertsioak, urte honetan noiz betetzen baitira bostehun urte Nafarroa garaiko lurrak konkistatuak eta bahituak izan zirenetik, errege katolikoaren agindupean. Zenbait anakronismo zuzendu behar izan dira, hala nola Margarita gaztea Nafarroako erregin izendatu izana noiz eta oraino Frantziako printzesa baitzen, Enrike Albretekoa Nafarroako erregerekin 1527an ezkondu aitzin; era berean, aipuak ere berraztertu behar izan ditugu, Bibliarenak batez ere, nondik zenbait aldaketa heldu diren, esaera jada klasiko hark erran bezala: “Aliquando dormitat Homerus”.

Ene tesiaren konposizioak ez zuen arazorik eman: 1975an hasi nuen, Cambridgeko Saint Hugh's College kolegio unibertsitarioan ene graduondoa prestatzen nuen bitartean, Londoneko Globeko erreztal batean entzuna nuen textu shakespearetar baten inspiraziopean, zeina baita jadanik gure historiaren parte. Gero etorri ziren zenbait ikerketa urte, B. M. Sanderson doktore Londoneko Unibertsitatekoaren kontrolpean, nork ez baitzien mugarik jartzen British Libraryrako ene bisita kasik egunerokoei, zeina baitzegoen Birbeck Collegetik oso hurbil, Zientzia eta Arteen London haren bihotzean. Behin tesiaren behin betiko textua aurkeztu eta onarturik, “Mysticism in the Work of Marguerite de Navarre” izenburupean, zazpi kopia egin behar izan ziren, bana zitezentzat London, Cambridge, Paris, Pau eta Iruñeko unibertsitateetara, beste biak niretzat hartuta. Argitalpenerako hainbat saiakera egin izan dira, eta zorionez, bertsio hirueleduna ageri zaigu, hain zuzen gogora dakarkigun honetan, bost mende beranduago, ezen Aragoiko Fernando erregeak Nafarroa garaiko lurrak konkistatu zituela, eta publikazioa Zangotzako “Enrike II Albretekoa Kultur Taldeari” esker egin ahal izan da, zeinak lantzen baitu Zangotzarraren historia, nor jaio baitzen 1503an hiri hartan, izen berdineko Merindadearen hiriburu, bai eta bere emazte Nafarroako Margaritarena.

Torreviejako ene etxearen sarreran, egunero topatzen dut Cambridge Libraryaren argazki bat, zeinek gogorarazten dizkidan ene ikerketaren lehen pausoak. Han sarreran dago zut Lord Byronen estatua bat, Penteliko mendiko marmol zurizkoa, Partenoia bezala, zeinak esan nahi duen “gazteen egoitza”, horrela adieraziz ene bigarren gaztaroa, berrogei urte nituenekoa. Denborak irtenbidea eman dio egitasmo hari, Birbeck Collegean aurrera egin zuena European zeharko bidaien bidez: Paue, Nerac eta Mont-de-Marsaneko Nafarroa renaissancezalea, Meaux eta Paris,



Florentzia eta Erroma, hala nola beste agiritegi batzuk, Simancasekoa kasu, egiaztatzeko nondik nora zebilen Margarita bere lan poetikoak idaztean, edota Nafarroa Behereko Erresuman ematen ari zen berpizkundeko humanismoa erakusten duen edozein artxibategi.



*Cambridge Universityko liburutegia munduko handienetako bat da. Bertan hasi nintzen ikertzen, 1975 urtean, Nafarroako Margaritaren eta Enrike II Albretekoaren erret gorteko ideia filosofikoak.*

Arazoak izan dira pasatzerakoan British Libraryko kodizeetako irudiak, haietarik asko direlako berpizkunde hasierako liburu zaharren fotokopiak, zeinak erabili baititut ilustratzeko tesiko gaietako batzuk, batez ere zerikusia dutenak Meauxeko apezpikuaren eta Frantziako printzesa gazte Valoisko Margaritaren arteko Correspondance mistikoarekin, zeina Sorbonaren esku hartze batek eten baitzuen; Margarita behartuta egon zen, Enrike II Albretekoa zangotzarrarekin ezkondu ostean, mendiez haraindian Nafarroako erresumaren azken gotorlekura biltzera, alde batera utziz bere titulu nobiliario frantses guztiak. Bere lan mistiko gehienak Nafarroako gortean idatzi zituen, nahiz eta “Miroir de l’âme pécheresse” Sorbonak kondenatu nahi izan zuen heresien purifikatzaile den sura,

Rabelaisen “Tiers Livre”arekin batera, zeina autore jakintsuak Margaritari dedikatua baitzion. Tesiaren textuan, aurkituko duzu orduan Frantziako printzesa zenaren inimizioaren azterketa zorrotz bat, Pseudo Dionisioaren printzipio neoplatonikoetara Meauxeko eskolaren arabera, zeinek markatuko baitute bere obra mistiko osoa. Honi jarraituko diote bere “Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan” eta “Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne” lanetako hermeneutikaren azterketek, baita “Les Prisons de la Reine de Navarre” bere postulatu mistikoen sintesiarenak. Ideia mistiko hauen laburpen eta bukaera gisa, bere lan guztietako sinbologia mistikoaren azterketa bat eskaintzen da. Haren obra osoa, Heptaméron berpizkundeko ipuin bildumarekin batera, “La Reine de Navarre”ren egiletzakoa da.

Esan beharra dago ezen berpizkundeko Nafarroari buruz idatzi ditudan lan guztiek oinarritzat izan dituztela ikerketa haiek guztiak zeinak egin baintuen liburutegi eta artxibategietan, argitzeko zein ote zen Margaritaren eta Enrike senarraren gorteko eskola filosofikoetan erakusten zen pentsamendua, eta beranduago Joana Albretekoaren akademia humanistikoetan, zeinek jaso izan baitzituzten William Shakespeare olerkari ingelesaren laudorioak. Esaterako, aipa dezadan Baionako Euskal Museoko berpizkundeko tapizari buruz egindakoa, zeinaren interpretazio posible bakarra helduko baita Margaritaren mundu feministaren aurkezpenarekin, hala nola erakusten duen bere “Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan” antzezlanean, bi lan hauek kokatuko ditugularik beraz 1547 urte inguruan.

Ondorio gisa, zenbait aitortzaren egitea geratzen zaigu, tesian argitalpen hirukoitz hau posible egin duten haiei, jatorrizko ingelesez, gazteleraz eta euskaraz. Neroni egokitu zait jatorrizkoaren berrikuspena egitea, zeinean soilik akats mekanografikoak edota aipuetakoak zuzendu behar izan baitira, eta gaztelerarako itzulpen osoa egitea. Eskertu behar diot Aithor Antuñanori bere laguntza, bai textuen aurkezpenagatik, Joseba Arruebarrenaren laguntza ezin estimatuzkoarekin egina, bai eta tesi osoaren itzulpen lanagatik, gure euskara edo “linguae navarrorum”era emanaz, Josu Lavinen ikuskapen etengabea lagun. Eskertzen dut Bilbaoarteko Blanca Oria eta Juan Zapaterren lana, zeinek pertsonalki hobetu baitute textuarekin batera datozen irudien kalitatea. Aipu berezi bat merezi du Enrike II Albretekoa Kultur Taldeak, “Zangotzarra” ikerketa kaierak argitaratzen dituen, David Maruri taldeko koordinatzailearen eta Angel Navallas lanaren maketatzailearen ekarpenagatik, tesian publikazioari itxura behin betikoa emanaz. Ahaztu barik askoren interesa, zeinak agertuko diren kolaboratzaileen zerrendan.

Jon Oria Oses

Tesi honen helburua Nafarroako Margaritaren ideia mistikoetan sakontzea da, bere lan garrantzitsuenetan agertzen diren moduari erreparatuz, egiaztatuaz ezen hauen sorburua Briçonnetekin mantendutako Correspondancean dagoela.

Ez zuen espiritualtasunari buruzko trataturik idatzi, nahiz antzeman dezakegun badela eboluzio bat, tratatzen dituenean kontenplazio bidezko arimaren Jainkoarenganako igoerarekin erlazionatutako gaiak.

Hasteko, ikerketa honek Margaritaren ideia mistikoen iturria ezartzen du Meauxko apezpikuarekin ukandako 1521 eta 1524 arteko Correspondancean. Jarraian haren lau obraren analisia dator, erakusteko bere pentsamenduan eman zen garapena, bere lehen poema mistikoaren (Dialogue, c. 1527) eta bere maisulanaren (Prisons, c. 1547) artean. Guztietan aurkitzen dira espirituen purifikaziorako sarbideko kontzeptu tradizionalak, hala nola Jainkoaren kontenplazio pasiboa, arimaren ekstasi egoera, Bibliaren interpretazio espirituala eta Jainkozkoaren kontzepzio mistikoa.

Margaritaren interes nagusia jendea zenbait oinarrizko siniskerari lotzera bultzatzea zen, eta uste horien arabera bizitzera, Erreformen garai goiztiar hartan. Printzipioz beraz, bere espiritualtasunaren helburua praktikoa da, nahiz eta paradoxikoki, lantzen duen tematika lengoaia sinboliko baten bitartez ezkutatua den, irakurle arruntarentzat ulertezina maiz. Elizaren barrutikako garbitzapen Ebanjelikoak biziki arduratua zeukan, baina bere ideietan ez dago jarrera dogmatikorik, eta dakusaguna ez da kristau perfektiorako gida metodiko bat, baizik eta Gizonaren ikuspegi global bat, balore erlijiosoekin harremanetan dagoen izaki espiritual bezala.

## ESKERRAK

Ikerketa hau posible izan da Birbeck Collegearen finantzaketari eta Hezkuntza eta Zientzia Departamentuaren bekari esker. Esker bereziak adierazi nahi nizkioke Mrs. B. M. Sanderson Birbeck Collegeko irakasleari, tesi honen egite garaian emandako aholku eta bultzadengatik; eskertu beharrean naiz baita Boss irakaslea, haren iradokizun ezin estimatuzkoengatik.

Eskerrak baita Academical Typing Servicesko C. Beresfordi, zeinak idazlan hau mekanografiatu baitu hainbeste pazientzia eta abileziarekin, eta RANK XEROXi, zeinak testu eta irudien kopia maila tekniko miresgarritzkoa egin baitu.

Nire esker ona liburutegi hauentzat ere: British Library, Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, Warburg Institute eta Birbeck College. Zorretan naiz baita adorea emateari utzi ez dioten lagunekin.

## LABURTZAPENAK

AFLN-W	Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen.
ASI	Actualités Scientifiques et Industrielles, Paris.
BAEHRRE	Bulletin de l'Association d'Études sur l'Humanisme, la Réforme et la Renaissance
BGEPHE	Bibliothèque Générale de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études
BHR	Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance
BL	British Library, London
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
BSHPF	Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français
PUF	Presses Universitaires de France
RHLF	Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France
RR	Revue de la Renaissance
RSS	Revue du Seizième Siècle
SPCK	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
THR	Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance
ZRP	Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie
Margaritaren lanen izenburuen kontrakzioak:	

Correspondance Guillaume Briçonnet, Marguerite de Navarre;  
Correspondance (1521-1524) 2 liburuki

Chansons Chansons spirituelles

Discord Discord estant en l'homme par la contrariété de l'esperit

Inquisiteur L'Inquisiteur en Théâtre profane

MiroirMiroir de l'âme pécheresse

NavireLa Navire, ou consolation du Roy François Ier

Oraison Oraison à nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ  
(ikus bibliografia)

Bibliaren aipua Elizen Arteko Bibliatik.  
Kontrakoa adierazi ezean, azpimarratze oro nirea da.

## SARRERA

Frantziar berpizkundearen printze kontsideratzen den Frantzisko I.aren arreba Margarita, XVI mende hasierako pertsonaien artean, jakinmin gehien sortu zutenetarikoa bat dugu. Nahiz izan diren hainbat saiakera haren irudi justu bat emateko, kontutan harturik bere Dukesa-Erregin eta idazle alderdiak<sup>1</sup>, Pierre Jourdak 1930ean maisutasunez idatzitako biografia bati esker, gaur egun oinarritzko lan bat daukagu zeinetatik abiaturik gaurko kritikoak idatz baitezake dama apart honen alderdi baten edo bestearen ikerketa zehatz bat<sup>2</sup>. Margarita izan zen lehen emakume modernoa, gai izan zena elkartzeko iadanik erortzen ari ziren erdiaroko mundu teozentrikoaren idealak, eta Europan azkar hedatzen ari ziren balore humanistiko berriak<sup>3</sup>.

Ideal berriak garatzen laguntzen zuen ideia zaharrak mantentzeko Margaritaren saiakeran dautza beraren itxurazko pertsonalitate bikoitzari buruzko gaizki ulertuak, bere nortasunaren osotasun eta zinezkotasuna Lucien Febvrek kementsuki defendatu zuen ideia bere “Margarita bikoitzaren” kritikan<sup>4</sup>. Publikoan pizten duen interesaren erakusgarri argiak dira beraz, Nafarroako Erregina “Woman for all seasons / garai guztietarako emakume” bezala aurkezteko egindako saiakera guztiak, hasi Charles de Sainte-Marthe-k Margaritaren heriotzetik urte gutxitara argitaratutako Oraison funèbre<sup>5</sup> eta gaur egungo lanetara arte<sup>6</sup>.

Margarita 1492ko apirilaren 11an jaio zen Angoulême-ko gazteluan, bere anaia Frantzisko baino bi urte lehenago, eta bere gurasoak Orleanseko Karlos eta Savoyako Luisa ziren. 1498ko apirilaren 8an Frantziako Karlos VIII hil zelarik gizonezko oinordekorik gabe, Orleanseko Dukea honen alargun Ane Breñañoarekin ezkondu zen, eta Luis XIIaren heriotzean Angoulême-ko dukerak aukera bat somatu zuten Valoistarren tronura igotzeko. Margaritak eta bere anaiak, berau ustezko oinordeko bezala, inposaturiko isolamenduan pasatu behar izan zuten haien gaztaroa, garai hartan erregetzarako oinordekoekin egiten zen bezala. Hasieran Angoumoiseko Cognacken egon ziren eta gero Bloisen, eta Amboisen. Bertan, bizitza bakartia ukan zuten, eta Margaritak, zeina eskola jardueratarako bere anaia baino gaitasun handiagokoa zen, bere amaren eta Mme Châtillon irakaslearen tutoretzapean garaiko diziplinetan heziketa jaso zuen. Irakaslerik onenak ukan zituzten latina, italiara eta gaztelera irakurri eta hitz egiten ikasteko. Charles de Sainte-Marthe-k Margaritaren ezagutza aitzinatuak aipatzen ditu hainbat gairen gainean, batez ere ideia neoplatonikoei dagokienez, momentu hartan Florentzian zabaltzen zebiltzanak (Oraison funèbre, 24. orr). Denbora gutxian, bere garaiko ezagutza guztietan trebatu zen, batez ere interesatuz, Sainte-Marthe-k

dioen bezala “Saints et salutaires preceptes de la Philosophie Évangélique, qui est la Parolle de Dieu” delakoetan (ibid., 27. orr.)

Nahiz eta jauregiko bizitza ez zen mota honetako trebakuntzetarako aproposa, Margaritaren obrak adimen oso harkor baten erakusle dira<sup>7</sup>; hala ere, 1509ko abenduaren 2an exigitu zitzaion printzesari, Angoulêmeko etxearen onurarako, sakrifizio pertsonal bat egin zezan. Karlosekin ezkondu behar zen, Alençongo Dukearekin, “époux médiocre et peu cultivé” bat, H. P. Clivek adierazi bezala; ez zen elkartzeko aproposa bere adimen finarentzat, eta gainera ez zion semerik eman<sup>8</sup>. Frantzisko Angoulêmekoa Frantziako errege Frantzisko I bihurtzean, 1515eko urtarrilaren 25ean, badirudi zerbait lasaitu zela, zeren handik gutxira, 1519an, Clément Marot deitu baitzuen bere zerbitzu pertsonalera<sup>9</sup>. Ondo hezitako “protégés”ez inguratua egon ezean, bere adimen jantziak nekez har zezakeen atseden, eta hauek laster hasi ziren Margarita hartzen Frantziako Berpizkunde intelektual eta literarioaren Mezenastzat.

Ez nioke Margaritaren nortasunari balio handiegirik eman nahi, baizik eta soilik bere lanak epaitu. Hala ere, kontu handiz ikertu beharko da erortzen ari ziren ertaroko baloreen eraberritze planean eduki zuen inplikazio pertsonalaz, nahiz eta edonola ere, plan hau historikoki porrot bat izan zen. Sorbonak hertsiki aurre egin zien Margaritak honetarako egin zituen ahaleginei, zeinak oinarritzen baitziren, planteamendu ebanjeliko baten bidez, barne erreforma baten egitean, oinarrituz Meauxen Guillaume Briçonnet Apezpiku bikainak eta Lefèvre d’Étaples jakintsu ezagunak bildutako aditu talde baten lanetan.

1520eko hamarkadaren hastapenetan, ezin mintza gaitezke zisma protestante batez, nahiz ordurako Sorbonako Fakultateak handikiro kondenatuak zituen Lutherren Tesiak, 1521eko apirilaren 15ean. Bestalde, egia da Aita Santuaren “Exsurge Domine” bula 1520ko ekainaren 15ean atara zela, eta urtarrilaren 3an dominiko mutiria eskumatua izan zela<sup>10</sup>, baina Margaritaren garaikideek ez zuten, edonola ere, gaur egungoon perspektiba historiko berdina.

Espero dut bere idazlanen analisi serio eta zehatz batek lagun dezala arazo korapilatsu honen perspektiba bat ematen, erakutsiaz ezen, berritze ebanjelikorako planarekin konprometitua izanagatik ere, ezin dugula luthertar kontsideratu. Izan ere, teologia lutheranoaren oinarritzko bi punturekiko bere desadostasuna adierazi zuen, borondate gatibuaren teoria<sup>11</sup> eta Bibliaren interpretazio tradizionalaren errefusatzea<sup>12</sup>, hain zuzen.

Meauxeko taldeak hasitako erreforma, ebanjelikoa zen eta paulinoa, Pablo Deunaren doktrinaren arabera, hitzaren zentzu literalean; ebanjelioaren sinpletasunerako itzulera bat sustatzen zuten, Kristo aldarrikatuz gizakiaren salbatzaile bakartzat, eta gizona fedearen bidez justifikatzearen doktrina errebindikatzat. Era berean alega daitezke, talde honen teologian, printzipio mistikoen oinarriak erakusten dituzten elementu batzuk, hauen bidez etorriko delarik aldaketa, onartzean Kristo dela Jainkoaren eta gizakiaren arteko lotura bakarra.

Mistizismoa definitzea ez da erreza, izan ere kode sekretuen bidez, pertsona talde murriz batek (esoterikoek) bakarrik elkarbanatzen dituzten esanahiez mintzatzen da. Mistikoak auto-ukatzen saiatzen dira, jainkotasunak beregana ditzantzat; honen bidez, azaldu ezinezko edo mistikotzat dituzten egiak ulertzen saiatuko dira; orobat, deifikazio deitzen duten aldaketa hau erregulatzen duten printzipioei buruzko azalpenak ematea ekidingo dute.

Eckharten garaitik, mistikoek, Kietismo deitzen duten Jainkoarekiko portaeraren modu negatibo bat aldarrikatzen dute, zeren haren borondatearekiko jarrera pasibo bat hartzen baitute. “Ezerez” edo “Absortzio” bezalako kontzeptuak indartzera jotzen dute, eta haien kezka garrantzitsuena da jainkoen esperientzia hau sentitzean gertatzen zaiena analizatzea, ezkutuko elkartzeko honen objektua deskribatzeko: “Jainkoa ez du inork inoiz ikusi” (I Joan 4,12), nahiz eta maitasunaren bidez bere presentzia sumatu daitekeen (ibid., 4,16). Ataza hau ezinezkoa denez, Jainkoaren existentzia frogatzeko argudio filosofikoak ekiditen dituzte, eta bere presentzia baieztatzen dute hainbat modutan izendatuz; Jainkoaren definizioetan progresio bat dago, hasteko, mugak ondorio dituzten gizakien kontzeptuak ukatuz (“Via Negativa”), horregatik infinita bezala definitzen dute. Ontasuna bezalako ezaugarri positiboak Berari absolutuki aplikatzen zaizkio, eta beste izaki guztiei soilik proportzionalki (“Via Analogica”).

Mistikoek, Jainkoaren Bibliako hitza, esanahi ezkutuetara heltzeko bidetzat daukate, aldarrikatzen baitute Espiritu Santuak liburuetan aktibo dirauela, hauek idatziak izan ziren unetik. Kristo gure Salbatzailea da, baina haien arabera baita Hitza ere (Joan 1,1), zeinak azaldu ahal dituen, haragi bihurtu zenetik, misterio guztiak (ibid. 1,14). Bukatzeko, isilpeko sinbolo eta metaforazko kode bat hartzen dute, sarritan, Nafarroako Margarita baitan kasu oso korapilatsuak direnak, haien ideiak etorkizuneko hasiberri oinordekoei helaraziak izan daitezentzat.

Ikerketa honen lehen kapituluaren erakutsiko da nola egon zen Mar-

garita inplikaturik Parisen ipar ekialdeko Meauxko diozesian burutzen ari ziren erreforma saiakeretan, 1520eko hamarkadaren hastapenetan. Konpromiso hau, beranduago, sarbidezko prozesu luze baten bidezko inplikazio pertsonal bat bilakatu zen, bai bitarteko pertsonalen edota gutun bidezko heziketaren bidez, zeintzuen moienez ekarria izan baitzen lengoaia esoteriko batera, esanahi ezkutuez beterikoa, zeintzuek bazituzten doktrina ebanjelikoaren axioma sinpleekiko ezberdintasun batzuk. Margaritaren idazkuntzarako prestaketa 1521eko ekaina eta 1524ko urriaren artean izan zen, eta pausoz pauso deskribatu dezakegu, beraren eta Meauxeko eraberritze planaren sustatzaile Guillaume Briçonneten arteko Correspondancearen bidez.

Bigarren eta bosgarren kapituluaren artean, Margaritaren idazlan esanguratsuenetariko lau aztertzen dira, haietako bi goiztiarrak, Meauxeko taldearen ideien eraginpean zegoenean idatzitakoak. Bigarren kapituluaren Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne ikertzen da, zeinak argiro erakusten duen Meauxeko taldeak filosofiari buruzko tratatu polemikoekiko zuen ezinikusia, Erasmus eta Lutherren kasuan bezala non giza borondatearen izaeraren inguruan eztabaidatzen, elkar iraintzetik hurbil egon ziren; poema hau interpretatu behar dugu ilustrazio mistiko gisa Briçonneten “Aita Gurea” otoitzeko Jainkoaren Borondatearen doktrinarena. Honela begiko izanez Lutherren lehen lan mistikoetako bat, Margaritak bertsotara itzulia, gutxi gora behera bere Dialoguea idazten zuen denboran.

Hirugarren kapituluaren zehaztasunez azalduko dugu bere poemarik polemikoena, tradizionalki luthertar bezala ulertua izan den Miroir de l'âme pécheresse. Aitzitik, bere barne egiturak, erazagutzen du orduko Dukesa eta apezpikuak Correspondance luzean elkartrukatutako enigma hermetikoentzat irtenbide mistiko bat. Laugarren kapitulua Margaritaren antzezlanari buruzkoa da, Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, zeinetan baitaude Erasmus eta Lutherrekin Margaritak ukan zituzkeen harremanen gakoak. Kritiko gehienak ez bezala, nago Comédie Meauxeko eskolaren hermeneutika mistikoaren azalpen soil bat dela, Bibliaren interpretazioan Erasmusen jarrera berdina zuena, Lutherren erreformaren oinarrietatik aldenduz. Bosgarren kapitulua Margaritaren doktrina mistikoaren azalpen bat izanen da, bere lan garrantzitsuenean agertzen den bezala, Prisons de la Reine de Navarre liburuan.

Aldizka, Margaritaren neoplatonismo espiritual eta sinbolismo hermetikoa xeheki aztertuko dira. Hala ere, bere hiztegi kriptikoaren azterketa osoarentzat seigarren kapitulu bat egin dugu, izan ere, kritiko askok kontrakoa baieztatzen duten arren, lengoaia hau bere obra idatzi guztietan zehar agertzen da. Ez dago Meauxeko eskolaren printzipio



ebanjelikoekiko inolako hausturaren zantzurik. Uneoro agertzen zaizkigu zalantza berdinak, eragin berdinak, eta Lutherrenganako gerturatze bat, baina Meauxeko taldearekin bat etorritik betiere 1530ko hamarkadaren hasieran.<sup>13</sup> Azken batean, argiro ikusten da Margaritak inoiz ez zituela alde batera utzi Briçonneten gida pertsonalpean barneratu zituen oinarri espiritualak.

Ondorio bezala, Margarita bere lanen eratze garaian gidatu zuten printzipio mistikoak zeintzuk izan ziren determinatuko dut; emakume argia zen, nahiago izan zuena sen onaz gidatua izan ezen ez aparteko esperientzia mistikoez, nahiz dirudien dela guztiz lotua printzipioen korpus bati, zeinak gogorarazten dizkigu ertaroko maisu-maistra mistikoak. Bere izaeraren alderdi humano honek ezin ukatuzko erakargarritasuna ematen dio bere nortasunari, zeina izan zen garaikideek laudatua.

Lucien Febvrek aspaldi ikusi zuen Margaritaren lanak ikuspuntu mistikotik aztertze beharra, haxe idatziz, nahiz eta ataza konplikatu hau ekin zuen:

“... il faut bien se dire qu’un examen minutieux, attentif, scrupuleux des cinq mille premiers vers de Marguerite -en attendant les milliers qui suivirent- exigerait un travail hors de proportion avec les résultats qu’on en peut escompter. Il y faudrait du reste un théologien qualifié, doublé d’un curieux très averti de l’histoire spirituelle. Or, s’il s’en trouvait un, par heureuse fortune, et qui ressentît le goût de pareils labeurs, ce serait grand-pitié que de l’employer à une tâche aussi peu payante. Certes, il courrait risque de faire, chemin faisant, maintes constatations amusantes et de rapporter, piqués sur ses plaques de liège, plusieurs de ces jolis coléoptères qui ravissent le spécialiste”<sup>14</sup>.

Badirudi Febvrek ziradokiela Margaritaren mistizismoaren kontua ebatzia zegoela eta soilik xehetasun batzuk zehaztea geratzen zela, eta eginkizuna adituentzat utzi zuen; baina ez da hala, eta espero dut nire ikerketak demostratzea ezen ez dela soilik “coleoptères”en kontu bat.

## LEHEN KAPITULUA

Nafarroako Margaritaren mistikarako sarbidea  
(1521-1524) eta Meauxeko eskolaren postulatu mistikoekiko  
engaiamendua.

### I

Margaritak 1521 urtean erabaki zuen Meauxeko erreformatzaileen taldeari batzea, zeina osaturik baitzegoen haren eratzaila zen Guillaume Briçonnet apezpikuaz, Lefèvre d'Étaples, Michel d'Arande, Gerard Roussel, Vatable, M. Mazurier, P. Caroli, G. Farel eta Briçonneten deiari jaramon egin zioten beste batzuez. Aurrez aurre zuten Sorbonaren jarrera ofiziala, zeina oposatzen zen erreforma ebanjelikozko edozein saiakerari, Lutherren ildo zorrotzaren antza somatzen bazioten, berau Elizaren babes ofizialik gabe ari baitzen. Aipatzekoa da aurreko urtean, 1520an, “Exsurge Domine” bula Erromatarra jaulki zela Lutherren kontra, eta Meauxeko elkarte ebanjelikoaren eraketa eta Lutherrek idatzitakoa kondenatzeko Sorbonaren iniziatiba, apirilaren 15ekoa, aldi berean gertatu zirela. Taldean Lefèvre sartzea bereziki susmagarria izan omen zen, ezen Sorbonan eta Erroman Johannes Reuchlinen alde esku hartu zuen<sup>15</sup>; Martineau eta Veissièrek iradoki bezala, izan liteke Lutherrek eragindako erreboltaren ondorioz Lefèvrek erabaki izatea Briçonnetek gidatutako Elizaren barne erreformari batzea<sup>16</sup>. Nahiz eta Lefèvre seguruenik Lutherren jarrera erradikalarekin ados zegoen, bera baino malguagoa zen; izan ere, bere ideiek zerikusi gutxi dute printzipio lutheranoekin, Sorbona ahalegintzen ez bazen ere bereizten Lefèvreren jarrera irmoa eta Lutherren matxinada<sup>17</sup>.

Briçonneten historia arras ezberdina izan zen. Garaiko arazo intelektualekiko interes bizia erakutsi zuen arren, ikastuna baino diplomatikoagoa zen; Lefèvrek bere Commentaire sur saint Paul lana dedikatu zion 1512an<sup>18</sup>, baita beste testu eta tratatu mistikoen edizioak ere<sup>19</sup>. 1470an apezpikuen familia batean sortua<sup>20</sup>, Briçonnet Lodèveko apezpiku izateko hautatu zuten 1489an, eta gero Saint-Germain-des-Prèseko abade izendatu zuten 1507an, non Lefèvreri harrera egin zion, eta hasi zen kleroaren heziketaren bidezko diozesiaren erreformarako plan bat eratzen<sup>21</sup>. Beranduago, 1511an Pisako Kontzilio Galikanoan parte hartzeagatik bere anaia Denisekin batera, eskumikatua izan zen eta eskubide guztiak galdu zituen, baina bi anaiak laster izan ziren birgaituak. Aita, Narbonako apezpikua, 1514an hil zitzaien<sup>22</sup>.

Briçonneten izena zikintzeko konplot gero eta handiago bat egon da zenbait girotan; nekez jasotzen ditu laudorioak, eta kritika bidegabeak

egiten zaizkio<sup>23</sup>; batzuen eritziz, Margarita harreman mistiko baten aitzakipean inizatzean, Sorbonaren erasoei aurre egiteko printzesa bere alde edukitzea zen bere helburua. Are gehiago, bidegabekeria heldu zen eragotzera Margaritari idatzi zizkion gutunak François Géninen Lettres de Marguerite d'Angoulême liburuan publika zitezen<sup>24</sup>. Martineau eta Veissièrek diotenez<sup>25</sup>, “des jugements très injustes pèsent sur cette Correspondance, qui ne sont pas parvenues à détruire ni la belle étude que lui consacra en 1900 Philippe-Auguste Becker<sup>26</sup>, ni, de nos jours, les paroles pourtant percutentes à son sujet de Pierre Jourda<sup>27</sup> et Lucien Febre<sup>28</sup>”. Edonola ere, Henry Hellerrek 1530eko hamarkadaren hasieran, garai konplikatu hartan Briçonnetek jokaturako paper garrantzitsuari buruz egindako ikerketei esker<sup>29</sup>, honen irudi berri bat eratzen hasi da. Hala ere, irudi hau osoagotzeko beharrezkoa izan zen Margaritarekin elkartrukatu zuen Correspondancea publikatzea (1521-1522 eta 1523-1524). Martineau eta Veissièrek argitaratutako bi bolumenek erakutsi zuten prelatu bat, Luis XIIaren eta Frantzisko Iaren garaian Paris eta Erromaren arteko diplomatiko inpartziala izandakoa, nahiz eta galikanismoa xedetzat harturik jardun zen, edonola ere Frantziako Elizaren erreformarekiko ezin ukatuzko atxikimenduarekin<sup>30</sup>.

L. Febvrek arrazoi handiarekin baieztatu zuen ezinezkoa litzatekeela ondorio serioetara iristea, kritikoei Nafarroako Margaritaren bizitza eta idazlanen funtsezko nortasuna onartu ezean<sup>31</sup>. Nabarmentzekoa da baita Briçonneten nortasunaren jarraikortasuna, 1512an lortu zuenarena Lefèvrek berari Pablo Deunaren Epistolei Commentairea dedikatzea, eta Meauxeko erreformatzailearena, Margarita bere eta bere kideen alde agertu behar izan zenean Sorbonaren salaketei aurre egiteko: “(...) que le Roi et Madame i ont bien délibéré de donner à cognoistre que la verité de Dieu n'est point heresie” (Correspondance, 1, 71. orr).

Egia esateko, nahiz eta Briçonnetek Lutherren matxinada gaitzetsi zuen bere gutun pastoraletako bitan, 1523ko abenduaren 13an eta 1524ko urtarrilaren 10ean<sup>32</sup>, Sorbonak esku hartu zuenetik Meauxeko elkartea banatu egin zen eta Briçonnetek, 1534an zendu zelarik, ez zuen inoiz burua altxatu gertakari honek eragindako saminetik. Bada oraino kritikoen artean erantzun gabeko galdera bat: gutxietsi al zuten Briçonnet Lefèvre eta Margaritak, errendizio honen ostean? Espero dut nire ikerketak erakustea ezen, Margaritari dagokionez behintzat, beti miretsi zuela Elizaren barne aldaketa bat aldarrikatu zuen gizon hau:

Le feu savoureux crie au dehors de l'Eglise. Il n'est point dedans. La doctrine evangelique, sy peu encoires qu'elle se communique, c'est au dehors de l'esperit, par toutes inventions pour complaire et faire noz sectes

grandes et nous amplifier. L'Evangile n'est de present que plomb fondu. Il n'est solide comme il est baillé. (Correspondance, 1, 124-125. orr.)

Nolanahi ere, beti eztitzen zituen bere aholkuak hitz zuhurrez, Margaritaren ezinegona zuzendu nahian: “La prudence est caller [abaissier les voiles], n’entreprendre ou ne continuer l’oeuvre dont l’issue n’est honorable ne volue” (ibid. 2, 127. orr.). Bere uste pertsonalak baretzen ziren: “Ung bon edifficateur ne bastist pour demolir” (ibid. 2, 105. orr.), edozein saiakera luthertarri uko egiteko. Briçonneten birgaikuntzarako nire ekarpen pertsonala izango da Margarita fidel mantendu zitzaiola bizi osoan, hogeit urtetan zehar idatziz bertso eta antzezlan motzak, bere maisu izandako apezpiku bikain honen doktrina erakusten dutenak.

M. A. Screech irakasleak dio ezen Meauxeko erreforma planaren porrotaren arrazoi historikoa “la défaite de Pavie, le 24 février 1525” izan zela. “Si l’on songe que Marguerite d’Alençon et le roi François lui-même avaient accorder leur appui au groupe de Meaux, il est permis de penser que, sans la défaite, Lefèvre d’Etaples et ses disciples auraient pu changer l’histoire religieuse de la France”<sup>33</sup>. Briçonnetek hierarkiaren eta ideia erreformatzaileen arteko lotura izateko abagunea galdu zuen, eta ezin zion honengatik errua bere buruari bota. Ezin baiezta genezake historikoki, Margaritak bera aukeratu zuenik rol horretarako, edo Briçonnet bera Frantziako gortean intsinuatu zenik, mistizismo faltsu baten moztarpean bere gaitasuna gainditzen zuen jokabide bat bere gain hartuz, zenbait kritikok uste bezala<sup>34</sup>. Izatez, bazen Frantzisko Iaren gortean Elizaren barne berrizte behararen isileko onarpen bat, hondamena ekidingo bazen, baina Sorbona ez zegoen batere ados; hortako susmagarri zeritzeten Margaritaren Miroiraren irakaspen ebanjelikoei, non argiro adierazten zen Kristo dela Salbatzaile bakarra:

O Jesuchrist, des ames vray pescheur  
Et seul sauveur, amy sur tous amys (...)  
(Miroir, vv. 1164-1165)

Margaritak eta Lefèvrek Briçonneten erreforma plan serio baten ekimena txalotu bazuten, Meauxetik hasita, hau izan zen biek ere uste ukan zutelako aurrera egingo zuela, aurrez aurre Meauxeko “cordeliers” eta Pariseko Sorbonaren aurkaritza zeukaten arren. Martineau eta Veissièrek 1521 eta 1522 urteetako gorabehera hauek aztertu dituzte:

(...) les esperances d’un plus large développement de la reforme de Meaux apparaissaient brillantes car la Cour de France avait été blessée profondément par l’élection d’Adrian d’Utrecht comme Pape. C’est dans

ces circonstances que Briçonnet se rendit à la Cour. Les resultats de ce voyage se traduisirent sans aucun doute dans un ordre emanant du Roy pour que des conciles soient tenus dans les archevêchés du Royaume a partir du 8 mars 1522 (...) <sup>35</sup>.

Planak ez zuen arrakastarik izan eta azkenean, Briçonneten ideia erreformatzaileak, nahasiak frantsesen hegemoniarako beronek betidanik landutako pretentsio galikanistekin, desagertzen joan ziren, garai batean non giro politiko eta erlijioso edozein saiakera erreformatzaileraren aurkakoa zen. Meauxeko taldea 1525ean desegin zen, frantsesen Paviako zorigaitzeko porrotaren ostean <sup>36</sup>.

## II

1521ean, Margaritak erabaki zuen Briçonneten eta Meauxeko bere “protégé”en irakaspenei lotzea. Harrapakin erreza ote zen hogeita hamar urteko emakume hau? Ezin ahaztu dezakegu Alençoneko Dukearekin ezkondu osteko etsipena; Jourdak hari buruz idatzi zuen: “Le duc ne pouvait en rien plaire à sa femme: sans culture, il faisait la guerre, paraissait dans les tournois, chassait, mais ne s’interessait aux choses de l’esprit” <sup>37</sup>. 1519an Maroti harrera egin zionetik, aldaketaren aldarrikatzaile hainbatek emakume aparteko honen gortean babesa aurkitu zuten, 1549ko abenduaren 21ean hil zen arte. Hala ere, 1521ean, ekimen mistiko batekin bat egin zuen, zeinak xedetzat baitzuen frantziar gizartea eraldatzea eskema ebanjeliko baten bidez; bateratuz orduko italiar giro neoplatonikoetan eratzen ari ziren ideal filosofikoak, eta kontzeptu erlijiosoak. Hau ez zen haien ideia originala baina aurkeztua izan zen Frantziaren erreforma ebanjelikotzat. 1521eko ekainean Margaritak eskatu zuenean taldean sartu eta ikasten hastea, dagoeneko ezagutzen zuen Briçonnet eta Lefèvreren ideal ebanjelikoen mamia, Margaritak apezpikuari idatzitako lehen gutunean ikusten den bezala:

Monsieur de Meaulx, congnoissant que ung seul est necessaire, m’adresse à vous pour vous prier envers luy vouloir estre par oraison moien qu’il luy plaise conduire selon la sainte volonté Monsieur d’Alençon qui, par le commandement du Roy, s’en va son lieutenant general en son armée que, je doute, ne se departira sans guerre. Et, pour ce que la paix et la victoire est en sa main, pensant que, oultre le bien publicque du royaulme, avez bon desir de ce qui touche son salut et le mien, vous emploie en mes affaires et vous demande le secours spirituel. (Correspondance, 1, 25. orr.) <sup>38</sup>

Egia da, gutunean Margaritak kontu pertsonaletarako aholkua eta kontsolamendua eskatzen duela, bere senarra gerrara baitzihoan; baina zerbait gehiagorako ere, eta hau kritikoez ez dute aipatzen: gai mistikoetan heziketa, esaterako Jainkoaren “le Seul Necessaire” izaeran, eta baita kontsolamendu espiritualala ere:

Car il me fault mesler de beaucoup de choses qui me doivent bien donner crainte. Et encores demain s'en va ma tante de Nemours en Savoye. Parquoy, vous faisant les recommandations d'elle et de moy et vous priant que sy congnoissez que le temps fust propre que maistre Michel peult faire ung voyage, ce me seroit consolation que je ne quiers que pour l'honneur de Dieu, le remectant à vostre bonne discretion et la sciencie. La toute vostre Marguerite. (ibid. 1, 25. orr.).

Hala, Margaritak onartu zuen bere borondatea Maisuarenaren menpe jartzea, eta honek erabaki beharko zuen zer zen onena harentzat. Dena neurtua zegoen, eta Michel d'Arande “protégé”a aukeratu zuten, zailtasunik ukan bazezan lagun lezantzat. Margaritak ez zuen bere ezinegonaz ekutatzen, baina Briçonnet zentzudunagoa zen: Michel izango zen Dukaren gidari, baina beranduago<sup>39</sup>; kontutan izanik Margaritaren lehen gutunean trataturiko gaiak, ez zuen denborarik galdu, eta berehala ekin zion hasiberria instruitzeari, bai Jainkoaren esentzia, baita borroka irabazteko arimak batailatzeraz ere. Prest egon behar duela, eta borroka honen izaera ere, horrela lehen gutunean Margaritaren “guda” hitzaren zentzu literala espiritual bihurtuz:

( ... ) car il est sa congnoissance et ne se peult que en luy mesme estre congneu, qui se communique par sa bonté infinie ses creatures. (...) D'amour assault d'amour se fault deffendre. La guerre est douce, conduite par amour. Secours est bon, quant amour l'accompagne. En ce combat, foy mene l'avant-garde, esperance est cottoyant les helles de la bataille, par amour conduite. (ibid. 1, 26-27. orr.).

Argiro erakusten du Margaritari “Fede-Esperantza-Karidade” banaketa hirukoitza irakasteko asmoa. Margaritak segituan erantzun zion (ibid. 1, 29-30. orr.), nahiz Briçonneten hurrengo gutuna itxaron zuen bere engaiamendu zintzoa erakusteko. Correspondanceko bosgarren gutuna agian garrantzitsuena da, zeren bertan Margaritak erabaki baitzuen heziketa formal bat jasotzea, “chemin de salut” espresio teknikoa erabiliz. Ohartzekoa da ezen gutun hau ere, Correspondanceko lehena bezala, mistikan heziketa bat hasteko eskaera batekin hasten dela:

Monsieur de Meaulx, je loue de toute ma puissance le seul bien nécessaire, qui, par sa bonté, permet à celle qui se peut dire moins que rien, tant de grace que d'avoir eu, par votre lettre et celle de Maître Michel, occasion de desirer de commencer d'entendre le chemin de salut. (ibid. 1, 33. orr.).

Michel d'Arande, Lefèvreren laguna, Margarita eta Briçonneten arteko Correspondancea hasi baino zertxobait lehenago batu zitzaion Meauxeko taldeari, 1521eko ekainean. Ongi prestatua zen Margaritari zenbait kontzeptu ulertzen laguntzeko, zeinak nahiz teorikoak izan, beharrezkoak ziren erdiesteko Briçonnet eta kideen eritziz Elizak falta zuen purutasun ebanjelikozko egoera. Screech irakasleak hala laburtzen ditu irakaspen hauek:

Elle est d'accord avec Luther au sujet de la justification par la foi seule; elle considère cette foi comme une confiance et une espérance en Dieu et comme un don de Dieu; elle montre une sainte horreur pour tout ce qui risquerait de détourner le fidèle de la vénération de Dieu seul et de Dieu toujours. Surtout, elle n'admet aucune autre source de la vérité chrétienne que la Bible.<sup>40</sup>

Doktrina hauek behin eta berriz agertzen dira Correspondancean, nahiz eta lengoaia esoteriko arraro batean adieraziak diren, neoplatonismo erlijioso eta mistizismo hermetikoaren arteko nahasketa bat, Margaritaren idatzien ezaugarri. Badirudi Screechek defendatzen duela Lefèvre eta bere lagunak ari zirela Lutherrek aldarrikatutako Bibliaren exegesi bat praktikatzen<sup>41</sup>, baina uste dut oker dagoela, zeren Lefèvreren Epistres et Evangileseko aurkezpen liturgikoak seguruenik Meauxeko Diozesian egindako sermoien laburpenak diren, eta ez Bibliaren komentario soilak. Nik dakidanez, ez da egon ikerketarik Correspondancearen eta Lefèvreren esposaketen ildoaren arteko loturaz, baina argi dago oso antzekoak direla eta epistoletako batzuk izan daitezkeela Lefèvreren Epistres et Evangiles bidezko ebanjelizazioaren esposaketa mistikoak<sup>42</sup>: adibidez, Margaritak “nourriture spirituelle” galdegin zion Briçonneti bere 37. gutunean (Correspondance, 1, 193-194. orr.), zeren Garizumako sermoiak bukatuak baitziren: “...car voiez le caresme loing de nous, les sermons failliz, l'esté revenu...” (ibid. 1, 194. orr.); Briçonnetek tratatu luze batekin erantzun zion, Lefèvreren Bazko sermoirako ildo beretik: “Pour le iour de Pasques: Epistre en la premiere aux Corinthiens, Chapitre V”<sup>43</sup>, zeinetan Lefèvrek intsinnatzen zituen Briçonneten gutuneko gai printzipalak, esan nahi baita, Itsaso Gorria zeharkatzearen interpretazio espirituala Pablo Deunak proposatu bezala, eta “manna-ogia”ren doktrina mistikoa: “Le pain”, dio Lefèvrek, “faict ce pain de toute pureté ne peut habiter sinon en lieu pur

et net (...)”<sup>44</sup>; Briçonnetek du azaltzen: “(...) ils ne portent avec eulx pain fait avec levain” (hau da, legamiaduna) “et qu’ilz eussent à manger sept jours entiers pain azime” (hau da, legamiagabea) (ibid. 1, 201. orr.).

Askotan, Briçonneten gutunak urtean zeharko irakurketa biblikoen egokitzen liturgikoekin bat doaz; esaterako, hogeigarren gutuna, Briçonnetek 1521eko abenduaren 22an idatzitakoa, abendualdiko tratatu bat da, Margarita Gabonetarako prestatzeko; jaiotzari buruzko hausnarketa bat dago bertan: “Là y trouverez le foing sur lequel il repose, assistant l’asne et le bueuf. Par le foing entenderez noz pechéz (...). Par l’asne, la cécité (...). Par le bueuf, l’impuissance de nostre entendement (...)” (ibid. 1, 111. orr.). Beraz, Briçonnetek Dukesari idatzitako gutunak ezin ditzakegu Lefèvreren Meauxeko ebanjelizazio planarekiko independiente bezala ulertu. Correspondancean Briçonneten ikuspegi propioa ematen den arren, Febvre adierazi bezala talde baten doktrina dugu:

La correspondance de Briçonnet n’est pas l’improvisation d’un mystique de second plan, d’un mystique sans originalité profonde, avec une néophyte avide de consolations spirituelles. Ou du moins, elle n’est pas que cela. Elle transmet une doctrine. Et cette doctrine, ce n’est pas la doctrine individuelle d’un homme; c’est la doctrine d’un groupe.<sup>45</sup>

Gutunak ez ziren soilik Margaritarentzat, zeren gortesauen artean mugitzen baitziren, eta Nemoursko Filiberto zen irakurle sutsuenetariko bat<sup>46</sup>. Begi bistakoa da Briçonnetek gorte osoan eragin nahi zuela, ez soilik Michel d’Arande sermoilari bidaliz, baita bere ebanjelizazio planean Margarita bera ere onartuz. Berrogeita zazpigarren gutunean adibidez, Dukesari ohartarazten dio ez dadila hain kartsuki saiatu bere anaia, erregea, kausa ebanjelicora ekartzen (ibid. 1, 29-230. orr.).

Correspondance luze honek hainbat helburu zituen, Meauxeko “cordeliers” fraideen aurrean gorte frantsesaren babesa lortzeaz gain, zeinek krudelki akusatzen baitzituzten, diozesian doktrina luthertarrak zabaltzea leporatuz<sup>47</sup>. Baina xederik garrantzitsuena zatekeen Margarita taldeko doktrineta trebatzea, “corpus doctrinae” korapilatsu baterako inimizazio teknikaren bidez, zeina eman baitzen, artoski planeaturik, zenbait urte iraun zuen korrespondentzia baten bidez, baita Briçonneten aurrez aurreko azalpenen bidez, baita Michel d’Arande eta Lefèvrerenez<sup>48</sup>.

Jadanik 1853an, Charles Schmidtek argiro erakutsi zituen Meauxeko eskolaren helburu mistikoak artikulatu batean, “Le Mysticisme Quiétiste en France au début de la Réformation sous François Ier: Lefèvre d’Etaples – Guillaume Briçonnet – Marguerite de Navarre – Gérard Roussel –



Michel d'Arande – le curé Coq – l'auteur anonyme d'un manuscrit inédit du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>49</sup>. Nahiz eta nahiko orokorra den, azaltzen du nola ulertu behar den Margarita eta Briçonneten arteko Correspondancea, hau da, Pseudo Dionisioren kontenplazio espiritualari buruzko irakaspenei jarraituz egindako sarbide mistikorako tratatu bat bezala. Ikerketa berriagoak saiatu dira Erreginarene obraren sustrai neoplatonikoak aurkitzen: Lefranckek 1914an publikatu zuen Marguerite et le Platonisme de la Renaissance<sup>50</sup>, baina gai honetan ekarpenik garrantzitsuenak Glori Capello<sup>51</sup> eta Christine Martineauena da, bereziki bigarren honek irakurritako ponentzia bat, 1973ko uztailean, hamaseigarren “Colloque international d'Etudes Humanistes, Platon et Aristote à la Renaissance”an, berriki argitaratua izan dena “Le Platonisme de Marguerite de Navarre?” izenburupean<sup>52</sup>. Ados nago Martineauen artikuluko honekin, non ukatzen duen Lefranckek Margaritari aplikatutako platonismoaren kontzeptua, erakusten duelarik ezen ez dagoela Platonen eragin zuzenik Erreginarengan, Dolet edo Periersko Bonaventurerengan ez bezala<sup>53</sup>, eta Margaritaren kasuan ezin mintza gaitezkeela “néoplatonisme amoureux” batez<sup>54</sup>; Margaritaren neoplatonismoaren iturri bakarra, nahiko goizetik Briçonneten bidez jasotako neoplatonismo espiritualeko heziketa da, zeina Europako eskola mistikoetan baitzegoen K.o. III mendetik: “C'est pourquoi”, ondorioztatzen du, “l'étude du néoplatonisme de Marguerite ne peut que passer par l'étude du néoplatonisme de Briçonnet”<sup>55</sup>.

1540ko hamarkadan Margarita neoplatonismoa miresten hasi zen, eta orduan bere lanik helduenak idatzi zituen, La Navire, Chansons Spirituelles, Prisons eta Heptaméron, baina garai hartan ez zen ari hasiberria zeneko Briçonneten irakasgai neoplatoniko goiztiar horiek gogoratzen baino (zentzu platonikoan)<sup>56</sup>. Glori Capellok heziketa hartako gaietako batzuk eskaintzen dizkigu Correspondancean ageri diren gisan; hauek dira garrantzitsuenak:

- 1.- Jainkoaren esentziaren izaera
- 2.- Jainkozkoa ezagutzeko “via negativa”
- 3.- Arima eta gorputzaren arteko ezberdintasuna
- 4.- Esperientzia mistikoa Igokundearen modu bezala
- 5.- Gaizkiaren arazoa
- 6.- Ezkontza, arima eta Jainkoaren bategite mistikoaren ikur bezala
- 7.- Kristoren ezagutza, ezagutza ororen gailur bezala<sup>57</sup>

Hauek dira Margaritaren idazlanetan agertuko diren doktrinak, eta lan honetan banan banan aztertuko ditugunak; apezpikuak sistematikoki azaltzen zituen, nahiz eta Margaritak, ikasle ona zenez, askotan gaiak aurreratzea galdegiten zion; izan ere, Briçonneten gutun asko berak

planteatutako arazoen erantzunak dira<sup>58</sup>. Zoritzarrez, printzipio hauetako batzuk luthertartzat hartuak izan dira, ez soilik ortodoxiaren defendatzaile sutsu zen Sorbonak, baita kritiko garaikideek, zeinak ez diren fintasun teologikoen ezagutzaile eta gaur oraindik mantentzen duten Margarita ebanjelismo luthertarraren eraginpean zegoela<sup>59</sup>.

### III

Kritiko batzuk gehien nahastu dituen Margaritaren adina da, Meauxeko ideia ebanjelikoak ikasten hastea aukeratu zueneko, lengoia esoteriko, hermetismo nabari eta erlijiozkotasun neoplatoniko baten bidez; erabaki hau nola gertatu zen baino, kritikoak interesatuago daude aurkitzen honentzako azalpen psikologikoren bat. Bere hogeita hamargarren urtera heltzen ari zen, eta bizitza zentzugabe bat bizi ostean, batzuek diotenez gortesauekin amodiozko istorioak izaten, erlijio bihurtze batean bilatu zuen babesa. Oso maitekorra zen, eta Clément Marotek bere adiskidetasuna eta eskuzabaltasuna goraiatzen zituen:

A qui diray ma douleur ordinaire,  
Synon à toy, Princesse debonnaire,  
Qui m'as nourri et souvent secouru  
Avant qu'avoir devers toy recouru?  
A qui diray le regret qui entame  
Mon cuer de fraiz, synon à toy, Madame,  
Que j'ay trouvee en ma première oppresse  
(Par dit et fait) plus mere que maistresse?<sup>60</sup>

Marotek behin eta berriz defendatzen du bere zuzentasun morala “azpijoko erlijiosoz” betetako gorte hartan, eta Géninek era berean argudiatzen du ezen “la vertu de Marguerite n'en a souffert aucune atteinte” bere miresleen laudorio eta nahiei esker<sup>61</sup>, eta ez dutela inongo oinarririk bere neba Frantziskorekin intzestu harreman bat zuelako susmoek<sup>62</sup>, zeinarekiko izan baitzuen sentimendurik sutsuena<sup>63</sup>.

Egia da 1930ean Pierre Jourdak uxatu zituela Margaritaren ezkontzaz kanpoko “liaisons sentimentales”en susmo guztiak<sup>64</sup>, batez ere nabarmenduz “retour du royaume vers Dieu” bat, Margaritaren kontzientzi krisi bat baino; hala ere, mitoak hor dirau, nahiz indar gutxiagorekin. Merezi du azpimarratzeak ezen Printzesa Apezpikuari laguntza eske zuzendu zitzaionean, bera ez zela aldatu Meauxeko printzipio ebanjelikoak ikasten hastean, ez ziela uko egin adiskidetasunaren plazerei, ezta naturaren eta artearen edertasunari, bere

gortean harrera emanaz Rabelais bezalako idazleei, Calvino bezalako erreformatzaileei, edota Héroet eta Charles de Sainte-Marthe bezalako idazle eta poeta neoplatonikoei. Zorionez, Margaritak berak idatzitako poema autobiografiko bat dugu, Prisons de la Reine de Navarre, erakusten duena 1521ean bere bihotzak jasan zuen aldaketa, Briçonneten deiari erantzunez egia ebanjelikoa eta perfekzio osoenaren gozamina onartzera prest agertu zenean. Margaritaren Prisonsek zentzua dute soilik ezagutzaren forma perfektuago baten desira bezala interpretatuz gero, eta ez maitasunaren eta jakintzaren ukapen bat bezala<sup>65</sup>. Esan dezagun behingoz, ezin mintza gaitezkeela 1521 inguruan bere bizitzako krisi batez, edota 1525 eta 1527 artean arazo gatazkatsurik zegoenik Capitonek esan bezala, Margaritaren kontzientziaren zenbait “krisiren” teoria sortuz<sup>66</sup>. Itzuliko naiz honetara, zeren teoria honek ez du azaltzen idazlan poetiko guztietan zeharko Meauxekiko lotura, ezta 1521eko ekainetik aurrera jaso zuen inimizazioa, erabaki zuenean Meauxeko talde erreformatzailearen ideiak onartzea.

Bizitza espiritualerako hastapen mota guztietan elementu komun bat dago, hasiberria irakaslearengandik ezberdintzen duena, hura behartuz askotan ixiltasuna gordetzera zinpean. “Those things”, dio Pseudo Dionisiok bere Mystical Theologyn, “thou must not disclose to any of the uninitiated, by whom I mean those who cling to the objects of human thought, and imagine there is no super-essential reality beyond”<sup>67</sup>. Haien erregua publikoki egin ezean, hirugarren ordenetako kideek bezala adibidez, hasiberri askok bizitza normala egiten zuten<sup>68</sup>. Batez ere, haien borondatea Jainkoaren eta Maisuaren menpe jartzea onartu behar zuten:

Voiant que au Tout (zin dagi Margaritak) n’estes rien et croiant vostre rien encloz dedans le Tout, me vueulx soubzmectre a 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 invocque puisse abismer. (Correspondance, 1, 134. orr.).

Normalki, neofitoak formalki eskatzea beharrezkoa da, baina ohiz kanpoko kasuetan, hasiberria onartua izan daiteke lehen harremanak ezarri ostean.

Monsieur de Meaulx, je loue de toute ma puissance le seul bien nécessaire, qui, par sa bonté, permet à celle qui se peut dire moins que rien, tant de race que d’avoir eu, par vostre lettre et celle de Maistre Michel, occasion de desirer commancer d’entendre le chemin de salut. (ibid., 1, 33. orr.).<sup>69</sup>

Beranduxeago, Briçonnetek heziketa plan orokor bat prestatu zuen, hasteko, tratatu mistikoak igorritz, zeinak Margaritak irakurriko zituen inizatutako pertsona baten laguntzaz. Zoritxarrez, ez dakigu ze irakurketa mota bidali zioten, zeren ez baitira agertu ez tratatuak ezta 2A gutunaren kopiak ere, seguruenik Nemoursko Filibertari igorri zitzaizkiolako gero, hau ere interesatua baitzen Margaritaren sarbide mistikoaren nondik norakoetan. Berak bai, aipatzen du irakurketarako textuak jaso izana: “(...) je vous prie ne vous ennuyer de continuer. Car j’ay receu tous les traictz [hau da, traités] que m’avez envoié, desquels ma tante de Nemours a eu sa part (...)” (ibid. 1, 30. orr). Handik gutxira material gehiago jaso zuen: “Madame (idatzi zuen Briçonnetek), je vous envoie le double d’unes lettres que escripvoit quelque pere<sup>70</sup> à ses filles spirituelles, qui peuvent vous ayder à parvenir à la fin que dessus” (ibid. 1, 36. orr.).

Litekeena da Margaritak jasotako tratatuetako batzuk Pseudo Dionisioren idazlan mistikoak izatea. Meauxeko taldeak Bibliaren ostean garrantzitsuentzat jotzen zituen<sup>71</sup>: “Monsieur saint Denis faict ung singulièrement beau chappitre, auquel il monstre ausy clerement que le soleil que mal n’est point et que mal comme mal ne subsiste point (...)” (ibid., 1, 149. orr), teologia mistikoaren oinarritzko printzipioetako bat bihurtuz<sup>72</sup>. Hainbat autorek kritikatu dute Pseudo Dionisioren irakaspenetarako Margaritaren sarbidea, zeinak, H. Hellerren arabera, “formed an important part of Marguerite’s instruction from Briçonnet”<sup>73</sup>. Martineau espezifikagoa izan da, konturatu delarik, nahiz eta platonismoa beragandik ikasi zuen, benetako jatorria Pseudo Dionisioren irakaspenetan zegoela<sup>74</sup>, baita Cusako Nikolasenetan ere, Capellok dioen bezala<sup>75</sup>. Margaritaren hiztegiaren analisi zehatz batez, bereziki 1540etako obrarik helduenetan garatu zuenarenaz, hala nola Prisonetan, baieztatu ahalko dugu ezen Briçonneten ideia mistikoak Margaritaren lanetan agertuko zirela, berau pentsaeraren eskola batean onartua izan zelarik, non ulertzen zuten Jainkoa ariman inmanentea zela, traszendente mantenduz aldi berean<sup>76</sup>.

Tratatu mistikoen irakurketarekin zerikusia zuen beste teknika bat zen laguntzaile baten izendapena iniazio prozesu luzerako; Briçonnetek bere gain hartu zuen Margarita heztearen ataza, baina batera bere ideien “expositeur” bat izendatzeko prozedura tradizionala hartu zuen, zeina Margaritaren ondoan egongo zen, berari puntu zailenetariko batzuk azaltzeko: “Le souldain partement de Maistre Michel (Meauxetik Margaritaren gortera) excusera le surplus, lequel vous dira quelques propos auquel vous plaira pourveoir” (ibid., 1, 70. orr.). Michel d’Arande laster bihurtu zen ahozko iruzkingile, baita Margaritaren gortearen eta Meauxen arteko benetako lotura: honek idatzitako 7. gutunean, onartzen du gai

batzuk ulergarriagoak gertatu zitzaizkiola “avec l’aide de l’expositeur (Michel d’Arande) que m’avez laissé, dont tant mon ame vous est tenue, d’estudier vostre leçon (...)” (ibid., 1, 37. orr.). Michelen ideiak Briçonnetenak baino erradikalagoak ziren, honek beti moderazioa aldarrikatzen baitzuen, izan ere, azken batean Sorbonaren aginduetara zegoen. 1522ko otsailean, Margaritak aitortu zuen ezen Michel baretuta itzuli zela Meauxetik: “J’ay trouvé Maistre Michel amendé et adoulcy. Et ce que je ne sçay je puis. J’espere que celluy le fera que je desire commander à desirer” (ibid., 1, 164. orr.)<sup>77</sup>. Michel d’Arande, Briçonnetek Margaritari igorritako “expositeur”a, berarekin batera egon zen baita Meauxeko taldea desegin ostean ere, 1533an Sorbonaren aurkako borroka latzean. Hau Miroirrari buruzko kapituluan azalduko dugu, zeren lan hau Meauxeko ideiak zabaltzeko helburuarekin idatzi baitzen, Sorbonak tratatu pro-luthertartzat hartu zuelarik.

Behintzat 1521 eta 1524 artean, Briçonnet izan zen duda barik Margaritaren maisua. Febvrek, trebetasunez, dio egon zela halako interakzio bat Margarita eta Briçonneten artean, bikotea “ce grand duo mystique” izendatzen duelarik, zeren gai batzuk batetik bestera errepikatzen baitira, nor den irakaslea eta nor ikaslea ikustea eragozten duen oihartzunen joko bat eratuz<sup>78</sup>; baina, prozesuaren emaitza bezala, Margaritak lezio berri bat ikasten du. Berak idatzitako 53. gutunean, teknika konplexu honen adibide on bat aurkitzen da, non gogoratzen duen agindua ziola bidaltzea tratatu bat azalduz “trois baisiers”en esanahi mistikoa: “(...) de vous prier que par escript veuillez refreschir la debile memoire des trois baisiers, bien que trop indigne est d’en oÿr parler vostre inutile mere” (ibid. 2, 53. orr.). Nor izan zen hitz honetaz mintzatzea proposatzen lehena, Briçonnet ala Margarita? Meauxeko Apezpikuak, apur bat itxaron ostean, 1523ko uztailaren 2lean idatzi zuen: “...en la contemplation des trois myrouers divins [trinitateko hiru pertsonak] qui sont sans confusion...”, doktrina hau idatziz azaltzea zailegia zela aitortuz (ibid., 2, 139. orr.).

Correspondance osoa sarbide bikoitz batekiko erreferentziaz beteta dago, ahozkoa eta idatzia, eta Margaritak zera komentatzen zuen: “Ainsi que la brebis en país estrange errant, ignorant sa pasture par mescognoissance des nouveaulx pasteurs (...)” (ibid., 1, 37. orr.); Briçonnetek berehala onartzen du gaia gutun-tratatu batean: “Madame, la fecundité de voz lettres est sy grande que par une ne pourrois, ne par plusieurs, venans de mon ignorance, y satisfaire (...) Il est plusieurs sortes de brebis errantes” (ibid. 1, 41. orr.).

Briçonnetek ez zuen “fecundité” hitza ausaz erabaki; izan ere,

Correspondance osoko asmakizun nahasgarrienetako baten gakoa da; Margaritak hainbeste desiratzen zuen Briçonneten gutunak jasotzea non apezpikuaren hainbat gai iragarri zituen, gero honek gutun-tratatu forman garatuko zituenak, baina Briçonneten ahotsa beti gailentzen da, bera izan dadin kontsideratua Correspondanceko ideien benetako iturria. Normala da, beraz, Margaritak ikasle eta alaba rola hartzea Meauxen eta gorte frantsesaren arteko gutun elkartrukeak hasi zirenean. 3. gutuna, Margaritak idatzia, horrela bukatzen da: “La toute vostre fille, Marguerite” (ibid., 1, 30. orr), Briçonnetek berehala gaitzetsi zuena: “De Dieu seul estes fille et espouze” (ibid., 1, 32. orr.). Badirudi berak onartzen duela, baina berehala bueltatzen da idaztera “(...) vostre bonne fille” (ibid., 1, 49. orr); gero, Briçonneten gutunek biraketa platoniko arraro bat hartzen dute, filiazioaren ideia horri buelta emanez, Margaritaren arima bere ideientzako eremu emankor bat kontsideratzean, eta bere igokunde mistikorako abiatze puntu bezala, nolabait esatearren. Hala dio 18. gutunak, 1521eko abenduaren 22an idatziak, Margaritaren “vostre pauvre fille” esakerari erantzunez: “Et de ce, Madame, non contente par le porteur (Michel d’Arande), accusez ma negligence que par voz excuses stimulez maternellement” (ibid., 1, 77. orr.), horrela berrabiaraziz 9. gutunean iragarritako gaia, 1521eko urriaren 24ean: “Madame, la fecundité de voz lettres est sy grande que par une ne pourroit (...) y satisfaire” (ibid., 1, 41. orr.). Gai mistiko honek hainbat bariante ditu. “Viscerallement” bezala ager daiteke:

Parquoy, Madame, je supplie au seul innominable et de tous noms nominable que en sa mort mourant soiez en son corps tellement inserée que l’effect soit correspondant à vostre non et indissoluble union avec vostre triumpphant chief, pour, avec luy resuscitée, l’aymer viscerellement de tout vostre coeur, pour estre à jamais marguerite luisante au firmament d’éternité... (ibid., 1, 213. orr.)<sup>79</sup>

Briçonnetek aitortzen du Margaritaren emankortasun espiritual, maskorraren barruan sortutako perlaren mitoari jarraikiz duda barik, bere borobiltasunean perfektua dena. Margarita-Amaren hartzea, beraz, harremanetan dago Margarita-Perlaren sinbolismo hermetikoarekin, zeina agertuko baita Margaritaren idazlan poetikoetako askotan<sup>80</sup>. Ikertzen ari garen iniziazio mota honetaz aritzean, ikaslearen arimaren emankortasunak gai berriak iradoki ditzake maisuaren adimenean: “Mais desirant comme filz subvenir à ma pauvre mendiante et bonne mere, (il) ne m’est rien, soubz la protection du bon Seigneur qui a commandé honorer pere et mere, difficile, qui me donnera a congnoistre vous pouvoir servir et estre necessaire”, (ibid., 2, 13. orr.)<sup>81</sup>.

Herminjardek iradoki zuen Margaritaren “haute naissance”ak zilegitu zuela Margarita-Amaren titulua, Briçonnetek 1524ko urtarrilean onartua “vostre vieille mere” bezala<sup>82</sup>. Hala ere, Capellok dioen bezala, modu errazagoan azal daiteke Erdi Aroko mistikoen arteko “preciosité” komun bat bezala<sup>83</sup>. 1524 urtean zehar, berak beti kontsideratzen zuen bere burua “vostre inutile mere, Marguerite” (ibid., 2, 108. orr.).

“Fille-père” eta “mère-filz” gaiaren garapena zehaztasunez aipatu dut<sup>84</sup>, erakusteko nola aberasten den uneoro Correspondancea, errepikapenezko teknikaren bidez, biek parte hartuz. Antzerako espresioak nahasten dira: Margaritak bere buruari dei ziezaiokeen “pauvre aveugle” (ibid., 1, 37. orr.), “foible” (ibid., 1, 63. orr.), “indiscrete” (ibid. 1, 64. orr.), “doublement malade” (ibid., 1, 71. orr.), zenbait sinbolo mistiko erabiltzearen, zeinak aukeratuak izan baitziren Margaritak aurrera egin zezan antzinako maisuek erabilitako gai zail eta ilunetan zehar; beraz, Meauxeko apezpikua kontsidera dezakegu azken maila bat, espiritualtasun mediebalaren eta espiritualtasun berriaren artean, zeina eratuko zen Lutherren Erreformatik eta Loiolako Inazioaren Kontraerreformatik aurrera; guzti hau Briçonnetek azaldu zuen, gerora Margaritaren gai poetikoen nukleoa osatuko duten hainbat kontzeptu erabiliz.

#### IV

Meauxeko eskolak, eta zehatzago haren moderatzaile eta apezpiku Briçonnetek, elizaren gehiegikeria guztiak gogorki kritikatu zituen, baita Erdi Aro berantiarreko zorrozetasun monastikorik eza; hala ere, ez ziren haien homonimo Martin Luther eta iparraldeko erreformatzaileak bezain urrutira joan, hauek iraganarekin erroitik moztu baitzuten. Briçonnetek zinez sinesten zuen neurritasunean: “(...) que Martin Luther, qui en renverse, tout l’ordre hiérarchique (idatzi zuen 1523ko urriaren 15eko Dekretu Sinodalean) bouleverse et détruit l’état qui contient tout les autres dans le devoir (...)”<sup>85</sup>. Batez ere, ez zuen moztu, Lutherrek ez bezala, Erdi Aroko Elizaren tradizio mistikoarekin, egia ebanjelikoa babesteko: “(...) et [Luther] méprise tous ceux des anciens qu’il trouve contraires à ses témérités”<sup>86</sup>.

Zalantzarik gabe, Briçonnetek, Margarita instruitzeko, maisu mistiko tradizionalak erabilitako metodoa hautatu zuen, Eliza primitiboan sartutako platonismo erlijiosoa ere kontutan hartuz; Lutherren ebanjelismo garbizalearekiko oposizio argian. Sarritan erabili zuen Igokunde Mistikoaren kontzeptu neoplatonikoa, sinpletasun ebanjelikoaren gailurrera heltzeko bide gisa<sup>87</sup>. Correspondance osoan

zehir, Margaritari aurkezten zaizkio mistikoen irakaspen tradizionalak, gizonaren barne purifikazioari buruzkoak. Arima, pixkanaka, iritsi behar da zentzuen munduaren gainetik dauden eremuetara: “l’ame est sourde, aveugle, sans goust et odorement, aussy paralitique”, baina, Jainkoaren ezagutza erdietsi aurretik, fase mingarri hainbatetik pasatu beharko da: “et, par ce, morte par l’absence de son necessaire, qui n’est que ung seul objetct, vie, sentiment, odeur, goust, veue et oÿe” (ibid., 2, 36. orr.).

Margarita, apurka-apurka, hezia izan zen bost zentzuen purifikazioaren bitartez, Jainkozkoarekin bategite perfektura heltzeko helburuarekin. Prozesu honi deitzen zitzaion “chemin”, “sentier” eta “voie” (ibid., 1, 134-135. orr.), deskribatuz, nolabait esatearren, mendi garai baten gailurrera heltzeko igoera mingarria. Igoera honek hainbat etapa lituzke, eta Briçonneten gutunak arretaz aztertuta, prozesu hau lau goiburukotan ikus daiteke, zeinak ziren Margaritak pasatu beharko zituen fase ezberdinak. Nahiz eta Margarita, Correspondancearen hasieratik bertatik, neofitoa baino exigenteago somatu dezakegun, azkenean igoeraren lau etapa hauek onartu behar izan zituen:

1. fasea: Margaritak zentzuen munduaren barne purifikazioa erdietsi behar zuen.

2. fasea: orduan, bere arimak gogamenaren iluminazioaren bigarren prozesuari ekin ahal zion.

3. fasea: pausu bat gehiago eta Espirituaz absorbitua izatea utzi beharko zuen, Eskrituren zentzu gorenak ulertzeko.

4. fasea: azkenik, arima gailurrera helduko litzateke, Jainkozkoarekin bategite perfektua erdietsiz. Hau soilik heriotzaren unean soilik lor zitekeen, eta Briçonnetek interpretatzen zuen Egiarekin topatze bezala.

Lau fase hauek ez dira argiro bereizten Correspondancean, seguru asko Margarita iadanik irakurketa mistikoetan trebatua zegoelako, bere lehen gutunak adierazi bezala; gainera, aipatu dugun bezala, berak ideiak proposatzen zituen, eta askotan aurreratu egiten zituen Briçonnetek gero bere gutun-tratatuetan garatuko zituen gaiak. Dena dela, apezpikua materiala kontrolatzen saiatzen zen, pixkanaka aurkeztuz, gai bakoitza azaldu aurretik iragarritz.

Teknika honen adibide on bat da apezpikuak Margarita Bibliaren zentzu goren edo espiritualean iniziatzeko modua: 1522an, Margaritak uste zuelarik prest zegoela hirugarren faseari ekiteko, Eskrituren pasarte



zail batzuen irakurketa iradoki zion: "...digerez tous les passaiges moult haultz et sublimes contenans nostre redemption." (ibid., 1, 202. orr.). Gero, 1523 arte itxaron zuen benetako argibideak emateko:

Croiez, Madame, que l'Escripture Saincte est aultre marchandise que plusieurs ne cuydent. Ce que l'on y voist et congnoist est le moins de ce qui y est, et jusques à present n'en a esté trouvé, ne sera le fonds de l'intelligence. Car toute l'Escripture Saincte est ou spirituelle seulement, sans intelligence litterale, ou litterale sans la spirituelle (et bien peu), ou litterale et spirituelle ensemble, (ibid., 2, 13. orr.).

Nolanahi ere, hermeneutika mistikoaren zailtasunak ulertzeko prestaketak bi urte luze iraungo zituen, eta, 5. kapituluaren ikusiko dugun bezala, Margarita interpretazio mistiko honi leial mantendu zen bere buruari "la Ravie de Dieu, Bergère" deitzean, Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan idazlanean. Briçonnetek Lefèvreren laguntza ere proposatu zion, Bibliaren hermeneutikan adituarena: "...envoiez la au Fabre qui se tient en vostre edict hermitaige.", (Corr., 2, 14. orr.), zeren Bibliaren ulertze mistikorako sarbidea atazarik zailena kontsideratzen baitzen, Briçonnetek 1524ko apirilean azaldu bezala, adieraziz nola Jesusen dizipuluek ez zuten honen hitzen esanahia ulertu igokundearen momentuan: "Je ne suis esbahi si les disciples ne pouvoient entendre l'absence de leur Bon Pasteur estre necessaire (...) le paovre orphelin charnel ne peult entendre ce propos..." (ibid., 2, 154-155. orr.).

*Urte hartako uztaillean, Margaritak Briçonneti eskatu zion hebrear alfabetoko Mem letraren esanahiari buruzko gutun-tratatu bat idatz ziezaion<sup>88</sup>, Eskrituraren esanahi espiritualaren sinboloa baitzen: "...me faire capable et donner le temps d'oïr la parole que l'Escripture faict desirer. Et je vous prie m'envoier la lettre mem escripte en hebrieu, ouverte et cloze, en grosse forme..." (ibid., 2, 229. orr.). Margaritak kabalistikoki ulertzen du letra hebrear hau horrela idatzita egotea, esanahi nabari bat (zabala) eta ezkutuko bat (itxia) duelarik. Edonola ere, Briçonnetek urte hartako irailera arte itxaron zuen Margaritari azaltzeko ezen hebrear alfabetoaren hogeita hamairugarren letrak, Mem, "Mesias" esan nahi zuela (ibid., 2, 213. orr.), eta 120. gutuna tratatu luze bat da, non kabalistikoki interpretatzen diren Bibliaren hainbat pasarte, Itun Zaharreko zenbakiak Kristoren jaiotza urteari erreferentzia egiten diotenez gero (ibid., 2, 277-278. orr.). Zalantzarik gabe, apespikuak zenbakiaren sinbolismo espiritualaren koherentzia frogatu nahi zuen, Eskrituretako gertakari historikoez haratago. Zaila litzateke, baina, frogatzea ezen Margarita gai izan zela garai horretan Briçonneten azalpen guztiak ulertzeko.*

Argi dagoena da Briçonnetek Margarita ekarri zuela ezagutza

esoteriko guzti hauetara, eta hau plan zehatz baten arabera egin zuela. 1521 amaieran, 18-21. gutunek erakusten dutenez (ibid., 1, 76-128. orr.), Margarita lehen bi etapetan iniziatu zen, “Ura” eta “Sua” sinbolo mistikoen bidez, xehetasunez aztertuko dugun bezala 5. kapituluan, Prisonsei buruzkoan. 1522ko otsailean, Margarita prest zen “Maná” sinboloaren esanahiari buruzko azalpenak ulertzeko, zeinak Briçonneten arabera irudikatzen baitu pauso bat gehiago, ulertze mistikoaren prozesuan (Corr., 1, 138-153. orr.). Hala ere, denbora tarte batean hermeneutika biblikoko instrukzio hau gelditu egin zen, eta berriz 1524ko uztailean heldu zitzaizkion Margaritari Bategite Perfektuari buruzko tratatuak, ezkontzaren sakramentuaz sinbolizatuak (ibid., 2, 196-198. orr.)<sup>89</sup>.

Sinbolo mistikoen bidezko heziketa honen gailurra bukaerarako gordeta zegoen, eta MEM letra izan liteke gakoa Margaritaren obra hermetikoetan dauden hainbat pasarte konplikatu ulertzeko. Marguerite-Mèrearen (Margarita-Ama) monograma bat izan liteke, edota Bibliaren ezagutze esoterikoaren metafora bat. Briçonnetek berak iradokitzen du badela lotura bat printzesaren izenaren eta Eskrituraren esanahi espiritualaren artean: “L’intelligence spirituelle est la marguerite cachée, laquelle (...) ne se communique à chascun et n’en congnoissent la valeur et excellence”, (ibid., 2, 13. orr.). Margarita liluratuta zegoen “amour” edota “mort” bezalako hitzen M letraren aliterazioen soinuarekin, zeinak erabili zituen Dialoguean eta Miroirean<sup>90</sup>. Correspondanceko “MEM” letra hebrearra ez da soilik Briçonneten irakaspen mistikoaren kintaesentzia, izan liteke baita Margaritaren sinbolismo hermetikoaren ezkutuko monograma. Zer esan nahi luke honek, ez balitz ikasleak -nahiz gogo txarrez, hasieran- Briçonneten “mère” (ama) tituloa hartu duela, margarita preziatuaren ezkutuko esanahia zeukan “mère-de-perle”arena, Mateok azaldu bezala, 7,6: “Ez eman txakurrei gauza sakratuak, zeuen kontra itzuli eta zatika ez zaitzateten; ez bota txerriei zuen harribitxiak [perlak], hankapean erabil ez ditzaten”?<sup>91</sup> Badirudi Margaritaren idazlan polemikoenak, Miroirrak, zeinaren izenburua M letrarekin hasten den, eta zeinak harreman estu bat duen Margarita-Perlaren sinboloaren esanahi hermetikoarekin<sup>92</sup>, baduela “MEM” letra hebrearraren ikurra, zeren “mirouer” perfektua baita irudiaren esanahia argien islatzen duena. Nik esango nuke gainera Margaritaren antzezlan hermetikoenaren izenburuak, Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, lekuaren tokian Mem monograma duela: Mont-de-Marsan; kokalekuak Margaritari gogorarazi ziokeen bai bere monograma, baita Briçonneten azken gutunetako gai nagusia. Beranduago demostratuko dut ezen kritikoez ez dutela lortu asmatzerik Comédiean daudela Briçonneten printzipio hermetikoak, lau pertsonaiatan agertuz, izan ere badirudi Margaritak Correspondanceko

testuak berrirakurtzean idatzi zuela, hau zelarik bere 1521 eta 1524 arteko inimizazio mistikoaren teknika konplikatuaren erakusgarri.

Kontutan hartu beharrekoa da Margarita eta Briçonnet guri, gaurko irakurleei, nahiko enigma zentzugabeen bidez mintzo zaizkigula, eta hauen esanahia deszifratu beharko dela, azterketa zehatz bat egin nahi badugu. Edonola ere, Briçonnet Margarita baino bidegabekiago kritikatu izan da: 1841ean, F. Géninek bere gutunak hala deskribatu zituen: “l’oeuvre d’un fou”<sup>93</sup>, eta ikuspegi partzial honek eragina izan du berari buruz egin diren hainbat baieztapenetan. Soilik azkenaldian agertu dira bere izaeraren kritiko moderatuagoak, batez ere Martineau eta Veissière. Heller konturatu zen haren gutunak ez zirela soilik “astunak”, baina Margaritaren lengoaia ere prolixoa zela, Berpizkundeko lehen autoreek bezala; haien estiloa metaforez, alegoriez eta paradoxa arraroez betea da, orduko idazkera alegia, eta ezin daiteke kritikatu, behar bezala aztertu barik<sup>94</sup>.

Haatik, ulergaitza da Briçonnetek eta Margaritak sortu ahal izan zuten halako “erokeriari ereserki” bat, non eta apezpikua gai zen mota guztietako pertsonen gutun normalak igortzeko, baita bere diozesiko elizgizonei, Hellerrek esan bezala<sup>95</sup>, eta printzesa bere gainerako gutunetan gauzak zehaztasunez adierazteko gai zen<sup>96</sup>. Apezpikuak ez ditu printzesarentzako gutunak gehiegi fintzen, eta hau ere ez da saiatzen bere idazlanak aurkeztean obra literario landu gisa. Arthur Tillerrek, Heptaméronari buruz, zioen ezen Margaritak falta zituela proportzioaren zentzu artistikoa, baita kontzentrazioa eta potentzia dramatikoa, ipuin laburrak idazteko beharrezko zirenak<sup>97</sup>. Agian, Hellerrek dioen bezala, amarru estilistiko hauek deliberatuak ziren: “Those critics who have found Briçonnet’s style so reprehensible, have really missed the point, for Briçonnet, in accord with Pseudo-Dionysius, was deliberately using nonsense and gibberish as a means of religious expression.”<sup>98</sup>.

Duda barik, guretzako obra literario landu batek behar lukeena ez da haien garaikideentzako behar lukeen gauza bera. Clément Marotek beste begi batzuekin ikusten zuen, eta argiro laudatzen:

Par devers qui prendront mes vers leur course  
Synon vers toy, d’eloquence la source,  
Qui les entens sans les falloir gloser  
Et qui en sçais de meilleurs composer?<sup>99</sup>

Garaikoak ez bezala, irakurle moderno bat ez dago prest haren trikimailuei jaramonik ez egiteko. Haietako bat aipatzearen, Marotek

bere xarma pertsonala bere estiloarekin identifikatu zuen, arrazoi pertsonalengatik, Margarita bere mezenasa baitzen. Egia esan, Margaritak ez zuen modelotzat aukeratu ez Platon, ezta klasikoetako bat bera ere, XVI mendeko beste idazleek egin bezala; Briçonneten estiloa imitatzen duenean, zeinak miresten baitzituen “rhétoriciens”ak eta enigma hermetikoak, testu dionisiakoetan ugariak direnak, nabaritzen zaio falta duela beste autore batzuek duten antolakuntza, hala nola Luther, Erasmo edo Lefèvrek. Capitonek argiro ikusi zuen Margaritak hautatutako modeloaren eragina eta saiatu zen konbentzitzen Briçonneten estiloa imita ez zezan, bere Commentarius in Hoseam Prophetameko “Dédicace”an zera ohartarazi zionean: “Vous avez également éprouvé combien cette philosophie de haute volée” (i.e. Briçonneten gutunetako ideak)<sup>100</sup> “apporte avec elle de fatigue et combien elle procure peu de satisfaction”, (Herminjard, 2, 122. orr.). Adierazpen hau abisu argi bat da, zeinaren bidez saiatu zen Margarita luthertar ideietara gerturarazten, 1528ko “Dédicace” honetan. Bere lanaren azterketak, ordea, erakutsiko du ezen Margaritaren obretan Briçonneten ideiak agertzen eta azaltzen direla; gutun-tratatuak dira bere idazlan guztien iturri, Dialogue lehen obratik, lan helduenetara: Miroir, Comédie des innocents, Triumphe de l’Agneau, Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan eta bere maisulana, Prisons. Baita giza maitasunaren izaeraren interpretazio platonikoak direla diruditenak ere, Heptameron esaterako<sup>101</sup>, irakurri behar dira jakinik Briçonneten giza komediari buruzko ideiek eraginda daudela. Esate baterako, bere Navirean gizakia “edukiontzi” gisa ulertua da, kontzeptu platonikoak agerraraziz; baina ez al zen izan Briçonnet hau idatzi ziona: “Les deux navires sont l’ame et le corps, uniz par grandeur et charité; les compagnons sont les sens de l’esprit et du corps, par lesquelz excersent respectivement leurs operations, predominant l’ame, et seulle gectant le retz et, après la prinse, appelant le navire corporel...” (Correspondance, 2, 45. orr.)?

Nire helburua Margaritaren hitz eta sinbolo hermetikozko sare misteriotsu hau ebaztea da, irakurle modernoak ohitu dadintzat zenbait gaietara, zeinek idazlan hauen irakurketak zailtzen baitizkigute. Zalantzarik gabe, Margaritak eta Briçonnetek haien arteko Correspondancea argitara emateko modukoa zela pentsatzen zuten, Sorbonak ez balu esku hartu Meauxeko eskolaren aurka 1525ean. Margaritaren garaikideek beraren idazlanak gozatu bazituzten:

Suffise vous, ò lecteurs, de sçavoir  
 Que c’est la fleur du monde, Marguerite.  
 (Oraison funèbre, 131. orr.)

ez dago inolako arrazoirik irakurle modernoak ez ditzan gogo onez onar bere trikimailu, estiloaren asmamen, pentsakera paradoxiko, esanahi ezkutu, enigma mistiko eta sinbolo hermetikoak, zeinak baitira Berpizkunde frantsesaren hastapenetako lan idatzi sorta harrigarrienetariko baten parte. Dударik gabe, bere lau obraren analisiak, eta bere sinbologia poetikoaren azterketa zehatzak, lagunduko dute interpretatzen bai Erdi Aro bukaerako ideien mundu konplikatu hori, baita Margaritaren osteko garaietako idealen hasiera hori, gugandik hurbilago daudenak.

Beraz, ezin dira banatu estiloaren arazoa eta Margaritaren konpromisoa, Meauxeko eskolaren ideia mistikoak defendatzekoa. Datozen lau kapituluetako bakoitzak erakutsiko du bere pentsamendu mistikoaren eta berau espresatzearen arteko lotura; seigarrenean berriz, xehetasun osoz ikusiko dugu ze harreman dagoen Briçonnetekin 1521 eta 1524 artean izandako inimizazioaren eta sinbolo eta paradoxa hermetikoen erabilpen jarraiaren artean. Hala ere, Margaritaren ideia mistikoak ez dira tratatu espiritual bezala agertzen baizik eta lan literario gisan, eta espero dut, bere poemen eta antzezlanen analisi baten bidez, aurkeztu ahalko dudala “corpus doctrinae” bat, Margarita kokatuko duena bere belaunaldiko idazle mistikoen artean.

**BIGARREN KAPITULUA**  
**Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne**  
**“Egin bedi zure nahia”ren ilustrazio gisa.**

I

Hau da Margaritak idatzitako lehen obra poetiko garrantzitsua, Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne. Ez dateke oso poema ederra, izan ere, bere sentimendu poetikoak adierazten baino, saiatzen da bere ideiak garbiki azaltzen eta bere adimenaren egoera deskribatzen, familian hainbat zorigaitz jasan ostean<sup>102</sup>: zenbait gaiez mintzo denean, bere estiloak badu xarma bat, garai hartako bere harridura egoera deskribatzen duten irudien bidez<sup>103</sup>. Aitzitik, alor teknikoan poemak berrikuntza bat sartzen du frantsesean, “terza rima”<sup>104</sup>.

Margarita oraindik Briçonneten irakaspenen eraginpean zegoen, eta beraz saiatu zen egiten dei genezakeena lehen saiakera mistiko bat, bere burua askatzeko prest dagoen ikasle trebe batena. 1927an, Pierre Jourdak esan zuen bazeudela hainbat ezaugarri Dialoguean, adieraz lezaketenak ezen honen iturria Briçonneten gutun bat zela, Charlotte printzesa Bloisen hil eta gutxira idatzitakoa<sup>105</sup>. Berrikiago, Christine Martineau eta Christian Grouzellek ideia hau garatu dute, frogatuz ezen Dialogueko ideia gehienak Briçonneten gutunetako batetik datozela:

Marguerite a composé son Dialogue sous l’impression de la lettre de Briçonnet du 15 septembre 1524, qui s’en révèle être la source directe. Sur cette première affirmation il est inutile de nous attarder: parmi les notes mises à l’édition celles qui signalent les recoupements entre les deux montrent avec évidence que les principaux thèmes et développements de l’épître du prélat sont passés dans le poème de la Duchesse d’Alençon.<sup>106</sup>

Margaritak idatzia zion Meauxeko apezpikuari azalduz nola Frantzisko erregeari printzesa gaztea agertu zitzaion ametsetan, hil ondoren, eta esan zion: “Adieu mon Roy, je voy en paradis...” (Correspondance, 2, 272. orr.). Briçonneten erantzuna, nola ez, doluminezko gutun bat izan zen, zenbait aholku praktikorekin zeinen bidez kristau batek heriotzaren arazoari aurre egin baitziezaiokeen<sup>107</sup>. Beranduago, 1524ko urriko gutun batean, Margaritak aipatzen du baduela textu baten zirriborro bat, nahi lukeena Briçonnetek irakurtzea eta bere eritzia ematea: “Et si Dieu veult que quelque chose commencée soit finée, bien que mal et mauvais langaige, vous en auriez le pouvoir de correction, où vous voirrez le debat que me faictes avant l’avoir veu estre, non si bien mais suivant vostre propos, comme si en pareil temps l’Esperit avoit aux deux parlé...” (ibid., 2, 292. orr.)

Beraz, idatzi al zuen Margaritak bere Dialoguea, Jourdak iradoki bezala, erregearengan eragiteko Meauxeko taldearen alde<sup>108</sup>? Edo, ez ote zen izango bere asmoa, gutun honek erakusten duen bezala, Briçonneten idatziak mistikoki deskribatzea? Nik esango nuke poema honen bidez Margaritak adierazi nahi zuela ikasle fina zela, eta ez zuela gehiago behar berarekin eguneroko korrespondentzia mantentzerik. Kritiko askok gaizki ulertu dute bai Margaritaren hasierako apezpikuarekiko menekotasuna, 1521ean, bai eta bat-batekoa dirudien Correspondancearen etete hori ere, Dialoguea hasi baino zertxobait beranduago. Ohikoa zen, proba-epe baten ostean, borondatearen maisuarekiko sumisio osoari uko egitea, nola ikus daitekeen ordena erlijiosoetan, non fraidegai edo mojaia behartua dagoen, urtebete edo hiru urte artean menekotasun ia oso batean pasatzera. Izan ere, Briçonnetek ablaktazioaren metafora erabiltzen du, uler dadin ezen bere irakaspenen helburua haztea eta ikastea zirela (ibid., 2, 175. orr.). Erakutsi nahi al zuen Margaritak, 1524ko irailean iada iniazioak lezioak ondo ikasiak zituela? Dialogueak behintzat frogatzen du Margaritak nahi zuela Briçonnetek jakin zezan ezen bazela gai, bere kontura, minezko sentimendu horiek deskribatzeko, Correspondanceko gutunetan baino modu independenteagoan.

Dialoguea aztertuta, ikusiko da Margarita maila ezberdinetan adierazten dela; zeren ez baita soilik Charlotteren 1524ko iraileko heriotzaz atsekabetzen, edota bizitza eta heriotzaz mintzatzen, baina beste hainbat gaiez luze mintzatzen da. Haatik, poemaren batasuna defendatuko bada, nolabait ordenatuz aztertu beharko dugu, ezen ez baita 1293 bertsoan pilatutako zenbait gaien multzo nahasi bat, baizik eta ideia zentral baten inguruan idazlearen gogoetak antolatzeke saiakera bat. Nire proposamena da hiru mailatan egitea, betiere jakinik zatiketa hauek itxurazkoak direla, eta Margarita ez dela beti logikoa edo ordenatua idazten dituen gauzetan, nahiz eta saiatu den beti hasi eta bukatzen zio berdinarekin, gure kasuan “heriotza eta bizitza”rekin (Dialogue, vv. 1-2 eta 1279-1291).

Zer esanik ez, poema Margaritaren bihozminaren adierazpenarekin hasten da, eta bere iloba maite Charlottek Dialoguearen hasieratik rol nagusia hartuko du, esan nahi baita, “Master”arena, zeren Briçonnetek Correspondancean zehar erabilitako irakaspen teknikaren antzekoa erabiltzen baitu<sup>109</sup>. Argiro ematen du aditzera Meauxeko taldearen eraginez zabaltzen ari zen “kredo ebanjelikoa”, batez ere Lefèvre d’Etaples eta Briçonneten eraginez, zeinak baitzeuden sineskeriazko irakaspenen kontra, eta garbitasun ebanjelikoaren alde<sup>110</sup>. Kritiko batek baino gehiagok ikusten ez dutena da, dirudienez, Margaritaren poema idatzi zela Erasmok Lutherren kontrako “Aukeramen askeari buruz” (Diatriba de Libero Ar-

bitrio) saiakera argitara eman berritan, 1524an<sup>111</sup>, eta Dialoguea Briçonnetek onartu behar zuela, honek ere Luther kondendatu zuelarik urtebete lehenago, 1523ko urriaren 15ean<sup>112</sup>. Charlottek (hau da, Briçonnetek) aholkatzen dio Margaritari ez dadila jar ez Erasmoren alde, zeinaren gutunei ezikusia egin baitzien Margaritak 1525 eta 1527an, ezta Lutherren aldarrikapenaren alde ere, hau da, fedearen nagusitasuna giza kondizioarekiko. Halako auzi handietan parte ez hartzea, eta ekuanime agertzea gomendatzen dio.

Dialoguearen izaera polemikoa nabarmentzea beharrezkoa da, zeren ebidentzian jartzen baititu garaiko arazoak, batez ere fedeari eta aukeramen askeari buruzko eztabaida latzak. Margaritak nahi luke jakin ze iritzi izan behar duen; hasteko, aukeramen askeaz:

Las! Madame, donnez moy congnoissance:  
Ne m'a pas Dieu donné ung Franc Arbitre  
Pour en avoir entière jouyssance?  
(Dialogue, vv. 493-495)<sup>113</sup>

eta gero ekintzez:

Nous n'avons donques besoing de faire bien,  
Ne bon oeuvre, puis que l'estimez,  
Mais nous fier que nous aurons le sien.  
(vv. 1000-1002)

Bi kasuetan Margarita da, eta ez Charlotte, arazoa aurkezten duena, bigarren honek eztabaidari jarraipena emango diolarik, ikuspuntuak azalduz bata bestearen ostean. Nolanahi ere, noizbehinka Lutherren jarrera defendatuko du “borondate esklaboaz” mintzatzerakoan, erreformatzailearen gai gogokoenetako batez:

Qui de péché est prins et entaché  
Serf de péché sans liberté devient,  
Et dans la peau d'ung vieil homme caché.  
(vv. 511-514)

Hirugarrenik, Lutherrek mesprezatutako sainduen otoitzak ere zalantzan jartzen dira (vv. 571-573), eta bukatzeko predestinazioari buruz ere aritzen da (vv. 448-459), nahiz eta Margaritak ekidin zuen erreformatzailearen alde jartzea, arazo guzti hauek modu ezberdinean ebatziz.



## II

Dialoguearen pasarte hauek irakurtzean tranpa batean erortzeko arrisku handia dago, batez ere aukeramen askeari buruzkoetan (ibid., vv. 433-469) eta graziari eta giza ekintzei buruzkoetan (ibid., vv. 580-652). Charlottek ideia hauek aurkeztu izanak ez du esan nahi onartzen dituenik, ez behintzat luthertar modura. Badirudi R. Marichalek, kritiko bat aipatzearen, ez diola garrantzirik ematen arazoaren konplexutasunari:

C'est le Christ qui mérite pour nous; les "oeuvres" n'y peuvent rien ajouter. La Princesse Charlotte ne veut même pas leur accorder cette valeur de préparation à l'action de la grace que leur attribue Lefèvre. Comme pour Luther, pour elle, elles ne sont que la conséquence de l'amour, le signe de l'union à Dieu, la démonstration de la foi. Et Charlotte de prêcher avec insistance sur ce theme pour dissiper les erreurs de sa tante.<sup>114</sup>

Lutherrek irakasten zuenaren kontra, Lefèvre eta Briçonneten pausoei jarraituz, badirudi Charlotte ez dagoela gai honetan interesaturik, Erasmo eta Lutherren arteko eztabaidari funsgabe baitzeritzon. Dialoguearen izaera antiespekulatiboa alde batera utzi izan da, argi baitago Charlottek ez duela gai hau gustoko:

Ne vous mettez, Tante , en tel esmoy,  
Car le sçavoir de riens ne vous profite,  
Riens ne povez sans Dieu: dire le doib;

Mais si en luy vous estes bien conficte,  
Vous trouverez la Franche Liberté  
Que avoit Péché en Adam desconfite.  
(vv. 913-918)

Margaritari aholkatzen dio gaiaz ahazteko, mistikoen jarrera orokorra hartuz, hala nola Kempisko Tomas edo Avilako Santa Teresa<sup>115</sup>; eztabaida oro utziz doktore eta eruditoentzat, dena dakitela uste duten horientzat:

Je vous prie que ces fascheux debatz  
D'Arbitre Franc et Liberté laissez,  
Aux grandz docteurs qui l'ayantz ne l'ont pas.  
(vv. 961-963)

Benetako fedeak arrazonamendua gainditzen du, eta Fedea dagoen tokian eztabaidak tokiz kanpo daude (vv. 631-633). Fedearen nagusitasuna "F" hitz larria idatziz nabarmentzen da:

Regnant la Foy, raison sera destruite  
Pour commencer l'âme à édifier.<sup>116</sup>  
(vv. 269-270)

Azken bertso hauek irakurtzean Briçonnet harro sentitu zatekeen, Margaritak argiro frogatu baitzuen ikasle bikain bat zela, bere doktrina ebanjeliko osoa barneratu zuena, Meauxeko kredoarekiko fideltasuna gordeaz. Dialoguean, esaterako, sainduak gurtzen dira jainkozkoaren ispilu gisa, kausa luthertarrarekin batera ez doana:

Louez en eulx dieu, qui est leur estampe,  
Forge, patron, exemple et limage,  
Marteau et feu, pollisouer et trempe.  
(vv. 427-429)

Margaritak galdegiten duenean sainduei otoitz egitearen baliozkotasunaz (vv. 736-738), Charlottek erantzuten dio Meauxeko taldearen doktrina ebanjelikoa onartuz, sainduei Jainkoaren morroi gisa otoitz egiteari buruzkoa:

Je répondray donc à vostre demande.  
Si vous aymez bien vostre createur,  
Vous aimez tous ceulx qui sont de sa bende.<sup>117</sup>  
(vv. 739-741)

graziaren eta aukeramen askearen arteko banaketa luthertarra ekidinez, eta onartuz gizakia librea dela jainkozko grazia bere ekintzetan dagoenean:

Si l'on pense que sur ce corps de terre  
Sans la grace de Dieu l'on ayt puissance,  
C'est follie, et qui le croit il erre.  
(vv. 490-492)

mistikoen irakaspen espiritualari jarraiki, identifikatuz “libertatea versus obrak” antitesia eta “arima versus gorputza” dikotomia, zeina paraleloan dabilen beste honekin: “Kristorengan” eta “Adanekin”. Zenbait kritikok Dialoguean ikusten dituzten kutsu lutheranoak ez ditut nik sumatzen. Charlotteren lema hau da: “Gizonak Adani eta bere ekintzei jarraitzea erabakiz gero, ezin da benetan aske izan”. Lutherren doktrina askoz ere intelektualagoa eta latzagoa da: gizona ez da askea zeren bere ekintza aske guztiak Jainkoaren graziak diktatuak baitira<sup>118</sup>.

Charlottetek aldiz, gai Kristozentrikoei buruzko irakaspen positiboagoak egiten ditu. Dialoguearen gai zentrala da Kristo gizonaren eta Jainkoaren arteko abokatua dela:

Saint Paul au vray en a le tout escript, [I John 2,1]  
En appellant Jesus, par motz exprès,  
Nostre advocat (...)  
(vv. 361-363)

Idea hau berau poeman zehar hainbat aldiz agertzen da, hainbat irudi erabiliz, zeinen bidez poemak xarma poetiko berezi bat hartzen baitu. Zuhaitzaren sinboloa hainbatetan agertzen da, eta izan liteke Dialoguearen alderdi polemikoaren ebazpena: Kristo “Zuhaitza” da, eta gu bere “Adarrak”, zeren Berari txertatuak egon behar gara bizi ahal izateko, eta soilik horrela izango gara libre Beragan. Adanez ustelduak gara (vv. 667-669), baina Kristorengan bizi bagara, gure ekintzak onak izanen dira, ezen Bere adarrak baikara:

Ayant la Foy qui excède raison.  
En Jesuchrist vous croyant sa parole,  
Branche serez de luy toute saison.<sup>119</sup>  
(vv. 631-633)

Charlotterentzat, Kristo da giza arrazoiaren eta Jainkozko graziaren arteko banaketaren arazoaren konponbidea, zeren Jainko-Gizona izanik, bi printzipio kontrajarri hauek bateratzeko gai baita.

### III

Azpimarratu beharrekoak dira bi ideia zentral hauek, hau da, jakintzak ez diola asko laguntzen aukeramen libre eta graziaren arteko arazoaren ulertzeari, eta konponbide bakarra dela Kristori txertatuak gaudela libre izateko. Hauek dira Briçonnetek Margaritari 1524ko iraileko 15ean idatzitako gutunean agertzen diren bi gaiak. Meauxeko Apezpikuak, beraz, lagundu zuen gerora Dialoguean gaiak zabalago gara zitezen: “...si bienheureux (...) est qui par unyon celere et prompte est par grâce preservé et n'est jamais descheu de l'arbre de vie par presumptueux desir de trop scavoir et ne s'est caché par sa nudité...” (Correspondance, 2, 269. orr.).

Poema irakurtzean, garrantzitsuena da konturatzea ezen Meauxeko eskolaren irakaspenak berragertzen direla, Margaritaren garaikideen jarrera polemikoa ez bestelako bat agertuz. Lengoia kriptiko honetarako sarbideak

hiru urte iraun zituen. Briçonnetek nabarmendu bezala, jainkozko jakindurian parte hartzeko hainbat modu daude, “plus on en gouste, [plus] la fain croist en desir assouvi insaciable. Ledict metz purge, illumine et parfaict creature, par foy inserée en filiacion divine” (ibid., 2, 92. orr.).<sup>120</sup>

Charlottrek berdina espresatzen du, idazle mistikoen banaketa hirukoitza erabiliz:

Mais la bonté de Dieu, qui taus 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 (...)  
(vv. 514-519)

Idazle mistikoeak, betidanik mantendu dute, Pablo Deunak egin bezala, ezen Maitasuna Fedearen eta Itxaropenaren gainetik dagoela (I Korintiarrei, 13,13). Kritikoeak ez dute behar bezainbeste azpimarratu Margaritak Dialoguean maitasunari egiten dion laudorioa; nire ustez, maitasuna poeman agertzen da ilustratuz fedearen eta aukeramen askearen arteko arazoari buruzko Margaritaren printzipioak. “Maitalea”, bere borondatea identifikatzen duenean maitatuarekin, bekatu guztiez askatua izango da; beraz Charlottrek, hainbat irudi erabiltzen ditu Maitasunaren ondorio purifikatzaileak azaltzeko, hala nola Sua edo Eguzkiarena:

Amour est feu, qui la piquante ortye  
Noircist, seiche, eschauffe et enflamme,  
Tant qu’en cendre l’ayt toute convertie.

Amour est plus qu’ung clair soleil sans blasme,  
Qui prend plaisir passer le clair voirre,  
Et en jouyr sans qu’il rompe ou entame.

Amour est ung sy très puissant tonnoire,  
Qu’il brusle tout là où il tumble ou rue,  
Laisant soubdain l’homme vif cendre ou terre.

Amour est dieu seant sur ciel et nue,  
Estant pour tout selon son ban plaisir,  
Devant lequel n’y a chose incongneue.<sup>121</sup>  
(vv. 277-288)

Margaritak “M” letraren aliterazioarekin jokatzeko badu, ez da kasualitatez, Dialogueko tertzetan honetan bezala, non manamendu zailena ere, gure etsaiak maitatzearena, Maitasunarekin errazago bihurtzen baita (Lukas 6,27):

Mais quant le cueur en vray amour est myz,  
 Il ayme fort par amour amoureuse  
 Non seulement amyz, mais ennemyz.<sup>122</sup>  
 (vv. 754-756)

Antzeko aliterazio bat agertzen da bertso batzuk aurrerago, Ebanjelioetako beste pasarte bat azaltzeko, oraingoan “V” letrarekin, Kristo-Jainkoa definituz Bide, Egia eta Bizitza bezala<sup>123</sup>:

Il est vie, et verité et voye;  
 Par luy qui est Voye, nous fault passer,  
 Et Verité à Vie nous convoie.  
 (vv. 805-807)

Lerro hauek irakurleari gogorarazten diote Miroir de l'âme pécheresseko beste pasarte bat, non Margaritak berriz erabili zituen “V” eta “M” kontsonante leunak, nahiz eta honetan “Mort” hitza gehitu zien “Vie” eta “Amour” hitzei. Kasu honetan, gainera, Bizitza-Heriotza gai antitetikoez baliatzen da:

Amour, amour, vous ayez faict l'accord,  
 Faisant unir à la vie la mort;  
 Mais l'union a mort vivifiée,  
Vie mourant d'amour deifiée,  
Vie sans fin a faict riostre mort vie.  
Mort a donné a vie mort neïfye.  
 Par ceste mort, moy morte, recoy vie;  
 Et au vivant, par la mort, je suis rayye.  
 En vous je vys; quant a moy, je suis morte.  
Mort ne m'est plus que d'une prison porte.

Vie m'est mort, car par mort suis vivante.  
Vie me rend triste, et mort me contente.  
 O quel mourir! qui faict mon ame vivre,  
 En la rendant par mort, de mort delivrer.  
 Unie a vous par amour si puissante,  
 Que sans mourir elle meurt languissante.

(Miroir, vv. 881-896)<sup>124</sup>

Maitasuna eta Bizita gauza bera izango lirateke, beraz, Margaritarentzat. Dialoguean “amour” hitzarekin aliterazioak egiten zituenean, pentsatzen al zuen “mort” hitzean ere? Badirudi Miroirak hau egiaztatzen duela, zeren “Bizitza” eta “Heriotza”ren arteko kontrajartze hau baita poeman azaldu nahi duen gai zentrala; Charlotte hila zen eta Dukesari atsekabe handia eragiten zion bere galerak. Honengatik, Charlottek uste du haren negarrari erantzun behar diola:

Repondez moy, o douce âme vivante,  
Qui par la mort qui les fols espovente  
Avez este d’ung petit corps delivre, (...)  
(Dialogue, vv. 1-3)

Printzesa gazteak beste jarrera bat izateko eskatzen dio izebari: “Tante, tante, de cela vous fault taire” (v. 115), azalduz ezen bizia ez dela bizia baizik heriotza, eta heriotza dela benetako bizitzara daraman ate bakarra, pasarte batean non azpimarratzen den gorputzaren astuntasuna, arimaren arintasunaren kontra. Antitesi hauek Prisonetan garatuko ditu, geroago. Dialoguean rol nabari bat dute, Margaritaren samina arintzeko erabiltzen direlarik: Heriotza-Bizitza Astuntasun-Arintasun gisa agertzen da:

Je vous prometz, ma tante, sans mentir,  
Que quant le corps, par douleur affoibly,  
S’appesantist jusques à terre sentir,

Et l’esperit, par amour annobly,  
Tire tout droict au ciel par tel desir,  
Que l’âme met tout son corps en oubly.  
(vv. 208-213)

Giza arima gorputzean preso dago, Adanen bekatuaz geroztik (vv. 508-510), baina Jainkoaren graziaren bidez, kateetatik aska daiteke (vv. 544-546). Sarritan idazle mistikoak obsesionatuta daude Arintasun eta Astuntasun sentimenduekin<sup>125</sup>. Briçonnetek, esaterako, esperientzi hau alderatzen du Perfumearen arintasunarekin, zeinak ez baitu “gravesse et pesanteur quelconque” (Correspondance, 2, 89. orr.).

Ezinezkoa litzateke Dialoguearen batasuna ulertzea ez bagenitu azaltzen askatasunari eta graziari buruzko eztabaida guzti hauek gai nagusiaren arabera, esan nahi baita, heriotzarekiko garaipena eta askatze sentimendua; hauek irudi zenbaiten bidez azaltzen dira, zeinak poema egokitzen duten lan poetiko bezala. Charlottek kandela bat bezala pizturik egotearen irudia erabiltzen du, Margaritari irakasteko ezen argiaren bozkarioa heriotzak areagotzen duela:

Ma lumière elle n'a point deffaicte,  
Mais seulement a mouché la chandelle  
Dont la clarté trop plus grand est refaicte.  
(vv. 163-165)

Azpimarratzen du baita lurreko bizitzatik askatua izanaren sentimendua, hainbat irudiren bitartez, hala nola arnasa ezin hartzearena, itotzearena edota urkatuta egotearena (vv. 226-228). Bereziki interesgarria da Charlotteren irakaspenean, sustraiaetik erauzia izanaren eta moldeatutako egurra izatearen sentimendua. Jainkoak gizonari jainkoazko itxura ematen dio (kontzeptu Platonikoa) lurreko izerdia idortua denean:

Avant que soit ung gros arbre escarté,  
De la terre il le fault arracher,  
Et le tirer hors du desert esgaré,

Et puis après le fault tout esbrancher  
Et charpenter, tant qu'il plaist au grand maistre,  
A qui le bois sur bois a cousté cher.  
(vv. 244-249)

#### IV

Hala nahita, Dialogueko gaien analisisa atzetik aurrerako ordenean egin badut, ez da izan arrazoi estilistikoengatik, baizik eta uste dudalako ezin dela Margaritaren poemako samina azaldu, bertako gai guztiak sakonki eztabaidatu barik. Batera zihoazen “bere bizitza Jainkoaren esku uztearen” eta “bizi nahi badut, Jainkoak kontrola dezala nire bizitza” bezalako sentimenduak. Ez dira, P. Jourdak baieztatu bezala, testu pare batetan agertzen, baizik eta Dialogue guztian zehar, zeren poema guztia pasibotasun mistikoaren edo Kietismoaren gaiaren eraginpean baitago, hala nola Charlottek adierazten duenean ezin diola aurre egin Jainkoaren borondateari<sup>126</sup>:

Oh! que grand bien pour vous, Tante, sera  
Si le vouloir de dieu vous laissez faire  
Sans résister, ainsy qu'il pensera!  
(vv. 583-585)

Antzeko adierazpen bat agertzen da beranduago poeman, berriz ere Charlotteren bidez:

(...). Il fault premièrement  
Adorer dieu en pure et vive Foy,

Se confiant en luy entièrement;  
L'aymer du cueur, sans nulle fiction:  
J'entends Tout Seul et souverainement.  
(vv. 731-735)

Jaso ditut Dialoguean Charlottek erabiltzen dituen esaerak, adierazteko jainkozko borondatea onartu behar zuela, haietan argiro ikusten direlarik “pasibotasuna”ren kutsu Kietistak, arimaren baretasunera itzultzeko. Hau erakusten dute hainbat hitzen esanahi aldakorrek, esaterako “cesser”, “se fier”, “laisser”, “se confier”, “sans résister”, nahiz ez dituzten kasu guztietan konnotazio Kietista horiek; batzuetan ez dira Jainkoaren aginduak, baizik Charlotterenak: 88. bertsoan, adibidez, Margaritari esaten dio negarrik ez egiteko gehiago, adierazpide hau erabiliz:

Cesser le pleur de desolation  
Qui procède de la chair et du sang,  
Où trop avez myz vostre affection.  
(vv. 88-90)

esan nahi duelarik, “onar ezazu ene heriotza”. Charlottek Dialoguearen bukaeran, gai hau laburtzean, azalduko duen bezala, onarpen honen arrazoia jainkozko borondatea da (v. 1238). Margaritak ez du beraz, hortik aurrera, gizonaren borondateaz hitz egin beharko, baizik Jainkoaren gurariez; beste barik, Bere nahia onartu behar du, nola ikusi dugun aukeramen askeari buruzko 961 eta 962 lerroetan. Erregu hau, beranduago, “Laisser” aditzaren erabilpen errepikatuaz nabarmenduko da:

Laissez voller oyseaux et courir bestes,  
Laissez parler ceulx qui se cuydent saiges,  
Laissez rompre aux obstinez leurs testes.  
(vv. 970-973)

“Se laisser” aditzak rol garrantzitsua jokatu zuen XVI mendeko eztabaida erlijiosoetan. Margaritaren Dialoguea baino urte batzuk beranduago, Michel de Montaignek espresio bera erabili zuen bere “Apologie de Raymond Sebond” ospetsuaren bukaeran, “Fideismo”a leporatu zaion obran: “...se laissant hausser et soublever par les moyens purement celestes”<sup>127</sup>. Argudiatu daiteke ezen Margarita eta Montaignek bi nortasun oso ezberdin zituztela. Haatik, biek ukatzen dute Arrazoiaren bitartez bizitzari buruzko ziurtasunik eman daitekeenik. Charlottek dio:



Lhors est raison sur les sens souveraine;  
Mais toutesfois il ne s'y fault fier,  
Car contre Foy deviendrait trop haultaine.  
(vv. 265-267)

Baieztatu genezake, baita ere, jarrera Kietistaren sintesi baten aurrean gaudela: ez zaitez arrazoiak fida, are gutxiago zentzuez. Charlottes fedean bizitzea “se fier en Dieu” (vv. 184-185) bezala definitzen du. Behin Margaritak “se fier” espresio hau erabiltzen du, baina bere jarrera Lutherren ideiekiko oso hurbila denez (vv. 1000-1002), Charlottes berriz ere hitza hartzen du:

Vos motz ne sont pas saignement liméz.  
Impossible est vous garder de bien faire,  
Si vostre dieu parfaitement aymez.  
(vv. 1003-1005)

Argi dago Margaritak Dialoguean hartzen duen prozedura Sokratesena dela, “galdera eta erantzuna”, adierazteko, bere ideiak baino, bere iloba Charlotte printzesa gaztearenak<sup>128</sup>. Poemaren sorburuan Frantzisko Iaren ametsa eta printzesarekin elkarrizketa daudeke. Bertatik, Margaritak elkarrizketa oso bat eraiki zuen, zeinetan funtsezko gaiak tratatzen baitira, hala nola:

- 1.-Gizakiak ezin du Jainkoarekin esperientzia zuzen bat ukan oraino bizirik denean (vv. 127-134)
- 2.-Heriotza Ezagutzaren Atea da (vv. 241- 273)
- 3.-Maitasuna da Ezagutzatik hurbilen dagoen dohaia (vv. 274-288)
- 4.-Kristoren betebeharra Jainkoaren eta gizonaren arteko lotura izatea da (vv. 307- 336)
- 5.-Gai teologikoei buruzko eztabaida konplexuekiko jarrera pasibo bat izan behar da (vv. 496-997)
- 6.-Lurreko minez eta heriotzaz askatzea (vv. 1-126)

Poemak lagunduko du ulertzen Platonen teoria heriotzari buruz, berau aurkeztuz zoriontasun absoluturako ate gisa, baina oso zaila delarik hau ulertzea Fedearen dohairik gabe.

Margarita mistikoki eraldatua sentitzen da Dialoguearen azken lerroan, ikusiz nola bere iloba Zerurantz igotzen den (vv. 1289-1293)<sup>129</sup>. Hala da, Charlottes bere izebaren arima egoera ekstatiko batean utzi du, zeinak nire ustez isladatzen duen Dialoguearen zentzu orokorra. Poema

liluratze mistiko batekin bukatzen da, Kristoren Zeruranzko igokundearen unean dizipuluek sentitutakoaren antzerakoa (Eginak 1), (vv. 1279-1293). Helburua Briçonneten irakaspenak argitzea da: izan zaitez Jainkoak absorbitua, hala nola Charlotte den Zeruan. Kritikoak ez dira ohartu ezen poema hau, Margaritaren lehen lan poetikoa, kontsidera daitekeela Testamentu Berriko Jainkoaren borondatearen irakaspenaren azalpen mistiko bat. Irakurketa arretatsu baten bidez ikus dezakegu posible dela Aita Gurearen oinarritzko gai batzuez mintzatzen dela. Otoitzen errepikapen mekanikoaren hutsaltasuna azpimarratzen du (Mateo, Otoitzera Sarrera, 6,2):

Vous avez beau dire le Paternostre,  
Oyr vespres. matines et prou messes.  
Peu de bien est ce que dehors se monstre.  
(vv. 571-573)

Margaritaren konpromiso ebanjelikoak, erlijioa okerreko praktikez garbitzekoak, bultzatzen du “paternostre” neologismoa erabiltzera, imitatuz praktika hipokritekiko Rabelaisen kritika garratzak: (Gargantua, 17), (Mateo, 6,7):

(...)
Incessament. Non pas que à genoulx  
Paternostrant en l'église soyez.  
(vv. 871-872)

Aita Gureko gaiak poema osoan barreiatuak agertzen dira: Jainkoaren aitatasuna (Mateo 6,9) Dialoguearen funtsa bera da (vv. 127-129); otoitzak ez dira berekoiak izan behar zeren Jainkoaren ontasuna bera baita laudatu beharreko (Mateo 6), (vv. 779-780); Jainkoaren borondatea gizonaren desio apetatuen gainetik egon behar da (Mateo 6,10), (vv. 583-585)<sup>130</sup>. Jainkozko ontasuna goratu behar da hala zeruan nola lurrean (Mateo 6,10), (vv. 856-858). Jainkoak laguntzen digu gure bekatuez askatzen (Mateok dio “gure bekatuak barkatzen”, 6,12), (vv. 475-476 eta 478-480) eta bukatzeko bere maitasunak eta barkamenak bultzatzen gaitu besteen bekatuak ere barkatzera (Mateo 6,12), (vv. 754-756)<sup>131</sup>.

Charlottetek, azkenik, Margarita bekatuaren arriskuez kanpo nahi luke (Mateo 6,13), orain bera dagoen bezala, Jainkoaren presentziaz gozatuz:

Delivrée suis de la tentation  
De tout danger de mon dieu offenser  
Par dict, par faict, ne par intention.  
(vv. 139-141)

Izatez, badirudi Dialoguearen atal oso bat (vv. 538-889) otoitzari buruzko tratatu bat dela, edota izan liteke baita Aita Gurearen “egin bedi zure nahia” gaiaren parafrasi laxo bat. Mistikoak gai guzti hauen zale handiak dira<sup>132</sup>: adibidez, Nyssako Gregoriok “Aita Gurea” azalduz tratatu mistiko bat idatzi zuen<sup>133</sup>. Meister Eckhartek ere bere azalpenak egin zituen, lerroz lerro<sup>134</sup>, eta Lutherrek, 1518an, Aita Gurearen iruzkingileen tradizioari eutsi zion idatzi mistiko baten bidez<sup>135</sup>, oraindik ere Theologie Deutscharen eraginpean, berak 1516an editatutako testu mistiko famatua<sup>136</sup>.

W. G. Mooreri esker, badakigu Margaritak Lutherren Aita Gurearen iruzkin hau erabili zuela poema mistiko batean, zeina E. Parturierrek argitaratu baitzuen “Le Pater Noster fait en translation directe et le dialogue par la Reine de Navarre”<sup>137</sup> izenpean, eta non agertzen den erreformatzaile gaztearen lana Margaritak bertsotara ekarria, Dialoguea egiten zuen garai berean edo zertxobait beranduago<sup>138</sup>. Margaritak alemana ez zekienez, pentsatu beharko dugu itzulpen batez baliatu zela, ziur aski ideia erreformatzaileen frantziar defendatzaile batenaz, nahiz eta Lutherren Aita Gurearen iruzkina guztiz tradizionala izan.

Nahiz eta Dialoguearen barne egitura ez doan Aita Gurearen estruktura tematikoarekin bat, zeina osatua den Jainkoarekiko eskari pertsonalez, ezin ahantz dezakegu ezen 1524 eta 1527 artean Margarita honekin guztiz arduratuta zegoela, Briçonneti idatzitako gutun batean ikus daitekeen bezala, non galdegiten baitio Aita Gurearen pasarte Bibliokoari buruzko azalpen espiritual bat. Correspondanceko 103 gutuna: “Et si l’Esprit, congnoissant en vous, a parfaict l’oraison donnée du Pere par le Filz [i.e. Aita Gurea], sans oublier l’espître de saint Denis, dont Madame a desir, je vous en demanderay volontiers, sans crainte de reffus, le double...” (Correspondance, 2, 162. orr.).

Ez dakigu zer gertatu zen Margaritak aipatutako Briçonneten gutun-tratatuekin. Apezpikuak ez zion beti erantzuten haren eskariei, eta idatzia izan bazen ere, kopiatzaileak ez zuen Correspondancearen idatzietara bildu, berau urte hartako azaroan bat-batean moztu zelarik. Edonola ere, Aita Gurearen espiritua present dago bai Margaritaren Dialoguean, baita Briçonnetek Dukesari Charlotte Printzesa gaztearen Heriotzaren ondoan idatzitako gutunean ere; biak ulertu behar dira haien atsekabe pertsonalaren aringarri bezala, baita Aita Gurearen erregurik garrantzitsuenetako baten argitze mistiko bezala: “Egin bedi zure nahia”, gurea baino.

**HIRUGARREN KAPITULUA**  
**Le Miroir de l'âme pécheresse:**  
**Enigma Mistikoa, Lurreko Ikuspenaren aurkako**

I

Margaritaren Dialogue en forme de vision nocturneren argitalpenak publikoaganik jaso zuen hoztasuna, eta bere Miroir de l'âme pécheresseak ukan zuen irakurlegoaren onarpen isilpekoa, biak ere misterio bat dira. 1530 inguruan bukatua<sup>139</sup>, Miroirra lehenbizikoz 1531 urtean agertu zen, eta 1533an irakurlegoaren eskura zegoen lau edizio behintzat bazituelarik, eta urte hartan bertan Sorbonaren miaketetatik libratu behar izan zuen bere anaiak berak, Frantzisko erregeak.

Lehenbiziko edizioak Simon Dubois eta Antoine Augereauk argitaratu zituzten, zeinak literatura luthertarraren publikatzean jarduten baitziren, eta gainera haien bezeroentzat gai polemikoak bilatzen zituzten<sup>140</sup>. Oraindik ez dakigu ze neurritan zegoen Margarita ados Miroirra erabiltzearekin editorearen propaganda helburuetarako, zeren Pariseko edizioa agertu baitzen Sebaldu Heydenen “Salve Jesuchriste”aren frantseserako itzulpen eztabaidagarri batekin. Otoitz honetan “Salve Regina”ren bidez tradizionalki Gure Amarenak ziren tituluak Kristori eransten zitzaizkion. M. Holbanek, adibidez, adierazten du ezen aurkezpen alderdikoi honek poemaren benetako izaera ikustea galarazten digula, eta eragin duela idazlan polemiko honen ideia gakoan desitxuratze orokor bat: “Si l’on a pu se tromper sur la portée de cette oeuvre [idazten du], la faute en est à l’édition parisienne du Miroir qui, au lieu de reproduire le titre exact tel qu’il parut en 1531, en composa un autre, peut-être même sans l’aveu de la reine. Car cette réédition du Miroir avait pour but de couvrir de l’autorité de la soeur du roi le contenu assez agressif du petit opusculé faisant suite.”<sup>141</sup>

Miroirraren eta Frantziako lutheranoen arteko loturari buruzko hainbat kuestiok ez dute erantzunik oraindik, ez baita finkatu nor izan zen zenbait ediziotan agertutako “Je te salue, Jesuchrist”aren egilea. Margarita bera izan al zen “Salve Jesuchriste”a itzuli eta obrari gehitu ziona, edo beste norbaiten ideiak ezkutuka sartzeko aukera ona izan al zen Miroirra, berau ortodoxoa izanik? W. G. Moore bezalako aditu baten arabera, “Salve Jesuchriste”aren itzulpena, “Je te salue Jesuchrist”, estiloagatik, Margaritari egotzi diezaiokegu<sup>142</sup>. Edonola ere, L. Febvrek hau ukatu egin zuen 1930ean<sup>143</sup>. Febvre Dumoulin elizgizonaz mintzo da, zeinak 1526an frantsesera itzuli zuen Sebaldu Heydenen latinezko

“Salve Jesuchriste, rex misericordiae” (1525) transposizioa. Nire eritziz, ez zuen Nafarroako erreginak idatzi, baizik eta beste norbaitek, 1533ko Augereauren Miroiraren edizioan agertutako “Je te salue Jesuchrist, roy de misericorde” hau. Nahiz eta Moorek bi textuen arteko ezberdintasunak azpimarratzen dituen, antzekotasunez jabetzea ere erraza da, eta ez bakarrik latinezko testuarekikoez, zeinarekiko dependentsia baitute, baina baita frantsesezko bi bertsioren artekoez. Horrez gain, Miroirrean agertutako poemaren ostean agertzen den otoitzak itxura guztiz liturgikoa du, ohiko doxologiarekin bukatuz, zeina Miroiraren bukaerako Doxologia Paulino librearen (vv. 1431-1435) ezberdina baita, baita Oraisoneko bukaerakoaren: “Louange à Dieu seul” (v. 155).

Zaila izango da jakitea ze neurritan hartu zuen parte erreginak “Je te salue Jesuchrist”aren txertatzean. Lanak elizgizon baten parte hartzea salatzen du, eta ez dirudi Margarita interesatua zegoenik testu liturgiko formalen itzulpenean. Bestalde, Weissek dio: “bien faite pour exasperer les clercs”.<sup>144</sup> Garrantzitsua da aipatzea badela pasarte bat Briçonneten gutun batean, zerikusi handia duena “Je te salue Jesuchrist”aren espirituarekin, baina ohar gaitezen doxologia ez-liturgikoen erabilpenaz, Pablo Deunarenak bezalakoak en et par Jesus: “Loué soit le superceleste Pere de misericorde et seigneur de toute consolacion, qui en et par son debonnaire filz a voullu engloutir et absorber toute tribulation (...)” (Correspondance, 2, pp. 33-34). Testu honen eta “Salve Regina”ren arteko parekotasuna begi bistakoa da. Agian Erreginak txertatze hau onartu zuen, Meauxen irakasten ziren ideia ez hain erradikal batzuen antza zuelako, Briçonneten gutun honek erakusten duen bezala.

Auzi historiko hauek direla eta, Margaritaren Miroiraren benetako izaera ezkutatuta geratu da. Bere pasarteetako hainbatetan “Jesus l’advocat”i buruz hitz egiten da, ukatuz Jainkoaren eta gizonaren arteko beste edozein lotura:

Et puis, je voy n’avoir accusateur  
Que Jesuchrist, qui est man redempteur,  
Qui par sa mort no us a restitué  
L’heritage, et s’est constitué  
Nostre advocat, devant Dieu presentant  
Ses merites, qui sont et vallent tant ( ... )  
(Miroir, vv. 1147-1152)

Kristo askotan aurkezten da salbatzaile bakar, eta Jainkoaren aurrean gure defendatzaile bezala:

O Jesuchrist, des ames vray pescheur  
 Et seul sauveur, amy sur tous amys,  
 Mon advocat icy vous estes mys,  
 Parlant pour moy, me daignant excuser,  
 Où me povez justement accuser.  
 (ibid., vv. 1164-1168)

Hau agian aitzakia bat izan zen Antoine Augereaurentzat, Miroiraren argitaratzaileetariko bat, txertatzeko lehenik “Salve Jesuchriste”aren itzulpena, eta gero “VI Psaume de David”en hebrearretik frantseserako itzulpen bat, Clément Marotek egina, edizio batetan non ez den aipatzen ez editorearen ez egilearen izena<sup>145</sup>. Sorbonako Fakultate zorrotzak uste izan zuen hau urrunegira joana zela, eta Miroiraren textua konfiskatu zuen, aztertzeko. Augereau dohakabeak nahiko epaiketa konplikatua pairatu zuen, eta hurrengo urtean erre zuten, 1534ko abenduaren 24an<sup>146</sup>.

Zer aurkitu zuen Sorbonak Miroirrean, propaganda lutheranoarekin lotu zezakeenik? Zorionez, fakultatearen 1505 et 1534 arteko “Procès verbaux”en kopia bat gorde da Bibliothèque Nationalean<sup>147</sup>. Dokumentu honek erakusten du ezen, nahiz eta Sorbonak formalki adierazi zuen ez zuela Miroirra ez aztertu ezta kondenatu<sup>148</sup>, hau soilik izan zela haien Sindikoa, Noel Béda, lehentxeago Paristik kanporatua izan zelako Gerard Rousselen, Margaritaren laguntzailearen, sermoien aurka egoteagatik, eta bigarren gatazka bat ekidin nahi zutelako<sup>149</sup>. Posible dateke zerbait argitzea fakultateak Miroirra aztertzeko moduaz, erreparatuz adibidez nola tratatu zuten horko Doktoreek G. Rousselek erret gortean egindako Garizumako sermoien auzia, 1533an. Badakigu urte hartako apirilaren 26an bilera bat egon zela honetaz eztabaidatzeko: “quid agendum esset contra errores qui dicuntur hac quadragesima in pluribus cathedris hujus civitatis Parisiensis publice predicari, et de certis scedulis passim super indulgentiarum publicatione que dicuntur communi omnium consensu scandalose.(...) quod scilicet videntur omnino tenere aut saltem fovere doctrinam lutheranam.”<sup>150</sup> Frogak jasotzeko lekukoak bidali ziren, batez ere Rousselen aurkakoak, hiru egunen buruan: “(...) et interim colligerent omnes articulos erroneos quos audire potuerunt predicatos fuisse per predictum Roussel et quod presentarentur intra triduum sibi aut consilio.”<sup>151</sup> 1533ko maiatzaren 15ean bi lekukoak agertu ziren fakultatearen aurrean; bata, Boisel deituak, uko egin zion aitorrik emateari “coram iudicibus” ezik; besteak, Salignac izenekoak, erantzun zuen “audacter” ezen ez zuela entzun ezer heterodoxorik, “de meritis”, “de veneratione sanctorum”, “de fide”, “de Ecclesia et ejus potestate”<sup>152</sup> gaien aurka, doktrina polemiko hauetan.

Baina auzia ez zen hemen bukatu. Calvinoren gutun baten bitartez, badakigu Collège de Navarren antzeppen bat egiten ari zirela, non Roussel eta Margaritaren satira egiten baitzen: bigarrena Furia bihurtzen zen Megaera ikustean (M. G. Maître Gérard)<sup>153</sup>. Calvinok Margaritarekiko bigarren eraso pertsonal bat ere jasotzen du idatziz: Nicholas Leclerc teologoak, zeinak baitzuen, Sorbonak aginduta, Parisko liburutegietako liburuak zerrenda bat egiteko ardura, beste batzuen artean antzeman zituen Rabelaisen Pantagruel eta fakultatearen oniritzirik gabe argitaratutako liburu bat, Le Miroir de l'ame pécheresse. Urriaren 23an, Frantzisko I erregeak Sorbonari gutun paternal bat igorri behar izan zion, eta hilabete bereko 27an fakultate osoak sinatu zuen dokumentu bat non adierazten zen inork ez zuela Miroirra ez kondenatu, ezta ikusi ere egin<sup>154</sup>.

Baina historiak bestela hitz egiten digu: askoz ere lehenago, 1515eko maiatzaren 2an, Sorbonak Frantzisko Iari “Miroir” bat gomendatu zion Aita Sainduak kondena zezan, Jean Reuchlinek idatzitako “Speculum oculare”a, bertan fakultateari hainbat kritika zuzentzen baitzitzaizkion<sup>155</sup>. Ageriko arrazoiak zeuden Margaritaren Miroirra aztertua izateko: hasteko, poema fakultatearen baimenik gabe agertu zen, eta gai polemikoei hainbat erreferentzia zeuden bertan, esaterako fedearen papera bekatiariaren justifikazioan<sup>156</sup>; giza “ekintzen” axolarik eza ere nabarmentzen zuen, eta larriagoa zena, Marotek eginiko Daviden salmoen itzulpenenerako ez zen latinezko Vulgata testu sakrosantua aukeratu baizik eta hebrearrezko bat, eta hau Miroirrari gehitu. Bibliaren itzulpenei zegokienez fakultatearen jardunbidea<sup>157</sup> zetzan, 1523tik, hauek kontsideratzean “pernicieuses ( ... ) et par conséquent qu’elles ne devaient pas être permises ni tolérées, mais éliminées de l’Eglise par les prélats de toute manière”<sup>158</sup> gisa, A. Clervalek adierazi bezala. Charles Duplessis d’Argentrék, bere Sorbonaren Collectio iuditorumean, askoz ere xehekiago laburbiltzen du fakultatearen jarrera, Bibliaren Vulgata edizioa erabiltzen ez zutenekiko: “(...) ne bibliam juxta graecum sermonem et hebraicum interpretarentur sine permissu et auctoritate universi studii Parisiensis. Cui postulatione Catholicus Procurator Regis annuit. Praeterea Theologi Parisienses Senatum rogarunt, ut iisdem novis Professari bus Regii Collegii interdiceretur, ne in suis interpretationibus biblice pro lege enuntiarent: “ita fertur in Hebraicis litteris”, sive “Graecis”. Perinde quasi hujusmodi interpretatio Vulgatae editioni Latinae, quam a tot abhinc saeculis Latina Ecclesia retinet, anteposenda sit”.<sup>159</sup> Testuinguru historiko hau ezaguturik, ezin jakin dezakegu Margaritaren Miroirra, bere nebaren laguntza barik, zentsuratik libratuko zenentz Sorbonaren ikerketaren ostean.

Hala ere, fakultateak bazituzkeen arren Miroirra liburu pro-lutheranotzat jotzeko asmoak, oraindik eztabaidatzeke dago berau

ortodoxoa zen ala ez. Liburu lutherano bat da bekatuaren unibertsaltasuna aldarrikatzen duelako, edota predikatzen duelako ezen bekatariaren justifikazioa soilik fedearen bitartez lortzen dela? Briçonnetek ere, zeina argiro Lutherren aurkako pentsalaria baitzen, doktrina hauek irakatsi zituen, Margaritari idatzitako gutunetako batean ikus daitekeen bezala<sup>160</sup>, eta Sorbonak ere goretsi zuen bere katolikotasun erabatekoa<sup>161</sup>. A. Lefrancken eragina handiegia izan da kritikoa askorengan, zeinak saiatu diren soilik aztarna lutheranoak aurkitzen Miroir eta Discordean. Izan ere, inkompetentzia erakusten dute ideia batzuen iturriak azaltzean, hala nola “fedearen rolarena gizonaren justifikazioan”, non eta kontzeptu hauek berez nahiko ortodoxoak diren<sup>162</sup>. Margaritak nabarmentzen ditu fedeak gizonarengan dituen ondorioak, esaterako, Adanen bekatuaren aurretik gizonak zuen errugabetasun egoerarako itzulera bat, eta Trinitateko hiru pertsonen onartzea:

L'homme est par foy fait filz du createur;  
 L'homme est par foy juste, saint, bienfacteur;  
 L'homme est par foy remis en innocence;  
 L'homme est par foy roy en Christ regnateur;  
 Par foy avons l'esprit consolateur,  
 Uniz au pere et au mediateur;  
 Par foy j'ay Christ et tout en affluence.  
 (Discord, vv. 71-77)

Egitan, hausnartzen ari da Erromatarrei Pablok idatzitako gutuneko gai nagusiez; Miroirraren sarreran, azpimarratzen du bekatariaren hasierako justifikazioan fedeak duen garrantzia:

Quel est le coeur d'un homme, quant à soy,  
 Avant qu'il ait reçu le don de foy,  
 Par lequel seul l'homme a la congnoissance  
 De la Bonte, Sapience et Puissance.  
 (Introduction, vv. 9-12)

Baina kritikoek ez dute nahikoa aztertuta Margaritaren jarrera gizonaren predestinazioari dagokionez, ezta infernurako kondenazioari dagokionez ere; haren arabera, gizakiak bere salbazioa merezi du (“merite”) eta Jainkoak ez du gaitzetsiko:

Car si l'homme, par contemplation,  
 Amour, vertu, bonté, perfection,  
 Tient de l'ange et à la fin herite



Au ciel, le lieu de semblable merite,  
 Le vicieux en enfer est puny  
 Avec celluy à qui il s'est uny.  
 Puis qu'à Satan du tout s'est comparé,  
 Il tient le lieu qui luy est préparé.  
 (Miroir, vv. 1207-1214)

Sorbonarentzat, Margarita Meauxeko taldeko kide zen, eta beraz ideia erreformatzaileekin harremanetan egotearen susmagarri. Haietako zenbaitentzat, bereziki Lefèvre izan zitekeen Lutherren aldekoa bere azalpen teologikoetan, baina bazen puntu garrantzitsu bat zeinetan talka egiten zuten, hain zuzen elizaren batasuna mantentzean polemika guztien gainetik, eta Margarita honetan Lefèvreren alde zegoen. Luther batasun hau apurtzeko prest zegoen, egiaren izenean; Margaritak, poeman, nahiago zuen Lefèvreren “Kristo integroa”, baina badirudi baita esan nahi zuela, barne erreforma bat egon ezean, apurketa ekiditea ezinezkoa izango zela. Dudarik gabe, Sorbonak lerroz lerro aztertu zuen pasarte hau, zeren agerian jartzen baitu Meauxeko taldeak arazo larri honi buruz zuen ikuspegia:

O vray juge, Salomon veritable,  
 Ouy avez le proces lamentable  
 Et ordonné, contenant les parties,  
 Que mon enfant fust mys en deux parties.  
La traistresse sy est bien accordee;  
 Mais quant me suys de mon filz recordee,  
 Plus tost en veulx souffrir privation  
Que de son corps la separation;  
 Car vraye amour bien parfaicte et ardente  
De la moitié jamais ne se containte.  
 ...  
 Bien meilleur m'est que je meure devant  
Que de souffrir Jesuchrist divisé.  
 (vv. 445-461)

Bertan, Margaritak mistikoki interpretatzen du Itun Zaharreko Salomonen epaiaren pasartea (1 Erregeak 3,16-28)<sup>163</sup>, etikoki bidezkoa dena, eta berarentzat elizaren zatiezintasuna sinbolizatzen zuena; laugarren kapituluan ikusiko dugu ezen Lutherrek etzituela atsegin Bibliaren irakurketa alegoriko hauek<sup>164</sup>.

## II

Kritiko gehienentzat, Miroirra Sorbonaren luthertarren aurkako epaiketa batean egoteak leharzkeen ondorioak ikertzeko behar historiko bat, liburu honen benetako jatorria aztertzeke oztopo bat izan da. F. Géninentzat, adibidez, “excessivement ennuyeux” da, Bibliari erreferentzia inplizitu gehiegi baitaude. Egitura orokorrari dagokionez, Géninek ikusten du “quelque chose d’analogue, quant au plan, aux Maximes des Saints”, Cambraiko Artzapezpikuarena<sup>165</sup>, zehaztu barik zertan datzan antzekotasun hori. J. B. Collins, zehaztasun handiagoz, Margaritaren Miroirraren eta “Specula” sail baten arteko kidetasunez ohartu zen, bai latinezko jatorrizkoetan, bai eta frantseserako itzulpenetan ere. Hauek oso popularrak izan ziren Europa osoan, XV mende bukaeran eta XVI hasieran, batez ere Speculum peccatoris, zeinaren egiletzat Agustin Deuna hartu baitzuten tradizionalki; “Ispilu” hau, baita Speculum amatorum mundi eta Speculum conversionis, Rikeleko Dionisiok idatzi zituen, zeinaren lanak bilduak eta argitaratuak izan baitziren Margaritak Miroirra prestatzen zuen garai berean<sup>166</sup>. Collinsen arabera, Ingalaterrako gorteak Margaritaren Miroirra zeukan tratatu espiritualen sail bateko bat gehiagotzat, zeinak egokiak baitziren nobleziarentzat, baina kasu honetan hobe. Ez da kasualitatea erret familiako kide batek, Isabel Printzesak, Enrike VIIIaren alabak, poema hau ingelesera itzuli izana 1548 urtean. Bertsio hau literatura mistiko ingelesean agertu zen beste Miroir baten ostean, estilo eta gaian antzekoa, Richmondeko Margaritak, Enrike VIIaren amak, ingelesera itzulia<sup>167</sup>; hau Wordeko Winkinek inprimatu zuen 1522an, Mirouer of Golde to the sinfull soule izenarekin, Gruitroedeko Jakobek egindako Erdi Aro bukaerako tratatu mistiko batetik hartua, zeina frantsesera itzulia izan baitzen<sup>168</sup>.

Dudarik gabe, Margaritaren lanen kritiko batek aintzat hartu behar luke “Speculum literatura” deituko nukeena, saiatzeko aurkitzen zenbait alderdi, lot lezaketenak Miroirra, “Specula” anitzak agertu ziren forma ezberdinekin. Hauek irakurle espezializatuentzat idatzita zeuden, eta bertan proposatzen zitzaizen liburu bidez haien buruari begiratzea, haien barne izaera aztertu eta egokiro zuzentzeko.

Adibidez, J. de la Hayek, Margaritaren valet de chambre batek, irakurlea bultzatzen du hau egitera Miroirraren 1547ko edizioan:

C'est le Miroir où il fault regarder  
Qui bien voudra du monde se garder;  
C'est le Miroir auquel qui bien se mire  
De tout malheur et vice se retire,

Propre et requis pour bien se cointoyer,  
Et pour l'esprit de taches nettoyer.<sup>169</sup>

Margaritaren Miroirra aztertzerako orduan, ez da arreta nahikoa jarri “Mirouers” edo “Specula” hauetan; Nafarroako erreginak hauekiko independente mantentzeko asmoa bazuen ere, guk dakigunez, eta gai tradizionalen esposaketan askoz hobe zen arren, haien ideia asko zerabiltzan; esango nuke ezen nahiko zaila dela poema hau guztiz ulertzea helduei, “Mirouers” hauetako batzuk gaineratik bederen aztertu barik, zeinak agertu baitziren Miroirren garai berean edota ez askoz lehenago.

“Mirouers”en bi ezaugarri batak dira haiek egindako deia, norberaren barne aldaketa bat gerta dadin, munduaren handikeriaz jabetzearen bidez. 1480an, Poitiersen, Jean Bouyerrek argitaratu zuen “Speculum vanitatis” genero honen ohiko adibide bat, zeinaren bidez saiatzen den irakurleak konbentzitzen giza existentziaren izaera iragankorraz<sup>170</sup>. “Quoniam, patres carissimi, in via hujus saeculi fugientes sumus, dies nostri sicut umbra praetereunt; necesse est igitur corde sollicito memorari saepius et nostra fragilitas et nostra mortalis infirmitas (...) ecce feliciter poterim evadere periculum, si diligenter studeam sequi divinum consilium, quod est mortis periculum, salutis anti datum, peccatoris periculum”<sup>171</sup>. Idazleak “speculum” hitzaren begi-bistako esanahiarekin jolasten du, zeina hamarkada batzuk beranduago Margaritak erabiliko zuen: “Legat igitur lectionem istam insipiens ille qui hujus-modi est, et speculetur in hoc speculo imaginem suam”<sup>172</sup>.

Bouyerren lanak idazle asko influentziatu zituen, Agustin Deunak egindakoa zela uste izan baitzen urtetan zehar, zeinaren autoritatea, mendebaldean batez ere, idazle mistiko hainbatek guztiz onartzen baitzuten; agian Margaritak berak ere bere eskutan eduki zuen “vanitas-conversio” generoko maisuaren lan hau (ikus 1 irudia, Eranskinetan), Europa osoan ezaguna zena. Guitroedeko Jakobena Speculuma Antoine Cailloutek argitaratu zuen Parisen, 1500 urtean<sup>173</sup>; honen xedea zen jendea hezteko europar monasterio eta gorteetan, eta 1522an gorte ingelesarentzat itzuli zuen Richmondekoko Kondeak. Berdinak ziren honen asmoa, eta lehenago aipatu dugun ingeles gorteko kidearena, zeinak Nafarroako erregearen Miroirra itzuli zuen haien hizkuntzara.

“Speculum vanitatis et conversionis” generoaren hirugarren mistiko nagusia Dionysius Carthusianus dugu, Dionisio de Lewis de Rickel goitizenduna, zeinaren lanak eragin handia izan zuen XV mende

bukaerako eta XVI hasierako irakaskuntza mistikoan. Irakurleen arreta jasotzen saiatu zen, aurkeztuz ideia mistikoak Bernard Deunaren textuetan dauden bezala: “De ista materia (i.e. Gizonak Jainkoaren bideak jarraitu behar ditu) pulchra tractat in quodam sermone B. Bernardus”.<sup>174</sup>



#### 1 Irudia.

“*Speculum Vanitatis*” baten irudia, zurezko eskulturaren, Daniel Hopfferren eskutik (c. 1470-1536). Dama gazteak heriotza eta deabrua ikusten ditu ispiluan isladaturik. Ohartu baita ere areazko erlojuaz, zeinak gogorrazten dion denboraren iragaitea. G.F. Hartlaub, *Zauber des Spiegels*, Munich, 1951 (162 Irudia). 163 irudia ere “*speculum vanitatis*” bat da, baina zakarragoa, neskak deabruaren lotsariak ikusten baititu.

“*Specula conversionis*” hauek Bibliari erreferentziaz beteak daude, eta Elizaren hasierako idazleen aipamenez, batez ere Jeronimo Deuna, Agustin Deuna eta Gregorio Deuna; filosofo latindar eta greziarren aipamenak egiten dira, noizean behin. Dionysius Carthusianusen lanen xedea da arima bide okerretatik urruntzea, eta fede kristaua erakusten duen bidera ekartzea: “Hoc est sane quod dicit Gregorius: contemne divitias, et locuples eris: contemne honores, et eris gloriosus, despice temporal em quietem et habebis aeternam”.<sup>175</sup>

Margaritak konbertsio pertsonal baten beharra nabarmentzen du, zeren arimak bide zuzena utzi (“laisser”) baitu, bere burua Jainkoaren eskuetan utzi ordez (“se laisser”), hala nola Charlottek aholkatu zion *Dialoguean*<sup>176</sup>. Litaniak diruditen zenbait bertsoan, zeinak hildakoentzako “*Litaniae mortuorum*” deitutako Elizaren litania para-

liturgikoen ondotik baitatoz, ohartarazten du arima bide zuzenetik urruntzen duten irudipenez. “Laissé vous ay” esaldiaren errepikapen erretorikoak, nahiz irakurle modernoak agian aspergarri deritzon, ilusio optiko antzeko bat sortzen du. Otoitz hauek ez ziren liturgikoak, ez baitzioten eredu jakin bati jarraitzen, ezta doxologia batez bukatzen ere, baina edonola ere, Elizaren errezu deboziozkoetan nahiko arruntak izan dira gaur egun arte<sup>177</sup>:

Laissé vous ay, oublyé et fouy.  
Laissé vous ay, pour suyvir mon plaisir.  
Laissé vous ay, pour ung mauvais choisir.  
Laissé vous ay, source de tout mon bien.  
Laissé vous ay en rampant le lien  
De vray amour et loyaulté promise.

(Miroir, vv. 642-647)

Erdi Aroko ikuspegi tradizionalari jarraiki, irakurleak ohartarazten zituen gizonaren hiru etsaiez: deabrua, mundua eta haragia:

C'est l'ennemy et le monde et la chair,  
Qui sur la croix vous ont couste si cher,( ... )  
(vv. 659-660)

Erdi Aro berantiarreko “Miroir” edo “Speculum”a gorteko damei zuzendua zen, gehienetan; literatura mota honentzat irakurlego on bat zen, nahiz eta kasu batzutan, gizonak idatzia zenean, nahiko jarrera antifemeninoa nabaritzen zaion. “Miroir” generoaren mota hau bi modutan ager zitekeen, “Mirouer des Dames et Demoiselles” eta “Miroir de Marie”.

Miroirrari sarreran, adibidez, les Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princessesen zati gisan, J. de la Hayek azpimarratzen du:

C'est le Miroir où Princesses et Dames  
Doyvent mirer et les corps et les ames,  
Comme tu fais, dont ce grant bien t'advient,  
Que ton haultz loz tousjours plus cler devient.<sup>178</sup>

Margaritaren Miroirra argiro lotuta dago Erdi Aro berantiarreko “Mirours des Dames”arekin, zeina oso ezaguna zen XV mendearen bukaera aldera. G. A. Brunellik honen adierazgarrietako bat editatu zuen 1958an, Jean Castelsen Miroir; hiru zati ditu eta bertan adierazten da ezen liburu bat ispilu bat bezala dela, baina jendeak, batez ere andreak, ez duela bere

burua bertan ikusi nahi<sup>179</sup>. Castelek ia-ia Jean de la Hayeren hitz berdinak erabiltzen ditu, zeinak, dakigunez, Margaritaren Miroirraren azken edizioak aurkeztu zituen:

Mirez vous cy, Dames et damoiselles  
Mirez vous cy et regardez ma face:  
Helas! pensez, se vous estes bien belles.  
Comment la Mort toute beauté efface.<sup>180</sup>

“Speculum Mariae” tradizionalak Gure Andrea emakume perfektu bezala aurkezten digu, ezkongai akatsgabearen interpretazioari jarraiki, Kantarik Ederrenekoa zuzenean berari aplikatuz. Margaritaren Miroirra ere Mariaren aurkezpen mota honi atxikitzen zaio; debozio popularrean bezala, arrosarioaren hamabost misterioetan adibidez, poemak Maria deskribatzen du Kristoren irudi perfektu bezala. Textuetako batzuek, hala ere, negatiboki hitz egiten dute Mariaz, esanez Kristoren irudia desitxuratzen duela berau isladatu baino, hala nola bere fedez dudak agertzen direnean, Jesus galdu delarik Jerusalemgo tenpluan (Lukas 2, 41-51). Lutherrek Mariaren alderdi negatibo hau azpimarratua zuen, eta esango nuke hau izan zela arrazoia Augereauk Miroirrari eransteko Mariaren aurkako “Je te salue Jesuschrist” textua, kapitulu honen hasieran aipatu duguna. Haatik, Miroirrean, literatura lutheranoan ez bezala, Mariari buruzko irakaspen tradizionalak azpimarratzen dira<sup>181</sup>. Izatez, Margaritaren poemaren sekzio oso bat, vv. 277-318, “Speculum Mariae” bat da, zentzu tradizionalan:

Mere et vierge estes parfaitement  
Avant, après, et en l’enfantement ( ... )  
(vv. 285-286)

Miroirraren inspirazio iturrien artean aurki ditzakegu, baita ere, Kristoren bizitzako zenbait gertaera, hala nola gazte zenean Jerusalemgo tenpluan galdu zenekoa, jazoera hauek lotura dutelarik, debozio Kristauan, arrosarioko hamabost misterioei, zeinak askotan azaltzen baitira “Speculum Mariae” literaturan. Ustekabea, hainbat antzekotasun aurkitzen ditugu Margaritaren poemaren eta Speculum Sanctae Mariae Virginisaren artean, Gunther Zainerrek inprimatua 1471an, Augsburgon<sup>182</sup>. Hau bezalako liburuak ezagunak ziren, eta Margaritak atzitu zukeen “Speculum Mariae” bat, G. Zainerrek idatzitakoa bezala, zeren biek antzeko puntuak nabarmentzen baitituzte: biak ere “Mirouers”en konbinazioak dira, eta Zainerrenak Mariaren bizitzako “tristitia” (damu) eta “gaudia” (bozkario) nabarmentzen ditu, eta bukaeran “Kantu Ederrena”ren interpretazio mistiko bat dago, Mariari erreferentzia dagiona.

Margarita ere “tristitia” eta “gaudia”z mintzo da Jesus umea galtzen eta aurkitua denean, baina kasu honetan idazleak hartzen du Mariaren papera:

O doulx Jesus, vous ay je retrouvé  
Après avoir par ennuy esprouve  
Si vous aymoie? moy qui vous ay perdu  
A moy mesmes vous vous estes rendu.  
(vv. 469-472)

Edonola ere, Margaritak “Speculum Mariae” bat irakurri zukeela pentsatzera garamatzana zera da, Miroirrean ezadostasuna agertzen dela Mariari Kanta Ederreneko zentzu espirituala eranstearekiko, ikusiko dugun bezala<sup>183</sup>. Zainerren testuak dio:

In pulcritudine delectatus Spiritus Sanctus ait in Canticis: Ecce tu pulchra es arnica mea. Ecce tu pulchra; oculi tui columbarum. Non mediocris pulchritudinis esse confirmatur que geminata voce predicatur.<sup>184</sup>

Alabaina, Margaritak ez du “sensus spiritualis” hau Mariaren pertsonara mugatu nahi, eta beraz mistikoki aplikatzen dio “amye navrée d’amour”ari:

Vous l’avez dit en lieu bien autentique  
Par Salomon en vostre doulx cantique,  
Disant: Ma soeur tu as navré mon cuer,  
Tu as navré mon cuer par la douleur  
D’ung de tes yeulx, et d’ung de tes cheveulx.  
(vv. 327-331)

Badirudi Margaritak Mariari “fedearen amaren” rola besterik ez diola eman nahi. Hala ere, zenbait testu ebanjelikotan ikus daitekeen bezala, bere fedeak ñabardura batzuk ditu. Erreformatzaile batzuek hau azpimarratzen zuten, azalduz ezen, Jesus gaztea tenpluan galtzean (vv. 469-472, aipamena gorago), bere fedea ahuldu egin zela, bai eta Jesusen bizitza publikoa hasi zenean ere (Mateo 12, 46-50):

Mais la raison à ma doubte bien mistes,  
Quant en preschant, estendant vos bras, distes:  
Ceulx qui feront le vouloir de mon pere  
Mes freres sont, et ma soeur, et ma mere.  
(vv. 265-268)

Miroirrean, tenpluan galtzen den Jesus gaztearen pasartearen esanahia da, Kristok Mariari egindako errieta hartzea anti-klimax bezala, “Specula Mariae”aren tradizioko Mariaren gehiegizko laudorioaren aurrean. Nahiz eta Margaritak ez dizkion hitzok Mariari aplikatzen, baizik eta fedeak motibatutako arimari, arretaz irakurri ezker, ikusiko da Elisabethen laudorioaz ari dela, bisitaren garaikoaz (Lukas 1, 46-55). “Magnificat” edo Mariaren kantuari erreferentzia argia egiten zaio Miroirrean:

Elle paovre , ignorante, impotente  
 Se sent en vous riche, sage, et puissante (...)  
 (vv. 179-180)

Mariaren paralelismo antitetikoa, “paovre-riche”, zeina “Magnificat”aren adierazgarri baita, Miroirrean agertzen da “Speculum Mariae” gisan. Prisonsean, Margaritak Mariaren kantuarien apologia antzeko bat idatzi zuen, parekatuz honen umiltasuna eta “Rien”ari buruzko irakaspen mistikoa, zeinak bilatzen du bere “Tout”a:

Plus qu’autre femme en son cueur elle avoit  
 Ce Rien, lequel gardoit et conservoit  
 En s’unissant à luy de son bon gré (...)  
 (Prisons, fol. 346 ro, p. 292)

Prisonsari buruzko bosgarren kapituluan, V atalean, saiatuko gara azaltzen “Rien-Tout” harreman antitetiko honen inplikazio guztiak. Idazle tradizionalak ez bezala, Margaritak ez zuen gehiegi goretsi Mariaren amatasuna, mistikoek nahiago izaten baitute garrantzia ematea Jainkoaren aitatasunari, baina ezin akusa dezakegu horregatik Miroirrean inortodoxoa izateaz, idazten baitu:

Je croy doncques (...)  
 Que par amour je vous ay engendré;  
 Dont sans crainte nom de mere prendray.

Mere de Dieu, doulce vierge Marie,  
 Ne soyez pas de ce tiltre marrie.  
 Nul larroncin ne fais, ny sacrilege,  
 Riens ne pretendz sur vostre privilege,  
 Car vous seule avez sur toute femme  
 Receu de luy l’honneur si grand, ma dame,  
 Que nul esperit de soy ne poeut comprendre (sic)  
 Comme en vous a voulu nostre chair prendre.  
 (vv. 269-285)



Hemen Margaritak anti-speculum teknika bat erabiltzen du, Madonnaren kultua alde batera utziz, zeina oinarritzen baitzen Mariaren ezaugarri fisikoetan, hala nola bere edertasuna, erakargarritasun fisikoa eta izaera dotorea. Erreginak ez du Mariaren amatasuna gutxiesten, baina poeman soilik alderdi espiritualak islatzen du Jainkoaren aitatasuna. Miroirrak azpimarratzen du Jainkoak Maria aukeratu badu Kristoren ama izateko, ez dela izan honen merituengatik baizik Jainkoagan sinesten duelako (Lukas 1,45); garaiko “Specula Fide” edo tratatu mistikoetan, fedearen rolak garrantzia handia du; Margaritak aldarrikatzen du inork ezin duela berdindu, Fedeari dagokionez, Mariaren pribilejioa:

( ... )

Car vous estes sa mere corporelle.

Et sa mere par foy spirituelle;

Mais en suivant vostre foy humblement

Mere je suis spirituellement.

(vv. 315-318)

“Specula”k ez ziren teologiazko eskuliburuak, ezta debozio pertsonalerako liburuak. Kristau dogmekiko erreferentziak zituzten, edota otoitzak, eta batez ere predikatzailen baliabide erretorikoak erabiltzen zituzten, irakurleak ohartaraziz bizitza desordenatu baten arriskuez<sup>185</sup>. Nafarroako erreginak, Meauxeko taldearen eraginpean, bazekien tradizio mistiko kristauean fedearen rolak zuen inportantziaz, Pablo Deunaren irakaspenen bidez. Horrela, Miroirra “Speculum fidei” edo “Miroir de la foy” gisa sortu behar zuen. Ez zen lan erraza; poema askotan astun eta errepikakorra bihurtzen da, eta Dialoguea ez bezala, Miroirra ezin da lotu Margaritaren bizitzako pasarte zehatz batekin, baizik eta bere adimenaren egoera batekin; gaur egungo espresio bat erabiltzearren, bere “coeur mis à nu” agertu nahi du.

“Specula fidei”ek egia kristau sinple bat adierazten zuten, esperientzia espiritualei dagokienez gizona itsua dela eta soilik Jainkoak gida dezakeela zuzenean, eta hau, Lutherrek fedearen primatutza aldarrikatu baino askoz lehenago. J. M. Dechanetek, 1946an “Speculum fidei” literaturako obra adierazgarrienetako bat argitaratu zuen, zeina denbora luzez Bernardo Deunari egotzia izan zen, baina bere dizipuluetako baten lana zena, Guillaume de Saint-Thierryrena, Mont Dieuko monje zistertar bat. Margaritak baino askoz lehenago, Thierry Deunak “voir” hitzaren garrantzia azpimarratu zuen, ez zentzu fisikoan baizik mistikoan: “Tria namque ut ha beat necesse est: oculos, quibus jam bene uti possit; ut aspiciat, ut videat”<sup>186</sup>. Gainera, Margaritaren Miroirra tratatu bat da, ikusmenaren oztopoei buruzkoa, eta berak egiten dituen ahaleginei

buruzkoa, jendeak hauek “ikus” ditzan. Lanaren sarreran, zeina lehenengoz agertu zen Augereauren 1533eko edizioan, argiro azaltzen du bere lana “Speculum videndi” edo “Speculum fidei” gisa:

Si vous lisez ceste oeuvre toute entière,  
Arrestez vous, sans plus, a la matiere,  
En excusant la rhyme et le langaige,  
Voyant que c'est d'une femme l'ouvraige,  
Qui n'a en soy science, ne sçavoir,  
Fors un desir, que chacun puisse veoir. ( ... )  
(“Au lecteur”, vv. 1-8)<sup>187</sup>

Mistiko askok bezala, Margaritak fedetik maitasunerako progresioa aurkezten du, itxaropenaren bidez egiten dena (I Korintiarrei 13):

O tresgrand Don de foy, dont tel bien vient,  
Que posseder faict ce que l'on ne tient!  
Foy donne espoir par seure verité  
Qui engendre perfecté charité.  
Et charité est Dieu, comme sçavons.  
(vv. 1413-1417)

Dialoguean, Margaritak maitasunaren nagusitasuna goratu zuen. Miroirra antzekoa da, zeren fedea eta maitasuna baitira gai printzipaletako bi. Adibidez, soilik fedearen bidez lor daiteke Mariaren amatasun espiritualala (vv. 317-318). Modu berean, arimak “ezkontide” egoera erdietsi dezake soilik fedearen bidez:

Parquoy diray par amoureuse foy  
Qu'a vous je suis, et vous estes a moy.  
(vv. 339-340)

Margaritak beste “Mirouer” bat idatzi zuen ohizko moldean (i. e. Jesukristorentzako poema bat, zeinaren bidez irakurleak bere burua eta Jainkoa kontenplatuko dituen). Toulousen argitaratu zen 1552an, le Mirouer de J.C. Crucifié, composé par feu tres illustre princesse Marguerite de Valois, reine de Navarre izenburupean:

C'est la vraye congnoissance  
Du peché et de l'ignorance  
Et qui se peult myrer et veoir  
En Crist en aura le sçavoir  
Car sans luy n'avons qui ignorance.<sup>188</sup>

Miroir honek Miroir de l'âme pécheresseko problematika berdina lantzen du, diferentzia batekin: hemen arimak purutasun eta “vision” egoera bat erdietsi du, zeinak bukatuko baitu Kristorekiko bategite osoan.

Badaude ere “Mirouer” literaturaren beste aspektu batzuk, esaterako “Speculum Salomonis”, nabarmentzen duena “Kantu Ederrenaren” irakaspena, zeina tradizionalki Salomon erregearen obra zela uste izan baitzen; aspektu hauek Margaritaren Miroirrean ere aurkitu daitezke, edonola ere aurkeztu ditugun frogek argiro egiaztatzen dute ezen poema hau behatzerakoan, kontutan izan behar dela “Speculum” literaturarekin lotuta dagoela, zeinaren berri ziurrenik bazuen Margaritak. Izan ere, badirudi poema hau “Speculum” mota guztien konbergentzia puntua dela, gai guztiez mintzo delako. Interesgarria litzateke jakitea bere “prie-dieu”ean “Mirouers” batzuk zituenentz. Ez litzateke harritzekoa, idazlan hauek oso ezagunak baitziren, batez ere XV eta XVI mendeko elizgizon eta gortesauen artean.

### III

Miroirrak egitura nahiko engainagarria du, Dialogueak ez bezala, zeinaren izaera anekdotikoa hastapenean agertzen baita, non deskribatzen baita Margaritak duen samina, bai Charlotte printzesa gaztearen heriotzagatik, baita Kristautasunaren garaiko zatiketagatik, Erasmo eta Lutherren liskarrak zirela eta; Miroirra, baina, orokorragoa da, eta erreferentzia zehatzik gabekoa, beraren bidez ezagutu dezakegu garai oso bat, Margaritaren txundidura garaia 1521 eta 1531 artean.

Kritikoak ados daude Miroirra 1524 baino beranduago idatzi zela baieztatzerako orduan, eta denbora luzea exigitu zuela hau idazteak, bertan aurkitzen diren disgresio teologiko konplikatuak direla eta. Duda gabe, bere egiturak pentsarazten du ezen, 1531ko argitalpenera heldu aurretik, hainbat berrikuspen jasan zituela.

Aurreko atalean, saiatu naiz Miroirra lotzen Erdi Aro berantiarreko “Speculum” literaturarekin, zerikusiak ezagunak direlarik. Dena dela, dakigunez, Margaritak ez zion iturri jakin bati jarraitu. Marie Holbanek, 1936an, aurkitu zituen zenbait antzekotasun Margaritaren Miroirraren, eta garai bertsean Jacques Bouchetek idatzitako Epitres de la Noble et Amoureuse Damearen artean<sup>189</sup>. Bi idazlanek ideien antolaketa eta garapen antzekoak dituztela iradokitzen du. Hemen ere, “editeur” batek Boucheten Epitres biltzeko ideia izan zuen, publikoari aurkeztuz 1534an, noiz-eta “on venait justement de prendre l'imprimeur Antoine Augereau chez qui avait paru l'édition parisienne du Miroir de l'âme pécheresse”.<sup>190</sup>

Boucheten ideien antolakuntza Margaritarenaren antzekoa da, bera ere hasten baita aipatuz “plaintes de l’Ame, asservie au péché. Prenant conscience de sa triste decheance elle exprime sa contrition et son espoir entierement fondé sur la Passion du Christ”.<sup>191</sup> Hurrengo gaia Maria eta sainduak dira, eta inbektiba bat da, erasotzen dituen “ceulx qui veulent empescher l’honneur et reverence qu’an leur doit faire”.<sup>192</sup> Maria Miroirrean bezala agertzen da, “épouse” eta “soeur”en adibide perfektu gisa<sup>193</sup>. Bi liburuak maitasunezko kantu batez bukatzen dira<sup>194</sup>, bai eta hiltzeko desioaz, Jainkoarekin bategite perfektua erdietsi dezaten<sup>195</sup>.

Margaritaren Miroirra idazlan sinpleago bat izan balitz, eta argi eta garbi frogatu ahal balitz ezen Nafarroako erreginak Boucheten obra irakurri ahal izan zuela, hau argitara eman zedin aurretik Miroirren garai berean<sup>196</sup>, orduan azken “rhetoriqueur”aren eragina onartuko litzateke Miroir de l’âme pécheresse obrarentzat. Zoritzarrez baina, Holbanek lanerako oinarritzat hartzen du ezen poema idatzi zela “rapidement, d’un seul jet”<sup>197</sup>, nahiz eta hau ez datorren bat Margaritaren idazlanaren ageriko konplexutasunarekin<sup>198</sup>.

Miroirrak erakusten du nola Margaritak bere bekatuak konfesatzen dituen, nola arimaren bilakaera gertatzen den, eta Jainkoa onartzen duen; baina guztizko bategitea heriotzaren ostean soilik gerta daiteke. Analisi zehatzago batek egitura konplexu hau erakusten du:

I.- Jainkoak gizona sortzen du, eta Adanen erruz kreaio hau porrot bat da (vv. 1-59)

Bekatua gizonaren borondatea baino indartsuagoa da (vv. 60-104)

Gizonak ez ditu Jainkoaren hitzemeak merezi (vv. 105-138)

II.- Salbaziorako Jainkoaren plana

Jainkoak gizona aukeratzen du izan dadin bere anaia, ama, ezkontidea eta alaba (vv. 139-224)

Arimak, hautatua izatearen “ravisement” nabaritzen du, eta Jainkoari “aita” deitzeko gai da (vv. 225-260)

III.- Lehenengo “Mirouer”: “Speculum Mariae”:

Arimak bere burua ikusten du Mariagan, zeina perfektua den, Eva ez bezala: “Speculum Evae” (vv. 261-298)

Mariaren “ravisement” (vv. 299-308)

Anti-klimaxa: Mariaren amatasun fisikoak ez du garrantzirik federik gabe. Kantu Ederrenari erreferentzia: guztiok gara hautatuak, ez soilik Maria (vv. 325-368)

IV.- “Miroir”eko gai printzipala: “Speculum conversionis”:

Ideia zentrala: maitasuna soilik fedeaz erdietsi daiteke, eta itxaropenaren bidez: “Speculum fidei” (vv. 377-379) gaia iragartzen da.

“Speculum conversionis” biblikoa: “seme iriolea”, honen adibide perfektua: “Speculum filii prodigi” (vv. 379-396)

Gai nagusiaren ondorioa: Jainkoaren plana ez da gu zigortzea, baizik salbatzea (vv. 397-414)

“Speculum fidei” gaira itzultzea:

Arima “fedearen bidez Jainkoaren ama” gisa (vv. 415-419)

Bekatuaren teologia (vv. 511-542)

V.- “Specula Salomonis” eta “Davidis”

Salomonen epaiketa; Kristo ezin da zatitua izan (vv. 445-478)

Daviden eta Aaronen fedearen hutsegitea (vv. 511-542)

VI.- Jainkoaren Aukera: “Speculum conversionis et vanitatis”era itzulera:

Jainkoak eskatzen dio arimari bere “frere” eta “soeur” izan dadila (vv. 554-580)

Deialdi intimoago bat, Jainkoaren “espouse” izateko (vv. 581-630)

“Speculum vanitatis”: gizonak Jainkoaren plana ukatzen du; “laisser” hitzaren esanahia (vv. 639-718)

Gizona berriz deitua da: “Speculum conversionis” eta “Kantu Ederrena” (vv. 735-746)

“Speculum animae peccatricis”, Jeremias 3ko emakume adulteriogilearen istorioaren ostean (vv. 747-804)

LE MIROIR: Jainkoak arima bekataria maite du, hau esker txarrekoa den arren. Margarita “Mirouer”a da, zeinean bere buruari so eginez, gizona konturatuko da zer gertatzen zaio bekatu egitean (vv. 805-830).

VII.- “Miroir”eko klimaxa: maitasunaren garaipena

“vous-moi” hitz jokoa, maitasun hitz gisa (vv. 831-880)

Maitasunaren garaipena heriotzarekiko (vv. 901-982)

Paradoxa mistikoa: maitatuaganik banantzea infernua baino txarragoa da (infernuak ere “banantze” esan nahi ez balu bezala) “puis que” textuarekin; errepikakortasuna maitasun hizkeran (vv. 1001-1086)

Heriotzari ereserkia (iadanik Dialoguean garatutako ideiak agertzen dira) (vv. 1087-1090)

VIII.- Pablo Deunaren Ravisement

(Margaritak berresten du “maitasunen” sinesten duela, anti-klimaxik barik)

Gizonaren erakarpena bekatu-heriotz-infernuarekiko (vv. 1253-1280)  
Maitasunaren garaipena. Hemen Margaritak “amour” eta “mort”  
hitzekin jolasten du, “M” hizkia errepikapena eginez:

amour-mort (vv. 1040-1044)

mort-amye (vv. 1109-1110)

aymer-moy (vv. 1302-1312)

Arimaren txikitasunari (riens) zail egiten zaio Jainkoaren  
mugagabetasuna (Tout) besarkatzea (vv. 1313-1330)

“Speculum Pauli”: Pablo Deunaren “ravisement”. Poema osoak  
hemen egiten du bat, Pablo Deunaren esperientzia mistikoan, 2  
Korintiarrei,<sup>12</sup> kapituluan agertzen den bezala. Berau da orain “l’âme  
pécheresse”; Pablo Deunaren konbertsioa gertatzen da Jesusekin aurrez  
aurre dagoenean, Damaskorako bidean: “(...) Trois jours sans veoir, ravy  
jusques au ciel (...)” (v. 1384). Bizipen honekin, konturatu zen Jainkoaren  
sekretuak hitzez adierazteko ezintasunaz:

(...)

Voz jugementz sont incomprehensibles,

Et voz voies, selon tous noz possibles,

A tous noz sens investigables sant.

(vv. 1391-1393)

Orain ulertzen dugu nora heldu nahi zuen Margaritak: “Orain dena  
ilun ikusten dugu, ispiluan bezala; gero aurrez aurre ikusiko dugu” (1  
Korintiarrei 13,12). Hau da Margaritaren Miroiraren sekretua: “D’ung  
tel secret ne parlez plus avant” (v. 1396).

Azterketa berri baten ostean, konturatuko gara poema jolas bat dela,  
non Margaritak irakurle inteligentearekin jolasten duen; poemaren  
sekretua jolasa da, eta jolasa asmakizun bat da, zeinaren esanahaia bere  
izena baita (Margarita), poemaren gailur eta bukaeran dagoena: “Qu’il  
luy plaist faire de moy sa Marguerite” (v. 1430). Bere izenaren esanahi  
sekretuaz kontziente zen, zeren Ispilua, nolabait esatearren, loratzen da  
Margarita baten itxurapean:

## MARGARITA berdin SEKRETUA berdin ISPILUA

Nolatan heldu zen Margarita egitura espiral arraro hau egitera  
Miroirrean, zeina bukatzen baita bere izena den sinbolo mistikoarekin?  
Poema bat asmakizun batekin bukatzea nahiko arrunta da poesia lirikoan,  
batez ere sonetoetan. Miroirra ez da bere hasierako gaira itzultzen,  
arimaren konbertsiora alegia, baina Pablo Deunaren “Zerurako

extasiarekin” bukatzen da, zeinak poemaren izenburua eman baitzukeen, baita bere berrikusitako hainbat gai ere. “Specula” inperfektu sail bat ageri zaigu, zeinak jakintza perfektuaren klimaxera baikaramatzate, Pablo Deunak tarte motz batean ezagututakoa bezala.

Kasua hau bada, liburuaren egiturak erakutsi bezala, posible ote da liburuaren iturburua izatea Briçonnet eta Margaritaren arteko Correspondance luzea? Marie Holbanek, beste kritiko askok bezala, baieztatzen du hau hala dela, nahiz eta ez duen frogatzen: “Car on distingue une influence tres nette sinon sur ses idées religieuses” (hemen Boucheten Triumphesez ari da) “qui sont celles de sa correspondance mystique avec Briçonnet et qui remontent donc à l’année 1521.”<sup>199</sup>

Noski, konturatzeko Briçonnetekin izandako Correspondanceak izan zuen garrantziaz Miroirreko gaien garapenean, batez ere hasierako gutunetara jo behar dugu. 1521eko abuztuan idatzitako gutun batean, Briçonnet saiatu zen Margarita gidatzen, pasa zedin arimaren “bizitza purgatibotik” “iluminatibora”. Miroirrean bezala, hitz-jokoak erabiltzen ditu, “veoir”, “aveugle”, “lumière” eta “ténèbre” hitzekin<sup>200</sup>.

La superceleste, infinie, douce, debonnaire, vrais et seulle lumière aveuglant et enluminant toute creature capable de la recevoir et qui, en la recevant, la dignifie de l’adoption filiale de Dieu, veuille, Madame, par son excessive et insuperable amour vous aveugler et illuminer,<sup>201</sup> a ce que soiez en cécité voyante, et voiant aveugle, pour parvenir au chemin sans chemin de veoir sans veoir,<sup>202</sup> cognoistre sans cognoistre les tenebres, esquelles la divine lumière infinie s’est cachée et faict sa demourance.

(Correspondance, I, 34. orr.)<sup>203</sup>

Miroirraren eta Briçonneten gutun honen lengoaia eta oinarritzko arazoak berdinak dira, funtsean: gizona ezin hel daiteke Jainkoaren ezagutza osora bizirik delarik, lurrean; arimak, esperientzia mistikoaren ostean ere, zeina “oeil de l’esprit”aren bitartez erdietsia izan baita, “aveuglée” jarraitzen du: “(...) lors accroist sa lumiere et attire plus fermement et facilement l’oeil de la raison et de l’esprit,<sup>204</sup> auquel, de degré, se communique sy doucement que, incontinent, la pauvre ame se sent surprise et, navrée d’amour sy excessive qu’elle la faict, par divers atouchemens et communication divine, trèsvoiante et cognoissante, et neantmoins ainsy aveuglée...” (Correspondance, I, 35. orr.).

Miroirrean, Margaritak lengoaia berdina erabiltzen du, ia-ia hitz berdinekin:

Las! mon frere. aultre bien je ne veulx  
Que vous navrant navrée me sentir;  
Par vostre amour bien m'y veulx consentir.  
(Miroir, vv. 332-334)

Briçonnetek, gutunean, Pablo Deunaren experientzia mistikoa aipatzen du, Damaskorako bidean, zeina baita adibiderik onena, ikusteko gorputzaren itsutasunak arimaren Ilustraziora daramala:

Car son oeil n'est capable de telle lumiere recevoir et croy, Madame, que vouldes aussy parler en voz lettres de ceste cecité, quant m'escrivez qu'estes plus que par nature aveuglée. Monsieur Saint Pol en fut moult actainct en son ravissement, quant il vit sans veoir et oyt sans pouvoir esprimer ce qui passoit toute expression. (...) (Correspondance, 1, 36. orr.)

eta Margaritaren Miroirra, Pablo Deunaren experientzia horri buruz:

Onques nul oeil d'homme mortel ne vit,  
Ny aureille ne sceut jamais entendre.  
Ne dans le cueur, tant soit il bon, descendre  
Ce que Dieu a préparé et promiz.  
(Miroir, vv. 1400-1403)<sup>205</sup>

Pourquoy venez, o bienheureux Saint Paul,  
Qui tant avez gousté ce doulx miel,  
Trois jours sans voir, ravy jusques au ciel...  
(vv. 1382-1384)

Ezin daiteke kointzidentzia hutsa izan Miroirra eta Briçonneten gutuna ondorio berdinetara heltzea, esan nahi baita, Jainkoarekiko bategite mistikoa Pablo Deunaren modu berdinean soilik egin daitekeela, zentzuen eta baita arrazoiaren bide guztiak gaindituz. Margaritarentzat, hau da Miroirraren funtsa, tituluak esan nahi baitu “soilik inperfektuki dakigu”, ispilu lausotu batean bezala, “in Specula” esaera Paulinoa erabiliz. Briçonneten eta beraren arabera, “itsuka” soilik dakigu, biek idazten dutelarik “voir sans voir”.

Bi urte beranduago, apezpikuak Miroirreko gaiak are argiroago iragarri zituen, ispilu materiala (metala) eta gardena (mistikoa) alderatuz, 1523ko urrian idatzitako gutun batean, zeinaz, bistan dena, kritikoa ez dira ohartu: “Sy mirouers materielz estoient vitaulx et animéz et fussent mis l'un devant l'autre, chascun d'iceulx verroit son compaignon et en luy soy mesme sans alteration quelzconcques (...)” (Correspondance, 2 , 64. orr.).



Ispiluaren sinboloa leit-motifa da Correspondancean. 1524ko martxoan, urtebete beranduago, Margaritak aipatzen du Briçonneten “mirouer”aren erabilpen mistikoa: “Le vray mirouer auquel regardant (...)” (Correspondance, 2, 133. orr); handik gutxira jarraituko dio apezpikuak: “Assez y a de myrouers qui se disent clers mais non polliz (...)”.

Urte horretako apirilean, azkenean, azalduko da ezen benetako “myrouer”arekin topo egitea Kristoren benetako ezagutza dela, zeinak islatzen baitu jainkozko argia gure adimenetan: “...du mirouer sans macule [i.e. Kristo], qui, ne lais(s)ant ce qu’il estoit [bere jainkozko izaera], a prins par exinanition [bere gorpuztea] ce qu’il n’avoit pour en noz mirouers oster ce qu’il y estoit...” (ibid., 2, 135. orr.). Gure arimak Berarekiko egokitu ezkerro, Berak transformatuko gaitu “illuminant nostre cecité et parfaissant noz imperfections, là est le mirouer sans macule, auquel fault desrouiller, pollir et conformer les nostres...” (ibid., 2, 145-146. orr.).

Agian, frogatzeko ezen Margaritaren Miroirrak Briçonneten gutunekin lotura zuzena duela, adierazgarriena izan liteke biek “Marguerite” hitz-enigmaz dagiten erabilpen mistikoa. Briçonnet izan zen lehena berau modu ezkutuan erabiltzen; 1521eko azaroaren 11n idatzitako gutun batean, baieztatzen du jakintza perfektua “perle” bat bezala hazten dela: “Et, quant elle y sera, joincte et unie, lors cessera la pyramide et retournera en son naturel rondeur circulaire.” (ibid., 1, 55. orr.). Forma biribila edo zirkulua, mistikoentzat, arima perfektuaren irudia zen:

( ... ) and the soul hath a circular movement - viz. an introversion from things without and the unified concentration of its spiritual powers - which gives it a kind of fixed revolution, and, turning it from the multiplicity without, draws it together first into itself and then (after it has reached this unified condition) unites it to those powers which are a perfect Unity, and thus leads it unto the Beautiful and Good (...) And the soul moves with a spiral motion whensoever (according to its capacity) it is enlightened with truths of Divine Knowledge (...) for this, as I said, is the circular motion.<sup>206</sup>

Zirkuluaren perfekzio matematikoak Kristoren jainkozko perfekzioa gogorarazten digu; arimak Bera imitatzea du helburu, baina Bere irudia harrapagaitza da:

Lors l’excellente et parfaicte marguerite, qui est le doulx Jesus, se peult achepter. C’est le pris pour lequel il se donne et pour aultre pris ne se peult avoir et ne se fault excuser sur pauvrette temporellé ou spirituelle. (Correspondance, 1, 55. orr.)

Miroirraren bukaeran (v. 1430) dagoen enigma mistikoa, “marguerite”ren esanahi sekretuarena, Jainkoaren ezagutza puruago baten lorpena da: “Je crains, Madame, entrer en la mer du myrouer infini et eternel” (ibid., 2, 58. orr.); poeman, Margaritak aitortzen du ezen bere maisu Briçonnetek inimizioan zehar exijitzen zion zolitasun egoera erdietsi duela.

#### IV

Miroirra beraz, jo dezakegu azalpentsat, Briçonnetek Jainkoarekiko bategiteari buruzko egindako irakaspen mistikoena, honen enigma “marguerite” delarik, forma Kristomorfo borobila duena: “Puisque toute la vie du chrestien doit tendre à mort et plus en approche plus est christiforme, ne puis avoir pitié, par ce qu’elle est au chemin de la doublement malade: plus croistera la maladie, plus tost embrassera par mort le chief auquel elle desire estre marquerite” (ibid., 1, 72. orr.). Erregina, Briçonneten gutunak irakurri ostean, konturatu zen honen esanahi ezkutuaz: “Marguerite, indigne du nom”. Bere izena bera sinbolo gisa erabiltzen du, bizitza espiritualerako bere sarbideaz hitz egitean, zeinak Pablo Deunaren irakaspena baitzuen inspirazio iturri nagusitzat. Ideia paulinoak behin eta berriz agertzen dira Miroirrean, esaterako, gure ahultasunean espirituaren laguntza behar dugula (Erromatarrei 8,26):

Par son esperit faict ung gémissement  
Dans mon cœur, grand inenarrablement,  
Qui postule le don, dont le sçavoir  
Est incognu à mon foible pouvoir.  
(vv. 83-86)

Soilik maitasuna hastearen bidez erdietsi daiteke perfektzioaren sentimendu sutua:

( ... ) Las! c’est pour consumer,  
Fondre, brusler, du tout aneantir  
L’ame qui peut ceste douceur sentir.  
(vv. 954-956)

Sentimen misteriotsu hau ezin deskriba daiteke gizakien hitzez, zeinek soilik bizipen fisikoekin zerikusia baitute:

( ... )  
Ce qu’il ne peut déclarer ne nommer,  
Tirant noz cœurs, nostre amour, et espoir

A desirer ce qui ne se poeut veoir.  
Que diz je veoir? mais penser, ny sentir:  
Qui rend content de mourir ung martyr.  
(vv. 1408-1412)

Miroirrean agertzen den esperientzia mistiko honi, Sckommodauk “raptus mysticus” deitzen dio<sup>207</sup>. Briçonnetek deskribatua zuen bategite mistiko hau, Margaritaren poemari aplikatu diezaiokeguna:

Quant il sera en nous par union transformante (comme dict Monsieur saint Pol) (Philippians 3,21) et configurante le corps de nostre nichilité à son très digne et excellent corps de sa clarté, nous serons tous, par sa grace, deiformes, et ne se pourra riens veoir en nous que luisante divinité, non procedante de nous, mais de nostre vray feu, nous transformant en luy. Là sera la vraie et indubitable union, sans figure ne ombre. (Correspondance, 1, 105. orr.).

Experientzi hau, Miroirrean, expresatzen da minezko sentipen fisikoei lotutako analogia sorta baten bidez, errea edo zulatua izatearena adibidez. Poemaren zenbait pasarte irakurri ahal izateko hitz gakoak hauek dira:

ravi  
navré  
fendre  
brusler  
s’esbahir  
devenir folle  
perdre contenance  
perdre sens<sup>208</sup>

Margaritaren idazkien zintzotasunaz ez dago zalantzarik. Experientzia mistiko dei genezakeen bat eduki zuen<sup>209</sup>, beharbada Briçonneti, 1521eko udan, lehenengo gutuna idatzi baino lehenago. Honek berehala ulertu zuen printzesak eskatzen ziona, eta segidan hasi zen lanean. Correspondancearen urteetan zehar, Margaritak hainbat froga pertsonal jasan zituen, eta bere heziketa erlijiosoari heldu zion.

Miroirrean ikusten da inimizazioa bidearen hiruko zatiketan, zeinean ariman aurrera egin behar duen. Tradizio mistikoari jarraiki, eta ñabardura neoplatonikoez josirik, Briçonnetek Margaritari “hiru maladies”ak erakutsi zizkion, “purgative”, “illuminative” eta “perficiente”, (Correspondance, 1, 74. orr.), azpimarratuz ezen arimak gora egin beharko duela “esprit ecstatique”raino<sup>210</sup>, eskala hirukoitzaren bitartez, purifikazioa, iluminazioa eta bategitea (vv. 35 eta 1207-1210).

Margaritak, Miroirrean, ez zuen guztiz garatu hirugarren maila hau, Jainkoarekin bategitearena. Hau bere azken obratan landuko zuen, batez ere Prisons de la Reine de Navarre idazlanean, bi hitz gakoren bidez: “le Tout” eta “le Rien”. Apezpikuarengandik ikasiak zituen, eta hauek erabiltzeko, bera baino kartsuago ageri da Correspondancean. 1522ko urtarrilean, idatzi zuen: “Voiant que au Tout n’estes rien et croiant vostre rien encloz dedans le Tout, me veulx soubzmectre à ce qui sera par vostre rien dict, le tenant de la main du Tout, vous querant prier pour mon moings que rien...” (Correspondance, 1, 134. orr.).

Margarita, Miroirrean, Correspondancean baino zuhurragoa da, eta askoz beranduagoa arte ez da konfiantzaz sentituko “Tout-Rien” harremanaren gaia oso-osorik lantzeko, Prisonsetan hain zuzen<sup>211</sup>:

Mais quant à luy par amour est unie  
Si remply est son riens d’ ung peu de tout...  
(Miroir, vv. 1326-1327)<sup>212</sup>

“Tout”aren eta “Rien”aren erabilpena baino esanguratsuagoa da beste bikote antitetiko batena, hain zuzen Jainkoaren eta gizonaren artekoa “Zu-Ni” harremanaren bidez, erabiliz Martin Buberren “Ni eta Zu” tratuaaren analisisa<sup>213</sup>. Margarita “ekstasi”aren kontzeptu mistikoaren ebazpen bat bilatzen saiatzen da, zeinean, Pseudo Dionisioren arabera, ez dagoen diferentziarik Zuaren (Jainkoa) eta Niaren (gizona) artean<sup>214</sup>. Mendebaldeko mistikoak gehienetan kezkatzen dituen ez da Jainkoazkoak gizona absorbitzearen auzia, baizik eta arimaren eta Jainkoazkoaren arteko komunikazioarena<sup>215</sup>:

(Je voy ... )  
Le bien de vous, qui est tant admirable,  
Le mal de moy, trop inconsiderable,  
Vostre haulteur, vostre essence trespure,  
Ma fragilité et mortelle nature,  
Voz dons, vos biens, vostre beatitude,  
Ma malice, et grande ingratitude.  
Quel vous m’estes et quelle je vous suis,  
(L’unq à l’aultre comparer je ne puis)  
Qui me faict bien sans fin esmerveiller,  
Comme si fort vous a pleu travailler,  
Pour vous unir a moy contre raison  
Veu qu’il n’y a nulle comparaison.  
(ibid., vv. 865-876)

“Ni-Zu” harreman hau Miroirrean garatuko da, hainbat kidetasun mistikoren bidez, bi maila mistiko hauetara daramatenak:

I.- Ezkontza espiritualak

II.- Gizonean Jainkoaren Semea sortzea

Miroirraren hasieran, gizonaren eta Jainkoaren arteko harremana, nolabait esateko, urrunekoa da; Filiazio kidetasunaren itxurapean agertzen da<sup>216</sup>:

Est il pere à fille, ou frere à soeur  
Qui ung tel tour jamais eust voulu faire?  
(vv. 144-145)

eta

Osera bien mon esperit s'avancer  
De vous nommer Pere? Ouy, et nostre,  
Ainsi l'avez dit en la Paternostre.  
(vv. 248-250)

“Kantu Ederrenak” ere garrantzia handia du “Neba-Arreba” kidetasunaren garapenean:

Vous l'avez dit en lieu bien autentique  
Par Salomon en vostre doulx cantique,  
Disant: Ma soeur tu as navré mon cuer (...)  
(vv. 327-329)

Brignonetek idatzia zuen: “l'ame est fille, soeur et espouze à jamais du Roy des Roys” (Correspondance, 2, 227. orr.). Margaritak irakaspen honekin jarraitzen du:

Puis que frere et soeur ensemble sommes,  
Il me chault peu de tous les aultres hommes.  
(Miroir, vv. 565-566)

L. Febvrek jasangarriak deritze litaniak deitzen dituen hauei: “insupportables parfois dans leur redondance”,<sup>217</sup> Miroir osoa halako aipamenez bete da baita:

Filz, pere, espoux, et frere, entierement  
Pere, frere, filz, mary. O quelz dons  
De me donner le bien de tous ces noms!  
mon pere, quelle paternité  
mon frere, quelle fraternité!  
man enfant, quelle dilection!  
mon espoux, quelle conjunction!  
(vv. 933-939)

Textu honetan, Margaritak frogatzen du ezen ongi trebatua dela mistikoen irakaspenetan, batez ere Jainkozkoarekin bategitearen ideia, ezkontzarekin alderatuz<sup>218</sup>:

(...)  
Vous les avez portez de bon courage [i.e. “mes vices”]  
Par l’union de nostre mariage.<sup>219</sup>  
(vv. 1181-1182)

Hala ere, Miroirreko kontzeptu harrigarrienetako bat Filiazio kidetasunarena da, Margaritak adierazten duena “la naissance de Dieu en nous” kontzeptu mistiko tradizionalaren bitartez. Eckhartek idatzia zuen: “Now let us see where this birth [of Christ] takes place. It takes place, as I have so often said before, in the soul, exactly as it does in eternity and with no difference, for it is the same birth and occurs in the essence, the core of the soul.”<sup>220</sup>

(...)  
En luy donnant foy pour la recepvoir,  
Qui luy a faict vostre filz concepvoir.  
(Miroir, vv. 183-184)

eta beranduxeago:

Parquoy daignez l’asseurer qu’elle est mere  
De vostre filz, dont vous estes seul pere.  
(ibid., vv. 187-188)

Etapla honetan, arimak Jainkoarekiko intimitatearen maila gorena erdietsi du, mistikoei bategite perfektu edota guztizko zoriona deitzen dutena. Mendebaldeko mistikoen arabera, hau soilik gairitu daiteke Trinitatean Jainkoaren Semearekin bategite estatikoaz<sup>221</sup>.

## V

Ikerlan honetan zehar, zenbait baliabide estilistiko aipatu ditugu, batez ere “Speculum” generoaren jarraipena izateko erabilitakoak, edota, ezaugarri gisa, bere izenari berari buruzko asmakizun edo enigmak erabiltzea. Bere teknika ez da tradizioetik aldentzen: Miroirra, adibidez, errekurtsu mistikoei betea ageri da, elizaren tradizio patristikotik hartuak eta Florentziako berpizkunde neoplatonikoaren eraginpekoak. Aipatu dugu zirkulu platonikoa figurarik perfektuena bezala, zeinaren sinboloa, Briçonneten arabera, Margarita baita<sup>222</sup>.

Aipatzea merezi duten beste baliabide mistiko tradizional batzuk dira Miroirrean modu ezberdinetan agertzen diren sailkapen binarioak, edota dikotomiak. Argi-Iluntasunaren enfasi platonikoa, adibidez 35. lerroan (iadanik aipatua): “Par sa clarté ma tenebre illumine”<sup>223</sup> beranduago laburtua da tratatu motz batean zeina Miroirrarekin batera publikatua izan den beti, baita honen 1531ko lehen edizioan ere, eta zeinak azaltzen baititu gai honen punturik konplikatuena. Discord estant en l’homme par contrarité de l’esperit et de la chair et sa paix par vie spirituelle, qui est annotation sur la fin du 7 ch. et commencement du 8 de l’epistre Saint Paul aux Rom. obran, egitura binario berdina erabiltzen da gizonaren izaera paradoxikoa azpimarratzeko, bere baitan printzipio kontrajarriak dituelako (Erromatarrei 7,15):

Son vouloir veulx et mon vouloir me plaist;  
 Loy m’est à gré; je deteste la loy;  
 Je vis en paix; je vis en grand desroy;  
 En ne m’aymant, je n’ayme aultre que moy.  
 (Discord, vv. 10-13)

Izatez, bai Miroirra baita Discorda ere, zatiketa mailakatu antzeko, binario paradoxiko hauez beteta daude. Gizonaren barne izaera agertzen da kontraste argi batean Kristorekiko, zeina baita bere ispilu perfektua, ideala.

“Speculum Dei”  
 Vouloir de Dieu  
 Grâce  
 Clarté  
 Vie  
 le Christ  
Marie  
Esperit  
Gizonaren Irudia  
 vouloir de l’homme  
 péché  
 ténèbre  
 mort  
 Adam  
 Eve  
 corps

Margaritak, Jainkoa eta esperientzia mistikoa modu negatibo batean definitzen duen hiztegia nahiago du, eta hau ez da nahikoa azpimarratu. Pablo Deunak Erromatarrei idatzitako epistolan inspiratzean, badirudi

hau garatzen ari dela. Hona hemen adibide on bat, hiztegi paulinoaren eta antitesi mistikoen konbinazioarena:

(...)

Je voy en vous bonté si incongneue,  
Grace et amour si incomprehensible,  
Que la veue m'en demeure invisible.  
(Miroir, vv. 854-856)

Briçonnetek erakutsia zion teologia mistikoan “via negativa” edota “docta ignorantia” deitu ohi den hori, Jainkoari buruzko predikatu positiboak ekiditeko bide negatiboa hain zuzen, zeren ez baita zilegi, Bera deskribatzeko, giza hitz edo kontzeptuak erabiltzea, maisu mistiko zaharren arabera. Pseudo Dionisio, ekialdeko eta mendebaldeko mistizismoaren adibiderik argiena, “via negativa” honen adierazgarri nagusia da, eta bere Jainkozko Izenak tratatua oso ezaguna zen. Briçonneten bitartez Margaritarengan eduki zuen eraginaz arduratuko gara Prisonsei buruzko 5. kapituluan, non xehetasunez aztertuko baititugu Jainkoa definitzeko bere saiakerak<sup>224</sup>. Briçonneten gutun honek erakusten du bizitzan zehar Jainkoa behar den bezala ezagutzeko ezintasuna, zeren izaki guztiek soilik nahiko modu nahasian islatu baitezakete: “Et sy je ouzois monter plus hault en son habitacle, où sa lumière superexcellente est tenebres, je le trouverois par rien plus dignement et excellentement que en ses creatures. Car il n'est creature ne toutes qui puissent explicquer ne que par icelles l'incomprehensibilité de l'incomprehensible qui est incommunicable se puisse comprendre et nommer.” (Correspondance, 1, 78. orr.).

Metaforek kutsu mistiko nabaria dute, batez ere Suarenak bere hainbat aldaeratan, “brusler”, “feu”, “ardeur” eta “scintille”. Gure kasuan erraza da hauen iturburua Correspondancean aurkitzea, batez ere hasierako gutunetan, zeinetako material nagusiez baliatu baitzen Margarita bere Miroirrean.

Ura eta Sua, apezpikuaren arabera, maila purgatibo eta iluminatiboaren sinboloak dira, non eta Maná edota “Pasture”a Jainkozkoarekiko bategitearen sinbolo den:

L'excellent et beneficque abisme qui toutes creatures abisme en soy par grace sans intermission fluentes de son abissale charité en torrent de volupté abrevant, letifiant et remplissant les ames vrayment aneantyes et par harmonie d'amour uniez a luy en pureté de vaisseau vidé et appauvry. Lesquelles s'en rendent par volontaire abessement subsceptibles, liquefians leurs coeurs au doux brasier qui les purge, illumine et parfaict pour estre monnoye d'or royale et legitlme et lors que plus sont embrassées, l'abissale pasture les repaist de soy en soy et repaistre en lui, qui est abisme de eaue, de feu et pasture. (Correspondance, 1, 76-77. orr.)



Jainkoaren bihozberatasunaren lehen zantzuak sentitu dituenean, arimak argiago nabaritzen du beste maila bat Beraren maitasunaz ohartzeko prozesuan:

Aussi le cuer qui par façon subtile  
Sent de l'amour de Dieu une scintille.  
Treuve ce feu si grand et si terrible.  
Si doulx, si bon, qu'il ne luy est possible  
Dire que c'est d'amour; (...)

(Miroir, vv. 1341-1345)

Hemen Margarita onartzen ari da ezen, nahiz eta deitua den bategite perfektura, oraindik honen bigarren etapan dagoela, Suarenean, Briçonnetek Correspondancean deskribatua (I, 114-128. orr.). Bestalde, maila purgatiboa iradokitzen da, zenbait sinboloren bitartez, zeinak “Miroir-Speculum”aren gai nagusiarekin lotura zuzena baitute, “veoir” eta “mirer”:

C'est le Miroir où Princesses et Dames  
Doyvent mirer et les corps et les ames<sup>225</sup>

(Miroirari sarrera, J. de la Haye, vv.73-74)

Bizitza purgatiboarekiko trabak erakusten dira Argi eta Iluntasunarekin lotutako irudien bidez:

( ... ) qui [i.e. “mes pechez”] sont en si grand nombre  
Qu'infinitude rend si obscure l'ombre  
Que les compter ne bien veoir je ne puis...

(Miroir, vv. 7-9)

Sustraiak, Hosto eta Adarrak ez bezala, iluntasunaren metafora dira:

Bien sens en moy que j'en ay la racine,  
Et au dehors ne voy effect ne signe  
Qui ne soit tout branche, fleur, feuille, et fruit,  
Que tout autour de moy elle produict.

(vv. 13-16)

Geroago, Margaritak azaltzen du ezen bere sustrai propioen gaitibu dela:

Voilà comment en peine, criz, et pleurs  
En terre gist sans clarté de lumiere  
Ma paovre ame, esclave, et prisonniere...

(vv. 24-26)

Hemen Margaritak iragartzen du gai bat zeinak garrantzi handia izango baitu bere idazlan nagusian, Prisonsetan. Izatez, Miroirra metaforaz metafora doa, gehienak “itsutasunaren” gai printzipalarekin lotuak. Heltzen da esatera ezen sentitzen dela lurrean harrapatutako zizare bat bezala:

Et vous ça bas à moy estes venu,  
 A moy, qui suis ver de terre tout nud.  
 Que dis je, ver? Je luy fais trop d'injure.  
 (vv. 99-101)

Margaritaren poemetako sinbolo, simil, metafora eta konparazioek sortzen duten arazo estilistiko konplexua sakontasunez aztertu barik, Sckommodauk iradoki zuen ezen agian hauek Correspondancean topa genitzakeela<sup>226</sup>. Hau egia da, Miroirrean bereziki. Ezin daiteke erregina “plagiatzailatzat” salatu, orduan normala baitzen besteen ideiak hartzea, eta Briçonneten irudiak zuhurki hautatu eta kontrolatzen zituen, gero bere hausnarketa propioetan sartzeko.

Nahiz eta Miroirra Margaritaren kritiko gehienei interesatu zaien, honen sekretuak ebatzi gabe egon dira orain arte. Textuak beti aurkeztuko ditu zailtasunak irakurle modernoarentzat, zeren badirudi Margaritak bere pentsaera estalki mistiko batez ezkutatu nahi duela, Briçonnetek baino neurri handiagoan, agian. “M” hizkiaren interpretazio mistikoak Ramon Llul Kabalaren maisua gogorarazten digu, zeinak baita ere idatzi zuen “Speculum” bat, latinez, Margaritaren Miroirrarekin harreman zuzenik ez duen tratatu filosofiko bat. 1490ean, Parisen, Dominus Dagusek idazle honen Speculum radicalis cognitionis naturae<sup>227</sup> argitaratu zuen, honen eragina handia izan zelarik Frantzia<sup>228</sup>.

Azaldu dugun bezala, Margaritaren ideiak ezin daitezke “Mirouer” edo “Speculum” jakin batekin lotu. Briçonneten pentsaera maila iluminatibora bideratzen lanpetuegi eta nahasiegi zebilen, era berean bategiterako bideari buruzko maisulan bat prestatzen ari zelarik<sup>229</sup>: Prisons. Haatik, Miroirrak bere sekretua gordetzen du oraino, hermetismo bat zeina baita “Speculum” literaturako sinbolo ezkutuak baino ezkutuagoa, eta sekretu edo enigma honek Miroirraren izaera deskribatzen du; I Korintiarrei 13,12an, Pablo Deunak konparazioa egiten du, gure bizitza presenteko ezagutza inperfektuaren, eta metalezko ispilu zahar bateko objektuen errepresentazioaren artean; beranduago, hala ere, II Korintiarrei 3,18an, Pablo Deuna gehien kezkatzen zuena ez zen “ispiluan” ikus daitekeena, baizik eta ispilua bera, eta kristauak honekin alderatuak dira ezen beraiek Kristoren gloria islatzen baitute. Poema honen elusibotasunak ezaugarri paulino bikoitz honetan duke jatorria. Ispiluaz egiten duen errepresentazioak itxura guztiz zirkularra zuen<sup>230</sup>. Medicisko Catalinaren Livre d’Heureseko miniatura, zeina eranskinetan baitago (2 irudia), argiro ari da sostengatzen ispilu “Kristomorfo” baten irudi borobila, Briçonneten esaera erabiltzearen (Correspondance, 1, 58. orr.). Bere “Speculum” honetan, Margaritak hasiberria gonbidatzen du bere buruari begiratzera, “Speculum” hau ikuspegi argiaren aurkako enigma

bat delarik. Briçonnetek ere nahi zuen Margarita ispilu-antzeko egoerara heltzea, zeina deitzen baitu, gutunetako batean, “speculaire”; arima purifikatu behar da: 1522an idazten du, “...par l’ardente fournaise d’amour divine, qui l’a restituée a sa premiere nature et, rendue luisante speculaire et illuminée...” (ibid., 1, 138. orr.). Hurrengo urtean argiago adierazi zen:

Sy mirouers materielz estoient vitaulx et animéz et fussent mis l’un devant l’aultre, chascun d’iceulx verroit son compaignon et en luy soy mesme sans alteracion quelzconques et, sans ce, nul d’eulx est capable de se veoir. Plus insignement et sans proportion, Madame, se congnoist l’ame, mirouer créé, en son original et vray mirouer, qui n’a besoin d’aultre myrouer pour se veoir et cognoistre (comme les materielz) ... Plus est le myrouer cler-luisant, beau et poly, plus represente au vray. Parquoy en toute excellence la divinité, myrouer sans macule, purgeant, illuminant et parfaisant tous aultres mirouers, est d’iceulx purgacion, illumination, et perfection veritable.

(ibid., 2, 64-65. orr.)

Bai apezpikuak, baita Margaritak ere, lengoaia berdina enplegatzen dute, irudi berdinak erabiltzen dituzte eta batak bestearen ideiak islatzen, bi ispilu bailiran. Margaritaren lanik ilunena den Miroir de l’âme pécheresse honetako enigma, agian, haien arteko Correspondancearen bidez ebatz liteke.



2 irudia.

Nafarroako Margarita, damututako bekatariz jantzia, ispilu batean bere buruari begira; eskuko ispiluak egiaren sinbolo dira, eta haien forma borobila egon liteke lotuta figura borobilen perfektutasunarekin, hala nola azalduko dudana 6 Kapituluan, V atalean.

Erretratua: le Livre d’Heures, Catalina de Médicis. BL. a.lat. MS 82, fol.151.

**LAUGARREN KAPITULUA:**  
**Hermeneutika biblikoa, Guillaume Briçonneten**  
**eta “Ravie de Dieu, Bergère”ren arabera,**  
**Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan obran.**

I

Hamasei urte pasa ziren Miroir de l'âme pécheresse lana 1531 urtean argitaratu zenetik, 1547an Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan agertu zen arte<sup>231</sup>. Hau dugu Margaritaren hurrengo idazlana, joera mistiko aipagarria duena. Kritikotasun falta duten irakurleek esan lezakete ezen denbora guzti honetan Margarita ahaztua zela Briçonneten gidaritzapean jasotako irakaspenez. Iritzi hau nahiko zaharra da, zeren 1528an, W. F. Capitonek (alias Köpfel), bere in Hoseam Prophetam komentario famatuaren dedikatorian, adierazi baitzuen ezen Nafarroako erregina (1527 eta 1549 artean hala izan baitzen) hasia zela Briçonneten filosofia ahanzten, zeina baitzen “philosophie de haute volée (qui) apporte avec elle de fatigue”, zeren urte hauetan zehar Margarita espiritualitate sinpleago baten bila baitzebilan, ideia erreformatzaile lutheranoen jarraituz<sup>232</sup>. Dokumentu garaikide honek esaten dituenak guztiz baztertzea komeni ez den arren, Capitonen iritziak eragin handiegia ukan duke kritiko gehienengan. Honek ekarri ahal izan du Margaritaren pentsamenduaren eboluzioari buruzko balorapenak oso zuzenak ez izatea, Correspondancearen eta 1544-1549 urteen arteko garaia dagokionez<sup>233</sup>.

Hamasei urteko tarte honetan, Margaritak ez die Capitonen iradokizunei jarraitzen. Izan ere, apezpikuarengandik ikasitako gai mistikoetara itzultzen da beti, Dialoguearen eta Miroiraren funtsa izandako gaiak berriro landuz.

Adibidez, 1530 hamarkadako hasieran idatzitako “L’inquisiteur” obran (vv. 366-373), Varlet-ak “Ezjakintasun Mistikoa” irakasten du, Dialogueko “leit-motif”en oso antzekoa:

LE VARLET  
Je confesse qu’en innocence  
N’y a rien que felicité,  
Et qu’au pris de leur congnoissance  
Tout sçavoir n’est que cecité.  
Croyez qu’ilz ont attainct le bout  
Du repos de l’entendement.

## L'INQUISITEUR

Que sçavent ilz?

## LE VARLET

Ilz sçavent tout,

Fors que le mal tant seu'lement.

(Inquisiteur, vv.366-373)

Ezin uka daiteke ezen, Frantzisko Iaren gorteko arduetan murgildurik, Nafarroako erreginak gero eta denbora gutxiago ematen zuela zenbait gaiei buruzko hausnarketetan, zeinak bultzatu baitzuten Miroir edota Dialogue poema mistikoak idaztera; haatik, ez zituen ahaztu. Comédie du desert obrak, esaterako, irakasten zuen gizon bakoitza “fedearen ahalmenaren bitartez Jainkoaren Semearen sortzaile” bihurtzearen ideal mistikoa, iadanik Miroirrean azaldutako doktrina berau:

Qui croit comme moy  
Par tres vive Foy,  
Mere est du Sauveur;  
En son coeur l'engendre  
Mais qu'il puisse entendre  
Sa grande faveur.<sup>234</sup>

Miroirrean bezala, Comédie de la Nativité lanean ere, Maria agertzen da “la Ravye”ren arima gisan, honek lortua zuelarik Jainkotasunarekin bategite perfektua. Gai hau berriro agertuko da Margaritaren poema mistiko onenaren bukaeran, Prisons de la Reine de Navarre:

O le plaisir de l'union parfaite  
Que ta bonté et toy et moy a faite.<sup>235</sup>

Nahiz eta bere obra idatzietan behintzat hamabost urteko tartea dagoen, zeinetan ez baitzuen gai berririk garatu, ez luke zentzurik esateak Margaritari ez zitzaizkionik interesatzen iadanik Briçonneten irakaspenak, “sarbide mistikoari” buruzkoak. Bere lau antzezlan biblikoen atzean, 1530eko hamarkadaren hasieran idatziak<sup>236</sup>, baita 1535-1539 arteko antzerki moralen atzean ere, Margarita Dialoguea eta Miroirra idaztera bultzatu zuen pentsamolde berdina dago. Saulnierrek Théâtre profane bezala argitaratu zituen, antzezlan biblikoetatik bereizteko. Hala ere, ez ditugu antzezlan profano kontsideratu behar, eta hemen ados nago Febvrerekin, kritikatzan dituenean Margaritarengan edozein dualitate ikusten dutenak, baita Heptaméroneko “nouvelle” gordinenetan ere; hauetan, beste barik, nabarmenarazten dira bere baitan abandonatutako

giza amodioaren arriskuak, eta kontakizun hauek gainera gauza sakratuekin dute zerikusia<sup>237</sup>. Margaritak antzezlan hauek idazterakoan zuen interesa benetan deskribatzeko, termino egokienak “etiko” edota “moral” dira, nire ustez; bere lau komedia moralek, Le Malade, L’Inquisiteur, Trop, Prou, Peu, Moins eta Comédie des quatre femmes, zeinak iragartzen baitute Heptaméroneko “comédie humaine”an agertzen dituen kezkak, kontrastatzen dute bere idatzi mistikoetako “Divina Commedia”rekin. Margaritak berak expresatzen du dualitate hau Miroirrean, pasarte batean non “hiltzeko desioa” eragin lezaketen bai giza pasioak, bai jainkozko maitasunak:

Si ainsi est que ces grandz passions  
Pleines de mal et d’imperfections,  
 De la mort font peu craindre le hasart,  
 Mais maintesfois leur semble venir tard,  
 Que doibt faire amour juste et louable.  
 Obligee et plus que raisonnable?  
 Que do i b t fa;re l I amour du createur?  
 Doibt elle point si fort brusler ung cueur,  
 Que transporte de telle affection,  
 Ne doibt sentir nulle aultre passion?  
 Helas! si faict, car mort est chose eueuse  
 A une ame de luy bien amoureuse;  
 Gracieuse elle estime la porte  
Par où il faut que de sa passion sorte.  
 (Miroir, vv. 1065-1078)

Margaritaren interesak ez ziren izan soilik Briçonnetekin izandako Correspondance mistikoan ikasitakoak; bere lanen konparazio artatsu batek erakusten du ezen berak emakume gisa egindako behaketa lotuta dagoela jainkozkoarekiko bere bizipenekin, azkenean sorraraziko zuena Heptameron, “nouvelle”en bukatu gabeko sorta bat den bere lanik ezagunena.

Margaritaren bizitzaren azken urteen ezaugarri nagusia desengainu pertsonala da. Garai honi buruzko Lefrancken komentarioak argigarriak dira (1540-1549): “Marguerite ne trouvant a son propre foyer ni l’appui ni les consolations morales qu’elle ait aimé a y chercher, sentant, d’autre part, qu’elle n’était plus maitresse des destinees de sa fille, fut amenée peu a peu a se desinteresser des choses extérieures, pour se refugier dans la contemplation des choses divines et dans le culte des lettres ( ... )”.<sup>238</sup> Confidant-protégé bat nahi zukeen, Briçonneten ezaugarriak lituzkeena, zeinari idatzi baitzion 1521ean, gidaritza eta instrukzio eske: “Monsieur

de Meaulx, congnoissant que ung seul est necessaire [i.e. Jainkoa], (je m'adresse a vous pour vous prier envers luy vouloir estre par oraison moien qu'il luy plaise conduire selon la sainte volonté ( ... )” (Correspondance, 1, 25. orr.). Horren ordeztu idazteari heldu zion, ekoitziz gaur egun bere lanik helduenak kontsideratzen ditugunak, Chansons spirituelles, La Navire, Les Prisons eta Heptaméron. Bere alaba, Albretoko Ioana, 1540an ezkondu zen Clèvesko Guillaume Dukearekin, bere eta amaren borondatearen kontra, Frantzisko Iaren interes politikoak zirela eta. Horregatik, Margarita bizitza politikotik erretiratu zen ia guztiz, eta hau garrantzitsua izan zen bere idazle karrerarentzat. 1542 eta 1544 artean bere jabetzako lurretan egon zen, Nafarroako erreinuan, zeinaren bateratzeagatik borrokatu baitzuen. Lehenik Nérackera joan zen, gero Mont-de-Marsanera, eta azkenean Pauera. Bere bizitzan lehen aldiz, bazuen aukera zeregin publikoetatik aldendu eta bere ahalegin guztiak irakurketa eta idazketari eskeintzeko. Hortik aurrera, denbora gehiena Nafarroako erreinuan emango zuen, eta esan dezakegu bere idazlanik helduenak erretiratze honen ondorio direla. Gero, 1547ko martxoaren 31n, bere anaia Frantzisko hil zen Rambouilleten, eta ez zion inoiz atsekabe honi aurre egin. Charlotte Printzesa hil zenean bezala, 1524 urtean, non bere bizipen pertsonalaren eraginpean Margaritak Dialogue en forme de Vision Nocturne poema idatzi baitzuen, 1547an ere beste lan bat ekoitzi zuen, Comédie sur le Trespas du Roy, zeina esan dezakegun dela bere lehen antzezlan mistikoa.

Frantzisko Iaren eta Margaritaren arteko elkarriketa mistiko honen garrantziaz jabetzeko, Marichalek egindako azterketa aipatu behar da, La Navire ou Consolation du Ray François Ier à sa soeur Marguerite lanari buruz. Erregeak, bere nortasuna galtzen duen unean, Meauxeko apezpikuaren espiritua jasotzen du. Momentu hau erabakigarria da, eta bertan Margaritak jasotzen ditu Charlotterengandik entzundako kexa berberak<sup>239</sup>:

Toy qui as tant de Dieu ouy le bien dire,  
Qui en tes mains tiens sa sainte Escripiture,  
Laquelle peulx et doibz sans cesser lire ...  
(Navire, vv. 295-297)

Eta geroxeago, agertzen da Margaritak irakaspen biblikoei buruz 1547 aldera idatzitako poemen oinarritzko gaia, bere izen-enigmak sinbolizatua, “la Marguerite”:

Marguerite ,et pourquoy n’as tu trouvée  
La marguerite et perle evangelique  
Que l’Escripiture a si fort aprouvée.  
(ibid., vv. 316-318)

Aipagarria da hemen La Navirek identifikatzen duela Margaritaren izena Bibliaren esanahi espiritualarekin, txerriei (i.e. iniziatu gabekoei) bota behar ez zaien Perla ebanjelikoa. Beraz, hemen bere ideiak hurbilago daude Lefèvre eta Briçonneten irakaspenetatik, Miroirrean zeudenak baino, non “marguerite” soilik zen jakintza sekretuaren enigma<sup>240</sup>. Febvre, Amour Sacrén, ohartu zen Lefèvre eta Briçonneten interdependentziaz, Perla ulertzean Eskrituren interpretazio esoteriko bezala, eta La Navirek iritzi hau babesten du, zeren hermeneutika mistikoa Meauxeko eskolaren printzipio garrantzitsuenetako bat baitzen. Briçonnetek 1523ko urtarrilaren 16an idatzitako 59. gutuna, Bibliaren bi esanahiei buruzko instrukzio mistiko bat da, esan nahi baita, literala eta espiritual, hala nola Lefèvrek ulertzen zituen: “L’intelligence spirituelle est la marguerite cachée, laquelle, par la lettre qui est la chandelle, se trouve que l’on laisse, la marguerite trouvée, laquelle ne se communique a chacun, et n’en congnoissent la valleur et excellence” (Correspondance, 2, 13. orr.). Urte horretan bertan Lefèvrek Testamentu Berriaren bere itzulpenei eginiko sarrera textua, La Navirekoarengandik oso hurbil dago: “Et devant ceux-la (...) ne faut aucunement parler, ne semer les precieuses marguerites de l’Ecriture Sainte”.<sup>241</sup>

Ondorioa argia da: erreginak ez zuen jaso hermeneutika mistikoan instrukzioa soilik Briçonnetengandik eta Correspondancearen bidez, baina baita Lefèvrerengandik ere, zeina baitzen Meauxeko taldean maisu, Biblia espiritualki interpretatzeari zegokionez. Beharbada, Margaritak emandako babesaren trukean<sup>242</sup>, zeinak iraun baitzuen Lefèvre 1536an hil zen arte, honek irakatsi zion nola irakurri Biblia maila diferentetan, eginkizun benetan zaila. Margaritaren antzezlan bibliko goiztiar batek, L’Inquisiteur, zeina idatzi baitzuen Lefèvre bere gortean zegoelarik, frogatzen du ezen 1530 urteetako hasieran ere interesaturik zegoela hermeneutikaren konplexutasunetan, zeren argiro bereizten baititu eskrituraren esanahi “literal” eta “espirituala”:

#### L’INQUISITEUR

Qui t’a tant appris d’Escripture?  
Pour vray, ;l est ainsi escript.

#### LE VARLET

Vous mien avez faict la lecture,  
Et Dieu mien a donné l’esprit.  
(Inquisiteur, vv. 378-381)

Baina 1540ko hamarkadan, Margarita Briçonneten gutunak berrirakurtzen hasi zen, eta Correspondance honen bidez, gai izan zen,



ikusiko dugun bezala, Lefèvreren irakaspen espiritualak jarraitzeko, eta ez soilik La Navirean, baizik eta, batez ere, bere obra hermetikoenetako batean, Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan. Lotura espiritual bat dago, dukesak Meauxeko dogma zailak ikasteko egindako experimentuen, eta erreginak erakusten duen interes heldu honen artean, gaztetasun bizian ikasitako gauzak lantzeko.

## II

Bere neba 1547an hil ondoren, Margaritak lan harrigarri bat idatzi zuen, zeinak kritiko bat baino gehiago nahasi baitu, eta oraindik enigmatiko dirau<sup>243</sup>. Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan Margaritaren garapen tematikoaren hirugarren mailan dago, Comédie sur le trespas du Royarekin batera. 1530 eta 1534etik aurrera, erregina batez ere material biblikoarekin aritu zen; 1540 urteen hasiera arte inplikazio etikoek kezkatzen zuten, baina 1547ko anaiaren heriotzatik aurrera, gai mistikoez idazten hasi zen, hauek antzezlanetako pertsonaietan gorpuztuz. Bere antzezlan mistikoen ezaugarri da monogramen eta enigmen erabilpen sinbolikoa, zeina Nafarroako gortesauentzat nahiko gauza argia baitzatekeen, baina irakurle modernoarentzat hauen esanahia ez da hain agerikoa. Comédie sur le trespas du Roy ez da guztiz kriptikoa, zeren behintzat hiru pertsonaiei buruzko azalpenak ematen baititu, non eta Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan enigma bat den, hasieratik amaierara<sup>244</sup>. Clivek ederki laburtu ditu kritikoen iritziak lan honi dagokionez:

“Pour A. Lefranc la Superstitieuse symbolise le catholicisme en general; la Sage, la Reforme; la Ravie , le libertinage spirituel. P. Jourda considere que la Superstitieuse represente le catholicisme étroit (“la pratique mécanique des oeuvres”) ; la Sage, la foi chrétienne raisonnée et intellectuelle; la Ravie, l’amour mystique. V.L. Saulnier, de son côté, propose les étiquettes suivantes : le matérialisme, la bigoterie, l’évangélisme, la foi du charbonnier (mais élevée à l’étage mystique); ces dernières étiquettes nous semblent resumer tres justement les données essentielles des quatre positions.”<sup>245</sup>

Kritikoen arteko desadostasunek (“quot homines tot sententiae”) eta haien azaleko proposamenek, erakusten dute Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsaneko lau pertsonaiak interpretatzeko zailtasuna. Argi dago ezen asko sakondu beharko dugula “dramatis personae” hauek garrantzian, hauek isolatu gabe autorearen mistizismotik eta hermeneutika espiritualaren doktrinatik.

Nahiz eta egia den Margaritak maite zuela pertsonaiak lotzea berak ezagutzen zuen jendearekin, argiro ikus daitekeen bezala Comédie sur le trespas du Royeko lehen hiru “dramatis personae”ekin, edota Heptameronekoekin<sup>246</sup>, badaude baita identifikatu gabeko beste pertsonai batzuk, hala nola “Paracelsis”<sup>247</sup>. Tamalez, ez dakigu ezer Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan antzerkiaz eta hau antzezteko akotazioez; kritikak espekulazioan oinarritu dira ia beti, eta soilik Comédiearen ideien azterketa zehatzago baten bidez deszifratu ahalko ditu irakurle modernoak bertako zenbait enigma.

Comédiean agertzen den lehen pertsonaia “la Mondaine” da, zeinak gorputzaren plazerak soilik gorensten baititu. Honela azaltzen dizkio bere ideiak “la Sage”ri:

LA MONDAINE  
 Madame, je suis corporelle,  
 Aymant mon corps, tant naturelle  
 Qu’à riens fors à vivre ne pense:  
 J’entens vivre joieusement  
 En biens et honneur(s) longuement,  
 En taus plaisirs, jeux, ris et dances.  
 J’aime mon corps. voyla la fin.  
 (Comédie. vv. 207-213)

Agertzen hurrengoa da “la Superstitieuse”. Hau sotilagoa da, zeren parabolako fariseoak bezala (Lukas 18,11-14), zeinarekin dirudien identifikatzen duela bere burua, eskatzen baitu txukun beteak izan daitezela legeak agindutakoak:

LA SUPERSTITIEUSE  
 ( ... )  
 En jeunant, disant man office,  
 Portant la here taus les jours  
 Et la discipline tousjours;  
 Pleurer, demourer sollitaire,  
 Estre à beaulx genoulz nus au temple.  
 Donner par jeunes bon exemple,  
 Priant Dieu sans jamais se taire?<sup>248</sup>  
 (vv. 236-242)

Bekatari Publikanoa guztiz kondenatzen duen Fariseoaren jarrera adierazten du, harenganako barkamenik erakusten ez duelarik. Beraz, “la Sage”k berarekin eztabaidatzen du:

*LA SAGE* [“la Superstitieuse”ri mintzatuz]  
 Mais si sans peche vous sentez,  
 Contre elle vostre main metez  
 Et jetez la premiere pierre.<sup>249</sup>  
 (vv. 426-428)

“La Sage”k “la Superstitieuse” mesprezatzen du bere harrotasuna dela eta, “la Mondaine” errukitzen duena baino gehiago: “C’est orgueil qui vous faict parler” (v. 483); eta 107-108 bertsoetan, “la Superstitieuse”k alegatzen du “la Mondaine”ren kontra:

Au chemin par où je chemine,  
 La mondanité point n’y passe.

“La Sage” da agertzen den hirugarren pertsonaia. “Arrazoiaren” erabilera defendatzen du harrotasunaren eta gorputzaren plazeren aurka, ezen gizona bereizten duena sorkuntzako beste izakiez, pentsatzea baita:

*LA SAGE*  
 Dieu a bien faict ung tres beau don à l’homme  
 De luy donner raisan. savez vous camme?  
 Comme a ung ange. Est ce pas don honneste?  
 Par la raison il assemble et assomme,  
 Ayme et congnoist les vertus et les nomme:  
Par la raison il differe a la beste ;  
 Dieu luy a mis en hault regard et teste  
 Pour contempler ce qui est par sur luy:  
 La beste en bas a la terre s’areste,<sup>250</sup>  
 Et l’homme en hault dont vient tout son appuy.  
 (vv. 161-170)

“La Superstitieuse”k ez bezala, “la Sage”k “la Mondaine”ri eskaintzen dio salbamendurako bide bat, fede ebanjelikoaren bitartez:

*LA SAGE* [“la Superstitieuse”ri mintzatuz]  
 Croire il te fault fermement  
 Puis suyvre son commandement.  
 En le servant de cueur et d’œuvre.  
 (vv. 369-371)

Kritikoek ikusi ez duten gauza nahiko nabarmen bat da, bere irakaspena bi Testamentuen interpretazio literalean oinarriturik dagoela:

*LA SAGE* [“la Superstitieuse”ri mintzatuz]  
 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.  
 (vv. 484-488)

Eta “la Superstitieuse”ri ere konponbide berdina proposatzen zaio, are argiroago:

*LA SAGE*  
Or, me lisez ceste escripture  
 Où verité se faict entendre.  
 (vv. 544-545)

Azkenean, “la Superstitieuse”k egingo du “la Sage”k eskatutakoa, Bibliaren textua irakurriz: “J’y vois lire pour vous complaire” (v. 597). Baina honen aurretik eztabaida luze bat dago, beranduago aztertuko duguna, bere garrantzia handia baita.

Comédie bukatu balitz 568-572 bertsoetan, antzezlanaren klimax gisan -ohar gaitzen ezen 568.ean eskritura “Mirouer” gisa agertzen dela-, orduan, antzezlanaren esanahiari buruzko kritikoen iritziak ez lirateke hain eztabaidagarriak, koherenteak bailirateke:

*LA SAGE*  
 C’est le mirouer qui esclaie  
 Voz cueurs, et (puis) qui les descouvre  
 Grand(e) joye j’ay de vous deux  
 Veoir lire en cas livres si neufz,  
 Que neufves serez en ceste euvre.  
 (vv. 568-572)

Bat aipatzearren, Febvrek egozten dio “la Sage”ri, zeina ez baita gai Comédieren konponbide definitiboa aurkitzeko, Margaritarentzako balio handikoa den zerbait, bere mezu ebanjelikoa, idazten duenean:

“Je dirais, pour ma part: la Sage représente, simplement, le contenu de cette religion peu chargée d’articles que tant de contemporains de Marguerite avaient, comme elle, extrait de la méditation du Nouveau Testament et des Épîtres pauliniennes - avec l’aide, tout a la fois, et des disciples de Lefèvre d’Étaples. et des Erasmien et du Martin Luther, des grands écrits réformateurs de 1520.”<sup>251</sup>

Zoritzarrez, eta suposizio hauek diotenaren kontra, argitu beharra dago ezen Margaritak idatzi zitueneko bi antzezlan mistikoak, Comédie sur le Trespas du Roy eta Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, baita Prisons ere, ari zela urruntzen hasieran adierazitako zalantzazko jarrera hartatik, Miroir eta Dialoguean agertzen duena. Garai hartan, Margarita nahastu zen mendebaldeko kristautasuna bitan zatitzen ari zen eztabaida hartan, nahiz eta ezin dugun hitz egin ordurako Protestantismo eta Kontrarreformaz, gaur ezagutzen ditugun bezala. Gainera, erreformatzaileak uste izan zuten Margarita protestantea zela Lutherri jarraituz, zeinaren ideiekiko Margaritak bazuen sinpatia nahiko. Gaur egungo kritikoarentzat, baina, absurdoa da pentsatzea lutheranoren batek Correspondancearen eskuizkribua manipulatu izana, frogatzeko ezen Margarita Lutherren alde zegoela<sup>252</sup>.

Comédie idatzi zen garaian, Luther baino pertsona askoz erradikalago bat agertu zen Genevan. Margaritak inoiz ez zituen begiko izan Calvinoren experimentu erreformatzaileak. Calvinok babesa jaso zuen arren Margaritaren Nérackeko gortean, bere “protégé”ekin honek izaten zituen eztabaida gogorrek oso kezkatzen zuten erregina, zeren, R. Marichalek esan bezala, “la rigueur du système Calviniste avoit de quoi l’effrayer”, adibidez “la prédestination et le libre arbitre où elle préfère visiblement l’indécision a la rigueur” argi baitzegoen ezen “que son temperament mystique s’accommodait mieux sans doute du “bouillant” Luther que de l’implacable Calvin”.<sup>253</sup> Protestantismoak pentsaera mistikoarekiko aurkakotasun argia erakusten zuen, ez hainbeste Luther baina bai Calvino baitan, eta Margaritak “Libertins Spirituels” taldea Néracken hartu zuenean, bigarren honek Margaritaren izen ona laidoztatu zuen: “Je voy une secte la plus pernicieuse et exécrable qui fust oncques au monde. Je voy qu’elle nuyst beaucoup, et est au feu allumé pour détruire et gaster tout, ou comme une contagion pour infectionner toute la terre, si l’on n’y remédie”.<sup>254</sup> Bere “protégé” honen aurkako Margaritaren erreakzioa berehalakoa izan zen, eta iradoki genezake ezen “la Sage”k erakusten duela Margaritak Calvinorekiko zuen iritzia, honen hertsikeria intelektualarekiko<sup>255</sup>.

Hilda Graefek honela laburtzen ditu erreformatzaile protestanteen iritziak mistizismoari dagokionez:

“The theology of the Reformers, Luther (1483-1546) and Calvin (1509-1564), was fundamentally inimical to the development of genuine mysticism, even though mystical trends made themselves felt at times. Luther himself was interested in mysticism in his early years, even for some time after he had started the Reformation ( ... ). He was attracted by the German mystics, Master Eckhart and Tauler, and especially by an

anonymous late fourteenth century treatise, the so called “Teologie Teutsch” (German Theology), which he published himself in 1616. Of this he said that, except for the Bible and St. Augustine no book had ever taught him more about God and Christ and the human condition. This is very significant, for, though this book is fairly orthodox even if rather one-sided in its mystical teaching, it nevertheless emphasizes certain aspects which were later to be taken out of their mystical context and embodied in Luther’s own doctrine.”<sup>256</sup>

Comédieko laugarren eta azken pertsonaia da “la Ravie de Dieu, Bergère”. Nahiz eta sinpletasunaren gorpuztea den, paradoxikoki lau “dramatis personae”etatik konplexuena da, eta bere printzipioak askotan lotu izan dira “Libertins Spirituels”en printzipio mistikoekin. Bera da “Ravie d’Amour”:

*LA BERGERE* [eszenatokira agertzen delarik]  
 Helas! je languys d’amours...  
 Helas! je meurs tous les jours.  
 (vv. 573-574)

Ez du jarraitu nahi “la Sage”ren “chemin de science” (v.817)

*LA SAGE*  
 Mais plustost vous juge ignorante,  
 Qui s’esjouict sans savoir quoy.  
 (vv. 807-808)

“La Bergère”k hau ukatzen du, nahiago baitu jarraitzea “Docta Ignorantia”ren bide mistikoa:

*LA BERGERE*  
 Vous avez bien jugé de moy,  
 Car ma joye ne congnois pas.  
 Je m’esjouis et prens soulas  
 Et ne congnois pas bien ma joye.  
 (vv. 809-812)<sup>257</sup>

Nahiz eta ez dakien zehazki zer irrikatzen duen:

*LA BERGERE*  
 Je sçay ce que je veulx avoir:  
 D’autre science n’ay besoign.  
 (vv. 825-826)

Zenbait kritikok “La Bergère”ren irakaspen mistikoa, modu okerrean konparatu izan dute “Libertins Spirituels”en libertinismoarekin. Egia da maitasunaren primatutza predikatzen duela:

#### LA BERGERE

Qui vit d’amour a bien le cueur joieulx,  
Qui tient amour ne peult desirer mieulx,  
Qui scet amour (n’) ignore nul sçavoir,  
Qui void amour a tousjours rians yeulx,  
Qui baise amour il passe dans les cieulx,  
Qui vainc amour il a parfaict pouvoir,  
Qui ayme amour acomplyt son devoir,  
Qui est parte d’amour n’a nul (le) peine,  
Qui peult amour embrasser, prandre et veoir,  
Il (est) remply de grace souveraine.

(vv. 575-584)

Lefranckek zera adierazten du:

“( ... ) le langage de la Bergere “ravie d’amour” est absolument celui des libertins spirituels. C’est la doctrine de cette secte fameuse, secte qui fut la cause directe de la rupture survenue entre Calvin et Marguerite, qui se reflète, de façon la plus manifeste, dans les effusions hardies et brûlantes de ce personnage. Il n’y a au monde que l’amour: tout le reste n’est qu’apparence et vanité. La science est inutile; le coeur et ses impulsions doivent être les seuls guides de la vie humaine.”<sup>258</sup>

*Beste kritiko batzuk ez dira hain dogmatikoak, esaterako Clive<sup>259</sup>, non eta Febvrek nahiko zuzenki ondorioztatzen duen ezen gai honi buruzko kritizismoa urrunegi heldu dela: «Soyons historiens. Etre historien, ce n’est pas mettre en contact des dates et des faits bruts et nouer entre ces éléments inertes des liens arbitraires”.<sup>260</sup> Parturier heltzen da Margaritarengan Libertinoen eragina sumatzera, honen hasierako lanetan ere, hauekin edozein kontaktu eduki zezan baino lehenago: “Marguerite avait certainement connu leurs idées et les avait adoptées bien longtemps avant cette visite [i.e. 1546 inguruan] car ses premiers écrits en portent déjà la trace”,<sup>261</sup> baina ikuspuntu hau sostengatzea ezinezkoa da, ezta Jourdak erakutsitako forma arinagoan<sup>262</sup>.*

Egia da, ezen 1525an, “un certain Coppin, originaire de Lille enseigna la doctrine de la liberté spirituelle dans sa ville natale”, Jundtek aipatu bezala bere Histoire du Panthéisme Populaire au Moyen Age et au seizieme siecle lan interesgarrian<sup>263</sup>. Gero, 1534an, Quintin agertu zen Frantzian, Bertrand des Moulinsekin batera. Claude Parceval eta Antoine

Pocquesekin, haien irakaspén mistikoak zabaltzen hasi ziren Parisen, harik eta Calvinorekin topatu ziren arte, zeinak debekatu baitzien ideia hauek hedatzea hiriko komunitate protestantearen artean. Pocques Estrasburgora joan zen, eta gero Genevara 1542an. Hurrengo urtean, Pocques eta Quintin Margaritaren gortean errefuxiatu ziren, eta honen “protégé” bihurtu, bertan Calvino ere zegoelarik, haien etsai. Lutherren jarrera ere nahiko antzekoa zen: 1525 aldera, “Libertin Spirituel” batekin aurkitu zen Wittenbergen, eta handik denbora gutxira Antwerpeko herritarrei idatzi zien, hura salatuz “demon incarné qui veut vous conduire en erreur et vous détourner de la vraie intelligence de l’Evangile”.<sup>264</sup>

Gutxiegi dakigu “Libertins Spirituels” sekta honetaz, egin ahal izateko konparazio bat “la Bergère”k Comédien predikatutako maitasunaren doktrinarekin, zeren katoliko eta protestanteek hauen idazkiak suntsitu baitzituzten. Hauen printzipio espiritualak deduzitzeko haien etsaien erasoez baliatu beharko gara, batez ere Calvinorenez, zeinak behintzat zortzi tratatu idatzi baitzituen haien aurka. Hauetako bat zuzenduta zegoen Nafarroako Gortean babes hartzen zutenen aurka, baita Margaritaren beraren aurka ere: “Petit traite montrant ce que doit faire un homme, regnoscant la vérité de l’Evangile quand il est entre les papistes”.<sup>265</sup> Zorionez, behintzat, badago Traité mystiques izeneko bilduma bat, garai hartan idatzitakoa, eta gaur arte biziraun duena, 1876an Charles Schmidtek argitaratu zituelarik<sup>266</sup>. Nafarroako erreginararen irakaspén espiritualekin antzekotasunik badagoen arren, hauek ez dira oso argiak, eta batez ere ez dute zerikusirik Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan laneko gai zentralaren planteamenduekin, eskrituraren esanahi literal eta espiritualari buruzkoa. Nahiz eta “Libertins Spirituels”ek zioten ezen “il faut apprendre à dégager la lettre de l’esprit”, eta Bibliaren interpretazio alegorikoa defendatzen zuten, ulertze honetako hiru mailak ez ziren erreginak proposatzen zituen berdinak: haiek irakasten zuten ezen hiru garai egon zirela gizadiaren historian, hauexek: “celui de la loi” (Testamentu Zaharrean) «par le Père», “celui de l’Evangile” (Testamentu Berria) “par le Filz” eta “celui du Saint Esprit” (Amour)<sup>267</sup>; Margaritaren ohizko doktrinarekin bateraezina da hau, zeina, ikusiko dugunez, ez zuen haiengandik ikasi ezta erreformatzaileengandik ere, baizik eta Lefèvrek eta Briçonnetek eskainitako teologia hermeneutikorako sarbidetik<sup>268</sup>. 1524an Briçonnetek irakatsia zion Testamentu Zaharreko pasarte historikoen esanahi espirituala, “Mem” letra hebrearrak sinbolizatua, lehenengo kapituluan ikusi dugun bezala. Guztiz ados nago Glori Cappellorekin, dionean ezen Margaritaren Bibliari buruzko ideia mistikoak eta “Libertins Spirituelenak” guztiz ezberdinak direla<sup>269</sup>.



### III

“Libertins Spirituels” taldea Nafarroako gortera iritsi zen garaian, beranduegi zatekeen Margaritaren ideietan eragiteko, baina honek halere ongiatorria eman, babestu eta haien irakaspenak entzun zituen. Ez dago frogatzerik haien partetik Margaritak sarbide bat jaso zuenik, eta zaila da alderatzea haien ideia mistikoak eta Margaritaren 1547 inguruko obretan aurkitzen ditugunak. Orain, Erreginak irakurri eta idazteko denbora zuen, eta Nafarroan “retraite”an zegoelarik idatzitako lanek Correspondancearekin antzekotasun nabariak izateak, pentsarazten digu ezen gutun elkartrukatzeko hura berriz ere xeheki aztertzen ari zela; beharbada penaz, berak kopiatua izan zedin agindutako bilduma ikusgarri hau bukatu barik utzi izan zuelako erregearen kopiatzaileak<sup>270</sup>.

Sinestezina dirudien arren, Comédieko lau pertsonai enigmatiko hauen esanak ia hitzez hitz islatzen dute hogei urte lehenago idatzitakoa, 1522 bukaeran. Briçonnetek, jarraiki “homo spiritualis” eta “homo animalis”aren arteko bereizketa Paulinoari (Korintiarrei 2,14), idatzi zuen, haien desioak jarraitzeagatik guztizko ulertzera iristen ez direnei buruz:

edo jarraitzen diote Gorputzari (“la Mondaine”k bezela, Comédien)  
 edo “ “ Sineskeriari (“la Superstitieuse”k bezela)  
 edo “ “ Arrazoiari (“la Sage”k bezela)

eta gutxi batzuek bakarrik heltzen dira “clairvoyance”ra, (“la Bergère” bezela), zeina arrazoiaren gainetik baitago. “Trois sortes d’hommes”eri buruz mintzatzean, lehena da “charnel et terrestre, totalement aveugle comme la taulpe. Le second, animal voiant seulement ès tenebres, comme la sevesche et ne voyant en lumière, juge du monde et peu ou rien de Dieu. Le tiers est spirituel, lequel comme l’aigle est clairvoyant en la lumière du soleil de justice ...” (Correspondance, 1, 228. orr.). Briçonnetek testu argigarriago batez hornitzen gaitu, zeinak nire iritziz ematen baitio Margaritari aukera bat aipatzeko, bere antzezlanean:

*“Il en est d’autres qui macerent leurs corps  
 “[Briçonnetek],  
 eta LA SUPERSTITIEUSE [“la Mondaine”ri zuzenduz]  
 J’en loue le Dieu de bonté,  
 Pour lequel mon corps j’ay dompté  
 Tant qu’il ne se peult soubstenir.  
 Je le bas, je le fais jeusner  
 Et en voiage cheminer,  
 Et de tous plaisirs abstenir.  
 (vv. 441-446)*

“travaillant pour en sortir et plus y entrent: lesquelz comme asnes tournent alentour de la roue à leur plaisir, toutesfois prisonniers et attachez à icelle en la tournant. Ilz cuident par raison naturelle et animale penetrer et pour debvoir parvenir a la fin de la vie spirituelle viviffiante par jeusnes, oraisons, aulmosnes et aultrez oeuvres,<sup>271</sup> esquelz cuydent estre et consister leur justification, aussy par raison apprehender, congnoistre et entendre ce qui est plus sur raison qu elle n’est sur le corps et charnel le sensualité. Telz sont trap en corps qui en oeuvres corporelles et materielles mectent leur salut. Saint Pol les appelle anymaulx ( ... )”

(Correspondance, 1, 224. orr.)

*LA SAGERen ikuspuntua:*

Dieu a bien faict ung tres beau don a l ‘homme ~  
De luy donner raison, savez vous comme?  
 Comme a unJange. Est ce pas don honneste?  
 (vv. 161-163)

*LA BERGEREk nahiago du maitemindu:*  
 Je ne sçay rien sinon aimer.  
 Ce sçavoir la est man estude,  
 C’est man chemin, sans lacidude.  
 Où je courray tant que je vive.  
 (vv. 819-823)

Briçonnetek sarritan Margaritaren inizatibari jarraitzen dio, Correspondanceko 46 gutunean ikus daitekeen bezala, aipatu berria, non saiatzen den argitzen Margaritak 1522ko azaroan idatzitako gutun baten bukaera. Aurreko urtean ere, honen inizatibari jarraiki<sup>272</sup>, Briçonnetek laugarren “brebis” deskribatu zuen “l’aveugle en soy” bezala, zeinak, espiritualki kezkatzen ez delarik Jainkoaz besterik, gogorarazten baitigu Comédieko laugarren pertsonaia, bere buruaz kezkatzen ez dena (“aveugle en soy”), eta maitasunak guztiz hartua dena:

“Elle brusle d’amour et charité<sup>273</sup> et se cuide froide.<sup>274</sup> Elle ayme sans aymer et est sans estre. Car elle est aveugle en soy et ne congnoist en elle que son seul necessaire, leque en elle, d’elle, par elle et pour elle faict toutes ses operations.<sup>275</sup> Elle est morte vivant(e)<sup>276</sup> car son seul necessaire vit en sa mortification.” (Correspondance, 1, 43. orr.)

“Ravie” irits dadinean perfekzioaren laugarren mailara, bere jarduera guztiak (ikustea, mugitzea, baita bizitzea ere) Jainkoaren borondateak absorbitzen ditu; “aveugle en soi” esaera formula Kietista bat da, adierazten duena arimak ez duela kontrolatzen bere ikusmena; baina, nahiz eta “la

Bergère”k imitatzen duen Briçonneten irakaspena “aveugle en soi”a Jainkoak kontrolatzeari buruzkoa, nire ustez antzezlanaren konektatuago dago apezpikuaren tratatu epistolarioekin, 1522 bukaerako eta 1523 hasierakoekin. Garai honetan, apezpikua ari zen Margarita hermeneutika espiritualetan inizatzen, hau da, Bibliaren interpretazio mistikoan, errege gortean zeuden Meauxeko hiru adituen gidaritzapean, Lefèvre d’Etaples, François Vatable eta Gérard Roussel: “Et sachant les graces qu’il vous a données, et que avant telle opportunité desdits trois personnaiges qui ont l’intelligence hebraïque et grecque, dont se peuvent esclaircir plusieurs tenebres qui sont par mauvaises translations en l’Escripture Sainte, me jugeray vous tenir propos duquel vous [vous] excusez”. (*Correspondance*, 2, 13. orr.).

Duda gabe, Briçonnetek inizatu zuen Margarita interpretazio biblikoaren teknika sekretuan (ibid., 2, 11-15. orr.), hasieran beharbada Michel d’Arandek lagunduta, zeina erreginak deitzen baitzuen “l’expositeur”, iadanik 1521ko irailean (ibid., 1, 42. orr.). Bien arteko *Correspondance*ak Henri de Lubacken atentzioa deitu zuen, bere *Exégèse médiévale; les quatre sens de l’Ecriture* lan erudituan.<sup>277</sup> Baina Glori Cappellok berriki egindako azterketa zehatzago baten bidez, non ikertu baititu Lefèvre eta Briçonneten hermeneutika, ondoriozta dezakegu ezen erregina ez dagoela “Libertins Spirituels”en doktrinaren menpe, baizik eta Meauxeko eskolaren exegesiaren arabera dela bere pentsaera<sup>278</sup>. Zailagoa litzateke frogatzea zenbaterainokoa izan zen Margaritaren arrakasta ikasle gisan, garaiko Frantziak eskeini zitzakeen aditu onenen gidaritzapean egonik. Argi geratu da Margaritari interesatzen zitzaiola Bibliaren interpretazio ezberdinak estudiatzea, *L’Inquisiteur* eta *La Navire*tik atera ditudan aipamenetan. Baina soilik *Comédie* obraren bidez frogatu daiteke ezen Margarita ikasle nabarmen bat zela, gai zena irakurketaren maila ezberdinak eskrituran aplikatzeko, ataza zinez konplikatuak. “La Bergère”ren itxurazko axolagabetasunak erakusten du ezen barnetik konprenitzen duela, Espirituak gidaturik; doktrina hau erreginak *Prisons* obran garatuko du, non nahiago izango duen Hitzaren esanahi espiritualak, literalak baino<sup>279</sup>. Briçonneti ez bezala, ez zitzaion interesatzen tratatu erudito luzerik egiterik pasarte biblikoen esanahi espiritualari buruz, hala nola Galileako Canaren mirakulua (*Correspondance*, 1, 81-82. orr.), edo hebrearrek Itsaso Gorria zeharkatu zuenekoaren interpretazio biblikoa (ibid., 1, 195-214. orr.), baina saiatu zen zerbait konkretuago eta errazagoa egiten, aurkeztuz pertsonai bat, gorpuzten zituen eskrituren esanahi espiritualari buruz Meauxen zeuden ideiak.

Oraingoz, Lubac eta Cappelloz gain, ia inork ez du aztertu Margaritaren obran aurkitzen den exegesi mistikoa. Egia esan, Febvrek

aipatu zuen bere bi lanetako Bibliaren erabilpena, Discord estant en l'homme eta Miroir.<sup>280</sup> Allairek ere nabarmendu zuen ezen Miroirreko Bibliako glosemak Lefèvreren frantseserako itzulpenetatik hartuak zirela<sup>281</sup>, azpimarratuz ezen Margaritaren kopia pertsonal bat dagoela oraindik Turingo Liburutegian, hurrengo “ex libris”arekin: “ce livre est à Madame Marguerite de France”<sup>282</sup>. Hala da, ez dago soilik Lefèvrerek egindako Bibliaren irakurketen eraginpean, baita bere kritizismoaren eta bere hermeneutika mistikoaren eraginpean ere, eta hau Meauxeko apezpikuaren iniazio espiritualaren bitartez. Duela gutxi, Salminen eta Veissière-Martineauk ekarpen positiboago bat egin dute, Miroir eta Correspondancean Margaritak egindako Bibliaren aipamenak aztertzean<sup>283</sup>.

Hemen benetan kezkatzen gaituena, baina, ez da Briçonnet edota Lefèvreren doktrina, baizik eta hau Margaritak nola jaso zuen argitzea, apezpikuarekin ia bi urtez gutun bidezko kontaktu konstante bat edukiz. 1522an, iadanik, Briçonnetek iradoki zuen ezen Biblia bi maila ezberdinetan irakur daitekeela, agerizkoa eta ezkutua. Printzesari 1522eko maiatzaren 18an idatzi zion gutuna, kontsidera dezakegu tratatu mistiko baten hitzaurre, Moisesen Eresiari buruzkoa, zeina zortzi hilabete beranduago idatzi baitzuen, 1523ko urtarrilaren 16an:

“Et puisque par nostre froideur autrement ne pouvons ne serons excuséz sy avec Moïse, sa soeur Marie et aultrez d’Israël ne chantons ordinairement le doulx canticque: “Cantemus Domino; gloriose eum honorificatus est, equum et ascensorem projecit in mare” [Exodus 15,1]. Lequel, comme est le premier de tous les canticques, aussy contient le mistère et figure de nostre innovation et regeneration que vous prie, Madame, le lire d’autant plus devotement quant Dieu vous donnera la grace que l’ombre est decouvert par la verité, et en le disant, digerez tous les passages moult haultz et sublimes contenans nostre redemption”. (Correspondance, 1, 202. orr.)

Izatez, Briçonnetek gutun honetan erakutsi nahi du nola aurkitu behar den Testamentu Zaharreko liburu baten zentzu espiritual, Josueren kasuan bezala, zeina “Tel devoit du doulx Jesus estre l’ombre et la figure, car Josue est interprété salut et salvateur” (ibid., 1, 213. orr.) eta “Il faudroit ung gros volume qui vouldroit, ayant l’esperit de Dieu pour guide et conduite, amplement declairer tout le progrez du veage umbratile des enfans d’Israël ( ... )” (ibid., 1, 210. orr.). Honen bidez nahi du adierazi ezen, nolabait, zentzu espiritual Jainkoaren inspirazioaren menpe dagoela, testuinguru historiko horretan ezkutuan dauden sekretuak ulertzeko gai direnentzat. Aipatzekoa da ezen ez Briçonnetek ezta Lefèvrek

ere ez zutela aurkakotasunik ikusten Bibliaren zentzu literal eta espiritualaren artean, baina espiritualagoa onuragarriagoa dela. 1523an, Margarita prest zegoen hau eta beste hainbat bereizte sotil ulertzeko, urte hartako urtarilaren 16ko gutun honek erakutsi bezala:

“Car toute l’Escripture Sainte est ou spirituelle seulement, sans intelligence litterale, ou litterale sans la spirituelle (et bien peu), ou litterale et spirituelle ensemble. Moings se trouvera de passages qui se puissent seulement entendre litteralement que des aultres deux. A ceste cause l’on dict que l’intelligence litterale est comme la chandelle qui ne couste que ung denier, dont on serche la marguerite qui est cachée en la maison. L’intelligence spirituelle est la marguerite caschée, laquelle, par la lettre qui est la chandelle, se trouve que l’on laisse, la marguerite trouvée, laquelle ne ce communique a chascun et n’en congnoissent la valleur et excellence. Pour ceste cause deffend nostre Seigneur ne devoir estre semées entre les pourceaulx, c’est a dire l’intelligence spirituelle ne fleurir ou sentir bon a plusieurs qui sont charnelz et litteraulx, qui voient sans veoir et oyent sans oyr” ( ... ) (ibid., 2, 13-14. orr.).

Azken hitzei erreferentzia egin nahi nieke, ikus dadin nire ustez Comédieko lau pertsonaien oinarritzko mezua dena. Nahiz eta, Briçonnet eta Lefèvreren arabera, ez dagoen aurkakotasunik eskrituraren esanahi literal eta espiritualaren artean, zeren bi zentzuak elkarren osagarri baitira, Margarita banan-banan ari zen Meauxeko taldearen printzipioak jarraitzen, defendatzen zuenean, Glori Cappellok seinatu bezala: “La vraie clef de l’intelligence de l’Escripture Sainte est l’esprit et non la lettre ( ... )” (ibid., 2, 14. orr.). Comédieko lau pertsonaien artean Margaritak eratutako eztabaida zuzenean dago lotuta Bibliaren irakurketaren arazoarekin, eta hau, nik dakidala, lan honen kritiko batek ere ez du ikusi.

“La Sage” hasieratik agertzen zaigu “la Mondaine” eta “la Superstitieuse”ren gida itsu gisa; “la Sage”k “la lettre” guztiz ulertzen du, baina ez da gai honen esanahi literaletik haratago joateko. Badira bi pasarte antzezlanean zeinetan argi baitaiteke hau, bi eztabaida, bata “la Sage” eta “la Mondaine”ren artekoa, bestea “la Sage” eta “la Superstitieuse”ren artekoa:

LA MONDAINE

Je ne scay pas où commencer:

Je craindz seulement de penser

Au mal qu’il fault que je descouvre,

LA SAGE

Pour vous metre toute a delivre,  
je vous faictz present de ce livre:  
C'est la loy et vieille et nouvelle.[i.e. Bi Testamentuak]  
En luy verrez ce qu'il fault faire  
Et qui pour vous peult satisfaire,  
Pour vous metre en vie eternelle.

LA MONDAINE

Puis qu'il vous plaist de le me dire,  
Incessamment je le veux lire,  
Pour y chercher mon sauvement

LA SAGE

Ignorance, des folz marrastre,  
A sapience pour emplastre  
Bon sens, raison, entendement.  
(vv. 372-386)

Bigarren eztabaida bat hasten du berehala "la Superstitieuse" rekin,  
eskrituraren irakurketari buruz:

LA SAGE

Or, me lisez ceste escripture  
Où verité se faict entendre.

LA SUPERSTITIEUSE

Madame, je suys (bien) trop sottte  
Pour chanter de si haulte notte;  
Certe, je n'y puis rien comprendre.

LA SAGE

M'amy, lisez hardiment  
Le viel et nouveau Testament  
Que vous a laisse vostre pere.

LA SUPERSTITIEUSE

C'est a la personne savante:  
Mais moy qui suis tant ignorante,  
Cela me seroit impropere.  
(vv. 544- 554)

Bukaeran, “la Superstitieuse”k onartzen du “la Sage”k hez dezala: “Toutesfoys à vous me consens” (v. 559).

“La Bergère”k berriz, bere ezjakintasunean, uste du beste hiru pertsonaien eztabaidak ez duela zentzurik, eta beraz ez du arretarik jartzen:

LA BERGERE

Vous qui estes ignorantes

Que c’est que (la) ferme foy:

O combien seriez contantes

Sy le saviez comme moy!

(vv. 692-695)

“La Bergère”ren izaera misterioitsua ulertzeko modu bakarra, Meauxeko eskolako eztabaida hermeneutikoen testuingurua ulertzea da, Margarita haren kide izan zelarik bukaerara arte. Nahiz eta taldeko batzuk lutheranismoa pasatu ziren, edo haren ahalegin erreformistak erakartzen zituen, nahiko azkar independente bilakatu ziren. Taldea 1525ean banatu ostean, haietako batzuek, Lefèvre, Roussel eta Michel d’Arandek, Estrasburgora alde egin behar izan zuten babes bila. Margarita, zeinak zeregin politiko garrantzitsuei aurre egin behar baitzien, hala nola Paviako porrotaren ondorioz Espainian preso zegoen bere anaia Frantzisko Ia askatzea, saiatu zen baita hondamendi honetatik zenbaitzuk berreskuratzen, Frantziako gortean hainbat kide bilduz. Briçonnetek ezin zituen gehiago babestu, eta orain ezin zen haiekin bildu, eliza ofizialeko bere kargua zela eta.

Ez da azpimarratu behar bezainbeste, hala ere, Briçonneten 1523ko urriaren 15eko dekretu sinodal anti-lutheranoa, Meauxeko taldearen doktrinaren defentsa bat izan zela, Eskrituraren hermeneutika mistikoaren alde eginez, Lutherrek etengabe erasotua:

“Semblable à Chrysippe [dio Apezpikuak, Lutherren erreformismoari uko egiteko arrazoi printzipal bezala] qui se croyait seul sage, il tord à sa fantaisie par une interpretation nouvelle les saintes Ecritures, et meprise tous ceux des anciens qu’il trouve contraires a ses témérités; le bienheureux Denis entre autres, ce disciple de Paul, dont les écrits sont après les Evangiles et les livres apostoliques ce qu’il y a de plus sublime et de plus sacré, il le traite de novateur!”<sup>284</sup>

Meauxeko taldeak oso seriooki hartzen zuen Pseudo-Dionisioren doktrina, batez ere Bibliaren interpretazio mistikoarena. Adibidez, Lefèvrek Areopagitaren egiazkotasuna defendatu zuen Erasmoren aurrean, eta hau

dateke arrazoi nagusia Rotterdameko jakintsuak lor ez zezan Briçonneten taldearekin kontaktuan egoterik<sup>285</sup>: ukatzeak Pablaren Atenaseko lehen bihurtua Denis deuna zela, Frantziako lehen martirra hain zuzen, arriskuan jarriko luke jarraikortasun apostoliko baterako galikanoen borondatea<sup>286</sup>. Hala ere, oinarrian, hermeneutika biblikoarekiko Erasmoren jarrera ez zen Lefèvrek eta Briçonnetek tradizionalki hartutakoaren ezberdina. 1516an, Capitonek (alias W. Köpfel) eskatu zion eman zezan bere iritzia “quadruplex sensus Scripturarum”ari buruz; Erasmok, hasieran, erantzutea ekidin zuen: “unus adhuc scrupulus habet animum meum”<sup>287</sup>, agian ez zegoelako hainbat autorek egiten zuten alegorien gehiegizko erabilpenaren alde, baina beranduago, 1518an (Ratio 127. orr.) zenbait aholku idatzi zituen Bibliaren lau esanahiei buruz: “Unum illud addam: Non satis esse circumspicere, quomodo juxta sensum historicum, qui simplex est; quomodo juxta tropologicum, qui ad mores et vitam communem pertinet; quomodo juxta allegoricum, qui capituli ac totius corporis mystici tractat arcana; quomodo juxta anagogicum, qui caelestem attingit hierarchiam, diversis in rebus varie uceat veritas (... )”<sup>288</sup>.

A. Skevington Woodek Lutherren printzipio hermeneutikoak aztertu ditu: “One of the most valuable of Luther’s hermeneutic principles is his insistence on the primacy of the literal sense. He resolutely sets aside the verbal jugglery in multiple exegesis and firmly takes his stand upon the plain and obvious significance of the word. “The literal sense of Scripture alone”, he asserts, “is the whole essence of faith and Christian theology”.”<sup>289</sup>

Mistikoeak, edonola ere, jotzen dute Testamentu Zaharraren pasarte historiko gehienak alegorikoki interpretatzera. Briçonnetek, esaterako, dio Abraham, Isaak eta Iakob Trinitatearen figurak direla, eta David Kristoren irudia dela, eta honi “proportion” deitzen dio (Correspondance, 2, 201. orr.); mistikoen lema “omnia in figura” da, hau da, Testamentu Zaharrean dagoen guztia Berrikoaren irudi bat da, Pablo Deunaren interpretazio alegoriko anitzei jarraiki. Bibliaren interpretazio mistikoarekiko protestante batzuek zuten jarrera, Margaritaren garaian, Meauxeko taldearenaren guztiz ezberdinak ziren. Hauek, soilik onartu ohi zuten “innatae allegoriae”, eskrituraren textuan bertan aurki daitezkeen esanahi sinbolikoak, batez ere pasarte historikoen interpretazioa, Testamentu Berriko idazle Mateo Deunak<sup>290</sup> edo Pablo Deunak<sup>291</sup> egin bezala. Erreformatzaileen arabera, beste edozein “illatae allegoriae”, “papicolae”en asmakizunak ziren<sup>292</sup>.

Mundu honetan bizi dira lau pertsonaia enigmatiko hauek; XX mendeko irakurleontzat askoz hermetikoagoa da, ezen ez XVIekoentzat,



zeinek Margaritaren Comédie irakurri baitzuketen. “La Sage”, “la Mondaine” eta “la Superstitieuse” nekatzen direnean “la Bergère”ren haien eztabaidarekiko axolagabekeriaz, erabakitzen dute alde batera uztea eta Biblia irakurtzen jarraitzea:

#### LA SUPERSTITIEUSE

Mieulx vaulx que lire je retourne

Le temps perdons de plus parler

(Comédie, vv. 926-927)

Hau Briçonneten doktrinaren ilustrazio bat da, printzipio Paulino bati jarraiki, diona ezen “homo animalis”ak ezin duela ulertu “homo spiritualis”a (Erromatarrei 8,5-6). Tamalez, ez dugu Comédie antzezlanaren produkzioarako akotaziorik, zeina Mont-de-Marsanen antzeztu baitzen “le jour de Caresme prenant mil cinq cens quarante sept”.<sup>293</sup> Textuaren analisi zehatz baten ostean, nire ustez “la Sage” eszenatokian sartu zen familiaren Bibliaren kopia bat besapean (v. 551): “que vous a laissé votre père”. Liburuan zentratzen zen obraren ekintza nagusia, erakutsiz pertsonai bakoitzak honekiko zuen jarrera. Lehen hiru pertsonaiak dira Briçonnetek deitzen zituenak “les trop en corps”:

“La Mondaine”k ilustratzen zuen Bibliaren interpretazio karnala;<sup>294</sup>

“la Superstitieuse”k gorpuzten zuen honen irakurketa sinesbera;

“la Sage”k errepresentatzen zuen honen ulertze literal eta intelektuala<sup>295</sup>

Mont-de-Marsaneko ikuslegoak soilik “la Ravie de Dieu, Bergère” estimatzen zuen, zeren defendatzen baitzituen Meauxeko taldearen printzipio mistiko eta espiritualak, Lefèvrek eta Briçonnetek irakatsi bezala haien azalpen biblikoetan.

#### IV

1524an Briçonnetek Margaritari igortzean Jacques Lefèvre d’Étaplesek egindako Pablo Deunaren Epistolen itzulpenaren kopia bat, 1523ko “Sagar mistikoa”<sup>296</sup> “Erret Oturuntza” bilakatua zen, esan nahi zuelarik Jainkoaren ulertze perfektua, zeina erdiesten baita Biblia irakurtzearen bitartez: “Elles [Pablo Deunaren epistolak] sont metz roial, engressant sans corruption et guerissant de toutes maladies: plus on en gouste, [plus] la fain croist en desir assouvi, insatiable. Ledict metz purge, illumine et parfaict toute creature, par foy inserée en filiation divine” (Correspondance, 2, 92. orr.). Gutun hau idatzi zion garaian, Briçonneten

ustez, Margaritak bitarteko mailak gaindituak zituen. “La Mondaine” eta “la Superstitieuse”ren bizioetatik garbitua, iluminazioaren maila uztear zegoen (“la Sage”rena, hain zuzen), behingoz erdiesteko “la Ravie de Dieu, Bergère”ren bategitea.

Apezpikuak Margaritari erakutsitakoa behintzat lau urtetan zehar, 1521-1524, idazle mistikoen irakaspen tradizionalak ziren, batez ere Origenes, Pseudo Dionisio eta Bernardo Deunarenak. Origenesen iritziz, “Kantu ederrena”, Salomoni egotzia, zen “quintessence de l’enseignement de l’écriture”, H. de Lubackek nahiko zuzenki esan bezala<sup>297</sup>. Bernardo Deuna, “doctor mellifluus et suavis” ere berarengandik hurbil dago. Berarentzat, Kantu hau zen eskritura osoa ulertzeko gakoa, baitzen “mystique au double sens du mot”.<sup>298</sup> Beraz ez da harritzekoa, Briçonnetek, Margaritaren iniziazioaren azken etaparako, Bernardo Deunaren “Eztia”, edo Mana, hartu izana sinbolo gisa. Honela, Mana bihurtu zen printzesaren Osotasunaren, edo neurri betearen, sinbolo: (“gomor”): “l’ame ( ... ) impaciente de fain, attend et requiert ( ... ) la vivifiante manne en laquelle gist et est sa perfection et aliment, qui est vray pain de vie, sans lequel ne peult vivre et, pour la recevoir, reste préparée de longue main pour estre “gomor”,<sup>299</sup> mesure nette, parfaite, vidée de toute aultre impleture ...”(ibid., 1, 138-139. orr.).

Geroago, gutun bat idatzi zion printzesari, izan litekeena honen behintzat bi lanen iturburua, Comédie des Innocents eta Triomphe de l’Agneau.<sup>300</sup> Gutun honek eragina izan zuen baita Margaritak egiten zuen “Kanturik ederrena”ren erabilpen mistikoan, bere lanik garrantzitsuenetan, esaterako Miroir, Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan eta Prisons. Dokumentu hau balio handikoa zatekeen Margaritarentzat, zeren bertan Briçonnetek azaltzen baitu Origenesek eta Bernardo Deunak “Kantu ederrenaren” esanahi mistikoari buruz garatutako doktrina:

“Vray coeur amant ne vit en soy, mais en la chose aymée. Par quay, sy aymons viscéralement<sup>301</sup> et de tout nostre coeur le triomphant amateur et libérateur de noz ames, le doulx Jesus, nous vivons en luy ( ... ) Amour est grant lyen odoriferant et attirant le coeur: c’est ung odeur qui faict courrir sans lassitude comme dient les ames («curremus in odorem ungentorum tuorum» [Kanturik ederrena 1,3]), ennyvrées de l’extaticque amour ravissant, nous courrons a l’odeur de vostre oignement” (Correspondance 1, 208. orr.).

Ezin daiteke hobeto definitu Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan laneko laugarren pertsonaia, “la Ravie de Dieu, Bergère”, zeina antzeztokira sartzen den “Kanturik ederreneko” (2,5) “Maitatuaren” hitzak

ekarritz:

LA BERGERE

Helas! je languys d'amours ...

Helas! je meurs tous les jours.

(vv. 573-574)

Margaritaren idazlan garrantzitsu guztietan aurki daitezke irakaspen honen zantzuak, “Kanturik ederrenaren” esanahi mistikoarenak. Gutxi batzuk aipatzearren:

“La Ravie” Miroirrean (vv. 327-331)

Vous l'avez dit en lieu bien authentique

Par Salomon en vostre doulx cantique,

Disant: Ma soeur tu as navre mon coeur,

Tu as navré mon coeur par la douceur

d'ung de tes yeulx. et d'ung de tes cheveuxl.

“Epoux”ak aitortzen dio “Amye”arenganako bere maitasuna Triomphe de l' Agneau lanean (vv. 730-739), “Kanturik ederreneko” hitzak erabiliz (2,10-16):

... En leur disant: “Mon Espouse et ancelle,

Ma mieux aymée, o ma tres chere Espouse.

Voicy le temps qu'il fault que vous espouse;

Voicy le temps, gratieuse Colombe,

Où tout florist, quand le froid hyver tombe;

Voicy le temps que jouyray de vous,

Et vous de moy; tant qu'ensemble nous tous

Un corps ferons. O belle Sulamithe ( ... )”

Comédien, “Kanturik ederrenean” bezala, “Ravie”ren bere “Mignon”arekiko maitasunak esna mantentzen du gau ta egun:

LA BERGERE

“Pour penser en luy nuict et jour”

(Comédie, v.854)

oso maite baitute elkar:

LA BERGERE

Et je seray sy mignonne

Il sera mon grand mignon.

(ibid., vv. 920-921)

“La Bergère” pertsonaia hermetikoak bi kontzepturekin jotzen du, Ausentzia-Presentzia, zeina Salomonen literaturak aplikatu baitzion esperientzia dibinoaren gozatze mistikoari, nahiz eta orokorrean poesia lirikoan ezaguna izan:

LA BERGERE

Laissez moy aller, aller,

Laisser moy aller jouer.<sup>302</sup>

(ibid., vv. 928-929)

Bere “Amy” berarekin delarik aktuatzea, edota honen konpainiaren irrikan izatea, irakaspen mistikoan oso errotuta dauden ideiak dira. Antzezlan honetan, “Absent” Jainkoa da noski, zeina bertan ez egonik bere izakien bidez mintzatzen den, zeren natura, pentsamendu mistikoan, ispilu bat bezalakoa baita, haren sortzailearen irudia islatu dezakeena:

LA BERGERE

J’ayme mieulx une violette,

Par quy me vient le souvenir

De mon amy, que de tenir

En mon guiron ung grand tresor,

(vv. 763-766)

Baina “la Sage” da, harrigarriro, funtsezko galdera egiten duena:

LA SAGE

Comment vostre c(u)eur tousjours sent

Cest amour present ou absant?

(vv. 696-697)

“Amarissime”k (Margaritak) ezin espera lezake kontsolamendurik naturarengandik, bere “Pan” maitatuaren heriotza zela eta (François), Comédie sur le trespas du Roy lanean, zeren Jainkoa baita soilik aringarri, bakardade eta otoitzean<sup>303</sup>:

AMARISSIME

Ce lieu desert j’ay choisy pour mes pleurs,

En delaissant pastourelle et pastours.

Je (h)ay les bois, les verdures et fleurs,

Prays et ruisseau, pallais, villes et tours.

(vv. 25-28)

eta:

N'espere pas de me reconforter  
Nul rossignol, linotte, ny calandre.  
(vv. 33-34)

Prisonsetan ere agertzen da naturarekiko beste jarrera bat, Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsanean bezala. “La Bergere”ren “Amy”k bere Maitatuaren falta sentitzen du, edertasun naturalean ezkutatuta dagoena, eta Poeta-Maitalea kexu da naturak ez duelako bere presentzia islatzen:

Tenèbre lors me sembloit lumineuse  
Et le soleil lumière tenebreuse.  
(Prisons, fol. 265 ro, 121. orr.)<sup>304</sup>

Naturarekiko ikuspegi bikoitz hau ez da kontraesankorra. Mendebaldeko tradizio mistikoari jarraitzen dio eta, E. Parturierrek ongi ohartarazi bezala, Erdi Aroko Suso mistikoa gogorarazten du, zeinak kontsideratzen baitu “la creation non pas comme dechue de sa splendeur ou comme étant le domaine du mal, mais comme une merveilleuse manifestation de Dieu”.<sup>305</sup> Hau da gertatzen dena gehienetan, baina ez beti, Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan antzezlanean, zeinaren interpretazio literala baita “Kanturik ederrenarenaz” tradizionalki egindakoaren oso antzekoa. Artzain bat printze batez maitemindu da, eta dena ongi aterako zaio, honek ezkontzea proposatzen baitio. Briçonnetek erabilia zuen konparazio hau, eta Erreginak “Kanturik ederrena” Apezpikuaren begi berdinekin ikusten zukeen<sup>306</sup>; ezin daiteke halabeharra izan 1521ean Margaritak berak sartzea “la Brebis” eta “le grand Berger” gaiak, zeinak izango baitziren bere bi antzezlan mistikoen oinarri, Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan eta Comédie sur le trespas du Roy. Mistikoki, bi lanak daude “Kanturik ederrenaren” esanahi espiritualetik hurbil. “Paracelsis”ek jakinarazten du ezen “Pan”ek bat egin duela “le grand Pasteur”ekin:

Votre doux Pan est en son vray repos  
Voire et va comme l’espouse à l’espoux  
Au grant Pasteur reduict en son vray estre.  
(Comédie sur le trespas du Roy, vv. 416-418)

eta “la Bergère”k, zeinak ez baitie esan nahi beste hiru pertsonaiei bere “Amy”ren izena (vv. 677-680), une batean bere sekretua agertzen du adieraziz ezen, “Kanturik ederrenean” erregea bezala, bere “Amy” berataz maitemindu dela: Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsaneko “la Bergère”k dio: “o bergere, m’amie je ne vy que d’amours” (v. 618). Baina, Kantuan bezala, maitasuna ezin uler daiteke literalki; jainkozkoarekiko bategite mistikozko

egoera adierazteko erabiltzen da, zeina Mendebalde eta Ekialdeko mistiko guztiak saiatzen baitira expresatzeko, maitasun fisikoa sinbolikoki erabiliz, haien barren-barreneko sentimenduak adierazteko egokiena izaki.

## V

Lehen begiratuan, bere egitura sinplea dela eta, Comédie arazo gutxiago aurkezten ditu, Dialogueak edota Miroirak baino. Badaude noski tresna estilistikoak, hala nola errepikapenak, kantu eta elkarrizketaren arteko txandakatzek, eta maileguak, hartuak kantu herrikoietatik<sup>307</sup>, klasikoetatik<sup>308</sup>, edota Margaritaren beraren Chansons spirituelles lanetik<sup>309</sup>. Hala ere, erakutsi dudana bezala, inspirazio iturri nagusiak lengoia biblikoa eta Meauxeko eskolaren konbentzio mistikoak dira, eta badaude Margaritak hauengandik ikasitako zenbait estilo arazo zeinak lagun baitezakete argitzen itxuraz sinplea den lan honen zenbait konplexutasun.

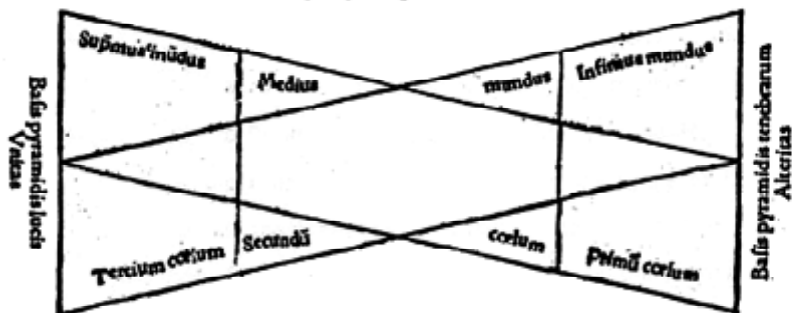
Zenbakien erabilpen Kabalistikoan esanahi hermetikoak ikusterakoan kontu izan behar da<sup>310</sup>, batez ere “hiru” eta “lau” zenbakiekin, mistikoen gogokenak. Adibidez, Margaritak ez ziokeen esanahi mistikorik eman nahi lau antzezlan mistiko idatzi izanari, zeren ez baitu hau nabarmentzen. Baina garrantzitsua izan liteke Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan obran soilik lau pertsonaia egotea, “à quatre personnages”. H. de Lubackek iradokitzen du ezen harreman estua dagoela Hiru eta Lau zenbakien erabilpen sinbolikoaren eta eskrituraren “triplex” eta “quadruplex” esanahi hermeneutikoen artean: Hirua lehen zenbaki antolatua da, Laua baino sinpleagoa, ez hain perfektua agian, baina ezta ere esanahi gutxiagokoa (*4 Diagrama, Eranskinak, ORRIALDEA JARRI*)<sup>311</sup>.

Briçonnetek beti erabiltzen du bata edo bestea. Jendeaz hitz egitean, sailkatzen ditu erabiltzearen arabera haien “oeil charnel”, “oeil de la raison” edo “oeil de l’esprit” (Correspondance, 1, 34-36. orr.). Argi dago Biblia irakurtzeko hiru moduen arabera egiten duela. Margaritak ere gogoko du zenbaki sinbolikoak erabiltzea, Sckommodauk aipatu duen bezala, Petit oeuvre dévot et contemplatif hiru zatitan banatzean<sup>312</sup>. Prisonsa ere hirutan banatzean, edota “quatre personnages” azpimarratzean bai Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan baita Comédie sur le trespas du Royean ere, nahiz eta azken honek bigarren mailako pertsonaiak izan lau nagusiez gain, “Amarissime”, “Securus”, “Agapy” eta “Paraclesis”, honek pentsarazten digu ez ote zen ari erabiltzen Lau zenbakiaren esanahi hermetikoa, izan ere, bi antzezlanetan laugarren pertsonaia da Margaritarengandik dohain gehien jasotzen dituen.

Sed iam ex Dionysio didicimus, mystica nomina excedere sensibilia & intelligibilia, & esse negatius in vertice pyramidis sicut mysticam Theologiam ab his auspiciatur: quare nomina substantiarum spiritualium, quantumcumque eminentia, non sunt mystica censenda: & ut profundius ascensum & descensum intelligere possis / cuius ipse meminisse beatissimus pater accipe pyramidem Nicolai Cusani doctissimi mystici ex libro eius de coniectura, & libro de docta ignorantia.

Cusanus.

Figura paradigmatica Cusani.



Sed intelligibiliorem multo tibi commutabo pyramidem, in qua & gradus ensium, participatione lucis & tenebrarum distinctissime videbis: nam participatio non est minima via lectionis Theologiae, ut in nostra Theologia negativa fufius explicabimus, & ex hoc longe facilius ascensum & descensum parare tibi poteris pro animi tui sententia ad institutum Dionysiacum: Hanc autem insignem & mirificam pyramidem, longe excedentem Aegyptiacas & Memphis pyramides, acceptam referre debes preceptorum nostrum optimo Gregorio Reischio, Cartusiae monachi S. Ioannis in Friburgo priori viro oppido venerando.

Eddius

Gregorius Reischius.

Soli deo gloria:

E III 40

#### 4 Irudia.

Gregorius Reischiusen diagrama geometrikoa, berak "figura paradigmatica" deitua, zeinak irudikatzen baitu Argiaren piramide barruko sinboloen eta Iluntasunarenean dauden haien aurkakoen arteko interrelazioa. Cusako Nikolasen Unibertsoaren kontzeptzioa erakusten du: sortutako gauzak Argi eta Iluntasunaren parte dira, baina Argiaren piramidearen oinarritik zenbat eta hurbilago egon, orduan eta gutxiago dira gorpuzdun. (*De Mystica Theologia*, op.cit., Cap.III, Pars II, Prop.III, fol. E IIII ro).

Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan laneko lau pertsonaietatik bakoitzak, Bibliaren iruzkingileetan Lau Edariak bezala<sup>313</sup>, badu bere esanahia. Esnea eta Olia edari inperfektuak dira, non eta Ardoa jakintzaren sinbolo den ("la Sage") eta Eztiak gorpuzten duen ulertze perfektuaren ideia. "La Bergère"k, adibidez, baieztatzen duenean besteen aurka ezen:

Je ne sens corps, ame, ne vie  
 Sinon amour ( ... )  
 (vv. 870-871)

beste behin ari da zatiketa laukoitz paralelo batekin jolasten. Beste barik, egiten ari dena da Briçonneten Hiru Begiak Lautan azpibanatu eta

interpretatu, apezpikuak egin bezala, Biblia ulertzeko lau modu gisan, lau mailatan. “Scala perfectionis”ari<sup>314</sup> jarraiki, horrela antola genitzake:

1 Corps	l’oeil charnel	esne zaporea	la Mondaine
2 Ame	l’oeil charnel	olio zaporea	la Superstitieuse
3 Vie	l’oeil de la raison	ardo zaporea	la Sage
4 Amour	l’oeil de l’esprit	ezti zapoea	la Bergère

Zenbaki hermetikoen erabilpena oso hertsiki lotua dago Margaritak antzezlan honetan hartzen duen jarrera anti-intelektualarekin. “Securus”ek baieztatu zuen, iadanik, bere beste antzezlan mistikoan, Comédie sur le trespas du Roy (vv. 337-338):

#### SECURUS

Raison, philosophie, exemple  
Ne servent plus icy de rien.

eta “Amarissime”k ere antzera dio: “Raison n’a peu de moy estre maistresse” (v. 540). Hala ere, Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan urrunago doa, zeren “la Bergère”k hizkera anti-intelektual bat erabiltzen du beste hirurak nahasteko, hauek ondorioztatzen dutelarik zoratu egin dela:

#### LA SUPERSTITIEUSE

Elle est bien simple et bien naïfve  
Rien ne sçait et ne veult sçavoir.  
(vv. 823-824)

eta “la Sage”k dio norbaitek “la Bergère”ri ziria sartu diola:

#### LA SAGE

Croiez qu’amour l’a abuzée,  
Et quelque amy l’a amuzée,  
Parquoy elle a perdu son sens.  
(vv. 832-834)

Margaritak “la Bergère” erabiltzen du, aldarrikatzeko “la Docte Ignorance”rekiko bere preferentzia mistikoa. Izatez, Briçonnetek iada idealizatua zuen behin “Dame Ygnorance”, erreginari idatzitako gutun batean: “Madame, en cuidant faire fin, me semble veoir vostre esperit insaciable, combien que repeu a souffisance, transporté par amoureuse et ravissable contemplacion hors de soy et enyvvré de ce qu’il ne veoit et ne verra jamais, vray ygnorant en sçavoir ...” (Correspondance, I, 188. orr.).



Textu honek “la Ravie de Dieu, Bergère” dakarkigu gogora, Comédiekoa. Beranduago, gutun-tratatu berdinean, apezpikuak dio: “Lors le scavoir de saint Pol, qui est Jhesus Christ, le doulx aigneau, peut mener par science de son humanité jusques à l’huis. Mais ne peuvent plus avant penetrer dame Ygnorance qui ne habandonne jamais les devotz esperitz jusque ad ce qu’ils soient jusques au trosne des seraphins où dame Ygnorance tient son domicile ( ... )”(ibid., 192-193. orr.).

“La Bergère”ren bitartez, Margaritak Briçonneten “hors de soy” doktrina goratzen du:

LA BERGERE

Je suis trop sotte pour apprendre;  
Parquoy ne veulx faire ne dire  
Rien que ce (qui) me faict tant rire,  
Ny les fascheux ne veulx henter.

(Comédie, vv. 879-882)

Briçonnetek aztertua zuen Pseudo Dionisioren hermeneutika mistikoa, bere idazle gogokoenarena, zeinari erreferentzia egiten baitio Margaritarekin mantendutako Correspondancean<sup>315</sup>. Pseudo-Areopagitaren bitartez, ikasi zuen eskrituraren “laugarren zentzua” ezagutzen, ekstasi kontzeptu mistikoarekin, edo, beraren hitzetan, “hors de soy” egoerarekin (Correspondance, l, 188. orr.). Zorotasunaren, edo egoera estatikoaren, bere laudorioak antz handia du “la Bergère”ren kondizioarekin, Comédien, non berarekin ez baitira oso adeitsu agertzen:

*LA SAGE* [deitzen dio]

Ha! ce n’est pas langage d’une folle?

(v , 586)

*LA SUPERSTITIEUSE* [gehitzen du]

VOUS estes folle, par ma foy.

(v. 665)

[berriz ere] *LA SUPERSTITIEUSE*

Elle ravye ou est idiote.

Mieulx vous appartient la marotte

Que ne faict pas vostre houllette.<sup>316</sup>

(vv. 760-762)

Komenigarria zaigu aipatzea ezen Lefèvre bera interesatu izan zela Erdi Aroko idazle batek idatzitako tratatu mistikoetan, Pseudo-Idiotenak

hain zuzen ere. 1519an, Contemplationes Idiotae argitaratu zuen<sup>317</sup>, goiburu esanguratsu honekin bukatzen dena: “idiotae rapiunt caelos”. Comédiean, “la Bergère”ren posizioa nahiko hurbil dago Pseudo-Idioten lema honetatik. Antzezlaneko beste hiru pertsonaien arteko eztabaidan parte hartzeari uko eginez, “la Bergère”k Lefèvre eta Briçonneten hermeneutika mistikoa bereganatzen du, aldarrikatuz ezen “la vray clef de l’intelligence de l’Escripture est l’esprit et non la lettre” (Correspondance, 2, 14. orr.). Bere “esgarement” aitzakia bat da soilik, Meauxeko printzipio mistikoak antzezlan baten bidez ilustratzeko, Margarita bezalako idazle batentzat lan errazagoa, azalpen erudito bat idaztea baino, “Kanturik ederrenaren” esanahi espiritualari buruzkoa. Erreginak, bere lanetan, falta zuen tratatu teologikoetan hain ugaria zen argot teologikoa, baina Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan lanak frogatzen du ezen hermeneutika mistikoaren konplexutasun oro ulertzen zituela, eta bere adimena prest zegoela bere lan mistikorik onena idazteko 1547an, Prisons de la Reine de Navarre, zeina kritiko gehienek ez baitute landu.

## **BOSGARREN KAPITULUA**

### **Les Prisons de la Reine de Navarre, Margaritaren testamentu mistikoa: Jainkoaren esperientzia, arimarekiko eta Bere trszendentziarekiko immanente**

#### **I**

Aurreko kapituluaren hasieran adierazi dudana bezala, Margarita, bere bizitzako azken urteetan, bizitza politikotik aldendu zen. Frantziako gortetik Nafarroako bere domeinuetara mugitzeak posible egin zion erdiestea Berpizkunde garaiko hainbat gizon eta emakumeen ametsa, “corpus” literario baten sorkuntza, zeinak bere ospea betirako iraunaraziko baitzuen. Ez da harritzekoa bizitzako azken urteetan, 1540-1549<sup>318</sup>, lan helduagoak idaztea hasierako tratatu basikoak baino, 1525-1531koak, zeinetarik soilik batek lortu zuen arrakasta, Miroir. Beranduago, bere adimena zentratuagoa zegoen bere burua expresatzean, besteen onespenean baino, eta orduan idatzi zituen gaur bere poema onentzat ditugunak, La Coche<sup>319</sup>, La Navire<sup>320</sup>, Les Chansons spirituelles<sup>321</sup>, eta bereziki bere bi idazlan onenak, Heptaméron<sup>322</sup> eta Prisons<sup>323</sup>.

Heptaméronak izan dituen hainbat argitalpenak direla eta, nahiko argi dago ezen onarpen handia izan zuela. “Nouvelle” gehienak 1545 inguruan idatzi ziren arren, Margaritak ez zien garrantzi handiegirik eman, zeren bera hiltzean, lau urte beranduago, oraindik bukatu gabe

baitzeuden<sup>324</sup>. Beharbada bere anaia Frantzisko 1547 urtean hil izanak berarentzat suposatu zuen kolpea dela eta, gogo barik sentitu zen “Nouvelles” sorta luze hori Decaméronaren itxura berarekin bukatzeko. Hori egin beharrean, gogo bere pentsamenduen laburpenak idazten bildu zuen, hala nola La Navire, La Coche eta bereziki Prisons, zeina beste guztiei gailendu baitzen.

Hala ere, paradoxikoa da Lefrancken gisako kritiko batek aitortu bazuen, 1896 urtean, Prisons dela “l’oeuvre capitale de la soeur de François Ier, par l’ampleur du sujet, l’étendue des proportions, l’exceptionnel intérêt des matières qui y sont traitées,..., véritable couronnement de sa carrière poétique”<sup>325</sup>, obra heldu hau ia kritiko batek ere aztertu ez izana. Inoiz edo behin erreferentzia egin zaio eta oso gutxitan aipamenak egin, eta beraz hel gintezke deitzera bere lan ezezaguna. Soilik behin argitaratua izan da, Lefranckek 1896an bere Dernières poésies de Marguerite de Navarre<sup>326</sup> edizioaren zati bezala. Esan genezake ezen Heptamérona dena XVI mendeko gizartearen<sup>327</sup>, Prionsa dela gizarte horren kezka eta ideia intelektualen, lan askozaz sofistikatuago bat delarik, irakurle modernoak irakurtzera ohitua dagoena baino.

Glori Capellok hauteman du Prionsen izaera espekulatiboa: “Les Dernieres Poesies de Marguerite de Navarre”, dio zehaztasunez, dauka “il poemetto dal titolo Prisons, interessante anche dal punto di vista filosofico”, eta beraren arabera, bertan islatzen dira kezka batzuk zeinak eragin baitzuten Margarita eta Briçonneten arteko Correspondancea<sup>328</sup>. Egia bada, Capellok esan bezala, ezen Correspondanceak erakusten duela Margaritaren trebakuntza filosofiko eta teologikoa, egia da baita Prions ez bagenu, ezinezkoa litzatekeela aurkitzea zeintzuk ziren bere kezka filosofiko, teologiko, mistiko eta artistikoak<sup>329</sup>. Batez ere lan honi esker, ikusiko dugun bezala, konturatuko gara zeinen urrun iritsi zen erregina Briçonnetek irakatsi zizkion hainbat detailetan, ezen bestela usteko baikenuke Margaritak ez zuela hauetarako gaitasun intelektual nahikorik; baina ez zen ezjakin bat, eta dokumentu garrantzitsu honek frogatzen du ezen gai zela garaiko adimen bikainen maila berean egoteko<sup>330</sup>.

## II

Kritiko batzuen arabera, Margaritaren bulkada mistikoak ezustekoan datoz eta doaz; diotenez, batzuetan Jainkozkoan guztiz murgildua ageri da, ia beste guztiaz ahazturik, eta hurrengo momentuan badirudi ahazten dela eta ez duela arduratzen 1521-1524 artean jasotako heziketa mistikoak. “Elle s’est même élevée si haut”, dio Lefranckek, “grâce à ce sentiment,

qu'il serait peut-etre temeraire de le qualifier d'exagéré. Sans doute, les traces du mysticisme des années de jeunesse reparaîtront ça là (sic) au milieu de l'ardeur nouvelle qui vient d'envahir son être"<sup>331</sup>. Belaunaldiz belaunaldi, mito batek iraun du, Margaritak Briçonneten irakaspena baztertu zuelakoa, eta honek eragotzi du bere lanak objetiboki aztertzeke edozein saiakera. Capitonen orakuluak erabaki zuenetik ezen 1528an bere pentsamenduari norabide berri bat eman ziola, Meauxeko eskolako heziketa mistikoa abandonatuz, eta alde batera utziz Briçonneten "philosophie de haute volée"<sup>332</sup>, ordutik kritiko gehienek uste izan dute ezen Margarita erreformatzaileen ideiek liluratu zutela, "cette croix, que portent les églises secrètement disséminées sur le sol de la France"<sup>333</sup>, Meauxen ikasitako printzipio mistikoen kaltetan.

Ikerketa honetan iadanik baztertu dut ikuspegi hau, baina baita kontrakoa ere, hau da, dioena ezen Margarita ez zegoela interesatuta garaiko tradizionalak mintzen zituzten gaietan, hala nola fedearen lehentasuna ekintzekiko. Hala ere, Lutherren arabera, giza ekintzak guztiz baliogabekoak dira fedeak soilik justifikatzen duelako, non eta Margaritaren elkargo mistikoak mantentzen zuen ekintzak graziaren rolaeren menpe zeudela. Adibidez, 1540 hamarkadan idatzitako "Chanson 5"ak ez du ukatzen giza ekintzen garrantzia, baizik eta gizona fede barik justifikatu ahal izatea:

Si quelcun parle de la Foy  
 En la mettant quasi a riens  
 Aux prix des oeuvres de la Loy,  
 Les estimant les plus grans biens,  
 Sa doctrine est nouvelle;  
 Laissez le là, passez avant:  
 Autant en emporte le vent.  
 (Chanson 5, vv. 8-12)

Saiatzea, Marichalek egin bezala, La Navireko ideiak lotzen Lutherren ekintzen kontzepzioarekin<sup>334</sup>:

Les oeuvres font tenir en seureté  
 Roy et subjectz, pourquoy les fault aimer  
 Et en user par sens et verité;  
 (Navire, vv. 1177-1179)

ez da baliagarria, inola ere, Nafarroako gortean "en vogue" zeuden gaiak zeintzuk ziren argitzeko, zeinak Calvinok guztiz gaitzesten baitzituen, aurreko kapituluan ikusi bezala<sup>335</sup>. Lerro hauetan, erregina

beste barik ari zen Meauxeko ideiak iruzkintzen, ekintzei buruzkoak, zeinak kontsideratzen baitzituzten gizonaren ekintza dibinoak eragindako txinpartak. Eckhartek azaldu zuen ezen “as God is almighty in action, the soul is also boundless in its capacity to take”, azpimarratuz gizonaren menekotasun rola: “Our blessedness does not depend on the deeds we do but rather on our passiveness to God”<sup>336</sup>.

Ekintzen teoria hau hertsiki lotua da Margaritaren poesiaren gai zentraletako bati, hau da, arima gorputzean preso delako kontzeptu neoplatonikoari. Bere hainbat poematan agertzen da; Dialoguean arima aurkezten zaigu ekintza bekatariak (ustelak) egitearen esperientzia mingarria jasateko egoeran, gorputzari lotuta dagoenez gero:

Estant en luy joincte, c'est bien raison  
Que vous ayez la peine du peche  
Qui transforme liberte en prison.  
(Dialogue, vv. 508-510)

Miroirra are esplizituagoa da, ustelkeria honen iturburua gizakiari leporatzean, aipatuz honek eragiten duela giza ekintza oro bekatuzkoa izatea:

...  
*Moy, qui par eulx* (deabrua, mundua eta haragia)  
*longtemps avoie esté*  
Prisonniere, esclave, et tant liée ...  
(Miroir , vv.662-663)(baita vv.691-692)

Kartzelaren kontzeptu hau askotan “arima preso hartzen duen gorputzaren” ideia neoplatonikoarekin lotzen da, Margaritaren lan berantiarrenetan, hala nola Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan. Gorputzak, arimaren edertasuna islatu beharrean, haren maskara engainagarria da:

Dans vostre corps l'ame immortelle  
Est mise, et doit prandre en tutelle  
Le corps, vray masque ou bien mensonge.  
(Comédie , vv. 294-296)

Edonola ere, “kartzela” kontzeptua aurkitzeko lotuta “gorputzaren plazerraren” gaiarekin, zeinak harrapatzen baitute arima haien tranpatan, La Navirera jo beharko dugu, baita Prisonsetako I liburuan agertzen den bezala:

O miserable et aveugle amour!  
Amour de chair, non amour mais fureur,  
Aveuglement, lien, prison et tour!  
(Navire, vv. 310-312)<sup>337</sup>

Kritikoek ez diote jaramon handiegirik egin Margaritak Nafarroako gortean bildu izanari pentsamendu neoplatonikoan murgilduta zeuden pertsonak, hala nola Charles de Sainte-Marthe. Hau islatzen dute zenbait ideiek, zeinen hazia Briçonnetek jarri baitzuen, eta, Miroirra bezalako lan goiztiarretan garatuz, beranduago loratu baitziren<sup>338</sup>. Hasiera hasieratik Margarita inizatua izan zen oposizio neoplatoniko batean, arima Jainkoak hartua deneko “ravisement” espiritualaren eta arima gorputzean preso egotearen artekoa. Apezpikuak idatzia zion: “Et qui pourra, Madam, voller plus hault par extaticque et transcendant ravisement en absorbicion de tout desir de vie, pour estre uny à son seul necessaire, encoires fault mourir a l’esperit. Telle vie est divine et non spirituelle que attendons et n’est viande pour nous tant que serons en ceste chartre et prison corporelle.” (Correspondance, 1, 172-173. orr.). Beranduago, doktrina neoplatoniko hauek zehaztasunez azaldu zitzaizkion Margaritari zenbait “oracle”ren bidez, esaterako Sainte-Marthe bera, zeina 1540 urteetan bere “protégé”etako bat baitzen, eta erregina hiltzean hau idatzi baitzuen: “Et Ciceron appelle nostre corps, la prison de l’Ame, pource que l’Ame, quand elle sort du corps, en est delivrée comme d’une prison. Se douloir donc de la mort de MARG., certes ce n’est aultre chose que la desirer estre enchesnee en liens perpetuels”<sup>339</sup>.

Zalantzarik gabe, Briçonnetek irakatsi zion arima gorputzean preso egotearen kontzeptua, Heriotza eta Maitasuna irtenbide eta konponbide bakarrak direlarik. (Dialogue, vv. 274-289 eta 208-219). Lehen lanetako inimizio neoplatoniko hau berrindartu egingo zen beranduago, bere gortean Sainte-Marthe bezalako jendea egonda, 1540 hamarkadan; orduan, eztabaida filosofikoetarako bazuen denbora gehiago, Marichalek ederki frogatu zuen bezala La Coche aurkeztean maitasunaren izaerari buruzko tratatu neoplatoniko bezala<sup>340</sup>. Garai hartan, erreginak arazo bati aurre egin behar zion: Frantziskok Estampesko dukesarekin zuen amodio harremanaren aurrean, aukeratu behar zuen bere nebarekiko leialtasunaren eta bere kontzientziarekiko erantzukizunaren artean. Azkenean, Frantziako erregearen “favorite”ari dedikatu zion lana, eta Marichalek dioenez, hau egin zuen alde batetik dukesa Montmorencyko kondestablearen eraginaren aurka zegoelako, eta bestetik, “amour d’amitié” platonikoarekiko zuen jarreragatik<sup>341</sup>. Hala ere, ideia platoniko eta kristauen sinkretismo honekin ere, maitasunari buruzko bere doktrina ortodoxoa da<sup>342</sup>.

Bada, 1540ko urte neoplatoniko hauetan idatzi zuen Prisons. Nik dakidala, kritiko bat ere ez da konturatu ezen orduan ere idatzitako Chansons Spirituellesetako<sup>343</sup> poema motz bat, “Chanson 23”, Prisons handiaren bertsio labur bat dela. Oso litekeena da hau idatzi izana, geroago zetorrenaren zirriborro bezala, zeina bere lanik estimatuena suertatu baitzen. Izatez, “Chanson 23”ak Prisonsen planifikazioa erakusten digu:

Gai orokorra: aldaketa baten beharra:

Ame, tu n'es au chemin  
Ny en la voye  
De vraye félicité;  
Dieu t'y convoye.  
(“Chanson 23”, vv. 1-4)

Lehenbiziko kartzela: Poeta-Maitalearen alegoria, plazer mundukoiek erakarria:

Ame, où vas tu sy soudaint? (bis)  
-Je cours a plaisir mondain. (bis)  
-C'est en vain;  
Car plaisir mondain est faux;  
Tu te fourvoye,  
Qui en tristesse et tous maux  
Fine sa joye.  
(ibid., vv. 5-11)

Bigarren kartzela: Prisonsetan bezala, “chanson” honek iragartzen du Poeta-Maitalea mehatxatzen duen beste arrisku bat, “ambition”, bai eta “terriens biens” eta “avarice” ere:

Ame, hélas! quel chemin tiens? (bis)  
-Tout droit aux terriens biens. (bis)  
-Ce n'est riens:  
Mais avarice le coeur  
Sy fort guerroye,  
Qu'elle le fait en douleur  
Du Diable proye.  
  
Où vas tu à grand roideur? (bis)  
-A l'ambition d'honneur. (bis)  
-C'est erreur:  
Ambition trop blasmer

Ne te pourroye;  
Son feu, en lieu d'allumer,  
Brusle et foudroye.  
(vv. 12-25)

Hirugarren kartzela: beste behin, Prisonsetan bezala (III liburua),  
Poeta-Maitalea ikasketa espekulatiboaren arriskuez ohartarazten da:

Ame, où vas tu par ces deserts? (bis)  
-Vois sçavoir par gens experts. (bis)  
-Tu te perds:  
Sçavoir aux lettres trouver  
Bien tost sçauroye.  
Si l'esprit bien esprouver  
En toy pourrouye.  
(vv. 26-32)

Margaritak beraz azpimarratzen du esperientzia espiritualaren eta  
meditazio mistikoaren beharra Jainkozkoa erdiesteko, ikasketa baino:

Où vas tu a sy grand pas? (bis)  
-Avec ces gens de la bas. (bis)  
-N'y va pas:  
Combien qu'ilz soyent merchez (*i.e. markatuak*)  
De noire croye, (*i.e. kraionaz*)  
Orgueil les tient attachez  
De sa courroye.  
(vv. 33-39)

"Chanson 23"ren bukaera: Prisonsetan lege, bukaeran dei bat egiten  
zaio "Ame"ri (Prisonsetan, Poeta-Maitalea), bere buruaz ahaztu dadin eta  
esperientzia mistikoaren bidez Dibinoarekiko bategiterantz zuzen dadin:

Ame, où vas tu, par ta foy? (bis)  
-Je vois à l'amour de moy (*i.e. norberekiko*  
*maitasuna*)(bis)  
-Garde toy  
D'aymer ce que rien ne vault:  
Si tu sçavoye  
L'amour et le don d'en-hault.  
Seul l'aymeroye.  
(vv. 40-46)



Chansons Spirituellesetan, mistikaren punturik zailenak modu zuzen eta sinpleago batean azaltzen dira, bere poema luzeagoetan baino. Adibidez, “Chanson 3”an Jainkozko Bategitearen plazerrak irakasten dira:

Et par le Nom de ce Filz amiable,  
Recevez la pour espouse agreable (i.e. l'âme)  
En l'union du corps tant desirable  
Où vous voulez mettre en un voz amis.  
(“Chanson 3”, vv. 37-40)

Kontzeptu ulergaitz zenbait, extasiaren kontzeptu mistikoa esaterako, bertan agertzen zaizkigu doinu lirikoez goretsiak:

Puisque Dieu par pure grace  
M'a tiré à soy.  
Et qu'en tous en toute place  
Luy tout seul je voy,  
Je suis remply de plaisir,  
Veu que mon âme est s'amyé,  
Qu'il a d'Amour endormie;  
Hé, laissez la dormir; Hé, laissez la dormir.  
(“Chanson 12”, vv. 1-8)

baita “Cuyder” edo ustearen gaitzestea (ikus “Chansons Spirituelles” 11, vv.1-4 eta 27, vv. 37-44), zeinak lapurtzen baitigu Maitasunaren Larrosaren lurrina (ikus “Chanson Spirituelle” 27, v. 41):

Maudit soit le Cuyder  
Qui semble peu de chose,  
Et fait de nous vuyder  
La senteur de la Rose.  
(“Chanson 27”, vv. 1-4)

Hainbat Chansons Spirituellesetan garatzen dira Prisonetako ideia antzekoak, bereziki 5, 9<sup>344</sup> eta 20<sup>345</sup> zenbakietan, eta batez ere 43an, zeinean argiro irakasten baita teoria hermeneutikoa, dioena ezen Bibliaren ezagutza arimaren askatasunaren iturburua dela<sup>346</sup>:

Sa parole nous présente:  
C'est gratuite leçon;  
Et l'ennemy qui nous tente  
Par luy est mis en prison.  
(“Chanson 43”, vv. 16-19)

Proposatu izan dira beste iturri batzuk Prisonsetzat; Parturierrek zenbait antzekotasun atzeman zituen Prisonen eta Margaritari egotzitako eskuizkribu baten artean, zeina izenburu barik aurkitu baitzuen, eta 1904an argitaratu Récit allégorique de sa conversion<sup>347</sup> izenarekin; 1960an Hans Sckommodauk berrargitaratu zuen, beste eskuizkribu baten bidez (BNko N°3458), Petit Oeuvre dévot et contemplatif<sup>348</sup> izenburupean. Parturierrek dioenez eskuizkribuaren aurkiketa azaltzeko artikululu batean<sup>349</sup>, Margaritak Récit allégorique obran ardi galduaren alegoria darabil, eta Prisonsetan berriz, “noraezean dabilen Poeta-Maitalearena”, eta hauxe ondorioztatzen du: “Elle y fait, sous le voile de l’allégorie, ce qu’on peut appeler le récit de sa conversion et nous trouvons dans ce poème comme une esquisse des Prisons”<sup>350</sup>. Hala baledi, eta badirudi baietz, Poeta-Maitalearen gaia lehenengoz iragarri zuen Petit Oeuvre Devot et Contemplatif<sup>351</sup> lanean, gero Chansons Spirituellesetan ere aurkeztuz, bereziki “Chanson 23”an, bukatzeko Prisonsetan guztiz garatuz.

### III

Sartalde eta sortaldeko mistiko guztiek nabarmentzen dute ezen jainkozkoarekiko hurbiltzea soilik egin daitekeela transformaziozko prozesu luze eta mingarri baten ostean, zeinak gizona bere osotasunean hartzen baitu: zentzuak, adimena eta espiritua<sup>352</sup>. Operazio hau beti deskribatzen dute alegoria baten bidez<sup>353</sup>, zeren hau omen baita modu bakarra esanahia benetan helarazteko ohitua ez den irakurleari. Margarita, bere poema mistiko gehienak idazteko, tresna honez baliatzen da, zeina idazle klasikoez eta exegesiaren tradizio biblikoak ederresten baitzuten<sup>354</sup>. Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan antzezlaneko lau pertsonaia alegorikoak erabiltzen ditu Bibliaren ulertzean gizonaren maila ezberdinak adierazteko<sup>355</sup>. Bere obrarik ezagunenean agertzen da lehenbizikoz, Miroirrean, zeinak lortu zuen ezinobeki deskribatzea bere harridura, “Enigma-Ispilu-Margarita-perla” artean mantentzen duen paralelismoaz<sup>356</sup>. Ez da ausaz hautatu “Esgarement” hitza, “Harridura”, izan ere behin eta berriz agertzen baita Correspondancean eta bere poema mistikoetan.

Margarita zen askotan gai eta alegoriak hornitzen zituen, hala nola Ardi Galduaren parabola, zeinak Petit oeuvre dévot et contemplatif<sup>357</sup> obrari leku eman baitziokkeen. Briçonnetek berak onartzen du hau: “Vous écrivez, Madame, que, comme la brebis en pais estrange errant, ignorant sa pasture par mescognoissance des nouveaulx pasteurs, leve naturellement la teste pour prandre l’air qui vient du lieu où le grand berger, par ses bons ministres, luy a acoustumé donner doulce nourriture, etc...” (Correspondance, 1, 4. orr.).

Briçonnetek “ardi galduaren” alegoria hau garatu zuen, zeina ahula baita (ibid., 1, 7. orr.), eguzkiak itsutua (ibid., 1, 154. orr.), eta behartsua (ibid., 1, 136. orr.), eta Margaritak gutun-tratatu luze hau jaso zuenean, eskertu zukeen “nourriture” mota hau, zeinaren aiduru zegoen bere espiritu “famelicque”a (ibid., 38. orr.)<sup>358</sup>.

Briçonneten gutunean, zeina idatzi baitzen berau Margarita inizatzen hasi eta gutxira, lau “brebis” mota daude. Lehenengoa, Adanen bekatua dela eta erori zen. Bigarrenak errepresentatzen ditu, nahiz eta Kristoren graziaz salbatuak izan, direnak “tellement inveteréz que péché leur est naturel”. Hirugarrenak, ahulak: “...toutesfois errans du chemin par ygnorance ou fragilité humaine...” (ibid., 1, 41-42. orr.). Briçonnetek ez die jaramon handiegirik egiten lehen hiru “brebis” motei, eta arreta gehien jartzen du ardi galdu mistikoan, “la quatrieme brebis errante”, bakarra zeina “se esgare au chemin, et toutesfois en se esgarant est au chemin sans se esgarer” (ibid., 1, 42. orr.). Honen bidez saiatzen zen azaltzen ezen soilik harridura mistikoaren bidez hel gaitezkeela benetako ezagutzara: “Mais cest esgarement, en, verité, est vraie cognoissance” (ibid., 1, 45. orr.).

Harridura mistikoaren gaiak bizi osoan kezkatu zuen Margarita. Askotan, amets baten forman agertzen zen, zeinak iragartzen baitzizkion jainkoaren gonbidapena ukatzearen arriskuak, perfekziozko egoera garaiago bat erdiestearena. Charlotte printzesa gaztea amets batean agertua zitzaion, jainkoaren borondatea onartzeko beharra adierazten (*Dialogue*, vv. 583-585). Poeta-Maitaleari ere agertzen zaio “vieillart”, bere bidaian gidatzea eskainiz: (*Prisons*, fols 284 vo eta 285 ro, 164. orr.). Bi kasuetan, Briçonneten ahotsa zen, Margaritari mintzo; honek oraindik gogoratzen ditu haren gutun eta argibideak:

Mais d'autre part me monstra ung vieillart<sup>359</sup>  
 Blanc et chenu, mais dispos et gaillart,  
 ...  
 D'un marcher lent; ainsy le viz venir  
 Tout droit à moy, dont ne me peuz tenir  
 De m'incliner et faire reverence  
 A l'ancien qui donnoit esperance,  
 Le regardant seulement à sa myne,  
 De recevoir de luy quelque doctrine,  
 Car le sçavant, à dire verité,  
 A d'un chacun grant honneur meritte.  
 (ibid., fols 283 vo eta 284 ro, 162. orr.)

Esanguratsua da “vieillart”a Poeta-Maitaleari ametsetan zuzentzea. Margarita ikuskari eta ametsen zale zen; batzutan bere hildako neba Frantziskorekin topaketak asmatzen zituen, hala nola Comédie sur le trespas du Roy eta Navire ou consolation du Roy François Ier à sa soeur lanetan; eta Charles de Sainte-Marthe diosku ezen erreginak amets batzutan ikusi zituela etorkizuneko gertaeren seinaleak: “Or n’est il donc absurde, que nous avons dit. MARGUERITE avoir diviné par son songe, la mort estre prochaine.”<sup>360</sup>. Bere lehen poema, Dialogue, Charlotte txikiaren ikuspen baten ondorio da. “Vieillart”aren eta “Poeta-Maitalearen” (Margarita) arteko eztabaida honek, zeinak ia bostehun lerro okupatzen baititu, Prisonseko gai zentralak pizten ditu. Esan genezake ezen Margaritak Briçonnet ikusi zukeela ametsetan, honen heriotzaren ostean, zeren poeman nabarmentzen da “vieillart”aren “onarpena” bere tutore ohi bezala:

Trop tard l’avoys congneu, trop tost laissé.

...

Et qu’il m’avoit laissé pour mon besoing

Livres remplis de son saige parler,

En les lisant me prins à consoller.

(Prisons, fol. 292 ro, 179. orr.)

Ez al zen izan Margarita 1521ean Meauxeko apezpikua aukeratu zuena, lagun zezan “tirer hors de ses tristes tenebres la toute vostre Marguerite”? (Correspondance, 37. orr.). Correspondanceko 7 gutuna agiri garrantzitsua da interpretatzeko Prisonseko “esgarements”, zeren Briçonnet -“vieillart”- hautatu baitzen Margarita sarrarazteko “union” egoeraranzko igoerako azken mailan, mistikoek “perfection” deitua. Prisonsak ulertuko baditugu Margaritaren “ame mise à nu”aren analisi autobiografiko bat bezala, orduan Briçonneten rola ikuspegi historiko horretan kokatu beharra dago, erreginak berak ikusi zuen bezala. Askotan kexu zen gutunetan, Briçonnetek beti atzeratzen zuela azken maila mistikorako sarbidea, “la Manne”z sinbolizatua:

Le temps est sy froid et le coeur sy glace que l’eau chaulde ne le tresardant feu ne peuvent desgeller sa froide dureté. Car, comme insatiable après avoir eu, par la bonte de Dieu, eau et feu pour resister au temps et à sa soif, dont a luy seul le blâme s’il n’y a prouffité, crye maintenant à la faim desirant viande douce et de substance. (Correspondance, 1, 132. orr.).

Gutuna hitz hauekin bukatzen da: “Vostre gellée, altere et affamée fille Marguerite” (ibid., 1, 132. orr.); dirudienez Briçonnetek ez zuen denbora askorik izan inimizioarekin jarraitzeko, Uraren (Purifikazioa)

eta Suaren (Argialdia) sinboloen bidez; kexu da, Meauxeko “cordeliers” gogaikarriek ez dutelako bakean uzten (ibid., 1, 133. orr.)<sup>361</sup>. Baina posible da pentsatu izana ezen iniziazio mistikoko igoera prozesua astiro egin beharrekoa zela. Saint-Germain-en-Layeko gortearen eta Meauxen artean trukatu ziren gutunek erakusten dute bai Briçonneten gogorik eza prozesua azeleratzeko, bai eta Margaritaren gehiegizko entusiasmoa; apezpikuak, bere gutun laburrenetako batean, azaltzen du nola berak ere behar duen jainkoaren laguntza, beste edonork bezala, eta Margaritak umiltasunezko irakaspen praktikoa hau behar zuen barneratu: “Supplyez, Madame, au debonnaire Jesus qu’il luy plaise apauvrir celluy auquel demandez la manne, car depuis quelque temps il est devenu sy riche de coeur et de biens qu’il ne veult et ne peult bien faire, le vouloir duquel [i.e. Briçonneten borondatea], graces à Dieu, est encoires pauvre, est en danger sy ne le secourez promptement’ (Correspondance, 1, 137. orr.).

Izatez, Correspondance osoaren ezaugarri bereizleenetako bat da Margaritaren inpatientzia eta entusiasmoa, lau “esgarements”ak ikasten hasteko; eta Briçonnetek azken mailetara helarazteko erabilitako metodoa, non arimak zenbait etapa zail bete behar dituen, irudiez sinbolizatuak, esaterako “abisme”, “sans sentier”, “sans chemin” eta “esgarement”:

L’abisme qui tout abisme previent pour en le desabismant l’abismer en abisme sans l’abismer, auquel abisme est fons sans fons, voie des errans sans chemin ne sentier, qui les desvoiez retire d’erreur pour abissalement les desvoier en voie abissale, abissalement desvoiant, et plus desvoie moins desvoie. Esgarement est voie et voye est esgarement menant au port, auquel sont plus arrestéz, plus s’esgarent et errent sans erreur. (ibid., 1, 134-135. orr.)

umiltasunaren maila ebanjelikoa erdietsi dezan arte (Mateo 18): “...en vous humiliant de plus en plus vers l’abisme de toute humilité...” (ibid., 1, 135. orr.).

Idazle mistiko espekulatiboez, normalki, hiru edo lau etapa desberdin bereizten dituzten, zeinak arima baitaramate Konbertsioetik Purifikaziora, gero Iluminaziora eta Jainkozkoarekin Bat Egitera. J. B. Collinsek dio, Miroir de l’âme pécheresse idazlanaren harira: “These three ways or stages of the mystical ascent: Purification, Illumination and Union are readily discerned in this work, which is also in accord with the Christocentric type of contemplation; as part of the purgative process, one observes at the outset the brief evidence of a “conversion” which has taken place in Marguerite’s soul, and her decision to change the tenor of her life.”<sup>362</sup>. Hau egia bada Margaritaren poema mistiko nagusietan, bereziki Dialo-

gue en forme de vision nocturne, Miroir de l'âme pechêresse eta Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, argiroago esan genezake bere tratatu mistiko printzipalari ere aplikatzen zaiola, Prisons lanari, zeinean berragertu eta indartzen diren bere poema mistikoetako gai nagusiak.

I kartzela, edo purifikazio maila

Mistikoen arabera, hiru jakintza mota daude, hiru mailekin bat datozenak: zentzuena, intelektuala eta espiritual edo mistikoa. Hala definitzen lituzke Meister Eckhartek: “the first is sensual: the eye sees things at a distance. The second is intellectual and is much higher in rank. The third represents (the function of) that aristocratic agent of the soul, which ranks so high that it communicates with God, face to face, as he is”<sup>363</sup>. Margaritaren arabera, gizonaren ezinegon inperfektuena beste “ignobles creatures” batzuek ere badute:

Parquoy, laissant l'estat et digne lieu  
De filz de Dieu, semblable a l'elephant<sup>364</sup>  
Tendre te veux. Las! C'est ung pitieux jeu!  
(Navire, vv. 304-306)

Gizona bere plazerren atzetik zenbat eta gehiago ibili, orduan eta lotuago dago bere kondizio lurtarrari. Hemen, Margaritak jarraitzen du bere tradiziozko espiritualtasun horrekin, zantzu neoplatonikoduna, zehazki Briçonnetek Correspondancean egin bezala. Honek “maladie”aren metafora erabili zuen irakaspen tradizional hau azaltzeko. Bere gutunetako batzuetan, hiru “aliments” mota bereizten ditu, bat dagitenak hiru “prisons”ekin: “Des deux maladies que dessus la premiere est purgatrice, la seconde illuminative: elle allume la chandelle de congnoissance, dont venoit le bien perdu, pour le sercher. Il y en a une troiziesme qui est perficiante” (Correspondance, 1, 74. orr.). Eta irakaspen hau beste alegoria baten bidez ere argitua izan zen, Erdi Aroko mistikoek atsegin zutena. Hiru Gaitzak Bibliaren hiru esanahiekin lotuta zeuden hermeneutika mistikoan,hots, Hiru Begienean: “Après, Madame, que l'excellente, doulce, debonnaire et attraiante lumiere, en illuminant, a aveuglé l'oeil de la sensualité et terreistrité de l'ame, en la mortiffiant et cruciffiant au monde (...) lors accroist sa lumiere et attire plus fermement et facilement l'oeil de la raison et de l'esprit...” (ibid., 1, 35. orr.)<sup>365</sup>.

Margaritak “Ikustearen” sinboloa darabil, ulerpenaren hiru mailak azaltzeko:

...

Car je n'avoys laisse nulle fenestre  
Pour veoir dehors, car, lisant a par(t) moy,  
Tout le dehors, tout le monde et sa loy  
Voyoys plus cler, et myeulx le congnoissoys  
Que quand myeulx veoir à cler je le pensoys.  
Car, estant pris de leurs tentations,  
Ne povoy's veoir leurs imperfections,  
Et en lisant povoy's appercevoir  
Le monde myeulx que quand le cuydoys veoir;  
De terre et cieulx l'oeil ne voit la nature,  
En les voyant, si bien qu'en l'escripture.  
(Prisons, fol. 300 vo, 197. orr.)<sup>366</sup>

Begia bere ikuspegiaren beraren gatibu da, ez bada gai textuan idatzita dagoenaz haratago irakurtzeko (ibid., fol.301 vo, 198-199. orr.). Irakasle neoplatonikoek irakasten zuten ezen hau ulertzeko, arima “fureur divine” batek bahitu behar duela; doktrina hau Bibliaren interpretazioari ere aplikatzen zitzaion<sup>367</sup>.

Prisonsetako lehen liburua saiatzen da Briçonneten irakaspen mistikoari jarraitzen arimak bere burua purifikatzeko eginiko lehen ahaleginei buruz. Honetarako, Briçonneten aholkuak argitzen dira Poeta-Maitalearen istorio errealistago baten bidez, zeina gaitz handiz gotorleku bat eraikitzen ari den, Erdi Aroko gaztelu baten itxura duena, non gai izango baita bere “Amye” laztandu eta babesteko. Ipuin mediebalen kutsu hauek, Aucassin eta Nicoletteren istorioa bezala dorre-espetxe baten barruan, espiritu berri baten hasiera erakusten dute, maitasunaren sotiltasunak berrikusten hasi zirenekoak<sup>368</sup>:

Car sans cesser sçavez que je faisoys  
Estant tout seul: mes chaines je baisoys,  
Puis j'embrassoys, d'amour par trop esprits,  
Les pesantz ceptz où courbe j'estoys pris,  
Puis me tournoys a la porte ferrée  
Qui de verroulx redoublez fut serrée,  
Tout doucement sa force regardoys,  
Ou y touchois et puis baisoys mes doigtz;  
Après, alloys contempler ma fenestre,  
Où, en sautant, n'eusse sçeu de ma dextre  
Ne d'un baston de deux toises toucher;  
A deux genoulx, en lieu d'en aprocher,  
Je l'adoroys et sa grille rebelle,

Qui plus espaisse estoit, plus m'estoit belle.  
(fol.266 vo , 124-125. orr.)

Baina Erdi Aroko amodio istorioetan aurki dezakegun errealismoa, zeinaren salbuespen baitira Roman de la Rose bezalakoak<sup>369</sup>, ez da Poeta-Maitalearen alegoriaren ezaugarri nagusienetako bat, zeren honi poetak “pathos” arraro bat erantsi dio, kontalari modernoengan pentsatzera garamatzana: lehen kartzela hurbilago dago gaur egungo nobeletatik, giza izaerarekiko azterketa filosofikoak egiten dituztenak, Heptaméroneko edozein “Nouvelle” baino. Poeta-Maitalea ez da saiatzen eraisten ari den gaztelutik ihes egiten, eta bere egoerak gogorarazten dizkigu Kafka bezelako idazleen mundu surrealak, zeinaren pertsonaiak ere irteerarik gabe harrapaturik dauden.

Hala ere, Prisoneko lehen liburua, hurbilago dago bukaeran zenbait alegoria eta parabola biblikotatik, hala nola Seme Xahutzailearena (Lukas 15,11-32); bere teknikak, Poeta-Maitale bati buruzko istorio bukaera itxi gabekoarenak, liburua agertarazten digute, hasiera batean, mistiko baino istoria moral bat bezala, baina Margaritak nahi zuena zen osotasunean irakurria izan zedila alegoria espiritual gisa: Jainkoaren bat-bateko parte-hartzeak (fol. 268 ro) obra ikustarazten digu mistiko bezala, moral baino. Poeta-Maitalearen “Amye”a saiatzen denean defentsa guztiak deuseztatzen, hau tematzen da bere ameskerien preso izaten:

( ... ) pour me faire endurer  
Dix mille mortz, m'avez en trahyson  
Par les petis demoly ma maison.  
Mais, en pensant de moy tout le contraire,  
Je ne cessoys moy mesmes la reffaire,  
Dont prisonnier de moy mesmes j'estoys,  
Non plus de vous ( ... ).  
(fol. 270 ro, 132. orr.)

Prisonsetako lehen liburuan Margaritak egiten duen giza maitasunaren analisi zorrotzak, istorio sostengatu edo nobelaren maisu bihur zezakeen Margarita, gaur ulertzen dugun bezala, baina alegoria biblikoen ereduari jarraitu besterik ez zuen egin<sup>370</sup>; parabola honek lezio mistiko bat irakatsi nahi digu soilik. Ez dugu inoiz ulertuko istorio konplexu hau, baldin eta giza maitasunaren arriskuez ohartarazteko ahalegin moral bezala irakurtzen badugu. Egia da Heptaméron Margaritaren maisulaneko hainbat kezka hemen ere agertzen direla, baina ezberdintasunak oso agerikoak dira. Esaterako, Poeta-Maitalearen istorioak ez du amaierarik, non eta Heptameroneko hirurogeita hamabi



“nouvelle”etako bakoitzak baduen. Bukaera logikorik eza idazleak arbitrarioki ezarri du hemen, eta irakurleak berak atera beharko ditu bere ondorioak:

(Erreginak jainkoaren ekintza jotzen du irtenbide bakar bezala Poeta-Maitalea pairatzen ari den geldialdi egoerarentzat, dorrearen berreraikitzean; “Amye”, bitartean, berau suntsitzen saiatzen ari da):

Mais Cestuy là, qui seul est incongneu  
Fors de luy seul, voyant le temps venu  
De liberté qu’il avoit limité  
Pour me tirer hors de calamité,  
Fist vostre cueur pour mon bien si muable,  
Qu’il proposa, non par voie amyable,  
Me delivrer, non pour ma liberté  
*Mais par sa trop grande legereté* [i.e. bere “Amye”rena],  
De ma prison, ...

(Prisons, fol.268 ro eta vo, 128. orr.)

Jainkoaren istorioan parte-hartze honek erakusten du ipuinaren izaera mistikoa dela, morala baino, eta erregina hemen ez dela ari batez ere maitasunaz hitz egiten, hala nola Briçonnet bera, “l’oeil carnal”az mintzatzean, ez zen haragizko desioez ari. Biak ere, antzeko metaforen bidez, hilkorrek jainkozkoarekin kontaktuan egoteko egiten duten ahaleginaren lehen etapari buruz ari dira. Mistikoen arabera, pausu hau egin daiteke soilik jainkoak erabaki ezkeron gizona garbitzea lurreko desirez eta mundu fisikoko loturez, eta hasierako etapa hau “purification” deitzen da.

## II kartzela, edo Iluminazio Prozesua:

Ez da ohikoa idazle batek bi arlo hain ezberdinetako bi lan egitea, Prisons eta Heptaméron bezala, denbora berean; baina hainbeste esperientzia bizi izan zituen Margaritak ezen gai izan zen bi maisulan hauetako materiala ongi hautatu eta erabiltzeko. Neoplatonikoentzat bezala, berarentzat maitasuna jainkozkoaren esentzia da, baina gizonak imitatu soilik egin zezakeen, askotan barregarri geratuz, hala nola Heptameroneko istorioetan. Prisonsetako Poeta-Maitalearen istorioa berriz, jainkoa ulertzeko lehen saiakerak agerian uzteko aitzakia bat da. Gehienetan, kritikoez agerikoa deskribatzen dute, entseatu barik poemako maitasun inperfektuaren sinboloa interpretatzen. Lefranckek idatzi zuen: “Le Poème des Prisons se compose de trois chants dont le premier est tout entier consacré a l’amour humain”<sup>371</sup>; Sckommodau ados dago

berarekin<sup>372</sup>, baina bigarren eta hirugarren kartzelak modu sinbolikoagoan interpretatzen ditu<sup>373</sup>.

Ez da erreza Prisonseko hermetismoa interpretatzea, liburua inizatutako irakurleari zuzendua baita, zeinak “barrutik” irakur baitezake, erreferentzia “exoteriko”tan galdu barik<sup>374</sup>. Pertsona bat gai denean lehen kartzelatik irteteko, bide argiago bat agertzen zaio. Bigarren etapa honi Briçonnetek “bide iluminatiboa” deitzen dio. Beraren arabera, Urak arima garbitzen du kanpokoaganik, (Prisonsetako I Liburua), baina kutsadurak erretzeko Sua beharrezkoa da (II Liburua):

C'est le vray feu qui faict bouillir le pot d'amour et coeurs de ses creatures et les embrase par divers atouchements et sy tres-vehementes navrencez d'amour, qu'il n'est creature qui puisse les porter. C'est le feu importable et ravissant (...) qui (...) les transporte alieur et met hors de soy sans alienacion et commutation de lieu, leur donne passion sans passion, insportans les coeurs en joie inexpressible. (Correspondance, I, 108-109. orr.)<sup>375</sup>

Beraz, II Liburua bere osotasunean ulertu beharko dugu Briçonneten “illumination”aren prozesu gaitzaren doktrinaren azalpen bezala, zeina izatez “vieillart” onberaren babespean egin baitzen, zeinaren doktrina bigarren “prison”aren alegorian ezkutatua baita. Erreginak adierazia zuen iada Miroirrean: “Par sa clarté ma tenebre illumine” (v. 35). Prisonsa idazten zebilen garairako, Margaritak ongi bereganatua zuen Briçonnetek egindako erlazioa “illumination” prozesuaren eta Espiritu Sainduaren rol purifikatzailearen artean<sup>376</sup>. Hermes Pimanderrek Jainkoaz egiten duen definizioaren harira, “Je Suys qui Suys” bezala<sup>377</sup>, dio Margaritak:

Ce mot icy je congneuz en Hermes  
Plus clairement qu'en nul si ne mais, [i.e. a moins que],  
Lion ne sçauroit Pere et Filz demander  
Ne Sainct Esprit plus clair qu'en Pimander;  
Or n'estoit il de nation juifve.  
Mais il avoit congnoissance naïfve  
Par cest esprit, qui tout homme illumine (Ioan, 1,9)  
Venant au monde et qui ça bas chemine,  
De Cil qui Est, duquel l'election  
L'avoit tire a la perfection  
De ce sçavoir qui n'est par l'homme aquis,  
Et qui seul est à l'homme bien requis.  
(Prisons , fol. 306 ro, 208. orr.)

Margaritak hemen hiru etapak argiro bereizten ditu: “election”, “illumination” eta “perfection”, irakaspen tradizionalari jarraiki. Briçonnetek, Pseudo Dionisio imitatuz, Purgazio, Iluminazio eta Perfekzio deitu zituen. Areopagitaren irakaspen mistikoa bere eginez, berau “Monsieur Saint Denis” deituz, eta “Monsieur Saint Pol”ekin (*Correspondance*, 1, 167. orr.) eta “Monsieur Saint Jean”ekin (ibid., 1, 43. orr.) parekatuz, Briçonnet Meauxen jarrera ari zen soilik defendatzen, Luther eta Erasmusen aurrean, argudiatuz ezen Areopagitaren doktrinak dokumentu post-apostoliko baten autoritatea zuela, eskrituren epaitzetatik oso hurbil zegoena: “Et comme Monsieur saint Denis met trois ierarchie et ordres entre les anges, aussi y a il trois sortes de telles ames, selon les effectz et proprietz de chacunes dessus dictes ierarchie. Il est des ames qui commencent, les aultres prouffitent, et les aultres languissent, comme cuyde quelque fois (combien que sommairement) avoir escript” (ibid., 1, 118-119. orr.)<sup>378</sup>.

Testuinguru honetan interpretatu behar dira hiru “prisons”ak. Dante ikaratu zuten hiru piztiak bezala:

Soyez, Amye, ung petit souvenante  
 Qu'en vous comptant de Beatrix et de Dente,  
 Je n'oubliay de vous dire que troys bestes  
 Mettoit au lieu de tyrantz deshonestes,  
 C'est assavoir l'ourse, lyonne et louve.  
 (*Prisons*, fol.293 ro, 181-182. orr.)<sup>379</sup>

eta arimaren etsaiak bezala, zeinetaz San Juan mintzo baita (I Juan 2,16):

Mais voulez vous livre plus autanique,  
 Voyez saint Jehan, dedans sa canonique,  
 Commant il dit qu'en la subjection  
 Des troys puissans va en perdition  
 Le monde, et tout ce qu'il enclost et tient.  
 (ibid., fol.293 vo, 182. orr.)

Prisonsetan agertzen diren etsaien “mirage” edo irudikeria hauek arimak gainditu beharreko oztopoak dira, purifikazio osoaren bidez bategite mistikoa erdiesteko<sup>380</sup>. Margaritak dagien Poeta-Maitalearen “second prison”aren alegoria, hasten da Poeta-Maitalea aurkeztuz bere lehen kartzelaz aske, zeina gazteluko tranpez sinbolizatua baita; orduan, bere gisara gozatu ahalko du natura bere edertasunean kontenplatuz (ibid., fol. 276 ro, 145. orr.). Baina ez du bere burua ikusten kontenplazio honetaz gozatzen jarraitzeko gai, eta eraikitzeko gogo handia du:

Car ma prison, bien qu'elle fust mal faicte,  
 Trouvée avoys si belle et si parfaicte,  
 Que je n'avoys oeil ny entendement  
 Jamais tourne sur autre bastiment.  
 Mais, délivré de ma prison antique,  
Ambition, dont le feu brulle et pique,  
Me vint saisir par desir de bastir  
 Mille maisons et de les assortir,  
 Et d'aquerir possessions et terres  
 (ibid., fol. 279 ro, 150-151. orr.)

Ederki pasako du orain hainbat eraikin mota eder miretsiz, Berpizkundeko monarkek amestu bezalakoak (ibid., fol.279 vo, 152. orr.). II Liburuak garai hartako gorteko bizitzaren zenbait aspektu azaltzen ditu, esaterako haien zaletasuna janari onarekiko, musikarekiko, eta maitasun perfektuarekiko (fol. 280, 155. orr.)<sup>381</sup>. Baina goi mailako giro honen bidez gizakien istorioak aurkezten ziren, Margaritak Heptameronean deskribatutakoak bezalakoak: bere alegoria, erakusten duena gorteko bizitza Poeta-Maitalearen gaztelu harresiduna baino “prison” sotilagoa dela, Berpizkundeko erregeen bizimoduari kritika zorrotz bat da, zeinak XVI mendeko gorteetan sartu ziren fintasunen alde baitzeuden<sup>382</sup>.

Prisonsetako bigarren liburuaren klimaxa “vieillart”aren gidari rolak markatzen du argiro, honek bere borondatez laguntzen baitio Poeta-Maitaleari bigarren kartzelako kinketatik irteten:

Je respondis: “Monseigneur, j’ay esté,  
 “Je le confesse, en prison arrêté,  
 “Plus de dix ans. et d’amour enyvré,  
 “Mais, Dieu mercy, j’en suis bien délivré;  
 “Je suys dehors de prison et de peyne,  
 “En liberté partout je me promayne (...)  
 (ibid., fol.284 vo, 163. orr.)

Bigarren “prison” hau datza, hain zuzen, Poeta-Maitaleak ez onartzean ezen orain korapilatua duen lotura askoz sotilagoa dela, lehenengo kartzelakoa baino, Maitasunaz sinbolizatutako hura. “Vieillart”ak argudiatzen du:

“L’autre lyen, qui vous tient par les yeulx,  
 “Sans vous souffrir de les lever aux cyeulx,  
 “Il est d’or fin, si bien fait et si riche,  
 “Que vostre oeil plus qu’en ung lieu ne se fiche (...)  
 (ibid., fol. 290 ro, 175. orr.)

Azpimarratzekoa da ezen bigarren liburuko “vieillart”aren ikuskaria, batera doala lehenengo liburuko Eguzkiaren rolarekin eta hirugarreneko Espirituarenarekin. Purifikazio etaparaino, lehenengo liburuan gazteluaren alegoriak sinbolizatu bezala, Eguzki izpiak ezin ziren sartu Poeta-Maitalearen borondatezko espetxealdi hartan; baina Eguzkiaren gidari rola desagertuko da, “vieillart” arduratu dadin. Lehenago aipatu dugu, Briçonneten paperaz mintzatzean Margaritaren ulerpen mistikorako inimizazioan:

...  
 Au plain midy le soleil m’esclaira  
 Qui man estot plus plaisant declaira.  
 Car je trouvay par son rayon luyant  
 Ce monde bas desirable et plaisant,  
 Mais. d’autre part me monstra ung vieillart  
 Blanc et chenu, mais disposé et gaillard, (...)  
 (ibid., fol. 283 vo, 162. orr.)

Lefranckek ohartarazi zuen ezen Margaritak, Prisonsetan, adierazi zituela garaiko ideiak astrologiari buruz, Eguzkiak jasotzen duelarik, beste izar guztiekin batera, giza afera guztietan gidari rola<sup>383</sup>. Baina berak askoz ere interes handiagoa zuen bere “etat d’ame” deskribatzean, ezen ez ematen bere garaiko gorteko bizitza edo zientzen berri. “Vieillart”aren ikuskarira gidatzen duen Eguzkia, irudi bezala, Poeta-Maitalearen alegoriarekin jarraitzeko modu trebe bat da, zeinak orain, II liburuan, erdietsi baitu hurrengo etapa, Jainkozkoarekin bategiteko bere igoera honetan. Margaritak Briçonneten metafora berdinak erabiltzen ditu, honek Su Iluminatzaileaz hitz egiten zuenekoak:

...  
 Je viz soudain par ce feu abattant,  
 Et tant s’en fault qu’il allast rien gastant,  
 Que sa clarte, qui tout illuminait,  
 Double beaulte a taus livres donnoit,  
 Où l’écriture et l’art estoit garde.  
 (ibid., fol. 310 vo, 218. orr.)

edo bizipen itsugarri batez:

Ce fort esprit aveuglant les voyans,  
 Illuminant les aveugles croyans,  
 Monstre qu’ung seul estre et vie a tous donne:  
 (ibid., fol. 308 vo, 214. orr.)

Ondorioa begi bistakoa da. Prisonsen bigarren liburua nahiko hurbil dago Briçonnetek poetari 1521eko abenduan erakutsitako doktrinarendik:

Qui met le feu au bois verd, il ne bruslera ne fera flambe, du commencement jusques ad ce quil ayt chassé son contraire et purge le boys des humeurs froides et contraires en les chassant et dessechant. Et lors qu'il est purge, assoufirié [i.e. rempli], la flamme vient qui illumine et ne cesse qu'il n'ay consommé et parfaict le bois par union à luy. (Correspondance, 1, 102. orr.).

“Vieillard”aren ahotsa, jakina, Briçonnetena da.

### III. Kartzela edo Ikuskariaren bizipen sarkorra

Prisonsak bezalako liburu hermetiko baten aurrez aurre egotean, irakurleak aurkituko duen oztopo handiena izango da hari bat aurkitzeko zailtasuna, zeinak lagunduko dion bereizten agerizko zentzua eta ezkutuko esanahia. Duda gabe, Margaritaren garaikideek gaitasun handiagoa zuten puntu konplikatu guzti hauek ulertzeko. Baina, Sorbonaren zentsuraren beldurrez, lanaren argitaratze data atzeratu egin zen, zeren bertan agertzen baitziren zenbait gai eztabaidagarri, hala nola Bibliaren primatutza edota Kristo bitarteko bakarra dela dioen doktrina.

1896 urtean argitara eman zenean<sup>384</sup>, kritikoez erreginaren maisulan aldarrikatu zuten, Heptaméronarekin batera, zeina ordurako hamaika aldiz editatua eta itzulia izana baitzen, 1558 lehenbizikoz agertu zenetik<sup>385</sup>. Hala ere, kritikoez ez dute oraindik Prisonsa kontutan hartu, nahiago dituztelarik aztertu Margaritaren beste poema batzuk, hala nola Dialogue, Miroir eta Comédie zeinak berrikiago editatuak izan baitira. Beharbada bere luzeragatik, 5000 lerro, eta bere iluntasun sakonagatik, batez ere III Liburuarena, gogoan joan zaie, zeren Correspondancea argitaratu zen arte (1975 eta 1979), oso zaila baitzatekeen irakurle modernoentzat liburu ulergaitz honen esanahiak guztiz argitzea. Prisonseko III Liburuaren aztertzea egiteko askoz ere zailagoa da, aurreko bi “chant”ak batera hartuko bagenu baina<sup>386</sup>. Baliteke honen jatorrizko forma handitzen joan izana denbora luzez, zeren bere oinarritzko egituran badaude gai zentraletik abiatutako digresio luzeak, gai hau delarik azken saiakera jainkoazkoarekiko bategite perfektuaren klimaxa erdiesteko. Liburu luze honetako pentsamoldearen ildo zentralak kausitzeko, beharrezko dugu gai guztien analisi estruktural bat egitea banan banan, digresio guztien esanahia nabarmenduz:

### Bategite perfekturanzko igoera:

Poeta-Maitalea, aurreko bi liburuetan deskribatutakoa, bere Dorreko esparrutik askatu zuen Eguzkiak, baina berehala, sortuak izan diren gauzen edertasunak erakarri zuen, eta berriro askatu behar izan zuen “vieillart”aren gidaritza iluminatzaileak. Orain, azken probaren aurrean dago, bere burua ikusten baitu bere jakiteko gogo neurrigabeak harrapatuta (fols 295-299).

Orain, Espirituak bere eragin zuzena sentiarazten dio. Irakasten dio ezen jakintza soilik inspirazio pertsonalaren bidez erdiets daitekeela, izan ere, letrak erailtzen du eta espirituak piztu (fols. 299-300).

### Experientzia mistikoaz:

Poeta-Maitalearen pelegrinazio mistikoa bukatu da. Espirituaren gidaritzapean, zenbait gai zail ikasi behar ditu. Hasteko, konturarazten du ezen jainkoa ezagutzearen esperientzia deskribatzea ez dela erreza; misterio dibinoari aurre egitean arimak jasaten duen agonia deskribatzeko, zenbait metafora erabiltzen dira, hala nola gezi batek zulatua izatearen sentimendua edo aizto batez zauritua izatearena (fol. 302). Badirudi ulerpen honen gakoa Bibliaren konprenitze mistikoa dela, experientzia sarkor gisa (fol. 303). Kapitulu honen IV atalean, xehetasunez aztertuko ditugu gai hauek eta antzeko kontzeptuak, hala nola “fureur poetique” neoplatonikoa (fol. 309) eta liluraren kontzeptu mistikoa (fol. 322).

### Jainkoaren definizioez:

Bistan denez, Margarita bera zen Poeta-Maitalea, nor eta saiatzen baitzen desio zuen hori deskribatzen, jainkoaren zenbait definizio mistikoren bidez. Hainbat formulae darabilzki, ezin baitaiteke Bera deskribatu definizio bakar batez. Formulae tradizionalak erabiltzen ditu, esaterako Hermes Pimanderren “Celuy qui Est” (Exodo 3,14) (fols. 303-306) eta “Zirkulu perfektua” deskribapen platonikoa (fol. 308). Erabiltzen dira baita antitesi mistikoak, hala nola “Petit-Grand” (fol. 307) eta “Loing-Près” (fol. 317), baita Bibliako formulaeak (fol. 310). Kapitulu honetako V atalean aurkituko duzue Margaritaren jainkoa deskribatzeko saiakeren analisi zorrotz bat.

### Konfirmazio mistikoaren arteaz:

Margaritak ez zuen bere poema bat-batean bukatu nahi. Lanaren batasuna arriskuan jarritz, saiatu zen zenbait “récit”en bidez demostratzen

ezen experientziak erakusten duela, ezinezkoa dela askatasun behinbetikoa lortzea, gizona konturatu aurretik ezen bere preso egoera bukatuko dela soilik hilko den unean. Askatasuna pausoz pauso bakarrik lor daiteke, baina lurrarekiko esklabutzaz libratzea ez da posible lurrean bertan<sup>387</sup>: hau argi zuen 1524tik, Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne idatzi zuenetik. Bere anaia hiltzean, ez zen inoiz osatu Nafarroako gortean jasotako berriaz. Lau hilabetez egon zen Tussoneko monasterioan, eta 1547 inguruan idatzitako poemek, La Navire ou consolation du Roy François Ier eta Comédie sue le trespas du Roy, baita Chansons Spirituelles batzuek, Prison setako jarrera berresten dute: heriotza experientzia mingarri eta sarkor bat da, non gizona azkenekoz jainkoazkoarekin biltzen baita.

Lehen “récit”, Lorraineko Margaritaren 1521eko heriotzari buruz, Margaritaren lehen senar Charles d’Alençon-en ama<sup>388</sup>. Bere heriotza justifikatzen da, mundu honetako irteeraren kontzeptu mistikoaren bidez, Eguzkiaren ikuspenaren aurrez aurre dagoen arranoa bezala; honek harremana duke antzinako fisiologisten uste batekin, arranoak bere ikusmen ahuldua eraberritzeko eguzkiari zuzenean begiratzen ziola<sup>389</sup>:

Car, sans ung mot delaisser de sa reigle,  
 Son oeil de foy, regardant comme l’aigle  
 Le vray soleil où estoit sa fiancée,  
 Trouvoit en luy repos de conscience.  
 (Prisons, fol.331 ro, 260-261. orr.)

Bigarren “récit”, Charles d’Alençon, Margaritaren lehen senarraren heriotzaz. 1525eko apirileko egun hartako detaile zehatzenez gogoratzen da, azpimarratuz ezen bere heriotza zela Eguzki mistikoaren aurrez aurre egotea bezala:

Mais en faisant du corps au ciel passage,  
 Le clair soleil sur ce pasle visaige  
 Ung beau rayon fist si très fort reluyre,  
 Qui sembloit estre un cheriot pour conduire  
 L’espouse au ciel, l’ame a son createur.  
 (ibid., fol. 335 vo, 270. orr.)

Hirugarren “récit”, Saboiako Luisaren heriotzaz, 1531ko irailaren 22an. Bere amaren heriotzak beste behin egiaztatu zuen Margaritaren printzipio mistiko bat, gizonak heriotzaren unean soilik erdietsi dezakeela askatasun osoa. Hala zioen:



“Or maintenant quaproche la deffaicte  
 “De la prison de ce vieil corps charnel,  
 “Las! plaise vous, o mon pere eternel,  
 “Entre voz braz l’ame et l’esprit reprendre  
 “Que de bon cuer entre voz mains vois rendre.  
 (ibid., fol. 338 ro, 275. orr)

Laugarren “récit”, bere neba maite Frantzisko Iaren heriotzaz. Honen bizitza ez zen bereziki laudagarria izan, baina bere heriotzak erakutsi zuen soilik orduan ezagutu dezakeela gizonak “Tout”a (Jainkoa). Litanía errepikakor baten bidez adierazten ditu “Memento Mori”aren gaiak<sup>390</sup>, nabarmenduz ezen heriotza baino lehentxeago konbertitu zela:

Souvienne vous que sa mort il congneut;  
 Souvienne vous qu’humblement il receut  
 Ses sacremens, que tous il demanda.  
 (ibid., fol. 341 vo, 282. orr.)

Margaritak lerro ulergarriagoak idazten ditu bere bizipenak aipatzen dituenean, kontzeptu abstraktuak deskribatzen dituenean baino. Duda barik, bere nebak heriotza onartu izanak hunkitu egin zuen, eta bere poesiak honen izaera adeitsua islatzen du:

...  
 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.  
 (ibid., fol. 342 ro, 284. orr.)

Mariaren “Magnificat”aren parafrasi mistikoa (Lukas 1, 46-56):

Margaritak, Frantzisko Iaren heriotzari buruzko “récit”aren bukaeran, “Tout” eta “Rien” gai mistikoak laburtzen ditu, baina oraingoan “Rien” terminoa aplikatzen dio Mariaren umiltasunari, beronek Elisabet lehengusina bisitatu zuen garaian<sup>391</sup>:

Quand elle dist que sa nichilité,  
Son povre Rien, bassese, humilité,  
 Son Dieu avoit par pitié regardée ...  
 (ibid., fol. 345 ro, 292. orr.)

Maria “Tout”ak onartu zuen, bere “Rien” aitortzean. Baita Frantzisko ere, zeinaren jokabide umilak Jainkoagana hurbildu baitzuen bere heriotzaren orduan. Margarita, beraz, itzultzen da Jainkoaren “Tout” eta “Rien” definizio antitetikora, zeina kapitulu honetako IV atalean aztertuko dugun, horrela Prisonsetako III Liburuaren batasuna gordez. Bukatzeko, poema osoaren gai orokorra laburtzen du, Poeta-Maitaleari erreferentzia eginez, zeinak behin betiko erdietsi du hiru kartzelen esklabutzetatik askatzea.

Ceste voix là ne puys ny ne doy taire:  
où l'esprit est divin et vehement,  
La liberte y est parfaitement.  
(ibid., fol. 348 ro and vo, 297. orr.)

Kritiko orok kontutan hartu behar ditu obra literario baten barne zatiketak proposatzearen arriskuak, autoreak berak ez badu halakorik erakutsi edo aitortu. Hala ere, arazoa da ezen, Prisonsak bezalako lan konplexu bateko ideia nagusiak ateratzeko, ezinbestekoa zaigula hauek zatiketa estruktural baten bidez antolatzea. Soilik honela jabetu gaitezke III Liburuaren asmoaz, iguera mistikoko azken tarte honetan.

Prisonsetako hirugarren liburuaren jarraipena egitea benetan zailtzen dutenak, bere luzeraz gain, bere etengabeko disgresioak dira, eta Poeta-Maitalearen istorioan ildo gidaririk eza; aurreko bi liburuetan, Margaritak gertaerak deskribatzen ditu, eta “soleil”aren eta “vieillard”aren babesle rolak, baina oraingoan, pertsonaiak, perfekzioaren gailurrera iritsi aurretik, arazo konplikatu hainbati aurre egin beharko die:

Montant plus hault à la perfection,  
Plus je descends a ceste affection  
Qui est de Dieu très fort recommandée  
Et de l'Amour a l'amant demandée (...)  
(ibid., fol. 295 ro, 185. orr.)

Horrela hasten da III Liburua. Obraren tonu orokorra aldatu egin da bat-batean, Poeta-Maitaleak bere buruari galdetzen diolarik zein izan daitekeen gailurrera heltzeko duen luzamenduaren kausa. Agian, gaizki ulertu zuen Eguzkiak naturari begiratzeko esan zionean, hau iruzur bat izan baitzen; “vieillard”ak esan zion nola erdietsi zezakeen jakintza:

“Amy, j’ay nom de science Amateur,  
“Je te requiers de m’estre imitateur:  
“Tenez. voyez, contemplez et lisez.  
(ibid., fol. 291 vo, 178. orr.)

Baloreen eskalan, ezagutza edertasunaren gainean dago, ez badaude behintzat hitz larriz idatziak, kasu honetan biak jainkoarekin identifikatu ahal baitira, zeina baita Harmoniaren eta Ezagutzaren iturburu. Badirudi Poeta-Maitaleari kosta egiten zaiola hau ulertzea, eta ondorioz atzeratu egiten da benetako baloreen eskalaren bere ezagutza erreala lortzea. Bere garaiko ezagutzaren berri zuen Berpizkundeko emakumea zenez gero, Margaritak ezin zuen baieztatu ezen Jakintza gizonarentzako tranpa bat zenik, batez ere honen modu bikainenetan, Erretorika, Filosofia eta Teologiaren bidez:

Ainsy posay ce beau pillier antique  
De ceste tant aymée rhétorique  
Auprès duquel mys la theologie,  
Où je gastay mainct flambeau de bougye,  
Lisant de nuict docteurs irrefragables,  
Docteus subtilz, serafiques, amables<sup>392</sup>,  
Les anciens, les moyens, les modernes,  
Que l'on congnoist par les oeuvres externes.  
(ibid., fol. 298 vo, 193. orr.)<sup>393</sup>

Poeta-Maitalearen istorioa III Liburuan laburtzen da, baina aurreko bi liburuekiko era ezberdinean. Nola izango da gai goraino heltzeko ezagutzaren alorrean, zeina “vieillart”ak aurkeztu baitio? Margaritak oso gutxitan erabiltzen du umorea bere poesia lanetan, Heptaméronean ez bezala, baina III Liburuan iradokitzen duelarik Poeta-Maitalea liburuak pilatzen ari dela haietatik igotzeko, egoera nahiko komiko batean aurkezten digu:

Des livres fiz ung pillier, et sembloit  
Que sa grandeur terre et ciel assembloit.<sup>394</sup>  
Ce pillier fait, ung aultre j'en bastiz  
De livres grans, et moyens et petis (...)  
(ibid., fol. 296 vo, 189. orr.)

Hemen, adierazten ari da ezen Poeta-Maitaleak gaizki ulertu zuela “vieillart”aren eta Eguzkiaren irakaspen mistikoa. Briçonnetek idazleari irakatsitako Iluminazio prozesua, ezin da letrak ulertuz burutu, baizik eskrituraren espiritua. “Vieillart”ak ohartarazia zuen:

“Si plus avant voulez faire lecture,  
“Prendre vous fault ceste Sainte Escripiture,  
“où vous verrez ce qui est commandé  
“Et defendu de Dieu et demandé.  
(ibid., fol.291 ro, 177. orr.)

Poeta-Maitalea, azkenean, konturatzen da honetaz:

Et tout en hault mys la Bible admirable  
Comme le bout où tous les autres tendent (...)  
(ibid., fol. 299 vo, 194. orr.)

Honela, soilik onartuz ezen ezagutza ororen helburua eskrituren irakaspen mistikoa dela, Poeta-Maitalea igo ahalko da liburu pilatu batzuk baino gain irmoago batera. Irakurlea ohartu dateke dagoeneko ezen “vieillart” Briçonneten hermeneutika mistikoa errepikatzen ari dela, ez besterik, eta Prisonetako doktrina hau lehenago ere azaldua zela, Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsaneko lau pertsonaia hermetikoen bidez.

Iruzingileak, normalki, saiatzen dira Eskritura Sainduak azaltzen ikuspuntu historiko edota textualetatik. Mistikoak, berriz, barnetik irakurri behar du, zeren kanpoko kritika guztiek eragozten baitute hauen benetako esanahiaz jabetzea; bertso hauetan, Poeta-Maitaleak (alias Margarita) ohartarazten du Erdi Aroko kritika textualez, zeren benetako esanahia ilundu bailezakete (“obscure rendue”), amaigabeko itzulpen, parafrasi, ohar eta glosekin:

Et qui les a bien leuz et bien sondez,  
Il pourra veoir qu'ils sont tres bien fundez  
De declairer l'Escripture très sainte  
Selon leur sens et n'ont use de faincte,  
Bien que les uns l'ont au vray entendue,  
Les autres non, mais obscure rendue.  
Les uns n'ont fait que des translations  
Pour les montrer a toutes nations;  
Autres ont pris labeur à l'exposer.  
A la notter ou bien à la gloser.  
Paraphraser ou aditionner.  
(ibid., fols 298 vo eta 299 ro, 193. orr.)

Poeta-Maitaleak ezin izango du ziurtatu esanahia guztiz ulertzea lortu duenik, harik eta Espiritu Sainduak gidaritza rolaren ardura hartu arte, Eguzkia eta “vieillart” ordezkatzuz, eta Bibliaren esanahi mistikoaren azalpenean modu aktiboan arituz:

Mais cet esprit, qui n'est de nul contrainct,  
Monstre l'esprit, auquel il a emprainct  
Son feu très cler qui ne se peult celler,  
Mais par escript il se fait reveler.  
(ibid., fol. 299 ro, 193-194. orr.)

Orain argi dago ezen Margaritaren hirugarren Kartzelan, Poeta-Maitaleari gailurrera heltzea eragozten ziona ez zela ezagutza, baizik eta “letra, espirituaren aurka”:

Voilà comment enfermé dans la lettre  
En liberté je pensoys du tout estre.  
(ibid., fol.300, 196. orr.)

ezinezko bihurtuz, honela, III Liburuaren hasieran azaldutako igoeraren azken fasea erdiestea (ibid., fol. 295 vo, 185. orr.). Correspondancean agertzen diren inimizazioaren hiru etapak guztiz bat datoz Margaritak garatutako Poeta-Maitalearen aurrerapen motelarekin. Hasteko, apezpikuak “eau” metafora erabili zuen Purifikazioaren lehen prozesua ilustratzeko<sup>395</sup>, eta gero, Iluminazio etaparentzat, “feu” irudia<sup>396</sup>. Bategitearen Prozesuaz mintzatzeko, “manne” sinboloa erabili zuen<sup>397</sup>. Gero, azken etapa hau osatzen du Bibliaren hermeneutika mistikorako inimizazio espiritual baten bidez<sup>398</sup>. Bukatzeko, paralelismo bat ezartzen du ezkontza Kristauaren eta Jainkozkoarekiko bategite mistikoaren artean<sup>399</sup>. Baita Prisonsetako Poeta-Maitaleak, edo hobeki esanda, Margaritak berak, behingoz aitortzen du ezen igoera neketsu honek eraman duela jainkoatasuna ikustera. Igoera hau ederki ilustratua da “Amy”aren alegoriaren bidez, zeina oztopatua izan baita hamaika modutan, hiru “prisons”etako metaforen bidez adieraziak. Gaur egungo irakurle “exoterikoa” ilunbean egongo delarik, orduko iniziatu “esoterikoa” gai zen estalki sinboliko horiez haratago ikusteko, soilik berak interpreta baitzezakeen Poeta-Maitalearen alegoria<sup>400</sup>. Miroirrean bezala, “veoir” eta “oeil” bezalako hitzek oinarritzko papera jokatzeko dute Prisonsen izaera hermetikoaren ulertzean. Poeta-Maitaleak Arranoaren ikuspegi zorrotza edukitzea lor dezan arte, ezin izango du esan erdietsi duenik jainkoa aurrez aurre ikustea:

Son oeil de foy, regardant comme l'aigle  
Le vray soleil où estoit sa fiancée,  
Trouvoit en luy repos de conscience.  
(ibid., fol. 331 ro, 260-261. orr.)<sup>401</sup>

baina hau bere osotasunean soilik heriotzaren orduan lor daiteke, Lorraineko Margaritak jasan zuen bezala<sup>402</sup>, baina halere, ekstasi mistikoaren unean bizi daiteke sentimendu sakon honen antizipazio bat.

## IV

III Liburuaren egitura konplexuaren analisi honek, erakusten du ezen hasieran zirriborro baten egon zela, zeinari materiala gehitu baitzitzaion.

Margaritak nahi zuen poema hau izan zedila esperientzia espiritualari buruzko bere trataturik onena. Beraz, garrantzi goreneko zenbait gai jorratu behar zituela uste zuen, hala nola esperientzia mistikoa eraldi gisa, eta jainkoa “le Tout et le Rien” bezala definitzearen arazoa, zeina bereganatu baitzuen beste lan batzuetatik, bereziki Chansons Spirituellesetatik zeinetan sortu baitzen Prisonsetako gaia<sup>403</sup>. Irakurleari sinestarazi behar zion ez zebilela beste barik materiala pilatzen, baizik eta poemaren gai nagusia zabaltzen; inoiz ez du jauzi egiten gai batetik bestera, eta etengabe itzultzen da Kartzelaren ideia, poemaren batasunaren mantentzeko. Adibidez, Poeta-Maitalearen alegoriarekin bukatu aurretik, bere ideiak laburbiltzen ditu eta lan osoaren sinopsi bat eskeintzen digu, aitortuz ezen azken etapan galduta zegoela, letraren kartzelan:

Je desiroys le plaisant fruit manger  
De tout sçavoir, sans craindre le danger (...)  
(ibid., fol. 301 ro, 198. orr.)

Poeta-Maitaleak bere burua harrapatua ikusten du, aurrekoa baino are kartzela sotilago batean, hipokrisiarenean:

...  
Laquelle faiz et bastys de moy mesmes,  
Où je passay maintz advantz et caresmes,  
Jeunant veillant pour estudier myeulx (...)  
(ibid., fol. 295 ro, 185. orr.)

Galduta dago, Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan laneko “la Superstitieuse” bezala, eta argiago ikusten saiatzen da, zeren liburuetakoa Ezagutzak (cf. Comédie obrako “la Sage”ren rola) nahastera baino ez darama:

Ces livres sont a ouvrir bien faciles,  
Mais a suyvir les vertuz difficiles.  
(ibid., fol. 298 ro, 191. orr.)

“la Bergère”k goretsitako jainkoarekiko bategite mistikoa lortu arte: “Où l’ame en Dieu sans mourir est ravie” (ibid., fol. 301 ro, 198. orr.), noiz eta “esprit dans la parole encloz” (ibid., fol. 316 vo, 229. orr.) horrek jakinarazten dion letrak estalitako esanahia:

Mais par douceur, qui est son vray cousteau,  
Glesve trenchant, flamboyant, clair et beau,  
Par ceste esprit esgu, fort et puyssant.  
Mamelle et chair et os departissant,

Qui mect à rien ce euyder vain et sot  
De tout sçavoir, sans plus, par ung seul mot.  
(ibid., fol. 302 vo, 201. orr.)

Zalantzarik gabe, Margarita saiatzen ari da lotzen, alde batetik, Prisonsetako ezagutzaren hirugarren etapa, Bibliaren interpretazio mistikoa, eta bestetik, “ekstasi espiritualaren” doktrina mistikoa bizipen sarkor gisa, aitzo batek zulatua izatea bezala<sup>404</sup>. Aiztoaz zulatua izatearen sentimendu mistiko hau azaltzen da egia baten esplikazio bezala, zeina Biblian irakurri baitaiteke maila diferentetan, baina pertsona umilek bakarrik (“les petits”) lor dezakete ulertzea (Mateo, 11,25):

De tel cousteau tuant non punissant,  
Qui doucement adonques le Puyssant,  
Qui droit au cueur par l’oeil tant soudain entre,  
Frappe le myen, au plus prefend du centre;  
Et la façon fut en lisant ung texte  
Où Jesuchrist sa bonté manifeste,  
Disant à Dieu: “Pere, je te rendz graces,  
“Qui aux petis et à personnes basses  
“As revelé tes tresors et secretz,  
“Et aux sçavans, gentz doctes et discretz,  
“Les as cachez: tel est ton bon plaisir.”  
(ibid., fols 302 vo eta 303 ro, 201-202. orr.)

Hauek ez dira bi kasu isolatu, Margaritak egindako extasiaren eta Bibliaren ulertze mistikoaren arteko loturan<sup>405</sup>. Egia bada “rapture” gaia iragarria zuela lehenagoko lanetan, bereziki Miroir eta Comédien<sup>406</sup>, bere liburuetako beste batean ere ez zuen lotu argiaren pertzepzioa edo “ahots” bat entzutea, ulermenaren hirugarren etaparekin Prisonsetako III Liburuan azaldu gisa; honen pasarterik garrantzitsuenetako bat kontu handiz irakurri beharrekoa da, kontzeptu konplikatuak konbinatzen baititu: bertan, “rapture” zuzenki lotuta dago Bibliaren ulermen espiritualarekin:

Quand, en lisant, premierement j’ouy  
Celluy qui Est se declairer sans faincte  
En toute lettre et escripture maincte,  
Dont contanter assez je me devoys,  
Ceste seconde insupportable voix  
Me resjouyt et m’attyra à soy  
En me faisant passer par dessus moy.  
(ibid., fol. 322 ro, 240. orr.)

Poeta-Maitaleak ordutan, Pablo Deunak bezala (II Korintoarrei 12), aitortzen du bere esperientzia giza terminoez adierazteko ezintasuna:

Mais je ne peuz du très grand bien jouyr  
De la parolle en ceste voyx ouyr  
Toute par rang, car elle fut si prompte  
Qu'impossible est que je le vous racompte.  
(ibid. 322 ro, 240. orr.)

Gero kexu da une batekoa zelako, halere onartuz ezin lezakela esan denborarik iraun zuenentz, eta luzatu izan balitz, heriotzera eraman lukeela (ibid., 241. orr.).

Denbora elementu garrantzitsu bat da Jainkoarekiko bizipen mistikoa deskribatzerakoan, hura betierekoa baita izatez. Margaritak iragan-orain-etorkizun bezala aurkeztu zuen “Chanson 35”ean:

Le temps passé je souspire,  
Et l'advenir je désire;  
Le présent me fasche fort,  
Le temps plaisant me fait rire,  
Et, facheux, cause ma mort.  
(vv. 1-5)

Margarita interesaturik zegoen Bergsonek denbora psikologiko eta denbora matematiko deitu lukeenean: batak gudan eragiten du eta beraz gure sentimenduez neur dezakegu, eta bestea banaketa matematikoa da, segundu, minutu eta ordutan. Honek “durée” eta “temps mathématique” deitzen die<sup>407</sup>.

Le temps est très variable  
*Et du bien ou mal muable* [i.e. “la durée”]  
Le temps n'arreste ung seul pas [i.e. “le temps  
mathématique”]  
(ibid., vv. 36-38)

Saiatzen ari zen “Betiereko Izate” batera heltzen, zeina ez legokeen ez “durée”ren ezta denbora neurgarriaren eraginpean, hots, “a Celuy qui est sans temps” (ibid., v. 45). Jainkoa, berarentzat, zen:

Qui est, est et le sera;  
Le constant tousjours demeure,



Le présent ne crainct nulle heure,  
Passé passe et passera.  
(“Chanson 40”, vv. 21-24)

Argiro, bere helburua experientzia mistiko betiereko bat zen, izan ez zedina sentimendu edo plazerren araberakoa, hauek denbora azeleratzen baitzuten:

...  
*Sachant que vous [the Amye] aussy seul me teniez*  
Et que may seul sans plus entreteniez,  
Demouré suys en si plaisant sejour  
Que j’y trouvoys l’an plus court que le jour.  
(Prisons, fol. 265 vo, 122. orr.)

Denboraren gaia behin eta berriz agertzen da, batez ere Prisonsetako I eta II Liburuetan, borrokatu beharreko zerbait bezala. Nahiz eta lagunduko dion Poeta-Maitaleari bere izate zorigaiztokoa deskubritzen, Maitasunaren dorrean (ibid., fol. 269 ro, 129. orr.), denboraren eragina suntsitzailea da, zeren egingo baitu “tout aneantir” (ibid., fol.270 ro , 131-132. orr.). Gogora dezagun ezen Margaritaren helburua orain, Jainkozkoarekiko Bategitearen azken etapa dela, non gizonak ez duen, iadanik, bere buruarengandi dependituko<sup>408</sup>.

Idatzia zuen, baita ere:

Le Temps chanu, qui toujours envieillit,  
Qui tant de faitz soubz soy ensevelit  
Plus hault que n’est ce hault regne demeure,  
Plus bas il court se changeant d’heure en heure.  
(Le Triomphe de l’Agneau, vv. 1459-1462)

Prisonsetan aurki ditzakegun “raptus mysticus” edo extasiaren deskribapenak, beste hainbat kasuren gaina dira, zeinak aurki baititzakegu Margaritaren beste poema mistiko askotan.

O mon Sauveur, par foy je suis plantee,  
Et par amour en vous jointe et entee.  
Quelle Union! quelle bienheureté!  
(Miroir, vv. 927-929)<sup>409</sup>

1524 arte, Briçonnetek ez zion Margaritari aurkeztu “mariage envisagé comme figure de l’union avec Dieu et comme sacrement”<sup>410</sup>, baina irakaspen mistiko hau bere poema gehienetan agertzen da<sup>411</sup>.

Sckommodauk iada adierazi du ezen “Ravye de Dieu, Bergère”, Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan antzezlaneko laugarren pertsonaia, “raptus mysticus”aren printzipioak irakasten ari zela<sup>412</sup>. Jakina, “Bergère” Margaritaren ekstasi mistikozko esperientziak deskribatzen ari zen, honek Bibliaren esanahi espiritualak ulertzea lortu zuenean gertatutakoak. Prisonsetan esperientzi hau bat-bateko bezala deskribatzen den arren, ez da denboran une bateko gisa ulertu behar, baizik prozesu bat zeinaz ezin baikara mintzatu gauza tenporalez dagigun bezala<sup>413</sup>. Beraz, bere “raptus mysticus” bere bizitzako edozein gertaerarekin lotzen saiatzea, edota garai espezifikoko batekin, badirudi alferrikakoa litzatekeela, froga historiko argirik aurkitzen ez badugu.

Ez ote zebilen Sienako Katalina emulatzen ari, zeina saiatu baitzen konbinatzen bizitza aktiboa eta kontenplazioaren bizipena? Sainte-Marthe eta erreginak, biek ere miresten zuten emakume harrigarri hau, gai zena bateratzeko Eliza erreformatzeko ahalegin praktikoa, esperientzia mistikoaren praktikarekin<sup>414</sup>. Margaritak berau irudikatu zukeen emakume extatikokoaren eredu bikain gisa, Prisonsetan idatzi zuenean:

Mais entre tous j'en viz ung [livre] d'une femme,  
Depuis cent ans escript, remply de flamme  
De charité, si très ardemment  
Que rien qu'amour n'estoit son argument,( ... )<sup>415</sup>  
(Prisons, fol.316 vo, 230. orr.)

Hala ere, bera saiatzen zen “raptus mysticus” bizipen sarkor gisa azaltzen, sentimendu paralelo bati erreferentzia eginez, zeina bere miresleeta batega goraipatuko zuen, Pontus de Tyarak<sup>416</sup>. Jabetzen zen “fureur poétique”az, idatzi zuenean:

Lors je congneuz que les poetes tous  
Ont très bien dit de dire “Dieu en nous”,  
Car Dieu en eulx leur a fait souvent dire  
Ce que jamais par ouyr ne par lire  
N'avoient congneu. O pouvoir autentique  
Qui les [a fait], par fureur poetique,  
Le temps futur predire clerement  
Et le passé monstrier couvertement  
Soubz fiction la verité rendue,  
Qui n'estoit point de leurs sens entendue.  
Car si le vray, lequel est contenu  
En leurs escriptz, fust a leurs cueurs venu,

Il y eust eu autant de bans prophetes  
Qu'il ya eu d'agreables poetes.  
(ibid., fol. 309 ro, pp. 214-215)<sup>417</sup>

Hemen Margarita islatzen ari da bere belaunaldiak ideia neoplatonikoekiko duen interesa, esaterako intuizio poetiko naturalaren bidezko jainkoaren ezagutza. Pablo Deunak onetsia zuen poeta greziarren laudorioan, baina neurri batean soilik (Eginak 17,28); mistikoen arabera, “fureur poétique” une batekoa da, non eta “raptus mysticus” jainkozkoak guztiz absorbitzea den. Briçonnetek, adibidez, egoera mistiko extatikoa alderatzen du Arranoak Eguzkiari etengabe begira egoteko joera mitologikoarekin:

Tant sont toutesfois ennyvréz<sup>418</sup> de l'excellence de l'infinitude de l'esperit<sup>419</sup> qui leur est communiqué qu'ilz veuillent, en ung petit raion, par ardant desir comprendre l'immensité du soleil, et par une goutellette, la plenitude de la mer<sup>420</sup>, et congnoissant l'impuissance de leur vol soubhaitent helles acquilaires<sup>421</sup>. Lesquelles par graces impetrées, ne leur prouffitent pour parvenir à leur desir et congnoissent que la pesanteur du corps, combien que passe par la fournaise de charité, embrase, aneanti et pulverisé, empesche parvenir au vol désiré et de repoux... (Correspondance, l, 227. orr.).

Briçonnetek “raptus mysticus”en beste deskribapen interesgarri batzuk ematen ditu, zeinak Margaritak gogoan gorde zituzkeen, edo Prisons edota Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan idatzi aurretik berrirakurri<sup>422</sup>. Deskribapen guzti haueetatik apartekoena, aipatu berri dugun gutuna baino lehenxeago idatzi zen. Otsailaren 5ean, Briçonnet saiatu zen Pseudo Dionisioren “Jainkozko Hierarkien” doktrina moldatzen “bizitza espiritualaren hiru etapetara”<sup>423</sup>. Prisonsetan, zintzoki jarraitzen da zatikea hirukoitz hau, baina baita “raptus mysticus”aren deskribapena “hors de soi” gisa, 1521 bukaeran eta 1522 hasieran idatzitako gutunetakoa:

... Et qui plus hault vollera, laissant les terres et penetrant les cielz, incomprehensible, infini, eternal<sup>424</sup> et qui jà sera par excellente et ravissable grace hors de soy ne pourra plus le nommer, le contemplant en silence de coeur oultre et feru d'amour, sans parler, sans le contempler, pour l'offuscacion de lumineuses tenebres, esquelles, pour l'excelente et tout surmontant lumière, son entendement est obtenebré, absorbé et nayé (...) qui, desamparant l'esperit du corps sans separacion le congnoissant, sans congnoistre, Tout, et son rien au Tout abismé. (Correspondance, l, 150. orr.)<sup>425</sup>

Ez da erreza argiro espresatzea, mistikoek experientzia extatikoak deskribatzean lortu nahi duten hori. Pseudo Dionisioren arabera, “Ravissement”ek esan nahi du “Superesentzian desagertzea”. Margaritarentzat “repoz” nahi du esan (Prisons, fol. 321 ro, 239. orr.), jainkozkoak ia guztiz absorbiturik egotearen egoera. “Norberaren identitatea galtzearen” arazo honek gutxitan kezkatzen zituen Ekialdeko mistikoak; baina bai Mendebaldekoak, zeinak zenbaitetan Elizak kondenatzen baitzituen<sup>426</sup>, eta askotan zaila egiten zitzairen haien joera panteistikoak justifikatzea. Hauengatik zigor latzak jasotzen zituzten, nahiz eta ez ziote uko egiten bere sentsazio extatikoak espresatzeko eskubideari<sup>427</sup>. “Raptus mysticus” askotan “duel” bezala deskribatzean, Jainkozkoaren eta haien arteko ezberdintasunak baieztatzen dituzte, baita kanpoko indar batek “zaurituak” izatean sentitzen dena azaltzean ere<sup>428</sup>.

## V

Jainkoaren izaerari buruz Margaritak dituen ideien laburpena egiteak, lotura zuzena du experientzia mistikoa zauri sakon gisa ulertzearekin. Askotan, mistikoei joera panteistak leporatzen zaizkie, saiatzeko direnean haien burua eta gauza guztiak jainkotasunarekin identifikatzen<sup>429</sup>, jainkoaren urruntasuna azpimarratzen duten bitartean. Haatik, era berean, jainkotasun hori definitzen saiatu beharko lirateke, baina ez filosofoek bezala prozesu intelektual baten bidez, baizik eta haien bizipen propioak aztertuz. Badakite ezen, haien experientzia mistikoa benetakoa dela frogatzeko, extasiaren unean arima eta jainkoa bat direla azpimarratuz ere, arimak adierazi behar duela jainkoaren existentzia haien sentimenduekiko zerbait ezberdina dela.

Hasieratik, bere poema mistikoak idazten hasi zenean, arazo honek Margaritaren arreta erakarri zuen. 1520ko hamarkadaren bukaeran, garatzen hasi zen jainkoaren definizio konplexuago bat, “Ni eta Zu” harremanetik abiatuta, zeinak arima daraman jainkoarekiko zenbait kidetasunetan zehar, Miroir de l’âme pécheresse aztertzean azaldu du-dan bezala:

Mon Pere, quoy? voire mon createur,  
 Mon protecteur et mon conservateur.  
 Vostre soeur? Las! voicy grand amytié.  
 Or, fendez vous man cuer par la moitié;  
 Faictes place a ce frere tant doulx.  
 (Miroir, vv. 355-359)

Honela, arima bihurtzen da Jainkoaren neba, arreba, emazte, maite, erlazio intimoenera iritsiz, “ezkontza mistikoa”, zeinak permitituko dion dagokiona galdegitea “Jainkoaren Semearen belunaldian”:

Mais quand j’ay JESUS receu,  
Par Foy conceu,  
Me suis du malheur non sceu  
Bien apperceu.  
 (“Chanson Spirituelle 9”, vv. 4-7)<sup>430</sup>

Bere lan poetikoetan, jainkoaren hainbat definizio ikertzen ditu, hala nola “senar jeloskorrena” Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan idazlanean:

Et luy , qui est le Dieu jaloux,  
Ne veult [qu’]autre amy et espoux  
Ayez, ou mettez vostre cueur,(...)  
 (Comédie, vv. 522-524)

Miroirrean, Margaritak “Jainko Jeloskorrenaren” gaia landu zuen, zeinak beti barkatzen baitio bere emazte den arimari (Miroir, vv. 685-756). Emaztearen leialtasunik eza lotuta dago baita espetxeratua izatearen sentimenduarekin, eta zigorra purifikazio bezala agertzen da (ibid., vv. 691-692). Baina soilik Prisonetan ausartu zen “jainkoaren izenaren” gai mistikoa jorratzen, tratatu gisan, III Liburuan. Poeta-Maitaleak erdietsi du, askatasunaren bilaketan, azken etapa. Espiritu Sainduaren esperientzia sarkorra sentitu du “zauri” bezala, eta honek ulertarazi dio Jainkoaren Hitzaren esanahi espiritual, “raptus mysticus”aren bidez. Une horretan, hausnartu behar zuen bide guztian jazotakoez, aldaketa hauen jatorrira itzuliz. Nor eta zer da Jainkoa? Oraison à nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ obran, Margarita definizio honekin saiatu zen:

Mon Pere donc, mais quel Pere? eternal,  
Invisible, immuable, immortel, (...) <sup>431</sup>

Hemen Margaritak “Via Negativa” tradizionala jarraitzen du, jainkoa hitz negatiboez definituz: ikustezina, aldaezina, hilezina. Mistikoen arabera, jainkoa errezago deskriba daiteke giza kontzeptu limitatuak ukatuz, ezen ez Berari sortutako kualitateak aplikatuz. Hala ere, Oraison de l’âme fidèle lanean, ezaugarri positiboak erabiltzen dira definizioan, baina ondorioz, hauek izaki sinpleei ukatuz, edo analogikoki aplikatuz (“Via Analogica”):

Dites DIEU seul estre beau, sage, doux  
Puissant et bon; (...) <sup>432</sup>

Prisons obraren azken atala, doana 303 vo foliotik 331 ro folioraino, eta 342 vo foliotik 348 vo folioraino (III Liburuaren bukaera), kontsidera daiteke bere gainerako poema mistikoetan eginiko jainkoaren definizioen laburpen saiakera bat, edota hurbilketa berri bat gai korapilatsu honenganako, zeina teologia mistikoko gai zailenetariko bat da. Margarita konturatzen da gai honen garapenari presentzia gehiegi eman izanaz, honen zazpi forma nagusietan:

- Jainkoa: 1. “Celuy qui Est”  
2. Zirkulu Perfektua  
3. “le Petit-Grand”  
4. “le Loing-Près”  
5. “le Tout-Rien”  
6. Jainkozko Androginoa (Erdia eta Osoa)  
7. “Verité, Voie et Vie”

Noizean behin, saiatzen da itzultzen Poeta-Maitalearen kartzelaren gaira, batez ere III Liburuaren bukaeran, baina bistan da ezen digresio egoki hauek, zeinak beharbada bere lan guztietako lerrorik inspiratuenak osatzen dituzten, banan-banan garatu ahal izan lituzkeela beste hiru poema mistikotan<sup>433</sup>.

Margarita saiatu zen jainkoaren nozio batera heltzen, bere ekstasi espiritualetik abiatuz bizipen pertsonal gisa. Baita teofania biblikoetatik ere, jainkozkoarekin kontaktua izandako pertsonen bidez, Esteban Deunaren kasuan bezala zeinak zeruak zabalik ikusi baitzituen (Eginak 7,56):

Qui au milieu des pierres combattant  
Pour son Seigneur, le voyoit en estant  
Dedans les cyeulx aux dextres de son pere,(...)  
(Prisons, fol. 328 vo, 254. orr.)

Edo Deikundearen garaian, Mariak lortu zuenean Jainkoa guztiz ezagutzea, zioela:

O que ce Rien pleut à ceste pucelle  
Quand elle dist: “Voicy de Dieu l’ancelle”,(...)  
(*ibid.*, fol. 345 vo, 291. orr.)<sup>434</sup>

Baita filosofo paganoen kasuetan ere, hala nola Sokrates, zeinak izan ziren Espiritu Sainduak “illuminés”. Pentsalari greziarrak bultzada ekstatiko bat edo Espirituaren iluminazio bat bizi zuen Margaritaren

arabera, nahiz eta gure idazlea ez zen Erasmo bezain urrun joan, honek aldarrikatu baitzuen “Sancte Socrate, ora pro nobis”:

Ce clair esprit les yeulx illumina  
De Socrates, quand il determina  
D'endurer mort pour obeyr aux loix (...)  
(ibid., fol. 313 ro, 223. orr.)<sup>435</sup>

Ezagutza extatikoaren adibide perfektua, ordea, ez zen Sokrates baizik eta Hermes Pimander. Lefevrek 1505ean argitara eman zuen Pimander Mercurii Trismegisti liber de sapientia et potestate Dei; ziurrenik tratatu hau igorri zitzaion Margaritari, zehaztasunez azter zezan Michel d'Aranderen gidaritzapean (Correspondance, 1, 208. orr.), Lefevrek argitaratu beste tratatu batzuekin batera, esaterako Dionisii Caelestis Hierarchia Ecclesiastica, Divina Nomina et Theologia Vivificans, biak ere dedikatuak “sacro antistiti Guillermo Briçonneto episcopo”<sup>436</sup>. “Illumination” hitzaren erabilpenak, Hermes Pimanderren obra mistikoekin loturan<sup>437</sup>, iradokitzen du ezen hau konpara daitekeela Itun Zahar eta Berriko teofania dibinoekin:

Or n'estoit il de nation juïfve [i.e. Pimander],  
Mais il avoit congnoissance naïfve  
Par cest esprit qui tout homme illumine (...)  
(Prisons, fol .306 ro, 208. orr.)

“Illumination” hitza gako bat da, Margaritak jainkoaren izaera definitzeko egindako saiakerak ulertzerako orduan. Kontua zen ikuspegi kontrajarri bi adiskidetzea: Espirituarekiko bategite (edo amore emate) osoa, eta “Jainkoa hor dago”enaren onarpena<sup>438</sup>, honek dakarren gizakiaren baieztapenarekin. Jainkoaren izaerari buruzko tratatu mistiko bat egiteko lehen saiakera, bere poema ez oso ezagun batean ageri da, Oraison à nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ:

Vostre nom est si grand et admirable  
Que naturel esprit ou raisonnable  
Ne vous sçauroit nommer parfaitement.  
Tous noms avez, estantz innominales  
Dont nostre sens est si trespeu capable,  
Qu'il ne congnoist que c'est, quoy, ne comment.  
Il me suffit de croire seulement  
Que de tout bien estes commencement,  
Moien et fin, en tous temps immuable,  
Puissant, ban, beau, sapient, veritable;

Car tous les noms que nostre entendement  
 Vous poeut donner en chose vrayesemblable  
 Cela n'est riens; car indiciblement  
 Estes celluy qui vous estes vrayment,  
 Dont a nous est le sçavoir importable.  
 (Oraison, vv. 53-67)

Jainkoa deskribatzea, zenbait giza kontzepturen bidez, ezinezkoa delako Margaritaren teoria hau, “tous noms avez, estanz innomables”, aurki dezakegu Briçonneten 1522ko maiatzeko gutun batean, ia ia termino berdinetan; bera PseudoDionisioren Jainkozko Izenak tratatuaren miresle zen: “Parquoy, Madame, je supplie au seul innomable et de tous noms nominable...” (Correspondance, I, 213. orr.). Otsailaren 5ean, idatzia zion Margaritari jainkoari izenak atxikitzeaz: “Aussy qui voudra le Tout-Verbe superceleste, qui est vraye manne, appeller ban, saige, beau, fort, riche, puissant et d’aultres noms, il est non seulement tel, mais la source qui se communique à toutes choses créées, qui sont bannes, saiges, belles, fortes, riches, puissantes et par luy sont telles, qui est de tout nom” (ibid., I, 148. orr.).

#### A. Jainkoaren definizioa “Je Suys qui Suys” bezala

Margaritaren lan idatzi osoan agertzen diren jainkoaren definizioetatik, Oraisonsean agertzen den hau dateke gehien eragin diona:

...  
 Estes celluy qui vous estes vrayment,  
 Dont à nous est le sçavoir importable.  
 (vv. 66-67)

“Via Analogica”ren bidez soilik uler daiteke, norberaren existentzia ukatuz eta jainkoa Izaki erreal bakartzat hartuz:

Car, en disant: “Je suis qui suys”, tel maistre  
 M’aprint alors lequel estoit mon estre;  
 S’il est qui Est, hors de luy je ne puy  
 Dire de moy sinon que je ne suys.  
 Si rien ne suis, las! où est ma fiance,  
 Vertu, bonté et droicte conscience?  
Or suis je riens, s’il est Celluy qui Est?  
 (Prisons, fol. 303 vo, 203. orr.)<sup>439</sup>



Baina nola hel daiteke gizona halako definizio hain konplexu bat ulertzera, jainkoa “Existitzen den Izaki bakar” gisa? Egiazki, ez disertazio filosofikoen bidez<sup>440</sup>, edota “Sum qui Sum” (Exodo 3,14) biblikoaren azterketa literal batez, baizik eta Espirituaren iluminazio zuzenaren bidez, ekstasi mistikoaren antzekoa. Baina lehenago, arimak usteak alde batera utzi (“le cuyder”) eta umiltasuna ikasi beharko du:

Ce mot là, c'est ung glaive qui reveille  
 Le fondz des cueurs par façon non nouvelle,  
 Et qui en a l'ame bien transpercée  
 Feindre ne peult ne couvrir sa pensée.  
 Ce mot: “Je suys” l'hypocrisie chasse ,  
Et le cuyder pert son lieu et la place; (...)  
 “Je suys qui suys”, qui si hault très tonna  
 Que tous mes sens et force(s) estonna,  
En me faisant veoir le sens de la lettre:  
 C'est qu'il luy plaist aux cueurs des petis mettre<sup>441</sup>  
 Son Sainct Esprit, par lequel reveler  
 Se fait en eulx pour les renouveler  
 Au jeune estat de la pure innocence, (...)  
 (ibid., fol. 305 vo, 207. orr.)

Moises izan zen lehena experientzia hau bizitzen, sutan zegoen sasiaren aurrean, entzun zuenean nola Jainkoak bere buruari deitzen zion “Izaki Bakarra” (ibid., fol. 303, 203. orr.). Baina ez zitzaien beste batzuei ukatu, hala nola Job erdaingabeari (ibid., fol. 306 ro eta vo, 209. orr.), edota emakume samaritanoari, bekataria zelarik (ibid., fol. 303 ro, 204. orr.). Egia bilatu zuten filosofo pagano askori ere eman zitzaien (ibid., fols. 306 ro, 209. orr eta 316 vo, 223-224. orr.). Berez, ezagutza hau ez zaio inori ukatzen<sup>442</sup>, “dans la parole encloz” dagoen Espiritu hori (ibid., fol. 316 vo, 229. orr.) gai den bitartean Bibliaren zentzu mistikoa guri ulertarazteko, letretan idatzia dagoenaren estalkian barna:

...  
 Quand, en lisant. premierement j'oui  
 Celluy qui Est se declairer sans faincte  
 En toute lettre et escripture maincte,  
 ...

(ibid., fols 321 vo and 322 ro, 240. orr.)

Zaila da ulertzea Margaritak egiten duen jainkoaren “Celuy qui Est” definizioa, gogoratu barik hermeneutika mistikoaren problematika, edo Eskritura Sainduaren ulerpen espiritual, Comédie jouée au Mont-de-

Marsan obran proposatu bezala. Lefèvre eta Briçonnetek irakatsitako Meauxeko teoria onartuz eta azalduz, Margarita gai izan zen, Prisonetan, bere mistika modu pertsonal batean adierazteko, mantenduz ezen, Espiritua arimari (Poeta-Maitaleari) behin betikoz agertu ezean, inork ezin duela esan erdietsi duenik ezagutza hau zeren, izatez hermetikoa denez, ekstasi mistikoaren bidez soilik lor baitaiteke.

B. Jainkoa “Concordantia Oppositorum” gisa, i. e. aurkakoen elkartzea, hiru antitesi mistikoen bidez ezagutua: “le Grand-Petit”, “le Tout-Rien” eta “le Près-loing”, “Prisons”etan, eta Kristo “Divine Androgyne” gisa:

Margarita, bere poema mistikoen bidez, hainbat aldiz saiatu izanak jainkoa definitzen, erakusten du ezinezkoa dela Beraren izaera dibinoaren ikuspegi ulergarri bat ematea, giza hitzak erabilita. Tradizionalki, beste modu bat zegoen, “aurkakoen elkartze” gisa definitzea, zeren ideia bakar batek ez dezake bere aldetik Bere izaera aldi berean sinple eta konplexua definitu. Meister Eckharten arabera, jainkoa dei daiteke “Handi eta Txiki”, “Berdin eta Diferent”, “Antzeko eta Bestelako”, “Geldi eta Mugikor”<sup>443</sup>. Margaritaren bikote antitetikoez ere nozio itxuraz aurkakoak adiskidetzen dituzte:

O petit grand! O Rien en Tout fondu!  
O Tout gagné par Rien en tout perdu!  
(Prisons, fol. 327 ro, 251. orr.)

“Petit-Grand” edo “gagné-perdu” bezalako antitesiak, Prisonetan, aipatu besterik ez dira egiten. “Tout-Rien” berriz, poema honen funtsa da, eta III Liburuaren azken hogeita lau folioetako leit-motifa da. Miroirrean iadanik iragarri zuen:

Mais quant à luy par amour est unie [l’ame],  
Si remply est son riens d’ung peu de tout,  
Qu’à declairer ne peut trouver le bout.  
(Miroir, vv. 1326-1328)

“Tout-Rien” antitesi hau suma daiteke 1530 hamarkadako antzezlan moraletan ere, zeinak antitesia testuinguru etiko batean erabiltzen baitu; “Peu” eta “Moins”ek, dirudienek, ezer gutxi dute galtzeko:

PEU  
Lon ne peult brebis raze tondre;  
Qui n’ha riens, riens aussi ne perd.

MOINS

Qui ne porte riens, riens n'appert;  
Parquoy ceste lettre est bien close  
A cil, qui cherche quelque chose.

PEU

Ilz n'en peuvent trouver le bout.  
Helas, ilz pensent avoir tout;  
Mais ce tout là qu'ilz disent leur,  
Ce n'est en fin que tout malheur:  
Nostre Tout n'est pas de la sorte.

MOINS

Certes il fault que ce Tout sorte  
De riens pour estre cher tenu.  
(Trop, Prou, Peu, Moins, vv. 301-311)

Halere, Kristo baitan antitesi mistiko hau gorpuzten da, zeren soilik Berak baieza dezake une berean gizon (Rien) eta Jainko (Tout) dela; idazten du Margaritak, Comédie de l'adoration lanean:

Et pour son Rien, il aura Tout vrayment.  
Anges. chantez, en voyant eslevé  
Rien en son Tout , et Sathan reprouvé;  
Son Tout à Rien est mis par ma puissance;  
Cuyder est nul, ou est ma congnoissance.<sup>444</sup>

Askoz ere argiago irudikatzen da Kristo “Rien” gisa Comédie du desert lanean, non Bera ageri den Bere burua makurrarazten (“kenosis” jainkozkoa), gizon bihurtuz:

Mais le Petit du Grand est triumphant  
S'humiliant a rien, a mort, et peine.<sup>445</sup>

Haatik, Margaritaren helduarora arte itxaron beharko dugu, 1540 eta 1549 urteen artean, “Rien” eta “Tout” gaien elkartzea bere lanetan ager dadin, eta behin eta berriz errepikatu. Arimak gizatiarra dena utzi behar luke (“le Rien”) perfekzioa lortzeko (“le Tout”):

Qui sent d'amour l'laneantissement,  
Se resjouyst, perdant ce qui n'est rien  
Pour recepvoir son Tout entierement.  
(Navire, vv. 91-93)

Chansons spirituelles lanean zentzu extatikoa hartzen du, esan nahi duelarik arimaren eta jainkozko Toutaren arteko bategite osoa:

Unissant le Rien qu'il ame  
En son Tout divinement,  
L'espouse se perd et pasme  
En son Tout joyeusement.  
(“Chanson 21” vv. 24-28)

Maitasunaren gaiaren aipamen mistikoekin:

Baisez moy, acolez moy,  
Mon Tout en tous.  
Unissez moy par la Foy  
Du tout à vous .  
(“Chanson 17” vv. 25-28)

Chansons Spirituelles obran ematen den “Tout-Rien” antitesi mistikoaren etengabeko errepikapena<sup>446</sup>, Margaritaren beste poema baten soilik agertzen da, zeina ez den oso ezaguna, 1547an argitaratua Margueritesen parte bezala. Harrigarria da nolako erraztasunez agertzen den Oraison de l'âme fidèle obran antitesi hau, adieraziz ezen arimak soilik Jainkoa baitan duela existentzia, zeinarekin baitzegoen, gorputzarekin bat egin baino lehenago:

...  
Estre n'avoit en soy, mais en presence  
De toy estoit, en qui tout est parfait.  
Son Estre donc n'est, luy mourant, defait;  
Car il estoit avant qu'il fust au monde.  
S'il te congnoist son Estre, il est refait,  
Il est heureux en l'un et l'autre monde<sup>447</sup>

“Rien-Tout” aurkakoak tratatzerako orduan, Oraisons askoz hurbilago dago Prisonsetik beste edozein poema mistiko baino. Bigarren honek ere azpimarratzen du ideia panteistikoa, dioena ezen kreaturen existentzia (“le rien”) dependitzen duela “Tout”aren existentzia mukuruzkotik:

( ... );ce qu'il fait est et sera a naistre,  
Car par ce Tout et en ce Tout ant estre.  
Il les enclost par grandeur indicible  
Et vit en eulx par façon invisible.  
(Prisons, fol. 324 vo, 245. orr.)

Aitortu behar dut ezen Prisonsetako “Tout-Rien” “chant” hori luzeegia dela erakusteko Margaritak antitesi mistikoei buruz dituen ideiak, eta Oraison de l’âme fidèle ezin hobeia dela gure helbururako, badirudielako III Liburu konplexuko bihurtune guztiak azaltzen dituela. Honen ideia panteistiko guztiak ebazten dira Kristok bere izaera jainkozkoari uko egitearen estaltze mistikoan, “Rien”aren itxura hartuz, eta horrela posible eginez edozeinek bere izaera dibinoan parte hartzea, jainkoa baitan. Argi dago Margarita erreferentzia egiten ari dela Kristoren “kenosis”aren doktrina Paulinoari (i. e. aurreko egoera dibinotik hustutzea)<sup>448</sup>. Hala ageri da Oraisonean:

Très volontiers a Rien tu t’es soubmiz,  
Afin qu’à Rien Adam par toy fust mis (...)  
Car en toy sont, qui Rien as voulu estre:  
Lors ayant mis a Rien la Creature  
La réunis a son Tout, par ta dextre.<sup>449</sup>

laster Prisonsetan errepikatuko zena; gizonaren giza kondizioa, Adanek sinbolizatua (“par excellence” gizona), Kristoren irain eta heriotzaz soilik salba daiteke:

Mais par ce Filz, transmis à nous ça bas,  
Sont appaisez ces differentz debatz,  
Car nostre chair il a prise et l’a mise  
Du Tout à Rien: là gist nostre franchise.  
Et ce Rien là il voulut esprouver,  
Quand sur la croix se monstra estre ung ver  
Et homme non, en s’aneantissant  
Et nostre Rien de cuyder nettissant.  
(Prisons, fol. 325 vo, 248. orr.)

Oraison de l’âme fidèle lana erabil daiteke “Rien” eta “Tout” arteko antitesia argitzeko, zeinak ari baitira bata bestearen bila “Jainkozko Androginoaren” irudian, Prisonseko pasarte harrigarrienetako batean:

Celuy qui Est, à qui bien l’ymagine,  
Se voit aussy dedans ceste Androgine,  
Qui sa moictié ne cesse de chercher  
Ne la trouvant ne se fait que fascher.  
(ibid., fol. 310 ro, 217. orr.)<sup>450</sup>

“Androgyne”aren irudi kriptikoa, zeina ari baita bere beste “ni”aren bila, pausu batek soilik banatzen du “Rien”arengandik (Kristo), zeinak

bere izaera gorena xerkatzen baitu, “Tout” (Jainkoa). Hau “kenosis” mistiko batez bakarrik gerta daiteke, “le Rien”ek bere “le Tout”ekin bat egitea lor dezanean. Margaritak esperientzia mistiko honi deitzen dio “aneantissement”, Oraison de l’âme fidèleren pasarte interesgarri honetan, zeinak argi bailitzake Prisonsetako pasarte kriptiko zenbait:

O doux regard iusques au coeur perçant  
 L’âme et le corps, et l’esprit traverçant,  
Vien moy navrer, fais ton pouvoir sentir  
 A mon dur coeur, en peche malversant;  
 Que desespoir va de sy pres pressant,  
 Qu’il fait quasi l’espoir de moy sortir.  
 O forte Amour, vien moy aneantir  
 Par ce regard tant doux et amyable.<sup>451</sup>

Prisonsetako antitesi mistikoaren gakoa, Kristoren “anéantissement”-kenosis hau da “Jainkozko Androginoan”. Ez dago “rien”ik “Tout”a uler dezakeenik, salbu bere beste “ni”aren bila dabilen “Rien” hori, hots, Kristo “gizona” bere izaera dibinoaren bila:

Qui pourra done ce Tout emprisonner?  
 Nul, car sur tous a pouvoir d’ordonner.  
 Et cestuy là qui ce Tout a congneu  
Tant qu’il est Rien en son sens devenu,  
 Ne se sentant plus estre ne plus vivre

...

(Prisons, fol. 324 vo, 245-246. orr.)

Margaritari aurkeztu zizkioketen Meister Eckharten sermoiak jainkoaren “Orotasun” eta beste guztien “Ezereztasun”az. Eckhartrek zioenez, jainkoa guztia da, eta kreaturak ez dira existitzen<sup>452</sup>. Meauxeko maisuek kontaktua ukan zuten Renaniako eskolarekin, J. Orcibal eta M. Certeauk adierazi bezala<sup>453</sup>. “Ezereza”, “Rien”, Eckhart, Suso eta Ruysbroeck bezalako mistiko renaniarrentzat, Pseudo Dionisioarentzat bezala, baita John Seatus Erigena eta Kabalistentzat<sup>454</sup>, ez zen ez-existentzia, baina sub-existentzia, jainkoaren boterearen menpe. “Tout-Rien” eta “Estre-Neant” antitesien ondorio guztiak ulertzeko, “one must strip oneself, according to the mystics, of all seemingly positive but actually limiting thought, and descend into the depths of Nothing, so encountering the Reality of Him who is “le Tout”<sup>455</sup>.

Idazle mistiko asko inspiratzen ziren maisu renaniarren idatziez, zeinek irakatsi baitzuten ez bakarrik jainkoaren borondatearekiko jarrera

Kietista otzana, Dialoguean agertzen dena, baina baita jainkozko Izakiaren barnerako absortzio mistiko bat, ezinbesteko urratsa gizonak bere existentzia aurki dezan. Margaritak, “le Rien” eta “le Tout” arteko antitesi mistiko hauek, ikasi zituzkeen Lefèvrek eta Briçonnetek egindako azalpen eta moldaketetatik, ezen ez Parisen aldameneko Vauvert montasterio kartusiarretik zabaltzen ari ziren eskuizkribuei esker<sup>456</sup>. Nik esango nuke Correspondancearen garaian ikasi zituela, 1521 eta 1524 artean, zeren berak eta Briçonnetek erabilitako esamoldeak oso antzekoak baitira. Iniziazioaren hasiera hasieratik aurkeztu zitzaion Margaritari “Tout-Rien” antitetikoa:

Bien eureulx est rien qui tout possède, et tant plus est rien, et plus est cappable tout amour. Qui vit en soy et au monde, a rien en rien; Qui y est mort, a tout en rien, lequel diffinie notre rien en luy. Rien fault devenir qui en son tout veult estre. (Correspondance, I, 31-32. orr.)

Apezpikua izan zen ziurrenik “Rien-Tout” antitesia Margaritari aurkeztu ziona, zeren Chansons Spirituelles lanean eta Prisonseko III Liburuan agertzen delarik, Briçonnetek egindako bereizketa egiten baitu gizakien ezagutza inperfektuaren eta Kristo “Tout-Verbe”aren ulerpen mistikoaren artean:

Madame, je cuyde tant congnoistre de vostre desir et vouloir que s’il y avoit au bout du royaume ung docteur, qui, par ung seul verbe abregé, peult aprendre toute la grammaire, autant qu’il est possible d’en sçavoir, et ung aultre de la rhethorique et ung aultre la philosophie, et aussi des sept ars liberaulx<sup>457</sup>, chacun d’eulx par ung verbe abregé, vous y courriez comme au feu et n’y vouldriez riens espargner<sup>458</sup>. Et toutesfois, combien que sceussiez tout ce que dessus, seriez pauvre affamée en voz richesses qui ne seroient que pauvreté sans le Tout-Verbe, hors lequel rien et en l’ayant avez tout. Car en luy sont tous les tresors de science et sapience, comme dict est [Kolosarrei, 2,3] caschéz. (Correspondance, I, 152-153. orr.)

Margaritaren erantzuna Briçonneten iniziazioarekiko, aurreikusteko modukoa zen. Ez zen apezpikua izan, “Tout” eta “Rien” arteko antitesi mistikoa libreki erabili zuen bakarra, printzesak idatzi baitzuen: “Voiant que au Tout n’estes rien et croiant vostre rien encloz dans le Tout, me vueulx subzmectre a ce qui sera par vostre rien dict, le tenant de la main du Tout, vous querant prier pour mon moins que rien affin que l’eau puisse estre convertie en vin et que l’abisme par l’abisme invocqué puisse abismer” (Correspondance, I, 134. orr.)

Esan dezakegu Correspondance hau Lefèvreren ideia mistikoen oihartzun bat dela, non Margaritak eta Briçonnetek islatzen dituzten garai hartan Meauxen eta printzesaren gortean ematen ziren eztabaidak, Frantziak orduan eskaini zezakeen jakintsu bikainenetako baten gidaritzapean. Kontutan hartu beharrekoa da gutun guzti hauek bat datozela Lefèvreren “Tout” eta “Rien” arteko antitesi Kristozentrikoekin; Kristok, Jainkozko Androginoak, gizon bezala gure Ezereztasuna du (“le Rien”), eta gizonaren existentzia da Jainkoa baitan (“le Tout”), zeren Beragan bizia dago, Bere hitzaren bidez: “Mais Jesuschrist est tout”, idatzi zuen Lefèvrek, ebanjelioari egindako sarreran, 1523 urtean, “il est tout homme et toute divinite. Et tout homme n’est riens sinon en luy et nulle parole d’homme n’est riens sinon en la parole de luy”<sup>459</sup>.

Irakurlea jabetu dateke iada garapen logikoaz, Correspondancean egiten den “Rien” eta “Tout” arteko erabilpen antitetikotik, III Liburuan gaia tratatzeko modura. Bigarren hau idatzi zuen garaian, 1540 urteetan, Margarita gai zen termino hauek baliatzeko askoz ere sofistikazio gehiagorekin, aditzera emanez ezen bi elementu dibergenteak, “Rien” eta “Tout”, soilik batera daitezkeela “Androgyne” perfektuan, zeinaren beheko partea (le Rien) gai baita bere goiko alderdiarekin bat egiteko (le Tout), Jesukristoren pertsonan (Prisons, fol. 348 ro, 296. orr.).

Meauxeko teologian, “le Rien” eta “le Tout” kontzeptu antitetikoak oinarritzko bi kontzeptu Kristozentriko dira; Kristoren bizitzako gertaerei lotutak daude, hau da, gizon bihurtu zeneko Bere humiliazioa (“Rien”ean gorpuztearen “kenosis”a) eta Bere azken glorifikazioa (“Tout”era igoera). Gizonak goreste mistiko hau erdietsi dezake, Kristorekin elkartzuz. Hau da Prisonsaren ondorioa:

L’homme est remis, car joint par cest esprit  
A Rien, a mort, a croix en Jesuchrist,  
Est fait en luy Rien, mort, crucifié;  
 Aussy en luy il est deifié,  
Uny au Tout et au souverain Bien  
Pour estre fait aveques Jesus Rien.  
 (Prisons, fol. 348 ro, 296. orr.)

“Rien” eta “Tout” arteko antitesi hau baino maisutasun handiagoarekin ez zuen Margaritak beste gairik tratatu, eta bera jabetzen zen honetaz, zeren abilitade harrigarriarekin jokatzeko baitu bai Chansons Spirituellesetan, baita Prisonetan ere. Hala ere, frogatzeko ondo menperatzen zituela baliabide hauek, beste antitesi paralelo bat aurkeztu zuen, “Androgino-Kristo” zentzu berean: Jesus gai da batzeko gugandik



hurbil dagoena (“le Près”), gehiegi urrundu denarekin (“le Loing”); Beragan, gizona eta jainkoa elkarrekin egon daitezke:

(...) par son pouvoir  
Ce Loing est Près, et le ciel à la terre  
Amour fait joindre, mettant fin a la guerre  
D’entre le Loing et Près, par tel accord  
Que le très Loing, vaincu par une mort,  
Est près de nous, mais je vous dy si près  
Que je ne puy trouver termes exprès  
Pour declairer comme est près ce très Loing.  
Mais qui a veu, par extresme besoing,  
Combien de mal vient du Loing purement  
Qui a perdu du Près le sentement,  
Dira le Près nous estre en tout affaire  
Comme la vie et l’estre necessaire.  
Gentil Loing-Près! et que ce nom est beau!  
(Prisons, fol. 317 vo, 231-232. orr.)

Kristo “Petit-Grand” ere izendatzen da, antitetikoki (ibid., fol. 327 ro, 251. orr.); errealitate dibinoez hitz egiteko giza terminoak erabiltzearen zailtasunari aurre egitean, Margaritak ezin zukeen modu hobean deskribatu berarentzat arazo nagusia zen hau. Kristo bakarrik, “Divine Androgyne”, izan daiteke aurkako printzipioen elkartzaile, zeren Bera baitan “Rien”ak aurkitzen baitu bere “Tout”, “Loing” da “Près” bihurtzen eta “Petit”ak erdiesten du bere osotasuna (“le Grand”). Lefèvre eta Briçonnet Margaritaren maisuen printzipio mistikoen arabera, gizonak errugabetasun egoerara itzuli nahi duenean, zeina soilik heldu baitaiteke gai denean jainkoa “Androgyne” perfektuaren irudi bezala mantentzen duenean, Adanek bekatuaren aurretik egin bezala, orduan, Jesukristorekiko bategite ekstatikora heltzen da.

### C. Jainkoaren definizioa “Zirkuluaren identitate” gisa

Prisonsetako III Liburuan, Margaritaren helburu nagusia da irakurleari adieraztea ezen Jainkoaren definizio bakun bat ez litzatekeela egokia Bere askotariko alderdiak erakusteko. Definizioz definizio saiatzen da, beti nagusietara itzuliz, leit-motif bezala, hasteko jainkoaren definiziora “Celuy qui Est” gisa, eta gero “gizona ez da Ezer” (Rien), jainkoa Oro da (Tout) antitetikora. Tartean, beste kontzeptu neoplatoniko konplexuago batzuk ere aplikatzen zaizkio jainkoari, zeinetan aurkezten zaigun Zirkunferentziaren mugak ez dituen Zirkulu bezala:

“Celluy qui est fait du tout [sic] ce qu’il veut  
 “Du sercle rond sans la circonferance  
 “Par taus costez egal sans difference;  
 “Commancement ne fin ne s’y retrouve,  
 “Et n’y a chose estant ou vieille ou neufve  
 “Qui de ce rand n’ayt pris creation  
 “Et nourriture et conservation.  
 (ibid., fol. 308 ro, 212. orr.)<sup>460</sup>

Gai hauxe aurki dezakegu baita Rabelaisen Tiers Livrean: “De là receoit participation insigne de sa prime et divine origine, et en contemplation de ceste infinie et intellectuelle sphaere, le centre de laquelle est en chascun lieu de l’univers, la circonferance point (C’est Dieu selon la doctrine de Hermes Trismegistus)...”<sup>461</sup> Zirkuluaren perfektutasuna, jainkoaren sinpletasun eta egonkortasuna adierazteko, ohikoa zen Platonen miresleen artean<sup>462</sup>. Ficinok horrelaxe azaldu zuen: “Quid ergo Deus est? Ut ita dixerimus, Circulus Spiritualis, cujus centrum est ubique, circumferentia nusquam”<sup>463</sup>.

Nahiz eta Ficinoren textu honen eta Margaritarenaren arteko antzekotasunak azpimarragarriak diren, seguruenik jainkoaren “Zirkulu Perfektu” definizio neoplatoniko hau Margaritak Briçonnetengandik ikasi zuen, inimizazioaren urteetan. Apezpikua Pseudo Dionisioren eta Cusako Nikolasen zalea zen, eta, Glori Cappellok frogatu duen bezala, Correspondanceko pasarte asko Cusako Nikolasen textu neoplatonikoen parafraasiak dira. Meauxeko apezpikuak dio:

... combien que partout est le milieu, puisque elle [i.e. la terre] est  
 spherique et n’y a milieu en circumference de forme sphericque plus d’un  
 costé que d’autre, mais par le milieu de la terre, en laquelle le grand  
 architecte a faict oeuvre de salut, entend la vie avoir este centrale en  
 toute nature humaine et, comme lignes innumerables viennent du centre  
 de la circumference, esgallement distantes<sup>464</sup>, aussi la restitution est a  
 tous uniforme (...); mais au milieu est nostre salut.  
 (Correspondance, 2, 240. orr.)<sup>465</sup>

Cusako Nikolasek dio, De Docta Ignorantia lanean (II, II): “Centrum igitur mundi coincidit cum circumferentia. Non habet igitur mundus circumferentiam ( ... ) cum igitur non sit possibile mundum claudi intra centrum corporale et circumferentiam, non intelligitur mundus, cuius centrum et circumferentia sunt Deus”, eta De Ludo Globi obran (II): “Centrum autem punctus fixus est, erit igitur motus maximus seu infinitus et pariter minimus, ubi inde est centrum et circumferentia. Et vocamus ipsum

vitam viventium, in sua fixa aeternitate omnem possibilem vitae motum complicantem”<sup>466</sup>. Cusako Nikolas eta Briçonnetek bezala, Margaritak ere jakinmina zuen jainkoa “aldaezin, izaki perfektu” gisa deskribatzeko lengoaia matematiko bat erabiltzeko aukerekiko. Haiei jarraitzen die:

“De l’exterieur en l’interieur entre  
“Qui va par moy, et au milieu du centre  
“Me trouvera qui suys le point unique,  
“La fin, le but de la mathématique;  
“Le cercle suys dont toute chose vient,  
“Le point où tout retourne et se maintient.  
“Je suys qui suys triangle très parfait, ( ... )  
(Prisons, fol. 308 ro and vo, 213. orr.)

Idazle mistikoek lengoaia matematikoa aplikatu izan diote jainkoari, “triangelu perfektua” edota “zirkulu perfektua”, esaterako Pseudo Dionisiok, zeinak mugimendu zirkularraren lengoaia aplikatu baitzion gizonaren esperientzia espiritualari. Zentruan, berriz, ez dago mugimendurik, bertan jainkoa dagoelarik:

.. the soul hath a circular movement - viz. an introversion from things without and the unified concentration of its spiritual powers - which gives it a kind of fixed revolution, and, turning it from the multiplicity without, draws it together first into itself and then (after it has reached this unified condition) unites it to those powers which are perfect Unity and this leads it on unto the Beautiful and Good, which is beyond all things, and is One and is the Same. without beginning or end.<sup>467</sup>

Arimaren kondizio honi “Apex” edo “Synderesis” deitzen zioten mistikoek<sup>468</sup>, eta deskribatzen du arimaren mugimendu birakaria bere zentruaren inguruan (jainkoa), zeina aldaezin mantentzen baita: “Le point où tout retourne et se maintient” (Prisons, fol. 308 ro, 213. orr.).

Pseudo Dionisiok jainkoa definitua zuen “Berdintasun” bezala: “Merely this - that God remains what He is in Himself and is firmly fixed in an immovable Sameness wherein His transcendent Being is fast rooted, and that He acts under the same modes and around the same Centre without changing”<sup>469</sup>. Haren arabera, “Borobiltasuna” eta “Berdintasuna” elkar trukagarriak dira, baita jainkozkoaren bategite perfekturako azken etaparekin. Miroiraren bukaeran agertzen den “Marguerite”ren enigma mistikoak kualitate guzti hauek ditu<sup>470</sup>. Sainte-Marthe ere jabetzen zen MARGUERITEren asmakizun hermetikoaz, bere Oraison funèbrean hitz hau letra larriz ageri delarik, askotan: “Car la Marguerite, est une precieuse

pierre, que Pline dit, emporter l'honneur et le pris, sur toutes choses precieuses: Et havoir perfection en blancheur, grandeur, rotondité, et pois" (Oraison funèbre, 16. orr.). Bistan da ezen bere aburuz, Briçonnetentzat bezala, "Marguerite-Perle" k gorpuzten zituela "perfekzio", "gardentasun", "borobiltasun" eta "sendotasun" ezaugarri dibinoak, zeinak bihurtzen baitute Bategite Dibinoaren irudi perfektu<sup>471</sup>, eta Jainkotasunaren definizio.

#### D. Jainkoaren definizio Paulino-Johaninoak Vie-Verité-Voye gisa

Margaritak bere poema mistikoetan emandako Jainkoaren definizio ugarien artean, badaude behintzat hiru Testamentu Berritik hartuak. Hauek ere lagun dezakete argitzen Margaritak bere esperientzia espiritualaren arabera Jainkoaren kontzeptua expresatzeko egin zituen saiakerak.

1. Lehena, adieraz daitekeena "Jainkoa Maitasuna da" bezala, formula johaninotik abiatuta garatu zen (I Joan 14,16), batez ere Miroirrean (v. 1417).

2. Bigarren formula johanino bat, zeina Joanen araberrako Ebanjelioan ardatz bat baita, da "Kristo da bidea, egia eta bizia" (Joan 14,6). Bere hasierako poemetan aurki dezakegu; Dialoguean paper garrantzitsua jokatzeko du, zeren "v" aliterazioaren leuntasunak adierazten baitu Margaritaren eta bere iloba Charlotteren arteko elkarriketa mistikoaren tonua:

Il est vie et verité et voye;  
Par luy qui est Voye, nous fault passer,  
Et Verite à Vie nous convoye.  
(Dialogue, vv. 805-807)<sup>472</sup>

3. Prisonsetan hirugarren formula bat agertzen da, "Bizitze, Mugimendu eta Izate" definizio Paulinotik hartua; Lukas Deunak adierazten du Eginetan (17,28): "zeren [esan zien Pablok atenastarre] harengan bizi baikara eta harengan mugitzen, eta izan ere harengan baikara". Margaritak hau erreproduzitzen du Prisonsetan, zeren tradizio galikanoaren arabera, zeinaren adierazgarri nagusia Lefèvre zen Erasmoren aurka, Dionisio Areopagita (Pseudo Dionisio) bertan zegoen Pablo Deunak hitzaldi hau eman zuenean, eta honek bihurtu zuen Kristautasunera:

Bien monstre icy le Tout son grant pouvoir  
Quand luy seul est l'estre, vie et mouvoir  
De ce qui est si different sur terre (...)  
(Prisons, fol. 327 vo, 251-252. orr.)<sup>473</sup>

Margarita biziki kezkatzen zuen jainkoaren definizio bat eman beharrak ikuspuntu Kristozentriko batetik, ziurtatuz ezen Kristoren heriotzaren misterioa dela bide bakarra, “le Tout”aren ezagutza osoa erdiesteko, gizon bezala berpiztu zenetik (“le Rien”) (ibid., fol. 348 ro, 296. orr.); hau hasierako garapen bat zen, Erdi Aroko “Jainko-Mistizismotik”, “Kristo-Mistizismo” ebanjelikora<sup>474</sup>. Hala ere, Lefèvreren alde egin zuen, jainkoaren esentziari buruzko definizio neoplatoniko eta mediebaletatik urruntzeko honen ahaleginetan; Jesusen pertsonalitatearen azterketa zorrotz baten bidezko jainkotasunaren definizio baterantz<sup>475</sup>, Margarita Lefèvre baino tradizionalagoa da, zeren bere tratatuetan, Kristok ez du garrantziarik pertsonaia historikoa den heinean, ez Miroirrean, ez Triomphe de l’Agneau lanean, ez Chansons Spirituelles obran ezta Prisons bere maisulanean ere. Kristo “Jainkozko Androginoa”, ordea, hurbilago dago “Logosaren Mistizismo Teozentriko Johaninotik” (Albert Schweizerren esamolde famatua erabiltzearen<sup>476</sup>), Lefèvreren “Mistizismo Kristozentriko Paulinotik” baino. Margaritaren arabera, Kristo da gu “le Tout”era eramán gaitzakeen “le Rien” hori:

Qui prendra donc ce Rien qui est vollé  
 Jusqu’à son Tout auquel est si collé  
 Que la hauteur du ciel, ny le profond,  
 Empeschement à l’union ne font?  
 (ibid., fol. 325 ro, 246-247. orr.)

Kristoren heriotza eta berpiztea, baita bere glorifikazioa eta bategitea, “Logos” forman adierazten dira. Bera da, “le Près”, jainkoaren hurbiltasunaren ziurtasun bakarra:

Il est puyssant pour faire du tumbeau  
 Saillir le mort, car, où ce Loing Près vient,  
 Mort ny enfer le pecheur ne detient.  
*Gentil Loing Près!* ( ... )  
 (ibid., fol. 317 vo, 232. orr.)

Alabaina, ez ditu Kristoren heriotz eta berpiztea gertaera historiko salbatzaile gisa aipatzen, hauek direlarik teologia eta mistizismo paulinoaren printzipio handiak<sup>477</sup>. Ez al zuen jarrera paulino argi bat erdietsi inoiz? Margarita ez zen Lefèvre bezain urrutira heldu, aurrez ikustera gertatzear zegoen aldaketa, jainkoagan zentratutako espiritualitate neoplatonikotik, Lutherren “Gogoeta Bibliko” eta Loiolako Inazioaren “Ariketa Espiritualetara”. Edonola ere, erreferentzia gutxi batzuk egiten dizkie Kristoren gertaera salbatzaile hauei (ibid., fol. 317 vo, 231-232. orr.) jarrera aldaketa bat iragarri nahian edo, nahiz eta jainkoa baitan

aurkakoen elkartzearen konponbidea itxuratzen duen Kristoren (Hitz haragi bihurtuaren) gertaera mistikoak, “Rien-Logos” rol horretan transformatuz (teologia johaninoa), ezen ez gertaera historiko salbatzaileetan (teologia paulinoa).

## VI

Margaritaren poema mistikoek ez bazuten populuaren onarpena jaso, eta Prisons bere maisulana soilik behin argitara eman bazen, 1896an Lefranckek hain zuzen, honen azalpena izan daiteke 1540ko hamarkadan interesen aldaketa bat jazo izana, gai mistikoetatik ebanjelikoetara. Kenduta Heptaméron, zeina literaturari bide berriak zabaltzen ari baitzitzaion, eta Miroir, Frantzian batzuek Manifestu luthertartzat hartu zutena, erreginaren obrak ulertu behar ditugu Europan prestatzen ari zen espiritu berriaren isla bezala, mendebaldeko kristautasuna banatuko zuen Erreforma-Kontraerreforma bereizketa hain zuzen.

Haatik, nahiz eta hainbat erreformatzaile eta garaiko kritiko saiatu izan diren erakusten Margarita Lutherren kausari atxikia zegoela, ez zen inoiz joan Briçonnetek eta Meauxeko taldeak esploratutako bideez haratago. Taldea 1525ean banandu zenean, gutxi batzuk Lutherren aldera joan ziren, eta beste batzuk, Briçonnet kasu, eliza barruan gertatzen ari zen zatiketaren aurka agertu ziren<sup>478</sup>. Beharbada luze jo zuen Margaritak jarraitu arte Briçonneten errefusa Lutherren espiritualitate berriarekiko, zeinak jainkoan zentratutako espiritualitate mediecala ukatzen baitzuen; izatez, bere lanetako batean ere ez da ageri Kristogan zentratutako espiritualitate sinesgarri bat, eta 1540ko hamarkadan Prisons idaztea erabaki zuenerako, Briçonneten printzipioekiko leialtasun sendoa zuen.

Kritiko gehienak gehiegi arduratu dira Margaritak Frantziako lutheranismoan izan zezakeen parte hartzeaz. Nere ustez, honek eraman ditu bere obra poetikoen aspektu garrantzitsuena ahaztera, mistizismoa hain zuzen. Lan hauetarik garrantzitsuena Prisons da, eta kontsidera dezakegu bai Correspondance mistikoaren “résumé”, baita bere pentsamoldearen laburpen bat uzteko azken saiakera bezala. Ordura arte, bere pentsamendua soilik zatika adierazia izan zen bere beste idazlanetan, bereziki Dialogue, Miroir, Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, La Navire eta Chansons Spirituelles. Lan guzti hauetan, Margaritak Briçonneten ikasle leiala izaten jarraitu zuen, eta gidari zaharra obrarik garrantzitsuenean berragertu zen, Prisonsetan, “vieillard”aren rolean. Bietariko batek ere ez zuen zeharkatu marra zeinak banatzen zituen mistizismo mediebal neoplatoniko zaharra eta Erasmusek eta Lefèvrek

azaleratutako ideia probokatzailer berriak<sup>479</sup>, gero Luther eta erreformatzaileek ere adieraziak. Hasi Dialoguetik (1524) eta Prisonsetaraino (1547), bere mistizismoak beti izan zuen ardatz jainkoarekiko “Logos” harreman johaninoa. “Jainko-Mistizismo” hau nekez libra zitekeen gai neoplatonikoez, ezta sinbolo mistikoz betetako litania ia amaigabe batez, zeina ikasia baitzuen Meauxeko apezpiku zuhurrarengandik, ikerketa honen 6 kapituluak ikusiko dugun bezala.

## SEIGARREN KAPITULUA

Sinbolismo hermetikoa eta antitesi mistikoak,  
Nafarroako Margaritaren obretako “leit-motif” konstanteak

### I

Orain arte, saiatu naiz Margaritaren garapen espirituala aurkezten, bere lanetako lau era zorrotzean aztertuz; Dialoguean ageri zaigun jainkoaren onarpen Kietistik, garapen bat dago Prisonsetako esperientzia mistikoaren adierazpen sakonagora. Azken kapitulu honetan, nire helburua da Margaritaren lanetan agertzen diren sinboloen ikuspegi koherente bat eskaintzea, bere poemetako gai mistiko guztiak lotzen saiatuz beraren ikuspegi sinbolikoaren bidez. Hasteko, argitu behar dut ezen idazleek hainbat “image” mota erabiltzen dituztela; batzuk guztiontzat ezagunak, esaterako Gurutzea, Kristautasun osoak dazaguna; beste batzuk, haien testuinguruaren araberrako esanahia dute, eta askotan metaforekin batera doaz; kasu batzutan, ez dira errazki definitzen, eta soilik haien beraien terminoekin adierazi daitezke. Irudimen handiko idazle bakoitzean sinbolismoa dago, baina gizon modernoak badirudi gehiago pentsatzen duela “ikurretan”, “sinboloetan” baino: motorista bati gelditzeko adierazten dion ikurra izan behar da eraginkor eta sinplea, baina sinbolo bat askoz ere konplexuagoa izan ohi da.

Irakurlea konturatu dateke ezen Margaritaren obretako gai mistikoak agertzen direla elkarri lotutako sinbolo mistiko askotan trukagarri batzuen bidez, zeinak bere lan poetiko eta dramatiko osoan ikus ditzakegun. Nik aldarrikatutako Margaritaren lanaren oinarritzko batasun horren gakoa izan daitezke, zeren ezagutza esoteriko mota baten ezaugarri konstanteak baitira, iniziatu gabekoei zorrozki ezkutatuak. Lehenago ere saiatu naiz sinbolo hauetako batzuen esanahi hermetikoen azalpen bat ematen, bere lau poema mistiko nagusietan agertu bezala, hau da, Begiaren<sup>480</sup>, Ispilu-Margarita-Perlaren<sup>481</sup>, Kartzelaren<sup>482</sup> eta Zirkuluaren<sup>483</sup> enigmak. Alabaina, ez dut lortu ematerik Margaritak bere lan idatzi osoan zehar erabilitako irudi hermetikoen ikuspegi global bat. Kapitulu honek bi

helburu ditu: alde batetik, erakustea nola idazleak koherenteki aplikatzen duen sinbolo mistikoen korpus eratu bat, eta bestetik, bere ibilbide osoan idatzitako obren batasun oinarritzkoa frogatzea.

Irudi sinbolikoen izaera hermetikoak azkenaldian zenbait kritiko<sup>484</sup>, antropologo<sup>485</sup> eta psikologo<sup>486</sup> moderno erakarri ditu, eta haietako batzuen ustez, metaforaren rol soziala indarra galtzen ari da pixkanaka, “zeinuak” ari direlarik bere tokia hartzen; honek asko zailduko lioke gizon modernoari ulertzea zenbait kontzeptu, zeinak ezin espresatuzkoak diren, ez bada irudizko kode baten bidez<sup>487</sup>. Erreformaren aurretik, giza pentsamendua desinbolizatzeko lehen saiakera arrazionala Maimonidesena izan zen, XII mendean, zeinak Bibliaren interpretazio alegoriko oro ukatu baitzuen, ametsak zirela esanez. Filosofia honi erantzunez, Kabalaren tradizioa Proventzan zabaldu zen lehenik eta gero Espainian, Mendebaldeko pentsamolde mistiko osoan eraginez<sup>488</sup>. Zenbat eta gehiago errefusatu gizon modernoak sinbolismoa, orduan eta zailago egiten zaio, ahalegin desmitologitzaile hauek direla eta, pentsaeraren maila jakin batzuk ulertzea, zeinak ez baitira agertzen soilik Erdi Aroko autore mistikoetan, baina baita zenbait idazle modernoren lanetan, zeinak ulertzeko zail kontsideratzen baitira<sup>489</sup>.

Mistiko mediebalentzat, sinboloa hasieran metafora bat zen, eta honen bidez objektu baten aspektuak, esaterako eguzkiaren kasuan, bere distira eta borobiltasuna, eta sua eta argia, esfera espiritualetara transferitzen ziren. T. Hawkesen arabera, haientzat, “the world is full of metaphors, constructed by God, to communicate a secret meaning when interpreted properly”<sup>490</sup>. Izatez, ez dira hitzak soilik maila ezberdinetako esanahiak dituztenak, Dantek bere mezenas Can Grande della Scallari gutun ezagun batean azaldu bezala<sup>491</sup>, gauzak ere bihur daitezke beste gauza batzuen sinbolo. Metafora bat dei dezakegu funtzional edo estruktural, esanahi konplexu bat duenean bakarrik<sup>492</sup>. Sinbolismo mistikoan, irudi batek bere berezko esanahia gordetzen du, eta era berean ate bat bihurtzen da, zeinaren bitartez egia espiritualak erdiets baitaiteke. Adibidez, ezin daiteke egon aurkakotasunik Bibliaren esanahi literalaren eta interpretazio espiritualaren artean. Lefèvreren hermeneutika mistikoan, hau da ezaugarri adierazgarriena. Margaritak eta Briçonnetek hurbiletik jarraitzen zioten honen doktrinari, erakutsi dudan bezala Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan antzezlaneko hermeneutika mistikoari buruzko kapitulu<sup>493</sup>. Esanahi maila guztiak metafora sinbolikoan egituratze honen oinarria, analogiaren rola da: mistiko bat saiatzen denean besteei bere esperientzia espiritualak deskribatzen, ez du beste modurik, entzuleen inguruko esperientziari buruzko hitzez baliatzea baino. Atearen metafora da, nire ustez, prozesu konplexu hau azaltzeko adibide onena, hau zabaltzean ikusten baitugu zer dagoen atzean. Platonek Kobazuloa



Zabaltzearen sinboloa erabili zuen, zeinak posible egiten baitio gizonari Benetako Munduarekin harremanetan jartzea, Irudien Munduren aurkakoa dena<sup>494</sup>; izatez, platonismoan, mundu materiala esfera espiritualeko bere prototipora lotua da<sup>495</sup>.

Margaritaren lanetan, Liburua bereizketaren sinboloa da. Kristoren agerpena adierazten du, Bera baita Jainkoaren Hitza (Joan 1,1) (*Ikusi Kristo Liburua eutsiz 6 irudian*, 279. orr.). Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan antzezlanean agertzen da, non lau “dramatis personae”ek antzezten duten familiaren Bibliaren inguruan (Ikus 4 kapitulua, III atala). Comédie du desert lanean, “Grand Livre” gisa aurkezten da:

Seigneur, je prens de ta main ce grand Livre,  
Par qui pourra t’ame en joye vivre,  
Le regardant en ce desert estrange.<sup>496</sup>

edo “Liburu Zahar” gisa:

Ce Livre vieux luy feras au long voir,  
Du man vouloir se peul t du tout sçavoir,<sup>497</sup>

edo Naturaren Liburu Handia:

...  
Et que par may ce beau grand Livre voye,  
C’est de Nature.<sup>498</sup>

Korrelazioa dago Espirituaren gidaritzapean Bibliaren zentzu espiritualak irakurtzearen, eta Naturaren Liburu Handian Jainkozkhoa aurkitzearen artean, Espirituaren inspirazioaren bidez hau ere:

Quant est de moy je te monstre la Lettre  
Mais cest Esprit qu’il plaist au Seigneur mettre  
En toy, qui es de luy toute remplie,  
Te fera voir le sens, sans rien omettre.<sup>499</sup>

Mistiko mediebal zenbaitek “teologo sinbolikotzat” dute haien burua, defendatzen baitute ezen gizonak, jainkoa deskribatzerakoan, behar dituela erabili hitzezko baliabide guztiak. Jainkoaz denetarik predika daitekeen neurrian, haien doktrinari deitzen diote “Theologia Maxima in verbis”; edonola ere, Bera definizio ororen gainetik dago (“innominabilis”), eta jainkozkhoa desagokiro expresatzeko sinbolozko kode konplexu bat eratu behar zen (“minima in verbis”). “Theologia Maxima/minima” ez dira ohizko terminoak teologo mistikoen artean, baina balio dute erakusteko



## 6 Irudia.

Kristoren Zeruranzko Igoeraren errepresentazioa, zenbait sinboloren bitartez: Gurutzea da Mendiaren Oinera heltzeko Bidea, non Eliza baten barruan dagoen Hilobiak Jaitziera errepresentatzen baitu. Mendixka triangeluar batek Igoera errepresentatzen du, izaki Hegodunez lagundurik (aingeruak), Gailurreraino. Bertan, Kristok “Scala Mystica” inauguratzen du, zerua eta lurra elkartzen dituen. Champeaux, *Symboles*, op.cit., Fig. 90, 179. orr. Kristoren Igoeraren antzeko errepresentazio bat dago hemen: MS in EL Eg 608 fol. 134, non zenbait Mendixka triangeluarrek igoera graduala deskribatzen baitute; atzekaldean, Gurutze bat dago, gainean Eguzkia, eta bi Aingeru ari dira Bera igotzen laguntzen.

ezen jainkoa definitzeko modurik onena, haiek irakatsitako irudien erabilpena dela:

Aut certe Maxima est Theologia propter omnium rerum positiones de Deo dictas [idazten du tratatu mistiko baten editoreak, 1549an Margarita hil eta gutxira argitaratua] et rursus minima, cum deus innominabilis, nullo nomine effari possit; maxima rursus dici potest explicative vero complicative. Aut vicinius ad mentem Sancti patris, Maxima est Theologia symbolica, quae pluribus verbis, minima est Theologia mystica quae paucissimis utitur verbis. Maxima item potest dici theologia in virtute, minima in verbis.<sup>500</sup>



erabilitako irudien sintesi bat egitea oso zaila izango zaigu, hauek metafora independente eta barneko errealtateen sinbolo gisa aurkeztuz. Aukeratzen dugun moldeak aukeratzen dugula, beti izanen da subjektiboa, zeren Margaritak inoiz ere ez baitzuen aurkeztu ideien “korpora” organiko bat, beste autore mistiko batzuek egin bezala, eta bere sinboloak askotan trukagarriak direla dirudi. Haatik, saiatuko naiz bere irudi anitzak aztertzen tematika antzekotasunei jarraiki, edo Margaritak berak asmatutako zenbait analogiari, mistikoen doktrinaren araura. Batzutan, bere poemetako irudiak ugaritzen ditu, baita nahastu ere, baina betiere defendatuz ezen jainkoa dagoela Bera sinbolo bidez deskribatzeko edozein giza entseguren gainetik:

Plus qu'un éclair ton oeil est importable,  
 Plus qu'un tonnerre est ta voix effrayable,  
 Plus qu'un grand vent ton esprit nous estonne,  
 Plus que foudre est ton coup inevitable,  
 Plus que Mort est ton ire espoventable,  
 Plus que nul feu ton courroux peine donne.

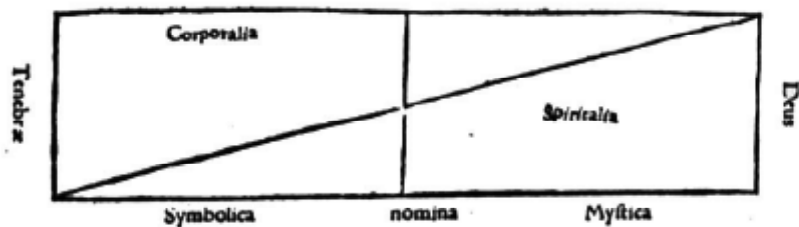
...

Plus qu'un Soleil ton regard est luisant,

... 504

Ex in hanc formulam apparet B. Ambrosius nomina diuina triuaria distinxisse, ut Petrus Longo<sup>s</sup> bardus cum renarrat, alia enim cōstituit personalia, ut pater, filius, verbum, generat, alia essentialia, ut sapiētia, virtus, creator. Postrema poluit translata, ut splendor, speculum, Ieo X. Verum Bonauentura cum assecutus lapsum est, non assecutus veram intelligentiam scriptorum beatissimi patris, potissimū in nominibus symbolicis: Existimat enim nomina rerum corporalium esse symbolica: spiritaliū vero substantiarum nomina, mystica appellat: mensē suam oculis subiiciam, dispositus in eodem cylindro duabus pyramidibus in hunc modum.

Ambrosio  
 Bonauent.  
 Dif. 22. p. 1  
 m.

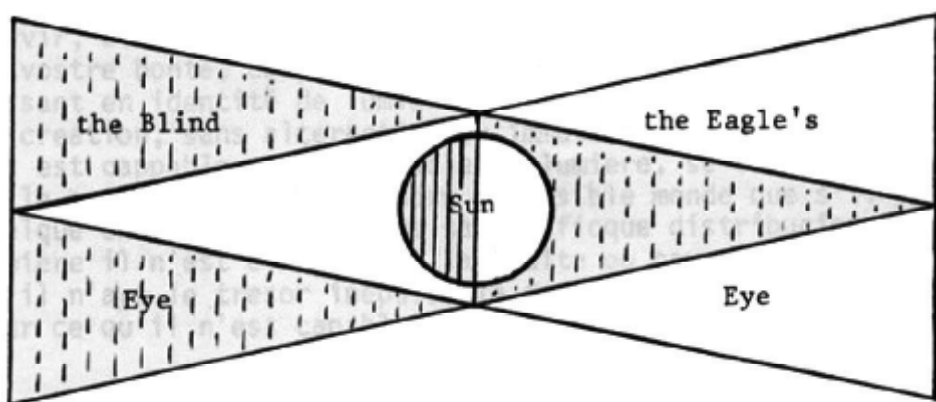


### 3 Irudia.

Sinboloen barne antolaketaren diagrama bat, bi triangelutan; errealtate espiritualek izen mistikoak dituzte, baina objektu materialak sinboloak dira, espiritualenak. Bonauentura Deunaren arabera (*De Theologia Symbolica*, op.cit., Cap.III, Pars II, Prop.III, Fol. E IIII

Idazle mistikoak ez dira soilik saiatu izan irudiak trukatu eta konbinatzen, baina baita hauek Argi eta Iluntasun “Paradigmata”tan antolatzen. Diagrama hauek ekintza dibino eta gizakienak elkarri lotuak

aurkezten dituzte, baita gizonak dagizkien ahaleginak aurkitzeko interakzio honen expresatzen lagunduko dioten sinbolo eta izen mistikoak, “nomina”. Ez zeuden, hala ere, Nominalisten lerro berean, zeinek “unibertsalak” (i.e. kontzeptu abstraktuak) etiketatu baitzituzten izen huts bezala, inongo harremanik onartu barik hitzen eta objektuen artean (Errealisten aurka). Mistikoek erakusten dute, beste barik, giza lengoaiak errealitate ikusezinak deskribatzeko duen ezintasuna. (Ikus nola giza kontzeptu eta sinboloak aplikatzen ahal zaizkion Jainkoari, 3 irudian, 260-264. orr.)



1 Diagrama.

Diagrama honetan agertzen dira Argiaren eta Iluntasunaren piramide elkar gurutzatuak. Gizakien Begi Itsua ezkerreko oinarritik abiatzen da, perfekzioarako (eskuma) bidean Eguzki ilunarekin topo egin arte. Arranoaren Begiak berriz, Eguzkiaren argitasuna ikusten du, eskumatik ezkerreara doalarik. Margaritaren sinboloetako askoren rola, hala nola Sua, Ispilua edota Perlarena, modu berean interpretatu beharra dago, kapitulu honen IV atalean ikusiko dugun bezala.

Margaritaren poesian, Argi eta Iluntasunaren bi piramide edo konoek (5 irudia, 264. orr.) rol garrantzitsua dute; haien korrelatibo askotan ageri dira:

Eguzkia: Txinparta, Argia, Iluminazioa.

Eguzki-eklipsea: Iluntasuna, Itsutasuna, Kolore Beltza.

Begia: Barne-Begia, Begi Inspiratua, Fedearen Begia, Haragiaren Begia, Itsutasunaren Begia.

Arranoa: Eguzkiari aurrez aurre begiratu ahal dio, horrela bere indarrak gordez.

Prisonsei buruzko aurreko kapituluan aipatu dut ezen lehen liburuko Eguzkiaren papera, barne purifikazioaren sinbolo gisa<sup>505</sup>, zerean datzala, Poeta-Maitalea gidatzean, lehenengo Kartzelako Itzaletatik, ezagutza

gorenaren Argira; “this is what happened to Paul”, azaltzen du Meister Eckhartrek, “when God touched him with light on the road (Damaskora), and spoke to him”,<sup>506</sup> eta badirudi mistiko gehienek beren esperientzia zuzenak Argiaren irudipean deskribatzen dituztela<sup>507</sup>.

Eguzkia Argiaren arketipo gisa Margaritaren poemetako sinbolo konstanteenetako bat da<sup>508</sup>. Miroirean, Begia itsutzen du, gizonak bi piramideak banatzen dituen marra gurutzatzen duenean (1 Diagrama, 270. orr). Giza begiak beraz, inoiz ezin du Eguzkiaren handitasuna ulertu (“la grand clarté entiere”):

Quant le soleil d’une seule estincelle  
Aveugle l’oeil, sa gran lumiere celle;  
Mais demandez a l’oeil qu’il a senty;  
Il dira tout; mais il aura menty;  
Car aveugle de petite lumiere,  
Il ne poeut veoir la grand clarté entiere  
Et demeure toutesvoies si content,  
Qu’il luy semble s’il en avoit autant,  
N’estre puissant pour endurer  
Ceste clarté qu’il ne poeut mesurer.

(Miroir, vv.1331-1340)

XVI mendean uste zen Eguzkia zela energia ororen iturria, antzinako kosmogoniei jarraiki; hala deskribatzen zuen Rabelaisek: “l’organe et promptuaire de toute lumiere terrestre et syderale ...”<sup>509</sup>. Chansons Spirituellesetan leit-motif konstante bat da (“Chansons”, 15,20,26). Navirean, sinbologia neoplatonikoz betea ageri da, gure berehalako esperientziez haratago dauden errealitateen sinbolo gisa:

Le Soleil luyt plain d’amour charitable,  
Ouvre tes yeulx et alors tu verras  
Que ton pleurer est cruel et dannable.

(Navire, vv. 1324-1326)

zeren barnetik errebelatzen baititu kanpoko errealitateen esanahiak:

Desja qa bas regarde le soleil,  
Croy qu’en ton c(u)eur le souleil clair et chault  
Luire te veult par amour non pareil.

(*ibid.*, vv. 1402-1404)

Hala ere, Prisonsen II Liburuan argiroago adieraziko da Eguzkiaren sinbolismo mistikoa, eta honen zenbait bariante:

...

Au plain midy le soleil m'esclaira  
Qui mon estat plus plaisant declaira,  
(Prisons, fol. 283 vo, 162. orr.)

zeren honen iluminazioa barik, Poeta-Maitaleak ez luke inoiz lortuko ezagutza perfektua:

'Confessez donc, et ne le cellez pas,  
'Que, sans avoir du soleil la lumiere  
'Qui vous monstra muable et mensongere  
'Celle que tant ten(i)ez loyalle et ferme,  
'Jamais n'eussiez sailly hors de ce terme.  
(ibid. fol. 285 ro and vo, 165. orr.)

Eguzkiari darion argiak ez du soilik arima iluminatzen, hau barnetik erre ere egiten du, Maitasunaren Sugar mistikoaren bidez, Miroirrean azaldu bezala:

...

Aussi le cuer qui par façon subtile  
Sent de l'amour de Dieu une scintille,  
Treuve ce feu si grand et si terrible,  
Si doux, si bon, qu'il ne luy est possible  
Dire que c'est d'amour; ( ... )  
(Miroir, vv. 1341-1345)

Su mistiko honen efektuak deskribatzen dira “consommer”, “fondre”, “brusler” eta “aneantir” (ibid., vv, 954-956) gisa, eta arimaren sentimenduak urtzen den argizariarekin alderatzen dira: “...Ton coeur fondeoit comme la cire, contre / Un ardent Feu ...”<sup>510</sup>.

Sinbolismoan, Sua esanahiz beteriko sinbolo bat da. Lohikeria oro erre dezake, eta bere forma puruenean, Eguzkia, ez du aldaketarik jasaten<sup>511</sup>. Gauzak gori bihur ditzake, bera bezala. St. Victorreko Richardek (1123-1175) Jainkozko Maitasunean murgildutako arima alderatzen du beste egoera batera pasatu den burdin goriarekin, eta Jan van Ruysbroeckek (1293-1381) gizonaren eta jainkoaren arteko bategite Dibinoa ikusten zuen “every soul like a coal burnt up by God in the heart of his infinite love” gisa<sup>512</sup>.

Bestalde, Eguzkirik ezak ezintasun sentsazioa sortzen du. Arima iluntasunean sartzen da lorategi mistikora, Eguzki-izpiek sinbolizatutako “union de mon Espoux” (Chanson 20, v.21) esperientzia bizitzeko esperantzan:

A Dieu pour tout jamais, A Dieu.  
En l'ignorance du matin,  
Sans voir du vray Soleil le jour,  
De plaisir j'entre au Jardin  
Plein d'honneur et biens a l'entour,  
Pour jamais n'en faire retour.  
(ibid., vv. 1-6)

Arima lorategira sartu behar da, non Arrosa den Eguzki Goriaren sinboloa; baina gizakia beti “Biens, plaisirs et honneurs”ez (“Chanson 27”, v. 17) kezkatuta egoteak, honen perfumea desagerrarazten du:

Maudit soit le Cuyder  
Qui semble peu de chose  
Et fait de nous vuyder  
La senteur de la Rose, ...  
(ibid., vv. 1-4)<sup>513</sup>

Baina honen gorritasuna<sup>514</sup>, zeinak giza kezka guztiak erretzeko efektu magikoa duen, jainkozkoaren eskuhartzez berrezartzen da:

...  
Nous redonnant l'odeur  
De la Rose vermeille,  
Bruslant par son ardeur  
Cuyder, qui nous conseille, ...  
(ibid., vv. 37-41)<sup>515</sup>

Margaritak askotan erabiltzen ditu Eklipse eta Iluntasun hitz sinbolikoak:

Mort trop soudain a esclipsé la face  
De mon soleil me laissant sans lumiere  
Aux tenebres de ceste terre basse.  
(Navire, vv. 124-126)

Azpimarratu beharrekoa da ezen ikusteko ezintasunaren sentsazioa, ia guztiz itsu izatearena, etor daitekeela bai Argirik ezetik, baita zuzenean Eguzkiari begiratzetik:

Mais, regardant ce hault ciel desirable,  
L'ardant soleil vint esbloir ma vue,  
Me fermant l'eul par lumiere importable.  
(ibid., vv. 1435-1439)



Eguzkiaren talde sinbolikoan, noizbehinka Begia ere badago. Meisterk Eckhart (c. 1260-1328) idatzi zuen: “St Bernard asks: ‘Why do my eyes behold the sky not my feet? It is because my eyes are more like the sky than like my feet’. If then my soul is to see God, it must be heavenly”<sup>516</sup>.

Margaritak Haragiaren Begia aipatzen du, Argia gordetzeko gai ez dena, eta gorputz osoa Iluntasunean uzten duena, Mateo Deunaren Ebanjelioko sinbolismoa parafraseatuz: “Begia da gorputzari argi egiten dion kriseilua...” (6, 22-23):

...  
Mais Sa lumière et vertu estoit telle  
Que l’oeil charnel la trouva importable,  
Pour estre trap luysante et agreable;  
Ce feu, par qui tout mal est consummé,  
Par mon oeil cloz, ne fut mains alumé  
Dedans mon cuer, qui luy estoit esprit  
Avant que l’oeil l’eust conceu ne compris.  
(Prisons, fol. 303 vo, 202. orr.)

Miroir eta Prisons lanei buruzko aurreko kapituluetan nabarmendu dudan bezala, bere poema mistikoetan Begiaren sinboloarekin jolasten du, Haragiaren Begi Ahulaz mintzatuz, edota Haragiaren Begi Ikuskorraz, Jainkoaren Begiarekiko oposizioan<sup>517</sup>:

... *il [le pecheur] si revestu*  
De Jesuchrist, que luy abhominable  
A l’oeil de Dieu est fait très agreable...  
(Prisons, fol. 320, 236. orr.)

Margaritaren sinbolismo mistikoan, arimaren Begiak Arranoaren Begiaren purutasuna erdietsi beharko luke, eta soilik horrela izango litzateke gai Eguzkiaren Argiari zuzenean begiratzeko:

...  
Son oeil de foy, regardant comme l’aigle  
Le vray soleil où estoit sa fiance ...  
(*ibid.*, 330 ro, 260. orr.)

“It is possible, then, [idazten du Pseudo Dionisiok] I think, to find within each of the many parts of our body images harmonious to the heavenly powers, whilst we affirm that the powers of vision denote the most transparent elevation towards the Divine”.<sup>518</sup>

Amaierarik gabeko lana izango litzateke ezberdintzea Eguzkiarekin mistikoki lotutako sinbolo bakoitza, eta iturri guztiak aurkitzea. Margaritak kutsu neoplatoniko eta dionisiakozko irudi konplexu guzti hauek bereganatu zituen, hain zuzen Platon eta Pseudo-Dionisioren miresle handi batenganik<sup>519</sup>. Briçonneten arabera, arimak erdietsi behar du Arranoaren Hegaldiaren purutasuna, Margaritak eta Pseudo Dionisiok onartutakoaren antzeko konparazio bat erabiliz: “Gousté en avoit [i.e. Le fruit de la guerre spirituelle, beranduago aipatuko den beste sinbolo mistiko bat] quelque petite estincelle le bon prophete David, quand il invitoit ung chascun a la savourer et, par impatient desir, demandoit les helles de l’aigle<sup>520</sup> pour, par haulte et eslevée contemplation, se ennyvrer de telle doulce liqueur liquefiant son coeur, comme la cire devant le feu”. (Correspondance, 1, 27-28. orr.)

Argi eta Itzalekin lotutako Margaritaren sinboloak diagrama geometriko batean elkartu daitezke, zeinak duen Cusako Nikolasen gurutzatutako bi piramideen paradigma mistikoarekiko antz handia (4 irudia, 262. orr). Honetarako, aski da Correspondanceari jarraitzea. Hala ere, adierazi dut iadanik haien sinboloetako asko paraleloan doazela, eta zaila litzatekeela hauek bereizi eta egoerarik garbienean aurkeztea. Edonola ere, hurrengo eskemak (6 eranskina) irakurleari lagunduko dio berreraikitzen Berpizkunde goiztiarreko neoplatonismoaren “Theologia Symbolica”ren gainjarritako bi piramideak.

Briçonneten arabera, Eguzkia bere izaeraz aldatzen ez den izaki bat da, kosmogonista mediebalen kontzeptua berau, Esfera Platonikoetatik hartua; gizonaren Begia Sator gisa agertzen da, ezin baitio aurre egin jainkozko Distira horri:

La lumiere materielle est trop plus cogneue que les couleurs<sup>521</sup> qu’elle illumine, comme est la cause devant les effectz.

O doulce lumiere et doulceur lumineuse, dulcifiez par humilité mon esperit à se cognoistre taulpe et vous rendre gloire et graces de ce que luy communiquez et permectez qu’il puisse par vostre creature solaire, veoir de loing vostre abissale mer de lumiere,<sup>522</sup> car de près n’est permis à creature!

(Correspondance, 1, 189. orr.)

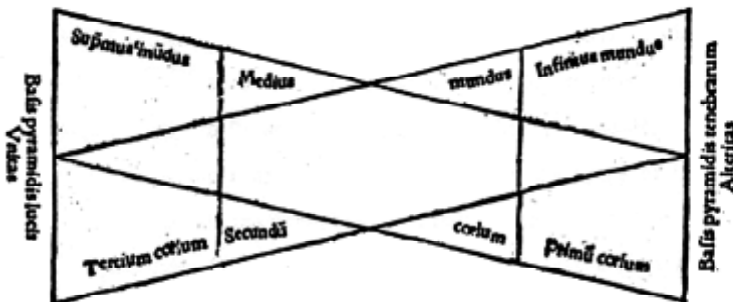
Gutun berdinean, berriro agertzen da Eguzkia izakirik perfektuena bezala, osotasun dibinoa sinbolizatzen duena (“vostre ymaige materiele”); Eguzkia da giza Begia erakartzeko “hors ce visible monde”, baina honek askotan ezin du jainkozkoa erdietsi, zeren “il n’est capable ou qu’il fuit la lumiere”:

Equalité de lumiere qui ne croist ne décroist, ains est identité sans variacion, luysez en mon coeur à ce qu'il ne congnoisse ce qui n'est vous et neantmoins eslevez l'esperit de vostre chambriere pour, en vostre ymaige materiele, par son oeil corporel, penetrer autant qu'il vous plaira la tirer pour vous servir, aimer et honnorer en contemplant ceste grandeur d'image de vostre bonté, corps luminaire, solaire, tousjours esgallement luisant en identité de lumiere constante et permanente depuis sa creation, sans alteration ou immutacion, illuminant tout ce qui est cappable et susceptible de lumiere, se communicant en telle amplitude dedans et hors ce visible monde que s'il y a quelque chose qui ne recoive sa beneficque distribucion de lumiere il n'est à imputer à la faulte ou pauvreté du soleil qu'il n'ayt le tresor inepuisible de sa lumiere, mais c'est ou pour ce qu'il n'est capable ou qu'il fuit la lumiere. (ibid., 1, 191. orr.)<sup>523</sup>

**Sed iam** ex Dionysio didicimus, **mythica nomina** exteriore sensibilia & intelligibilia, & esse **negativa** in veritate pyramidis sicut **mythica Theologia** ab his auspiciatur: quare nomina substantiarum spiritualium, quantumcumque eminentia, non sunt **mythica** censenda: & ut profundius ascensum & descensum intelligere possis / cuius sepe meministi beatissimus pater accipe pyramidem Nicolai Cusani doctissimi **mythi** ex libro eius de consuetudine, & libro de docta ignorantia.

Cusani.

Figura paradigmatica Cusani.



**Sed intelligibiliorem** multo tibi communiabo pyramidem / in qua & gradus entium, **particula** passionemque lucis & tendentiarum distinctissime videbis: nam participatio non est minima via sceleris Theologiae, ut in nostra Theologia negativa fufius explicabimus, & ex hoc longe facilius ascensum & descensum parare tibi poteris pro animi tui sententia ad institutum Dionysiacum: Hanc autem insignem & mirificam pyramidem, longe excedentem Aegyptiacas & Memphisicas pyramides, acceptam referre debes preceptoris nostri optimo Gregorio Reischio, Cartusiae monachi S. Ioannis in Friburgo priori viro oppido veneratione.

Eddus.

Gregorius Reischius.

**Soli deo gloria:**

E 44 10

#### 4 Irudia.

Gregorius Reischiusen diagrama geometrikoa, berak "figura paradigmatica" deitua, zeinak irudikatzen baitu Argiaren piramide barruko sinboloen eta Iluntasunarenean dauden haien aurkakoen arteko interrelazioa. Cusako Nikolasen Unibertsoaren kontzeptzioa erakusten du: sortutako gauzak Argi eta Iluntasunaren parte dira, baina Argiaren piramidearen oinarritik zenbat eta hurbilago egon, orduan eta gutxiago dira gorpuzdun. (*De Mystica Theologia*, op.cit., Cap.III, Pars II, Prop.III, fol. E III ro).

Hauek bi pasarte garrantzitsu dira, zeinek, XVI mendeko unibertsoaren kontzepzio estatikoa “Cosmos” gisa ulertzen laguntzeaz batera, erakusten baitute zenbait sinboloren elkartruke bat, hala nola Sua, Eguzkia, Satorra, Argia, Eklipsea eta Itsasoa. Honek antza du Argi eta Iluntasunezko piramide bikoitzarekin, Margaritaren poema sinbolikoetatik berreraikia. Correspondanceko 6 gutunak eskema hau baieztatzen du: “Madame, moult est [h]eureuse l’ame qui se sent et cognoist telle, car elle est aveugle voiente, luisant l’infinie lumiere en ses tenebres. Et plus y luist, plus l’aveugle, et en aveuglant illumine”. (ibid., 1, 34-35. orr.)

Garrantzizkoa da Briçonnetek eta Margaritak euren buruei “aveugles” deitu izana: printzesak idatzi zuen lehenik “la riche aveugle, Marguerite” (ibid., 1, 154. orr.), eta apezpikuak onartu: “Helas! Madame, tirez y le pauvre aveugle, s’il vous plaist, par voz prieres” (ibid., 1, 187. orr.); elkar eragin zuten, eta batak bestearen sinboloak aberastu esanahiaren ñabarduretan. Honek, Margaritaren azken urteetan, eman zion aukera Argi eta Itzalezko Piramide konplexu bat eraikitzeko, bereziki bere azken poema mistikoetan agertzen dena bezalakoa, Chansons Spirituelles eta Prisonsetan.

## II

Kapitulu honen helburua ez da Margaritaren lan guztietan agertzen diren metafora mistikoak zerrenda alfabetiko batean aurkeztea, ezta haiek guztiak erakustea ere, baizik eta sinbolo nagusiak estrukturalki antolatzea, bere kontzeptu mistikoak ulergarri egiteko. Izatez, haietako batzuen analisi zorrotz batek haren mistizismoaren izaera erakutsiko digu. Baina irakurlea irudi eta sinbolozko labirinto honetan galtzearen arriskua dago. Jakinmina duenak, indizea begiratu dezake, non agertzen diren alfabetikoki antolatuta Margaritaren lanetan aurki daitezkeen zenbait irudi.

Jainkoa Argia bada, eta arima gorputzak espetxeratua badu Iluntasunean, ezin egon daiteke errekontziliaziorik bien artean, gizonak bizirik dirauen bitartean. Honi beste konfliktu bat gehitu beharrean gaude: gizonaren arima arina da, eta gorputza berriz astuna<sup>524</sup>. Margaritaren sinboloen bigarren piramide antitetikoak Goikoaren eta Behekoaren arteko oposizioa errepresentatzen du. Aurrekoarekin oso lotura zuzena du, esan nahi baita Argi eta Iluntasunarenarekin, eta askotan trukagarriak dira. Honen sinboloak bi talde nagusitan sailka daitezke:

I. Gorputzaren konfliktoa, arimaren osagarri gorputzgabeekin: Sustraia, Zizarea eta Kartzela.

II. Arimaren eta Jainkozkoaren arteko konfliktoa: Gatazka, Gezia, Zauria, Dardoa, Ezpata, eta arimaren eta Erraldoiaren arteko Borroka.

Prisonsetan, erreginak Argi eta Iluntasunaren bi piramide hauek nahasten ditu gizonaren jakiteko inpazientziarekin: Eguzki Izpiek Poeta-Maitalea askatzen dutenean berak bere buruari inposatutako kateez, Argia eta bere askatasuna erakutsiz, barnetik zauritzen ari dira, Izpi-Dardoarekin<sup>525</sup>.

Gorputzarengandik askatzeko arimaren Borroka horrek, gizonaren kondizio lurtarra erakusten du. Jainkoa etorri behar da laguntza eskainiz, Bere maitasunaz:

Et annoncez, disant à mon Espoux,  
Que forte Amour, par desir, ne me fine  
De tourmenter iusques a la racine;  
Qu'il vienne donc abbreger mes longs iours.  
Car Luy TOUT SEUL en est la medicine;  
Làs, vien, JESUS, car je languiz d'amours.<sup>526</sup>

Brignonetek Margaritari azaltzen dio ezen lurreko existentziak, bere “terrestreitez et animalitez” guztiekin, jainkozko Suari eragozten diola gizonaren izaera bekatarian barneratzea. Hau ideia paulino bati erreferentzia bat da, zeinak dioen gizona izatez Adanen galbideratutako leinutik datorrela, eta landutako zuhaitz batean txertatua izan behar dela (Kristo) Fedearen bidez, fruiturik emango badu (Erromatarrei 11,13-24): “... descheant les occasions qui renouvellent les terrestreitez et animalitez de nostre vieil homme de peche [i.e. Adam], qui empesche que le feu ne penetre jusques a l'exication [i.e. dessèchement] des maistresses racines” (Correspondance, 1, 103. orr.).

Charlotte printzesak, Dialoguean, garatua zuen Brignoneten “sustrai zaharrez askatu; arima Kristoren Zuhaitzean txertatu (Gurutzean)” gaia:

Jesuchrist est le ban arbre qui monte  
Jusques au ciel, donnant fruit en son temps:  
N'ayez jamais d'estre sa branche honte.  
(Dialogue, vv. 613-615)<sup>527</sup>

Gizonaren arimak Suaren antza du, jotzen baitu igotzera “en pyramide en hault”, Brignonetek azaldu bezala:

Le siege de vray repos et vraye demeure du feu materiel est au plus hault de tous les corps celestes, comme celluy qui predomyne à toutes creatures corporelles et ne peult ailleurs estre en repos quand il est cy bas. C'est pour la matiere, a laquelle il est attaché, qu'il desire convertir et transmuier en soy, pour incontinent retourner en son trosne. Aussy voions que la flamme tend en piramide en hault, pour monstrier sa naissance et origine et n'est visible que en la matiere qu'il unist à soy, demourant en soy invisible. Il est leger, agile, sublime, qui ne peult estre contrainct hors matiere de demourer en bas et quant il y est, par desir qu'il a naturel de transmuier tous corps en luy. (Correspondance, 1, 105. orr.)

Aurreko kapituluari argudiatu dugunez, jakina da Margaritaren lanetan, gizonaren existentzia lurtarraren sinbolo nagusia Kartzela dela. Arimaren kondizioak ere toki garrantzitsua du bere sinbolismoan, Prisons obran Poeta-Maitaleak errepresentatzen duelarik. Litanian moduzko bere sinboloekin irakasten zuen arimak bere existentzia lurtarretik askatzeko egiten duen Borroka, eta hau Argi eta Iluntasunezko Piramideekin lotuta dauden irudiak bezain aberatsa da. Hauxe idazten du Borroka honetaz Discordean:

Et de ce vient que bataille obstinee  
Est dedans l'homme et ne sera finée  
Tant qu'il aura vie dessus la terre  
(Discord. vv. 29-31)

baita, Prisonsetan, ezpatariaren arteko duelu batez:

Bien longuement ceste lutte dura  
Entre nous deux, dont mon cueur endure,  
Par maincte annee et longue experience  
(Prisons, fol. 303, 202-203. orr.)

Gatazka honek arima darama maila altuago batera, zeinean baitago erasoko balute bezala behetik (gorputzak) eta goitik (Jainkoen Ezagutzak). Dardo-Zauria erabiltzen da hemen arimaren Bataila Galduaren sinbolo gisa. Comédiean, "la Bergère"n dio:

O doux amour! O doux regard,  
Qui me transperce de ton dar(d).  
(Comédie , vv. 958-959)

Jainkoaren Begia eta honen Ikusmena ere Margaritak Dardoaren sinbolismoaz aurkeztu ditu:

A[vez] vous de moy tourne vostre regard?  
Non, mais vostre oeil m'a esté ung doux dard,  
Qui m'a navre le cuer jusques a la mort,  
En me donnant de mes pechez remort.  
(Miroir, vv. 809-812)

Aurreko kapituluari aipatu bezala, Margaritak alderatzen du esperientzia mistikoaren extasia, zauritua izatearen sententzia sakonarekin. Correspondanceko pasarte ezin ahantzizko batean, Briçonnetek erakutsia zion gai hau erabiltzeko aukera.

Hark zioenez, pertsona batzuk hain dira materialistak (“charnels et animaux”), ezen uste dute ahal dutela “sans helles voller pour cuider comprendre l'incomprehensible” (Correspondance, l, 227. orr.); ez dute Argiaren iturburua aurkitu nahi “en orient”. “Spirituels”ek berriz, Eguzkiaren falta somatzen dute zerumugatik agertzen denean, baina ezin dute hegan egin harengana heltzeko eta Arranoaren Hegorik ez edukitze honek frustrazioa sortzen die, zeina hemen irudikatzen den Dardoaz:

Tant sont toutefois ennyvrez de l'excellence de l'infinitude de l'esprit qui leur est communicque qu'ilz veullent, en ung petit raion, par ardent desir comprendre l'immensite du Soleil, et par une goutellette, la plenitude de la mer, et congnoissant l'impuissance de leur vol soubhaitent helles aquilaires. Lesquelles, par grace impetrées, en leur prouffitent pour parvenir à leur desir et congnoissent que la pesanteur du corps, combien que passe par la fournaise de charité, embrasé, aneanti et pulverisé, empesche parvenir au vol désiré et de repoux, et telz ne reputent estre trop en corps et crient avec Saint Pol, de coeur fervent, feru et empané des dars d'amour. (ibid., l, 227. orr.)

Jainko-arima harremanak beste neurri bat hartzen du, Margaritak Briçonneten Correspondanceari erreferentzia eginez, adierazten duenean gizonak egiten duen jainkoizkoaren bilaketa dela “le grand pas comme un geant”:

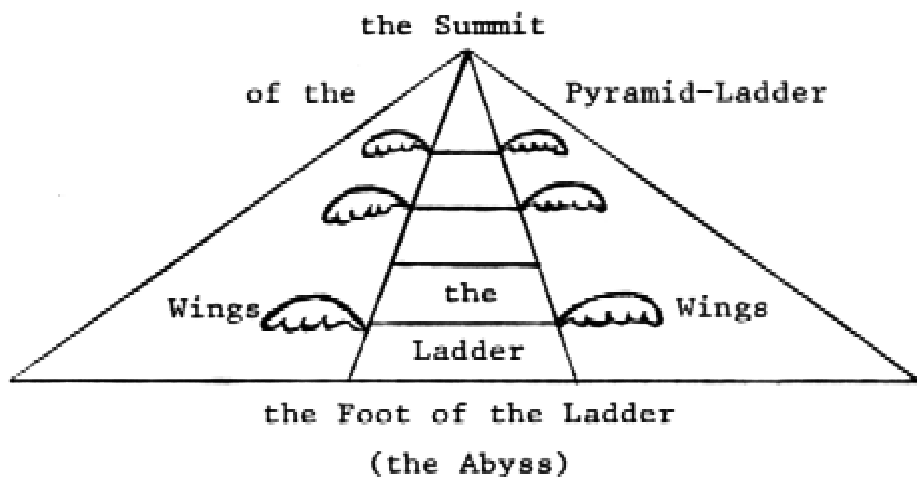
Qui t'a haste de courir le grand pas  
Comme un geant; me mettre hors de la meule  
Qui me brisoit, pour en faire un repas  
Au grand enfer, qui m'avoit en sa gueule?<sup>528</sup>

Briçonnetek sinbolo gisa erabilitako simul honek, inplikatu du arima ezin dela ase egon lurrean (“plus on en gouste, plus on la desire”), eta Jacob eta Aingeruaren antzeko Borroka egin aurretik (Genesisia

32, 23-32), arima gai izan behar dela perfektuen “la viande” jateko (i.e. Janari Espirituala) (Hebrearrei 5,14), “le geant d’amour insuperable” garai dezantzat: “Plus on en goust, plus on la desire, et par impatient desir serchez secours et ayde pour combattre le grand geant d’amour insuperable. Coeur aneanty et bien mortiffie a grand pouvoir pour le geant combattre” (*Correspondance*, 1, 27. orr.).<sup>529</sup> Zalantzarik gabe, Briçonnet eta Margaritarentzat Erraldoia Jainkoa Bera da, zeren beste gutun batean Apezpikua gai berdinera baitator: “Madame, Dieu sçait que je prens sans fiction, consolacion et plaisir indicible de congnoistre par voz lettres la grace evidente que le grand geant d’amour insuperable vous fait en vous mectant au cours de sa vigne, ...” (*Correspondance*, 1, 162. orr.).

### III

Beharbada, Margaritaren poemetan aurki ditzakegun sinbolo poetikoenak, Eskalaren diagrama basikoarekin lotutakoak dira, Amildegiarekiko aurkakotasun argian. Eskalaren piramide mistikoa oinarritzko eskema bat da, azaltzen duena arimaren liberatzea bere joera lurtarretatik. Gizonak pausoz pauso egin beharko du igoera, edo Hegoen laguntzaz hegan eginez (7 Anexoa).



#### 2 Diagrama.

Nire diagrametako bat, ilustratzeko arimaren igoera Eskalaren Oinarritik Piramidearen Gainera, Margaritaren testu poetikoei jarraiki. Triangeluaren sinpletasun elementala erabili dut, eta Piramidearen mugimendu progresiboa Iluntasunetik “theologia symbolica”ren Argirantz.



G. Durandek, bere lan arkeologikoan, Hegoaren sinboloaren funtsezko egitura azaltzen du, Igoera Bertikalaren irudi naturala bezala: “L’outil ascensionnel par excellence, c’est bien l’aile dont l’échelle du Chanana ou l’escalier de la Ziggurat n’est qu’un grossier succédané. Cette extrapolation naturelle de verticalisation posturale est la raison profonde qui motive la facilité avec laquelle la reverie volante, techniquement absurde, est acceptée et privilégiée par le desir d’angelisme”<sup>530</sup>. Briçonneten arabera, Mendiak irudikatzen du zeruaren eta lurraren elkargunea (Correspondance, 2, 37. orr.). Margaritak ere aingeruzko sinbolo hau erabiltzen du behin eta berriz, askotan konbinatzen duelarik beste irudien talde batzuekin. Navirean, Mendi-Eskalaren hurrengo elementu basikoak ematen ditu:

Qui vit en chair, il vit en une abisme  
De tout peché, demeurant en l’eschelle  
Tousjours au pied, sans regarder la cime.  
(Navire, vv. 328-330)

Iradokitzen du ezen giza bekatuak eragotzi egiten diola gizonari igotzeko bere desira hori betetzea, zeina Erdi Aroko arkitektoek sinbolizatzen baitute arku, ganga eta orratzez, katedral gotikoetan<sup>531</sup>.

En attendant que icy puisses voller,  
Du tu viendras si ta foy ne te fault,  
Le bien que j’ay je ne veulx celler.  
(*ibid.*, vv. 457-459)

Bibliako poetak bezala, zeinaren nahia baitzen Jaunaren Mendira igotzea: “Nor igo Jaunaren mendira? Nor egon hark sagaraturiko tokian? Eskuak errugabe eta bihotza garbi dituen, gezurezko jainkoetara jotzen ez duena, engainatzeko zinik egiten ez duena” (Salmoak 24,3-4), Margaritak ere oinarritzko desira hau adierazten du bere hainbat poematan:

Montant plus hault a la perfection,  
(Prisons, fol. 295 ro, 185. orr.)

Amildegiko Kartzelatik ihes egin ostean:

Adieu l’abisme où j’étois englouty,...  
(*ibid.*, fol. 275 ro, 143. orr.)

Hala ere, azaldu beharko dugu ezen Amildegia ez duela beti gizonaren parte apalenaren, edo desira txarrenen zentzua. Izan daiteke baita jainkozkoaren izaera ikertezin eta ulertezinaren sinbolo.

Briçonnetek Margaritari idazten dio jainkozko misterioekin aurrez aurre egotea itsugarri gerta daitekeela: “L’abisme qui tout abisme previent pour en le desabismant l’abismer en abisme sans l’abismer, auquel abisme est fons sans fons, voie des errans sans chemin ne sentier, qui les desvoiez retire d’erreur pour abissalement les desvoier en voie abissale, abissellement desvoiant, et plus desvoi e moins desvoie” (Correspondance, 1, 134-135. orr.). Textu honetan zenbait sinbolo konbinatzen ditu, hala nola “abisme”, “chemin”, “fons”, “voie”; “jeu de grand rhetoriqueur” batean. Mistizismoan ez dago Biderik Jainkoa erdiesteko, ez bada Beraren Bide misteriotsua bera, zeinean arima galdu behar den Amildegia dibinoa ulertu ahal izateko, aurrera eginez ezagutzen Uretik Ardora (ulerpen inperfektutik perfektura): “...affin que l’eau puisse estre convertie en vin et que l’abisme par l’abisme invocque puisse abismer” (ibid., 1, 134. orr.)<sup>532</sup>.

Hondorik gabeko Amildegia honetatik, edota jainkozko bide misteriotsuetatik, arimak gora egin beharko luke bertikalki, Chansons Spirituellesetan azaldu bezala:

Descendons bas en nostre âme  
Pour monter plus hautement.  
 (“Chanson” 21, vv. 1-2)<sup>533</sup>

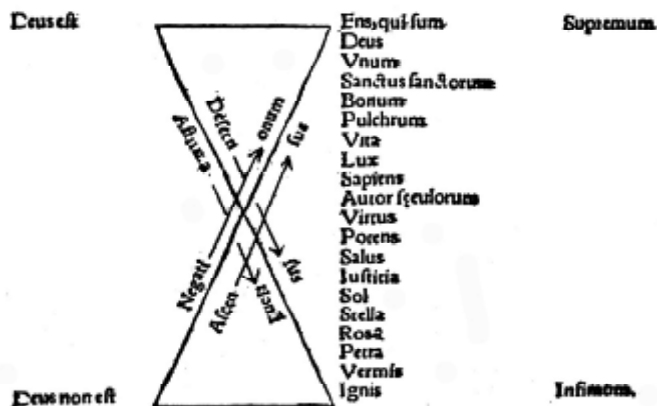
“Chanson 21”ean, Igotze eta Jaistearen irudiak lotzen dira “Rien” eta “Tout”aren gai mistikoekin, Prisons aztertzean azaldu dudan bezala. Kristok arimari laguntzen dio Beraren “kenosis”an elkartzeko (“descendre jusqu’au Rien”), hau gai izan dadin Berarekin elkartzeko Bere loriatzeko mistikoan (“*monter jusqu’au Tout*”)<sup>534</sup>:

De Christ, duquel sera la femme  
Jointe inséparablement,  
L’âme estant Rien, sera dame  
De Tout par son Tout, vrayment.  
Descendons.  
(ibid., vv. 13-17)

Mistikoek, mistizismoa azaltzen saiatzerakoan, piramide bikoitz bat irudikatzen dute, igoeran eta jaitsieran dauden elementuekin (7 *diagrama*, 9 *eranskina*). Champeaux eta Sterckxek sinbolikoki azaltzen dute, Jacoben Bethaleko ikuspenaren arabera (Genesia 28,12):

En songe, Jacob a vu l’échelle mystérieuse sur laquelle des anges montaient et descendaient en une incessante communication de la terre au ciel. Le Christ reprendra l’image à son compte pour faire entendre

qu'il est l'échelle qui retablit les communications entre l'humanité pécheresse et le ciel enfin rouvert: "En vérité, en vérité, je vous le dis, vous verrez le ciel ouvert et les anges de Dieu monter et descendre au-dessus du Fils de l'homme" (Joan 1,51).<sup>535</sup>



7 Irudia. Diagrama geometriko bat, igotzen eta jaisten diren piramideena, zeinak dituzten jainkoari aplikatzen ahal zaizkion definizio eta sinboloak. Edozein giza kontzeptu positibo, esaterako "bonum" edo "pulchrum", Berataz esan daiteke positiboki (Deus est...), baina kreaturez soilik analogikoki (via Analogica). Predikatu imperfektuak, hala nola "finito" edo "sortua", soilik negatiboki aplikatu ahal zaizkio (via Negativa): "Deus non est finitus", "Deus est infinitus". Zenbait kreaturea, Eguzkia edota Izarrak bezala, jainkoagandik hurbilago daude besteak baino (harria, zizarea), zeren Beraren jainkozko kualitateak zehaztasun handiagoz islatzen baitituzte, eta beraz Berataz predikatu ahal dira sinbolikoki. *Mystica Theologia*ak, Margaritak ez bezala, Sua oso behean kokatzen du Eskala Mistikoan. (De *Mystica Theologia*, op. cit., Cap.III, Pars II,

Margaritak, beste mistiko batzuek bezala, Eskala hau Gurutzearekin identifikatzen du:

O CHRIST en Croix, tu es la vraie eschelle  
Par qui le Ciel se ravist et eschelle,  
Qui as pour nous fait telle violence, ( ... )  
O doulce eschelle, à t'embrasser m'avance; ...<sup>536</sup>

sinbolo hau Navirean aldamioaren irudiaren bidez adierazten da (i. e. *Genesi* 28eko *Jacoben Scala Mysticaren ametsa*):

Or, prent sa croix pour faire ung eschauffaut  
De terre au ciel. et aussy pour destruire  
Ton ennemy qui est cruel et cault.  
(Navire, vv. 862-864)

John Fergusonek azaltzen du ezen hiru mailako unibertsoa igotzea, askotan hegan egitearekin lotzen dela: “Jewish mysticism acknowledges three forms of ascension: direct ascension into heaven of a few chosen ones such as Enoch and Elijah; ascension and return, granted to Moses; and the ascension of the soul in Hasidic mystical experience”.<sup>537</sup> Meister Eckhartek azalpen bitxi bat du Igoera-Jaitsiera esperientzia honentzat, Igotzen den Uraren eta Jausten den Harriaren teoriaren bidez, azalduz arimaren gorantz igotzeko desira naturala, eta harriarena, beherantz jaustekoa: “There is, however, another action more essential to the stone than falling. It is the constant downward tendency ingrained in it and which neither God nor man nor creature can take away”.<sup>538</sup> Berak uste du urak igotzera jotzen duela, berez: “... it is the way of water to flow downwards into the valley and that is its custom; but under the influence and action of the moon up in the sky, water forsakes and forgets its own way and flows, uphill and its rising is easier than its downflow”.<sup>539</sup> Eckhartek Hegoaren eta Igoeraren sinbolismoa ere azaltzen du, adieraziz nola arimak jotzen duen hau egitera agente baten laguntzaz: “...it is the property of the soul [i.e. Gizona jasotzeko joera naturala] ever to struggle upwards by means of this agent, and if it looks aside, or relents from the way upwards, that is sin. The soul cannot bear to have anything above it. I believe that it cannot bear to have even God above it.”<sup>540</sup>

Agerikoa da ezen Igotzearen esperientzia, Eckhartek deskribatutakoaren arabera, Hegan egitearen sentsazioarekin harremanetan dagoela, eta esperientzia mistikoa sarritan lotu izan da Hegoaren irudiarekin; Margaritak askotan erabili eta konbinatzen ditu biak, batez ere Prisons lanean:

...  
 Car la beaulté d’un seul si fort te plaist  
 Que le dehors, tant soit beau, te desplaist,  
 Sinon d’autant qu’il doit servir d’eschelle,  
 Pour adresser le voller de ton aile  
 Par la facture au Facteur, et montant  
 Aller tousjours ses louanges chantant...  
 (Prisons. Fol. 328 ro 253. orr.)

Jainkoaren ezagutzaranzko bere kreazio beraren bidezko igoera naturalaren doktrina hau leit-motif bat da sinbolismo mistikoan. (Erromatarrei 1,19-20)

Platonek idatzi zuen Hegoaz, arimaren gorantzko joeraz, ezen “it is the corporeal element which is most akin to the divine, and which by

nature tends to soar aloft and carry that which gravitates downwards into the upper region, which is the habitation of the gods”.<sup>541</sup> Briçonnetek Margarita iniziatu zuen sinboloen zientzia konplikatu honetan, Platonen miresle handi bat zelarik, baita Pseudo Dionisioren “echelles d’essurrection”en ere<sup>542</sup>:

Et, apres que la bonne brebis s’est bien ennyvree en son dict ru[i]sseau, par yvresse extatique et amour desmesurée a voullu prendre les helles de l’aigle pour faire l’extreme vol pour cognoistre la force et puissance de charité, qui a faict que equalité et inequalité, grand et petit,<sup>543</sup> createur et creature. tout et rien sont ensemble et coincident ...<sup>544</sup>

(Correspondance, 1, 47. orr.)

Beraren arabera, beharrezkoak dira “Helles de la bataille” (ibid., 1, 27. orr.) azken etapara iristeko, zeina soilik Arranoak erdietsi baitezake, eguzkia duelarik xede<sup>545</sup>. 1523 aldera, konturatu zen Margarita prest zegoela goranzko Hegaldiari ekiteko: “Madame, vous laissant l’ame de l’homme, sachant que Dieu vous a donne helles non vulgaires pour voller où le vend vous transportera, que debvrez suivre et vous reposer en luy...” (Correspondance, 2, 35. orr.); bai eta ulertzeko beste zenbait sinbolo konplexu, zeinek gorpuzten dituzten Jainkozkoaren izaerari buruzko doktrina hermetikoak, eta ekartzen arima azken Musu eta Ezkontzara, “Chanson 17”an agertzen den Gailurrera heltzearen beste irudi bat:

Ce jour de nopces, Seigneur,  
Me tarde tant,  
Que de nul bien ny honneur  
Ne suis content

...  
Baissez moy, acolez moy,<sup>546</sup>  
Mon Tout en tous,  
Unissez moy par la Foy  
Du tout à vous.  
(“Chanson 17”, vv. 14-26)

#### IV

Marra Zuzenak, bereziki Karratuaren forma geometrikoan, giza ekintzekin lotuak dira sinbolikoki, esaterako eraikuntzekin, edota gorantz igotzeko edo beheherantz jausteko izakien joera bertikalekin, Erdi Aroko mistikoek aktibitate hauek ulertu bezala<sup>547</sup>. Baina Zirkulua

Jainkozkoarekin lotuta dago bere itxura dinamikoagatik, errotazio mugimendu ororen oinarria baita. Margaritak erabilitako sinboloetako askok, adibidez Begia edo Eguzkia, forma zirkularra dute. Beraz, Absolutu puruaren konnotazioak dituzte, nahiz eta, sinbolo naturalak direnez gero, akatsak eduki ditzaketen, piramidearen oinarriara hurbiltzen diren heinean.

Aipatu dut iada Bidea, Jainkozko ekintzan konprometitzeko giza joeraren sinbolo ezin hobe gisa. Margaritak adibide on bat du Comédie sur le Trespas du Roy lanean:

#### SECURUS

Le droict chemin je ne te veux celler:  
De la grand croix il se faict appeller,  
C'est le chemin de la haulte montaigne.

#### AGAPY

De la grand croix? Ce chemin là je sçay,  
Car j'en ay faict souvent le rude essay,  
Des yeulx la voy et dans le cueur la parte.

(Comédie sur le Trespas du Roy, vv. 242-247)

Baina Bidearen sinbolo mistikoa, batez ere Kristori aplikatu behar zaio; askotan, Margaritak Bide, Egia eta Bizitza (voye, verité, vie) gisa deskribatu izan du Bera, jainkozkoaren definizio Johaninoei jarraiki, aurreko 5 kapituluaren V D atalean ikusi dugun bezala:

Tu es la voye et le chemin tresample  
Par ou lon va au grand celeste temple.<sup>548</sup>

Mistikoeak Jainkoaren grazia Urarekin lotzen dute. Hainbat itxura hartzen ditu honek Margaritaren poesian. Errekak eta Iturriak, esaterako, gizonaren sufrimenduaren irudiak dira, La Navirean bere anaiaren heriotzaz ari denean bezala:

O chef roial, qui fontaine s'est faicte,  
Dont tes yeulx sont les abondans ruisseaulx,  
Par fort pleurer ceste dure defaicte.  
(Navire, vv. 1030-1032)

Jainkoaren errukiaren sinbolo izan ohi dira, Dialoguean Charlottek zera dioenean bezala, vv. 418-419:

Sa grace est un ruisseau qui court fort royde  
Dans une ame distribuant ses dons,...  
Oreinaren Ur-Lasterretara heltzea, arimaren eta jainkozkoaren arteko  
topaketaren sinbolo mistikoa da (Correspondance, 1, 79. orr.):

*S'il vous [i.e. arima] plaisoit seoir et poser  
Dessus le bart d'une fontaine,  
Et corps et esprit reposer,  
Puisant de l'eau tres-vive et saine,  
Certes sans y prendre autre peine.  
Le cerf [jainkoa] viendrait A vous tout droit.  
("Chanson 6", vv. 41-46)*

Ura sinbolo natural gisa ("Signe") agertzen da Dialoguean:

Soubdainement, faisant de Adam defaite,  
L'ensepuelist, recepuant Leaue pour Signe  
En Jesuchrist, où son ame est refaite  
(Dialogue, vv. 697-699)

Sinbolo hau, Pablo Deunak egindako "Israeldarren Itsaso Gorriaren zeharkatzearen" interpretazio mistikotik dator<sup>549</sup>, eta Margaritak Briçonneti hartu zion, gutun batetatik: "... et moins pourrions passer le mer Rouge, sy la puissante verge ne l'ouvroit, arrestoit et sechoit: par le baptesme le ciel nous est Ouvert, la puissance tirannique arrestée et la source de peche originel sechée et tarie, de sorte que sommes, après le baptesme, vrais enfans de Dieu..." (Correspondance, 1, 199. orr.).

Margarita eta Briçonnetentzat, Ura da oinarrizko hiru sinboloetako bat, Sua eta Manarekin batera. Hau lehenago aipatu dut, hiru hauek aurkeztu ditudanean Margaritaren Hiru Kartzelen ilustrazio gisa. Gainera, gutun batean, Briçonnetek Margaritak bezala garatu zuen erreken analogia, Ur-Lasterrak alderatuz arimaren hiru faseko garapenarekin:

Et, pour continuer nostre eaue beneficque et salvificque, d'icelle trouvons yssir trois rui[s]seaulx qui ne sont que ung. Par l'ung, en l'amour et nectoiant, il purge et est eaue purgative. Par l'aultre, ouvre les yeulx et oste la taye de cecite et ygnorance, et, par ce, est illuminatisve. Par la troiziesme, par ce qu'il ne laisse riens imparfaict, elle est eaue perficiente. La purgacion et illumination, et, pour aultrement exprimer, le doulx Jesus, est, par habondance des eaux de grace, purgeant, illuminant, et parfaisant en luy nature humaine, de laquelle est purgation, illumination et perfection. (Correspondance, 1, 79. orr.)

Briçonneten arabera, Kristok “eaux de grace” oparotasunez dakar, honen bidez Berak arima mistikoki purifikatzen, iluminatzen eta hobetzen duelarik, ekintza hauek bat etorritz Trinitateko hiru pertsonekin (Correspondance, 1, 96. orr.). Margaritak idatzi zuen Kristok Uraren bidez salbatzeko duen botereari buruzko poema bat, berau lotuta dagoelarik Jainkoak ariman egiten dituen hiru operazioekin: Hautaketa (Aitareen bidez), Maitasunezko gaitza (Semearen bidez) eta Ezagutzaren gozamena (Espirituaren bidez):

Sans or, argent, ny avoir  
L'eau donne en abondance,  
 Non labeur ne devoir  
 Par merite ou puissance;  
 Mais par pure Election  
 D'une grande affection,  
 Nous donne fruition  
 De l'eau de cognoissance,  
 A la clere Fontenelle.  
 (“Chanson 14”, vv . 43-51)

*Briçonnetek “Scala Perfectionis”aren diagrama eta Uraren sinbolismoa konbinatzen ditu, iradokitzean ezen Ardia (beraren aburuz, arima extatikoa) gai izanen dela gorantz egiteko iturri gozoko ura edan otean:*

... et toutesfois la fontaine ne diminuait point. et incontinent s'en va [*la brebis*] plonger en son ru[i]sseau, qui la suivoit et environnoit, et en levant les yeulx plus hault, aperchoit que de la bouche de vie procedoit ceste doulce fontaine ( ... ) Et, après que la bonne brebis s'est bien ennyvrée en son dict ru[i]sseau par yvresse extatique et amour desmssurée a voullu prendre les helles de l'aigle pour faire l'extreme vol pour cognoistre la force et puissance de charité,(...) (Correspondance, 1, 47. orr.)

Briçonneten Correspondancea eta Margaritaren poemak esperientzia mistikoarekin zerikusia duten sinbolo mistikoez beteta daude; biek ere Kantarik Ederrenaren irakaspena<sup>550</sup> Manarekin lotzen dute, zeinaren eztitasunak sinbolizatzen baitu Damaskora bidean zihoaneko Pablo Deunaren esperientzia. Hala ageri da Miroirrean:

*Parquoy venez, o bien[h]oureux saint Paul,  
 Qui tant avez gousté ce doulx miel,  
 Trois jours sans veoir, ravy jusques au ciel ...  
 (Miroir, vv. 1382-1384)*



ideia hau modu argiagoan garatua izan zen Briçonneten gutun batean. Kristo eta benetako Mana parekatzen ditu: “Mais le Verbe eternal, doulx Jesus, vraye manne, est trop plus excellentement repaissant l’esperit que n’avoit faict au desert le corps” (*Correspondance*, 1, 145. orr.). Pablo Deunak bezala, fedearen bitartez hau dastatua zutenak pozik zeuden, baina haien ulerpena osatu gabea izango zen, harik eta bera glorian ikus zezaten arte: “Bien [h]eureulx est qui par foy le gousté, aiant esperance en luy que au royaulme de paradis sera en verité gousté et congneu, non comme en couverture et figure egnigmaticque (comme il est icy, ainsy que dict Monsieur saint Pol) [*I Korintiarrei 13,12*] mais comme il est en verité, comme congnoissons estre advenu au Juifz en leur figure litterale et numerale manne...” (ibid., 1, 145-146. orr.).<sup>551</sup> Pasarte honen bukaeran Briçonnetek ulertzera eman bezala, sinbolismo mistikoa hertsiki lotua dago Bibliaren interpretazio mistikoarekin; Manan (“figure litterale”) eta honek sinbolizatutako juduen desira Hitzemandako Lurrera iristekoan (“figure numerale”), ikusten du hark arimaren eta Kristoren topatze mistikoa (Joan 6).

Koloreak ere sinbolikoki interpretatzen ahal dira. Hain zuzen ere, Margaritaren pasarte hermetikoenetako batean agertzen dira, Eguzki Espektroa dei genezakeenari buruzkoan, honen oinarritzko lau koloreekin, Gorria, Urdina, Zuria eta Berdea, Txinatar eta Mexikar egutegietan agertu bezala. Heraldikan askotan erabilitako lau kolore hauek, lau puntu kardinalekin lotuta zeuden, baita lau elementuekin eta lau urtaroeekin<sup>552</sup>. Hau idatzi zuen *Prisonsetan*:

Ces livres sont couvertz de quatre sortes:  
D’or tout semé de feu et flambes fortes,  
D’asur remply de differentz oyseaulx,  
D’argent tout plain de poisson[s], de bateaulx,  
De vert paré de tous arbres et bestes, ...  
 (*Prisons*, fol. 297 ro, 190. orr.)

Txinatar eta Mexikar “Eguzki Kodizeetan”, lau kolore basiko hauek aurki ditzakegu, esanahi sinbolikoarekin<sup>553</sup>. Margarita Eguzki-Egutegitan interesaturik zegoen, bere 1510ko horoskopo oraino argitara eman gabeak frogatzen duen bezala<sup>554</sup>. Berpizkundeko ikurretan ere koloreak daude, eta testu biblikoei ere aplikatzen zitzaizkien, askotan haien esanahia desitxuratuz<sup>555</sup>. Ideia exotiko hauetarik asko europar gorteetan hedatu ziren, aurkitzaileak Amerikatik eta Ekialde Urrunetik iristen ziren heinean, eta adituek sinbolo hermetikoekiko interes handia erakutsi zuten. Txinatarrentzat, lau kolore oinarritzkoak lau elementuekin lotuta zeuden<sup>556</sup>. Antzeko konnotazioak aurki ditzakegu *Prisonsetan*:

<u>Or</u>	Sua
<u>Azur</u>	Airea (oyseaulx)
<u>Argent</u>	Ura (poissons, bateaulx)
<u>Vert</u>	Lurra (arbres, bestes).

Hainbat iritzi daude Marotek eta Rabelaisek erabilitako kolorearen sinbolismoari buruz, zeinak Margaritaren “protegés” baitziren. Marotek, “Epître VII”an, irrigarri uzten ditu Beltza eta Zuria interpretatzean urrunegi heldutakoak:

Et par ainsi, quand ferme je seroys,  
 Pour prendre nair le blanc je laisseroys;  
 Car fermeté c’est le noir par droicture,  
 Pource que perdre il ne peult sa taincture.

Or porteray le blanc, ce temps pendant  
 Bonne fortune en amours attendant. ( ... )  
 Si j’ayme bien les blanches ceinturettes,  
 J’ayme encor mieulx Dames qui sont brunettes.<sup>557</sup>

Rabelaisek ere, Gargantuan, Urdina, Zuria eta Beltza aipatzen ditu kolore sinboliko gisa (VIII-IX kapituluak): “Et diray en un mot que le bleu signifie certainement le ciel et choses celestes, par mesmes symboles que le blanc signifioit jouye et plaisir”, eta Beltzak nahi du esan “deuil”<sup>558</sup>; hala ere, hari soilik interesatzen zaizkio jendearentzat esanahi unibertsalak dituzten koloreak: “Par le blanc ... tout le monde a entendu joye...”<sup>559</sup>, garaiko enblematisten interpretazio arbitrarioak kritikatu, zeren haiek “voulent leur arbitre tenir lieu de raison”<sup>560</sup>. Margaritak berriz, askoz gehiago garatzen du koloreen interpretazioa, eta hierarkikoki antolatzen ditu “Scala Mystica” batean, non Gorriak irudikatzen baitu “Rose vermeille” (“Chanson 27”, v. 38), eta Eguzkia, jainkoaren izakirik perfektuena:

Longtemps après en demoure esblouy [*i.e. du soleil*],  
 Bien qu’il ayt peu de sa beaulté jouy,  
 Tant que partout pense veoir ung soleil  
*Du que tout est ou dare ou vermeil* [gorri bizia].  
 (Prisons, fol. 265 ro, pp. 122-123)

Balioaren eskala beheranzkoa da:

- 1 Gorria (Urrea)
- 2 Urdina
- 3 Zuria (Zilarra)

4 Berdea  
5 Beltza

Margaritak, “Chanson 25”ean adibidez, galdegiten digunean pasatzeko Beltzetik Berdera:

Or chantons matin et soir  
Sans nous asseoir;  
Dançons par joye immortelle;  
Changeons en verd nostre noir,  
(“Chanson 25”, vv. 49-52)

ari zaie irakurleei gonbidapena luzatzen, has daitezen Igoeraren Piramidean igotzen, zeren hemen kolore aldaketak loturik baitaude jainkozkoaren izaeraren ezagutza argiago batekin, eta Berdea interpretatu behar da arimaren lehen pausua bezala, jainkoaren ulerpenean.

Koloreen mailakatze sinboliko honekin lotuta dago alfabetoko letren erabiltzea: “Much mystical and religious thought”, idazten du Fergusonek, “regards a name having a power or bearing a substitute relation to its object. The letters of the alphabet thus become in a sense the elements of the universe and fit objects for contemplation”.<sup>561</sup> Letrak modu askotan interpretatu izan dira: Joan Deunarentzat Kristo “Alpha” eta “Omega” bada, hasiera eta bukaera, Margaritarentzat “Tau” letra hebrearra Gurutzearen sinbolo da. “Tau” zen marka, israeldarren etxeetan arkume odolaz egiten zena, jaioberriak babesteko heriotzaren aingeruengandik (Exodo 12). Badirudi Margaritak erreferentzia egiten diola antzeko ohitura kristau bati, norberaren bedeinkaziorako, Tau erabiltzean (gurutzearen ikurra), zera idaztean:

Tout vostre corps avez laissé hascher,  
Piedz, mains percer, et mort a la croix prendre,  
Et par ruisseaux vostre saint sang respandre,  
*Pour du signe TAU nos frontz mercher* [marquer (ikus  
Diagram 3)  
(Oraison a nostre seigneur Jesus Christ, vv.30-33)<sup>562</sup>

Letrarik hermetikoena ez da ez hasierakoa ezta bukaerakoa ere, baizik eta erdikoa, M. Aldi berean da maskulino eta femeninoa<sup>563</sup>, Androginoa bezala (*ikus 3 Diagrama*), eta “is a symbol of water in its original state (of the Great Abyss)”<sup>564</sup>. Margaritak eta Briçonnetek “Mem” letra hartu zuten iniziazio mistikoko azken etapa errepresentatzeko, hotz, Espiritua ariman extatikoki sartzea. Honek ulertu arazten du Bibliaren esanahi espiritualak,

Margaritaren lan hermeneutiko nagusietan irakatsi bezala, Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan eta Prisons<sup>565</sup>.



### 3 Diagrama.

Hebraierazko “Mem” letra; bere itxura normalean behetik zabaltzen da, baina itxia da bukaeran bada: “ouverte et close, en grosse forme (letra larri)...” (*Correspondance*, 2, 229. orr.), Margaritaren taldearentzat zenbait esanahi mistiko dituelarik zeinak diren Testamentu Zaharreko profetia mesianikoekin harremanetan (ibid., 2, 213. orr.), bai eta “le Miroir” eta “la Marguerite”ren interpretazioarekin (cf. 3 kapitulua, *Miroirrari* buruzkoa, III atala). Alfabeto latindarrean, “M” letra erdian dago. Hebrearrean, Aleph da lehenengo, Mem hamahirugarren eta Tau hogeitabigarren. Briçonnet eta Margaritak “Mem” letra aukeratu izanak beraz letra perfektuen gisa, Kristo Mesiasaren sinbolo gisa, behar dio erreferentzia egin alfabetoko erdiko posizio horri. Bertatik, gauza guztiak batu eta bete ahal ditu (Efesiarrei), eta Alpha eta Omega izan, greziar alfabetoko lehen eta azken letrak. (Apokalipsia 22,13)

Margaritak eskatu zion Briçonneti inisia zezan “lettre mem escripte en hebreu, ouverte et cloze, en grosse forme...”ren esanahi konplexuan (*Correspondance*, 2, 229. orr.). Honek zenbait hilabetez luzatu zuen erantzuna, eta igorri zion disertazio luze bat “Mem” letraren esanahi literal (zabal) eta sinbolikoei (itxi) buruz (ibid., 2, 277-278. orr.).

“Mem” letra hebrearra, Gorri Bizia bezala (Urrea) beste kolore inperfektuen artean, perfekzioaren sinboloa da, eta azaldu behar da Meauxeko eskolaren kontzeptu mistiko esoteriko guztien ulerpen sakonago bat bezala. Margaritak eta Briçonnetek eliza ahula berpiztu nahi zuten, arimaren barnetikako berriztatze baten bidez bizia emanez, sinbolo hauek adierazi bezala. Horregatik, aztertu ditudan azken irudi hauek lotuta daude gizonaren inperfektutasunarekin eta jainkoaren bikaintasunarekin.

Margaritak Prisonsetan adierazi bezala, gizonaren izaera berez osatugabea eta zatitua bada, bere beste erdiaren bila dabilen Androginoaren sinboloa erabiliz, orduan Kristo da Jainkozko Androgino perfektua, zeren bi printzipioak baitaduzka, maskulinoa eta femeninoa. Era berean, MEM letrak perfektutasuna dakar, zeren aurrak bi printzipio gorpuzten baititu, zabal eta itxiarena, eta hau literalki eta sinbolikoki azaldu daiteke. Jainkozkoa azaltzen da perfektzioaren sinboloekin lotutako zenbait irudirekin, esaterako

*Zirkulua (ikus 4 Diagrama.)*

*Ispilu Borobila*

*Margarita Lorea*

*Margarita + Perla (ikus 2 Irudia)*

Aipatu dut iada zenbait sinbolo borobilen garrantzia, Zirkuluarena esaterako, Prisonsei buruzko aurreko kapituluan, jainkoaren izaera aldaezina adierazteko ikur onena bezala aurkeztu dudanean. Perlaren Borobiltasuna ere jo daiteke Batasunaren eta Perfektutasunaren sinbolotzat. Sainte-Marthe azaltzen du hau bere Oraison Funèbre lanean, Margaritaren hileta elizkizunetan, honen eta Briçonneten sinbolismo antzekoa erabiltzen duenean; hemen jolasten du Margarita-Perlaren Latinezko izenarekin, “Unio”: “Car la Marguerite, est une precieuse pierre, que Plin dit, emporte l’honneur et le pris, sur toutes choses precieuses: Et havoit perfection en blancheur, grandeur, rotondité et pois.(...) Les François en leur langue, nomment la Marguerite PERLE: (...) je dy, que celle a bon droit est appellee Union , qui ne devoit laisser au monde sa pareille”<sup>566</sup>.

Miroirrari buruzko kapituluan, non eta harribitxi hau liburuaren esanahi sekretuaren sinboloa den, azaldu dut Margarita-Perla-Lorearen Borobiltasunaren esanahi sinbolikoa<sup>567</sup>. G. Champeauxek nabarmentzen du ezen Zirkuluak ez daukala soilik ainkozkoaren perfektutasuna, baina baita beste kreatura guztien perfektutasun eskala osoak (hierarchies créées): “Le cercle peut encore symboliser, non plus les perfections cachées du Point primordial, mais ses effets créés; autrement dit, le monde en tant qu’il se distingue de son Principe. Les cercles concentriques representent les degrés d’êtres, les hiérarchies créées”<sup>568</sup>. Margaritaren irakaspen mistikoan, sinboloen hierarkian, kolore Gorri biza, Androginoa, eta MEM letra, zeina Miroirren eta Margueriten baitago, Zentrutik hurbilen daudenak dira. Briçonnetek azaldua zuen irakaspen mistikoan Zirkuluak duen garrantzia:

La forme ronde et circulaire est la perfection de toutes les aultres figures. Pour ceste cause est le ciel circulaire, comme forme la plus parfaite, et par ce, les ames ne peuvent estre que perles circulaires et rondes; ...Et comme ung sercle ne se peult faire par le compas qu'il ne se ferme au mesme point, auquel il a esté commancé, et n'y a que ung point qui commence et cloust le sercle, aussy ne doibvent les ames avoir aultre point que Dieu, duquel commencent et est leur fin en luy. Et, combien que ceste semence de perle circulaire, que la vraye superceleste perle a semé és arnes fidelles,<sup>569</sup> soit ronde et circulaire, comme dict est, toutesfois, quant à elle, a esté quelque temps pacifiant le corps de, l'ame et les eschauffant en soy, qui est amour et charité. (Correspondance, I, 57. orr.)

## V

Margaritak askotan antitesi gisako sinboloak eraikitzen ditu, aurkako diruditen kontzeptuak bateratzeko. Jainkoaren bere definizio harrigarrienetako batzuk, "*Aurkakoan elkartzearen*" teorien oinarrituta daude, hiru antitesi mistikoak bezala, hau da, "Tout-Rien", "Grand-Petit" eta "Loing-Près", Prisonsetan ageri direnak<sup>570</sup>. Bikote hauek Correspondanceko gutun askotan agertzen dira, irakurleari "*Rhétoriciens*" en estiloa gogoraraziz:

veues aveuglees  
peines joieuses  
courses reposantes  
vies mortes  
mortz vives  
aveuglée clere-voiant heure

(Correspondance, I, 177-178. orr.)

Argi eta Iluntasun bezalako sinbolo mistikoak, poesian, aurkako bezala aurkeztu izan ohi dira:

Mais qui peult veoir lumiere sans nuée  
L'obscurité en clarté voyt nuée,  
Car la clarté a tenebre est contraire:  
L'une venant, l'autre convient retraire,

(Prisons, fol. 274 ro, 205. orr.)

baina askotan, giza begiak ezin ikus dezake, dela argi ezagatik, dela gehiegizko argitasunagatik. Eguzkitik datorren Argia itsugarri gerta dakioke Begiari, eta Margarita kexu da honengatik: "La plus aveuglée de

toutz, ( ... ) Marguerite” (Correspondance, 1, 37. orr.). Baina Poeta-Maitalea, lehen Kartzelako Iluntasunari ihes eginik, Argiaren aurrez aurre dagoenean, konturatzen da ezen Eguzkiaren distirak ez diola kalterik egiten bere Begi Itsuari:

...

Car vous sçavez que par [là] l'impossible  
Possible fut, l'invisible visible.

(Prisons, fol. 274 ro, 141. orr.)

Kontrastatu egiten duten sinboloen segidak erabiltzen ditu, Prisonseko Poeta-Maitalearen agur bitxi honetan, aurkako sentsazioak adierazteko:

Adieu l'abisme où j'étois englouty,  
Adieu le feu ou souvent fuz rosty,  
Adieu la glace où maincte nuit tremblay,  
Adieu le lac de larmes assemblé,  
Adieu le mont pour may innaccessible,  
D'y retourner il ne m'est plus possible.

(Prisons, fol. 275 ro, 143. orr.)

Mendigainera hurbildu ahala, perfekziotik hurbilago egotearen sentipena du (“*monter à la perfection*”), eta jainkoa hobeki ezagutzeko desira handiago bat (“*descendre à l'affection d'Amour*”):

Montant plus hault à la perfection,  
Plus je descends à ceste affection  
Qui est de Dieu très fort recommandée  
Et de l'Amour a l'amant demandée,  
Et plus vertu rend mon esprit content.

(Prisons, fol. 295 ro, 185. orr.)

Antitesi mistikoen erabilpen sinboliko berezi hau, Correspondancea ongi aztertu ostean soilik ulertu ahal da. Hemen, Margaritak, bere gutunetako bitan jolasten du Suaren, Izotzaren, Argiaren, Iluntasunaren, Begiaren eta Eztiaren irudiekin, amaigabeko konbinazioekin, askotan haien artean oposizioa sortuz. Honen bidez, modu formalean eskatzen ari zaio Briçonneti, erakuts diezaiola iadanik ezagun duen lengoaia esoteriko bat. Zera erregutzen dio 1521eko ekainean:

Monsieur de Meaulx, je loue de toute ma puissance le seul bien nécessaire, qui, par sa bonté, permect a celle qui se peult dire moins que rien, tant de grace que d'avoir eu, par vostre lettre et celle de Maistre

Michel, occasion de desirer commencer d'entendre le chemin de salut. Et, puisqu'il luy plaist avoir ouvert l'oeil (puisque par nature aveugle) et par vostre ban moyen l'avoir tourné de cousté de la lumiere, je vous prie, en l'honneur de luy, que, par faulte de continuer voz tant salutaires lettres, ne le laissez en paresse recloure, mais par coustume de fructueuse leçon, rompre la trop grande ignorance de mon entendement, affin que le pauvre coeur verglacé et mort en froit puisse sentir quelque estincelle de l'amour en quoy je le desire consummer et brusler en cendre.( ... ) je demande l'aide de voz bonnes prieres, par le moien desquelles j'espere en la parfaite bonté parvenir à gouter le miel dont la bresche de voz escriptures me donnent appetit. (Correspondance, 1, 33. orr.)

Sinbolo hermetikoen lengoaian formalki inizatua izatea ari zen eskatzen, beranduago bere poemetan agertuko zena. 1522ko Bazkoaren osteko beste galdegite batean, janari solido gehiago eskatzen dio (“pain”), bere kondizio propioa “pelerinaige”arenarekin alderatuz, beste behin Israelen desertuko noraezari erreferentzia eginez (“la voie desvoïée”), eta Kristo Mana-Ogiaren doktrina johaninoari (Exodoa 16) (Joan 6):

Je n'ay voulu empescher vostre esperit, ce temps passé, doubtant le divertissement de voz meilleurs effortz par vous donner travail et moindre bien. Mais nécessité contrainct de vous importuner opportunément, car voiez le caresme loing de nous, les sermons failliz, l'esté revenu, retourner au pelerinaige de la court, en danger d'avoir souvent faulte de pain [*Manaren beste simbolo bat*]. Usez de compassion et nous distribuez aulmosne de telle provision que ne defaillons en la voye desvoïée. (ibid., 1, 194. orr.)

Sinboloen talde hauek behin eta berriz errepikatuko dituzte bai Briçonnetek eta bai Margaritak. Baina irudi bakoitzak zerbait berria gehitzen die aurrekoei, materiala beste ikuspuntu batetik aurkeztuz. Egia mistiko hauek antzinako axiomatan aurki daitezke, Pseudo Dionisiok eta tradizio neoplatonikoak onartu eta ilustratuak, baita Meister Eckhart eta eskola Renaniarrak, Cusako Nikolasek eta florentziarrek. Jacques Lefèvre, nahiz eta bide berriak zabaltzen zituen espiritualtasun modernorantz mugituz, antzinako maisuen mireslea zen<sup>571</sup>. Lefèvreren ideiek inspiratzen bazituzten ere, Briçonnet eta Margarita pentsamolde zaharrearantz mantendu ziren, antzinako irudi eta sinboloetan. Haien mistizismoa horrela labur genezake: “Jainkoa Dena da (“le Tout”) eta gizona Ezereza (“le Rien”); erdian Kristo dago, “Tout-Rien” (Jainko-Gizona). Aurkako bi printzipio hauek berdindu ditzake (Correspondance, 2, 32. orr.), gauza guztiak Jainkoa baitan batuz (Efesiarrei 1)”. Zentzu honetan ulertu behar ditugu Margaritaren lanetako sinboloak eta gai antitetikoak, bereziki Miroir, Dialogue eta Prisons poemetakoak.



## ONDORIOAK

Ikerketa honen kapitulu bakoitzak Nafarroako Margaritaren mistizismoaren aspektu bat izan du aztergai. Haietan zehar, haren nortasun konplexuari erreferentzia egin diot, zeina nahi bainioke azken atal honetan laburki deskribatu irakurleari. XVI mendeko monarka gehienak baino toleranteagoa zen, zeinek baitzieten beldur handia heltzen ari ziren aldaketei; bere gortearen ateak zabalik zeuden garaiko ideia eta mugimendu abangoardiakoen hedatzaileentzat, zela zientzian, poesian, filosofian edo erlijioan, esaterako Marot, Lefèvre, Michel d'Arande eta Rabelais. Honek garaiko jendea nahasi egin zuen, zeren Margaritari egozten baitzizkioten bere "protégés"en sinismenak. Calvinok berak "crypto-Libertine Spirituelle" izatea leporatu zion<sup>572</sup>.

Zenbait pentsalariren babesle izanik, zeintzuen ideiek gizon modernoaren karakterea moldatu baitute, Margarita garaiko pertsona bikainen parean jar dezakegu. Egiarekiko bere grinean, Luther bezalakoa zen; nahasirik zegoen mundu hura salbatzeko bere engaiamenduan, Erasmo eta Lefèvre d'Étaplesen antzekoa, eta, frantses hizkuntza espresiorako tresna perfektu bat bihurtzeko bere ahaleginei dagokienez, frantziar berpizkundeko idazle goiztiarren artean dago.

Bere pentsaeraren elementurik esanguratsuena Meauxeko taldearen mezu ebanjelikoa gordetzeko saiakera da, 1525tik aurrera, noiz eta Briçonnetek alde batera utzi behar izan zuen Eliza barrutik erreformatzeko edozein esperimentu mota. Bere Correspondance mistikoa eta poema luzeak, nahiz askotan interpretatzeko zailak, aberats eta zentzuzkoak dira hala ere, eta XVI. mendeko Frantziaren historia intelektuala eraiki zuten ideien garapena ezagutzeko, dokumentu oso baliagarriak dira.

Briçonnet eta beraren arteko elkartasuna izan da, ordea, gehien desitxuratu den bere izaeraren alderdia. Kritiko asko saiatu izan dira Margarita bereizten apezpikuagandik, zeinak rol garrantzitsua izan baitzuen Meauxeko taldearen ideietan. Baina Margaritaren lanen azterketa zorrotz batek erakusten du dependentzia ia total bat, askotan berbala, Briçonneten irakaspenekiko. Hauei hain hertsiki lotu izan ez balitzaie, idazle hobia izan ote litzateke? Pentsalari originalagoa izan litzateke beharbada, zuzenean Platon, Pseudo Dionisio, Florentziarrak, Erasmo edo Luther jarraitu balitu? Zenbait kritikok ez dute kontutan hartzen autore guzti hauek Margaritarengan eragin handia izan zutela, iradokitzen baitute hau oso azkar kutsatu zuela Briçonnetek, eta ez dira ohartzen prestakuntza mistiko hau bere bizitza osoan nabaria izan zela. Espekulazio hauek, nahiz eta zintzoak izan, ehundaka orri bete dituzte baina ezer

gutxi lagundu, kritikoak euren benetako atazatik desbideratu baititu. Batzuk ideien jatorria bilatzearen ataza hau mesprezatzera ere heltzen dira, intsektu arraroen biltzaile baten lana balitz bezala<sup>573</sup>. Edonola ere, eztabaidagarria da Meauxeko erreforma garai hartan Briçonnetek Margaritarengan eduki zuen eragina ez zegoenik Eliza ahul hura eraberritzeko estrategia amankomun baten barruan. Kontua da biak egon zirela trantsiziozko zaharberritze periodo hartan, Mendebaldeko Elizaren erreformaren inguruan hainbeste duda egon ziren garai hartan. Hau islatzen da Correspondanceko estilo astun eta errepikakorrean, eta horko gaien aurkezpen kriptikoan, baita Margaritaren poemetan, zeinek diruditen labirinto bateko bihurguneak, irakurlea nahasmenera daramatenak.

XVI mendeko mistizismoaren gai guztiekiko Margaritak erakutsitako engaiamendua hain da handia ezen harrigarria baitzaigu mistizismoaren zenbait entziklopediatan bere izena ez agertzea<sup>574</sup>. Beharbada, omisio honen arrazoia da Meauxeko eskolarekin zuen lotura ez dela aski aintzat hartua izan, eta, garrantzitsuagoa dena, ez dela oraindaino aurkeztu bere poema luze eta zabaletan oinarritutako “Corpus doctrinae” bat.

Egundaino, bere Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne ez da inoiz ikusi bere jarrera Kietistaren azalpen gisa, Luther eta Erasmoren arteko polemiken aurrean. Ondorioetako batzuk gogorregiak dirateke irakurle modernoarentzat, zeren guztizko zorionera heltzeko bide bakar bezala heriotza agertzen baita, eta hau fedearen bidez soilik erdiets daiteke. Poemaren xarma Margaritaren eta bere ilobaren arteko eztabaidaren tonu pertsonalean datza, Charlotte printzesaren heriotzak guztiz penaturik utzi zuelarik bere izeba. Bertan jorratutako gaiak Briçonneten irakaspena erakusten du, “egin bedi zure nahia” testu ebanjelikoari buruzkoa, eta jarrera lasai batean ageri da, Margaritaren familian jazotako zenbait zorigaitzen ostean<sup>575</sup>.

Miroir de l’âme pécheresse lanaren lehen edizioaren inguruan sortutako eztabaidek azterketa nagusiaren beharra alde batera utzi dute, hots, poemaren egitura konplexuarena. Erdi Aro berantiarreko “Speculum” literaturarekiko honen loturak aztertu beharrean, lan luthertar edo kripto-luthertartzat hartu izan dute. Bere izaera saiheskorrak iniziatu gabekoengandik urrun mantendu ditu liburuaren sekretuak, zeren bertan Meauxeko irakaspenak asmakizun ilun eta sinbolo itxuran agertzen baitira. Miroir eta Margarita hitzen hasierako M-ek ezin konta ahala irudi sateliteren zentru fokala eratzen dute zeinek bere doktrina mistikoak gorpuzten baitituzte barneko purifikazioaren gainean hiru etapatan zehar Jainkozkoarekin bat egitera heldu baino lehen. Poema honetan, Margaritak zenbait kontzeptu konplikatu garatzen ditu, hala nola

lilura mistikoarena, Jainkoaren izaerarena eta Jainkozkoarekin elkartzearen posibilitatearena. Guztiak ere irudien bidez, zeinek zerikusia baitute Argia eta Iluntasunaren piramidean sinbolikoki adierazitako oinarritzko ideiekin, 6. kapituluaren deskribatua. Sinboloen mundu koherente honen erabilerak bere lan guztietan zehar, bere obra osoari batasuna ematen dio.

Margaritaren lanik helduenak Frantziako Gorteko bizitza politikoa alde batera utzi zuenekoak dira, 1540 hamarkadaren hasieran. Bere obra emankorrekin, Heptaméronak barne, erakusten dute bakoitzak Meauxeko eskola mistikoaren pentsamenduaren puntu zehatz bat. Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan antzezlanak ez zen bere irakurleak nahasteko tresna bat izan, baina kritikoei hain interpretazio txarra egin dute ezen denbora asko pasako da honen berezko sinpletasuna berrezarri dadin arte. Garai hartan, Biblia zen kristau tradizional eta progresisten arteko eztabaiden iturria, antzerkiko lau pertsonaiek erakusten duten bezala. Margaritak, erreformatzaileek ez bezala, Meauxeko jarrera hartu zuen, hots, liburuaren interpretazio espirituala. Comédieak ez zituen doktrina ez-ortodoxoak irakasten; hain zuzen, agian bere lanen artean auzi gutxien sortu zuena da, zeren Eskritura Sainduaren interpretazio mistikoari lotzen baitzaio, Calvinok Margarita ebanjelista zintzoa zela ukatu zuen garaian.

Bestalde, bere Prisonetan, mistizismoaren arazo nagusiak aztertzen dira, esaterako Jainkoaren izaeraren ezagutza argi batera heltzeko prozesu motela, Bera giza kontzeptu bidez deskribatzeko saiakerak, eta ekstasiaren kontzeptua. Poema hau bere maisulana da, baina ez da behar bezainbeste ezaguna, neurri batean bere luzeragatik eta barne egitura konplexuagatik. Segur aski, poema Margaritaren testamentu espirituala zen, zeren bere beste lanetako gai printzipaletara itzultzen baita, trebetasunez deskribatuz ezagutza perfekturaino igotzearen prozesu mingarria, karaktere danteskoen gidaritzapean, hala nola “*Soleil*”, “*vieillard*”, Dante bera, Pimander eta beste zenbait filosofo. Poeta-Maitaleak (i.e. Margaritak) zenbait esperientzia jasan behar ditu mendi garai baten gailurrera heldu artean, zeinak Jainkozkoa sinbolizatzen baitu; soilik orduan ahalegindu ahalko da Jainkoa Perfekzio bezala definitzen, zenbait sinbolo mistikoren bidez: Zirkulua, “*Tout*” eta “*Rien*”; bukaeran, Dialogueko gaia agertzen da, Margaritaren inguruko pertsonak agertzen zaizkigu zeinak gai izan diren heriotzari aurre egiteko, zoriontasun osorako ate gisa.

Bere lana autorretratu bezala defini dezakegu, zeinak erakusten digun emakume orekatu bat, eguneroko kontuei aurre egin behar diena (nahiz eta nahiko alde batera uzten dituen), eta bere azken urteetan bakardadean bizi dena. Correspondancean ikusten da ez duela bere bizitzaren puntu

batean ere oinarrizko aldaketen beharrik, eta bere garaikideek ikusi zuketen egunerokotasun arrunt batean, dena kontrolpean zuelarik, Pantagruelen antzera, Rabelaisen Quart Livrean ekaitzaren erdian egoera menpean hartzea lortzen duenean<sup>576</sup>. Correspondancean ez da ageri zantzurik krisi pertsonal edo ezkontzarenik 1524 aldera, baizik eta Margarita eta Alençongo Karlosen familiarteko harremanen sendotze bat<sup>577</sup>. Bere obrek emakume atsegin bat erakusten digute. 1523an Charlotte printzesa hiltzean, Dialoguean agertzen zaiguna da dolumin hau onartzeko ezin bat, nahiz eta ez luzaz, zeren Briçonneten ahotsa laster gailenduko da, Jainkoaren borondatea onestera bultzatuko duena. Miroirak bere umorea islatzen du trantsiziozko periodo batean, nahiz eta kritiko zenbaitentzat salatzen duen garaian Margarita erakarria sentitzen zela anti-mistizismo luthertarragatik. Inoiz hau sentitu bazuen, bere bizitzako krisia izan litzateke. Halarik ere, nahiz eta obra mistiko honetan nabari den ideia luthertarreko sinpatia bat, argiro ukatzen dira haien printzipio anti-mistikoak. Miroirrean Margaritak erakusten du gero eta hobeto ulertzen doala Meauxen ikasitako zenbait gai. 1530 inguruan bere Frantziako Gortean bildu zen taldeari, 1540 aldera Nafarroakora mugitu zena, protestante izatea leporatu izan zaio, zeren Calvinok bezalako pertsonaien babesleku baitzen. Baina erreformatzaileen eta “*protégés*”en arteko etsaigoa laster heldu zen, eta Calvinok Libertins Spirituelen, Rabelaisen eta Margarita beraren aurka egindako deklarazioek azaltzen dute ezen Margarita ez zegoela Genevako esperimentu erreformatzaileen alde. Beranduagoko bere lanek erakusten dute bere “*coeur mis à nu*”, baina inolako norabide aldaketaren zantzurik. Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsaneko “la Bergère”ren “*raptus mysticus*”ak eta Prisonetako Poeta-Maitaleak, islatzen dute Margaritaren ikuspegi mistikoa, eta identifika dezakegu, bizipen edo gertaera aparteko batekin bainoago, ideia espiritualen sakontze batekin. Bere lan idatzian ez dugu nabaritzen bere bizitzaren guztizko eraldaketarik, Pablo Deunak Damaskorako bidean jasandakoa bezala, zeinari erreferentzia hainbat aldiz egiten baitiote Briçonnet eta Margaritak<sup>578</sup>. Mota honetako esperientziek aztarna argiak uzten dituzte idazle mistikoen bizitzetan, Avilako Teresa, Loyolako Ignazio, Paul Claudel eta Simone Weilen lanek frogatu bezala. Hala ere, Margaritaren bizitzan badaude bi periodo, familiako tragediek eta Frantzia eta Nafarroako krisi politikoei markatuak. Garai latz hauetan zehar, gai mistikoen ezagutza sakon bat bilatu zuen, ataraxia ebanjeliko edota lurreko gertaerekiko deslotze espiritual bat erdietsiz, maisu mediebalengan ohikoa nahiz kutsu neoplatonikoarekin, Briçonneten eta Sainte-Martheren eraginari esker.

Bere garaikideetako batzuek, Calvinok esaterako, bi aurpegierako pertsona gisa deskribatzen dute, pribatuan erreformatzaileak babestuz eta publikoki ortodoxo agertuz. Noyondarrak Nicodémites deitu zituen

Erregina eta bere “protégés”ak, zeren haien segurtasun pertsonalean arreta handia jartzen baitzuten, Nicodemok egin bezala Erromatar agintarien aurrean, Kristo gurutziltzatu zutenean<sup>579</sup>. Baina ondo ezagutzen zutenek oso modu desberdinean aurkezten digute, eta haien deskribapenek bat egiten dute bere lana irakurtzean jasotzen dugun inpresioarekin. 1520ko hamarkada hasieratik bere “protégé” izandako Marotek idatzi zuen Erreginak emakume gorputza zuela, gizon bihotza eta aingeruzko adimena:

Ma Maistresse est de si haulte valeur  
 Qu'elle a le corps droit, beau, chaste et pudique;  
 Son cueur constant n'est pour heur ou malheur  
 Jamais trop gay ne trop melancolique.  
 Elle a au Chef ung Esprit Angelique  
 Le plus subtil qui onc aux Cieulx volla.  
 O grand merveille! On peult veoir par cela  
 Que je suis Serf d'un Monstre fort estrange,  
 Monstre je dy, car pour tout vray elle a  
 Corps femenin, Cueur d'homme et Teste d'Ange.<sup>580</sup>

Briçonnetek inork baino hobeto ezagutzen zuen, baina printzesa gazteaz egindako erretratuak sinbolikoak dira, egiazkoak baino; Perla bat bezala hazten ikusi zuen (*ibid.*, 1, 72. orr.), sinbolo bat zeina bere lan poetiko askotan agertuko den. J. de la Hayek, bere miresleetako batek, Miroirrerako bere hitzaurrean, Frantziaren “fleur” estimatua bezala deskribatzen du:

Que celle fleur qui nostre siecle honnore,  
 Et les beaux Liz, et la France decore,  
 Ne porte fruitz d'inestimable prix,  
 Dont soyent repeuz tant de nobles esprits,  
 Qu'ores on voit par les terres Galliques  
 A tout sçavoir et vertus heroïques  
 Estre addonez. Ces adoux fruitz immortelz  
 Sy rares sont, qu'il n'en est point de telz.<sup>581</sup>

Margarita pertsonalki ezagutu zuen beste baten deskribapen mistikoa irakurtzeko, 1540ko hamarkada arte itxaron beharko dugu. Charles de Sainte-Marthek horrela aurkezten digu laburki, 1549ko heriotzaren ostean: “la MARGUERITE, femme incomparable: qui n'eut onc rien en ce monde (sinon le corps) commun avec les aultres mortels”<sup>582</sup>, identifikatzen duelarik izaki perfektuarekin, garaiko tratatu neoplatonikoen estiloan.



8 irudia. Berpizkundeko artistek haien mezenas errealak goratu ohi zituzten, haiekiko errespetu eta miresmena erakusteko. Jean Clouetek, zeinak Frantzisko I errege mundutiarraren erretratua egin baitzuen 1525 inguruan, Margaritaren hau egin zuen, bere senar Charles d'Alençon 1525ean hil eta gutxira. Bertan duin ageri zaigu, oraindik zuriz jantzia dolua adierazteko. Jean Cloueten Margaritaren erretratua; Musée Condé, Chantilly.

Hauetako asko Margaritaren irudi abstraktuak dira, askotan gizaki baino zerutiar gisa aurkezten digutelarik. Erretratu hauetan bikainena Rabelaisi zor diogu. Nahiz eta ez zetozen guztiz bat, biziki estimatzen zuen erregina, “protégé” gisa babesa eman izanagatik. Ez zukeen bere izaera errukiorregia maite<sup>583</sup>, baina bai bere eztitasuna, eta horregatik batu zen bere miresleen korura, deskribapen bikain bat eginez; bertan, saiatzen da Margarita jaitsiarazten bere “manoir divin, perpetuel” ekstatikotik, bere Tiers Livreko istorio errealekoak irakur ditzan:

Esprit abstrait, ravy, et ecstasie,  
 Qui frequentant les cieulx, ton origine,  
 As delaisié ton hoste et domestic,  
 Ton corps concords, qui tant se morigine  
 A tes edictz, en vie peregrine,  
 Sans sentement, et comme en Apathie:  
 Vouldrois tu point faire quelque sortie  
 De ton manoir divin, perpetuel?  
 Et ça bas veoir une tierce partie  
 Des faictz joyeux du bon Pantagruel?<sup>584</sup>

Hemen Rabelaisen sinpatia handia ikusten da Margaritarekiko, zeinaren ideia hermetikoeekin bat zetorren<sup>585</sup>. “Protégé”ak egoera platoniko ekstatiko ideala (“*Sans sentiment, et comme en Apathie*”) konbinatzen du ideal kristauarekin, baina ahaztu barik Erreginarene alderdi praktikoaz, argi baitzegoen giza arazoak ulertzeko gai zela, Heptaméronean ikusten den bezala<sup>586</sup>. Pantagruелеk agintari ideala deskribatzean, Margaritarengandik zenbait kualitate hartu zituzkeen, adibidez zintzotasuna eta sosegua: “...certaine gayeté d’esprit conficte en mepris des choses fortuites...” berak pantagruelismo bezala definitzen duena<sup>587</sup>. Gainera, nola Pantagruелеk ekaitzaren erdian egoera kontrolatzea lortzen duen, hala du Margaritak maisutasunez aurrera egiten, XVI mendeko lehen erdialdean Frantzia zeharkatu zuten krisi politiko eta erlijiosoetan.

Rabelaisek, jarrera kontrolatu bat ekintzarekin konbinatuz, erreginarene deskribapen ez oso konbentzional bat egiten du, beste mistikoenekin alderatuta. Gutxi izan dute ezaugarri arraro hau; hain zuzen, beste batzuen artean, bi emakume bikain, Avilako Teresa eta Sienako Katalina, oso aktiboak ziren, baina era berean gai mistikoen ulerpen sakon bat erdietsi zuten. Margaritak, bereziki, gizonarekiko eta beronek jainkoizkoarekin duen harremanarekiko ikuspegi neoplatonikoa azpimarratzen zuen, eta bere kezkak, Berpizkundeko beste askok bezala, maisutasunez azaltzen zituen. Antzinako kutsuak aurkitzen baditugu beragan, ez da hau Briçonneten rolagatik, baizik eta Margaritak ez zuelako jakin “rhétoriciens”en eragin handia gaingintzen, trantsiziozko garai batean zeinean sortzen ari baitzen gizon modernoa. Ondore gisa, zera esan dezakegu: emakume biziki inteligente eta pertzeptiboa dugula, zeina, igarririk mundua aldaketa sakon bat jasaten ari zela, saiatu baitzen balore berriak sartzen, zaharrak suntsitu barik.

## OHARRAK

- 1 Nafarroako Margaritaren bizitzaren berri emateko hasierako saiakeren artean, ikus Abbé Goujet, Marguerite, Reine de Navarre in Bibliothèque Française, vol. XI, (Paris, 1747). Baita Charlotte-Rose Caumont de la Force, Histoire de Marguerite de Valois, Reine de Navarre, soeur de François Ier, (Paris, 1816); Théodore Muret, Histoire de Jeanne d'Albret (bere ama Nafarroako Margaritari buruzko ikerlan bat ere badu), (Paris, 1861); H. de la Ferrière, Marguerite de Navarre; son livre de dépenses (1540-1549); étude sur ses dernières années, (Paris, 1862); A. Mary & F. Robnson, Marguerite of Angoulême, Queen of Navarre en Eminent Women Series (Londres, 1886); eta H. Noel Williams, The Pearl of the Princesses; the life of Marguerite d'Angoulême, Queen of Navarre (London, 1916).
- 2 Pierre Jourda, Marguerite d'Angoulême, Duchesse d'Alençon, Reine de Navarre (1492-1549), 2 vols. (Paris, 1930)
- 3 Cf. Samuel Putnam, Marguerite de Navarre, first Modern Woman, (New York, 1936); Suzanne Engelson, Une grande figure de femme de la Renaissance; la Reine Marguerite d'Angoulême, en Rencontre Orient-Occident, (Genova, 1969); eta partikulariki Emile V. Telle, L'oeuvre de Marguerite d'Angoulême, Reine de Navarre et la Querelle des Femmes, (Toulouse, 1937)
- 4 Lucien Febvre, Amour sacré, amour profane; autour de l'Heptameron, (Paris, 1944)
- 5 Charles de Sainte-Marthe, Oraison funèbre de l'incomparable Marguerite, Rovne de Navarre, Duchesse d'Alençon, (Paris 1550)
- 6 Margaritaren biografia berriagoak ukaiteko, ikus Maurice y Paulette Deubère y Renya Salminen, La Belle et Véridique Vie de Marguerite, en Aesculape, vol. 6, pp 4-66, (Paris, 1972); E. Chamberlin, Marguerite of Navarre, (New York, 1972); Robert Joseph, Marguerite d'Angoulême, (Agen, 1975).
- 7 Bere famili inguruari dagokionez, L Febvrek dio: "Un père prodigue, léger, artiste, bon vivant, mais de poids médiocre dans la France politique de ce temps, et parce qu'il était pauvre et parce qu'il avait conspiré sans en avoir les moyens. Une mère à rude école dès sa jeunesse, une mère silencieuse qui avait vécu de charité et appris à céder, à plier, à tout endurer bouche close" (Amour sacré, op. cit., 23 orr).
- 8 Ikus H. P. Clive, Marguerite de Navarre; oeuvres choisies, I, Introduction, 10. orr.
- 9 Ikus C. A. Mayer, Clément Marot, (Paris, Nizet, 1972), bigarren kapitulua: "Au service de Marguerite", 35-82 orr.
- 10 A. Clerval, Registre des proces-verbaux de la Faculté de Théologie de Paris; archives de l'histoire religieuse de la France, (Paris, 1917). Jorgek, Sajoniako Dukeak, Sorbonara salatu zuen Luther 1519ko urriaren 14an; irailaren 14an Fakultatea hasi zen Lutherren liburuak xehetasunez aztertzen, 275. orr. Azaroaren 15ean bere doktrinak eztabaidatu ziren (ibid., 278. orr.). 1521eko apirilean kondenatu zuten (ibid., 285. orr.), eta bere obrak publikoki erre ("publica exustione"), Melanchthonenekin batera (357. orr.). Ikus kausa luthertarrean Margaritaren partehartzeari buruzko nire ikerketa, Miroirari buruzko 3. kapituluaren I. Atalean.
- 11 Ikus Ernst F. Winter, Erasmus-Luther; Discourse on Free Will, itzultzaile eta editore, (New York, 1967).



- 12 Ikus Dialogue en forme de vision nocturneri buruzko nire ikerketa, 2. kapituluaren II atalean, non analizatzen dudan Erasmus eta Lutherren arteko eztabaidekiko Margaritaren jarrera. Baita Bibliaren interpretazioarekikoa ere, Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan obrari buruzko 4 kapituluaren II atalean.
- 13 H. Heller, “Marguerite de Navarre and the Reformers of Meaux”, BHR, vol. XXXIII, 271-310. orr.
- 14 L. Febvre, Amour sacré, op. cit., 58. orr.
- 15 A. Renaudet, Préréforme et Humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d’Italie (1494-1514), (Paris, 1916) 647-654. orr.
- 16 Zera diote Christine Martineau eta M. Veissière: “ En outre, elles (i.e. “ces luttes” to reform the Church through the study of the Bible which looked suspicious to the Sorbonne) le préparèrent à abandonner la vie contemplative qu’il préférerait, c’est évident, et le conduisirent à participer activement à l’oeuvre de réforme de Meaux. Toutefois il semble que ce fut la crise provoquée par Luther qui le poussa à faire ce dernier pas”. Correspondance, 1, Introduction, 17. orr.
- 17 Ibid., 18. orr.
- 18 Ibid., 4-5. orr.
- 19 Lefèvrek, bere hainbat tratadu mistikoen artean, hurrengoak eskeini zizkion Briçonneti: Dionisii Caelestis Hierarchia, Divina Nomina et Theologia Vivificans (Paris, 1515). Dedikatorian zera idatzi zuen: “ Reverendo in Christo Patri ac domino D. Guillelmo Briçonneto, episcopo Lodovensi dignissimo”; cf. Dédicace, a II ro. BL pressmark 3625. a. 1.
- 20 Ikus Guy Bretonnearen ikerketa Briçonneten familiari buruzkoa, Histoire Généalogique de la Maison des Briçonnets, (Paris, 1621).
- 21 Michel Veissière, “Guillaume Briçonnet, abbé réformateur de Saint-Germain-des-Près (1507-1534)” in Revue d’Histoire de l’Église en France, vol I. LX, 164. zk, urtarril-ekaina, (1974), 65-84. orr.
- 22 A. Renaudet, Le Concile galican de Pise-Milan, in Documents Florentins, 1510-1512, (Paris, 1922).
- 23 Bretonneauk G. Briçonnet semea “le saint et sçavant Prelat” gisa deskribatzen du, jakin barik ezen Sorbonari ez zitzaizkiola batere atsegin haren Meauxeko erreforma saiakerak; “Nos Princes ont estimé la fidélité de ce grand Prelat, et fait un état particulier de sa prevoyance en la conduite de leurs affaires; les Pontifes Romains ont admiré son Eloquence en pleins consistoire de Cardinaux, et tout le monde a respecté avec etonnement sa Saintté”, Histoire Genealogique de la Maison des Briçonnets, op. cit., 133-134. orr. Bretonneau urrunegi doa Briçonnet S. Jeronimorekin, Elizaren lehen heresiei oldartu zitzaienarekin, alderatzean: “De sorte que comme l’incomparable S. Ierôme feût surnommé le marteau des Heretiques, pour la cruelle guerre qu’il leur menoit par ses écrits, nôtre Briçonnet merita pareillement l’estre appelé”: Factionis Lutheranae debellator Acerrimus”; ibid., 164. orr.
- 24 Genin, Lettres inédites de la Reine de Navarre, Paris 1841, eta Nouvelles Lettres (Paris, 1842).
- 25 Martineau, Correspondance, 1, Introduction, 1. orr.
- 26 Philippe-Auguste Becker, “Marguerite, Duchesse d’Alençon et Guillaume Briçonnet, évêque de Meaux, d’après leur correspondance manuscrite” in BSHPF (Paris, 1900) 393-477. orr.

- 27 Pierre Jourdak deskribatzen du Briçonnetek Margaritaren sarbidean izan zuen rola, Marguerite d'Angoulême, Duchesse d'Alençon, Reine de Navarre (1492-1549) 2 vols. (Paris 1930), vol I, 68-78. orr. Ulertzen du Briçonnetek Margarita erakartzeko duen gogo bizia, baina Meauxekiko honen konpromiso pertsonalak misterio bat izaten jarraitzen du.
- 28 Febvrek bere komentarioetan Briçonnet guztien aurka egiten du; Guillaume Briçonnet aitaren ametsa anti-aitasantu bihurtzea zen: "Il put même, un jour, avec quelque illusion, entrevoir dans ses rêves mieux qu'un chapeau une tiare", L. Febvre, Amour Sacré, op. cit., 98. orr. Bere aburuz, Briçonnet gaztea zen beste barik: Un gallican résllu, acharné, et qui faisait bon marché des prérogatives pontificales. Un diplomate enfin, plein d'expérience mêlé a de grandes affaires (...) c'est lui qui, sans hésiter, projeta, aux environs de 1518, de prendre la tête d'un mouvement de réforme de l'église gallicane original et neuf"; ibid, 100. orr. Ikus baita L. Febvre, "Le cas Briçonnet" in Au Coeur Religieux du XVIe Siècle, (Paris, 1957), 145-161. orr.
- 29 Ikus Henry Heller, "The Briçonnet Case Reconsidered" in Journal of Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies, 1972, 223-258. orr. Ikus baita Glori Capellok Briçonneten biziak egindako deskribapena, "Neoplatonismo e Riforma in Francia dall'epistolario tra Guglielmo Briçonnet e Margherita di Navarre", in Logica e Semantica ed Altri Saggi (Padova, 1975) 141-148. orr.
- 30 Martineauk eta Veissièrek Correspondancearen bigarren bolumena argitaratu zuten (1523-1524), Geneva 1979; publikazio hau Briçonnetek gidatutako Margaritaren sarbideko urte erabakigarrien erakusle zehatza da.
- 31 L. Febvre, Amour sacré, op. cit., 326-370. orr.
- 32 Ikus Briçonneten Lutherren aurkako dekretu pastoralak in Herminjard, La Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de langue française. 9 vols, 1866-1897. vol. I, Nos. 77 eta 78, 153-158. orr.
- 33 M. A. Screech edit., Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples et ses disciples; Epistres et Evangiles pour les cinquante et deux semaines de l'an; facsimilé de la première édition par Simon du Bois; (Geneva, 1964), Introduction, 9. orr.
- 34 L. Febvre ez zuen deuseztatu nahi izan aurreiritzi zahar hau, itxurazko mistizismo baten atzean ezkutatzen zirela Briçonneten gurari erlijioso eta politikoak, Margaritari gutunak idazten zizkionean: "Or, c'est ce prélat, riche, heureux, magnifiquement apparenté, fort mêlé pendant des années à la grande politique, c'est ce bénéficiaire des pires abus qui, par une singulière contradiction (je veux dire, par ce que nous appelons, nous, une contradiction) se réfugie de bonne heure dans la spéculation mystique". Amour sacré, op. cit., 100. orr.
- 35 Martineau, Correspondance, 1, Introduction, 129. orr.
- 36 Ikus Correspondancearen testuinguru historikoa in Ph.-Aug. Becker, Marguerite, Duchesse d'Alençon, op. cit., 393-477. orr.
- 37 Pierre Jourda, Marguerite d'Angoulême, op. cit., vol. I, 66. orr.
- 38 Correspondanceeko lehen gutuna Margaritak idatzi zuen 1521eko ekainean. Gutunaren hasierak, non mintzatzen den Jainkoaren esentziaz, erakusten du ordurako bazuela ideia mistikoen ezagutza. Ikus Margaritak Jainkoaz ematen duen definizioa Izate beharrezko bezala: "Je Suis qui Suis", 5. kapitulu, V atalean.
- 39 Michel d'Arande 1521eko urrian batu zitzaion Margaritaren gorteari; Correspondance, 1, 37. orr.

- 40 Screech, Epistres et Evangiles, op. cit., Introduction, 16. orr.
- 41 Ibid., 13. orr. Ikus Friedrich Beisserren ikerketa Lutherrek Biblia interpretatzeko zituen printzipioei buruz, Luther's Hermeneutics; claritas Scripturae (Göttingen, 1966). Baita Shevington Wood, Luther's principles of Biblical Interpretation, Londres 1960. Gai hau jorratuko da laugarren kapituluan, non aztertzen den Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, Briçonneten eta Lefèvreren printzipio hermeneutikoen erakusgarri, zeinak Lutherren printzipioengandik oso ezberdinak diren.
- 42 Egia balitz Screechek dioen bezala Epistres et Evanjiles 1525ean argitaratu zirela, (op. cit., Introduction, 9. orr.), esan daiteke prediku hauetako planak haien publikazioa baino bi urte lehenago ezartzen saiatu zirela, Meauxeko taldekideak.
- 43 Screech, Epistres et Evangiles, op. cit., fol. CXVI.
- 44 Ibid., fol. CXVIII.
- 45 Febvre, Amour sacré, op. cit., 120. orr.
- 46 Ikus 2A gutuna, Nemoursko Filibertori berrigortzean galdua. Correspondance, p. 29.
- 47 Ibid. 1, Introduction, 15-16. orr.
- 48 Briçonnetek zailtasunak zituen zenbait arazo hermeneutiko idatziz azaltzeko, beraz Dukasari iradoki zion jar zedin harremanetan Lefèvrerekin eta gorteko beste hainbat aditurekin. 49 gutuna, Correspondance, 2, 13-14. orr.
- 49 Charles Schmidt, "Le Mysticisme Quiétiste en France au début de la Renaissance" in BSHPP, 1853, 449-464. orr. Schmidt wrote another interesting article "Etudes sur le mysticisme allemand au XVe siècle", Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences Politiques; savants étrangers, vol. II, 1847.
- 50 A. Lefranc, Marguerite de Navarre et le Platonisme de la Renaissance (Paris, 1914). Bada, Prisonsei buruzko gure 5. kapituluan, Margaritaren platonismoari buruzko bibliografia berezi bat.
- 51 Glori Capello, "Neoplatonismo e riforma in Francia", op. cit. Ikertu du baita Cusako Nicolasen eragina Correspondancean, bere "Nicolo Cusano nella Corrispondenza di Briçonnet con Margherita di Navarra" artikuluan, Medioevo, Rivista di Storia della Filosofia Medievale, (Padova, 1975), vol. I, 97-128. orr.
- 52 Ikus Martineauk Tourseko mahai inguruan irakurritako ponentzia, geroago publikatua "Le Platonisme de Marguerite de Navarre?" izenarekin in Bulletin de l'Association d'Études sur l'Humanisme, la Réforme et la Renaissance, (France du Centre et du Sud-Est, 1976), 4. zk, 12-35. orr.
- 53 Ibid., 13. orr.
- 54 Martineauk ukatzen du, Lefranckek eta Lajartek diotenez, "néo-platonisme amoureux" zantzurik dagoenik Margaritaren lanetan. Ibid., 14. orr.
- 55 Ibid., 19. orr.
- 56 Martineauk dio: "Nous saisissons ainsi au passage la raison du coup de foudre qu'elle ressentit, aux environs de 1540, pour tout ce qui touchait au renouveau platonicien. Si nous ne craignons pas d'avoir l'air de vouloir être dans le ton, nous dirions qu'il s'agit là pour elle d'une espèce de cas de reminiscence, au sens platonicien du terme. Elle reconnut sa pensée dans ces doctrines, parce qu'elle avait subi, à son insu, une préimprégnation de platonisme.", "Le Platonisme de Marguerite de Navarre?" op. cit., 18. orr.
- 57 Capello, "Nicolò Cusano nella Corrispondenza", op. cit., 100-103. orr.

- 58 Ikus 16 gutuna, Briçonnetek idatzia, Margaritak aurretiaz aipatutako gaiei erantzunez, “la doublement malade”, Correspondance, 1, 72-74. orr.
- 59 Ikus 3 kapitulua, I atala, non ukatzen dudana Margarita Lutherren eraginpean dagoenik bere idazlanik garrantzitsuenan, Miroir.
- 60 Ikus C.A. Mayerren edizioa Clément Maroten Les Epîtres (London, 1958). Epistre XLVI, vv. 5-12, 243-244. orr. Marotek eskertzen du Margaritak 1519 harrera egin izana eta 1535ean erbesteratua zelarik bera defendatu izana. Ikus Introduction, 11-12. orr.
- 61 Génin, Lettres de Marguerite d’Angoulême, op. cit., vol. I, 41. orr.
- 62 Margaritaren Frantziskorekiko sentimenduak, honen heriotzaren ostean (1547ko martxoaren 31an) idatzitako poema batzuetan ikus daiteke, Navire ou consolation du Roi François Ier à sa soeur Marguerite; R. Marichalek publikatu zuen Parisen, 1956an. Antzezlan bat ere idatzi zuen, Comédie sur le trespas du Roy, hau ere berriki argitaratua, H. P. Clive, Oeuvres choisies, op. cit., vol. II. Bere Prisons obraren “III Liburua”ren zati bat ere Frantziskoren azken memoriei eskainia da; ikus A. Lefrancken edizioa (Paris, 1896), fol. 340-342.
- 63 Jourdak ukatzen du Margaritak “a aimé son frère”, anaia maitatu izana, eta Micheleten teoria ere, Frantziskoren Margaritarekiko amodioarena. Marguerite d’Angoulême, op. cit., vol. I, 111 oin-oharra, 64. orr. Izan ere, Margaritaren bizitzan ezkontzaz kanpoko harremanen edozein susmo ukatzen du; ibid., 64-69. orr.
- 64 Badirudi Margaritaren amodioei buruzko kondairek Febvre erakartzen dutela, idazten duenean: “Être aimée et, par là, échapper à la solitude; être dirigée et soutenue, sentir une présence très douce et très efficace auprès de soi; le vœu secret, sans doute, d’une femme qui, ne trouvant pas dans le mariage le réconfort dont elle avait besoin (...)”. Amour sacré, op. cit., 106. orr.
- 65 Ikus Prisonsen nire interpretazioa, ez plazer naturalen uko bezala, baizik maitasunak, zientziak eta naturak berez jakintzaren formarik garaienara, Jainkozkoarenara, daramatenaren onarpen platonikoaren aholku bezala. Ikus 6 kapitulua, III atala, eta baita Briçonneten amodio neoplatonikoaren kontzeptua in Martineau, “Le platonisme de Marguerite de Navarre?”, op. cit., 25. orr.
- 66 3 kapituluan, I atalean, zailtasunak jartzen dit Capitonon ikuspegi zeinaren arabera Margaitak ukatu omen zuen Briçonneten “philosophie de haute volée”, eta beraz bere eritziak ondorengo kritiketan izandako eragina.
- 67 Ikus C. E. Rolteek eginiko Dionisio Areopagitaren edizioa, The Divine Names and Mystical Theology (London, 1920). The Divine Namesean Pseudo Dionisioak azaltzen du hasiberri batek bere sarbidetzea sekretuan mantentzeko egin behar lukeena: “Thou, therefore, o good Timothy, must guard these truths according to the holy Ordinance, nor must thou utter or divulge the heavenly mysteries unto the uninitiate”, 64. orr. Halako pasartean iturria Ebanjelioan aurkitzen dugu Mateo 7,6 ren arabera: “Eta eztitzazuela egotz, zuen perlak urden aitzinera”, mistikoek ulertzen zutena “ez iezazkiezu misterioak ezagutarazi ez-hasiberrirei”.
- 68 Ordenatan hiru kide mota daude, Lehena gizonena, Bigarrena emakumeena eta Hirugarrena laikoena.
- 69 Bada testu paralelo bat Correspondancean, Meauxeko printzipio mistikoak ikasten hasteko eskaera bati dagokiona, Margaritak idatzia, berak Meauxera igorritako gazte baten izenean; ikus 37 gutuna, 1522ko apirilean idatzia,

- Correspondance, 1, 193-194. orr. Badirudi baita Briçonnetek bazuela itxaropenik Frantzisko erregea ere bere heziketa jasotzeko prest egotean, bere bizimodua mundutarra izanagatik ere; 58 gutunean, 1523ko ekainean Margaritari idatzian, itxaropen hauez mintzo zaio Margaritari: “Ayant hier, Madame, en la bouche du Roy oÿ propos selon son nom très-chrestien (dont loué soit le Pere de lumiere, qui les tenebres de nature humaine par lumiere filiale a illuminé) a esté d’une part joieux et consolé, voyant la superexcellente divine bonté se cascher de ceulx qui presument et cuident avoir la clef de sapience divine, de laquelle estantz excludz n’y permectent aultres entrer, et luire ès coeurs humbles se confiant de l seule douceur et misericorde...” Correspondance, 2, 41. orr.
- 70 Martineau eta Veissièrek pentsatzen dute ezen aipu honen bidez kontatzen dela Michel d’Aranderen gutun bati, edota seguru aski Briçonnetek berak Faremoutierseko (Meauxeko Diozesiko monasterio bat) serora batzuentzat idatzitako gutun-tratatuei; hauek Contemplationes Idiotæren estraktu bat zuten. R. Jordan, Correspondance, 1, 36. orr.ko 24 oin oharra.
- 71 Ikus Meauxeko taldearen aurkakotasuna Erasmok eta Lutherrek Pseudo Dionisioren egiazkotasuna zalantzan jartzeari. Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsani buruzko Laugarren kapituluan, III atalean.
- 72 H. Hellerrek Briçonneten irakasgaien iturria aurkitu du Pseudo-Dionisioren Divina Nominatan; ikus bere tesia, Marguerite de Navarre and the Reformers of Meaux, 1518-1525 (Cornell University, USA, 1969), 275. orr.
- 73 Ibid., 275. orr.
- 74 Martineauk ondorioztatzen du: “C’est pourquoi l’étude du néoplatonisme de Marguerite ne peut que passer par l’étude du néoplatonisme de Briçonnet”; “Le Platonisme de Marguerite de Navarre?”, op. cit., 19. orr.
- 75 Glori Capello, “Nicòlo Cusano nella Corrispondenza di Briçonnet con Margherita di Navarra”, op. cit., 105-112. orr.
- 76 Ikus nire ikerketa, Jainkoaren Inmanentzia eta Traszendentziari buruzko Margaritaren ideiei buruz, bosgarren kapituluan, V atalean.
- 77 Martineau eta Veissièrek iradokitzen dute Margarita gaixotasun batez ari dela, edo agian Michel d’Aranderengan Meauxetik itzulitakoan sumatutako aldaketa batez; ibid., 164. orr.ko 11 oin oharra.
- 78 Febvre, Amour Sacré, op. cit., 12. orr.
- 79 Ikus “viscerallement” gaia 30 gutunean, Briçonnetek 1522eko otsailean idatzitakoan, Correspondance, 1, 154-155. orr.
- 80 Ikus, 2 kapituluaren V atalean, nire interpretazioa, Margarita-Perlaren esanahiarena borobiltasun perfektuaren sinbolo bezala. Seinalatu beharrekoa da ezen espainieraz eta italieraz, Margaritak ezagututako hizkuntzak biak ere, perla-ostrea (Pinctada margaritifera) “madreperla” deitzen dela.
- 81 Briçonnetek onartzen du Margaritak bera espiritualki adoptatzea, 95 gutunean. Correspondance, 2, 149. orr.
- 82 Herminjardek dio “filz-mère” harremanari buruz: “Elle avait à peine trente-un ans; l’évêque de Meaux en avoit cinquante-trois. Mais selon les idées du temps, la haute naissance de Marguerite autorisait le titre qu’elle prend ici, en s’adressant à Briçonnet”, La Correspondance, op. cit., vol. I, 109. orr.ko 3 oin oharra.
- 83 Glori Capellok azaltzen du: “Le lettere di Margherita, d’altro canto, sono caratterizzate da espressioni preziose: ella, ad esempio, si firma “vostre inutile mère” (e Briçonnet

- risponde “vostre inutil fils”); si dice “la voyante aveugle” e “la vivante en mort”. Tali espressioni sono comuni a molti scritti mistici medievali e rinascimentali e non debbono stupire, perché anche in uno scrittore ispirato al misticismo speculativo, l’ansia di rendere la povertà delle creature ed il suo totale abbandono a Dio ha il soppravvento, spesso, sul ragionamento filosofico o sulla illustrazione dei legami dell’uomo al Cristo”. “Neoplatonismo e Riforma in Francia dall’Epistolario tra Guglielmo Briçonnet e Margherita di Navarra”. op. cit., 180. orr.
- 84 Margaritak terminologia hau aplikatzen zuen Miroirean, Jainkoari deituz “Père, Filz, Frère”, vv. 933-939. Ikus ahaidetasun mistikoen ikerketa 3 kapitulan, IV atalean.
- 85 Ikus “Décret Synodal contre les doctrines et livres de Luther”, Briçonnetek 1523ko urriaren 15ean ateratakoa. Herminjard, La Correspondance, op. cit., I, 154. orr.
- 86 Ibid., 154. orr.
- 87 Ikus Jainkozko Asentsioaren ikur mistikoari buruzko nire ikerketa, 6 kapitulan, IV atalean.
- 88 J. E. Cirlotek dio: “M is the most sacred of letters for it is at once masculine and feminine and also symbolic of water in its original state (or the Great Abyss)” A Dictionary of Symbols; gazteleratik J. Sagek itzulia, London, 1971, (lehen edizioa, 1962); ikus “letters of the alphabet”.
- 89 Giza maitasunari buruzko Briçonneten doktrina da, hau beti dela inperfektua eta ez nahikoa Jainkozko Maitasuna erakusteko (Correspondance, 2, 251. orr.); Margaritari erakutsi zion baita ere ezen giza maitasuna bere bi fase gorenetan, “charnel” eta “spirituel” deitutakoetan, Trinitateko jainkozko maitasunaren sinbolo direla (ibid., 2, 227. orr.). Heptameroneko 53. “Nouvelle”an Kristau Maitasuna deskritzen da, Pablo Deunaren arabera, “in osculo sancto” gisa (I Korintiarrei, 16,20).
- 90 Ikus Dialogueko eta Miroirreko aliterazioen azterketa 2 kapitulan, III atalean.
- 91 Febvrek ohartarazi zuen ez zela Briçonnet bakarrik izan Margarita Perla-Ostra (Mère Perle) sinboloa erabiltzen harribitxiaren rezipiente bezala (Bibliaren ulertze espiritualaren esanahia), Lefèvrek ere erabili zuen “à tous les chrétiens” idatzi zuenean: “Et devant ceux-là [“txakurrak” eta “zerriak”] (...) ne faut aucunement parler, ne semer les précieuses marguerites de l’Ecriture Sainte”; Amours Sacré, op. cit., 122. orr. Briçonnetek ere azaltzen du: “...à ces porchins, rozes et marguerites déplaisent” (Correspondance, 2, 224. orr.).
- 92 Ikus nire ikerketa “Mirouer”ari buruz, sinbolo mistiko gisa, 4 kapitulan, III atalean.
- 93 Génin, Lettres de Marguerite, op. cit., Introduction, 6. orr.
- 94 H. Heller, “Marguerite de Navarre and the Reformers of Meaux”, op. cit., 278. orr.
- 95 Hellerrek dio: “In other instances, e.g. in his sermons and decrees, he was often able to express himself with forcefulness and eloquence, indeed with lucidity”, ibid., 278. orr.
- 96 Normalki, Margaritaren gutunetako tonua naturala da, Correspondancean ez bezala, non erabiltzen baititu ideia eta estilo ilunak. Ikus P. Jourda, Répertoire analytique et chronologique de la correspondance de Marguerite d’Angoulême, Duchesse d’Alençon, Reine de Navarre (1492-1549) (Geneva, 1973)
- 97 A. Tilley, Literature of the French Renaissance, (Cambridge, 1904), vol. I, 112. orr.

- 98 Heller, Marguerite de Navarre and the Reformers of Meaux, op. cit., 278. orr.
- 99 Ikus Mayer edit., Clément Marot, Les Epistres, op. cit., 243. orr.
- 100 Herminjardek Capitonon expresioak interpretatzen ditu honen Margaritarentzako “Dédicace”an, Briçonneten gutunei erreferentzia egiten dietelarik; La Correspondance, op. cit., vol. II, N°227. 13 oin-oharra, 122. orr. Zehatzago aztertzen dut Capitonon ahalegina Margarita Meauxeko taldearen eraginetik urruntzeko, 4 kapituluan, I atala.
- 101 Ikus Martineauaren ikerketa Margaritaren neoplatonismo erlijiosoari buruz, “Le Platonisme de Marguerite de Navarre?”, non aztertzen baitu Margaritaren Heptameronaren dependentzia Briçonnetek idatzitako gutunekiko; op. cit., 29-34. orr.
- 102 Honela laburtzen ditu Febvrek 1524an Margarita hunkitu zuten gertaerak: “Publics, et c’est l’invasion de la Provence par Bourbon et les Impériaux; ils sont à Aix le 8 août et devant Marseille le 19. Privés, et c’est d’abord une grave maladie de Louise de Savoie, qui s’alite en mars à Blois, d’un pleurésie (...). C’est, fin avril, la mort prématurée de la jeune tante et amie de Marguerite, Philiberte de Savoie, duchesse de Nemours, à qui elle avait fait connaître les hommes de Meaux et leurs oeuvres; après quoi survint la maladie, et, à la fin de juillet, le trépas de la reine Claude. La maladie et la mort de la petite Charlotte vinrent couronner ces tragédies.” (Febvre, Amour sacré, op. cit., 48-49. orr.).
- 103 Margaritaren harridura eta nahaste egoera aipatzen dugu kapitulu honen bukaeran, baita poeman duen eragina ere. Harriduraren gai mistikoa berriz 5 kapituluan garatuko dugu, III atalean.
- 104 Carlo Péligrini, La prima opera di Margherite di Navarra, Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne, et la terza rima in Francia. Catania, 1920.
- 105 Pierre Jouda, “Sur la date du Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne” in RSS vol. XIV, 150-161. orr.
- 106 Christine Martineau eta Christian Grouzelle, “La Source première du Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne, la lettre de G. Briçonnet à Marguerite de Navarre du 15 septembre 1524; publication et commentaire” in BHR, vol. XXXII, 559-577. orr (569. orr.).
- 107 P. Jourdak hauteman zituen gutun honetako bi esaldi zeinak jotzen duten Dialoguearen tematikara; ikus “Sur la date du Dialogue”, op. cit., 153-154. orr., baina Martineau eta Grouzelleri esker dakigu ziurtasun osoz Dialogueko ideiak Briçonneten gutunetatik datozela; ikus “La Source première du Dialogue”, op. cit.
- 108 P. Jourda, “Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne” in RSS, vol. XIII. Zera dio Jourdak: “Le Dialogue est une synthèse des idées que l’on voit apparaître une à une dans les lettres échangées avec Briçonnet: il les sous une forme précise et raisonnée. Et qui sait s’il n’a pas été composé pour être lu par le Roi? L’hypothèse est peut-être audacieuse. On peu cependant la formuler, si l’on se reporte à certains passages de la correspondance de Marguerite avec Briçonnet.” (Introduction, 4. orr.).
- 109 Martineau eta Grouzellek nahiko zuzenki diote: “Nous comprenons maintenant d’où vient (...) cette voix assurée et parfois hautaine (...) que plus qu’une fois elle malmène pour la forcer à plier la tête: c’est celle du grand maître de l’Evangélisme (...) Guillaume Briçonnet.” (“La Source première du Dialogue”, op. cit., 570. orr.).
- 110 Ikus Meauxeko Kredoaren gai nagusiak aurreko kapituluan, II atalean.
- 111 Erasmok 1524ko irailaren 1ean eman zuen argitara bere Diatribes seu de libero

- arbitrio, eserialdi batean idatzitakoa. Gero, Lutherrek bere kontra egin zuen, 1525ko abenduan De servo arbitrio eta 1529an Katexima. Eztabaida honek garaiko kristautasuna bitan zatitu zuen. Ikus: Erasmus-Luther: discourse on free will, E. E. Winterren itzulpen eta sarrerarekin.
- 112 Briçonneten Lutherren aurkako dekretua irakur daiteke in Herminjard, La Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de langue française, vol. I, N<sup>o</sup>77, 153-155. orr, cf. baita N<sup>o</sup>78 eta 81.
- 113 Dialoguearen aipu guztiak Jourdaren ediziokoak dira.
- 114 R. Marichal, La Navire, Introduction, 14. orr.
- 115 Imitatio Christi Kempisko Tomasen liburuan, I Liburuan, 5 kapituluan, esaten da Bibliaren irakurketari buruz, “The authority of the writer should not trouble you, whether he is of small or great scholarship; but let a love of pure truth attract you to the reading”. Doktrina Augusto Deunarena da, 26 Salmoan. Briçonnetek ohartarazia zuen Margarita gehiegi jakitearen uste harroputzaz, 1524ko irailaren 15eko gutunean, zeina Margaritak present zuen Dialoguea idaztean: “... et n’est jamais descheu de l’arbre de vie par presumptueux desir de trop scavoir...” (Correspondance, 2, 269. orr.). Rabelaisek ere ez zituen atsegin Jainkoaren botereari eta predestinazioari buruzko eztabaidak: “Et de qui estes vous apprins ainsi discourir et parler de la puissance et praedestination de Dieu, paouvres gens?” Le Quart Livre, Prologue. Ikus baita Margaritaren ezinikusia eztabaida teologikoeikiko, Heptameronean, Nouvelle 25, non argiro adierazten baitu teologoentzat utzi behar direla.
- 116 Lefranc, zeinak mantentzen duen Margaritaren ideiek teologia luthertarraren eragin handia dutela, hala ere zuzen dabil baieztatzean Dialoguearen izaera polemikoa dela, nahiz eta Margaritak ez duen polemika horretan parterik hartzen: “On retrouve, dans un certain nombre de pages de ce poème, l’écho de cette dispute si importante qui signala l’année 1524 et que l’Europe pensante suivit avec tant d’attention. Il semble que Marguerite, qui n’éprouvait point une grande sympathie pour Erasme, ait assisté avec quelque scepticisme à cette lutte fameuse, qui lui apparaissait comme une querelle de théologiens savants et subtils.” (A. Lefranc, Les idées religieuses de Marguerite de Navarre d’après son oeuvre poétique (Les marguerites et les dernières poésies), 11. orr.).
- 117 Ikus baita vv. 425-426, 727-729 eta 829-831.
- 118 Cf. E. E. Winter, Erasmus-Luther, op. cit., 112. orr. Lutherrek dio gainera “zamabere bat bezalakoa” dela.
- 119 Ikus baita vv. 709-711, 244-249, 625-627 eta Dialogue osoan zehar. Ekintzen teoriei buruzko Briçonneten doktrina berdina da: “Aussi adherant avec Jesus Christ, il est membre de membre (I Korintiarrei 12,27) de son corps par unyon spirituelle et si prolifions et faisons oeuvres spirituelles ou que plaisons à Dieu, n’est de nous mais pour ce que sommes inseréz en la chair et humanité du debonnaire espoux...” (Correspondance, 2, 217. orr.).
- 120 Ikus baita Correspondance, 2, 40 eta 99. orr., arimaren Jainkoarekiko bategite perfekturanzko igoeraren hiru etapei buruz.
- 121 Juan Deunaren irakaspena, “Jainkoa maitasuna da” (I Juan 4,16) oso garrantzitsua zen irakaskuntza mistikoan. Hemen, Margaritak hitzen ordena eraldatzen du, kontzeptua nabarmentzeko, zentzu Platonikoa nabarmenduz. Esaldi berdina agertzen da 565. bertsoan eta bere lan idatziko kontzeptu gako bat da, bereziki lan



- ez erlijiosoetan, hala nola Heptameronean (ikus, “sixiesme journée”aren hitzaurrean, Juan Deunaren Epistolari egiten zaion erreferentzia, Jainkoa Maitasun gisa kontzeptuari buruz).
- 122 Lukas, 6,27: “Baina zuei diotsuet dantzuzuenoi, onets itzazue zuen etsaiak”
- 123 Textu hau Juan Deunaren Ebanjelioan ere agertzen da, 14,6 “Ni naiz bidea eta egia eta bizitzea”. 6 kapituluan, V atalean (d), adierazpen hau aztertuko dut, Margaritak eginiko Jainkoaren definizio gisa.
- 124 Ronsardek, Margarita eta Marotek bezala, heriotza goratzen du giza kondizioaren askatzaile gisa; ikus H. Chamard, Histoire de la Pléiade (Paris 1939-40), vol. II, 16 kapitulua: “Les Hymnes de Ronsard”, 175-207. orr., batez ere 201-205. orr. “L’Hymne de la Mort”ari buruz.
- 125 Ikus S. Weil, La pesanteur et la grâce (Paris, 1948).
- 126 Jourdak dio, Dialogueari sarreran: “Il faut noter qu’en un passage au moins, v. 582, Marguerite déclare qu’il faut laisser agir la grâce en nous et nous fier à elle. N’est-ce point l’éveil en elle des théories que lui prêcheront plus tard Pocque et Quintin, les libertins spirituels?” op. cit., 1 oin-oharra, 4. orr.
- 127 Montaigne, Oeuvres complètes, II Liburua, 12 kapitulua, “Apologie de Raymond Sebond”, edit. Pléiade, 189. orr. “Apologie” honetan, Montaignek Lutherren theologia ukatzen du, ibid., 416. orr.
- 128 Ikustekoa da nola aurkezten dizkigun Charlottek sainduak, ez aktibo, baina Jainkoaren obra pasibo gisa (vv. 427-429). Jainkoa agertzen da haien “estampe”, “forge”, “patron”, “exemple”, “image”, “marteau”, “feu”, “pollisouer” eta “trempe” gisa.
- 129 Margaritak horrela bukatzen du Briçonnetentzako gutunetako bat: “...affin que en vie, vive soit et non en mort la pis que morte”. Ikus Correspondanceko 31 gutuna, 1, 160. orr. Honek egiaztatzen luke Martineauk adierazitako iritzia in “La Source première du Dialogue”, op. cit., hau da, Margarita Briçonnetekin ari dela benetan, nahiz itxuraz Charlotterekin ari (570. orr).
- 130 Alderatu 1524ko irailaren 15eko Briçonneten gutunarekin: “Le vouloir de Dieu est a preferer au propre...” (Correspondance, 2, 264. orr.). Ikus baita Dialogueko testuak, vv. 731, 735, 1231, 1238.
- 131 Briçonnetek Margaritari idatzi zion: “Si d’aventure l’un a trebuché par offence quelconque envers l’autre (posé qu’il scache luy estre pardonné), a extreme regret, peine et ennuy et d’autant plus que l’amour est plus grande”. Briçonnetek elkar laguntzearen beharra azpimarratzen du, Jainkoaren bakea eta grazia lortzeko. (ibid., 2, 269. orr.).
- 132 Sebastian Castellionek, Calvinori aurre egin zion erreformatzaile liberal batek, Theologie Deutscharen frantseserako eta latinerako bere itzulpenak aurkeztu zituen (1557-1558), honen irakaspen mistikoen sumarioarekin batera; autorearen ideiak, maisu renaniar ezezaguna, Margaritaren Dialoguekoenen oso antzekoak ziren: “La raison est telle que l’homme, estant tombé par suivre son propre vouloir (...) il faut necessairement qu’il delaisse entièrement son propre vouloir et suive celui de Dieu, veu que les remèdes des choses sont toujours par leur contraire; joinct que le vouloir de l’homme est contraire à celui de Dieu”. Esango nuke mistiko guztiek lengoaia berdinean mintzatzen direla, eta giza borondateaz ari direnean, haien gai nagusia Aita Gureari erreferentzia egitea dela, zehazki “Egin bedi zure nahia” gaiari. La Theologie germanique; chapitres choisis, introduite par S. Castellion et traduite par Pierre Poiret (Haarlem 1950), Introduction p. 6.

- 133 Gregoy of Nyssa, The Lord's Prayer and the Beatitudes, Hilda C. Graefen itzulpena eta oharra (London, 1954).
- 134 Meister Eckhart, "Exposition of the Pater noster qui est en celis", A. Jundtek publikatua Apendize II gisa in Histoire du panthéisme populaire au Moyen Age et au seizième siècle (Paris, 1875) 231-235. orr.
- 135 Ikus W.G. Moore, La Réforme allemande et la littérature française: Recherches sur la notoriété de Luther en France, 432-441. orr.
- 136 Ikus Jean Orcibal, "La Rencontre du Carmel Thérésien avec les mystiques du nord" in BEHE, Section des sciences religieuses, vol. LXX, 1959, 63. orr.: "Martin Luther avait publié, en 1516, un texte "A" plus court... et en 1518, il avait fait paraître sous les titres Eine Deutsche Theologie et Theologie Detsch, une version "B" en cinquante chapitres qui est restée la plus courante". Ikus kapitulu honetako 31 oin-oharra, non mintzatzen garena Aita Gurearen gaiaz Theologie Deutscharen iruzkingile baten bitartez.
- 137 E. Parturier, "Le Pater noster faict en translation et dialogue par la Royne de Navarre", in RR, vol. II, 178-190 eta 273-276. orr.
- 138 Moorek dio ezen Margaritaren "Aita Gurea" 1527 baino lehenago idatzia izan zela, zeren eskuizkribuan bera "Madame la Duchesse" gisa aipatzen dute. La Réforme allemande et la littérature française, op. cit., 187-188. orr.
- 139 Joseph L. Allairek Miroiraren azken textuaren data ezarri du, gaur ezagutzen dugunaren arabera, hau da, 1531koa. Azpimarratu du ezen bazterretako Bibliaren zitak Vulgata bertsiokoak direla, sarritan Lefèvreren frantseserako itzulpenekoak (Allaire edit., Le Miroir de l'âme pécheresse, Munich, 19-20. orr.). Hala ere, R. Salminenek esan bezala, aipatze hauek argitaratzaileek gehitu zituzketen, eta Erreginak Vulgataran itzulpen askeaz baliatzen da bertsoekin bat etor dadin (Salminen edit., Le Miroir de l'âme pécheresse (thesis), Helsinki, 1979, 40. orr.).
- 140 W.G. Moore, La Réforme allemande et la littérature française; recherches sur la notoriété de Luther en France (thèse) (Strasbourg, 1930). Ikus baita N. Weiss: "Une Victime du Miroir de l'âme pécheresse de Marguerite d'Angoulême, soeur de François I: l'imprimeur Antoine Augereau et sa famille (1534-1559)", in BSHPF, vol. XLII, Paris 1893, 242-247. orr.
- 141 M. Holban, "Le Miroir de l'âme pécheresse et les Epistres de la Noble et Amoureuse Dame", Mélanges Offerts à M.A. Lefranc (Paris, 1936), 142-154. orr., (152-153. orr.).
- 142 Moore, La Réforme allemande, op. cit., 189. orr.
- 143 Febvre, Amour sacré, op. cit., 151-153. orr.
- 144 Weiss, "Une Victime du Miroir", op. cit., 245. orr.
- 145 Allaire, op. cit., Introduction, 21. orr.
- 146 Weiss, op. cit., 244. orr.
- 147 Leopold Victor Delisle, Notice sur un registre des procès-verbaux de la Faculté de Théologie de Paris pendant les années 1505-1533; manuscrit des archives de la maison de la Trémoille aujourd'hui à la Bibliothèque Nationale N°1782 du fonds français des nouvelles acquisitions, vol. XXXVI, 315-408. orr.
- 148 Delisle, op. cit., p. 405. Rabelaisk irigarri uzten du Bédaren sabel nabarmena in Pantagruel, 7 kapitulu: "De optimitate triparum".
- 149 Walter Frederic Bense, Noël Bédard and the Humanist Reformation at Paris: 1504-1534 (tesia), (Cambridge Mass., 1967). Harvard Univ. discussion (microfilm

- eskuragarria). Bensek azpimarratzen du ezen Miroirraren auzia Bédaren erbestearatzean zehar aztertu zela. 812-813. orr.
- 150 Delisle, op. cit., 398-399. orr.
- 151 Ibid., 399. orr.
- 152 Ibid., 402. orr.
- 153 A.L. Herminjard, La Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de langue française (Geneva, 1866-1897), vol. III, 106-111. orr.
- 154 Delisle, op. cit., 405-406. orr.
- 155 Ibid., 323. orr.
- 156 Ikus Allaire; op. cit., Introduction, 20-21. orr.
- 157 Pierre Jourdak iradoki zuen ezen itzulpenekiko hartutako jarrera hau izan zela ekintza honetarako arrazoi nagusia. P. Jourda, Marguerite d'Angoulême, Duchesse d'Alençon, op. cit., vol. I, 172-180. orr.
- 158 A. Clerval, Registre des procès-verbaux de la Faculté de Théologie de Paris; archives de l'histoire religieuse de la France, (Paris, 1917), 424. orr. 88 oin-oharra.
- 159 Charles Duplessis d'Argentré, Collectio iuditorum de novis erroribus qui ab initio duodecimi seculi post incarnationem Verbi, usque ad annum 1623 in Ecclesia proscripti sunt et notati; Paris 1728, vol. II, 101. orr.
- 160 Pablo Deunaren teologiari jarraiki, Briçonnetek dio fedearen bidez justifikatu ez bagara, ekintzek ez dutela baliorik, Vulgataren aipamen honetan ikus daitekeen bezala: “Par grace et bonté sommes créés, par icelles conservés et entretenus, par graces saulvés et non par noz oeuvres, comme dict Monsieur saint Pol: “*Gratia enim salvati estis et hoc non, etc., ex vobis. Dei enim donum est et non ex operibus, ut ne quis gloriatur*” [taken from Ephesians 2, 8-9 in the Vulgate text]. Nous sommes saulvés par foy en la grace de Dieu et non de nous. Il vient du don de Dieu et non de noz oeuvres à ce qu'il n'y ayt creature qui se puisse glorifier.” (Correspondance, 1, 119. orr.).
- 161 Caesar Egassius Bulaeus, Historia Universitatis Parisiensis. T. VI; ab anno 1500-1600. Paris, 1673. 1523ko urtarilaren 15ean, Fakultateak adierazpen hau egin zuen Briçonneti buruz, zeina salatu baitzuten, beste batzuen artean, Meauxeko “Frères Mineurs”ek, Lutherren doktrina jarraitzeaz, saiatuz “détourner de lire les Histoires et legendes desdits Saints et vénérer les Reliques approuvées par l'Eglise”, vol. VI, p. 184: “Vita et gesta Guillermi Briçonnet, tunc Episcopi Meldensis, eum omnino reddunt a calumnia istiusmodi et a suspitione haeresos immunem: Quippe nemo acrius Lutheranam haeresim injectatus est, nemo ferventius Catholicam tutatus”. Ibid. 184. orr.
- 162 Lefranckek idatzi zuen 1898an: “Marguerite y parle d'un bout à l'autre (...) des dogmes et principes de la Réforme; elle y révèle non seulement les mêmes méthodes, mais aussi les mêmes habitudes d'esprit qui caractérisaient les partisans de la révolution religieuse”. Muturreko jarrera hau hain influentziala izan da ezen Margaritaren pentsamenduaren beste alderdi batzuk ahaztu egin dira, berau soilik eta funtsean ideia erreformatzaileetan interesaturik balego bezala. Aipamena: Les Idées religieuses de Marguerite de Navarre, op. cit., 15. orr.
- 163 Ikus Efesiarrak 1,22: Eta gauza guztiak haren oinen azpiko sujet egin ukan ditu, eta bera ezarri ukan du gauza ororen garaian Elizaren buru izateko.
- 164 Ikus laugarren kapitulua, Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan obrako hermeneutika mistikoari buruz, III atalean.

- 165 F. Genin, Lettres de Marguerite d'Angoulême, op. cit, Introduction, 112. orr.
- 166 J.B. Collins, Christian Mysticism in the Elizabethan Age, with its background in mystical methodology, (Baltimore, 1940), 83. orr., 7 oin-oharra.
- 167 Margaritaren Miroirraren ingelesezko bertsioaren izenburua hauxe da: A godly medytacyon of the Christen Sowle concerninge a love towards God and hys Christe, complied in frenche by lady Margarete quene of Navarre and aptely translated into English by the ryght vertuose lady Elyzabeth, doughter to our Soverayne Kynge Henri the VIII. Wesenen editatua, 1548ko apirilean. Kopia bat dago Brit. Libraryan; pressmark C.12.d.1. Johan Balek itzulpenari sarrera bat egin zion mezu antipapista batekin, erasotuz honela aktuatzen dutenak: “boast the good workes of the lawe (...) wretched Ydyotes for advantage of Masses”, ibid. fol. 7 vo. eta fol. 8. R. Salminenek argitaratu berri du itzulpen honen edizio kritiko bat, Le Miroir of the Synneful Soule, Miroirarekin batera, Helsinki, 1979.
- 168 Collins, Christian Mysticism, op. cit., 82. orr. Richmondeko Margaritak egindako J. Gruitroederen ingelesezko bertsioaren kopia bat dago Brit. Libraryan, pressmark 1412, c. 11. Baita 1526ko bertsioaren kopia bat ere, pressmark G.12042.
- 169 Frankek egindako Miroirraren edizioa, in Les Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses, 1547ko ediziotik, Sarrera eta Oharrekin (Paris, 1873). Miroir, Introduction, 6. orr, vv. 1-6.
- 170 “Speculum” literaturak Jakinduria Biblikoaren tradizioaren eragina zuen, batez ere Salomonen literaturaren bidez, “Ecclesiastes”, “Job” eta “Esaera Zaharrak” bezalako liburuetan.
- 171 Jean Bouyer: Incipit Speculum Peccatoris, Poitiers 1480. Bouyerren lan hau, Agustin Deunarena zela uste izan zen; ikus Migne, Patrologia Latina, vol. XL, 983-991. orr., (Paris, 1895). Bada 1480ko edizioaren kopia bat British Libraryan, pressmark Ia.42812.
- 172 Ibid., aVI vo.
- 173 1500eko edizioaren kopia bat badag British Libraryan, pressmark IA.39567. Baita edizio goiztiarrago batena, 1494koa, pressmark IA.4896.
- 174 Margaritaren Miroirraren garaian, Dionisio Carthusianusen lanak ospe handikoak ziren. Colognen bildu eta publikatu ziren 1533an. Ikus edizio honen kopia bat Britis Libraryn, pressmark 846b.19, zeinak dituen gainera lau tratatu mistiko: De arca viae salutis, Amatorum mundi Speculum, De enormitate et gravitate peccati and De conversione peccatorum. BLn bada baita bere Speculum conversionis peccatorisaren edizio goiztiarrago bat, Flandesen argitaratua 1473an, pressmark IA.49003. Aipamena: De arca salutatis B VII vo.
- 175 Ibid., E I vo.
- 176 Ikus Dialogueko “se laisser” aditzaren erabilpena, zeinak adierazten baitu, Jainkoaren borondatea onartuz, arimak hartzen duen jarrera kietista. 2 Kapitulu, IV Atala.
- 177 Margaritak “Litaniae mortuorum” teknika hau erabili zuen, anaia Frantziskoren heriotza deskribatzean Prisonsean, fol. 341 vo. Elizaren litaniek ez dituzte liturgiaren egitura konplikatuak, eta erabilera orokorrari egokitutako errepikapenak baizik ez dira. Ikus nola ekiditen dituen Margaritak doxologia liturgikoak, 6 oharrean.
- 178 Ikus Franken Miroirraren edizioa in Les Marguerites, op.cit., Introduction, 6. orr, vv. 7-10.

- 179 Ikus Jean Castel, Lo specchio delle dame, G.A. Brunelliren sarrerarekin eta frantesetik itzulia, Le Miroir des dames (Florence 1958). Sarreran, Brunellik dio: “le fonti spirituali di questi tre componenti [i.e. its three parts] sono dei sermoni e delle poesie latine attribuiti a San Bernardo”. Introduction 24. orr. Badira kopia batzuk, Castelen “Miroirs”enak, hamabosgarren mendean Parisen egindakoak. BL pressmark IA.39393 eta 11437.b.5.
- 180 Ibid., 50. orr.
- 181 Comédie de la Nativité lanean, Margaritak garatzen du Maria jainkoarekiko guztizko batzearen adibide ezinobearen ideia. H. Skommodau, Die religiösen Dichtungen Margarettens von Navarre (Cologne 1954), 113-114. orr. Baita P. Sage, La Sainte Vierge dans l'oeuvre de Marguerite de Navarre, in Bull. Des Fac. Catholiques de Lyon, 1954. Margaritaren Prisonsetan, Maria “pucelle de Dieu” gisa agertzen da, Jainkoaren “Rien” bereganatua zuen izaki bakarra. (Prisons, fol. 345 vo – 346 ro, 291-292. orr.).
- 182 Gunther Zainer, Speculum humanae salvationis eta Speculum Sanctae Mariae Virginis, (Augsburg 1471). Bada kopia bat BLan, pressmark IB.5469.
- 183 Ikus nire azterketa “Kantu Ederrenaz” Margaritak egindako interpretazioari buruzkoa, 4 kapituluan Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsani buruz, IV Atala.
- 184 British Libraryko Ms.an ez dago orrialde-zenbaketarik. Aipamen hau, Zainerren edizioaren azken kapituluko da, op. cit.
- 185 XV mende bukaeran eta XVI mende hasieran, “Speculum” generoaren barnean zeuden diferentziak agertzeko saiakera asko egon ziren. Westfaliako Johannesek, esaterako, 1480 aldera aurkeztu zuen, Jacobus de Gruitroederekin, Dionysius Carthusianusekin eta Rodericusekin batera (Zamorako apezpikua, Espainian), zenbait “Mirouers”. Haien “Specula”k gehienbat “Specula Sacerdotum” dira (Apezen Ispiluak), “Specula Mortis” (heriotzerako prestatzeko) edo “Ars Moriendi”. Bi kopia daude BLan, pressmarks IB.49225 eta IB.49226.
- 186 J.M. Dechanet, Guillaume de Saint-Thierry; le Miroir de la foy, (Paris 1946), 50. orr. Honek baita idatzi zuen Guillaume de Saint-Thierry, l'homme et son oeuvre, Bruges 1942. Argitarara eman zuen Commentarium in Canticum e scriptis Sti. Ambrosii, Paris 1962. Margaritaren Miroirrean pentsakera biak nahasten dira, zeren “Speculum fidei” bat baita, eta “Speculum cantici” bat, beste “Specula” batzuekin nahastua.
- 187 Miroir, op. cit., Appendix, 99. orr.
- 188 BN, f. fr., MS 1525.2, fol. 192 ro.
- 189 CF. Marie Holban, Le Miroir de l'âme pécheresse et les Epistres de la Noble et Amoureuse Dame, op. cit. Ikus kapitulu honetako 3 oin-oharra.
- 190 Ibid., 144. orr.
- 191 Ibid., 145. orr.
- 192 Ibid., 146. orr.
- 193 Ibid., 147-148. orr.
- 194 Ibid., 148. orr.
- 195 Ibid., 151. orr.
- 196 J. Bouchetek eskainia zion bere lanetako bat, Labyrinthe de Fortune, Margaritari 1522an. Holbanen dio, nahiz ez dakigun zuzen edo oker dabilen, Bouchetek bere Triumphesen kopia bat bidali ziola Erreginari, argitaratua izan aurretik. Ibid., 153. orr.
- 197 Ibid., 153. orr.

- 198 Oso litekeena da antzekotasun hauek testuinguru historiko berdintsuaren ondorio izatea. Edonola ere, Bouchetek “Speculum Mariae” ideien aurkakoei egindako erasoek, Erreginak liburua errefusatzeari ekarri zuketena, berau Miroirra idazten ari zen garaian. Ikus kapitulu honetako 3 oin-oharra.
- 199 M. Holban, op. cit., 154. orr.
- 200 Ikus 6 kapitulua, II atala non xehetasunez aztertutako diren Margaritak erabilitako Argiaren piramidearekin lotura duten sinboloak.
- 201 Alderatu Miroirrarekin, v. 35: “Par sa clarté ma tenebre illumine”.
- 202 Alderatu Miroirrarekin, v. 31: “(...) à ce que je puis veoir”.
- 203 Alderatu Briçonneten gutuna Miroirrarekin, vv. 853-858:  
 Las! Qu’est cecy? Jettant en hault ma veue,  
 Je voy en vous bonté si incogneue,  
 Grace et amour si incomprehensible,  
 Que la veue m’en demeure invisible,  
 Et par force faict mon regard cesser,  
 Qui me contrainct en bas mes yeulx baisser.
- 204 Hemen, Briçonnetek erreferentzia egiten dio bereizketa mistiko klasikoari, “oeil charnel”, “oeil de la raison” and “oeil de l’esprit”en artean; hasiberria dena soilik hel daiteke “oeil de l’esprit”aren ikuspenera, non eta pertsona arruntek soilik “ikus” dezaketena haien ikusmen gaitasunarekin, arrazoimen biluziarekin. Ikus R. Javalet, Psychologie des auteurs du XIIe siècle, in Revue des sciences religieuses, Strasbourg, vol. XXXIII, Urtarrila 1959, 25. orr.
- 205 Alderatu Isaias 64,4-rekin eta I Corinthians 2,9-rekin.
- 206 Pseudo-Dionysius, The Divine Names, 9 kapitulua C.E. Rolt, itzulpena eta sarrera, London 1972, 98-99. orr. Ikus nire ikerketa Jainkoaren definizioaz esfera bezala, zeinaren zentrua toki guztietan baitago, eta zirkunferentzia inon, 6 kapitulua, V atala.  
 Ikus baita R. Llul: “Circulus est figura ultima, eo equia perfectior est quam aliqua alia figura: ipse enim continet in se omnes alias figuras, et ab ipsis descendit, et constitutus est”. Ars generalis ultima, (Palma Mallorca, 1645), Pars 10; de app. Cap. 14, art. 46; de circulo, 354. orr.
- 207 H. Sckommodau, Die religiöse Dichtungen, op. cit., 42. orr.
- 208 Ikus Miroiraren zenbait lerro, zeinak aipatzen duten esperientzia mistikoa:  
 Qui m’a navré le cuer jusques à la mort (v. 811)  
Mourir, brusler, par amour importable. (v. 345)  
 C’est d’ung tel filz que tout le cuer m’en fend. (v. 348)  
 Or, fendez vous mon cuer par la moitié. (v. 358)  
 Et au vivant, par la mort, je suis ravve. (v. 888)  
Je m’esbahis que tout soudainement  
 Elle ne sort de son entendement.  
Je m’esbahis qu’elle ne devient folle,  
En perdant sens, contenance et parole. (vv. 243-246)
- 209 Pierre Jourdak krisi mistiko bat aipatzen du Margaritaren bizitzan, Miroirra idazten ari zen garaian.  
Marguerite d’Angoulême, op. cit., vol. I, 66-67. orr.  
 J.B. Collinsek komentatzen du ezen “as part of the purgative process, one observes at the outset the brief evidence of a conversion which has taken place in Marguerite’s

- soul, and her decision to change the tenor of her life for the better”, op. cit., 84. orr. Iadanik aztertu dut, lehenengo kapituluan, Margaritaren erabakia Briçonnetek ekar zezan Meauxeko eskolaren teknika konplikatuena ezagutzara.
- 210 L. Febvre, Rabelais bezala, Margaritaren egoera mistikoari “esprit ecstatique” deitzen dio. Ikus Rabelais bezala, Margaritaren egoera mistikoari, azken kapituluan, non aztertzen baitira Erreginareen garaikideek egindako bere erretratu mistikoak.
- 211 Ikus Margaritak nola erabiltzen dituen “Tout” eta “Rien” antitetikoak, 5 kapitulua, V atala.
- 212 Ikus interpretazio guztiak in Martineau, Correspondance, op. cit., 71. orr. Herminjard, Correspondance, op. cit., 1, 78. orr. Becker, Marguerite la Duchesse, op. cit., 405. orr.
- 213 Martin Buber, by R.G. Smidt, London, The Carey Kingstate Press Ltd. 1966. Buber ezaguna da “Ni eta Zu” harreman mistikoaz egin zuen analisi zoragarriagatik. Berak idatzi zuen Ich und Du 1922an.
- 214 Roltek dio, Pseudo-Dionisioren harremanez:  
“The human self and the Uncreated Light stand in the mutual relationship of “Me” and “Thee”. That which says “Me” is not the Being which is addressed as “Thee”; and the Being addressed as “Thee” is not that which says “Me”. The two stand over against one another.  
This relationship must now be transcended by a process leading to ecstasy. The human spirit must seek to go forth out of itself (i.e. out of its created being)(...) Casting selfhood away, it strives to gain its true being and selfhood by losing them in the super-Essence. Laying its intellectual activity to rest it obtains, by a higher spiritual activity, a momentary glimpse into the depths of the Super-Essence, and perceives that the distinction between “Me” and “Thee” is not.”  
The Divine Names, op. cit. Introduction, VIII: “the psychology of contemplation”, 27. orr.
- 215 Ikus gure ikerketa ekstasi mistikoarena zauris gisa, 5 kapitulua, III atala.
- 216 J.G. Arinterok Aita-Seme eta Ama-Alaba harremanak azaltzen ditu Trinitateko pertsonen arteko harremanen bitartez: “He desired to be our Brother and when we say “Our Father” to God, this is made manifest in us. For he who says “Our Father” to God, says “Brother” to Christ. Therefore he who has God for his Father and Christ for his Brother need not fear the dreadful day”. The Mystical Evolution in the Development and Vitality of the Church, gazteleratik Jordan Aumanek itzulua, (New York, Herder, 1950) vol. 1, 152. orr. Hemen Arintero Agustin Deunaren Enarrationes in Psalmum 48ez ari da.
- 217 Ikus Febvre, Amour sacré, op. cit., p. 60. Rabelais bezala, parodia bat egin zuen “estranges alliances de l’isle Ennasin”ei buruz Quart Livrean, 9 kapitulua, non kritikatzeko baitu lengoaia mota honen gehiegizko erabilera.
- 218 Collinsek Miroirrean Erdi Aroko mistizismoaren eragina ikusten du, batez ere Ruysbroeck-en Ezkontza espiritualaren eta Pseudo-Dionisioren idazlanen bitartez. The Spirit of Mysticism, op. cit., 86-87. orr.  
Margaritari idatzitako gutun batean, Briçonnetek “Monsieur Saint Denis”en teologia mistikoaren hiru printzipio dibinoak aipatzen ditu, eta Saint-Victorreko Hughi jarraiki, “Hiru Maila Espiritualen” doktrina aplikatzen dio Pseudo-Dionisioren doktrina Jainkozko hiruko Hierarkiarenari. .  
Correspondance, 1, 115-118. orr.

- 219 Briçonnetek Margaritari idatzi zion: “Là sera la vraie et indubitable union, sans figure ne ombre” (Correspondance, 1, 105. orr.). Saint Paul bere epistoletako hainbat pasartetan mintzatzen da bategite honetaz. Ikus Filipensei 3,21; Erromatarrei 8,29-30 eta II Korintiarrei 3,18.
- 220 R. B. Blackney edit., Meister Eckhart, “sermon 2”, New York, Harper, 1941, 102. orr.
- 221 Trinitatearen doktrina tradizionala bertan aurkitzen da, Margaritak Miroirrean eta Briçonnet-Margaritak Correspondancean erabilitako zatiketa hirukoitzean. Briçonnetak, hala ere, bietatik garbien hitz egiten duena: “L’eau pouvons attribuer au Superceleste Pere eternal. Le feu au debonnaire Jesus. Le fruit au Saint Esperit, qui procede commele fruit de l’arbre et de l’eau et du feu” (Correspondance, 1, 96. orr.).
- 222 Ikus Zirkuloaren esanahi sinbolikoaren azterketa, Jainkozkoaren irudi perfektu gisa, 6 kapitulua, III atala.
- 223 Ikus Argi eta Iluntasunaren sinbolo mistikoen azterketa, 6 kapitulua, V atala.
- 224 Ikus gure ikerketa Margaritak bere lanetan Jainkoari buruz ematen dituen definizioei buruz, 5 kapitulua, V atala.
- 225 Ikus beste adibide batzuk:  
 Au lecteur: “brusler” (v. 15)  
 vv. 831-832: “ardeur”, “bruller”.
- 226 Ikus nola Sckommodauk dioen Briçonneten sinboloak Margaritak gogoan zituela, eta beranduago bere poematan agertu zirela. Die religiösen Dichtungen, op. cit., 46. orr.
- 227 Ikus Llulen Speculumaren 1490eko edizio honen kopia in BL, pressmark IA.39982. Llulen idazkiak, baita Kabala eskolarenak, Berpizkundeko idazle guztiek irakurtzen zituzten.
- 228 Clément Marotek Ferraratik alde egin behar izan zuenean, bere etxea arakatu zuten eta bere liburutako asko konfiskatu ziren, zeinen artean baitzeuden Kabalaren lanak. Hauen doktrinetakoa batzuek esanahi ezkutua zituzten, eta Sorbonak arriskutsutzat zituen:  
 On y trouva; mais cela n’est offence  
 A ung poëte, à qui on doit lascher  
 La bride longue, et rien ne luy cascher  
 Soit d’art magicq, nygromance ou caballe.  
 Clément Marot, Les Epîtres, Epître XXXVI: “Epître au Roy, du temps de son exil à Ferrara”, 1535eko udan idatzia. Mayer edit., op. cit., 202-203. orr.  
 “Kabala”k esan nahi du “jasotakoa” (i.e. Jasotakoa eta oinordetzan hartua, sekretu mistiko gisan); inspiratu zituen mistizismo tradizionala, bai eta honek Jainkoaz eta unibertsoaz duen ulermena! John Ferguson, An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Mysticism and the Mystery Religions, (London 1976), “Kabbalah”, 98-99. orr.  
 Gainerako bibliografiarako mistizismo kabalistikoari buruz, ikus Lubac, Exégèse Médiévale, op. cit., oharrak in Part II, 406. orr.
- 229 Ikus azterketa esperientzia espiritualaren Hiru Mailei buruz 5 kapitulan, III atalean.
- 230 J. de la Hayek Margarita lore batekin alderatu zuen Miroirrari egindako sarreran: Fleur de pourpris, fleur tousjours fleurissant, Fleur de beauté naïve, fleur yssant Du royal tyge et semence Royale. (...)  
 (Franken edizioa, Miroir, op. cit., 4. orr.)  
 eta geroago, Margaritaren “valet de chambre”ak gaineratzen du:



C'est le Miroi où il fault regarder  
 Qui bien voudra du monde se garder;  
 C'est le Miroi auquel qui bien se mire  
 Du tout malheur et vice se retire...

(ibid., 6. orr.)

Rabelaisek, Quart-Livrean, aipatzen du harri garden ispilu-antzekoa: “Sus la poupe de la second [navire] estoit hault enlevée une lanterne antiquaire, faicte industrieusement de pierre sphingitide et speculaire, denotant qu'ils passeroient par Lanternoy”. 1 kapitulua. Jourdak interpretatzen du ezen “La pierre sphegnitide doit être une pierre d'albâtre; la pierre spéculaire, une pierre transparente: du mica”. Jourdaren Edizioa (Paris, Garnier, 1962), vol. 2, 32. orr.ko 6. oin-oharra.

- 231 H. P. Clive, Marguerite de Navarre; Oeuvres Choiesies, 2 vols (New York, 1968), vol. II, 2-4. orr. Hemen Clivek aztertzen du Nafarroako Margaritaren antzezlanen kronologia.
- 232 Ikus Capitonen Margaritarentzako “Dédicace”ko textua in A. L. Herminjard, La correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de langue française, 9 vols (Paris, 1866-1897); ikus N°227: “In Hoseam Prophetam, V.F. Capitonis commentarius”, vol. II, 119-123. orr.
- 233 Froga erabakigarririk ezean, ilogikoa litzateke suposatzea ezen Margarita eta Briçonneten arteko Correspondancea 1524ko udazkenean bukatu zela, bat-batean; egia da azken gutuna bukatugabe utzi zela eta besterik agertu ez dela, baina Beckerrek ondorioztatzen du: “Car il saute aux yeux que la Correspondance ne finissait pas ainsi”. Ph.-Aug. Becker, “Marguerite, Duchesse d'Alençon, et Guillaume, évêque de Meaux, d'après leur correspondance manuscrite”, in BSHP, Paris, 1901, 393-477. eta 661-667. orr., (476. orr.).
- 234 Comédie du Désert, Frankek editatua in Les Marguerites op. cit., vol. I, 353. orr.
- 235 Ikus Comédie de la Nativité de Jésus Christ, F. Frankek editatua, ibid., vol. I, 10. orr.
- 236 V.L. Saulnierren arabera, Margaritaren lau antzezlan biblikoak, Comédie de la Nativité de Jésus Christ, Comédie des Innocents, Comédie de l'Adoration des trois Roys à Jésus Christ eta Comédie du Désert, 1530 inguruan idatzi ziren. Cf. Théâtre profane, op. cit., Introduction, XXIII. orr.
- 237 L. Febvre, Amour sacré, op. cit., 326-370. orr. Margaritaren platonismoari buruzko Christine Martinearen ondorioak dira ezen baita Heptaméronean ere islatzen dela Meauxeko eskolaren jarrera ebanjelikoa, garaiko joera neoplatonikoak baino; ikus “Le Platonisme de Marguerite de Navarre” in BAEHRR, 1976, 12-13. orr.
- 238 A. Lefranc, les Marguerites, op. cit., Introduction, XI. orr.
- 239 Konparazioa ez da nirea; P. Jourdak paraleloan jartzen ditu Margaritaren bi poema. Ikus Marguerite d'Angoulême, Duchesse d'Alençon, op. cit., vol. I, 583. orr. Marichal are zehatzagoa da bi poema hauen azterketa konparatiboan; ikus La Navire (Paris, 1956); Introduction, 9-10. orr.
- 240 Ados nago Marichalekin, nahiz eta ez guztiz, tratatzen duenean Lutherren teologiaren puntu batzuekiko Margaritak izan zezakeen adostasuna:  
 “Elle ne s'intéresse plus, elle ne s'est jamais, peut-être, intéressée profondément à ces audaces des théologiens et elle semble être revenue à l'attitude plus reconciliante de Lefèvre d'Etaples qu'elle a, ne l'oublions pas, hébergé à Nérac et entouré

jusqu'à sa mort (1536) des soins les plus affectueux. Mais de Luther, elle a gardé "le plus intime": cette religion intérieure, ce primat de la foi, cet abandon à Jésus-Christ, bref, en plus "robuste", en plus "agissant", comme dit L. Febvre, ce qui l'avait déjà séduite dans les leçons de Briçonnet, de sorte que La Navire de 1547 est beaucoup plus proche de l'enseignement de Briçonnet que le Dialogue de 1524."

R. Marichal, op. cit., Introduction, 16-17. orr.

- 241 Febvrek aipatu zuen ze antzekotasun zeuden Briçonnetek Margaritari idatzitako gutunaren, eta Lefèvrek Testamentu Berriaren itzulpenari egindako Sarreraren artean. Amour sacré, op. cit., 122. orr.
- 242 Margaritak askotan hitz ematen dio Briçonneti, Correspondancean, Meauxeko taldea babestuko duela. 5 gutunean, adibidez, fraide frantziskotarrei buruz ari dela, zeinak Briçonneten ahalegin erreformatzaileen kontra baitaude, dio: "... et je m'oblige que, ainsy que serez mes bons advocatz envers le tout, qu'il luy plaira me faire estre la vostre en ceste court en toutz les affaires..." (Correspondance, I, 33. orr.)
- 243 Cliveren arabera, Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan 1548ko hasieran idatzi zen. Marguerite de Navarre, op. cit., vol. II, 4. orr.
- 244 Clivek dio: "...Amarissime n'est autre que Marguerite elle-même (...) Quant aux deux autres personnages, les critiques sont d'accord pour identifier Securus avec Henri d'Albret, second mari de Marguerite, et aussi Agapy avec Henri II". op. cit., vol. II, 3. orr.
- 245 Ibid., 8. orr.
- 246 Ikus nola Febvrek Heptaméroneko hainbat pertsonaia identifikatzen dituen. Amour sacré, op. cit., 258. orr. Baita J. Palermo in "L'Histoire des devisants de l'Heptaméron" in RHLF, 49 (1969), 193-202. orr.
- 247 "Paraclesis" da Comédie sur le Trespas du Roy lanean agertzen den azken pertsonaia.
- 248 Tartuffeko Orgonen deskribapenaren antzekoa da hau, I, 5 v. 281 sqqs.
- 249 Ikus emakume adulteriogilearen istorioa in Joan 8, 1-11. Bere senarrak barkatu den emakume adulteriogilearen doktrina ebanjelikoa, agertzen da Heptaméroneko "Nouvelles 32" and "61"etan. Aldiz, "Nouvelle 35"an deskribatzen da fedegabeko maitasun zigortua: "Un miroir où il fault se regarder". Ohartu "miroir" humanoaren erabileraz, Miroir poema mistikoan aplikatutako jainkozkoaren aurka, zeinean Jainkoak gizonak baino gehiago barkatzen duen. (cf. Miroir, vv. 685-718).
- 250 Ikus textu paralelo bat Marotek egindako Ovidioren Metamorfosien itzulpenean, Cliveren edizioan Maguerite de Navarre, op. cit., 167 lerroko oharra, vol. II, 89. orr.
- 251 L. Febvre, Amour sacré, op. cit., 347. orr.
- 252 Ph. Aug. Beckerrek dio, Bibliothèque Nationaleko "fonds français"eko N°11495 eskuizkribuan egindako zuzenketei buruz: "Ces corrections, contraires aux sentiments des deux correspondants, trahissent une main étrangère. Elles pourraient provenir d'une personne, protestante de convictions, qui aurait songé un instant à la publication du précieux manuscrit, mais que bientôt, pour une raison ou pour une autre, se serait desistée de ce projet". "Marguerite d'Alençon et Guillaume Briçonnet, évêque de Meaux, d'après leur correspondance manuscrite, 1521-1524", in BSHP, (Paris, 1901), 393-477. orr. (396. orr.).

- 253 R. Marichal, La Navire, op. cit., Introduction, 20-21. orr.
- 254 Ikus Calvinok Nafarroako Erreginari idatzitako gutuna in A. Lefranc, Les Idées religieuses de Marguerite de Navarre, (Paris, 1896), 130-132. orr. (131. orr.).
- 255 Ikus Margaritaren erantzuna Calvinoren gutunari, A. Jundten komentarioetan: “la Reine, dont les nouveaux venus, [i.e. Quintin and Pocques], avaient gagné la faveur, s’imaginant que Calvin leur avait fait tort en les traitant avec si peu de ménagement, en exprima hautement son déplaisir au réformateur. Elle lui reprocha d’avoir écrit ce traité contre elle-même et contre ses serviteurs”. Histoire du panthéisme populaire au Moyen Age et au Seizième Siècle, Paris, 1875, 129. orr.
- 256 Hilda Graef, The Story of Mysticism, London 1966, 227-228. orr. Ikus baita Herman Heringren azterketa Lutherren hasierako interesari buruz in Die Mystik Luthers im zusammenhange seiner Theologie in ihrem Verhältniss zur älteren Mystik, (Leipzig, 1879).
- 257 Ikus gure ikerketa berezia Margaritaren ignorantzia mistikoaren eta hiztegi negatiboaren erabilpenari buruz, Miroirari buruzko 3 kapituluari, IV. atalean.
- 258 A. Lefranc, Les Idées religieuses de Marguerite de Navarre, op. cit., 112-113. orr.
- 259 H.P. Clive, Marguerite de Navarre, op. cit., vol. II, 6-7. orr.
- 260 L. Febvre, Amour sacré, op. cit., 355. orr.
- 261 E. Parturier, “Les Sources du mysticisme de Marguerite de Navarre” in RR, vol. V, (1904), 1-16. eta 49-62. orr., (56. orr.).
- 262 P. Jourda ez da Parturier bezain irmoa Dialoguea analizatzerakoan: “Il faut noter qu’en un passage au moins, v. 582, Marguerite déclare qu’il faut laisser agir la grâce en nous et nous fier à elle. N’est-ce point l’éveil en elle des théories que lui prêcheront plus tard Pocques et Quintin, les Libertins Spirituels?” Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne lanaren bere edizioaren Sarreran, in RSS, vol. XIII, 1926.4. orr., 1. oin-oharra.
- 263 A. Jundt, Histoire du panthéisme populaire, op. cit.
- 264 Ibid., 122-123. orr.
- 265 Henri-Albert Blind, Marguerite de Navarre dans ses rapports avec la Réforme (thèse), (Strasbourg, 1868), 31. orr. Baita V.L. Saulnier, L’Evangélisme du Pierre du Val et le problème des Libertins in BHR, vol. IV, (1952), 205-218. orr.
- 266 Ch. Schmidt, Libertins Spirituels; traités mystiques écrits dans les années 1547-1549, publiés d’après le manuscrit original, (Geneva, 1876).
- 267 Ibid., Introduction, VIII. orr.
- 268 Glori Capello, “Per la storia dell’Ermeneutica biblica nel ‘500: Guglielmo Briçonnet”, Gregoriana, (Padova, 1975), 293-304. orr. (300. orr.).
- 269 Ikus nire ikerketa Lefèvre eta Briçonnetek Margarita hermeneutika biblikoan sartzeari buruz, 1 kapituluari, IV. atala.
- 270 Correspondanceko gutun bilduma ez zen Meauxen batu baizik Nafarroako Erreginaren gortean. Ikus Becker, Marguerite, Duchesse d’Alençon, op. cit., 395. orr.
- 271 Ikus Comédieko vv. 47-86 eta 405-410, zeinean “la Supertitieuse”k proposatzen duen birmoldatze plan orokorra oso antzekoa baita, hemen Briçonnetek eskaintzen duenarekiko.
- 272 Margaritak, Briçonneti idatzitako aurreko gutunean, N<sup>o</sup>7, bere burua “ardi galdua”rekin alderatu zuen, zeina ondoren Briçonnetek imitatzen baitu: “Ainsy que la brebis en país estrange errant...” (Correspondance, 1, 37. orr.)

- 273 Ikus vv. 575-584 (kapitulu honen II atalean aipatua) Comédie lanean. Baita v. 1004, “la Bergère”k esana: “Que tu me brusle sans sejour”.
- 274 Baita vv. 933-934, zeinetan “la Bergère”k besteen hoztasuna salatzen baitu:  
Vostre amour froide et lante  
N’entend ponct le secret
- 275 “La Bergère”ren kietismo espirituala argia da antzezlan osoan zehar, baina ez da beharrezko “Libertins Spirituels”ekin loturarik ikusterik, zeren Margarita ari baita “laisser faire” kontzeptua ilustratzen, berak Briçonnetengandik jaso bezala, Correspondancean. vv. 1000-1010 bereziki interesgarriak dira; ohartu ezen arimaren ahultasuna azpimarratzen duela, eta ekintza jainkotiarraren indarra.
- 276 Ikus v. 574 “la Bergère”k kantatua: “Helas! Je meurs tous les jours”.
- 277 Henri de Lubac, Exégèse Médiévale; les quatre sens de l’Ecriture. 4 vols (Paris, 1959-1964).
- 278 Glori Capello, “Per la storia dell’Ermeneutica”, op. cit., 300. orr. A. Winandyk Capelloren ondorio berdina ateratzen du, “Libertins Spirituels”en ideiak aztertu ostean: “Despite the parallelism and comparison between her (Marguerite’s) poetry and the Libertine theses, there is no congruence but rather an emphatic difference. Marguerite never, in effect, advocated the doctrine of the three ages of man”. “Piety and Humanistic Symbolism in the work of Marguerite de Navarre”, Yale French studies, 1972, 145-169. orr; 168. orr.
- 279 Bibliaren interpretazioan Espirituak duen rola 5 kapitulan aztertzen da, V,a atalean.
- 280 Febvrek aipamen hauen azalpen interesgarri bat ematen du, Amour sacré lanean, op. cit., 130-131. orr. Baita Marichalek ere, in La Navire, op. cit., Introduction, 39. orr.
- 281 Lefèvreren Bibliaren itzulpena 1524 eta 1530 artean argitaratu zen, La sainte Bible en francoys translatée selon la pure et entiere traduction de Saint Hierome conferée et entierement reusitée selon les plus anciens et plus correctes exemplaires; (Anvers, Lampereur, 1530), cum gratia et privilegio imperiali (gothique). Kopia bat dago British Libraryan, pressmark C.18 C.12.
- 282 Ikus Allaire, Miroir, Introduction, op. cit., 18-19. orr.
- 283 Ikus Salminen edit., Miroir, op. cit., 31-40. orr. Veissière-Martineau edit., Correspondance, 2, Eranskinak.
- 284 Ikus “Décret synodal contre les doctrines de Luther” honen textua in Herminjard, La Correspondance, vol. I, N° 77, 153-155. orr., 154. orr.
- 285 Erasmoren eta Meauxeko taldearen arteko aldea kritiko zenbaitek exageratu egin dute nire ustez, nahiz eta existitzen zen. Adibidez, Margaritak 1525eko eta 1527ko gutunei erantzun ez bazien, hau ez zen haien jarrerak guztiz aurkakoak zirelako, L. Febvrek dirudien bezala (ikus Amour sacré, op. cit., 68-69. orr.), baizik eta Erasmo Humanistak Lefèvre mindu zuelako, behintzat behin. 151 Sean Martin Droperi idatzitako gutun batean, Lefèvreri buruz, Erasmok idatzi zuen: “I very much admire his undertaking, though here again I disagree with him in several places – reluctantly, for I’d gladly be “of one mind” with such a friend in all respects, but truth must count for more than friendship, especially with regard to the holy scriptures”. Ikus Martin Droperi idatzitako gutuna, in A. H. T. Levi, edit., Erasmus, Praise of Folly (Hammondsworth, 1971), 249. orr.
- 286 Martineauk eta Veissièrek Correspondancearen testuinguru Galikanoaz azalpen interesgarri bat ematen dute; Correspondance, 1, 20-21. orr. Meauxen ematen ari

- ziren ahalegin erreformatzaileak, oinarritzen ziren pentsatzean ezen Eliza, hain beharrezko zuen erreforma egiteko orduan porrot egiten ari zela, eta Frantziako Erregearen betebeharra zela hierarkia frantsesari laguntzea ataza honetan; Margarita ados zegoen Meauxeko taldearekin.
- 287 Lubac, Exégèse Médiévale, op. cit., vol IV, 447. orr.
- 288 Ibid., 448. orr. Lubackek zehaztasunez aztertu du Erasmoren hermeneutika, ibid., 427-487. orr.
- 289 A. Skevington Wood, Luther's principles of Biblical Interpretation; (London, 1960), 24. orr. Ikus baita Friedrich Beisser, Claritas Scripturae bei Martin Luther (Göttingen, 1966).
- 290 Ikus Margaritak nola erabiltzen dituen Rakelen auhenak, Comédie des Innocents lanean; Ikus F. Franken edizioa in Les Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses, op. cit., 166. orr. Hau, argiro, Testamentu Zaharreko pasarte baten erabilera sinbolikoa da, Ebanjelista batek ikusitako eran, Mateo, 2,18.
- 291 Pablo Deunak idatzi zuen, Testamentu Zaharreko pasarte historikoei buruz: "Gauza hauk konparazionez erraiten dirade", Galatiarrei 4,24.
- 292 Lubac, Exégèse Médiévale, op. cit., vol. 4, 70. orr.
- 293 Ikus azala; Clive, Marguerite de Navarre, op. cit., vol. II, 83. orr.
- 294 *Lefèvreren arabera, "haragizkoa" k "hilgarria" esan nahi du: "Quapropter qui alio modo scripta intelligunt, [Galatiarrei 4 buruzko azalpenean] et alii applicant quam intendit Spiritus prophetae, non est sensus literalis nisi judaicus, carnalis et letifer; et est littera quae occidit".* Lubac, Exégèse Médiévale, op. cit., vol. 4, 414. orr. Briçonnetek antzeko esaera bat darabil: ikus kapitulu honetan 41 oin-oharrera daraman textua.
- 295 Lubackek azaltzen du: Les premiers sont avant tout les spirituels; ils cherchent d'emblée dans l'Écriture "spiritualis vitae intelligentiam"; les seconds sont avant tout des hommes de doctrine. Ils y cherchent d'abord "spiritualia de Christo arcana". Mais ce qui est explicite chez les uns se trouve implicite chez les autres, et vice-versa. Les premiers n'entendent pas tarir la vie spirituelle en la coupant de sa source, ni les seconds blasphémer cette source en niant ou négligeant sa fécondité spirituelle (...) Toute l'Écriture est évangélique, lorsqu'elle est contemplée, comme elle doit être, "dans l'esprit du Seigneur". Exégèse Médiévale, op. cit., vol. I, 356. orr.
- 296 Herminjard, La Correspondance, op. cit., N°59, vol. I, 111. orr.
- 297 Lubackek Bibliaren hiru zentzuei buruz idazten du, Origenesen arabera: "sensus ethicus" dagokio "Esaera zaharrak" liburuari; bigarrena, "sensus physicus", "Eklestiasies" liburuak errepresentatzen du; hirugarrena, "sensus enopticus", "Kantarik Ederrenean" gorpuzten da. Ikus Exégèse Médiévale, op. cit., vol.1, 221-238. orr.
- 298 Ibid., 237. orr.
- 299 Martineauk eta Veissièrek "ômer" hitz hebrearraren esanahia azaltzen dute, "unité de mesure (...) en rapport avec la manne" bezala, Exodo, 16,16 eta hurrengoak. Ikus Correspondance, 1, 139. orr.
- 300 Correspondanceko gutunak Margaritaren hainbat poemen iturburu dirateke, baina ez guztienak; Erreginak gutun hauek bere heriotzera arte aztertu zituen kontu handiz, eta badirudi bukatugabeko zenbait gai berragertzen direla, eta gehiago garatu. Adibidez, Briçonnetek Margaritaren Comédie des Innocents laneako kantua iragartzen du (vv. 100 eta hurrengoak): "Quelle melodie et cantique peuvent avoir chanté la belle et virginale bande de innocence naguères pour luy occise, aussy

- toutes les aultres bandes, selon leur hierarchie et tous ensemble par union d'ardeur, d'amour et charité", Correspondance, 1, 200. orr.
- 38 gutun hau dateke baita Margaritaren Triomphe de l'Agneau lanaren iturria, "l'agneau occis" agertzen baita gai mistikoetako bat bezala.
- 301 Aipatze honetako azken hitzak, "viscerallement", lotura zuzena du Erreginaren doktrina mistikoarekin, "naissance de Dieu en l'homme"ri buruzkoa, zeina beranduago garatu baitzuen bere Miroirrean. Ikus 3 kapitulua, IV atala.
- 302 Alderatu Esaera Zaharrakekin, 8, 30-31: "Haren ondoan nengoen ni, obra maisu bezala; beraren gozamina nintzen egunero, beraren aurrean jolastuz aldioro: beraren ludiaz jolasten nuen eta gizakiekin nuen neure gozamina"
- 303 Marotek goraipatuak zituen bere babesle errealek, Jainkozko Pan gisa ("O Pan, dieu tres sacré") eta Margarita baloraezina ("Margot, bergère qui tant vault") bere Eglogan, de Marot au Roys; ikus Mayer, Marot, Oeuvres lyriques, London, Athlone Press, 1964, 343-353. orr. Rabelaisek ere egiten dio Panen heriotzari erreferentzia, Quart Livre, 28. kapitulua.
- 304 Prisonseko lehen liburua, izatez, tratatu mistiko bat da, mundu honen naturaren ezagutza naturalaren eta Jainkozko aren jakintza mistikoaren arteko aurkakotasunari buruzkoa.
- Ikus "lehen kartzela"ri buruzko nire ikerketa 5 kapituluan, III. atala.
- 305 Parturier, "Les Sources du mysticisme de Marguerite", op. cit., 53. orr.
- 306 8 Gutuna, Briçonnetek Margaritari idatzia 1521eko urrian, tratatu mistiko bat da, "le doulx et debonnaire Jhesus vray pasteur des ames"ri buruz, Correspondance, 1, 38-39. orr.
- 307 Clivek azpimarratzen du ezen vv. 635-636, 677-680 eta 933-934 Erreginak hartu dituela Melin de Saint-Gelaisen poema batetik. Ikus op. cit., 110 orr.ko oinoharra.
- 308 vv. 165-167 inspiratuak ziren, Cliveren arabera, Ovidioren Maroten itzulpenean, Metamorfosiak. Ibid., 89. orr.
- 309 Clivek konparatzen du v. 618 Margaritaren "Chanson Spirituelle 27"rekin, ibid., 109. orr. Ikus, baita, vv. 165-167-ri buruzko oharra, ibid., 89. orr.
- 310 Ikus D. Mahute, Unendliche Sphäre, Beiträge zur Genealogie des mathematischen Mystik, (Halle, 1937). Baita J. Bonnefoy Mystique des nombres, RAM, XXV, (1949), 533-550. orr. Eta V. F. Hopper, Medieval Number Symbolism; its Sources, Meaning and Influence on Thought and Expression, (New York, 1938)
- 311 Lubac, Exégèse Médiévale, op. cit., vol. 1, 27. orr.
- 312 Sckommodau, H., Petit Oeuvre Dévot et Contemplative: Neuédition und Versucht einer Erklärung, in Analecta Romanica (9), (Frankfurt, 1960). Introduction, 18. orr.
- 313 Lubac, Exégèse Médiévale, op. cit., vol. 1, 28. orr. Ikus baita Honoriusen Speculum Ecclesiae in Migne, Patrologia Latina, vol. 172, 883. orr. c.
- 314 Ikus Margaritak nola erabiltzen duen Perfekzioaren Eskailera sinbolo mistiko bezala, 5 kapituluan, IV atala. Rabelaisek Zaporeen Eskala aplaikatzen dio giza maitasunari Pantagruel lanean, 21 kapitulua, deskribatuz "une haulte dame de Paris"ekiko Panurgeren maitasuna: "ce n'est que miel, ce n'est que sucre, ce n'est que manne celeste, de tout ce qu'est en vous". Zenbakien ezagutza sinbolikoari ere egiten dio erreferentzia Tiers Livre lanean, 20 kapitulua: "Il denote mariage, et d'abondant le nombre trentenaire, selon la profession des Pythagoriens. Vous serez marié!"
- 315 21 gutunean adibide on bat dago ikusteko nola aplikatzen dizkien Briçonnetek

- Pseudo-Dionisioren Divine Hierarchies igoera mistikoaren hiru mailai. Cf. Martineau, Correspondance, I, 115 eta 118-119. orr.
- 316 Clive, Marguerite de Navarre, op. cit., oharra Comédieren v. 761, azaltzen du ezen “la marotte” dela “attribut traditionnel du fou dans le théâtre du moyen âge”, 117. orr. Erasmusek Erokeria goratu zuen bere Moriae encomium lan ospetsuan, (1509). Ikus B. Radiceren itzulpena, A. H. T. Leviren Sarrera eta Oharrekin, op. cit. Nire ustez, Margaritak ez ditu Erasmusen bertako ideiak jarraitzen, baizik eta Pseudo-Dionisioren doktrina; ikus I kapitulua, IV atala. Cf. baita Rabelaisen Erokeriaren goratzea Tiers Livre lanean, 37 kapitulua.
- 317 B. Lan badago kopia bat Lefèvreren Contemplationes Idiotaeren 1519ko edizioarena, Henricus Stephanusek argitaratua, pressmark 848.d.’ (1).
- 318 Nafarroako Margarita Odoseko gazteluan zendu zen, 1549ko abenduaren 21ean. Enrike Albretetako, bere bigarren senarra, sei urte beranduago hil zen, 1555ean.
- 319 La Coche berriki eman du argitara R. Marichalek (Geneva, 1971). Honen arabera, poema neoplatoniko hau, maitasunaren izaerari buruzkoa, 1541an idatzi zen; Introduction 36. orr. Montaignek ere erabili zuen “coches”en gaia bere Essaisetako batean, III Liburua, VI.
- 320 La Navire ou Consolation du Roy François Ier ere Marichalek editatu zuen (Geneva, 1956). Frantziskoren heriotzaren ostean argitaratu zuen, berau 1547ko martxoaren lehenean zendu zelarik. Ikus Marichalen Introduction, 5. orr.
- 321 Dotinek Chansons Spirituelles argitaratu zituen Genevan, 1971. Honen arabera, gehienak 1540 eta 1547 artean idatzi ziren; Introduction, VII-VIII. orr.
- 322 Heptaméroneko hirurogeita hamar “nouvelle”etarik gehienak, L. Febvreren arabera, 1542 eta 1546 artean idatzi ziren; Amour Sacré, op. cit., 201. orr.
- 323 Prisonsak, seguruenik, Frantzisko I hil zen urtean idatzi ziren, 1547an; III Liburuaren bukaeran bere heriotzari “récit” bat gehitu zen, fols 340 ro - 342 vo.
- 324 Febvre, Amour Sacré, op. cit., 201. orr. Heptamérona, lehen aldiz, Margaritaren heriotza baino bederatzi urte beranduago argitaratu zen, 1558an; lehen edizio honen izena zen Histoires des amants fortunez, zeina ez baitzuen Margaritak idatzi. Honen arrakasta hain handia izan zen ezen 1559an berriro argitaratu zen, oraingo izenarekin, autoreak emandakoa hain zuzen: L’Heptaméron des Nouvelles de très illustre et très excellente Princesse Marguerite de Valois, Royne de Navarre, remis en son vray ordre, confus auparavant en sa première impression; M. Françoisen edizioa (Paris, Garnier, 1967), Introduction XXV. orr. Edizio honetan, eskuizkribu guztien zerrenda bat ematen da, eta 1558tik egindako edizioena; XXI-XXVI. orr.
- 325 A. Lefranc, Les Dernières Poésies de Marguerite de Navarre, Paris, 1896; Introduction, XLV-XLVI. orr. Clive ez da hain tinkoa: “Ce dernier poème, véritable odyssée spirituelle, est une des créations littéraires les plus remarquables du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Marguerite nous y offre, en forme allégorique, le résumé de ses idées morales et religieuses”. Marguerite de Navarre; Oeuvres Choiesies, op. cit., vol. I, Introduction, 21. orr.
- 326 Lefranc, Les Dernières Poésies, op. cit. Clivek, Margueriteren Oeuvres Choiesiesen edizioko oin-ohar batean, iragartzen du Prisonsen bigarren edizio kritiko baten prestaketa, op. cit.; vol. I, 21 oin-oharra, 7. orr.
- 327 Febvrek, Heptaméronaren analisi askoz interesgarriago bat eskaintzen digu Amour Sacréren “II<sup>e</sup> partie”an, op. cit., “I<sup>ere</sup> partie”ko obra poetikoen bere erakusketan baino. Bertan argiro ikusten dira Margaritaren kezkak garai hartako gizartearekiko, gai ezberdinetan, hala nola ezkontza klandestinoa (ibid., 317. orr.),

- “cordeliers” ekiko onarpen eza (332. orr.), eta XVI mende erdialdeko ideia erlijioso eta sozialak. Ikus baita Jourda, “L’Heptaméron et la société du XVI<sup>ème</sup> siècle” in Vie Intellectuelle, vol. IV (1932), 478-497. orr.
- 328 Glori Capello, “Neoplatonismo e Riforma in Francia dall’epistolario tra Guglielmo Briçonnet e Margherita di Navarra” in Logica e Semantica ed altri saggi (Padova, 1975), 139-182. orr. 39 oin-oharra, 151. orr.
- 329 Ibid., 155. orr.
- 330 Miroirari buruzko aurreko kapituluan, aipatu dut ezen hasierako lanetan, Margaritak ez zeukala problema tekniko eta hermeneutikoak tratatzeko argot teknikoa. Prisons idatzi zuen garairako, hau ongi kontrolatzen zuen, modu zehatzean erabiliz.
- 331 Lefranc, Les Dernières Poésies, op .cit., Introduction, XV. orr.
- 332 Herminjardek latinezko textuaren frantseserako itzulpena argitaratu zuen Argenteraten, (Paris, 1708). Azaltzen du ezen Capitonek zenbait irakurketa eskaini zituela Hosea Profetari buruz, 1526 eta 1527ko udetan zehar. Geroago publikatutako Commentarius in Hoseam Prophetam obran egindako Nafarroako erreginentzako “dédicace”an, adierazten du Margaritak Briçonneten printzipio mistikoak ukatu zituela, haien arteko Correspondancean ageri bezala: “J’ai lu”, idazten du, “moi-même deux lettres en français qui vous étaient adressées, et dans lesquelles, à l’imitation de Nicolas de Cusa, on philosophait sur l’essence et la puissance de Dieu (...) Vous avez également éprouvé combien cette philosophie de haute volée apporte avec elle de fatigue et combien elle procure peu de satisfaction”; Herminjard, Correspondance, op. cit. Vol. II, 119-121. . orr. Febvrek, zuzenki, ondorioztatzen du ezen Capiton Briçonneten gutunez ari dela; Amour Sacré, op. cit., 178. orr. Nire ustez, Margaritak ez zituen inoiz Briçonneten ideiak ukatu, eta Prisonsak izan ziren haren modurik onena erakusteko ezen ulertuak zituela bere ideiak, jainkoaren definizio anitzei buruzkoak, kapitulu honen azken atalean ikusiko dugun bezala.
- 333 Ibid., 122. orr.
- 334 Marichal, La Navire, op. cit., Note on line 1177, 292. orr.
- 335 Ikus aurreko kapitulua, Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan obrari buruzkoa, non azaltzen baita zergatik Margaritaren gorteko ideiak ez ziren onartuak Calvin bezalako erreformatzaileez, 2 kapitulua, II atala.
- 336 Meister Eckhart, R.B. Blackney edit., “Sermon 2”, op. cit., 108. orr.
- 337 Navirean zenbait aldiz agertzen da Kartzelan preso dagoen arimaren sinboloa: cf. vv. 187-192; 799-801; 153.
- 338 Glori Cappellori esker, ezagutzen dugu Margarita eta Briçonneten arteko Correspondancearen kontestu neoplatonikoa. Azaltzen du ezen gai platoniko asko ikus daitezkeela Correspondancean, hala nola gorputza arimaren kartzela dela, edota arimaren zatiketa hirukoitza, zeinak, Platonen arabera, behe mailako osagarriak baititu (energia irrikatsu eta suminkorrak eta arrazoiak) eta elementu gorenak (memoria, inteligentzia eta borondatea). “Neoplatonismo et Riforma in Francia”, op. cit., 154-155. orr. Cappellok aipatzen badela eskuizkribu bat Bibliothèque Nationalean, MS 6568, 1472 urtekoa, Leonardo Brunok eginiko Platonen lanen itzulpen bat duena, hauetako batzuk Briçonnetenak izan zirelarik noizbait: “I possessori sono: Guillaume Briçonnet, quando era vescovo di Lodève, il quale regalò il manoscritto al cardinale di Rouen, Giorgio d’Amboise”. Ibid., 52 oharra, 155. orr.



- 339 Oraison Funebre, 115. orr. Letra larriak textuan daude.
- 340 Marichal, La Coche, op. cit., 35-40. orr.
- 341 Marichalek La Coche 1541 inguruan kokatzen du, Frantziako gortean “intrigues politiques” ez beteriko urtea. Ibid., 39. orr.
- 342 Montaignek ere beste kontraesan bat nabarmendu zuen Margaritak Frantziskoren bizimodu erraza eramateko moduan, zeren erreginak aipatzen baitu bere nebak otoitz egin ohi zuela bere maitaleetako bat bisitatzera joan aurretik (Heptaméron, “Nouvelle 25”), Montaigne also remarked another inconsistency in Marguerite’s forbearing of François’s easy life, since she reports that he used to say prayers before going to visit one of his mistresses (“Nouvelles 25” of the Heptaméron); halere, Montaignek antifemininoki adierazten du bere ohar hau: “... les femmes ne sont propres à traiter les matieres de la Theologie”. Essais, I Liburua, 56 kapitulua; (Paris, Pléiade, 310. orr.).
- 343 Chansons Spirituelles idatzi ziren data dela eta eztabaidak daude kritikoen artean; Dottin, op. cit., Introduction, VII-VIII. orr. Baina argi dago Margaritak bere obra garrantzitsuenetako askotan aipatu zituela, batez ere Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan lanean; Clive, Oeuvres Choiesies, op. cit., vol. II, 618 v.-ari buruzko oharra.
- 344 “Chanson 9”an aipatzen dira “trois moyens” arima preso egiteko, i. e. “l’amour terrestre”, “le monde” eta “la puissance” (vv. 29-31).
- 345 “Chanson 20”ak ekartzen du “plaisir”aren lorategia 4 v.-an, eta “ambition d’honneur”a 14. v.-an.
- 346 Prisonsetako atal luze bat dedikatzen dio Margaritak Eskritura Sainduen botere salbatzaileari, lehenago egin bezala Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan lanaren gai nagusiarekin (ikus aurreko kapitulua). Cf. Prisons, fols 319 ro to 320 vo. Lefranc, Dernières Poésies, op. cit., 234-237. orr.
- 347 E. Parturierrek argitaratu zuen Margaritak frantsesera itzulitako Lutherre “Aita Gurea”, tratatu mistiko batekin batera; Revue de la Renaissance, vol. II, Paris, 1904, 108-114. orr., 178-190 eta 273-276.
- 348 Hans Sckommodau, Margarete von Navarra; Petit Oeuvre dévot et contemplatif; Neuedition und Versuch einer Erklärang, Frankfurt, Analecta Romanica, 1960.
- 349 Parturier, “Les sources du mysticisme de Marguerite de Navarre”, in Revue de la Renaissance, vol. VI, 1905, 1-16 eta 49-62. orr.
- 350 Ibid., 2. orr.
- 351 Sckommodau, Petit Oeuvre, op. cit., v. 3-ari oharra, 40. orr. Margaritaren “Chanson 34”ak Petit Oeuvrearen antzeko antolaketa du; arima galdua da, ez halere desertuan, baizik eta mendira igotzean. Alderatu: Petit Oeuvre, vv. 19-21:  
Branches, ronces prindrent à m’assaillir,  
Et espines me picquerent si fort  
Que je sentiz ma force deffaillir.  
eta “Chanson 34”, vv. 65-68:  
Elle n’espargne pas ses plantes  
De marcher sur rocher eslevez,  
Sur chardons et ronces picquantes,  
Car ce sont tous tappis vellus.
- 352 Mistizismoaren eta esperientzia mistikoaren izaerari buruzko ikerketa gutxi batzuk daude, azkenaldian interes handia sortu duen gaia. Ikus Mircea Eliade,

- Myths, Dreams and Mysteries, itzulpena P. Maiset, London, 1960. Hilda Graef, Mystics of our Times, London, 1962. John Fergusonek bibliografia interesgarria eskaintzen digu mistizismoari buruz bere An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Mysticism and Mystery of Religions obraren bukaeran, London, 1976.
- 353 Ikus John McQueenen lana, Allegory, “critical idiom” seriean, N<sup>o</sup>14, London, Methuen, 1970; honek ere bukaeran bibliografia interesgarri bat du.
- 354 Ibid. Ikus bereziki 1 kapitulua, alegoria greziar eta erromatarrei buruz, eta 2 kapitulua, alegoria biblikoei buruz, op. cit., 1-36. orr.
- 355 Ikus aurreko kapitulua Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan laneko hermeneutika biblikoari buruz, III atala.
- 356 Ikus 2 kapitulua Miroirari buruz enigma mistiko gisa, III atala.
- 357 Sckommodauk ikusten du ardi galduaren alegoria biblikoaren eragina Mateo 18 Ebanjelioan eta Lukas 15 Ebanjelioan, Petit Oeuvrean, op. cit., v. 3-ari oharra, 40. orr.
- 358 Ardi galduaren alegoria etengabe erabiltzen da Itun Zahar eta Berrian; ikus Esdras 54,6; Ezekiel 34,6; Mateo 18 eta Lukas 15.
- 359 Marrotek bere “Epistre à ma Dame la Duchesse d’Alençon”an, bere burua deskribatzen du “la Crainte”ren biktima gisa: “foible”, “faily”, “fasché”, “forclus”, “confuz”, “coursé”, Margaritaren gortera heldu zenean. Itxaropena hurbildu zitzaion gizon zahar baten gisan moztortuta, Prisonetan bezala:
- ...
- Ung bon vieillard, portant chere joyeuse,  
Comportatif, de parole amoureuse,  
Bien ressemblant homme de grand renom,  
Et s’appeloit Bon Espoir par son nom.  
Mayer edit., les Epistres, op. cit., 101. orr.
- 360 Sainte-Marthe, Oraison Funèbre, op. cit., 108. orr. Argudiatzen du ezen amets baten jazotako esperientzia honen ostean, Margaritak bere senarrari, Albreteko Enrikeri, utzi ziola Nafarroako erreinuaren ardura; izatez, Sainte-Marthe ametsen apologia egiten du Oraison Funèbre obran, erreferentzia eginez Platon eta Sokrates bezalako autoritateei; ibid., 106-108. orr. Cf. Rabelaisen kezka ametsetikiko, Tiers Livrean, 13 kapitulua.
- 361 Martineauk eta Veissièrek komentarioak egin zituzten cordeliarsen oposizioari buruz Briçonneten bere diozesa erreformatzeko ahaleginez; ibid., Introduction, 16. orr.
- 362 J. B. Collins, Christian Mysticism in the Elizabethan Age, with its Background in Mystical Methodology, Baltimore, John Hopkins Press, 1940, 84. orr.
- 363 Ikus Eckharten 12 sermoia: “When God shows himself”; Raymond Blackney edit., Meister Eckhart; a modern translation, New York, Harper Torchbooks, 1941, 153. orr.
- 364 Margaritak ere alderatzen du gizona bere egoera behekoenean “Jument”arekin, Prisonetan:  
Et si l’honneur qu’il en reçoit l’empire,  
En l’ignorant, il sera fait semblable  
A la jument et plus abhominable.  
(fol. 277, vo, 148. orr.)  
eta “cerf”arekin, edota “veau”arekin (ibid., fol. 292 ro, 179. orr.)
- 365 Martineauk eta Veissière ohartu ziren, behin, ezen “oeil de la raison” eta “oeil de l’esprit” arteko bereizketa hertsiki lotua dela Bibliaren interpretazio tradizional,

- klasikoarekin; Correspondance, 15 oharra, 35. orr.
- 366 Merezi du aipatzeak ezen Margaritak garrantzia handia ematen diola ikusmenaren zentzuari Prisonsetan, lehenago Miroirrean egin bezala (ikus 3 kapitulua); baina orain Briçonneten bereizketak jarraitzen ditu are hurbilagoetik. “Le vieillart”ak (Briçonneten ikuspegia errepresentatuz) Poeta-Maitalea deitzen du “povre aveugle” (Prisons, fol. 284 vo, 164. orr.) eta “aveugle fol” (ibid., fol. 286 vo, 168. orr.). Gainera, Prisonsetako hainbat pasartetan bere doktrinak irakasten dira, Correspondancean ageri den hizkeraren antzekoarekin: “l’oeil de chair” (Prisons, fol. 327 vo, 252. orr.); “l’oeil charnel” (ibid., fol. 328 ro, 253. orr.); “l’oeil de foy” (ibid., fol. 331, 260. orr.) and “l’oeil inspiré” (ibid., fol. 312 vo, 221. orr.).
- 367 Ikus Pontus de Tyarden irakaspena “fureur poétique”ari buruz, in Solitaire Premier, edit. S. F. Baridon, Geneva, Droz, 1950, 1-12. orr. Ikus baita testu baten esanahi espiritualak, bere esanahi literalaren aurka, Comédiari buruzko 4 kapituluan, III atala.
- 368 Ikus M. Roque edit., Aucassin et Nicolette, Paris, 1969. Nahiz eta agerikoak diren istorio honen eta Margaritaren Prisonsetako Poeta-Maitalearen istorioaren arteko ezberdintasunak, badaude zenbait puntu amankomunean, esaterako gaztelua maitasunaren espetxe gisa aurkeztea, eta naturaren edertasunera ihes egitearen alegoria.
- 369 Jean Clopinel, “Romant de la Roze” aipatzen da in “Nouvelle 9”, Heptaméron.
- 370 Ikus MacQueenen lana, Allegory, 2 kapitulua: “Biblical Allegory”, op. cit., 18-36. orr.
- 371 Lefranc, Dernières Poésies, op. cit., Introduction, LVII. Orr.
- 372 Sckommodau, Die religiösen Dichtungen Margaretes von Navarre, Cologne, Westdeutscher Verlag, 1955, 145. orr.
- 373 Sckommodauren jarrera ez dateke Lefranckena bezain dogmatikoa, interpretatzen duenean naturaren espetxea “Weltleben” (i.e. Bizimodu mundutarra) eta zientziaren hirugarren espetxea “Wissen” gisa (i.e. Jakintza); op. cit., 145. orr. Ikus Lefrancken jarrera in Dernières Poésies, op. cit., Introduction, LXII. orr.
- 374 Mistikoek askotan aldarrikatu dute ezen soilik inimizazioaren bidez hel daitekeela gizona jainkoizkoari buruzko haien bereizketa ezkutuaren ezagutza esoterikora. “Exoterikoki” haien hiztegi misterioak ezagutzen ez dutenek, haiek idatzitakoa faltsutu besterik ez dute egiten. Haien zat, inimizazio prozesuak zuen purifikazio prozesu bat eta “isilpeko” boto bat. Ferguson, Encyclopaedia of Mysticism, op. cit., 86-88. orr.
- 375 “20 gutuna” “feu”aren esanahi espiritualari buruzko tratatu mistiko bat da, ulerpen espiritualeko bigarren etapa gisa (Correspondance, 1,97-113. orr.).
- 376 Briçonnetek argiro lotzen ditu ulerpen mistikoaren hiru etapak eta trinitatearen misterio kristauaren hiru pertsonen rolak, Aitari erantsiz “eau”ren bidezko purifikazioaren prozesua, Semeari “feu” bidezko iluminazioarena eta Espiritu Sainduari “fruit” gisako bategitearen rola; 19 gutunean, 1521eko abenduaren 22koa, ondorioztatzen du: “L’eau povons attribuer attribuer au superceleste Pere eternal. Le feu au debonnaire Jesus. Le fruit au Saint-Esperit, qui procede d’eulx comme le fruit de l’arbre, de l’eau et du feu”; (ibid. 1, 96. orr.)
- 377 Azpimarratu beharrekoa da ezen Margaritaren Prisonsetako “illumination”aren kontzeptuak, Espiritu Sainduari erantsi gisan, jarraitzen duela Hermes Pimanderren jainkoaren definizioa, “Je Suys qui Suys”. Briçonnet eta Lefèvre interesatuak zeuden mistizismo hermetikoan. “Lefèvre d’Étaples”, idazten du

- Yates-ek, “gave the lead in importing Hermetism into France and in warning against the magic of Asclepius (...). The volume (Pimander and Asclepius) was dedicated to a famous French bishop, Guillaume Briçonnet, thus inaugurating the ecclesiastical career of Hermetism without magic in France”. Frances A. Yates, Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition, London, Routledge and Kegan, 1964, 170-171. orr. J. Dagensek ere ikerketa interesgarri bat du, Frantzian hermetismoak edukitako eraginaz, “Hermétisme et Cabala en France, de Lefèvre d’Étaples à Bossuet”, in Revue de Littérature Comparée, janvier-mars, 1961.
- 378 Martineauk eta Veissièrek, Hellerren ostean, ohartarazi dute ezen Briçonnet ari dela aplikatzen hierarkia aingeruzkoak, Pseudo Dionisioren arabera, igoera mistikoaren hiru etapei. Hau lehenago ere egin zuen Saint Victor-eko Hughek (1096-1141) (Correspondance, I, Note 77, p. 158). Margaritak haien pausoak jarraitzen ditu Prisonsetan:  
 Celluy qui seul conduit la monarchie,  
 La fait asseoir sur toute hierarchie.  
 (fol. 311 vo, 219. orr.).
- Caelestis Hierarchiaren edizioa, Ecclesiastica Hierarchia, Divina Nomina, eta Mystica Theologiarenekin batera, eta Ignatius eta Polycarpus martir goiztiarren hamaika gutunekin, Lefèvrek eman zuen argitara 1515ean, Briçonneti dedikatuz. Edizio honen kopia bat dago in British Library, pressmark 3625.a.1.
- 379 Prisonen bigarren liburuan “Dante” agertzen da idatzita, baita “Dente” ere, in fol.293, ro, 182. orr.
- 380 Libertino Espiritualek ere hiru etapa bereizten zituzten, baina zerikusi gutxi zuten Margaritaren bereizketarekin. Haien aburuz, hiru “Aro” daude:  
 “Moyse estoit la loy ancienne, dure et importable. Jesus-Christ la douce, gracieuse et traictable. Elie estoit le dernier, signifiant la fin du monde, comme il montra en son partement en un chariot ardent, plein de feu, appelé double esprit, et par lequel nous sommes consommés hors de ce monde terrestre (...) Les Libertins Spirituels se croyaient appelés à inaugurer cette troisième période, celle du Sain-Esprit ou d’Elie.”  
 A. Jundt, Histoire du Panthéisme populaire au Moyen Age et au seizième siècle, Strasbourg (Imprimatur), 1875, 145. orr.
- 381 Harrigarria da aurkitzea “maitasun perfektuaren” kultu neoplatoniko hau askoz gehiago nabarmendua Prisonsetako II liburuan, lehenengo liburuko Poeta-Maitalearen istorioan baino: “Parfaicte amour fut ma force et mon soing” (ibid., 155. orr.)
- 382 Prisonsetan, Margaritak ez du beti gorteko bizitza kritikatzten. Atsegin zuen “elkarriketaren artea”, zeina Berpizkundeko gortetan garatu baitzen, eta eratzen baitu Heptamérona jazoarazten duen istorioa. Bere inguruan zeuden pertsonen “bien parler”a oso atsegin zukeen. (Prisons, fol. 283 ro, 161. orr.)
- 383 Iadanik Lenfrankek nabaritu zuen ezen Prisonsetan ageri direla Margaritaren garaiko astronomiari buruzko ezagutzak; cf. Dernières Poésies, op. cit., 1 oharra in fol. 276 vo, 147. orr.
- 384 Prisonsak 1896an editatu ziren lehenbizikoz, eta Lefrancken Dernières Poésiesen parte gisa. Clivek iragartzen du prestatzen ari dela edizio moderno beharrezko bat. Ikus Oeuvres Choisies, op. cit., vol. I, Footnote 21, 7. orr.
- 385 Michel François-ek aipatzen ditu behintzat Heptaméronaren 24 edizio, 1558 eta

- 1880 artean; Marguerite de Navarre: l'Heptaméron, Paris, Garnier, 1967; Introduction, XXV-XXVI. orr.
- 386 Prisonsetako I liburuak soilik hamar folio betetzen ditu soilik, bi aldetatik idatziak (fol. 265 vo - 275 vo); II liburuak 18 folio, (fol. 276 ro - 294 ro), eta III liburuak 53 (fol. 295 ro – 348 vo).
- 387 Ikus, Erromatarrei 7,24ean, Pablo Deunaren arimaren liberazioaren ideia.
- 388 Margaritak kontatzen du ere martir kristau garaikide baten istorioa, Kabitz, zeina turkoek erail baitzuten (Prisons, fol. 330 ro, 257. orr.). Gertakari hau dateke Prisonsetako lau “récit”en hasiera puntua.
- 389 Marguerite de Lorraineren heriotzaren garaian, erreginak arima aurkeztu zuen “Soleil”aren aurrez aurre gisa, Arranoa bezala (Prisons, fol. 331 ro, 260. orr.).
- 390 “*Memento mori*” eta “*Litaniae mortuorum*” dira otoitzak zeinak jendeari laguntzen baitiote heriotzari aurre egiten etsipen kristauarekin. Batzutan, otoitz hauek bilatzen dute jainkoa lasaitzea, gizakiaren akatsak direla eta, Prisonsetako pasarte honetan bezela. Alderatu testu hau Rabelaisekin: “*Ce disant, ouyt la letanie et les Mementos des prebstres qui portoyent sa femme [i.e. Gargantuarena] en terre...*” Pantagruel, 3 kapitulua, Paris, Garnier, 1962, vol. 1, 233. orr.
- 391 Briçonnetek badu “Magnificat”aren azalpen bat ereserki mistiko gisa, Correspondancearen 70 gutunean, 2, 68-69. orr. Ikus baita Miroyrari buruzko 3 kapitulua, II atala.
- 392 Halesko Alexander “doctor irrefragibilis” deitua zen; Duns Scotus “doctor subtilis” eta Bonaventure Deuna “doctor seraphicus”.
- 393 311 ro folioan jainkoa definitzen da “hizlari” gisa: “Celluy qui Est le seul orateur” (Prisons, 218. orr.)
- 394 Ikus Babelako dorrearen istorioa Genesis 11,1-9an.
- 395 18 eta 19 gutunak “eau” bidezko purifikazio prozesuari buruzko tratatu mistikoak dira; 1521ko gabonen aurretik idatziak izan ziren (Correspondance, 1, 76-96. orr.).
- 396 Briçonnetek beste gutun bat igorri zion Margaritari egun berdinean, 1521eko abenduaren 22an, Suaren bidezko iluminazioaren esanahi espiritualari buruzko; bere gutunik luzeenetariko bat da (ibid., 1, 97-113. orr.).
- 397 Briçonnetek atzeratu egin zuen hainbatetan hitz emandako Manaren esanahiari buruzko gutuna, askotan eskatu arren Margaritak, zeinak bere buruari deitzen baitzion “affamée fille”; ibid., 132. orr. Berau asetzeko denbora aurkitu zuenean, gutun-tratatu luze bat idatzi zuen, 1522ko otsailaren 5ean (ibid., 1, 138-153. orr.)
- 398 Briçonnetek hurrengo urtera arte, 1523, itxaron zuen hermeneutika mistikoei buruz idazteko (ibid., 2, 11-15. orr.).
- 399 1524ean iniziatu zen Margarita ezkontzaren gaian jainkozko bategitearen sinbolo gisa, arimaren eta jainkoaren artean (ibid., 2, 193-211. orr.).
- 400 “Ereilearen parabola” kontatu ostean (Markos 4,1-9), Kristok azaldu zuen ezen benetako esanahia dizipuluen, edo inizatuen, talde txikiarentzat gordetzen zela: Christ after telling the “parable of the sower” (Mark 4,1-9), explained that the real meaning is reserved to the small group of the disciples, or initiated: “Ikusten dute, bai, [i.e. Iniziatu gabekoek] baina ohartzen ez”. (ibid., 4,12).
- 401 Harold Bayleyren arabera, zeinak ikertu baitzuen The Lost Language of Mysticism: an inquiry into the origins of certain letters, words, names, fairy-tales, folk-lore and mythologies, “scala perfectionis”aren gailurrean dagoen arranoak esan nahi du jainkozkoaren “ikuspenaren erdiestea”; London, 1968, I zatia, 77. orr.

- 402 Ikus aurreko 72. oin-oharra.
- 403 Zenbait Chansons Spirituellesetan agertzen dira gai batzuk zeinak garatuko baitzituena Margaritak Prisonsetan. Chansons 21 eta 30, esaterako, esperientzia mistikoari buruzkoak dira: “Espouse se perd et pasme” (Chanson 21, vv. 23-26). Arima Kristori lotua da eta beraz gai da jainkozkoarekin bategite perfektu bat erdiesteko (Chanson 30, vv. 38-41). Chansonsetako askotan jainkoaren definizio asko ematen dira Prisonsetakoan antzekoak, hala nola “Tout” (Chanson 42, v. 81; Chanson 44, v. 13; Chanson 17, v. 26) edota bere antitesia, “Rien” (Chanson 6, vv. 106-108).
- 404 Extasiak arimari dakarkio atsedena sententzio bat, denboraz kanpoko “trantze” esperientziarekin batera. Ikus “ecstasy” hitza in Ferguson, Encyclopaedia of Mysticism, op. cit., 50. orr. Sienako Catherinek eta Avilako Teresak esperientzia hauek deskribatzen dituzte, anestesia egoerekiko ezberdinduz.
- 405 Margaritak alderatzen ditu Bibliaren ulertze extatikoa eta Moises eta jainkoaren arteko gatazka, teofaniaren garaian, sastraka errearen itxurarekin (Prisons, fol. 303 ro eta vo, 202-203. orr.).
- 406 Miroirrean agertzen da “Raptus Mysticus” honelako hitzekin: “ravr”, “navrer”, “fendre”; ikus 3 kapitulua, IV atala. Testuinguru honetan interpretatu behar da baita “la Ravie de Dieu, Bergère”, Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan antzezlaneko pertsonaia harrigarria.
- 407 Henri Bergson, Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience (2 kapitulua) in Oeuvre complètes, Paris, PUF, 1963, 98. orr.
- 408 Ikus Ferguson, “Encyclopaedia of Mysticism”: “Ecstasy”, mistikoen arabera, “denboraz kanpoko esperientzia bat da”, op. cit., 51. orr. Heptaméronaren 24 Nouvellean, denborak rol garrantzitsua du: erregina batek nahi du noble baten maitasuna frogatu, urruneko herrialde batera bidaliz; zazpi urte beranduago itzultzen denean, eta ikustean bere denbora alferrik galdu duela, jainkoaganat ematen da; bere agurra ereserkia da, “temps perdu”arentzat (ibid., 199. orr.):  
Le temps m’a fait veoir amour pauvre et nud  
Tout tel qu’il est et dont il est venu.  
Ikus baita “La notion du temps, dans Gargantua” in Jean Larmat, Le Moyen Age dans le Gargantua de Rabelais, Nice, Faculté de Lettres et Sciences Humaines N°12, 1973, 25-37. orr. Rabelaisen kezka denborarekiko, Margaritaren kontzeptuaren antzekoa da: “...car le temps qui toutes choses ronge et diminue, augmente et accroist les bienfaictz, parce q’un bon tour libéralement faict à l’homme de raison croist continuellement par noble pensée et remembrance” (Gargantua, Chapter 50, op. cit., vol. 1, 184. orr.). Jainkoaz mintzatzen “l’intellectuelle sphère” gisa, denboragabeko bezala deskribatzen du: “...à laquelle rien ne advient, rien ne passe, rien ne dechet, tous temps sont praesens, note non seulement les choses passées en mouvements inferieurs mais aussi les futures...” (Le Tiers Livre, Chapter 13, ibid., vol. 1, 453. orr.).
- 409 Cf. bategite mistikoari buruzko beste testu batzuk in Miroir, vv. 85-88; 919-925 eta 1180-1182.
- 410 Cf. Becker, Marguerite, Duchesse d’Alençon, op. cit., 467. orr.
- 411 “Chanson 17”ean garatzen da “ezkon-hitz” mistikoaren gaia, bereziki vv. 5-12.
- 412 Ikus Sckommodau, Die religiösen Dichtungen Margaretes von Navarra; op. cit., 141. orr.

- 413 Ikus 91 oin-oharreko textua, Denboragabeko existentziari buruzko Margaritaren kontzeptuaz, bai jainkoan, baita arimaren honekiko bategite ekstatikoan.
- 414 Sainte-Marthe-ko badu “Catherine de Sienne” rentzako apologia bat Nafarroako erreginentzako Oraison Funèbrean, op. cit., 72. orr.
- 415 Lefranckek iradokitzen du hemen Margarita ari dela Sienako Catherinez; Dernières Poésies, op. cit., 1 oharra, 230. orr. Ez duena azpimarratzen da erreginak azkar jotzen duela beste emakume mistiko batengana, zeinaren esperientzia, Iakoben putzuaren bidez Joanen ebanjelioan azaldu bezala (4,5-26), garrantzizkoa izango baita Prisonsetako III liburuan. Beharbada Margaritak antzeko “raptus mysticus” bat ikusi zuen, Catherine Deunaren liburua irakurtzen zuelarik, hala nola Jesusen hitzei entzuten zien emakume samaritanoa, Samariako putzuan; Prisonsetan, emakume samaritanoa aipatzen da, fol. 304 ro, 204. orr.
- 416 Pontus de Tyardek, Nafarroako gorteko “protégé”etako batek, zera idatzi zuen 1552ko bere Solitaire Premier tratatu neoplatonikoaren “dédicace”an: “Peuvent ne voir les Taupes de ce siècle la splendeur d’une et une autre Princesse Marguerite? Desquelles celle nous laissa autant de deuil et mescontentement à sa mort, comme ceste nous apporte d’admiration par la perfection de sa doctrine et accomplissement de ses graces”; edizioa S. Baridon, Geneva, Droz, 1950, Introduction, XXII. Orr.
- 417 Ikus baita Pontus de Tyarden “fureur poétique”aren azalpena in Solitaire Premier, op. cit., 1-12. orr. Margarita, bide berdinean, saiatu zen identifikatzen “fureur poétique”a “fureur prophétique”arekin. Beharbada, bere poeta sentimenduak alderatzen ari zen bere esperientzia mistikoekin, bien arteko analogia bat eratuz. Parturierrek adierazi zuen ezen: “C’est de cette doctrine qu’est sortie la théorie de l’inspiration poétique des poètes de la Pléiade. Elle est d’ailleurs dans Platon”. “Les sources du mysticisme de Marguerite de Navarre” in Revue de la Renaissance, Paris, vol. V, 1904, 1-16 eta 49-62. orr.; 4 oharra, 12. orr. Cf. baita “la fureur poétique” in Rabelais, Le Tiers Livre, 2 kapitulua.
- 418 Mistikoek sarritan erabiltzen dituzte giza zentzuak, haien esperientzia extatikoak deskribatzeko. Prisonsetan, entzumenari egiten zaio erreferentzia, honelako espresioetan:  
 Impossible est qu’une mortelle aureille  
 Sceust distinguer ceste voix non pareille  
 ...  
 (fol. 322 ro, 240-241. orr.)  
 Ukimena ere agertzen da, “De tel cousteau tuant non punissant”ean (fol. 302 vo, 201. orr.). Ikusmena ere askotan aurkitzen dugu: “Qui droict au cueur par l’oeil tant soudain entre” (fol. 303 ro, 201. orr.). Usaimena eta dastamena oso gutxitan agertzen dira (fol. 301, 198. orr.), eta “raptus mysticus”aren bigarren deskribapena ukimenean oinarritzen da ia guztiz (fol. 232 ro, 240-241. orr.).
- 419 Espirituaren rola oso garrantzitsua da Prisonsetan. III Liburuan, “soleil” eta “vieillard”aren rolak bere gain hartzen ditu:  
 ...  
 Par cest esprit qui me fist recouvrer  
 L’intelligence et le sens trop caché,  
 Je ne fuz plus des livres empesché.  
 (fol. 307 vo, 211. orr.)  
 Espirituaren garrantzia, esperientzia mistikoari dagokionez, da Bibliaren esanahi

- espirituala ulertzen laguntzen duela, baztertuz honen irakurketa literal eta superfiziala.
- 420 “La mer” askatasunaren sinbolo bezela ere aurkezten da: “Car par la mer où les rivières vont navigages increables se font” (ibid., fol. 277 vo, 149. orr.).
- 421 Arranoa, Prisonsetan, agertzen da Marguerite de Lorraineren heriotza deskribatzeko esperientzia mistiko gisa (ibid., fol. 331Ro, 260. orr.).
- 422 Iradoki dut iadanik ezen Correspondancearen eskuizkribua berekin zuela, zeina agindu baitzion bere idazkariari kopia zezan. Ikus Becker, Marguerite, Duchesse d’Alençon, op. cit., 395. orr.
- 423 Ikus 11 gutuna, Correspondance, 1521eko azaroaren 11n idatzia, op. cit., 1, p. 59.
- 424 Ikus hurrengo atala, Margaritaren lanetan aurki daitezkeen jainkoaren definizioei buruzkoa, bereziki Prisonsetan; haietako askok jarraitzen dituzte jainkoaren izaerari buruzko Briçonneten ideiak.
- 425 “Tout” eta “Rien”aren gaia, Briçonneten gutunaren bukaeran aurkeztua, “raptus mysticus”aren bere deskribapenean, Margaritak berreskuratuko du Prisonsetan, kapitulu honetako V.B atalean ikusiko dugun bezala.
- 426 Meister Eckharten lanak Joan XXII Aita Sainduak kondenatu zituen, 1329ko martxoaren 27an, berau hil eta gutxira; Blackney, Meister Eckhart, op. cit., Introduction, XXIV. orr.
- 427 Gurutzeko Joan Deuna jazarria izan zen bere ideia mistikoak zirela eta. Kartzelan zelarik, bere obra onenetariko batzuk idatzi zituen, Dark Night of the Soul eta Ascent of Mount Carmel; Ferguson, Encyclopaedia of Mysticism, op. cit., “Juan de la Cruz”, op. cit., 93-94. orr.
- 428 Askotan, esperientzia mistikoa “borroka” bezala expresatzen da, gizonaren eta jainkoaren artekoa. Moisesen teofania hala azaltzen zen Biblian (Exodo 3,1-15), artzai gazteak sastraka erretzen ari zena ikustean (cf. Prisons, fol. 303 vo, 202-203. orr.).
- 429 Svetasvatara Upanishadek hala definitzen du jainkoa:  
That is the fire,  
That is the sun,  
That is the air,  
That is the moon,  
That is the pure,  
That is Brahman,  
That is the waters -  
That is the creator of all.
- (itzultzaile A.G. Parrinder; ikus Ferguson, Encyclopaedia of Mysticism, “Pantheism”, op. cit., 138. orr.)
- Ikus baita Jundt, Histoire du panthéisme populaire, op. cit. L. Febvreren lan hau ere oso interesgarria da, Le Problème de l’incroyance au XVIème siècle, Paris, Series l’Evolution de l’Humanité, N°53, 1942.
- 430 Cf. baita Miroir, v. 937: “O mon enfant, quelle dilection”.
- 431 Marguerites, op. cit., vol. 1, 143. orr.
- 432 Ibid., vol. 1, 89. orr. Oraison de l’âme fidèle lanean agertzen dira jainkoaren zenbait definizio, ohartzea merezi dutenak: “ferme, stable et constant” (Marguerites, op. cit., 90. orr.). “Bon, Juste, Saint”, “Sage, Saint, fort” (ibid., 96. orr.). “...de ton filz seul nommé il peult estre” (ibid., 112. orr.).



- 433 Uneoro, Margaritaren kezka da Prisonsetako III Liburua poema osoarekin lotuta mantentzea, era berean konturatuz hasierako planetik desbideratzen ari dela, zeren material berria gehitzen eta beste gai batzuk sartzen ari baita, hala nola esperientzia mistikoaren sekzioak eta jainkoaren definizioa. Iadanik bigarren liburuan, aipatzen du Poeta-Maitalearen gaia, bere usten kartzelan (Prisons, fol. 284 vo, 163. orr.). III Liburuaz ere berdina esan dezakegu, zeren Margaritak erreferentzia egiten die I eta II Liburuei (ibid., fol. 301 vo, 199. orr.). Nabarmendu beharrekoa da, adibidez, ezen heriotzen lau “*récit*”ak, hau da, Marguerite de Lorraine, Charles d’Alençon, Louise de Savoie eta Frantzisko Iarenak (ibid., fols 331 ro - 342 ro) kontu handiz lotuta daudela poema osoari, “*Tout et Rien*” mistikoen gaiaren bitartez: “*Et en tout lieu faillait le Tout chercher*” (ibid., fol. 331 ro, 260. orr.) eta Prisonsen gai orokorrak: “*En liberté avec son Tout vivante*” (ibid., 261. orr.).
- 434 Lukas 1, 46-55. Margaritak “*Magnificat*”a parafraseatu zuen Prisonsetan, zeren erreginak Mariaren kantua zuen doktrina espiritualaren azalpen hoberen gisa, “*Rien*” (Maria) eta “*Tout*” (jainkoa)rena. (Prisons, fol. 345 ro, 219. orr.)
- 435 Margaritaren arabera, Sokratesen heriotzak (k.a. 339) adibide bat sortu zuen kristau guztientzat:  
 O chrestiens, qui la foy catholique  
 Pensez avoir, regardez ceste etnique,  
 Au moins tel est de l’Eglise tenu,  
 Voyez à quel sçavoir il est venu:  
 De Celluy seul qui Est a eu science,  
 Car autrement n’auroit eu passience.  
 (Prisons, fol. 313 vo, 223-224. orr.)
- Prisonsetan agertzen zaigun guzti honek, eta Bibliaren hermeneutika mistikoaren Margaritaren doktrinak (ikus Comédieari buruzko 4 kapitulua, III atala), zalantzak sortzen dituzte Febvreren baieztapenari buruz, hots, erreginaren ideiak hurbilago zeudela Lutherrengandik Erasmorengandik baino; Amour Sacré, op. cit., 68-69. orr.
- 436 Hermes lanen Lefèvreren edizioaren kopia bat dago in BL, pressmark 3625.a.1. Honela dio bertan agertzen den Briçonnetentzako dedikazioak: “*Reverendo in Christo Patri ac Domino D. Guillelmo Briçonneto Episcopo Lodovensi dignissimo*” (BL. 3625.a.1).
- 437 Corpus Hermeticum, Kristau aroaren I mende aldera idatzia, tratatu bilduma bat zen, sekta baten Biblia bezalakoa. Honen egiletza Hermes Trismegistrusi egotzi izan zaio, zeina baita identifikazio bat Toth jainko egiptiarraren eta Hermes greziarraren artekoa, “*Trismegistrus*” izenarekin, i.e. hiru aldiz handia. Margaritak jainkoaren bere “*errebelazio hirukoitza*” identifikatzen du trinitatearen misterio kristauarekin. Meauxen, Pseudo-Hermesaren doktrinak garrantzia zuen. Lefèvrek editatua zuen Pimander Mercurii Trismegisti Liber de Sapientia et Potestate Dei 1505ean. Bada kopia bat in BL, pressmark 1248.d.21.
- 438 Thomas à Kempisek idatzi zuen: “*When shall I full gather myself in Thee, that for thy love, I feel not myself, but Thee alone, above all feeling and all manner, in a manner not known to all?*” Imitation of Christ, Book III, Chapter 23.
- 439 “*Gratia Dei sum id quod sum*” ikurra Albretoko etxeak erabili zuen Nafarroa-Biarn estatuentzat egindako txanponetan. Agertzen da Margaritaren senarreranetan, Enrike II, eta hauen biloba Enrike IIIarenetan (Frantziako IV).

- 440 Margaritak ez zuen filosofia mesprezatzen, jainkoak filosofoak inspiratzen baititu (Prisons, fols 306 vo eta 307 ro, 210. orr.).
- 441 Margaritak ziurtzat jotzen zuen ezen Hermes Trismegistrus, Sokrates, Platon eta beste batzuk iluminatuak izan zirela Espiritu Sainduaren jakintzaz.
- 442 Margaritak pertsonaia mitologikoak ere aipatzen ditu, zeinen botere sortzaileak, bere ustez, Espirituaren boterearen eraginpean baitzeuden. Prisons, fols 309 vo eta 310 ro, 215-217. orr.; aipatzen ditu “Athlas”, “Palas”, “Jupiter”, “Acteon” eta beste batzuk.
- 443 Rolt, (edit), Divine Names, 9 kapitulua: “Concerning Great, Small, Same, Different, Like, Unlike, Standing, Motion, Equality” op. cit., 162-169. orr.
- 444 Comédie de la Nativité in Marguerites, op. cit., vol. 1, 204. orr.
- 445 Comédie du desert, in Marguerites, op. cit., vol. 1, 367. orr.
- 446 “le Tout” eta “le Rien” gai antitetikoak aurki daitezke hainbat Chansons Spirituellesetan; ikus 6, 11, 13, 17, 30, 39, 42 eta 44 zenbakiak.
- 447 Oraison de l’âme fidèle, in Marguerites, op. cit., vol. 1, 95. orr.
- 448 Ikus “kenosis”aren kontzeptua Pablo Deunak Filipoarrei idatzitako epistolari 2,7: “Hustu egin zen bere handi-izateaz eta esklabo-izaera hartu zuen”.
- 449 Oraison de l’âme fidèle, in Marguerites, op. cit., 101-102. orr.
- 450 XVI mendeko testu alkimikoek gizonaren eta emakumearen sorkuntza aurkezten zuten izate soil bezala. Ezkontza zen irrika mistiko bat norberaren zati galduaz batzeko, zeren jainkozko irudia galdu egin baitzen gizon eta emakumea banatzean. Ferguson, Encyclopaedia of Mysticism, “Androgyne”, op. cit., 12-13. orr.
- 451 Oraison de l’âme fidèle, in Marguerites, op. cit., vol. 1, 121. orr. Ikus “raptus mysticus”aren beste antzeko deskribapen batzuk kapitulu honen IV atalean. “Anéantissement” (“kenosis”) kontzeptu paulinoa, Filipoarrei 2,7, Briçonnetek ere erabiltzen du eta Margaritarengan eragina izan zukeen: “(...) car aussy peu et moins povons de nous que la brebis se elle n’est gardée et, en ce, nous fauldrions à tousjours louer le peu loué, digne de tous lotz, en nous pulverisant par vray aneantissement” (Correspondance, 1, 90-100. orr.). Baita “Le grant en divinité est devenu petit par exinanition” (ibid., 1, 112. orr.).
- 452 Eckhartrek bere bosgarren sermoian idatzi zuen “Jainkoaren maitasunaz: In hoc apparuit caritas Dei in nobis (I John 4,9)”: “In the third place, you must have got rid of all “Not””. 1317an galdegin zitzaizolarik azaldu zezan esaldi hau, beste askoren artean zeinak 1329an kondenatuak izan baitziren, idatzi zuen bere “Defence IX”an ezen “all creatures are pure nothing”. Blackney, Meister Eckhart, op. cit., Introduction, XXIII-XXIV. orr.
- 453 J. Orcibalek azpimarratu zuen ezen Lefèvrek 1512an eginiko Ruysbroecken De Ornaturen edizioak “couronnait les campagnes qu’il avait menées, en liaison avec Marcile Ficin et l’école de Florence, pour la diffusion du néoplatonisme dionysien. Les germes ainsi semés commençaient à se développer (en particulier dans le cercle de Marguerite de Navarre)”. La Rencontre du Carmel Thérésien avec les mystiques du nord. Bibliothèque de l’École des Hautes Études, Paris, 1959, 3. orr. Bestalde, Michel Certeau gai izan da lotura zehatzagoak aurkitzeko Lefèvreren eta eskola renaniarraren atean, Vauvertoko monasterio kartusiar baten bidez, Gran-Bornard bailaran, Parisetik ez oso urrin. Bertako Sutor priorearekin adiskidetu zen Lefèvre, nahiz eta ez zen berarekin bat etorri Sutorrek lan bat idatzi zuenean Erasmoaren kontra, eta monastizismoaren alde, 1524an. Certeauk

- zenbait eskuizkribu erakusten ditu, zeinak Vauverten argitaratuak izan ziren 1491an. Ziurrenik han lortu zituen Lefèvrek beranduago editatu zituen eskuizkribuak. Ikus M. Certeau, Mémorial du Bienheureux Pierre Favre, Paris, Brower, 1959, 29-30. orr.
- 454 Ikus “Nothing” terminoa in Ferguson, Encyclopaedia of Mysticism, op. cit., 134. orr.
- 455 Ibid., 134. orr.
- 456 Ikus hemengo 136. oin-oharra.
- 457 Chansons Spirituellesetan ere azpimarratzen da ezagutza mistikoaren nagusigoa ulerpen sinplearekiko (Chanson 23, vv. 29-32).
- 458 Hemen Briçonnetek alegorikoki deskribatzen duen ulertze ez-mistikoarekiko nostalgia hau, Prisonsen III Liburua hasten duen gaia da (fols 295 ro - 303 vo).
- 459 Ikus 1523ko Lefèvreren Lau Ebanjelioen itzulpenaren sarrera; fol. a III vo. Itzulpen honen kopia bat dago in BL, pressmark C111, c. 13.
- 460 Lefranckek dio textu honen zailtasunaz, “que nous n’avons pas cru devoir nous permettre d’y changer un mot (...)” Marguerites, op. cit., Note 1, 212. orr.
- 461 Tiers Livre, Chapter XIII, op. cit., vol. 1, 453. orr. Rabelaisek jainkoaren beste definizio bat erabiltzen du, Margaritaren Prisonsetan aurki dezakeguna: “Celluy qui Est, respondit Pantagruel, par nostre théologique doctrine, est Dieu”; Quart Livre, Chapter XLVIII, op. cit., 180. orr.; definizio hau Gargantuan ere agertzen da, Chapter II. Ikus H. Hornik: “More on the Hermetica and French Renaissance Literature (M. d’Angoulême, Rabelais, A. d’Aubigné, Scève)” in Studi Francesi, vol. XVIII (Turin 1974) 1-12. orr. Baita E.U. Bertalot, “Rabelais et la Bible, d’après les quatre premiers livres” in Etudes Rabelaisiennes THR, vol. V (1964), 19-40. orr.
- 462 Platonek “Zirkulua” erabiltzen du jainkoaren “berdintasuna” errepresentatzeko Fedron, baita bere Oturuntzan ere, baina iturri presokratikoetatik hartua zuen, hala nola Xenofonte eta Parmenidesen idatziak. Ikus Lefranc, “Marguerite de Navarre et le Platonisme de la Renaissance” in Bibliothèque de l’École des Chartes, vols. LVIII (1897), 259-292. orr. eta LIX (1898) 712-757. orr.
- 463 M. Ficinus, Theologiae Platonicae de immortalitate animarum, Libri XVIII. Parisen 1559an argitaratu zen. Zirkuluaren sinboloa figura perfektu gisa idazle neoplatonikoeek erabili zuten batez ere. R. Lullek idatzi zuen: “Circulus est figura ultima. Et dicitur ultima, eo quod perfectior est quam aliqua alia figura”; Ars Generalis Ultima, “de circulo” (Palma Mallorca, 1645), pars 10, de applic., cap. 14, art. 46, 354. orr.
- 464 Cf. Prisons, fol. 308 ro, 212. orr.  
Dans ma divine éternelle rondeur;  
La ligne suys (...)
- 465 Glori Capelloren ikerketa, “Nicolò Cusano nella Corrispondenza di Briçonnet con Margherita di Navarra”, op. cit., 118. orr. Bertan argitzen du zein izan zen Cusako Nikolasen rola Margaritak 1521-1524 artean jasan zuen iniziazioan, Briçonneten gutunen bidez.
- 466 Ibid., 119. orr.
- 467 Rolt, Dionysius the Areopagite; Divine Names, Chapter 4, 9, op. cit., 98-99. orr.
- 468 Ibid., 2 oharra, 99. orr.
- 469 Rolt, Dionysius the Areopagite; Divine Names, 167. orr.
- 470 Ikus Miroirraren bukaeran, v. 1430. Ikus textu honen analisisa 3 kapitulan, III atalean.

- 471 Ikus nola erabiltzen duen Briçonnetek “Margaritaren” enigma 2 kapituluan, III atala, eta 6 kapituluan, V atala.
- 472 Ikus “V” eta “M” aliterazio mistikoen analisisa bai Dialogue bai Miroirrean, 2 kapituluan, III atalean. Jainkoaren definizioa “Verité, Voie, Vie” gisa Chansons Spirituellesetan agertzen da zenbait aldiz (Chanson 30 v. 4; Chanson 31, vv. 5 eta 19).
- 473 Prisonsetako fol. 324 vo-an Margaritak konbinatu egiten ditu formula johanninoa eta paulino deiturikoa:  
 ... Et qu’il est Tout en tous, la vie et l’estre; [Pauline]  
 La verité monstrant ce Tout parfaict. [Johannine]  
 (fol. 324 vo, 246. orr.)
- 474 W. F. Bensek ohartarazi zuen:  
 “This emphasis on faith brings Lefèvre’s spirituality closer to so-called “Christ-mysticism” than to “God-mysticism” popularized by John Gerson and the New Devotion with its great emphasis on love. It is very tempting to label Lefèvre’s spirituality “evangelical mysticism” or even “Lutheran mysticism”, and Béda would undoubtedly be the first to embrace this terminology. But for the present, we content ourselves with the less argumentative term “faith-mysticism” as we seek to describe how Lefèvre’s spiritualism qualifies his view of God, of man and of the physical universe.”  
Noël Béda and the Humanistic Reformation at Paris, 1504-1534 (Thesis), Cambridge Mass. 1967, Harvard Univ. Phil. Disc. (Available in microphil), 492-493. orr.
- 475 Ibid., 492. orr.
- 476 Albert Schweizerrek bi mistizismo mota ezberdintzen ditu Testamentu Berrian. Lehenengoa, beraren arabera, paulinoa da eta “Jesus historikoaren” kontenplazioan oinarritzen da, Pablo Deunak egin bezala komunitate kristau goiztiarrei zuzendutako epistoletan, ondorioak atereaz Jesusen bizitza, heriotz eta berpiztearen misterioetatik. Bigarren mota helenistikoa da eta gehiago hurbiltzen da “jainko-mistizismo” edo “logos-mistizismora”, zeren oinarritzen baita Joanen ebanjelioaren hasierako esaldian: “Eta jainko zen hitza”. A. Schweizer, The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle (itzultzaile W. Montgomery) New York 1931. Ikus bereziki 13 kapitulua: “The Hellenization of Paul’s mysticism by Ignatius and the Johannine theology”; *ibid.*, 334-375. orr.
- 477 Nahiz eta ez litzatekeen egiazkoa esatea Margarita hasieran Pabloren ebanjelismoaren jarraitzaile izan zenik eta gero Joanen mistizismoaren (Logos), esan genezake bere azken urteetan textu johanninoen oso zale egin zela. Ikus, adibidez, Heptaméroneko pasarte hau:  
 Le matin, plus tost que de coustume, madame Oisille alla preparer sa leçon en la salle; mais la compaignye, qui en fut advertye, pour le desir qu’elle avoit d’oyr sa bonne instruction, se dilligenta tant de se habiller, qu’ilz ne la feirent gueres attendre. Et elle, cognoissant la ferveur, leur vat lire l’épistre de Saint Jean l’évangéliste, qui n’est plaine que d’amour, pour ce que les jours passez elle leur avoit déclaré celle de Saint Paul aux Romains. La compaignye trouva ceste viande si douce, que, combien qu’ilz y fussent demye heure plus qu’ilz n’avoient esté les aultres jours, si leur sembloit-il n’y avoir pas esté ung quart.  
Heptaméron, Paris, Garnier, 1967, “VIe Journée”ari hitzaurrea, 238. orr. Cf. “VIIe Journée”ari hitzaurrea.

- 478 4 kapituluhan, III atala, aritu gara Lutherren jarrera anti-tradizionalarekiko  
Brignoneten ukoaz.
- 479 M. A. Screech profesoreak Erasmusen espiritualitateari buruzko lan bat argitaratu  
berri du, Ecstasy and the Praise of Folly, London, Duckworth, 1980. Zoritzarrez,  
tesi hau idazten nuen bitartean berau ikertzeko aukerarik ez dut izan.
- 480 Ikus nire ikerketa Begiaren eta Ikusmenaren sinboloei buruzkoa, Miroir  
buruzko 3 kapituluhan, II atalean, non interpretatzen den poema “Speculum  
Videndi” gisa.
- 481 Ispilua enigma mistiko gisa agertzen da, Margarita-Perlaren sinboloa bezala, ibid.,  
III atala.
- 482 Ikus Kartzelaren sinboloaren esanahia Prisonsei buruzko 5 kapituluhan, III atalean.
- 483 Ikus Zirkuluaren esanahia, jainkoaren aldaezintasunaz, ibid., VD atala.
- 484 Ikus sinboloei buruzko hurrengo lanak: Harold Bayley, The Lost Language of  
Symbolism; an Inquiry into the Origin of Certain Letters, Words, Names, Fairy-  
Tales, Folklore and Mythology, 2 vols (London, 1951).  
Baita Gérard de Champeaux eta Sébastien Steckx, Introduction au monde des  
symboles, Mulhaus-Dornach (Haut-Rhin), 1972. Ikus baita, ikerketa honen  
bukaeran jarri dudana sinboloei buruzko hiztegien zerrenda.
- 485 Mircea Eliade, Images et Symboles (Paris, 1952), eta Gilbert Durand, les  
Structures anthropologiques de l’imaginaire, introduction à l’archétypologie  
générale, (Paris 1960).
- 486 C. G. Jung, Studies on Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious, hautatutako  
lanak, itzultzaile R. F. C. Hull (London, 1970).
- 487 Terence Hawkesek irakurle modernoa ohartarazten du erreforma aurreko metafora  
eta sinboloen gaizkiulertuen aurka:  
“However, [he writes], it is important to understand the role given to metaphor in  
a society that is almost wholly Christian, and a failure to do so has led to serious  
misconceptions in our time. We tend, after all, to think of metaphor as a means of  
achieving a direct linguistic realization of personal experience. Even banalities  
such as ‘like a sledge hammer’; ‘a hot knife through butter’; ‘a bull in a china shop’;  
aim at a ‘vivid’, ‘striking’ and ‘physical’ quality that relates accurately to events in  
the world, and communicates something about them with some degree of  
exactitude. But in Christian society, particularly of the pre-Reformation sort, the  
purely personal experience tends to be of less interest and importance than the  
experience of the society at large, manifested in its general view of the world it  
inhabits. Such a society’s view of metaphor -and, indeed, its metaphors themselves-  
will naturally tend to relate to collective experience, and will concern themselves  
less with personal accuracy than with public acceptability.”  
Metaphor, in Critical Idiom series, N°25 (London, 1972), 16-17. orr.
- 488 Ikus Bayleyren ikerketa, The Lost Language of Symbolism, zeinean aurkezten  
dituen zenbait ikur hermetiko eta kabalistiko, zeinak hedatzen baitziren Europa  
osoan zehar, kontrapisu bezala Maimonidesen eraginarekiko filosofia  
mediebagean; op. cit., 8. orr. Ikus baita Bernard Pic, Open Court, non aztertzen  
den lehenik Provencen hasi zen korrante kabalistikoa, gero Espainiara eta Europa  
osora hedatuz, Maimonidesen filosofia arrazionalistak errepresentatzen zuen  
Bibliaren interpretazio anti-alegorikoaren aurkako erreakzio gisa (London 1909).
- 489 Ikus John Fergusonen ikerketa zenbait idazle modernoren baitako zantzu

- mistikoez, Encyclopaedia of Mysticism and the Mystery Religions, (London, 1976); erreferentzia egiten dio Ch. Baudelaireren “sinbolismo unibertsalari”, 24. orr.; W. Blakeren “ikuspegi anizkuna”, 28. orr.; Aldous Huxleyren “pertzepzio zorroztenago dena”, 81. orr.; eta R. M. Rilkeen “aingeruak, agerikoaren eta ikusezinaren batasunaren sinbolo gisa”, 157. orr.
- 490 Hawkes, Metaphor, op. cit., 17. orr.
- 491 Danteren arabera, badira lau maila, zeinetan irakur eta interpreta daitekeen Divine Comedy; irakurlea erne egon behar da, hasteko, “maila literal edo historikoari”, zeina gertatzen baita; gero, “inplikazio moralei”; gorago, hirugarren maila dago, “alegoriko” deitua, zeinak argitzen baititu egia unibertsalak, esanahi historikoak egiten ez duena, agertuz gizateriari orokorrean dagozkion errealitateak; bukatzeko, bada “maila analogiko edo espiritual” bat, zeinak egia eternal bat erakusten baitu. K. Benson eta A. Gang, A reader's Guide to Literary Terms (London, 1970), 72. orr. Irakurlea azkar konturatuko da ezen Danteren lau esanahiak bat datozela nik 4 kapituluaren aztertu ditudan Bibliaren lau interpretazioekin. Ikus baita H. de Lubac, Les Quatre Sens de l'Ecriture, 4 vols (Paris, 1959-1964).
- 492 Bensonek azaltzen du: “When a metaphor serves to illustrate an idea which can be expressed in other ways, it is merely decorative, as when we speak of the ‘ship of the State’. When, however, a metaphor expresses a complex of thought and feeling that is so subtle or precise that it cannot be expressed in any other way, it is called functional, organic, or structural metaphor”. Ikus A Reader's Guide, op. cit., “metaphor” terminoa, 128. orr. Zentzu honetan erabiltzen dut nik hemen “metafora funtzional” terminoa.
- 493 Ikus 4 kapituluaren III atalean Briçonneten hermeneutika biblikoen azterketa.
- 494 Ikus “kobazuloaren mitoa”, Platonen Errepublikak, VII Liburuan.
- 495 Ikus Ferguson, metaforaren elementu platonikoez in Encyclopaedia of Mysticism, op. cit., 181. orr.
- 496 Comédie du desert in Marguerites, op. cit., vol. 1, 321. orr.
- 497 Ibid., 322. orr.
- 498 Ibid., 331. orr.
- 499 Ibid., 341. orr.
- 500 De Mystica Theologia, Liber I, graece et latine, Johanne Sarraceno, Ambrosio Camaldunensi, Marcilio Ficino interpretibus cum Vescellencis extractione; I. Eckius commentarios adjecit pro theologia negativa, (Ingolastadii, 1553); cap. I, pars III. Prop. I, c.iiii vo. Teologo sinboliko hauen arabera, sortutako izakietan ikus daitekeen ezaugarri onak ez dira Jainkoaren ontasunaren islada baino, zeinarengan atributu hauek “eminenter” baitira, i.e. Inperfekzio gabeak: “Radix huius theologiae ponitur in divo Paulo ad Rom.: Invisibilia ipsius Dei, per ea quae facta sunt, intellecta conspiciuntur, sempiterna quoque eius virtus et divinitas... [Erromatarrei 1,20] et in hac theologia Deus est omninomius, omnium enim rerum nomina in se suscipit, sicut omnium rerum perfectionem, eminenter in se continet”, ibid., prologi propositiones, A III, vo. Teologia Sinboliko honen kopia bat bada in Cambridge University Library, H\*.8.22.
- 501 Eskaileren ikuspena Genesis 28,12an deskribatzen da: “Amets hau egin zuen [i.e. Jakobek]: eskailera bat ikusi zuen, beheko ertza lurrean eta goikoa zeruan zituena, eta Jainkoaren aingeruak zurubian gora eta behera”
- 502 Sinbolismoa ez da guztiz desagertu mundu modernoan. Ian Simpsonnek, 1977ko

- urtarrilean, bost programako ziklo bat egin zuen BBCan, gure eguneroko bizitzan rol garrantzitsua duten zeinu eta sinboloei buruzkoa. Ikus baita Henry Dryfussen entziklopedia, gizarte modernoaren sinbolo grafikoen erabilerari buruzkoa: nekazaritzan, aisian, argazkigintzan, komunikazioetan, etab., in Symbol Source book; an authoritative guide to International Graphic Symbols, (London, 1967).
- 503 Harold Bayleyk zenbait sinbolo galdu erakusten ditu, liburu inprimatzaileek erabiliak, zeintzuen artean arruntak baitziren XVI eta XVII mendeetan. Sinbolo hauek ur-markak ziren, liburu inprimatu berrien margenetan gehietuak, jakintza esoterikoa zabaltzeko, eta haietako asko Vaudois eta Albigenseek erabiltzen zituzten, XIII mendean loratutako sekta heretikoek. Ikus The Lost Language of Symbolism, op. cit., Introduction, 1-6. orr.
- 504 Oraison de l'âme fidèle à son Seigneur Dieu, in Les Marguerites, op. cit., vol. 1, 77-78. orr.
- 505 Ikus aurreko 5 kapitulua, III atala.
- 506 Ikus Eckharten "Sermon 2, this is another sermon: 'Ubi est qui natus est Rex Judaeorum?'" R.B. Blackney, edit., Meister Eckhart; a Modern Translation, (New York, 1941), 104. orr.
- 507 Fergusonek aipatzen du Ama Daurelleren kasua, zeina bere esperientzia mistikoez mintzo den Argiaren sinboloa erabiliz: "The light which has filled my soul has come not from books but from the Holy Spirit". Encyclopaedia of Mysticism, op. cit., 105. orr.
- 508 Pseudo Dionisiok Eguzkiaren sinbolismoa azaltzen zuen, jainkozkoren arketipo gisa: "And what shall I say concerning the sun's rays considered in themselves? From the Good comes the light which is the image of Goodness; wherefore the Good is described by the name of 'Light', being the archetype thereof which is revealed in that image". C.E. Rolt, Dionysius the Areopagite; the Divine Names, (London, 1972), 91. orr. Jainkoa deitua da Argi Espirituala, zeren Pseudo Dionisioren arabera, "He is an Originating Beam and Overflowing Radiance, illuminating with his fulness every Mind above the world, around it, or within it". Ibid., 94. orr.
- 509 P. Jourda edit., Gargantua in Oeuvres complètes, Paris, Garnier, 1962, 10 kapitulua, 46. orr.
- 510 Ikus Thomas (edit) Le Triomphe de l'Agneau in Marguerites, vol. I, 388. orr. Margaritak ere alderatzen ditu esperientzia mistikoa eta errea izatearena, Sienako Katalinari idazten dionean:  
 Mais entre tous j'en viz ung d'une femme,  
 Depuis cent ans escript, remply de flamme  
 De charité, si très ardentement  
 Que rien qu'amour n'estoit son argument, ...  
 (Prisons, fol. 316 vo, 230. orr.)
- Ikus 5 kapituluan, IV atalean, elkartze mistikoa zauritua izatearen esperientzia sarkor gisa.
- 511 Ikus Duranden azterketa suaren sinboloari buruz bere lan klasikoan, Les structures anthropologiques de l'imaginaire, op. cit., 182. orr.
- 512 Ikus Fergusonen Encyclopaedia of Mysticism, "Fire" terminoa, op. cit., 61. orr.
- 513 Iradoki ditut iadanik zenbait lotura Margaritaren Prisonsaren eta Roman de la Roseren artean, 5 kapituluan, III atalean. Ikus baita kapitulu honetako 36 oinoharra, "Cuyder" kontzeptu mistikoari buruzkoa.

- 514 Ikus berde, zilar (zuri), urdin eta gorri bizi (urre) koloreen azterketa kapitulu honetan, V atala.
- 515 Hemen Margaritak aipatzen den “Cuyder” bere kontzeptu mistikoetako bat zen. Gizakiak bere buruarekiko duen kezka zuen esanahi, borondatearekiko aurkakotasunean, zeina arrosaren suak erretzen baitu. Briçonnetek behin idatzi zion: “... tout le Testament Nouveau ne tend a aultre fin que monstrier que soions par le doulx Jesus delivréz de la servitude de la loy et peché, vivans en Jesus Christ ou louy en nous, qui est nostre liberté, et hors luy toute servitude et prison. Mais qui veult ceste liberté captiver par presumption de liberal arbitre et cuyder de soy (comme soy et par soy) faire quelque bonne chose, il apperçoit bien tos que l’esperit de presumption encloz en son liberal arbitre faict ruyner et cheoir les tours...” (Correspondance, 1, 115-116. orr.)
- “Cuyder” dator latinezko “cogitare”tik, eta esan nahi du gizonak bere bizitza antolatzen duen modua, jainkoaren asmoekiko aurkakotasunean, ibid., 115-116. orr. Ikus nire ikerketa gizonaren jainkoarekiko pasibotasunari buruz Margaritaren lanetan, 2 kapitulu, IV atala. Hellerrek aipatzen du Calvinoren eraso gogorra Libertino Espiritualek kontzeptu honez egiten duten erabilerarekiko, in “Marguerite of Navarre and the Reformers of Meaux”, in BHR, XXXIII (1971), 271-310. orr.
- 516 Blackney, Meister Eckhart, Sermon 6: “the Kingdom of God is at hand: Scitote quia prope est regnum Dei” (Lukas XXI, 31), op. cit., 130. orr.
- 517 Ikus “Oeil” eta “Veoir” terminoei erregerentzia 3 kapitulu, III atala, eta 5 kapitulu, III atala. Baita Prisonsetan (fols 308 vo eta 328 ro) eta Comédie du desertin in Marguerites, op. cit., 335-336. orr.
- 518 J. Parker edit., The Celestial and Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, London, Skeffington, 1844, “Celestial Hierarchy”, 15 kapitulu, 45. orr.
- 519 Ikus Briçonneten interesa Platonen ideiekiko 5 kapitulu, III atalean; ikus, baita, bere Lefèvreren defentsa Dionisiori buruzko auzian, Lutherren aurka alde batetik eta bai Erasmoren, bestetik, 4 kapitulu, III atala.
- 520 *Salmoak*, 55,7: “*Ai uso-hegalak banitu!*”. Briçonnetek nahita aldatzen du “*sicut columbae*” *textu biblikoa*, bihurtuz “*quis dabit michi pennas sicut aquil[a]e*” (Correspondance, 1, 59. orr.), argiro konbinatuz gai bibliko bat, arranoaren sinbolo neoplatonikoarekin.
- 521 Ikus kapitulu honetako V atalean koloreen ikerketa sinbolo mistiko gisa.
- 522 Itsasoa eta leizea etengabe agertzen dira Margaritaren sinbolismo mistikoan; ikus kapitulu honetako IV atala.
- 523 A. Winardyk onartzen du Briçonneten irudien eragin zuzena Margaritarekiko in “Piety and Humanistic Symbolism in the work Marguerite de Navarre” in Yale French Studies, 1972, 145-169. orr.
- 524 Hau da Margaritaren gutxien ezagun diren poemen gaia, Le Discord en l’homme par la contrariété de l’esperit et de la chair; Alençonen agertu zen Miroirarekin batera, 1531 urtean. Agertzen da baita, gai nagusi bezala, Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne lanean; gorputza pisutsua da, eta arimak ezaugarri arinak ditu:

CHARLOTTE

Je vous prometz, ma tante, sans mentir,  
Que quant le corps, par douceur affoibly,  
S’appesantist jusques à terre sentir,



- Et l'esperit, par amoor annobly  
Tire tout droict au ciel par tel désir,  
Que l'ame met tout son corps en oubly.  
(Dialogue, vv. 208-213)
- 525 Ikus eguzkiaren rola 5 kapituluan, III atalean.
- 526 Oraison de l'âme fidèle à son Seigneur Dieu, Marguerites, Thomas (edit.), op. cit., vol. 1, 134-135. orr.
- 527 Margaritak Miroirrean erabiltzen du sustraiaren eta adarraren sinbolo konbinatua, hauek konplementatuz beste batzuekin, hala nola lorea, hostoa edota fruitua:  
Bien sens en moy que j'en ay la racine,  
Et au dehors ne voy effect ne signe  
Qui ne soit tout branche, fleur, feuille, et fruit,  
Que tout autour de moy elle produit.  
(Miroir, vv. 13-16)
- 528 Oraison de l'âme fidèle, Les Marguerites, Thomas (edit.), op. cit., vol. 1, 118. orr.
- 529 Nabarmendu behar da ezen Briçonneten lehen gutuna dela, 1521eko ekaineko 12an idatzia, eta nahiz eta Margaritak bere lehen gutunean, zeinean galdegiten baitzuen Meauxeko ideiekiko inimiziazio, eskatu zion gerraren gaia garatzea, bertan borrokaren gaia zentzu literal eta agerikoan agertzen zela; Margaritak bere senarra aipatzen du, Alençongo dukea zeina gerrara baitoa: "...ne se departira sans guerre" (Correspondance, 1, 25. orr.). Briçonnetek zentzu literal hau bihurtzen du esanahi sinboliko: "Par glaive de feu commence, et se termine par feu d'amour", ibid., 27. orr.
- 530 Durand, Les Structures Anthropologiques de l'Imaginaire, op. cit., 133. orr.
- 531 G. Leiserrek liburu bat idatzi zuen geometria sakratuaren analisiari buruz, Erdi Aroko arkitektoek interpretatzen zuten gisan: Gothic Cathedrals and Sacred Geometry, 2 vols (London, 1957).
- 532 "Ibiltari noragabearen" erabilpen sinbolikoa, Briçonnetek ulertu gisan, 5 kapituluan, III atalean aztertzen da.
- 533 Briçonnetek antzera erabiltzen du igoeraren sinbolismoa 56 gutunean: "...En montant la montaigne, qui est luy..." (Correspondance, 2, 37. orr.).
- 534 Ikus Kristoren "kenosis"aren kontzeptua ("Rien") 5 kapituluan, V B atalean.
- 535 G. De Champeaux eta S. Sterckx, Le Monde des Symboles, op. cit., 162. orr. Ikus baita "L'ascension et les hauteurs", ibid., 162. orr.
- 536 Oraison de l'âme fidèle, Les Marguerites, Thomas (edit.), op. cit., vol. I, 131. orr.
- 537 Ferguson, Encyclopaedia of Mysticism, op. cit., "Ascension" terminoa, 18. orr.
- 538 Blackney, Meister Eckhart, op. cit., "the book of Divine Comfort", 59. orr.
- 539 Ibid., 63. orr.
- 540 Ibid., Sermon 14: "Nothing above the Soul: Consideravit semitas domus suae et panem otiosa non comedit" (Proverbs 29,31), ibid., 163. orr.
- 541 Plato, Phaedrus, in The Dialogues of Plato, Jowett (edit.), op. cit., vol. 2, 263. orr.
- 542 Ikus Glori Capelloren azalpena igotzen doazen eskilerei buruz, bere artikuluan non alderatzen dituen Briçonnet eta Pseudo Dionisio: "Neoplatonismo e Riforma in Francia dall'Epistolario tra Guglielmo Briçonnet e Margherita di Navarra" in Logica e Semantica ed Altri Saggi (Padova, 1975), 156-158. orr.
- 543 Ikus jainkoaren definizioa "Coincidentia Oppositorum" gisa, bere itxura antitetiko anitzetan, hala nola "Petit-Grand", "Loing-Près" eta "Tout-Rien" 5 kapituluan, V B atalean.

- 544 “Coincident” hitza, Briçonnetek erabili bezala, bat dator Margaritak dagien jainkoaren definizioarekin, “Coincidentia Oppositorum” gisa. Ikus gaineko 64 oin-oharra.
- 545 Zera idatzi zion Briçonnetek Margaritari: “Cognitoissant l’impuissance de leur vol soubhaitent helles aquilaires” (Correspondance, 1, 227. orr.). Baita: “...quand ils avoient abbaisez leurs helles de contemplation...” ibid., 2, 31. orr.
- 546 Musuaren sinboloa “Chanson 38”an ere ageri da:  
 Car le baiser de sa bouche  
 Et le regard de son oeil  
 Jusques au fond du cueur touche,  
 Dont il chasse ennuy et dueil.  
 (vv. 85-86)
- Konbinatzen dira musuaren eta begiaren sinboloak. Musua agertua zen iada Correspondancean; Margaritak galdegin zion Briçonneti: “... de (...) refreschir la debile memoire des trois baisers...” (Correspondance, 2, 53. orr.); apezpikua ez zen gaiaren hain zale, eta beraz ez zuen inoiz garatu.
- 547 Ikus 59-61 oin-oharretara daraman textua, non adierazten diren Eckharten azalpen arraroak uraren igotzeko joera naturalari buruz.
- 548 Oraison de l’âme fidèle, Les Marguerites, Thomas (edit.), op. cit., vol. I, 97. orr.
- 549 Exodoa 12. Pablo deunak Itsaso Gorriaren pasarte sinbolikoki interpretatzen du, I Korintoarrei 10,1-2an, uretatik eta bataiotik ateratze bezala. Briçonnet, 38 gutunean mintzo da Itsaso Gorria gurutzatzearen esanahi sinbolikoaz (espiritualaz) Correspondance, 1, 195-214. orr., bereziki 199 folioan, 198. orr. Hemen itzultzen da Pablok egindako pasarte honen interpretazio mistikora.
- 550 Ikus, gorago, Kantu Ederrenari buruz idatzitakoa Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan antzezlanean, 4 kapitulua, IV atala.
- 551 Briçonnetek Manari deitzen dio “figure litterale et numerale”, erreferentzia egiten diolarik Joanen Manaren interpretazioari, Kristoren biderkatze gisa eukaristiako ogian (Joan 6).
- 552 Ikus Marie-Rose Séguiren Mexikoko Eguzki-erloju eta Egutegien Erakusketako Katalogoa, Bibliothèque Nationalean (Paris, 1976). Aztlar, Terre des Aztèques; Images d’un nouveau monde: “Au culte du Soleil, l’un des rites religieux essentiels, s’associait celui des quatre points cardinaux symbolisés par les quatre éléments sur chacun desquels se greffèrent un certain nombre de concordances (points cardinaux, éléments, couleurs, directions de l’univers, saisons, jours, animaux) évoquant singulièrement les figurations codées des diagrammes chinois illustrant le microcosme et le macrocosme”, “Croyances Religieuses”, 15. orr.
- 553 Séguyk komentatzen du, Codex du Soleilaren katalogoko 72 eta 73 figurez: “Les manuscrits pictographiques, quels que soient leurs sujets, se présentent sous la forme de tableaux et d’images où les couleurs fondamentales du spectre solaire (rouge, jaune, vert, bleu et noir) et leur attribution est symbolique”. Cat. 1976, op. cit., 75. orr.
- 1976ko abenduan, Mlle Séguyrekin izan nintzen, zeina harritu egin zen ikustean nola Margaritaren Prisonetan antzeko esanahiak atribuitzen zaizkien koloreei, egutegi txinatar eta mexikarretakoen antzekoak. Komentatu zuen ezen koloreen sinbolismo txinatarra sartaldean ezagutu izan zela bisitarien bidez, zeinak han egonak baitziren XIII eta XIV mendeetatik aurrera.

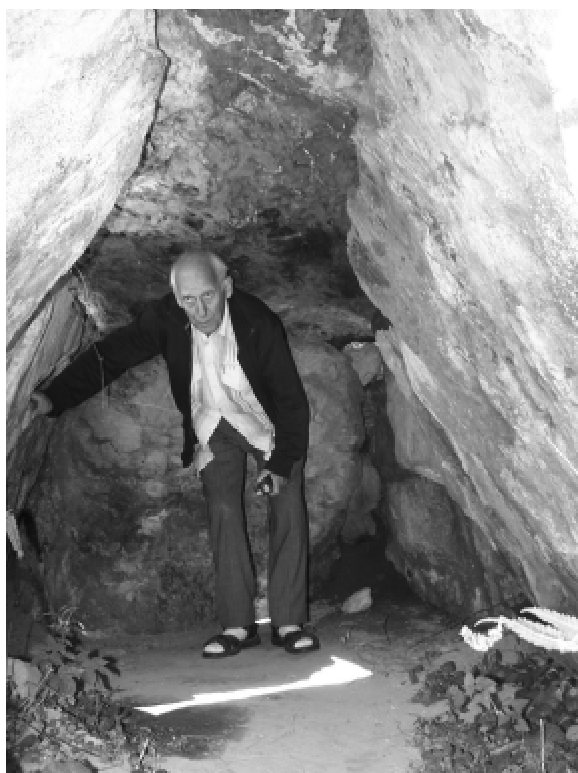
- 554 Ikus Nafarroako Margarita, Horoscope, Traité de Révolution, Bibliothèque Nationaleko eskuizkribua, fonds français, N°2082. Hau idatzi zuenean hamazortzi urte zituen.
- 555 Ikurretan koloreen erabilpen sinbolikoa Frantziako Gortera iritsi zen gutxi gorabehera Rabelaisen Gargantua argitaratu zen urtean, 1534, hamar urte lehenago behintzat Margaritak Prisonsak idatzi baino (Ikus Calder R. edit., Gargantua, Geneva, Droz, 1970, oin-oharra 60-61. orr., M.A. Screech irakasleak). Rabelaisek kritikatzan du arbitrarioki interpretatzen direla testu biblikoak zeinak koloreei erreferentzia egiten dieten. (e.g. Mateo 17,2)(ibid., oin-oharra in 72-73. orr.).
- 556 Joseph Needhamek idazten du oinarritzko lau koloreek duten harremanari buruz elementuekin (sua, airea, ura, lurra), urtaroeekin eta puntu kardinalekin: “The association of the elements with the seasons was obvious enough (among the Chinese), and it had been on their association with the cardinal points that the various sequences had been built up. What could have been more unavoidable than to link Fire with Summer and the South? This must have been of the highest antiquity since one finds fire (i.e. Heat, and the grain ripened by it) in the Autumn harvest... Since the cradle of Chinese civilization was the land of Yellow soil in the upper Yellow River basin (modern Shansi and Shensi) it is quite plausible to suppose that for the centre that colour imposed itself. The White in the West should stand for the perpetual snows of the Tibetan Massif, with Green (or Blue) in the East for the fertile plains or the seemingly infinite Ocean. Finally Red in the South may have taken its origin from the red soil of Szechuan.”  
Science and Civilization in China, 2 vols, Cambridge University Press, 1954, vol. 2, “History of Scientific Thought”, 261. orr. Jacques Soustellek interpretatzen ditu koloreak aztekek erabili gisan esanahi sinbolikoa emanaz in la Pensée cosmologique des anciens Mexicains (représentation du monde et de l’espace), (Paris, 1940), 12. orr. Séguyren arabera, koloreen erabilpen sinbolikoak egutegi mexikarretan aurkitu bezala, jatorria eduki dezake lehenago Txinan erabili izanean. Ikus gorago 73 eta 74 oin-oharrak. Lotura hauek posible dira, baina Margaritaren interesak koloreen erabilpen sinbolikoarekiko, zeina heraldika mediebalez haratago baitzihoan, erakusten du interesatzen zitzaizkiola deskubritzaileek Europara zekartzaten ideiak.
- 557 Mayer edit., Marot, Epistres, op. cit., 120. orr.
- 558 R. Calder edit., Gargantua, op. cit., 78. orr.
- 559 Ibid., 72. orr.
- 560 Ibid., 65. orr. Screech irakasleak komentario oso argigarriak egiten ditu Rabelaisen kritikei buruz, zeinak baitoaz haren garaiko enblematisten kontra, ikurren eta koloreen esanahiak behartzen zituztenak euren nahietara egokitzeak. (Ikus Gargantuari oharra, VIII eta IX kapituluak, ibid., 64-78. orr.).
- 561 Ferguson, Encyclopaedia of Mysticism, “Alphabet” terminoa, op. cit., 11. orr. Cf. also J. Naveh, Origins of the Alphabet, London, Casell, 1975.
- 562 Interesgarria da aipatzea F. Rochen komentarioa gizon modernoak egiten duen konexioari buruz, alfabetoaren hizkien eta haien soinuaren artean, sumatu beharrean haiengan esanahi sinbolikorik. Gizon modernoak da “so accustomed to connect the idea of sounds with the sound of them, that it is only with difficulty that we can dissociate the letters from this, and think of them as symbols”. Beraren arabera, Tau letra gurutzearen zeinua da. The Book of Symbols, (London, 1930), 35. orr.

- 563 M sinboloa, Margaritaren taldearentzat, maskulinoa eta femeninoa zen. La Marguerite eta le Miroir adierazten zituen. (Ikus 3 kapitulua, III atala). Androgino sinboloa 5 kapituluan, V B atalean xehetasunez aztertu dugu. Rabelaisek Gargantuan aipatzen du, IV kapituluan.
- 564 J. E. Cirlot, A dictionary of Symbols, op. cit., “Letters of the alphabet”, 182-184. orr.
- 565 Ikus 4 kapitulua, III atala, eta 5 kapitulua, Comédie eta Prisonsei buruzkoak, eta interpretazio mistiko eta sinbolikoei buruzkoak.
- 566 Sainte-Marthe, Oraison Funèbre, op. cit., 16-17. orr.
- 567 Ikus enigma mistikoaren esanahi sekretua, Margarita-Perlarena 3 kapituluan, III atalean.
- 568 Champeaux, Le Monde des Symboles, op. cit., 24. orr.
- 569 M. Eliadek perlaren sortzea azaltzen du kosmogonia zaharrek eta alkimistek ulertu bezala: “Une tradition d’origine orientale explique la naissance de la perle comme le fruit de l’éclair pénétrant dans la moule. La perle serait le résultat de l’union entre le Feu et l’Eau. Saint Ephem utilise ce mythe ancien pour illustrer aussi bien l’Immaculée Conception que la naissance spirituelle du Christ dans le baptême de Feu”. Images et Symboles; Essais sur le symbolisme magico-religieux, “Le Mythe de la Perle”, (Paris, 1962), 195. orr.
- 570 Margaritaren poemagintzako jainkoaren definizio antitetikoak 5 kapituluan aztertzen dira, V B atalean.
- 571 E.-F. Rice, Jacques Lefèvre d’Etaples and the Mediaeval Mystics; Essays presented to Wallace K. Ferguson (Toronto, 1971), 89-124. orr.
- 572 Ikus 4 kapituluan, II atalean, nola Calvinok ez zuen begi onez ikusten Margaritak Libertino Espiritualak babestea bere gorte nafarrean. Ondorio hauetako 12 oinoharrean ere mintzatzen gara Calvinoren kritika honetaz.
- 573 Ikus L. Febvre, Amour Sacré, Amour Profane, op. cit., 58-59. orr. Sarreran, kritikatu dut Febvreren jarrera ez kritikoa.
- 574 Margaritaren izena oso gutxitan agertzen da mistizismoari buruzko entziklopedia edota hiztegieta. Baina Dictionnaire de spiritualité lanean, S. Glassonek haren ideia mistikoetako batzuen azterketa labur bat egin du; ikus LXIV-LV faszikuluak, 346-347. orr., (Paris, 1937-1980; oraindik bukatugabea).
- 575 Ikus 2 kapitulua, I atala.
- 576 Ikus Pantagruelen lasaitasun eta axolagabetasuna ekaitzaren erdian, in Le Quart Livre, 28 kapitulua.
- 577 Ikus 103-113 gutunak Correspondancean.
- 578 Ikus gorago, Margaritaren erreferentzia Pablo Deunaren “mirouer” gisako esperientziari, 2 kapitulua, V atala.
- 579 Ikus Francis M. Higmanen edizioa Calvinoren Three Treatises (London, Athlone, 1970) liburuarena, Sarrera, 21-26 eta 133-153 orr. Hauetako bat deitzen da “Excuse de Jehan Calvin, à Messieurs les Nicodemites, sur la complainte qu’ilz font de sa trop gran’ rigueur”.
- 580 Clément Marot, Les Epigrammes, London, Athlone, 1970, IV, 97. orr.
- 581 Ikus sarrerako “Epistre” Miroirarentzat in Marguerites, Frank (edit.), op. cit., 4. orr.
- 582 Oraison funèbre, op. cit., 5. orr.
- 583 Margaritak, nahiz bere konbikzio ebanjelikoengatik zenbait praktika debozional herrikoï gaitzesten zituen, “prières des accouchées” esaten zizkion Margarita

- Deunari. Rabelais trufatzen da otoitz honetaz in Gargantua, V kapitulua; (Pierre Jourda edit., op. cit., vol. I, 29. orr., 3 oharra).
- 584 Ikus Tiers Livreari “*dédicace*”, Jourdaren edizioan, (Paris, Garnier, 1962), vol. 1, 291. orr.
- 585 Ikus Margaritaren Miroirraren eta Rabelaisen Pantagruelaren zoritxarren azterketa, biak izan baitziren Sorbonak zorrozki ikertuak, 3 kapituluan, I atala. Rabelais Margaritaren gortean ibili zen 1530eko hamarkadan, eta agerikoa da bere interesa talde hartan onartzen zen sinbolismo mistikoarekiko. Ikus 6 kapituluan, 90, 93 eta 97. oin-oharrak; baita 5 kapituluan, 84, 86, 107, 135, 165 etab. Ikus baita H. Hornik, “More on the Hermetica and French Renaissance Literature (M. d’Angoulême, Rabelais, A. d’Aubigne, Scève)” in Studi Francesi, (Torino, 1974) vol. XVIII, 1-12. orr.
- 586 Margaritak Heptaméronean bere burua azaltzen du pertsona ulerkor bezala, “Nouvelle 72”: Moja gazte batez “cordelier” batek abusatu zuen, baina inork ez zion sinisten; erreginak auzia zuzentzen du kasua apezpikuari aurkeztuz.
- 587 Quart Livre, Prologue, Jourda edit., op. cit., vol. 2, 11-12. orr.



*Jon Oria contemplando el Valle de Belagua, en Isaba, Navarra. Fotografía de David Maruri (20.09.2011).*



*Jon Oria en el interior del dolmen de Arrako, en Isaba, Navarra. Fotografía de David Maruri (20.09.2011).*

# MISTICISMO EN LA OBRA DE MARGARITA DE NAVARRA

Tesis presentada para el grado  
de Doctor en Filosofía

por

JON ORIA  
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BIRKBECK COLLEGE  
UNIVERSIDAD DE LONDRES

## ÍNDICE GENERAL

Nota del autor, a modo de confirmación, en noviembre de 2012. ....	505
RESUMEN .....	510
AGRADECIMIENTOS .....	510
ABREVIACIONES .....	511
INTRODUCCIÓN .....	512

### CAPÍTULO PRIMERO:

La iniciación de Margarita de Navarra en los postulados místicos de la escuela de Meaux (1521-1524).....	517
---	-----

- I. Intentos reformistas en Meaux ..... 517
- II. La iniciación de Margarita en los principios místicos  
de Meaux..... 520
- III. Técnicas de iniciación ..... 525
- IV. El progreso de la iniciación en la comprensión mística ..... 530

### CAPÍTULO SEGUNDO:

El Diálogo en forma de visión nocturna como ilustración del “Hágase tu voluntad” .....	537
---	-----

- I. Fecha y fuentes del Dialogue. Estructura interna del poema.... 537
- II. Carácter argumentativo y actitud antiespeculativa..... 540
- III. Credo evangélico de Charlotte; roles de la muerte y el amor. 542
- IV. El dolor de Margarita tras la muerte de la princesa Charlotte.  
Pasividad mística y la voluntad de Dios. Aceptación final de  
Margarita del “Hágase tu voluntad” ..... 546

### CAPÍTULO TERCERO:

Le miroir de l'âme pécheresse: El Enigma Místico contra la Visión Terrenal. ....	551
---	-----

- I. Controversias sobre el Miroir, en cuanto a sus relaciones con la  
causa luterana ..... 551
- II. El Miroir y la tradición mística del “Speculum” ..... 557
- III. Estructura interna del poema ..... 565
- IV. Sus enseñanzas sobre el “raptus mysticus” y la generación  
espiritual ..... 572
- V. Recursos estilísticos y metáforas místicas; su lenguaje  
hermético ..... 576



## CAPÍTULO CUARTO:

La Hermenéutica Bíblica según Guillaume Briçonnet y “Ravie de Dieu, Bergère” en la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan. .... 583

- I. El teatro de Margarita ..... 583
- II. Teatro y enigma místico; los cuatro personajes herméticos en la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan ..... 588
- III. Hermenéutica mística de la Biblia y la interpretación de la pieza ..... 596
- IV. La “Bergère” como “Amye” en el Cantar de los Cantares ..... 605
- V. Números simbólicos y los cuatro personajes en la Comédie; el criterio anti-intelectual de “La Bergère” ..... 609

## CAPÍTULO QUINTO:

Les Prisons de la Reine de Navarre como el testamento místico de Margarita: La experiencia de Dios como immanente en el alma y su Transcendencia. .... 613

- I. Las Prisons como muestra de las preocupaciones espirituales de los coetáneos de Margarita ..... 613
- II. Fuentes y primeros borradores del poema ..... 614
- III. Las tres Prisons como las tres etapas de la conversión: Purificación, Iluminación y Unión ..... 621
- IV. Éxtasis místico como experiencia penetrante de una herida mística ..... 640
- V. Intentos de definir lo divino ..... 647
- VI. Las Prisons como testamento final de Margarita: nuevas ideas evangélicas dentro del viejo marco del misticismo medieval ..... 664

## CAPÍTULO SEXTO:

Simbolismo hermético y antítesis místicas, como constantes “leit-motifs” en la obra de Margarita de Nabarra. .... 665

- I. Teología simbólica y misticismo. Símbolos de Luz y Oscuridad ..... 665
  - II. Conflicto místico entre el Alma y el Cuerpo ..... 678
  - III. Símbolos de Ascenso y Descenso ..... 682
  - IV. Símbolos divinos de la perfección y simbolismo místico de los colores y de las letras del alfabeto ..... 688
  - V. Antítesis místicas en la obra de Margarita. Renovación evangélica simbolizada en el lenguaje hermético ..... 696
- CONCLUSIÓN ..... 699
- NOTAS ..... 706

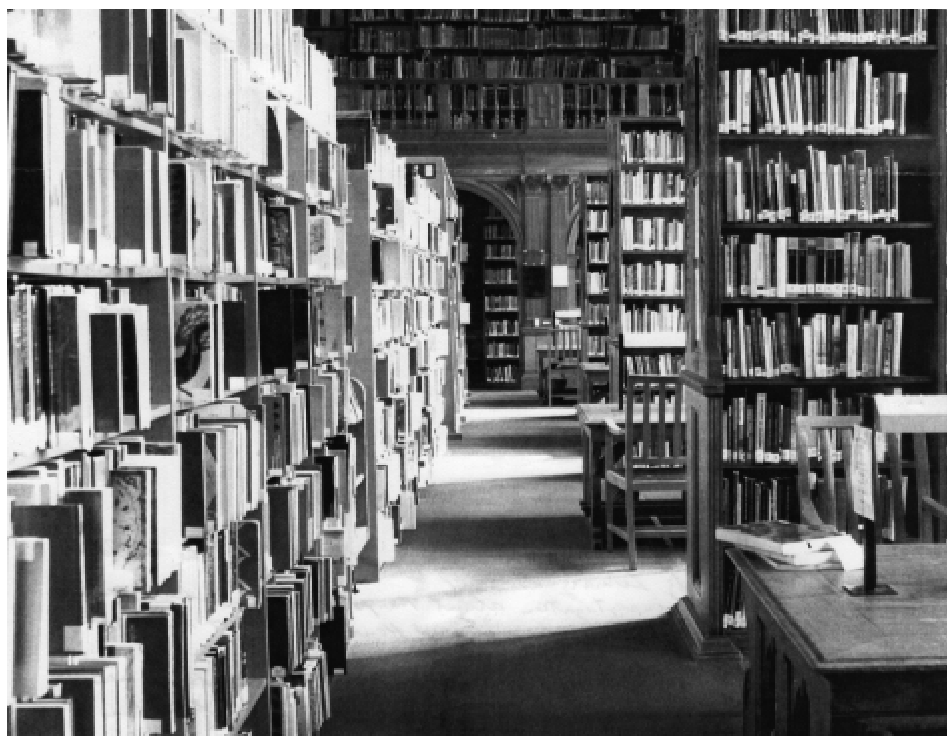


### **Nota del autor, a modo de confirmación, en noviembre de 2012.**

La presente edición de la tesis sigue literalmente el texto original en inglés, presentado a la universidad de London en 1981 junto con las otras dos versiones al español y al euskara de este año 2012, centenario de la conquista e invasión de los territorios de la Alta Navarra por las tropas del Rey Católico. Ha habido que hacer correcciones de anacronismos como el título de la joven Margarita como Reina de Navarra cuando se trataba de la joven princesa de Francia antes de su matrimonio con el Rey de Navarra en 1527, el sangüesino Enrique II de Albret y ha sido igualmente necesario un chequeo de citas sobre todo de la Biblia dando lugar a cambios según aquel dicho ya clásico: “Aliquando dormitat Homerus”.

La historia de la composición de mi tesis no presentó problemas: La comencé en 1975 mientras preparaba mi postgraduado en el Colegio universitario de Saint Hugh's College de Cambridge bajo la inspiración de un texto shakesperiano que había oído en un recital del Globe de London y que es ya parte de nuestra historia. Luego siguieron varios años de investigación bajo el control de la Doctora B. M. Sanderson de la Universidad de London que me dejaba rienda suelta a mis visitas casi diarias a la British Library a cuatro pasos del Birkbeck College en el corazón mismo del London de las Ciencias y de las Artes. Una vez presentado y aprobado el texto final de la tesis bajo el título de “Mysticism in the Work of Marguerite de Navarre” hubo que hacer siete copias para distribuir en Universidades como London, Cambridge, París, Pau y Pamplona, quedándome yo con dos de ellas. Ha habido ya varias tentativas para que se publicara pero afortunadamente aparecerá como trilingüe con ocasión del V Aniversario de la conquista de la Alta Navarra por las tropas del Rey Fernando de Aragón, gracias al Grupo Cultural Enrique II de Albret de Sangüesa, que las dedica al rey “sangüesino”, nacido en la capital de la Merindad de su nombre, Sangüesa, en 1503, y a su esposa Margarita de Navarra.

En la entrada de mi casa en Torre vieja topo cada día con una foto de la Cambridge Library que me recuerda aquellos primeros pasos en mi investigación a cuya entrada se imponía una estatua de Lord Byron en mármol blanco del monte Pentélico como el Partenón que significa “la morada de los jóvenes” marcando así mi segunda juventud de los cuarenta. El tiempo ha sabido dar pátina a aquella empresa que luego salió a flote en el Birkbeck College a base de viajes por Europa: la Navarra Renacentista de Pau, Nerac y Mont-de-Marsan, Meaux y París, Florencia y Roma, además de otros archivos como el de Simancas para constatar los lugares en que se movió Margarita de Navarra al escribir su obra poética o el de las fortunas de documentos relacionados con el Humanismo del Renacimiento en el Reino de la Baja Navarra.



*La Biblioteca de la Universidad de Cambridge, es una de las bibliotecas más grandes del mundo. Allí comencé a investigar sobre las ideas filosóficas en la corte de Margarita de Navarra y Enrique II de Albret en 1975.*

Se han encontrado problemas al tener que pasar las ilustraciones de códices del British Library, muchas de ellas simplemente fotocopias de antiguos volúmenes de comienzos del Renacimiento para ilustrar algunos de los temas de la tesis sobre todo los relacionados con la Correspondencia mística entre el Obispo de Meaux, y la joven Princesa de Francia Margarita de Valois entre 1521-1524 que terminó bruscamente con una intervención de la Sorbona; Margarita se vio obligada tras su matrimonio con el sangüesino Enrique II Albret a retirarse a lo que quedaba en Ultrapuertos del viejo reino de Navarra, abandonando todos sus numerosos títulos nobiliarios franceses. La mayoría de su obra mística la escribió en la Corte de Navarra aunque el “Miroir de l’Ame Pécheresse” apareció en la copia que quiso condenar la Sorbonne al fuego purificador de las herejías junto con el Tiers Livre de François Rabelais que el sabio doctor había dedicado a Margarita. El texto de la tesis se concentra en el análisis detallado de la iniciación de la entonces Princesa de Francia en los principios neoplatónicos del Pseudodionisio según la Escuela de

Meaux, que marcarán todo su obra mística siguiéndose un estudio detallado de la Hermenéutica en su obra “La Comedie Jouée au Mont-de-Marsan” y el “Dialogue en Forme de Vision Nocturne” junto con el compendio de sus postulados místicos en su poema “Les Prisons de la Reine de Navarre”. Como síntesis y colofón de sus ideas místicas se seguirá un estudio detallado de la simbología mística en todas sus obras y todas ellas, junto con la colección de cuentos renacentista del Heptameron aparecerán bajo la única autoría de “La Reine de Navarre”.

Hay que añadir que todas las numerosas obras que he escrito sobre la Navarra Renacentista han tenido como base las investigaciones que tuve que llevar a cabo en bibliotecas y archivos para llevar a efecto la clarificación de la filosofía que se enseñaba en las Escuelas filosóficas de la Corte de Margarita y de su esposo Enrique y más tarde en las Academias humanísticas de la Reina de Navarra Juana de Albret que merecieran los elogios del vate inglés William Shakespeare. Baste nombrar mis últimos estudios sobre el tapiz renacentista en el Musée Basque de Bayonne, cuya única posible interpretación se aclarará con la presentación del mundo feminista en la obra de teatro de Margarita “la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan” por lo que habrá que fijar la composición de ambas obras hacia 1547.

Queda únicamente como conclusión una serie de reconocimientos de quienes han hecho posible la triple edición de la tesis en la versión original inglesa, en español y en euskara. Me ha tocado personalmente hacer el trabajo de la revisión del original inglés que tan sólo ha precisado corregir algunas erratas de mecanografía o de citas, además de llevar a cabo la traducción completa al español. Habrá que agradecer a Aithor Antuñano su colaboración en la presentación de los textos, la cual se llevó a cabo con la inestimable ayuda de Joseba Arruebarrena, y por su trabajo de traducción de toda la tesis a nuestro euskara o “linguae navarrorum” bajo la constante supervisión técnica de Josu Lavin. Agradezco el trabajo de Blanca Oria y Juan Zapater de Bilbaoarte que a título personal han mejorado la calidad de las láminas y los grabados que acompañan el texto. Cabe una mención especial para el Grupo Cultural Enrique II de Albret de Sangüesa, como editores de la publicación “Zangotzarra”, por la aportación de David Maruri, coordinador del grupo, y de Ángel Navallas en la maquetación de la obra, dando forma definitiva a la edición de la tesis. Sin olvidar el interés de muchos que van a aparecer en la lista de colaboradores.

*Jon Oria Osés*



# MISTICISMO EN LA OBRA DE MARGARITA DE NAVARRA

Tesis presentada para el grado de  
DOCTOR en FILOSOFÍA

por

JON ORIA  
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BIRKBECK COLLEGE  
UNIVERSIDAD DE LONDRES

## RESUMEN

El propósito de esta tesis es profundizar en las ideas místicas de Margarita de Navarra tal y como se expresan en sus obras más importantes, verificando sus orígenes en su Correspondance mantenida con Briçonnet.

No escribió ningún tratado sobre espiritualidad, aunque se puede ver una evolución en el tratamiento de los temas relacionados con la elevación del alma hacia Dios mediante la contemplación.

Esta investigación comienza determinando las fuentes de sus ideas místicas en su Correspondance con el Obispo de Meaux durante los años 1521-1524. Le sigue un análisis de cuatro de sus obras, para mostrar el desarrollo de su pensamiento desde la aparición de su primer poema místico, el Dialogue (c. 1527), hasta la finalización de su obra maestra, las Prisons (c. 1547). Encontramos en todas ellas los conceptos tradicionales de iniciación en la purificación del espíritu, la contemplación pasiva de Dios, el estado de éxtasis del alma, la interpretación espiritual de la Biblia y la concepción mística de lo Divino.

Margarita estaba sobre todo interesada en animar a la gente a aferrarse a ciertas creencias básicas durante aquel temprano período de las Reformas, y vivir según estas convicciones. El objetivo de su espiritualidad es por tanto, en principio, práctica, aunque paradójicamente sus temas están ocultos mediante un lenguaje simbólico, a menudo ininteligible para el lector ordinario. Le preocupaba mucho la purificación Evangélica de la Iglesia desde dentro, pero no hay actitud dogmática en sus ideas y lo que encontramos no es una guía metódica de la perfección Cristiana, sino una visión global del Hombre como ser espiritual en relación con los valores religiosos.

## AGRADECIMIENTOS

Esta investigación ha sido posible gracias a la financiación del Birbeck College y a la beca del Departamento de Educación y Ciencias. Querría mostrarle mi especial agradecimiento a Mrs. B. M. Sanderson, profesora del Birbeck College, por su constante asesoramiento y ánimo durante la composición de esta tesis; le estoy también agradecido al Profesor Boss por sus inestimables sugerencias.

Gracias también a C. Beresford, de Academycal Typing Services, quien ha mecanografiado con tanta habilidad y paciencia este escrito, y a RANK XEROX, que ha reproducido el texto y las ilustraciones, cuyo nivel técnico es admirable.



Querría también ofrecer mi gratitud a las siguientes bibliotecas: la British Library, la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, el Warburg Institute y el Birbeck College. Estoy también en deuda con mis amigos que no han cesado de alentarme.

## ABREVIACIONES

AFLN-W	Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrheind-Westfalen.
ASI	Actualités Scientifiques et Industrielles, Paris.
BAEHRRE	Bulletin de l'Association d'Études sur l'Humanisme, la Réforme et la Renaissance
BGEPHE	Bibliothèque Générale de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études
BHR	Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance
BL	British Library, London
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
BSHPF	Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français
PUF	Presses Universitaires de France
RHLF	Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France
RR	Revue de la Renaissance
RSS	Revue du Seizième Siècle
SPCK	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
THR	Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance
ZRP	Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie

Contracciones de los títulos de las obras de Margarita:

<u>Correspondance</u>	<u>Guillaume Briçonnet, Marguerite de Navarre; Correspondance (1521-1524)</u> 2 volúmenes
<u>Chansons</u>	<u>Chansons spirituelles</u>
<u>Discord</u>	<u>Discord estant en l'homme par la contrariété de l'esperit</u>
<u>Inquisiteur</u>	<u>L'Inquisiteur en Théâtre profane</u>
<u>Miroir</u>	<u>Miroir de l'âme pécheresse</u>
<u>Navire</u>	<u>La Navire, ou consolation du Roy François Ier</u>
<u>Oraison</u>	<u>Oraison à nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ</u>

(ver Bibliografía)

Citas de la Biblia de nuestro pueblo, Luis Alonso Schökel. Ediciones Mensajero, Bilbao.

Todo subrayado es mío, a no ser que se indique lo contrario.

## INTRODUCCIÓN

Pocos personajes de comienzos del siglo XVI han llamado tanto la atención como Margarita de Navarra, hermana de Francisco I, considerado muchas veces el Príncipe del Renacimiento francés. Aunque ha habido muchos intentos de ofrecernos una justa imagen de Margarita como Duquesa-Reina y como escritora<sup>1</sup>, gracias a la biografía magistral escrita por Pierre Jourda en 1930, contamos con un trabajo básico sobre el cual el crítico de hoy puede escribir un estudio preciso sobre aspectos particulares de esta excepcional dama<sup>2</sup>. Margarita fue la primera mujer moderna que fue capaz de combinar los ideales del mundo teocéntrico medieval, el cual ya venía desmoronándose, con los nuevos valores humanísticos que se propagaban con rapidez por toda Europa<sup>3</sup>.

El intento de Margarita de conservar viejas ideas, mientras ayudaba a desarrollarse a los recién nacidos ideales, ha sido a menudo el origen de básicos malentendidos respecto a su aparentemente doble personalidad, cuya integridad y autenticidad han sido defendidas tan valientemente por Lucien Febvre en su crítica de una “doble Margarita”<sup>4</sup>. Todos estos esfuerzos por presentar a la Reina de Navarra como “a Woman for all seasons / una Mujer para la eternidad”, desde su primera biografía publicada bajo el nombre de *Oraison funèbre* poco después de su muerte por Charles de Sainte-Marthe<sup>5</sup>, hasta obras contemporáneas, son una clara señal del interés que su figura suscita al gran público<sup>6</sup>.

Margarita, nacida el 11 de abril de 1492 en el Castillo de Angoulême dos años antes que su hermano Francisco, era hija de Carlos de Orléans y Luisa de Savoya. Cuando, el 8 de abril de 1498, murió el Rey Carlos VIII sin dejar heredero varón, el Duque de Orléans se casó con la viuda de su predecesor Anne de Bretaña, y tras la muerte de Luis XII, los Angoulêmes vieron la oportunidad de acceder al trono de los Valois. Margarita y su hermano Francisco, como presunto heredero, tuvieron que pasar su juventud en un aislamiento impuesto, que por aquel entonces se practicaba con los herederos reales, primero en Cognac de Angoumois y luego en Blois y Amboise. Aquí llevaron una vida solitaria, y Margarita, que para las actividades escolares tenía más talento que su hermano, fue educada bajo la tutela de su culta madre y de una institutriz, Mme de Châtillon, en todas las disciplinas entonces en moda. Tuvieron los mejores maestros para aprender a leer y a hablar latín, italiano y español. Charles de Sainte-Marthe menciona los avanzados conocimientos de Margarita en cuanto a varias disciplinas y en particular en lo referente a las ideas neoplatónicas, que se propagaban entonces desde Florencia (*Oraison funèbre*, p. 24). Se impuso en poco tiempo en todos los conocimientos de su época, interesándose, como Sainte-Marthe apunta, en

las “Saints et salutaires preceptes de la Philosophie Évangélique, qui est la Parolle de Dieu”, (ibid., p. 27).

Incluso, si bien la vida de palacio no era ideal para este tipo de formación, los trabajos de Margarita son testigos de una mente muy receptiva<sup>7</sup>; fue sin embargo el 2 de diciembre de 1509, cuando se le exigió a la joven princesa un sacrificio personal para el beneficio de la Casa de Angoulême. Debía casarse con Carlos, Duque de Alençon, un “époux médiocre et peu cultivé”, como H. P. Clive le califica; una unión matrimonial difícilmente apropiada para su refinada mente, y que no fue capaz de darle un hijo<sup>8</sup>. La subida al trono de su hermano Francisco de Angoulême como Francisco I el 25 de enero de 1515 debió tranquilizarla, pues pronto, en 1519, acogió a Clément Marot entre otros en su servicio personal<sup>9</sup>. Su cultivada mente difícilmente podría descansar a menos que estuviera rodeada de “protégés” educados, quienes pronto empezaron a considerarla la Mecenaz del nuevo Renacimiento intelectual y literario en Francia.

No es mi intención revalorizar la personalidad de Margarita, sino simplemente juzgar su obra. No obstante, habrá que examinar cuidadosamente su implicación personal en un plan drástico para renovar los valores medievales que venían desmoronándose, un plan que, históricamente, debemos confesar que desembocó en un gran fracaso. Sus esfuerzos por salvar los inicios de la reforma interna mediante el planteamiento evangélico de un pequeño grupo de estudiosos reunidos en Meaux por un eminente Obispo, Guillaume Briçonnet, y un destacado erudito, Lefèvre d'Étaples, toparon con la total oposición por parte de la Sorbona.

No se puede hablar de cisma protestante en los inicios de los 1520, aunque la Facultad de la Sorbona había condenado solemnemente las Tesis de Lutero el 15 de abril de 1521. Por otra parte, es verdad que la bula “Exsurge Domine” del Papa había sido promulgada el 15 de junio de 1520, y el 3 de enero el dominico rebelde había sido excomulgado<sup>10</sup>, pero los contemporáneos de Margarita no tenían la misma perspectiva histórica que tenemos hoy en día.

Espero que un análisis serio y detallado sobre su obra escrita ayude a ofrecer una perspectiva a este espinoso problema demostrando que, por muy implicada que estuviera en el plan de renovación evangélica, difícilmente se le puede llamar luterana. De hecho, discrepó de dos de los puntos básicos de la teología luterana, su teoría sobre la voluntad no libre<sup>11</sup> y su rechazo de la interpretación tradicional de la Biblia<sup>12</sup>.

El plan de reforma, tal y como lo emprendió el grupo de Meaux, era definitivamente evangélico y paulino o según la doctrina de San Pablo, en

el sentido más literal de la palabra; preconizaban la vuelta a la simplicidad de los evangelios proclamando a Cristo como único Salvador del hombre y reivindicando la doctrina de la justificación del hombre mediante la fe. Se pueden igualmente alegar otros elementos en la teología del grupo que revelan un sustrato de principios místicos, mediante los cuales se dará lugar este cambio al aceptar a Cristo como única conexión entre Dios y el ser humano.

No es fácil definir el misticismo, ya que, mediante códigos secretos, trata de significados que son compartidos por un grupo relativamente pequeño de personas (los esotéricos). Los místicos intentan auto-negarse para conseguir ser absorbidos por la divinidad; mediante lo cual tratarán de entender las verdades que ellos designan como inexplicables o místicas; evitan igualmente dar explicaciones sistemáticas de los principios que regulan estos cambios, que llamarán deificación.

Desde los tiempos de Eckhart los místicos reivindican una vía negativa de comportarse hacia Dios, comúnmente llamada Quietismo, ya que adoptan una actitud pasiva hacia su propia voluntad. Tienden a reforzar ciertos conceptos como la Nada o la Absorción y su principal inquietud será analizar lo que le ocurre al sentir esta experiencia de lo divino para poder describir el objeto de este encuentro oculto: “Nadie ha visto jamás a Dios” (I Juan 4, 12), aunque se pueda sentir su presencia mediante el amor (ibid. 4, 16). Como se enfrentan con una tarea imposible, tienden a evitar los argumentos filosóficos para probar la existencia de Dios por lo que afirman Su presencia nombrándole de diferentes maneras; hay una progresión en las definiciones de la Deidad, empezando por negar conceptos humanos que impliquen limitaciones (“Vía Negativa”), por eso le definen como infinito. Las cualidades positivas como la bondad son, por otra parte, aplicadas a Él absolutamente y sólo proporcionalmente a todas las demás criaturas (“Vía Analógica”).

La palabra de Dios en la Biblia es vista por los místicos como un medio para llegar a significados ocultos, ya que proclaman que el Espíritu Santo permanece activo en los libros desde el momento en el que fueron escritos. Cristo es nuestro Salvador, pero también es, según ellos, la Palabra (Juan 1, 1) que puede explicar todos los misterios desde que se hizo carne (ibid. 1, 14). Finalmente adoptan un código de símbolos secretos y metáforas, a menudo muy complejos como en el caso de Margarita de Navarra, para que sus ideas logren transmitirse a las futuras generaciones de iniciados.

El primer capítulo de este estudio tratará de demostrar la profundi-

dad con la que Margarita estuvo implicada en los esfuerzos de reforma que se estaban llevando a cabo en la diócesis de Meaux, a algunos kilómetros al Noreste de París, en los inicios de los 1520. Tal compromiso tomaría más tarde la forma de una implicación personal a través de un largo proceso de iniciación, por medio de contactos personales como de instrucción epistolar, que estaban destinados a inducirla a un lenguaje esotérico, lleno de significados ocultos, algo diferentes de los sencillos axiomas de la doctrina evangélica. Los años de formación de Margarita como escritora durarán, desde junio de 1521, hasta alrededor de octubre de 1524, y puede ser trazado paso a paso a través de una Correspondance mística entre ella y el promotor del plan de renovación de Meaux, Guillaume Briçonnet.

Los Capítulos del 2 al 5 analizan cuatro de las obras más representativas escritas de Margarita, dos de ellas tempranas, compuestas durante el periodo en el que estuvo bajo el impacto directo de las ideas del grupo de Meaux. En el capítulo 2 se estudia el Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne que refleja, más directamente, la aversión de la escuela de Meaux a los tratados polémicos sobre cuestiones filosóficas que estuvieron a punto de llegar a los insultos personales, en casos como Erasmo y Lutero en los 1520 sobre la naturaleza de la voluntad humana; el poema debe ser interpretado como una ilustración mística de la doctrina de Briçonnet sobre la Voluntad de Dios en la oración del “Padre nuestro”, simpatizando con uno de los primeros trabajos místicos de Lutero, que Margarita interpretó en verso, aproximadamente al mismo tiempo que escribía su Dialogue.

El Capítulo 3 explicará en detalle su más controvertido poema, el Miroir de l'âme pécheresse, tradicionalmente interpretado como pro-luterano. Su estructura interna revela más bien la solución mística a los enigmas herméticos que la entonces Duquesa Margarita y el obispo Briçonnet habían intercambiado durante su larga Correspondance. El Capítulo 4 habla sobre la obra teatral de Margarita, la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, ya que guarda la clave de los contactos que pudo haber tenido con Erasmo y Lutero. Al contrario de las tradicionales interpretaciones de la mayoría de los críticos, mantengo que la Comédie es una simple explicación de la hermenéutica mística de la escuela de Meaux, cuya interpretación de la Biblia va en paralelo con la posición de Erasmo, claramente divergente de los principios reformadores de Lutero. El Capítulo 5 será una explicación de la doctrina mística de Margarita tal y como se reflejan en su obra más importante, las Prisons de la Reine de Navarre.

El neoplatonismo espiritual y el simbolismo hermético de Margarita serán debatidos detenidamente en varias ocasiones. Sin embargo, le he asignado el Capítulo 6 a un completo análisis de su vocabulario críptico,

el cual, al contrario de lo que muchos críticos especulan, aparece constantemente a lo largo de toda su obra. No se detecta ningún signo de discontinuidad con los principios evangélicos de la escuela de Meaux. Constantemente, en todas sus obras, se reflejan las mismas dudas, las mismas influencias, un cierto acercamiento a Lutero pero sin discrepar con los demás miembros del grupo a comienzos de los 1530<sup>13</sup>. Al fin y al cabo, se ve claramente que Margarita nunca rompió con los principios espirituales que había aceptado durante su período de iniciación bajo la guía personal de Briçonnet.

Mi conclusión final determinará qué clase de principios místicos guiaron a Margarita durante la escritura de sus libros; era una mujer perspicaz que aceptó ser guiada más por el sentido común que por experiencias místicas extraordinarias, a pesar de su aparentemente total entrega a un corpus de principios que nos hacen recordar a los maestros medievales de la mística. Este aspecto humano de su naturaleza le añade un innegable atractivo a su personalidad, que fuera elogiada por sus contemporáneos.

Ya Lucien Febvre vio la necesidad de estudiar la obra de Margarita desde el punto de vista místico, aunque eludió la complicada tarea, cuando escribió:

“... il faut bien se dire qu’un examen minutieux, attentif, scrupuleux des cinq mille premiers vers de Marguerite -en attendant les milliers que suivirent- exigerait un travail hors de proportion avec les résultats qu’on en peut escompter. Il y faudrait du reste un théologien qualifié, doublé d’un curieux très averti de l’histoire spirituelle. Or, s’il s’en trouvait un, par heureuse fortune, et qui ressentît le goût de pareils labeurs, ce serait grand-pitié que de l’employer à une tâche aussi peu payante. Certes, il courrait risque de faire, chemin faisant, maintes constatations amusantes et de rapporter, piqués sur ses plaques de liège, plusieurs de ces jolis coléoptères qui ravissent le spécialiste.”<sup>14</sup>

Febvre parece insinuar que el asunto del misticismo de Margarita estaba zanjado y solo faltaría concretar algunos detalles, labor que dejó para un especialista; pero no es este el caso y mi investigación demostrará, espero, que no se trataba de coleccionar “coléoptères”.

**CAPÍTULO PRIMERO:**  
**La iniciación de Margarita de Navarra**  
**en los postulados místicos de la escuela de Meaux (1521-1524)**

**I**

El año 1521 marca el comienzo de la decisión de Margarita de entrar a formar parte del grupo de Meaux, formado por el prelado Guillaume Briçonnet como fundador, Lefèvre d'Étaples, Michel d'Arande, Gerard Roussel, Vatable, M. Mazurier, P. Caroli, G. Farel y algunos más que respondieron a la llamada de Briçonnet, en contra de la oposición oficial que la Sorbona mantenía ante cualquier tipo de experimento de reforma evangélica, que pudiera parecerse a la línea inflexible de Lutero de reformar la Iglesia sin su respaldo oficial. Hay que señalar que la bula Romana "Exsurge Domine" contra Lutero se había emitido el año anterior, 1520, y que la formación de la comunidad evangélica en Meaux en 1521 coincidió con la iniciativa de la Sorbona de condenar los escritos de Lutero el 15 de abril de ese mismo año. El ingreso de Lefèvre en particular debió de ser sospechoso ya que había tratado de intervenir a favor de Johannes Reuchlin tanto en la Sorbona como en Roma<sup>15</sup>; podría ser, como sugieren Martineau y Veissière, que la crisis causada por la rebelión de Lutero hiciera que Lefèvre se uniera al plan de reforma interna de la Iglesia bajo el liderazgo del prelado Briçonnet<sup>16</sup>. Lefèvre, aunque probablemente acogiera la posición radical de Lutero, era bastante menos inflexible que él; de hecho sus ideas tienen poco que ver con los principios luteranos, aunque la Sorbona no se esforzara en separar la firme postura de Lefèvre de la rebelión abierta de Lutero<sup>17</sup>.

La historia de Briçonnet fue muy diferente. Era más diplomático que estudioso, aunque siempre había mostrado un gran interés por los problemas intelectuales de su época; Lefèvre le había dedicado su famoso Commentaries on the Epistles of Saint Paul, en 1512<sup>18</sup>, así como algunas de sus ediciones de textos y tratados místicos<sup>19</sup>. Nacido en 1470 en una familia de obispos<sup>20</sup>, Guillaume Briçonnet joven fue elegido Obispo de Lodève en 1489, y luego nombrado abad de Saint-Germain-des-Près en 1507, donde acogió a Lefèvre y comenzó a diseñar un plan para reformar su diócesis mediante la educación del clero<sup>21</sup>. Más tarde fue excomulgado y perdió todos sus derechos por tomar parte, junto con su hermano Denis, en el Concilio Galicano de Pisa de 1511, pero los Briçonnet fueron pronto rehabilitados y su padre, el Obispo de Narbona, murió poco después en 1514<sup>22</sup>.

Ha habido un creciente complot para difamar a Briçonnet en ciertos círculos; rara vez se le elogia, y se le critica injustamente<sup>23</sup>; algunos lle-

gan a sostener que su única intención al iniciar a Margarita, bajo el pretexto de una relación mística, serviría en realidad para llevarla a su bando contra los violentos ataques de la Sorbona. Es más, la injusticia llegó hasta impedir que se publicaran las cartas que escribió a Margarita en el libro de François Genin, Lettres de Marguerite d'Angoulême<sup>24</sup>. “...des jugements très injustes”, dicen Martineau y Veissière<sup>25</sup>, “pèsent sur cette Correspondance, qui ne sont pas parvenues à détruire ni la belle étude que lui consacre en 1900 Philippe-Auguste Becker<sup>26</sup>, ni, de nos jours, les paroles pourtant percutantes à son sujet de Pierre Jourda<sup>27</sup> et Lucien Febvre<sup>28</sup>”. En todo caso y gracias a los estudios de Henry Heller sobre el importante papel que jugó Briçonnet durante la difícil época que atravesó Europa en los comienzos de los 1530<sup>29</sup>, ha comenzado a emerger un nuevo retrato de Briçonnet. Sin embargo, esta imagen solo pudo ser completada tras la publicación de toda su Correspondance con Margarita (1521-1522 y 1523-1524). Ambos volúmenes publicados por Martineau y Veissière, revelaron a un prelado que había servido como diplomático imparcial entre París y Roma, bajo Luis XII y Francisco I, aunque cultivando ciertas pretensiones galicanas, pero incuestionablemente comprometido con la tarea de reformar la Iglesia de Francia<sup>30</sup>.

L. Febvre ha afirmado, con mucha razón, que sería imposible sacar conclusiones serias a menos que los críticos admitan la identidad fundamental de la vida y obra de Margarita de Navarra<sup>31</sup>. Debo también insistir en una semejante identidad entre el Briçonnet de 1512, cuando fue capaz de lograr que Lefèvre le dedicara sus Comentaries sobre las Epístolas de San Pablo, y el Briçonnet reformador de Meaux, cuando Margarita tuvo que intervenir para defenderle a él y a sus asociados contra las acusaciones de herejía efectuadas por la Sorbona: “(...) que le Roi et Madame i ont bien deliberé de donner à coignostre que la verité de Dieu n'est point heresie” (Correspondance, 1, p. 71).

La verdad es que, desde que la Sorbona interviniera, incluso después de que Briçonnet llegara a condenar la rebelión de Lutero en dos de sus cartas pastorales del 13 de diciembre de 1523 y del 10 de enero de 1524<sup>32</sup>, la comunidad de Meaux se disolvió y Briçonnet, que murió en 1534, nunca se recuperó del impacto que le produjera este evento. Queda todavía una cuestión seria entre algunos críticos: ¿Subestimaron Lefèvre y Margarita al abatido Briçonnet tras esta rendición? Espero que mi estudio muestre que, por lo que se refiere a Margarita, siempre admiró a este hombre que había predicado la necesidad de un cambio dentro de la Iglesia:

“Le feu savoureux crie au dehors de l'Eglise. Il n'est point dedans. La doctrine evangelicque, sy peu encoires qu'elle se communique, c'est



au dehors de l'esperit, par toutes inventions pour complaire et faire noz sectes grandes et nous amplifier. L'Evangile n'est de present que plomb fondu. Il n'est solide comme il est baillé." (Correspondance, 1, pp. 124-125).

En todo caso, siempre mitigaba sus consejos con palabras prudentes, intentando controlar la impaciencia de Margarita: "La prudence est caller [abbaïser les voiles], n'entreprendre ou ne continuer l'oeuvre dont l'issue n'est honorable ne volue" (ibid. 2, p. 127). Sus sentimientos personales se tranquilizaban: "Ung bon edificateur ne bastist pour demolir" (ibid. 2, p. 105), para rechazar cualquier experimento luterano. Mi contribución personal a la rehabilitación de Briçonnet será probar que Margarita le fue fiel hasta el final de su vida, escribiendo versos durante veinte años, así como obras teatrales cortas, que, de una manera o de la otra, ilustran la doctrina de este notable Obispo, su tutor personal.

El profesor M. A. Screech comenta que la razón histórica que hizo fracasar los planes reformadores de Meaux fue "la défaite de Pavie, le 24 février 1525. Si l'on songe que Marguerite d'Alençon et le roi François lui-même avaient accordé leur appui au groupe de Meaux, il est permis de penser que, sans la défaite, Lefèvre d'Etaples et ses disciples auraient pu changer l'histoire religieuse de la France"<sup>33</sup>. Briçonnet perdió la oportunidad de servir de enlace entre la jerarquía y las ideas reformadoras, por lo que no podía sentirse culpable del fiasco. Históricamente, sería erróneo afirmar que Margarita le había elegido para esto, o que él mismo se hubiera introducido en la corte francesa, asumiendo un rol que le superaría, y siempre de un falso misticismo, como parecen sostener algunos críticos<sup>34</sup>. El hecho es que dentro de la corte de Francisco I había una tácita admisión de la necesidad de una renovación interna de la Iglesia si se quería evitar el desastre, pero la Sorbona se mostraba reacia a aceptarlo; por eso le parecieron sospechosas las enseñanzas evangélicas del Miroir, de Margarita, en que las claramente se decía que Cristo es el único Salvador:

"O Jesuchrist, des ames vray pescheur  
Et seul sauveur, amy sur tous amys (...)"  
(Miroir, vv. 1164-1165)

Si Margarita y Lefèvre aplaudieron los esfuerzos de Briçonnet por comenzar un plan serio de reforma empezando por su diócesis de Meaux, fue porque ambos pensaron que la toda la operación saldría a flote, a pesar de la severa oposición de los frailes mendicantes en Meaux y de la Sorbona en París. Martineau y Veissière han seguido estas vicisitudes durante los años 1521 y 1522:

“(…) les espérances d’un plus large développement de la réforme de Meaux apparaissaient brillantes car la Cour de France avait été blessée profondément par l’élection d’Adrian d’Utrecht comme Pape. C’est dans ces circonstances que Briçonnet se rendit à la Cour. Les résultats de ce voyage se traduisirent sans aucun doute dans un ordre émanant du Roy pour que des conciles soient tenus dans les archevêchés du Royaume à partir du 8 mars 1522 (...)”<sup>35</sup>.

El plan no surtió efecto y finalmente las ideas reformadoras de Briçonnet, mezcladas con ciertas pretensiones galicanas que el siempre había cultivado a favor de la hegemonía francesa, se fueron disipando en un clima religioso y político que era desfavorable para sus experimentos reformadores. Su grupo de Meaux fue disuelto en 1525, tras la desastrosa derrota francesa en Pavía<sup>36</sup>.

## II

En 1521, Margarita decidió seguir las enseñanzas de Briçonnet y de sus “protegés” de Meaux. ¿Era esta mujer de treinta años y sin hijos una presa fácil? No se puede pasar por alto su decepción tras casarse con el Duque de Alençon; Jourda escribió sobre él: “Le duc ne pouvait en rien plaire à sa femme: sans culture, il faisait la guerre, paraissait dans le tournois, chassait, mais ne s’intéressait aux choses de l’esprit”<sup>37</sup>. Desde que Margarita acogiera a Marot en 1519, muchos partidarios del cambio encontraron refugio en la corte de esta extraordinaria mujer, hasta su muerte el 21 de diciembre de 1549. No obstante, en 1521, llegó a identificarse con una empresa mística cuyo objetivo era transformar la sociedad francesa mediante un plan evangélico que combinaba los ideales filosóficos que estaban germinando en los círculos neoplatónicos italianos, con conceptos religiosos, como la reforma evangélica de Francia. Cuando, en junio de 1521, Margarita pidió que la aceptaran e iniciaran, ya estaba familiarizada con la quintaesencia de los ideales evangélicos de Briçonnet y Lefèvre, como se evidencia ya en la primera carta de Margarita al Obispo de Meaux:

“Monsieur de Meaulx, cognoissant que ung seul est necessaire, m’adresse à vous pour vous prier envers luy vouloir estre par oraison moien qu’il luy plaise conduire selon la sainte volonté Monsieur d’Alençon qui, par le commandement du Roy, s’en va son lieutenant general en son armée que, je doute, ne se departira sans guerre. Et, pour ce que la paix et la victoire est en sa main, pensant que, outre le bien publicque du royaume, avez bon desir de ce qui touche son salut et le mien, vous emploie en mes affaires et vous demande le secours spirituel” (*Correspondance*, 1, p. 25)<sup>38</sup>.

Es verdad que en la carta pide asesoramiento sobre cuestiones personales a la vez que consolación, ya que su marido iba a la guerra; pero también pide consejo para algo más, que los críticos suelen pasar por alto, a saber, instrucción en temas místicos, como por ejemplo en la naturaleza de Dios como “le Seul Necessaire”, y consuelo espiritual:

“Car il me fault mesler de beaucoup de choses qui me doivent bien donner crainte. Et encores demain s’en va ma tante de Nemours en Savoye. Parquoy, vous faisant les recommandations d’elle et de moi et vous priant que sy congnoissez que le temps fust propre que maistre Michel peult faire ung voiage, ce me seroit consolation que je ne quiers que pour l’honneur de Dieu, le remectant à vostre bonne discretion et la sciencie. La toute voPstre Margerite.” (*ibid.* 1, p. 25)

Margarita, pues aceptó someter su voluntad a la del Maestro, el cual debería decidir lo que creyera más adecuado para ella. Todo estaba calculado y nombraron a Michel d’Arande, uno de los “protégés” del grupo para guiarla en caso de que tuviera dificultades. Ella no ocultaba su impaciencia sin poder esperar mucho tiempo. Briçonnet era más prudente: Michel se encargaría de guiar a la Duquesa, pero más tarde<sup>39</sup>; teniendo en cuenta las cuestiones tratadas en la primera carta de Margarita, no perdió el tiempo, pues empezó casi inmediatamente a instruir a su neófito, tanto en entender la esencia de Dios como en explicarle la naturaleza de la lucha que el alma debe estar dispuesta a hacer para ganar la batalla, transformando así el sentido literal de “guerra” de Margarita en uno espiritual, ya desde su primera epístola:

“(…) car il est sa congnoissance et ne se peult que en luy mesme estre cogneu, qui se communique par sa bonté infinie à ses creatures. (...) D’amour assault d’amour se fault deffendre. La guerre est douce, consuicte par amour. Secours est bon, quant amour l’accompagne. En ce combat, foy mène l’avant-garde, esperance est cottoyant les helles de la bataille, par amour conduicte.” (*ibid.* 1, pp. 26-27)

Briçonnet dio así claramente a conocer su intención de instruirla en la división tripartita de “Fe-Esperanza-Caridad”. Margarita contestó casi inmediatamente (*ibid.* 1, pp. 29-30), aunque esperó a otra misiva de Briçonnet para mostrar su compromiso incondicional. La carta 5 de la Correspondance es, posiblemente, la más importante, ya que Margarita decidía sin ambages someterse a una instrucción formal, usando la expresión técnica “chemin de salut”. Nótese que esta carta empieza, casi como

la primera de la Correspondance, con una petición para poder iniciar su instrucción en la mística:

“Monsieur de Meaulx, je loue de toute ma puissance le seul bien nécessaire, qui, par sa bonté, permect à celle qui se peult dire moins que rien, tant de grace que d’avoir eu, par vostre lettre et celle de Maistre Michel, ocassion de desirer de commencer d’entendre le chemin de salut.” (*ibid.* 1, p. 33).

Michel d’Arande, que era amigo de Lefèvre, se había unido al grupo de Meaux un poco antes de que se iniciara la Correspondance entre Margarita y Briçonnet en junio de 1521. Estaba bien preparado para ayudarla a entender algunos conceptos difíciles que, aunque teóricos, eran necesarios para alcanzar un estado de pureza evangélica de la cual, según Briçonnet y sus socios, carecía la Iglesia. Así resume estas enseñanzas el profesor Screech:

“Elle est d’accord avec Luther au sujet de la justification par la foi seule; elle considère cette foi comme une confiance et une espérance en Dieu et comme un don de Dieu; elle montre une sainte horreur pour tout ce qui risquerait de détourner le fidèle de la vénération de Dieu seul et de Dieu toujours. Surtout, elle n’admet aucune autre source de la vérité chrétienne que la Bible.”<sup>40</sup>

Estas doctrinas aparecen una y otra vez en la Correspondance, aunque expuestas en un extraño lenguaje esotérico, una mezcla de neoplatonismo religioso y misticismo hermético, que es característico de los escritos de Margarita. Lo que quizá no sea del todo acertado sea su insinuación de que Lefèvre y sus amigos estaban emulando de alguna manera la exégesis de la Biblia proclamada por Lutero, como Screech parece sostener<sup>41</sup>, ya que las presentaciones litúrgicas de las Epistres et Evangiles de Lefèvre son meros resúmenes de los sermones que probablemente se habían dado en la Diócesis de Meaux, más que simples comentarios sobre la Biblia. Por lo que yo se, no se ha hecho ningún estudio paralelo entre la Correspondance y las líneas que seguían los sermones de Lefèvre, pero está claro que son muy parecidos y que algunas epístolas parecen ser exposiciones místicas del plan de Lefèvre de evangelización mediante las Epistres et Evangiles<sup>42</sup>: por ejemplo, Margarita pidió “nourriture spirituelle” en su carta 37 a Briçonnet (Correspondance, 1, pp. 193-194), ya que habían terminado los sermones de cuaresma: “...car voiez le caresme loing de nous, les sermons failliz, l’esté revenu...” (*ibid.* 1, p. 194); Briçonnet le respondió con un largo tratado siguiendo la línea de Lefèvre para su sermón de Pascua: “Pour le iour de Pasques: Epistre en

la première aux Corinthiens, Chapitre V”<sup>43</sup>, en la cual Lefèvre insinúa los principales temas de la epístola de Briçonnet, a saber, la interpretación espiritual del paso a través del Mar Rojo, tal y como lo propone San Pablo, y la doctrina mística del “maná-pan”: “Le pain”, dice Lefèvre, “faict ce pain de toute pureté ne peut habiter sinon en lieu pur et net (...)”<sup>44</sup>; Briçonnet lo explica: “(...) ils ne portent avec eulx pain faict avec levain” (es decir con levadura) “et qu’ilz eussent à manger sept jours entiers pain azime” (es decir sin levadura) (*ibid.* 1, p. 201).

Las cartas de Briçonnet siguen a menudo los planes de adaptación litúrgica de las lecturas bíblicas durante el año; por ejemplo, la carta 20, escrita por Briçonnet el 22 de diciembre del año 1521, es un tratado Adviento destinado a preparar a Margarita para la Navidad; contiene una meditación sobre el significado del pesebre: “Là y trouverez le foing sur lequel il repose, assistant l’asne et le bueuf. Par le foing entenderez noz pechéz (...). Par l’asne, la cecité (...). Par le bueuf, l’impuissance de nostre entendement (...)” (*ibid.*, 1, p. 111). Por tanto, las cartas de Briçonnet a la Duquesa no se deben entender independientemente del plan de evangelización de Meaux según Lefèvre. La Correspondance contiene, pues el enfoque del propio Briçonnet, pero constituye, como Febvre nos indica, la doctrina de un grupo:

“La correspondance de Briçonnet n’est pas l’improvisation d’un mystique de second plan, d’un mystique sans originalité profonde, avec une néophyte avide de consolations spirituelles. Ou du moins, elle n’est pas que cela. Elle transmet une doctrine. Et cette doctrine, ce n’est pas la doctrine individuelle d’un homme; c’est la doctrine d’un groupe”.<sup>45</sup>

Las cartas no eran sólo para Margarita, ya que circulaban por la corte, y Filiberto de Nemours era uno de los lectores más entusiastas<sup>46</sup>. Es obvio que Briçonnet quería influenciar a toda la corte, no sólo enviando a Michel d’Arande como predicador, sino aceptando a la propia Margarita dentro de sus planes de evangelización. En la carta 47, por ejemplo, advierte a la Duquesa que no trate tan fervientemente de convertir a su hermano, el Rey, a la causa evangélica. (*ibid.*, 1, pp. 229-230).

Los objetivos de esta larga Correspondance serían varios, además de poder conseguir el apoyo de la corte francesa contra los feroces ataques de los frailes mendicantes de Meaux, quienes acusaban al grupo de difundir doctrinas luteranas en la diócesis<sup>47</sup>. Pero el primer objetivo sería la formación de Margarita en las doctrinas del grupo mediante la técnica de iniciación en un complejísimo “corpus doctrinae”, cuidadosamente pla-

neado que duraría varios años de correspondencia epistolar entre ella y Briçonnet, incluyendo las casi constantes explicaciones “in persona” de Briçonnet mismo, de Michel d’Arande además de Lefèvre<sup>48</sup>.

Ya en 1853, Charles Schmidt mostró claramente los objetivos místicos de la escuela de Meaux en su artículo “Le Mysticisme Quiétiste en France au début de la Réformation sous François Ier: Lefèvre d’Etaples – Guillaume Briçonnet – Marguerite de Navarre – Gérard Roussel – Michel d’Arande – le curé Coq – l’auteur anonyme d’un manuscrit inédit du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle”<sup>49</sup>. Aunque es bastante general, muestra el sistema que se debe seguir en la interpretación de la Correspondance entre Margarita y Briçonnet como un tratado de iniciación mística, siguiendo al Pseudo Dionisio en sus enseñanzas sobre la contemplación espiritual. Otros estudios más recientes han intentado determinar las raíces de las ideas neoplatónicas en la obra de la Reina: Lefranc publicó en 1914 su Marguerite et le Platonisme de la Renaissance<sup>50</sup>, aunque la contribución más importante a este tema viene de la mano de Glori Capello<sup>51</sup> y Christine Martineau, en particular una ponencia que leyó ésta última en el decimosexto “Colloque international d’Etudes Humanistes, Platon et Aristote à la Renaissance” en julio de 1973, publicado recientemente bajo título de “Le Platonisme de Marguerite de Navarre?”<sup>52</sup>. Estoy de acuerdo con este artículo de Martineau, en rechazar el concepto de platonismo que Lefranc aplica a Margarita, demostrando que ni hubo un impacto directo de las obras de Platón en la Reina, como en el caso de Dolet o Bonaventure de Periers<sup>53</sup>, ni se puede hablar en el caso de Margarita de “néoplatonisme amoureux”<sup>54</sup>; el neoplatonismo de Margarita depende exclusivamente de su temprana iniciación a manos de Briçonnet en el neoplatonismo espiritual, que estaba presente en las escuelas místicas de Europa ya desde el siglo III d.c.: “C’est pourquoi”, concluye, “l’étude du néoplatonisme de Marguerite ne peut que passer par l’étude du néoplatonisme de Briçonnet”<sup>55</sup>.

Cuando durante la década de los 1540 sufrió Margarita el impacto de las ideas neoplatónicas al comenzar a la mayoría de sus obras más maduras, La Navire, las Chansons spirituelles, las Prisons y el Heptaméron, simplemente recordaba las primeras memorias (en el sentido platónico) de su temprana iniciación en temas neoplatónicos por Briçonnet<sup>56</sup>. Glori Capello nos ofrece algunos de esos temas tal y como aparecen en la Correspondance con Margarita; los más importantes son:

- 1.- La naturaleza de la esencia de Dios
- 2.- La vía negativa para conocer lo Divino
- 3.- La diferencia entre alma y cuerpo
- 4.- La experiencia mística como forma de ascensión
- 5.- El problema del Mal

6.- El Matrimonio como símbolo de la unión mística del alma con Dios

7.- El conocimiento de Cristo como cumbre de todo conocimiento<sup>57</sup>

Son éstas las doctrinas que aparecerán en la obra de Margarita, y que serán analizadas paso a paso en este trabajo; el Obispo las exponía sistemáticamente, aunque ella, como buena alumna exigía con frecuencia que anticipara temas previstos para ser tratados más tarde; de hecho, muchas cartas del Obispo son respuestas a problemas sugeridos por ella<sup>58</sup>. Desgraciadamente algunos de estos principios han sido interpretados como luteranos no sólo por la Sorbona, que defendía a ultranza la doctrina ortodoxa, sino también por críticos contemporáneos que no están bien informados en exquisiteces teológicas y que siguen todavía insistiendo en la dependencia de Margarita del evangelismo luterano<sup>59</sup>.

### III

Lo que más ha confundido a algunos críticos, ha sido la madurez de su edad cuando Margarita decide empezar a estudiar las ideas evangélicas de la escuela de Meaux, mediante un lenguaje esotérico, con su marcado hermetismo y la religiosidad neoplatónica; los críticos están más interesados en encontrar explicaciones psicológicas a esa total determinación, que en la manera en la que esto ocurrió. Ella estaba llegando a los treinta, y tras una vida sin sentido, según algunos amorosa con sus cortesanos, trató de refugiarse en una conversión religiosa. Era cariñosa, y Clément Marot loaba a menudo su don de amistad y su generosidad:

“A qui diray ma douleur ordinaire,  
Synon à toy, Princesse debonnaire,  
Qui m’as nourri et souvent secouru  
Avant qu’avoir devers toy recouru?  
A qui diray le regret qui entame  
Mon cueur de fraiz, synonym à toy, Madame,  
Que j’ay trouvée en ma première oppresse  
(Par dit et fait) plus mère que maistresse?<sup>60</sup>

Marot defiende con insistencia la rectitud moral de su persona dentro de una corte llena de “intrigas amorosas”, y Génin argumenta igualmente que “la vertu de Marguerite n’en a souffert aucune atteinte” debido a las alabanzas y deseos de sus admiradores<sup>61</sup>, ni tienen ningún fundamento las sospechas de una relación incestuosa con su hermano Francisco<sup>62</sup>, para con quien tuvo ella sus más calurosos sentimientos.<sup>63</sup>

Es verdad que en 1930 Pierre Jourda acabó con toda sospecha sobre sus “liaisons sentimentales” fuera del matrimonio<sup>64</sup>, insistiendo más bien en un “retour du royaume vers Dieu”, más que en una crisis de conciencia en el alma de Margarita; pero el mito todavía persiste, si bien con menos fuerza. Vale la pena subrayar que cuando la Princesa se dirigió al Obispo de Meaux pidiendo ayuda, ella no cambió al decidir ser iniciada en los principios evangélicos de Meaux, ni renunció a los placeres de la amistad, ni renunció a la hermosura de la naturaleza y del arte, dando la bienvenida a escritores como Rabelais, reformadores religiosos como Calvino, o escritores y poetas neoplatónicos como Héroet o Charles de Sainte-Marthe. Afortunadamente, poseemos un poema autobiográfico escrito por Margarita, las Prisons de la Reine de Navarre, que testifica el cambio que ocurrió en su corazón en 1521, cuando preparó su mente para seguir la llamada de Briçonnet a aceptar la verdad evangélica y el disfrute de la más alta perfección. Las Prisons de Margarita solo tienen sentido si se interpretan no como un rechazo al amor y a la sabiduría, sino como el deseo de una mayor forma más perfecta del conocimiento<sup>65</sup>. Digamos, de una vez por todas, que no se puede hablar de una crisis en su vida alrededor de 1521, o que hubiera problemas conflictivos desde 1525 a 1527, tal y como ha supuesto Capiton, creando así la teoría de las diversas “crisis” en la conciencia de Margarita<sup>66</sup>. Habrá que volver sobre esto, ya que dicha teoría ni explica su continuo lazo con Meaux a lo largo de sus obras poéticas, ni la iniciación por la que pasó desde junio de 1521, cuando decidiera, a ojos ciegos, aceptar las ideas del grupo reformador de Meaux.

Hay un elemento común en todo tipo de iniciación en la vida espiritual, que separa al iniciado del no iniciado, obligándole a menudo bajo promesa de secreto. “Those things”, Pseudo-Dionisio escribe en su Mystical Theology, “thou must not disclose to any of the uninitiated, by whom I mean those who cling to the objects of human thought, and imagine there is no super-essential reality beyond”<sup>67</sup>. Algunos de los iniciados llevaron una vida normal, a menos que hicieran su votos públicamente, como era el caso de miembros de las terceras órdenes<sup>68</sup>. Ante todo, debían aceptar la total rendición de su voluntad a Dios y al Maestro:

“Voiant que au Tout (prometió Margarita) n’estes rien et croiant vostre rien encloz dedans le Tout, me vueulx soubzmectre à ce qui sera par vostre rien dict, le tenant de la main du Tout, vous querant prier pour mon moins que rien, affin que l’eau puisse estre convertie en vin et que l’abisme par l’abisme invocqué puisse abismer” (Correspondance, 1, p. 134)



Normalmente, se requiere que el neófito lo solicite formalmente, pero en casos excepcionales, el principiante puede ser aceptado poco después de iniciarse los primeros contactos.

“Monsieur de Meaulx, je loue de toute ma puissance le seul bien necessaire, qui, par sa bonté, permet à celle qui se peult dire moins que rien, tant de grace que d’avoir eu, par vostre lettre et celle de Maistre Michel, occasion de desirer commencer d’entendre le chemin de salut” (*ibid.* 1, p. 33)<sup>69</sup>.

Poco después, Briçonnet preparó un plan general de instrucción, comenzando por enviarle textos de lectura en forma de tratados místicos que Margarita leería con la ayuda de una persona iniciada. Desgraciadamente, no sabemos que tipo de lectura le enviaron, ya que no han aparecido ni los tratados místicos ni la copia de la Carta 2A seguramente porque fueron enviadas a Filiberta de Nemours, quien también estaba interesada en seguir con interés la iniciación mística de Margarita.. Ella sí hace mención de haber recibido los textos de lectura: “(...) je vous prie ne vous ennuyer de continuer. Car j’ay receu tous les traictz [léase “*traités*”] que m’avez envoié, desquels ma tante de Nemours a eu sa part (...)” (*ibid.* 1, p. 30). Poco más tarde recibió más material: “Madame (escribió Briçonnet), je vous envoie le double d’unes lettres que escripvoit quelque pere<sup>70</sup> à ses filles spirituelles, qui peuvent vous ayder à parvenir à la fin que dessus” (*ibid.* 1, p. 36)

Es muy probable que algunos de los tratados que recibiera Margarita fueran las obras místicas del Pseudo Dionisio. El grupo de Meaux las consideraba como las más importantes después de la Biblia<sup>71</sup>: “Monsieur saint Denis faict ung singulièrement beau chappitre, auquel il monstre aussy clerement que le soleil que mal n’est point et que mal comme mal ne subsiste point (...)” (*ibid.* 1, p. 149), convirtiéndose en uno de los elementos básicos de la teología mística<sup>72</sup>. Varios autores han criticado la iniciación de Margarita en las enseñanzas del Pseudo Dionisio, las cuales, según Heller, “formed an important part of Marguerite’s instruction from Briçonnet”<sup>73</sup>. Martineau ha sido más específico, cayendo en la cuenta de que había aprendido el platonismo de él, pero que su verdadero origen estaba en las enseñanzas del Pseudo Dionisio<sup>74</sup>, y de Nicolas de Cusa, como sugiere Cappello<sup>75</sup>. Un riguroso análisis del difícil vocabulario de Margarita, particularmente el que desarrolló en sus obras más maduras de los 1540, como las Prisons, confirmarán que las ideas místicas de Briçonnet aparecerán posteriormente en sus obras ya que Margarita había sido aceptada en una escuela de pensamiento que concebía a Dios como inmanente en el alma a la vez que manteniéndose trascendente<sup>76</sup>.

Otra técnica muy relacionada con la lectura de tratados místicos era la asignación de un asistente en el largo proceso de iniciación; Briçonnet asumió la importante tarea de instruirla, pero al mismo tiempo adoptó el procedimiento tradicional de nombrar un “expositeur” de sus ideas, el cual permanecería junto a Margarita para explicarle algunos de los puntos más complicados: “Le souldain partement de Maistre Michel (*de Meaux a la corte de Margarita*) excusera le surplus, lequel vous dira quelques propos auquel vous plaira pourveoir” (*ibid.* 1, p. 70). Michel d’Arande se convirtió pronto en el comentarista oral, y en la verdadera conexión entre la corte de Margarita y Meaux: en la Carta 7 escrita por ella, reconoce que ciertos temas le habían resultado más fáciles de entender “avec l’aide de l’expositeur (*Michel d’Arande*) que m’avez laissé, dont tant mon ame vous est tenue, d’estudier vostre lesson (...)” (*ibid.* 1, p. 37). Las ideas de Michel eran más radicales que las de Briçonnet, quien siempre había predicado moderación pues, al fin y al cabo, tenía que obedecer las órdenes de la Sorbona. Margarita confesaba en febrero de 1522 que Michel había vuelto de Meaux más bien suavizado: “J’ay trouvé Maistre Michel amendé et adoulcy. Et ce que je ne sçay je puis. J’espere que celluy le fera que je desire commancer à desirer” (*ibid.* 1, p. 164)<sup>77</sup>. Michel d’Arande, el “expositeur” enviado de Briçonnet a Margarita, permaneció junto a ella incluso tras la disolución del grupo de Meaux, compartiendo con ella la amarga lucha de 1533 contra la Sorbona, tal y como explicaremos en el capítulo especial dedicado a la suerte que corrió su Miroir, obra dirigida a la difusión de las ideas de Meaux, la cual había sido interpretada como un tratado pro-luterano por la Sorbona.

Al menos entre 1521 y 1524, Briçonnet fue sin lugar a dudas el Maestro de Margarita. Febvre, con bastante acierto, ha sugerido que existió una especie de interacción entre Margarita y Briçonnet durante el proceso de iniciación, a los que llama “ce grand duo mystique”, ya que algunos temas se repiten del uno al otro, como si se tratara de un juego de ecos que hace difícil determinar quién es el maestro y quién el aprendiz<sup>78</sup>; pero como resultado del proceso Margarita aprende una nueva lección. En la Carta 53, escrita por ella, se puede encontrar un buen ejemplo de esta compleja técnica, al recordarle que le había prometido un tratado sobre el significado místico de los “trois baisiers”: “(...) de vous prier que par escript veuillez refreschir la debile memoire des trois baisiers, bien que trop indigne est d’en oïr parler vostre inutile mere” (*ibid.* 2, p. 53). ¿Quién había sido el primero en sugerir el tema de palabra, Briçonnet o Margarita? El Obispo de Meaux esperó un poco y el 21 de julio de 1523 escribiría: “... en la contemplation des trois myrouers divins [las tres personas de la Trinidad] qui sont sans confussion...”, confesando que esta doctrina era demasiado difícil de explicar por escrito (*ibid.* 2, p. 139).

Toda la Correspondance está llena de referencias a una doble iniciación, oral y escrita, y Margarita comentaba: “Ainsi que la brebis en país estrange errant, ignorant sa pasture par mescognoissance des nouveaulx pasteurs (...)” (*ibid.* 1, p. 37); Briçonnet acepta inmediatamente el tema en una larga carta-tratado: “Madame, la fecundité de voz lettres est sy grande que par une ne pourrois, ne par plusieurs, venans de mon ignorance, y satisfaire (...) Il est plusieurs sortes de brebis errantes” (*ibid.* 1, p. 41).

Briçonnet no escogió la palabra “fecundité” al azar; es, de hecho, la clave de uno de los acertijos más desconcertantes de toda la Correspondance; Margarita anhelaba tanto recibir las cartas de Briçonnet que anunció varios de los temas que el Obispo iba a desarrollar en forma de cartas-tratado, pero la voz de Briçonnet siempre se impone para ser considerado la verdadera fuente de las ideas de la Correspondance. Fue por tanto normal que Margarita asumiera el rol de alumna y de hija cuando comenzaron a intercambiarse las cartas entre la corte francesa y Meaux. La 3, escrita por Margarita, concluye: “La toute vostre fille, Marguerite” (*ibid.* 1, p. 30) que fue inmediatamente reprochada por Briçonnet: “De Dieu seul estes fille et espouze” (*ibid.* 1, p. 32). Ella parece aceptarlo, aunque pronto vuelve a “(...) vostre bonne fille” (*ibid.* 1, p. 49); luego, las cartas de Briçonnet toman un extraño giro platónico, invirtiendo la idea de filiación, al considerar el alma de Margarita un terreno fértil para sus ideas, y un punto de partida, por así decirlo, para su propia ascensión mística. La carta 18, escrita por él el 22 de diciembre de 1521 en respuesta al “vostre pauvre fille” de Margarita, dice: “Et de ce, Madame, non contente par le porteur (Michel d’Arande), accusez ma negligence que par voz excuses stimulez maternellement” (*ibid.* 1, p. 77), reanudando de esta manera el tema que había anunciado en la Carta 9, escrita el 24 de octubre de 1521: “Madame, la fecundité de voz lettres est sy grande que par une ne pourrois (...) y satisfaire” (*ibid.* 1, p. 41). Este tema místico tiene muchas variantes pues puede aparecer como “viscerallement”:

“Parquoy, Madame, je supplie au seul innominable et de tous noms nominable que en sa mort mourant soiez en son corps tellement inserée que l’effect soit correspondant à vostre non et indissoluble union avec vostre triumphant chief, pour, avec luy resuscitée, l’aymer viscerallement de tout vostre coeur, pour estre à jamais marguerite luisante au fimament d’éternité...” (*ibid.* 1, p. 213)<sup>79</sup>

Briçonnet reconoce la fertilidad espiritual de Margarita, siguiendo sin duda el mito de la perla creada dentro de la concha, perfecta en su redondez. La adopción de la Margarita-Madre debe relacionarse, por tanto, con el simbolismo hermético de la Margarita-Perla, que aparecerá en

muchos textos de la obra poética de Margarita<sup>80</sup>. Al referirse a este tipo de iniciación que estamos ahora estudiando, la fertilidad en el alma del alumno puede sugerir temas en la mente del Maestro: “Mais desirant comme filz subvenir à ma pauvre mendiant et bonne mere, (il) ne m’est rien, soubz la protection du bon Seigneur qui a commandé honorer pere et mere, difficile, qui me donnera à cognoistre vous pouvoir servir et estre necessaire” (*ibid.* 2, p. 13)<sup>81</sup>.

Herminjard sugirió que la “haute naissance” de Margarita le autorizó el título de Margarita-Madre que Briçonnet ya reconoció en enero de 1524 como “vostre vieille mere”<sup>82</sup>. Se puede, sin embargo explicar más fácilmente, como dice Capello, como una “preciosité” común entre los místicos medievales<sup>83</sup>. Durante el año 1524, cuando Briçonnet la instruía más en detalles a Margarita, ella se consideraba siempre como “vostre inutile mere, Marguerite” (*ibid.* 2, p. 108).

Si he mencionado en detalle del desarrollo del “fille-père” y del “mère-filz”<sup>84</sup>, ha sido para mostrar cómo se enriquecía la Correspondance cada momento adoptando una técnica de repetición, tanto de parte de Briçonnet como de Margarita. Expresiones similares se entremezclaban igualmente: ella podía llamarse a sí misma la “pauvre aveugle” (*ibid.* 1, p. 37), “foible” (*ibid.* 1, p. 63), “indiscrete” (*ibid.* 1, p. 64), “doublement maladé” (*ibid.* 1, p. 71), por usar unos cuantos símbolos místicos, escogidos para hacer progresar a Margarita a través de los difíciles y sinuosos temas que los antiguos maestros habían utilizado tradicionalmente; se puede, pues, considerar al Obispo de Meaux como uno de los últimos eslabones entre la espiritualidad medieval y la nueva espiritualidad que iba a surgir a partir de la Reforma de Lutero y de la Contrarreforma de Ignacio de Loyola; todo ello lo explicó Briçonnet utilizando ciertos conceptos que formarán más tarde el núcleo de los temas poéticos de Margarita como se verá con más detalle en el Capítulo 6.

## IV

La escuela de Meaux, y más específicamente su moderador y Obispo, Briçonnet, había criticado fríamente todos los abusos eclesiásticos, así como la falta de rigor monástico del medievo tardío; no obstante, no llegaron tan lejos como su homólogo Martin Lutero y los reformadores nortños, quienes rompieron drásticamente con su pasado. Briçonnet creía de corazón en la moderación: “(...) que Martin Luther, qui en renverse, tout l’ordre hiérarchique (escribió en el Decreto Sinodal del 15 de octubre de 1523) bouleverser et détruit l’état qui contient tous les autres dans le devoir (...)”<sup>85</sup>. Sobre todo nunca rompió, como Lutero, con la tradición

mística de la Iglesia medieval, para proteger la verdad evangélica: “(...) et [Luther] méprise tous ceux des anciens qu’il trouve contraires à ses ténérités”<sup>86</sup>.

No cabe la menor duda de que Briçonnet, en clara oposición al puro evangelismo de Lutero, había adoptado desde el comienzo como método de instruir a Margarita, el usado por los maestros místicos tradicionales incluyendo el platonismo religioso irrumpiera en la Iglesia primitiva. A menudo adoptó el concepto neoplatónico de Ascensión Mística como medio de llegar a la cumbre de la simplicidad evangélica<sup>87</sup>. De la primera a la última carta de la Correspondance, se trata de presentarle a Margarita la enseñanza tradicional de los místicos sobre la purificación interna del hombre. El alma debe llegar, poco a poco, a las altas esferas que están por encima del mundo de los sentidos: “l’ame est sourde, aveugle, sans goust et odorement, aussy paralyticque”, pero, antes de llegar al conocimiento de Dios, deberá pasar por fases dolorosas: “et, par ce, morte par l’absence de son necessaire, qui n’est que ung seul object, vie, sentiment, odeur, goust, veue et oÿe.” (*ibid.*, 2, p. 36).

Margarita fue iniciada paulatinamente a través de esta purificación de los cinco sentidos, a fin de lograr la unión perfecta con lo Divino. A este proceso se le llamaba “chemin”, “sentier” y “voie” (*ibid.*, 1, p. 134-135), describiendo el doloroso ascenso de llegar a la cumbre de una alta montaña, por así decir. Habría varias etapas en esta subida, y analizando cuidadosamente las cartas de Briçonnet, se puede observar este proceso a través de cuatro encabezamientos, que serían los diferentes periodos por los que debería pasar Margarita. Si bien desde el comienzo de su iniciación se puede ver a la Margarita de la Correspondance más exigente que neófita, tuvo finalmente que doblegarse a aceptar las cuatro etapas en la *ascensión*:

1ª fase: Margarita debía conseguir la purificación interna del mundo de los sentidos.

2ª fase: Su alma podría entonces proceder al segundo proceso de iluminación de la mente.

3ª fase: Un paso más y tendría que dejarse absorber por el Espíritu para lograr entender los sentidos superiores de las Escrituras.

4ª fase: El alma llegaría finalmente a la cima, alcanzando la perfecta unión con lo Divino. Esto se conseguiría sólo en el momento de la muerte, que Briçonnet interpretaba como encuentro con la Verdad.

Estas cuatro fases no se distinguen claramente en la Correspondance, probablemente porque Margarita ya estaba familiarizada con las lecturas místicas, como muestra su primera carta a Briçonnet; además, como ya hemos mencionado, ella proponía las ideas, y a menudo anunciaba los temas que Briçonnet debía desarrollar en sus cartas-tratado. En todo caso el Obispo trataba de controlar el material, presentándolo paso a paso, anunciando primero el tema antes de proceder a su aclaración.

Un buen ejemplo de esta técnica es la manera cómo inició el Obispo a Margarita en el sentido superior o espiritual de la Biblia: Ya en 1522, ella se creyó preparada para comenzar la tercera fase de su formación para lo que él le sugirió la lectura de algunos complicados pasajes de las Escrituras: “... digerez tous les passaiges moult haultz et sublimes contenans nostre redemption”. (*ibid.*, 1, p. 202). Luego, esperó hasta 1523 para comenzar con las verdaderas instrucciones:

“Croiez, Madame, que l’Escripture Saincte est aultre marchandise que plusieurs ne cuydent. Ce que l’on y voist et cognoist est le moins de ce qui y est, et jusques à present n’en a esté trouvé, ne sera le fonds de l’intelligence. Car toute l’Escripture Saincte est ou spirituelle seulement, sans intelligence litterale, ou litterale sans la spirituelle (et bien peu), ou litterale et spirituelle ensemble” (*ibid.*, 2, p. 13).

En todo caso la preparación necesaria para entender todas las complejidades de la hermenéutica mística duraría dos largos años, y tal y como veremos en el Capítulo 5, Margarita fue leal a la interpretación mística de la Biblia al llamarse “la Ravie de Dieu, Bergère” como aparece en su obra Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan. Briçonnet incluso le había sugerido la ayuda de Lefèvre, un experto hermenéutica de la Biblia: “...envoiez la au Fabre qui se tient en vostre edict hermitaige.”, (*Corr.*, 2, p. 14), ya que la iniciación en la comprensión mística de la Biblia era considerada la tarea más difícil, tal y como Briçonnet le explicaba en abril de 1524, mostrándole cómo los discípulos de Jesús no pudieron entender el significado de sus palabras en el momento de la ascensión: “Je ne suis esbahy si les disciples ne povoient entendre l’absence de leur Bon Pasteur estre necessaire (...) le paovre orphelin charnel ne peult entendre ce propos...” (*ibid.*, 2, pp. 154-155).

En julio de aquel año, Margarita pidió a Briçonnet que le escribiera una carta-tratado sobre el significado de la letra Mem del alfabeto Hebreo<sup>88</sup>, el símbolo del significado espiritual de la Escritura: “... me faire capable et donner le temps d’oïr la parolle que l’Escripture faict desirer.

Et je vous prie m'envoyer la lettre mem escripte en hebrieu, ouverte et cloze, en grosse forme..." (*ibid.*, 2, p. 229). Margarita interpreta cabalísticamente el hecho de que la letra Hebrea esté escrita de esta manera, y dice que tiene un significado obvio (abierto) y otro secreto (cerrado). De todas maneras, Briçonnet esperó hasta septiembre de aquel año para explicarle a Margarita que la trigésimo-tercera letra del alfabeto Hebreo, Mem, significaba "Mesías", (*ibid.*, 2, p. 213), y la carta 120 es un largo tratado en el que se interpretan cabalísticamente varios pasajes de la Biblia, pues los números del texto del Antiguo Testamento se referirían al año de nacimiento de Cristo (*ibid.*, 2, pp. 277-278). Sin duda, el Obispo quería probar la coherencia del simbolismo espiritual de los números, muy por encima de los hechos históricos de las Escrituras, si bien sería difícil probar que Magarita era capaz de seguir todas las explicaciones de Briçonnet por aquel entonces.

Lo que está claro es que Briçonnet introdujo a Margarita a todos estos conocimientos esotéricos mediante un detallado plan de instrucción. A finales de 1521, tal y como atestiguan las cartas 18-21 (*ibid.*, 1, pp. 76-128), Margarita fue iniciada en las dos primeras etapas, mediante los símbolos místicos del "Agua" y de "Fuego", que se tratarán más en detalle en el Capítulo 5 sobre las Prisons. En febrero de 1522, Margarita estaba ya lista para entender las explicaciones sobre el significado del símbolo del "Maná", que representa, según Briçonnet (*Corr.*, 1, pp. 138-153), un paso más allá en el proceso de comprensión mística. Sin embargo, y por un breve espacio de tiempo, la instrucción en la hermenéutica bíblica se detuvo, y los tratados sobre la Unión Perfecta con lo Divino, simbolizada por el sacramento del matrimonio llegaron a Margarita en julio de 1524 (*ibid.*, 2, pp. 196-198)<sup>89</sup>.

La cumbre de toda esta instrucción mediante símbolos místicos estaba reservada para el final, y la letra MEM podría contener la clave de varios pasajes difíciles que hay en las obras herméticas de Margarita. Podría ser un monograma de la Marguerite-Mère (Margarita-Madre) o una metáfora para el conocimiento esotérico de la Biblia. El propio Briçonnet sugiere que hay una conexión entre el nombre de la Princesa y el significado espiritual de la Escritura: "L'intelligence spirituelle est la marguerite caschée, laquelle (...) en se communique à chascun et n'en congnoissent la valeur et excellence" (*ibid.*, 2, p. 13). Margarita estaba fascinada con el sonido M en las aliteraciones de vocablos como "amour" y "mort", utilizadas ambas en su Dialogue y en el Miroir<sup>90</sup>. La letra Hebrea "MEM" de la Correspondance no es simplemente la quintaesencia de la enseñanza mística de Briçonnet, también podría ser el monograma secreto del simbolismo hermético de Margarita. ¿Qué podría significar, si no la adop-

ción por parte de la alumna -aunque de mala gana al principio-, del título de madre de Briçonnet, la madre-perla que contenía el significado secreto de la preciosa margarita como explicaba Mateo 7, 6: “No deis lo sagrado a los perros, no echéis vuestras perlas a los cerdos, no sea que las pisoteen y después se vuelvan para destrozaros”<sup>91</sup>?. Parece que la obra más polémica de Margarita, cuyo título comienza por M, el Miroir, poema que guarda una estrecha relación con el significado hermético del símbolo de la Margarita-Perla<sup>92</sup>, comparte también el emblema de la letra Hebrea “MEM”, ya que el “mirouer” perfecto es aquel que refleja más claramente el significado de la imagen.. Yo incluso sugeriría que el título de la obra de teatro más hermética de Margarita, la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, contiene el monograma Mem en el nombre del sitio: Mont-de-Marsan; el emplazamiento debió recordarle a Margarita tanto su propio monograma como el tema principal de las últimas cartas de Briçonnet. Más tarde demostraré que los críticos no han logrado adivinar que la Comédie contiene los principios herméticos de Briçonnet plasmados en cuatro personajes, pues parece que la compuso al releer los textos de la Correspondance de Briçonnet como fiel reflejo de la compleja técnica de su iniciación mística entre 1521 y 1524.

Habrà que tener en cuenta que Margarita y Briçonnet nos hablan a los lectores de ahora mediante acertijos un tanto absurdos, cuyos significados habrá que descifrar si se pretende hacer un análisis preciso. De todas maneras, a Briçonnet se le ha criticado más injustamente que a Margarita: En 1841, F. Genin describió su correspondencia como “l’oeuvre d’un fou”<sup>93</sup> y esta visión parcial ha influido en varias afirmaciones sobre el Obispo de Meaux. Tan sólo recientemente su epistolario ha encontrado críticos más moderados, en especial Martineau y Veissière. Heller en particular notó que no sólo sus cartas eran demasiado extensas, sino que Margarita comparte con él la prolijidad del lenguaje, típica de los primeros Renacentistas; su estilo está colmado de metáforas, alegorías y extrañas paradojas, que era la forma de escribir de entonces, si bien no puede criticarse antes de ser debidamente analizada.<sup>94</sup>

Y sin embargo resulta inexplicable que Briçonnet, siendo capaz de escribir cartas normales a todo tipo de personas, incluso a los clérigos de su diócesis, como dice Heller<sup>95</sup>, y Margarita, que lograba expresarse con exactitud en el resto de su epistolario<sup>96</sup>, logran urdir semejante himno a la locura. Ni el obispo pretende pulir sus carta a la princesa, ni ésta se preocupa de presentar sus escritos como como una obra literaria acabada. Arthur Tiller anotaría al escribir sobre el Heptameron de Margarita que carece a ojos vistas de proporción artística, de intencionada concentración, o de la fuerza dramática necesaria para escribir novelas cor-



tas<sup>97</sup>. Quizás, siguiendo a Heller, semejantes artilugios sean deliberados: “Those critics who have found Briçonnet’s style so reprehensible, have really missed the point, since briçonnet, in accord with Pseudo-Dionysius, was deliberately using nonsense and gibberish as a means of religious expression”.<sup>98</sup>

Indudablemente nuestro concepto de primor en una obra literaria difiere considerablemente de la opinión de los contemporáneos de Briçonnet y de Margarita. Clément Marot es un buen ejemplo cuando la elogia sin reservas:

Par devers qui prendront mes vers leur course  
Synon vers toi, déloquence la source,  
 Qui les entens sans les falloir glosser  
 El qui en scais de meilleurs composer?<sup>99</sup>

Un lector moderno se sentirá menos dispuesto a ignorar sus sortilegios que un contemporáneo de Margarita. Marot, por citar a uno de ellos, logra identificar su hechizo personal con su estilo característico por razones personales pues se trataba de su mecenas. De hecho Margarita no había escogido como modelos a seguir ni a Platón ni a ninguno de los clásicos, como lo hicieran otros escritores del siglo XVI; se le nota la falta de organización de Lutero, Erasmo y Lefèvre, cuando imita el estilo de Briçonnet, gran admirador de los “*rétoriqueurs*” y de enigmas herméticos, que son frecuentes en los textos dionisiacos. Capiton vio claramente la influencia del modelo que ella había escogido y trató de disuadir a Margarita de no imitar el estilo de Briçonnet, cuando le advirtió ya en 1528 en su “Dedicace” a su *Commentarius in Hoseam Prophetam*, tratando de ganarla para la causa luterana: “Vous avez également éprouvé combien cette philosophie de haute volée (e. i. las ideas de Briçonnet)<sup>100</sup> apporte avec elle de fatigue et combien elle prouve peu de satisfaction” (Herminjard, 2, p. 122); por el contrario el análisis de la obra de Margarita revela que todas sus obras reflejan y explican las ideas de Briçonnet; las cartas-tratados serán la fuente de todas sus obras, desde su primera obra el *Dialogue*, hasta sus escritos más maduros, el *Miroir*, la *Comedie des innocents*, el *Triumphe de l’Agneau*, la *Comedie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan* y su obra maestra *les Prisons*. Incluso las que simulan ser interpretaciones platónicas de la naturaleza del amor humano como el *Heptameron*,<sup>101</sup> deben leerse como influidas por las ideas de Briçonnet sobre la comedia humana. Si su concepción del ser humano como “recipiente” en el *Navire*, sugiere conceptos platónicos ¿No fue Briçonnet quien quien le escribió: “Les deux navires sont l’âme et le corps, uniz par grandeur et charité; les compaignons sont les sens de l’esperit et du corps, par lesquelz ezcercent

respectivement leurs operations, predominant l'âme, et seulle geçant le tetz et, apres la prinse, appellant le navire corporel...." (Correspondance, 2, p. 45).

Sólo pretendo desenmarañar la red de ideas y símbolos herméticos que abundan en las cartas de Briçonnet para la joven princesa y en las obras místicas de ésta, familiarizando al lector moderno con ciertos temas para facilitar su lectura. Parece seguro que Briçonnet y Margarita escribieron se Correspondance con miras a publicarla si la Sorbonne no hubiera intervenido contra la causa de Meaux en 1525, y que si los contemporáneos de Margarita lograron apreciar sus escritos:

Suffise vous, ò lecteurs, de savoir  
Que c'est la fleur du monde  
(Oraison funèbre, op. Cit., p.131)

No hay razón para que el lector moderno no acepte de buen grado sus artilugios, finuras de estilo, paradojas, significados ocultos, enigmas místicos, símbolos herméticos que forman parte de una de las obras más sorprendentes de comienzos del Renacimiento francés. El análisis detallado de cuatro de sus obras, seguido del estudio más detallado de su simbología poética, ayudará sin duda a interpretar el complejo mundo de ideas de finales del Medievo y el comienzo de los ideales más cercanos a nosotros que siguieron a los tiempos de Margarita.

En todo caso no hay que separar el problema del estilo del tema central del compromiso de Margarita de defender el ideario místico de la escuela de Meaux. Se verá claro en cada uno de los cuatro capítulos que siguen, la conexión entre su pensamiento místico y su forma de expresarlo mientras que el capítulo sexto servirá para explicar más en detalle la relación entre los años de iniciación bajo la égida de Briçonnet entre 1521 y 1524, y el uso continuo de símbolos y paradojas herméticas. No obstante las ideas mística de Margarita no aparecerán como tratados espirituales, sino como obras literarias, y espero, a través del análisis de sus poemas y obras de teatro poder presentar un "corpus doctrinae" que permita emplazar a Margarita entre los escritores místicos de su generación.

**CAPÍTULO SEGUNDO:**  
**el Diálogo en forma de visión nocturna**  
**como ilustración del “Hágase tu voluntad”**

**I**

La primera obra poética importante de Margarita que poseemos es su Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne. Puede ser que no aparezca como un poema particularmente bello debido a que se concentra más bien en expresar sus ideas con claridad a la vez que describiendo su estado de ánimo después de una serie de tragedias familiares, más que expresando sus sentimientos poéticos<sup>102</sup>: Su estilo no carece de cierto atractivo cuando se deja llevar por ciertos temas a través de una serie de imágenes que describen su estado de ánimo en aquellos momentos<sup>103</sup>. Técnicamente, no obstante, el poema ha de considerarse como una innovación al introducir la “terza rima” en el francés<sup>104</sup>.

Margarita se encontraba todavía bajo la influencia de las enseñanzas de Briçonnet, por lo que intentó lo que bien pudiera llamarse la primera tentativa de una alumna precoz ya casi preparada para liberarse. Ya en 1927 Pierre Jourda había sugerido que había suficientes indicios de que el origen del Dialogue habría sido una de las cartas de Briçonnet a Margarita poco después de la muerte en Blois de la princesa Charlotte<sup>105</sup>. Más recientemente Christine Martineau y Christian Grouzelle han desarrollado esta idea probando que la mayoría de las ideas del Dialogue provienen de una de las cartas de Briçonnet:

“Marguerite a composé son Dialogue sous l’impression de la lettre de Briçonnet du 15 septembre 1524, qui s’en révèle être la source directe. Sur cette première affirmation il est inutile de nous attarder: parmi les notes mises à l’édition celles qui signalent les recoupements entre les deux montrent avec évidence que les principaux thèmes et développements de l’épître du prélat sont passés dans le poème de la Duchesse d’Alençon.”<sup>106</sup>

Margarita había escrito al Obispo de Meaux contándole cómo la joven princesa se le había aparecido al Rey Francisco hablandole en un sueño poco después de su muerte: “Adieu mon Roy, je voy en paradis...” (Correspondance, 2, p. 272). Briçonnet le contestó con una carta de condolencia en la que le daba consejos sobre cómo debe afrontar un cristiano el problema de la muerte<sup>107</sup>. Poco después menciona Margarita en una de sus cartas, fechada en octubre de 1524, que tenía el borrador de un texto que le gustaría que lo leyera Briçonnet y le diera su opinión: “Et si Dieu veult

que quelque chose commencee soit finée, bien que mal et mauvais langage, vous en auriez le pouvoir de correction, où vous voirrez le debat que me faictes avant l'avoir veu estre, non si bien mais suivant vostre propos, comme si en pareil temps l'Esperit avoit aux deux parle..." (*ibid.*, 2, p. 292)

¿Escribió, pues Margarita su Dialogue, como había inicialmente sugerido Jourda para influir al Rey en favor del grupo de Meaux?<sup>108</sup> O ¿no sería más bien su intención, como hace pensar esta carta, que fuera un ejercicio para describir místicamente los escritos de Briçonnet? Yo más bien me inclinaría a pensar que con este poema quiso Margarita probar que ya era discípula aventajada como para no necesitar más la correspondencia cotidiana con él. Algunos críticos no han logrado entender debidamente ni la primera sumisión de Margarita al prelado de Meaux, en 1521, ni la aparente ruptura de la Correspondance poco después de la escritura del Dialogue. Era totalmente normal renunciar a la sumisión total de la voluntad al maestro después de un periodo de prueba, como se puede observar en las órdenes religiosas en las que se requiere que el novicio pase algún tiempo que suele variar de uno a tres años de casi total sumisión. Briçonnet usa de hecho la metáfora de la Ablatación, dando a entender que las miras de sus enseñanzas eran el crecer y avanzar (*ibid.*, 2, p.175) ¿No pretendería Margarita probar que para septiembre de 1524 ya había aprendido las lecciones de iniciación? Su Dialogue al menos es una prueba de que quería que Briçonnet supiera que ya era capaz de expresar por sí misma los sentimientos de dolor más independientemente que con las cartas de la Correspondance.

Un análisis del Dialogue sugiere que Margarita se expresa a diferentes niveles; pues no solamente se lamenta de la muerte de Charlotte en septiembre de 1524 o expresa sus ideas sobre la muerte y la vida, sino que se deja llevar todo el tiempo por otras consideraciones. Sin embargo habrá que analizar el poema ordenándolo de alguna manera si se quiere defender su unidad, pues no se trata de una serie confusa de temas apilados en 1293 versos, sino de un conato de organización de ideas alrededor de un punto central. Yo sugeriría hacerlo a tres niveles teniendo en cuenta que tales divisiones son siempre artificiosas y que Margarita no es siempre lógica u ordenada en lo que escribe, aunque tenga siempre cuidado al comenzar y terminar con el mismo motivo, en nuestro caso con "muerte y vida" (Dialogue, vv.1-2 and 1279-1291).

El poema se inicia naturalmente con pesar de Margarita tras la muerte de su amada sobrina y será Charlotte la que asumirá el papel dominante desde comienzo del Dialogue, es decir el de "Master", pues adopta un tipo de enseñanza que recuerda el de Briçonnet en la Correspondance,<sup>109</sup> formulando claramente el "credo evangélico" que se propagaba a través de la influen-

cia del grupo de Meaux, particularmente a través de Lefevre d'Etaples y de Briçonnet, que se oponían a las prácticas supersticiosas enseñando la pureza evangélica.<sup>110</sup> Lo que parecen ignorar más de un crítico al leer el poema de Margarita es que lo escribiera poco después del que Erasmo escribiera su Discurso sobre el Libre Albedrío contra Lutero en 1524,<sup>111</sup> y que el Dialogue tenía que ser aprobado por Briçonnet, que había igualmente condenado a Lutero un año antes el 15 de octubre de 1523.<sup>112</sup> Charlotte (es decir, Briçonnet) aconseja a Margarita a no tomar el partido ni de Erasmo, cuyas cartas habían sido ignoradas por Margarita 1525 y 1527, ni salir en defensa de la proclamación de la supremacía de la fe sobre la condición humana, manteniéndose ecuánime al tratar de temas discutibles.

Habría que insistir sobre la naturaleza polémica del Dialogue, pues pone en evidencia los problemas de su tiempo, particularmente la virulencia de los argumentos sobre la fe y el libre albedrío. Margarita quería saber qué opinión debía seguir, primeramente sobre el libre albedrío:

Las! Madame, donnez moy congnoissance:  
Ne m'a pas Dieu donné ung Franc Arbitre  
Pour en avoir entière jouyssance?  
(Dialogue, vv.493-495)<sup>113</sup>

y en segundo lugar sobre las obras:

Nous n'avons donques besoin de faire bien,  
Ne bon oeuvre, puis que l'estimez,  
Mais nous fier que nous aurons le sien.  
(vv. 1000-1002)

En ambos casos será Margarita y no Charlotte quien presentará el problema, mientras que ésta última tratará de proseguir el argumento, exponiendo un punto de vista seguido del otro, si bien apoyando ocasionalmente la posición de Lutero cuando habla de “la voluntad esclava”, uno de los temas favoritos del reformador:

Qui de péché est prins et entaché  
Serf de peche sans liberté devient,  
Et dans la peau d'ung vieil homme cache.  
(vv.511-514)

En tercer lugar el Dialogue alega razones contra las oraciones a los santos, que Lutero había menospreciado (vv.571-573), y finalmente sobre la predestinación (vv.448-450), aunque Margarita evitara tomar partido con el reformador, ofreciendo soluciones diferentes a todos estos problemas.

## II

El peligro estará en caer en la trampa al leer todos estos pasajes del Diálogo, en particular ciertos pasajes sobre el libre albedrío (ibid., vv. 433-469) y sobre la gracia y las obras humanas (ibid., vv. 580-652). El mero hecho de que Charlotte exponga estas ideas no implica necesariamente que las acepte, al menos en un contexto luterano. R. Marichal, por mencionar a un crítico, parece no dar importancia a la complejidad del problema cuando escribe:

“C’est le Christ qui mérite pour nous; les “oeuvres” n’y peuvent rien ajouter. La Pénitence Charlotte ne veut même pas leur accorder cette valeur de préparation à l’action de la grâce que leur attribue Lefèvre. Comme pour Luther, pour elle, elles ne sont que la conséquence de l’amour, le signe de l’union à Dieu, la démonstration de la foi. Et Charlotte de prêcher avec insistance sur ce thème pour dissiper les erreurs de sa tante.”<sup>114</sup>

Todo lo contrario a las ideas de Lutero, siguiendo más bien las huellas de Lefèvre y Briçonnet. Charlotte no parece interesarse en el tema, pues consideraba trivial toda la discusión entre Erasmo y Lutero. Se ha ignorado el carácter antiespeculativo del Dialogue, pues queda claro que Charlotte claramente desestima el tema:

Ne vous mettez, Tante, en tel esmoy,  
Car le sçavoir de riens ne vous proffitte,  
Riens ne povez sans Dieu: dire le doib;

Mais si en luy vous estes bien conficte,  
Vous trouverez la Franche Liberté  
Que avoit Péché en Adam desconfite.  
(vv. 913-918)

Le aconseja claramente a Margarita que debe olvidar el tema, adoptando más bien la actitud común de místicos como San Thomas de Kempis o Santa Teresa de Ávila;<sup>115</sup> dejando toda discusión en manos de los doctores y eruditos, que piensan que lo saben todo:

Je vous prie que ces fascheux débatz  
D’Arbitre Franc et liberte laissez,  
Aux grandz docteurs qui l’ayantz ne l’ont pas.  
(vv. 961-963)

La fe real excede todo razonamiento pues donde hay Fe sobra toda discusión (vv. 631-633), recalcando la supremacía de la Fe escribiéndola con “F” mayúscula:

Regnant la Foy, raison sera destruite  
Pour commencer l’ame a édifier.<sup>116</sup>  
(vv. 269-270)

Brignonnet debió sentirse orgulloso al leer estos últimos versos, viendo que Margarita había dado prueba de ser una alumna excelente pues había absorbido toda su doctrina evangélica, manteniéndose fiel al credo de Meaux. En el Dialogue, por ejemplo, se venera a los santos como espejos de la divinidad, una idea no muy en consonancia con la causa luterana:

Louez en eulx dieu, qui est leur estampe,  
Forge, patron, exemple et limage,  
Marteau et feu, pollissoeur et trempe.  
(vv. 427-429)

Cuando Margarita cuestiona la validez de los santos (vv. 736-738). Charlotte le contesta aceptando la doctrina evangélica del Grupo de Meaux sobre la oración a los santos como siervos de Dios:

Je respondray done à vostre demande.  
Si vous aymez bien vostre créateur,  
Vous aimez tous ceulx qui sont de sa bende.<sup>117</sup>  
(vv. 739-741)

evitando la oposición luterana entre la gracia y el libre albedrío, aceptando en cambio que el ser humano es libre cuando le acompaña la gracia divina:

Si l’on pense que sur ce corps de terre  
Sans la grâce de Dieu l’on ayt puissance,  
C’est follie, et qui le crait il erre.  
(vv. 490-492)

identificando, según la doctrina espiritual de los místicos, la antítesis “libertad contra obras” con la dicotomía “alma y cuerpo” que funciona paralelamente al “en Cristo” y “con Adán”. Yo no percibo las connotaciones luteranas que algunos críticos pretender ver en el Dialogue. El lema de Charlotte es que si el hombre escoge seguir a Adán y sus obras, no podrá nunca ser libre, pero la doctrina de Lutero es mucho más inte-

lectual y más drástica, pues según él el ser humano no puede ser libre pues todas sus actividades libres dependen de la gracia de Dios.<sup>118</sup>

Charlotte por el contrario es mucho más positiva, recurriendo a las enseñanzas cristocéntricas, por lo que la posición de Cristo como abogado entre el hombre y Dios ocupa el centro mismo del Dialogue:

Saint Paul au vray en a le tout escript, [I John 2,1]  
En appellant Jesus, par motz exprès,  
Nostre advocat (...)  
(vv. 361-363)

Esta misma idea reaparece en el poema a través de una serie de imágenes que contribuyen a que el poema tenga un cierto encanto poético. El símbolo del Árbol aparece repetidas veces, siendo quizás la solución a la parte polémica del Dialogue: Cristo es el “Árbol” del que somos nosotros las “Ramas” (Juan 15) pues tenemos que estar injertados con Él para poder vivir y sólo entonces seremos libres en Él. Estamos corrompidos por Adán (vv. 667-669), pero si vivimos en Cristo, nuestras obras serán buenas pues somos sus ramas:

Ayant la Foy qui excède raison.  
En Jesuchrist vous croyant sa parolle,  
Branche serez de luy toute saison.<sup>119</sup>  
(vv. 631-633)

Cristo será para Charlotte la solución al problema de la oposición entre la razón humana y la gracia de Dios, pues siendo Dios-Hombre es capaz de unir estos dos principios opuestos.

### III

Hay que recalcar que estas dos ideas centrales, es decir que el conocimiento ayuda muy poco al entendimiento del problema del libre abedrió contra la gracia, y que la única solución es que estamos injertados en Cristo para ser libres, son los dos temas que aparecen en la carta que escribiera Briçonnet a Margarita el 15 de septiembre de 1524. El Obispo de Meaux contribuyó pues a que los temas se desarrollaran más extensamente en el Dialogue: “...si bienheureux (...) est qui par unyon celere et prompte est par grace preserve et n'est jamais descheu de l'arbre de vie par presumptueux desir de trop scavoïr et ne s'est caché par sa nudité...” (Correspondance,2,p.269).



Lo más importante al leer el poema será caer en la cuenta que las enseñanzas de la escuela de Meaux reaparecen en contraste a la actitud polémica de los contemporáneos de Margarita. La iniciación del prelado a este lenguaje críptico había durado tres años. Hay diversas maneras de participar en el conocimiento divino, insistía Bignonnet, y “plus on en goust, [plus] la fain croist en desir assouvi insaciable. Ledict metz purge, illumine et parfaict creature, par foy inserée en filiation divine” (*ibid.*, 2, p. 92).<sup>120</sup>

Charlotte expresará lo mismo, utilizando la división tripartita de los escritores místicos:

Mais la bonté de Dieu, qui tous previent,  
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 (...)  
(vv. 514-519)

Los escritores místicos han mantenido siempre con San Pablo que el Amor es superior a la Fe y a la Esperanza (1 Corintios 13,13). Los críticos no han valorizado suficientemente el himno de Margarita al Amor en el Dialogue; en mi opinión aparece en el poema como ilustración de sus principios sobre el espinoso problema sobre la fe y el libre albedrío. El Amante, al identificar su voluntad con la del Amado se liberará de todo pecado; Charlotte, pues, utilizará una serie de imágenes, tales como la del Fuego y del Sol para explicar los efectos purificadores del Amor:

Amour est feu, qui la piquante ortye  
Noircist, seiche, eschauffe et enflamme,  
Tant qu'en cendre l'ayt toute convertie.

Amour est plus qu'ung clair soleil sans blasme,  
Qui prend plaisir passer le clair voirre,  
Et en jouyr sans qu'il rompe ou entame.

Amour est ung sy très puissant tonnoire,  
Qu'il brusle tout la où il tumble ou rue,  
Laissant soubdain l'homme vif cendre ou terre.

Amour est dieu seant sur ciel et nue,  
Estant pour tout selon son bon plaisir,  
Devant lequel n'y a chose incongne.<sup>121</sup>  
(vv. 277-288)

No es casualidad que Margarita juegue con la aliteración de la letra “M”, como en este terceto del Dialogue, cuando el mandamiento más difícil de amar a nuestros enemigos resulta más fácil con el Amor (Lucas 6,27):

Mais quant le cœur en vray amour est myz,  
 Il ayme fort par amour amoureuse  
 Non seulement amyz, mais ennemmyz.<sup>122</sup>  
 (vv. 754-756)

Una aliteración semejante aparece unos pocos versos más adelante para ilustrar otro pasaje de los Evangelios, esta vez utilizando la letra “V”, definiendo a Cristo-Dios como el Camino, la Verdad y la Vida:<sup>123</sup>

Il est vie, et verité et voye;  
 Par luy qui est Voye, nous fault passer,  
 Et Verité à Vie nous convoye.  
 (vv. 805-807)

Estos versos evocan en el lector otro pasaje paralelo que aparece en el Miroir de l'âme pecheresse, donde Margarita vuelve a utilizar los sonidos suaves “V” y “M”, aunque esta vez se añadirá la palabra “Mort” a las otras dos palabras claves “Vie” y “Amour” pero esta vez las aliteraciones “V” y “M” en forma de antítesis entre “Vie” y “Mort”:

Amour, amour, vous avez faict l'accord,  
 Faisant unir à la vie la mort;  
 Mais l'union a mort vivifiée,  
Vie mourant d'amour deifiée,  
Vie sans fin a faict riostre mort vie.  
Mort a donné a vie mort neïfye.  
 Par ceste mort, moy morte, recoy vie;  
 Et au vivant, par la mort, je suis rayye.  
 En vous je vys; quant a moy, je suis morte.  
Mort ne m'est plus que d'une prison porte.

Vie m'est mort, car par mort suis vivante.  
Vie me rend triste, et mort me contente.  
 O quel mourir! qui faict mon ame vivre,  
 En la rendant par mort, de mort delivre.  
 Unie a vous par amour si puissante,  
 Que sans mourir elle meurt languissante.  
 (Miroir, vv. 881-896)<sup>124</sup>

Amor y Vida serán para Margarita la misma cosa: ¿No estaría ella pensando en la palabra “Mort” al emplear la aliteración de la palabra “Amour” en el Dialogue? El texto del Miroir parece confirmarlo, pues la oposición entre “Vida” y “Muerte” aparece en el poema como el tema central que pretendiera ilustrar. Charlotte había muerto y la Duquesa estaba apesadumbrada con su pérdida, por lo que Charlotte siente que ha de dar una respuesta a sus lamentos:

Repondez moy, o doulce âme vivante,  
 Qui par la mort qui les fols espovente  
 Avez este d’ung petit corps delivre, (...)  
 (Dialogue, vv. 1-3)

La joven princesa amonesta a su tía a pensar de otra manera: “Tante, tante, de cela vous fault taire” (v. 115), explicándole que la vida no es vida sino muerte y que la muerte es la única puerta a la vida verdadera y en el pasaje se recalca la pesadez del cuerpo en oposición a la levedad del alma. Estas mismas antítesis aparecerán más desarrolladas en el poema de las Prisons. En el Dialogue ocupan un lugar prominente sirviendo para aliviar los pesares de Margarita: Muerte-Vida aparecen pues como Pesadez-Levedad:

Je vous prometz, ma tante, sans mentir,  
 Que quant le corps, par douleur affoibly,  
 S’appesantist jusques à terre sentir,  
 Et l’esperit, par amour annobly,  
Tire tout droict au ciel par tel desir,  
 Que l’âme met tout son corps en oubly.  
 (vv. 208-213)

El alma humana está encarcelada dentro del cuerpo por el pecado de Adán: (vv. 508-510), pero puede ser liberada de las cadenas por la gracia de Dios: (vv. 544-546). Los escritores místicos parecen estar obsesionados por estos sentimientos de pesadez y ligereza.<sup>125</sup> Briçonnet, por ejemplo, compara esta experiencia a la levedad del Perfume, pues no tiene “gravesse et pesanteur quelconcque” (Correspondance, 2, p. 89).

Sería imposible entender la unidad en el Dialogue si no se explican todos estos debates sobre Libertad y Gracia a través de los temas principales: el Triunfo sobre la muerte y la sensación de libertad, que aparecerán a través de una serie de imágenes que justifican el poema como una obra poética. Charlotte usa igualmente la imagen de sentirse encendida como

una candela para hacer ver a Margarita que el encanto de la Luz se intensifica con la Muerte:

Ma lumière elle n'a point deffaite,  
Mais seulement a mouché la chandelle  
Dont la clarté trop plus grand est refaite.  
(vv. 163-165)

Un sentimiento semejante de sentirse liberado de la vida terrenal aparece bajo las imágenes de no poder respirar, ahogarse o estar ahorcado (vv. 226-228). La sensación de estar arrancado como un árbol cuya madera tomará forma es especialmente interesante dentro de las enseñanzas de Charlotte: Dios le otorgará una semejanza divina (concepto platónico) al ser humano cuando se le seque del todo la savia terrenal:

Avant que soit ung gros arbre escarté,  
De la terre il le fault arracher,  
Et le tirer hors du desert esgaré,  
  
Et puis après le fault tout esbrancher  
Et charpenter, tant qu'il plaist au grand maistre,  
A qui le bois sur bois a cousté cher.  
(vv. 244-249)

#### IV

Si he seguido, intencionadamente, el orden inverso en el análisis de los temas del Dialogue, no lo hice por razones de estilo, sino porque creo que no puede explicarse la aflicción de Margarita en el poema sin una discusión de todos sus temas. Sentimientos tales como: “Confiar su vida en las manos de Dios” corre paralelamente a “Que Dios se haga cargo de mi vida si quisiera vivir”. No es que aparezca en un par de textos, como P. Jourda mantiene, sino que corre a lo largo de todo el Dialogue, pues todo el poema está impregnado por el tema de la pasividad mística o Quietismo como cuando: Charlotte habla de no poder resistir a la voluntad de Dios.<sup>126</sup>

Oh! que grand bien pour vous, Tante, sera  
Si le vouloir de dieu vous laissez faire  
Sans résister, ainsy qu'il pensera!  
(vv. 583-585)

Una expresión parecida vuelve a aparecer más tarde en el poema, de nuevo de parte de Charlotte:

(...). Il fault premièrement  
Adorer dieu en pure et vive Foy,

Se confiant en luy entièrement;  
L'aymer du cueur, sans nulle fiction:  
J'entends Tout Seul et souverainement.  
(vv. 731-735)

Me he tomado la molestia de anotar las expresiones utilizadas por Charlotte en el Dialogue dirigidas a su tía, indicándole que tenía que aceptar la voluntad divina, donde son patentes las connotaciones Quietistas de “pasividad” para recuperar el sosiego de la mente. Es notable la variedad de términos tales como “cesser”, “se fier”, “laisser”, “se confier”, “sans resister”, que no son siempre mandatos divinos, sino de Charlotte (v. 88) para apaciguar la tristeza de Margarita:

Cesser le pleur de desolation  
Qui procède de la chair et du sang,  
Où trop avez myz vostre affection.  
(vv. 88-90)

significando la aceptación de su muerte, dando por motivo que era la voluntad divina, tema que se repitirá al resumir el argumento hacia el final del the Dialogue (v.1238): Margarita no deberá más referirse a lo que desea el hombre sino a lo que quiere Dios, aceptando su voluntad sin más discusiones, como vimos en los versos en vv. 961 and 962 sobre el libre albedrío, exhortándole una vez más por medio de la repetición del verbo “laisser” un poco más tarde:

Laissez voller oyseaux et courir bestes,  
Laissez parler ceulx qui se cuydent saiges,  
Laissez rompre aux obstinez leurs testes.  
(vv. 970-973)

El verbo “se laisser” (abandonarse) jugó un papel importante durante el siglo XVI. Algunos años después del Dialogue de Margarita, Michel de Montaigne utilizó la misma expresión al final de su célebre “Apologie de Raymond Sebond”, un ensayo tildado de “Fideísmo”: “...se laissant hausser et soubdslever par les moyens purement celestes”.<sup>127</sup> Se puede argumentar que Montaigne y Margarita fueron dos personalidades totalmente diferentes y sin embargo los dos adoptan una posición similar sobre la imposibilidad de que pueda resolver la Razón el problema de la Vida. Charlotte lo expresa así:

Lhors est raison sur les sens souveraine;  
Mais toutesfois il ne s'y fault fier,  
Car contre Foy deviendrait trop haultaine.  
(vv. 265-267)

Se podría mantener sin ambages que se trata de una síntesis de la doctrina Quietista: “No fiarse de la razón y menos aún de los sentidos”, y define la fe viva como “se fier en Dieu” (vv. 184-185). Margarita utilizaría la expresión “se fier”, pero de un contexto afín a las ideas de Lutero (vv. 1000-1002) y Charlotte tiene que intervenir:

Vos motz ne sont pas saignement liméz.  
Impossible est vous garder de bien faire,  
Si vostre dieu parfaitement ayme.  
(vv. 1003-1005)

Margarita adoptó más bien el procedimiento de Sócrates de “preguntas y respuestas” en su Dialogue, para expresar más que sus propias ideas, las de su sobrina, la joven princesa Charlotte.<sup>128</sup> El punto inicial del poema pudo haber sido la conversación en sueños de su hermano Francisco I<sup>o</sup> con la joven Princesa, a partir del cual construiría Margarita un diálogo para discutir una serie de temas fundamentales como por ejemplo:

- 1) Nadie puede presumir de tener experiencia directa de Dios durante la vida (vv. 127-134)
- 2) La Muerte es la puerta de entrada a este conocimiento (vv. 241-273)
- 3) El Amor es el don más cercano a este conocimiento (vv. 274-288)
- 4) Cristo desempeña el papel de acercarnos a lo Divino (vv. 307-336)
- 5) Hay que adoptar una actitud pasiva en temas teológicos (vv. 496-997)
- 6) La Liberación del Dolor en esta vida y de la Muerte (vv. 1-126)

El poema conducirá a comprender la teoría de Platón sobre la Muerte como la puerta a la felicidad absoluta, pero es muy difícil entenderlo sin el don de la Fe.

Margarita se siente transformada en la última línea del Dialogue, contemplando a su sobrina subir al Cielo (vv. 1289-1293).<sup>129</sup> En realidad Charlotte la ha dejado estasiada, lo cual, in mi opinión refleja el sentido general del Dialogue. El poema acaba en una especie de raptó semejante al que sintieron los discípulos en el momento de la ascensión de Cristo a los Cielos: (Hechos 1), (vv. 1279-1293). Su finalidad sería ilustrar las en-

señanzas de Briçonnet sobre “hay que ser absorbidos por la voluntad divina” de la misma manera que Charlotte está ahora en el cielo. Los críticos no han percibido que la primera obra poética de Margarita, pudiera muy bien considerarse como una ilustración mística sobre la doctrina de la voluntad de Dios en el Nuevo Testamento. Tras una lectura cuidadosa del Dialogue es posible reconstruir los temas del Padre Nuestro, insistiendo en la utilidad de repetir mecánicamente las oraciones (Mateo, Introducción a la Oración, 6,2):

Vous avez beau dire le Paternostre,  
Oyr vespres. matines et prou messes.  
Peu de bien est ce que dehors se monstre.  
(vv. 571-573)

El compromiso evangélico de Margarita de purificar la religión de prácticas espurias le incita a utilizar el neologismo “paternostre”, que hace eco a las críticas acerbas de Rabelais contra las prácticas hipócritas: (Gargantua, 17), (Matthew 6, 7):

(...)  
Incessament. Non pas que à genoulx  
Paternostrant en l'église soyez.  
(vv. 871-872)

Los temas del Padre Nuestro aparecen a lo largo y ancho de todo el poema. La Paternidad Divina (Mateo 6) es el centro mismo del Dialogue (vv. 127-129); la oración debe ser desinteresada pues hay que alabar la bondad de Dios por sí misma (Mateo 6 ), (vv. 779-780); la voluntad de Dios tiene que prevalecer sobre los deseos caprichosos del ser humano (Mateo 6,10), (vv. 583-585).<sup>130</sup> Hay que alabar la bondad divina así en el cielo como en la tierra (Mateo 6, 10), (vv. 856-858). Dios nos ayuda a liberarnos de nuestros pecados (Mateo dice “perdonar nuestros pecados» 6, 12) (vv. 475-476 and 478-480) y finalmente el Amor de Dios con su perdón nos ayudará a perdonarnos unos a otros nuestras faltas (Mateo 6, 12), (vv. 754-756).<sup>131</sup>

Charlotte quiere, finalmente a Margarita libre de los peligros del pecado (Mateo 6, 13) tal y como está ella ahora, gozando de la presencia de Dios:

Delivrée suis de la tentation  
De tout danger de mon dieu offenser  
Par dict, par faict, ne par intention.  
(vv. 139-141)

De hecho toda una sección del Dialogue (vv. 538-889) parece un tratado sobre la oración, o, tal vez este poema sea una paráfrasis libre del tema “hágase tu voluntad” del Padre Nuestro. A los místicos les gusta este tipo de tópicos.<sup>132</sup> Gregorio de Nisa, por ejemplo, escribió un tratado explicando el “Paternoster”.<sup>133</sup> y Meister Eckhart hizo un comentario verso por verso<sup>134</sup>; Lutero simplemente siguió esta tradición cuando escribió su exposición mística en 1518,<sup>135</sup> todavía bajo la fuerte influencia de la *Theologie Deutsch*, un célebre texto místico que él editó en 1516.<sup>136</sup>

Gracias a W.G. Moore sabemos que Margarita utilizó el Comentario al Pater Noster de Lutero en un poema que publicó E. Parturier como “Le Pater Noster fait en translation directe et le Dialogue par la Reine de Navarre”<sup>137</sup> en que la obra del joven reformador apareció en verso durante la misma época o poco después de la composición del Dialogue.<sup>138</sup> Puesto que Margarita no sabía alemán, es de suponer que la traducción la haría un defensor de las ideas reformadoras en Francia, si bien la exposición del Pater Noster de Lutero es totalmente tradicional.

Se puede no obstante afirmar que la estructura interna del Dialogue no sigue al pie de la letra la temática del Pater Noster, que está dividida en peticiones personales a Dios, sin olvidar que entre 1524 y 1527, Margarita se sentía preocupada por las enseñanzas del Pater Noster como se puede observar en una de sus cartas a Briçonnet en que se le pide una explicación del pasaje bíblico del Pater Noster: la carta 103 de la *Correspondance* lee: “Et si l’Esprit, congnoissant en vous, a parfaict l’oraison donnee du Pere par le Filz [i.e. La Oración del Señor], sans oublier l’esprit de saint Denis, dont Madame a desir, je vous en demanderay volontiers, sans crainte de reffus, le double...” (*Correspondance* , 2, p. 162)

Desconocemos lo que pasó con la carta-tratado de Briçonnet que menciona en esta instancia Margarita. El no siempre accedía a sus súplicas, pero si fue escrita, no aparece escrita por el amanuense del manuscrito de la *Correspondance*, que fuera interrumpida bruscamente en noviembre de aquel año. El espíritu de la oración dominical Pater Noster se encuentra, no obstante presente en la carta de Briçonnet a Margarita con ocasión de la muerte de la joven Princesa Charlotte y en el Dialogue de Margarita, y ambos han de ser interpretados como un ejemplo de su aflicción, sirviendo a la vez de ilustración a las peticiones del Pater Noster y en particular al “Hágase tu Voluntad” más bien que la nuestra.



**CAPÍTULO TERCERO:**  
**Le miroir de l'âme pécheresse:**  
**El Enigma Místico contra la Visión Terrenal.**

**I**

Continúa un misterio la frialdad con la que fuera recibida la publicación del Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne de la Princesa Margarita de Valois, así como la extraña popularidad de que gozó el Miroir de l'âme pécheresse de la ya coronada Reina de Navarra. Terminado en 1530<sup>139</sup>, se publicó en 1531 y estaba ya a la venta en 1533, siendo editado, que sepamos, al menos cuatro veces. Fue este mismo año cuando el libro hubo de ser salvado de las serias críticas de la Sorbonna, por su hermano, el rey Francisco Iº de Francia.

Las primeras ediciones salieron de la mano de Simon Dubois y Antoine Augereau, que se dedicaban a la publicación de literatura luterana, y necesitaban temas polémicos para su clientela<sup>140</sup>. Todavía no podemos saber en qué medida estaba Margarita de acuerdo con la obvia utilización del editor del Miroir para fines propagandísticos, ya que la edición de París apareció con una traducción al francés del discutible “Salve Jesuchriste” de Sebaldus Heyden, una oración en la cual todos los títulos tradicionalmente atribuidos a la Virgen en el “Salve Regina” son atribuidos a Jesucristo. M. Holban insinúa que la tendenciosa presentación nos impide ver la verdadera naturaleza de este poema, y que esto ha ocasionado una tergiversación, en general, de las ideas clave de esta problemática obra: “Si l’on a pu se tromper sur la portée de cette oeuvre [*escribe*], la faute en est à l’édition parisienne du Miroir qui, au lieu de reproduire le titre exact tel qu’il parut en 1531, en composa un autre, peut-être même sans l’aveu de la reine. Car cette réédition du Miroir avait pour but de couvrir de l’autorité de la soeur du roi le contenu assez agressif du petit opuscule faisant suite”.<sup>141</sup>

Muchas de las cuestiones todavía sin resolver sobre la relación del Miroir con la causa luterana en Francia se deben a la dificultad de establecer la autoría del “Je te salue, Jesuchrist” que apareció en algunas ediciones. ¿Añadió por su cuenta Margarita la traducción del “Salve Jesuchrist” de Sebaldus Heyden, o fue el Miroir una buena oportunidad para introducir las ideas de otros en una obra, por lo demás, ortodoxa? Según una autoridad tan fiable como es W.G. Moore, el estilo de la traducción del “Salve Jesuchrist”, “Je te salue Jesuchrist”, bien podría ser atribuido a Margarita<sup>142</sup>. L. Febvre ha indagado la historia de la traducción del “Salve Regina” tal y como lo publicó Moore en 1930<sup>143</sup>. Febvre

escribe que cierto clérigo, Dumoulin, tradujo en 1526 el “Salve Jesuchriste, rex misericordiae” (1525) de Sebaldus Heyden del latín al francés. En mi opinión, el “Je te salue Jesuchrist, roy de misericorde” que apareció en la edición de Augereau del Miroir, en 1533, fue escrito por otra persona, y no por la Reina de Navarra. Si bien Moore pone énfasis en las diferencias de ambos textos, sería fácil darse cuenta de las similitudes, no sólo con el texto latino del cual ámbos dependen, sino también entre las dos versiones francesas. En todo caso, la oración que sigue al poema que apareció con el Miroir tiene una estructura claramente litúrgica, y termina con la doxología habitual, que es diferente de la Doxología Paulina con que finaliza el Miroir, vv. 1431-1435, o el que hay al final de la Oraison: “Louange à Dieu seul” (v. 155).

Será difícil saber en qué medida pudo tomar parte la Reina en la inserción del “Je te salue Jesuchrist”. El trabajo revela la participación de un clérigo, y es poco probable que ella estuviera interesada en la traducción de textos puramente litúrgicos. Por lo demás, escribe Weiss: parece “bien faite pour exaspérer les cléricaux”<sup>144</sup>. Sería importante observar que hay un pasaje en una carta de Briçonnet, que mantiene una estrecha relación con el espíritu del Je te salue Jesuchrist, aunque nótese el uso de doxologías no litúrgicas, como las de San Pablo “en et par Jesus”: “Loué soit le superceleste Père de misericorde et seigneur de toute consolation, qui en et par son debonnaire filz a voullu engloutir et absorber toute tribulation (...)” (Correspondance, 2, pp. 33-34). El paralelismo entre este texto y el “Salve Regina” y puede que la Reina estuviera de acuerdo con la inserción del Je te salue Jesuchrist al Miroir, ya que aparecen algunas ideas enseñadas en Meaux, como muestra claramente esta carta de Briçonnet.

Debido a estas polémicas históricas, no aparece clara la naturaleza del Miroir de Margarita. En varios de sus pasajes se habla sin lugar a dudas de “Jesus l’advocat”, rechazando toda otra vínculo entre el ser humano y Dios.

Et puis, je voy n’avoir accusateur  
 Que Jesuchrist, qui est mon redempteur,  
 Qui par sa mort nous a restitué  
 L’heritage, et s’est constitué  
 Nostre advocat, devant Dieu presentant  
Ses merites, qui sont et vallent tant (...)  
 (Miroir, vv. 1147-1152)

A menudo se presenta a Cristo como el único salvador, y como nuestro único defensor frente a Dios:

O Jesuchrist, des ames vray pescheur  
Et seul sauveur, amy sur tous amys,  
Mon advocat icy vous estes mys,  
Parlant pour moy, me daignant excuser,  
Où me povez justement accuser.  
(ibid., vv. 1164-1168)

Esto pudo servir de pretexto a Antoine Augereau, uno de los que publicaron el Miroir, para insertar primero la traducción del “Salve Jesuchriste” y después la traducción al francés del “VI Psaume de David” del original hebreo por Clément Marot, en una edición que no cita ni el nombre del editor ni el del autor<sup>145</sup>. La Facultad de la Sorbona, demasiado severa, pensó que se había ido demasiado lejos, y el texto del Miroir fue confiscado para examinarlo. El desafortunado Augereau tuvo que pasar por un juicio bastante más complicado, y fue quemado en la hoguera al año siguiente, el 24 de diciembre de 1534<sup>146</sup>.

¿Qué elementos de propaganda luterana encontró la Sorbona en el Miroir? Afortunadamente para nosotros, en la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, se ha conservado una copia de los “Procès verbaux” de la Facultad entre los años 1505 y 1533<sup>147</sup>. Este documento muestra que, aunque la Sorbona estableció formalmente que no condenaba el Miroir de Margarita<sup>148</sup>, se debió a que el Síndico, Noël Béda, había sido exiliado de París hacía poco tiempo debido a su oposición a las predicaciones de Gerard Roussel, asistente de Margarita, y querían evitar un segundo escándalo<sup>149</sup>. Examinando la manera cómo los Doctores de la Sorbona escudriña casos como el de los sermones de cuaresma de G. Roussel en 1533 en la corte real, podríamos ir aclarando cómo procedió dicha Facultad con el Miroir. Sabemos que el 26 de abril del mismo año mantuvieron una reunión sobre: “quid agendum esset contra errores qui dicuntur hac quadragesima in pluribus cathedris hujus civitatis Parisiensis publice predicari, et de certis scedulis passim super indulgentiarum publicatione que dicuntur communi omnium consensu scandalose, (...) quod scilicet videntur omnino tenere aut saltem fovere doctrinam lutheranam”<sup>150</sup>. Para reunir pruebas, convocaron testigos, en tres días, sobre todo contra Roussel: “(...) et interim colligerent omnes articulos erroneos quos audire potuerunt predicatos fuisse per predictum Roussel et quod presentarentur intra triduum sibi aut consilio.”<sup>151</sup>; el 13 de mayo de 1533 dos de los testigos comparecieron en la facultad; uno, llamado Boisel, se negó a hablar excepto “coram iudicibus”; el otro, Salignac, respondió “audacter” que no había oído nada heterodoxo

contra “de meritis”, “de veneratione sanctorum”, “de fide” o “de Ecclesia et ejus potestate” en las polémicas doctrinas<sup>152</sup>.

Pero no acabó ahí. Por una carta de Calvino sabemos que se llevó al tablado una comedia en el Collège de Navarre, en la que satirizaban a Roussel y a Margarita: Ésta se convirtió en Furia al ver a Megaera (M. G. i.e. Maître Gérard)<sup>153</sup>. Calvino recuerda un segundo acaso de taque personl contra la Reina cuando el teólogo Nicholas Leclerc, delegado de la Sorbona para hacer una lista de los libros que había en las librerías de París, confiscó entre otros el Pantagruel, de Rabelais, y un libro que había sido publicado sin la aprobación de la Facultad, llamado Le Miroir de l'âme pécheresse. El 23 de octubre, el Rey Francisco I tuvo que escribir una carta no muy severa a la Sorbona, y el 27 del mismo mes todos los miembros de la Facultad firmaron un documento declarando que no habían condenado ni visto el Miroir<sup>154</sup>.

Sin embargo, la historia habla de otra manera: mucho antes, el 2 de mayo de 1515, la Sorbona ya había recomendado a Francisco I un “Miroir”, Speculum oculare, escrito por Jean Reuchlin, para ser condenado por el Papa, dadas las críticas que aparecían en dicho libro contra la Facultad de la Sorbona<sup>155</sup>. Pero había argumentos obvios para que el Miroir fuese elegido para ser examinado: para empezar, el poema no contaba con la aprobación de la Facultad, y en él se hacía referencia a temas polémicos tales como el papel de la fe en la justificación del pecador<sup>156</sup>; también le quitaba importancia a las “oeuvres” humanas, y, lo que era más serio, con el Miroir aparecía la traducción de un salmo de David traducido por Marot de un texto hebreo, y no de la sacrosanta Vulgata latina. La política de la Facultad en lo referente a las traducciones de la Biblia<sup>157</sup> ya desde 1523 era considerarlas “pernicieuses (...) et par conséquent qu’elles ne devaient par être permises ni tolérées, mais éliminées de l’Eglise par les prélats de toute manière”<sup>158</sup>, tal y como apuntó A. Clerval. Charles Duplessis d’Argentré en su Collectio juditorum de la Sorbona, resume aún con más precisión la política de la Facultad sobre el uso de la Biblia que no fueran la Vulgata: “(...) ne bibliam juxta graecum sermonem et hebraicum interpretarentur sine permissu et auctoritate universi studii Parisiensis. Cui postulatione Catholicus Procurator Regis annuit. Praeterea Theologi Parisienses Senatum rogarunt, ut iisdem novis Professoribus Reggi Collegii interdiceretur, ne in suis interpretationibus bibliae pro lege enuntiarent: “ita fertur in Hebraicis litteris”, sive “Graecis”. Perinde quasi hujusmodi interpretatio Vulgatae editioni Latinae, quam a tot abhinc saeculis Latina Ecclesia retinet, anteponenda sit”<sup>159</sup>. En vista de este contexto histórico, uno se pregunta si el Miroir de Margarita hubiera salido sin censura del examen de la Sorbona, sin la ayuda de su hermano.

Sin embargo, y a pesar de las posibles intenciones secretas de la Facultad sobre el futuro del Miroir como libro pro-luterano, la cuestión de su ortodoxia sigue sin respuesta. ¿Es el Miroir un libro luterano porque proclama el pecado universal, o bien porque preconiza que la salvación del pecador sólo puede venir por la fe? Briçonnet, pensador claramente anti-luterano, también había enseñado estas doctrinas como nos muestra una de sus cartas a Margarita<sup>160</sup>, y aun así la Sorbona elogiaba su total ortodoxia<sup>161</sup>. La influencia de A. Lefranc ha sido demasiado decisiva para muchos de los críticos, que han tratado de ver solo indicios de luteranismo en el Miroir y en el Discord. De hecho, no muestran ser muy competentes al exponer las fuentes de algunas ideas como “el papel de la fe en la salvación del hombre”, ya que estos conceptos son en sí mismos bastante ortodoxos<sup>162</sup>. Margarita subraya los efectos que la fe tiene en el creyente, como por ejemplo la vuelta al estado de inocencia que el hombre perdió mediante el pecado de Adán, y su aceptación por las tres personas de la trinidad:

L'homme est par foy faict filz du createur;  
 L'homme est par foy juste, saint et bienfacteur;  
 L'homme est par foy remiz en innocence;  
 L'homme est par foy rey en Christ regnateur;  
 Par foy avons l'esperit consolateur,  
 Uniz au pere et au mediateur;  
 Par foy j'ay Christ et tout en affluence.  
 (Discord, vv. 71-77)

En realidad, está simplemente reflexionando, en su introducción al Miroir, sobre los temas importantes de la carta de Pablo a los Romanos; haciendo hincapié en la importancia de la fe en la justificación inicial del pecador:

Quel est le coeur d'un homme, quant à soy,  
 Avant qu'il ait receu le don de foy,  
 Par lequel seul l'homme a la cognoissance  
 De la Bonté, Sapience et Puissance.  
 (Introduction, vv. 9-12)

Pero la posición de Margarita sobre la predestinación del hombre y sus fuertes sentimientos contra la condenación al infierno no ha sido remarcada lo suficiente por los críticos; según ella, el ser humano se merece su propia salvación (“merite”) y nunca será reprobado gratuitamente por Dios:

Car si l'homme, par contemplation,  
 Amour, vertu, bonté, perfection,  
 Tient de l'ange et à la fin herite  
 Au ciel, le lieu de semblable merite,  
 Le vicieux en enfer est puny  
 Avec celluy à qui il s'est uny.  
 Puis qu'à Satan du tout s'est comparé,  
 Il tient le lieu qui luy est préparé.  
 (Miroir, vv. 1207-1214)

A los ojos de la Sorbona, Margarita era miembro del grupo de Meaux, y por tanto sospechosa de tener conexiones con algunas de las ideas reformadoras. Para algunos de la Facultad de la Sorbona, Lefèvre en particular podría ser pro-luterano en sus exposiciones teológicas, pero había un punto importante que le separaba de Lutero, en la importancia de mantener la unidad de la Iglesia por encima de todas controversias y en esto se puso Margarita de su parte: Lutero estaba dispuesto a sacrificar esta unidad por el bien de la verdad, pero la Reina de Navarra preferirá mantener el “Cristo íntegro” de Lefèvre, manteniendo, sin embargo que si no hubiera una reforma interna de la Iglesia, la ruptura sería inevitable. La Sorbona examinó sin duda alguna, línea por línea, este pasaje del poema de Margarita, ya que deja entrever la opinión del grupo de Meaux sobre este espinoso problema:

O vray juge, Salomon veritable,  
 Ouy avez le proces lamentable  
 Et ordonné, contenant les parties,  
 Que mon enfant fust mys en deux parties.  
La traistresse sy est bien accordee;  
 Mais quant me suys de mon filz recorder,  
 Plus tost en veulx souffrir privation  
Que de son corps la separation;  
 Car vraye amour bien parfaicte et ardente  
De la moitié jamais ne se containte.  
 ...  
 Bien meilleur m'est que je meure devant  
Que de souffrir Jesuchrist divisé.  
 (vv. 445-461)

La Reina está aquí interpretando místicamente el pasaje del Antiguo Testamento sobre el juicio de Salomón (I Reyes 3, 16-28),<sup>163</sup> éticamente justo pero que, para ella, simbolizaba la indivisibilidad de la Iglesia; veremos en el Capítulo 4 que Lutero no apreciaba nada este tipo de lecturas alegóricas de la Biblia<sup>164</sup>.

## II

Todas estas implicaciones del Miroir con posibles conexiones con el proceso luterano de la Sorbona ha ocasionado que la mayoría de los críticos ignoren el origen real de la obra de Margarita. F. Génin, por ejemplo lo encuentra “*excessivement ennuyeux*”, con demasiadas referencias implícitas a la Biblia. En lo referente al esquema general, Génin ve “quelque chose analogue, quant au plan, aux Maximes des Saints”, del Arzobispo de Cambrai<sup>165</sup>, sin especificar de qué parecido se trata. J. B. Collins, con más precisión, recalcó las similitudes entre el Miroir de Margarita y una serie de “Specula”, tanto en originales latinos como en traducciones francesas. Estas habían sido muy populares en toda Europa durante finales del siglo XV y comienzos del XVI, sobre todo el Speculum peccatoris, atribuido tradicionalmente a San Agustín; este “Espejo”, junto con el Speculum amatorum mundi y el Speculum conversionis, fueron escritos por Dionysius de Rickel, cuyas obras fueron recopiladas y publicadas en la época en la que Margarita preparaba su Miroir. Aunque publicados en 1534, los trabajos de Rickels hubieron de precisar mucho tiempo para su recopilación<sup>166</sup>. Collins sugiere que la corte inglesa consideraba el Miroir de Margarita como perteneciente a una larga serie de tratados espirituales, si bien mejor que la mayoría de ellos por lo que no fue mera casualidad que el poema fuese traducido al inglés por un miembro de la familia real, la princesa Elizabeth, hija de Enrique VIII en 1548. Esta versión se publicó después de otra de un Miroir, parecido tanto en estilo como en materia, que fuera traducido al inglés por Margaret of Richmond, madre de Enrique VII<sup>167</sup>; fue impreso por Winkin de Word en 1522, con el nombre de Mirouer of Golde to the sinfull soule, y traducido del tratado místico de un escritor postmedieval conocido como Jacobus de Gruitroede<sup>168</sup>.

Al examinar ciertos aspectos que tienen relación con los diferentes “Mirouers” no cabe ignorar que fueran escritos para lectores especializados y su finalidad era invitarles a que examinaran su vida interior por si precisaba un cambio. Por ejemplo, J. de la Haye, un “valet de chambre” de Margarita, en la edición de 1547 del Miroir invita al lector a hacer esto:

C'est le Miroir où il fault regarder  
Qui bien voudra du monde se garder;  
C'est le Miroir auquel qui bien se mire  
De tout malheur et vice se retire,  
Propre et requis pour bien se cointoyer,  
Et pour l'esprit de taches nettoyer.<sup>169</sup>

No se ha prestado suficiente atención a los varios “Mirouers” o “Specula” en las investigaciones sobre el Miroir; aunque la Reina de Na-

varra, por lo que sabemos, prefería escribir el suyo independientemente de ellos, si bien su poema es muy superior en la exposición de los temas tradicionales; sin embargo sacaba muchas ideas de ellos; se puede afirmar que es difícil llegar a comprender totalmente su poema sin haber analizado, aunque sea brevemente, algunos de estos “Mirouers” que aparecieron poco antes o al mismo tiempo que el de Margarita.

Las características más perceptibles de muchos de los “Mirouers” son que invitaban al cambio interno de uno mismo mediante la comprensión de la vanidad del mundo. En 1480, Jean Bouyer publicó, en Poitiers, un ejemplo típico de este género de “speculum vanitatis”, mediante el cual intentaba convencer a los lectores de la naturaleza efímera de la existencia humana<sup>170</sup>: “Quoniam, patres carissimi, in via hujus saeculi fugientes sumus, dies nostri sicut umbra praetereunt; necesse est igitur corde sollicito memorari saepius et nostra fragilitas et nostra mortalis infirmitas (...) ecce feliciter poterim evadere periculum, si diligenter studeam sequi divinum consilium, quod est mortis periculum, salutis antidotum, peccatoris periculum”<sup>171</sup>. El escritor juega con el significado obvio de la palabra “speculum”, que fue adoptado por Margarita unas décadas más tarde: “Legat igitur lectionem istam insipiens ille qui hujusmodi est, et speculetur in hoc speculo imaginem suam”.<sup>172</sup>

La obra de Bouyer influyó en la obra de varios escritores, ya que la autoría de su “Speculum” había sido erróneamente atribuida a San Agustín, cuya autoridad era totalmente aceptada por muchos escritores místicos, sobre todo en el Occidente; puede que Margarita tuviera acceso a esta obra maestra del género “vanitas-conversio” (Ilustración 1), pues era conocida en toda Europa.

El Speculum de Jacobus de Gruitroede fue publicado en París en 1500 por Antoine Caillout<sup>173</sup>; su objetivo era educar a la gente tanto en los monasterios como en las cortes de Europa, y en 1522 fue traducido para la corte inglesa por la Condesa de Richmond con la misma finalidad con la que años más tarde el Miroir de Margarita fuera traducido por otro miembro de la familia real para el uso de esta corte, como ya hemos mencionado.

Un tercer personaje místico importante del género “Speculum vanitatis et conversionis”, cuya obra tuvo una gran influencia en las enseñanzas místicas de finales del siglo XV y comienzos de XVI, fue Dionysius Carthusianus, alias Dionysius de Lewis de Rickel. Trató de hacer un llamamiento a sus lectores presentando las ideas místicas tradicionales tal y como se encontraban en las enseñanzas de escritores como San Bernardo:



“De ista materia [i.e. El hombre debe seguir los caminos de Dios] pulchra tractat in quodam sermone B. Bernardus”.<sup>174</sup>



*Ilustración 1.*

*Impresión de un “Speculum Vanitatis” en un tallado en madera por Daniel Hopper (c.1470-1536). La joven dama ve a la muerte y al demonio reflejados en el espejo. Nótese el reloj de arena, recordándole el paso del tiempo. G.F. Hartlaub, Zauber des Spiegels, Munich, 1951 (Ilustración 162). La ilustración 163 también es un “speculum vanitatis”, pero algo grosero, ya que la joven dama ve las partes íntimas del diablo.*

Las “Specula conversionis” están llenas de referencias a textos bíblicos, y de citas de los primeros escritores de la Iglesia, sobre todo de San Jerónimo, San Agustín y San Gregorio; de vez en cuando hay algunas citas de filósofos griegos y latinos. Pero su obra pretende desviar las almas de los falsos caminos hacia la senda que ilumina la fe cristiana: “Hoc est sane quod dicit Gregorius: contemne divitias, et locuples eris: contemne honores, et eris gloriosus, despice temporalem quietem et habebis aeternam”.<sup>175</sup>

Margarita insiste en la necesidad de una conversión personal ya que el alma ha dejado (“laisser”) el camino correcto en lugar de abandonarse a sí misma (“se laisser”) en manos de Dios, tal y como Charlotte aconseja en el Dialogue.<sup>176</sup> En una serie de versos que parecen letanías y que siguen a las para-litúrgicas de la iglesia para los moribundos llamada “Litaniae mortuorum”, Margarita advierte de los espejismos que desvían al alma del camino a seguir. Hay una cierta ilusión óptica creada por la repetición retórica de la frase: “laissé vous ay”, que podría resultar abu-

rrida al lector moderno. Estas oraciones no eran técnicamente litúrgicas, ya que no seguían una serie de patrones ni acababan en una doxología, pero han sido comunes en las oraciones devotas de la iglesia hasta hace bien poco:<sup>177</sup>

Laissé vous ay, oublyé et fouy.  
Laissé vous ay, pour suyvir mon plaisir.  
Laissé vous ay, puor ung mauvais choisir.  
Laissé vous ay, source de tout mon bien.  
Laissé vous ay en rompant le lien  
De vray amour et loyaulté promise.  
(Miroir, vv. 642-647)

También adoptó la técnica de los consejos tradicionales del medioevo, advirtiéndolo a sus lectores de los peligros de los tres enemigos del hombre: el demonio, el mundo y la carne:

C'est l'ennemy et le monde et la chair,  
Qui sur la croix vous ont cousté si cher, (...)  
(vv. 659-66)

Los “Miroirs” o “Specula” tardomedievales a menudo estaban destinados a las mujeres de la corte; eran un buen público para este tipo de literatura, aunque, en algunos casos en los que eran escritos por hombres, mostraban una actitud anti-femenina. Este tipo de Miroir se presenta en dos formas, el “Mirouer des Dames et Demoiselles” y el “Miroir de Marie”.

En la introducción al Miroir, por ejemplo, como parte de les Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses, J. de la Haye observa:

C'est le Miroir où Princesses et Dames  
Doyvent mirer et le corps et les ames,  
Comme tu fais, dont ce grant bien t'advient,  
Que ton haultz loz tousjours plus cler devient.<sup>178</sup>

El Miroir de Margarita está claramente vinculado con los “Mirours des Dames” de finales del medioevo los cuales estuvieron muy de moda a finales del siglo XV. G. A. Brunelli editó en 1958 uno de sus exponentes, el Miroir de Jean Castel; está dividido en tres partes y mantiene la idea de que un libro es como un espejo, aunque la gente, sobre todo las mujeres, no quieren mirarse en él.<sup>179</sup> Castel usa las mismas palabras que Jean de la Haye, quien, por lo que sabemos, hizo la introducción de las ediciones tardías del Miroir de Margarita:

Mirez vous cy, Dames et damoiselles  
Mirez vous cy et regardéz ma face:  
Helas! pensez, se vous estes bien belles,  
Comment la Mort toute beauté efface.<sup>180</sup>

El “*Speculum Mariae*” tradicional nos presenta a Nuestra Señora como la mujer perfecta, aplicandole directamente la interpretación de la novia sin tacha del “Cantar de los Cantares”. El *Miroir* de Margarita sigue la presentación de María como la Mujer perfecta y el poema la describe como la imagen perfecta de Cristo como en la devoción popular, particularmente en los quince misterios del rosario. No obstante, algunos de los textos presentan a María de una manera más bien negativa, distorsionando, más que reflejando a Cristo como cuando su fe fue puesta en tela de juicio, al perderse el joven Jesús en el templo de Jerusalén (Lucas 2, 41-45). Lutero había enfatizado este lado negativo de la fe de la Virgen y esta podría ser la razón por la cual Augereau insertó el texto anti-María “Je te salue Jesuschrist” en el mismo volumen que el *Miroir*, tal y como mencionábamos al comienzo de este capítulo. Sin embargo, el *Miroir* hace hincapié en la mayoría de las enseñanzas tradicionales a diferencia de la literatura luterana.<sup>181</sup> De hecho, una sección entera del poema de Margarita, vv. 277-318, es un “*Speculum Mariae*” en el sentido tradicional:

Mere et vierge estes parfaictement  
Avant, après, et en l’enfantement (...)  
(vv. 285-286)

Algunos incidentes de la vida de Cristo, tales como el ya citado del templo de Jerusalén, son eventos que están vinculados a la devoción cristiana de los quince misterios del rosario muy corrientes en la literatura del “*Speculum Mariae*”, y estos sucesos también inspiraron el *Miroir* de Margarita. Resulta sorprendente el hecho de encontrar varias similitudes entre el poema de Margarita y un *Speculum Sanctae Mariae Virginis*, impreso por Gunther Zainer en Augsburg en 1471.<sup>182</sup> Libros como este eran comunes y Margarita debió de tener acceso a un “*Speculum Mariae*” como el escrito por G. Zainer, dado que insiste en temas similares, combionando varios “*Mirouers*”, como el de Margarita, haciendo hincapié en las “*tristitiae*” (penas) y las “*gaudia*” (alegrías) de María, y terminando con una interpretación mística de la “Canción de las Canciones” que se aplica a ella.

Margarita también habla de la “*tristitiae*” y “*gaudia*” cuando el niño Jesús se pierde y es encontrado, pero en este caso la escritora misma asume el papel de María:

O doulx Jesus, vous ay je retrouv    
Apr  s avoir par ennuy esprouv    
Si vous aymoie? Moy qui vous ay perdu  
A moy mesmes vous vous estes rendu.  
(vv. 469-472)

Sin embargo, lo que hace sospechar que Margarita tuvo acceso a un “Speculum Mariae” parecido al que imprimi   Zainer, es que Margarita, en el Miroir, puso objeciones a la atribucion a Mar  a del significado espiritual del “Cantar de los Cantares”, como ya veremos.<sup>183</sup> Dice el texto de Zainer: “In pulcritudine delectatus Spiritus Sanctus ait in Canticis: Ecce tu pulchra es amica mea. Ecce tu pulchra; oculi tui columbarum. Non mediocris pulchritudinis esse confirmatur que geminata voce predicatur”.<sup>184</sup>

Pero Margarita rechaza la restricci  n de este “sensus spiritualis” a Mar  a, y lo aplica m  sticamente a la “amye navr  e d’amour”:

Vous l’avez dit en lieu bien autentique  
Par Salomon en vostre doulx cantique,  
Disant: Ma soeur tu as navr   mon cuer,  
Tu as navr   mon cuer par la doulceur  
D’ung de tes yeulx, et d’ung de tes cheveulx.  
(vv. 327-331)

Parece que Margarita limita el papel de Mar  a al de “madre de la fe”, Sin embargo, su fe qued   mermada seg  n algunos textos evang  licos a los que algunos reformadores sol  an hacer referencia, explicando que su fe se debilit   cuando el joven Jesus se perdi   en el templo (vv. 469-472), y en el comienzo de su vida p  blica (Mateo 12, 46-50):

Mais la raison    ma doubte bien mistes,  
Quant en preschant, estendant vos bras, distes:  
Ceulx qui feront le vouloir de mon pere  
Mes freres sont, et ma soeur, et ma mere.  
(vv. 265-268)

La historia del joven Jesus perdido en el templo en el Miroir es con el reproche de Cristo a su madre un anti-climax a la tradici  n elogiosa en los “Specula Mariae”. En todo caso las palabras de censura las aplica Margarita al alma motivada por la fe, pero tras una lectura m  s cuidadosa se percibe que se trata m  s bien del elogio de Isabel por haberla visitado (Lucas I, 46-55). Vemos tambi  n en el Miroir una clara alusi  n al “Magnificat” o canci  n de Mar  a durante esta visita

Elle paovre, ignorante, impotente  
Se sent en vous riche, sage, et puissante (...)  
(vv. 179-180)

Este paralelismo antitético de María “paovre-riche”, que es tan característico del “Magnificat”, aparece en el Miroir como un “Speculum Mariae”. Margarita en las Prisons escribió algo parecido a una apología de la canción de María, identificando su humildad con la enseñanza mística del “Rien”, que está en busca del “Tout”:

Plus qu'autre femme en son cueur elle avoit  
Ce Rien, lequel gardoit et conservoit  
En s'unissant à luy de son bon gré (...)  
(Prisons, fol. 346 ro, p. 292)

Trataremos de explicar todas las implicaciones místicas de estas relaciones antitéticas “Rien-Tout” en la Sección V del Capítulo 5 sobre las Prisons. Margarita no elogió demasiado la maternidad de María, en oposición a los escritores tradicionales, pues los místicos prefieren dar más importancia a la paternidad de Dios, pero no se le puede tildar de inortodoxa a Margarita en su Miroir por esta razón cuando escribe:

Je croy doncques (...)  
Que par amour je vous ay engendré;  
Dont sans crainte nom de mere prendray.  
  
Mère de Dieu, doulce vierge Marie,  
Ne soye pas de ce tiltre marrie.  
Nul larroncin ne fais, ny sacrilege,  
Riens ne pretendz sur vostre privilege,  
Car vous seule avez sur toute femme  
Receu de luy l'honneur si grand, ma dame,  
*Que nul esperit de soy ne poeut comprendre* (sic)  
Comme en vous a voulu nostre chair prendre.  
(vv. 269-285)

Margarita hace uso aquí de una técnica anti-speculum, al no dar importancia al culto a la Madonna, a menudo exagerado, basado en las cualidades personales de María como su belleza, su atracción física o su amabilidad. Sin menospreciar la importancia de la maternidad de María, preferiría más bien recalcar aquellos aspectos que reflejaran la paternidad de Dios. El énfasis del Miroir en la elección de María como madre de Cristo, se basa no en sus méritos sino en su confianza en Dios (Lucas 1,45), pues la fe reviste gran importancia en los tratados místicos o

“Specula Fidei” de aquel tiempo y Margarita afirma que nadie puede aventajar a María al nivel de la Fe:

(...)  
Car vous estes sa mere corporelle,  
Et sa mere par foy spirituelle;  
Mais en suivant vostre foy humblement  
Mere je suis spirituellement.  
(vv. 315-318)

Los “Specula” no se escribieron como manuales de teología ni como libros de devoción personal. Contenían breves referencias a los dogmas cristianos o algunas plegarias y utilizaban más bien los recursos retóricos de los predicadores, advirtiendo a sus lectores de los peligros de una vida desordenada.<sup>185</sup> La Reina de Navarra, bajo la influencia del grupo de Meaux, era consciente de la importancia del papel de la fe en la tradición mística cristiana siguiendo las enseñanzas de San Pablo. Su Miroir debía, por tanto, ser concebido como un “Speculum Fidei” o “Miroir de la foy”. Pero se trataba de una difícil tarea; de hecho, el poema resulta con frecuencia pesado y repetitivo ya que a diferencia del Dialogue, no podemos relacionar el Miroir con un episodio en la vida de Margarita, sino con su estado de ánimo pues, para usar una expresión moderna, prefería desvelar su “coeur mis à nu”.

Los “Specula fidei”, mucho antes de que Lutero proclamara la primacía de la fe, enseñaban la verdad Cristiana simple, más bien que relacionada con las experiencias espirituales pues el hombre es ciego y sólo puede ser guiado por Dios. J. M. Dechanet publicó en 1946 una de las obras más características de la literatura del “Speculum fidei”, atribuida durante mucho tiempo a San Bernardo, escrita más bien por uno de sus discípulos, Guillaume de Saint-Thierry, un monje Cisterciense de Mont Dieu. Mucho antes que Margarita, S. Thierry insistía en la importancia de la palabra “voir”, no en su sentido físico sino en el espiritual: “Tria namque ut habeat necesse est: oculos, quibus jam bene uti possit; ut aspiciat, ut videat”.<sup>186</sup> El Miroir de Margarita es también un tratado sobre los obstáculos de la visión clara, y sobre el esfuerzo para “verlos”. En la introducción a su obra, en la primera edición de Augereau de 1533, expresa su intención de que su Espejo sea “Speculum vivendi” a la vez que “Speculum fidei”:

Si vous lisez ceste oeuvre toute entière,  
Arrestez vous, sans plus, à la matiere,  
En excusant la rhyme et le languaige,  
Voyant que c'est d'une femme l'ouvraige,  
Qui n'a en soy science, ne sçavoir,  
Fors un desir, que chacun puisse veoir (...)  
(“Au lecteur”, vv. 1-8)<sup>187</sup>

Como muchos místicos, Margarita presenta la progresión mística de la fe al amor mediante la esperanza (I Corintios 13):

O tresgrand Don de foy, dont tel bien vient,  
Que posseder faict ce que l'on ne tient!  
Foy donne espoir par seure verité  
Qui engendre perfecté charité.  
Et charité est Dieu, comme sçavons.  
(vv. 1413-1417)

En el Dialogue, Margarita había alabado la supremacía del amor. El Miroir no será diferente, pues la fe y el amor son dos de sus principales temas. Por ejemplo, la maternidad espiritual de María sólo se puede lograr a través de la fe (vv. 317-318). De la misma manera, el alma sólo puede alcanzar el estado de “spouse” mediante ella:

Parquoy diray par amoureuse foy  
Qu’a vous je suis, et vous estes à moy.  
(vv. 339-340)

Margarita escribió otro “Mirouer” a la manera tradicional (i.e. Un poema devocional sobre Jesucristo en quien el lector tendría que contemplarse a sí mismo y a Dios). Se publicó en Toulouse en 1552 bajo el título de le Mirouer de J. C. Crucifié, composé par feu tres illustre princesse Marguerite de Valois, reine de Navarre:

C’est la vraye congnoissance  
Du peché et de l’ignorance  
Et qui se peult myrer et veoir  
En Crist en aura le sçavoir  
Car sans luy n’avons qu’ignorance.<sup>188</sup>

Este Miroir presenta la misma problemática que el Miroir de l’âme pécheresse con la única diferencia de que todo se resuelve bien: el alma alcanza el estado de pureza y “vision” consiguiendo la unión total con Jesucristo.

Hay otros temas en la literatura del “Mirouer”, como por ejemplo los del “Speculum Salomonis” tradicionalmente considerado una de las obras del Rey Salomón, que recalca las enseñanzas del “Song of Songs”; éstas aparecen igualmente en el Miroir de Margarita, y todas las pruebas que hemos estado presentando aquí atestiguan claramente que este poema debe considerarse como vinculado estrechamente a la literatura del “Speculum”, con la cual debía de estar familiarizada. De hecho, el poema

de Margarita parece ser el punto de convergencia, ya que cubre la mayoría de los temas de los “Specula”. ¿Tendría en su “prie-dieu” una colección de “Mirouers” pertenecientes a ella o a su madre? No sería de extrañar, dado que estas obras eran muy populares, sobre todo entre los clérigos y los cortesanos de los siglos XV y XVI.

### III

El Miroir tiene una estructura bastante engañosa, a diferencia del Dialogue cuyo carácter anecdótico aparece desde el principio tratando de describir el dolor que siente Margarita tanto por la muerte de la pequeña princesa Charlotte como por la división en que se encontraba sumida la Cristiandad debido a las controversias entre Erasmo y Lutero; pero el Miroir tiene menos referencias específicas, aunque mediante él podemos conocer toda aquella época en que Margarita pasó por un periodo confuso, entre los años 1521 y 1531.

Los críticos están de acuerdo en que el Miroir se escribió después del año 1524 y, dada la dificultad de las disgresiones teológicas en las que se sumerge, su escritura debió abarcar un largo periodo de tiempo. En efecto, la estructura compleja del libro hace pensar que pasó por varias revisiones antes de la publicación de 1531 que ahora conocemos,

En la Sección I he tratado de vincular al Miroir con la literatura medieval tardía del “Speculum”, ya que las conexiones son conocidas. No obstante, por lo que sabemos, Margarita no siguió una sola fuente. Marie Holban detectó hábilmente en 1936 ciertos temas comunes entre el Miroir de Margarita y las Epîtres de la Noble et Amoureuse Dame de Jacques Bouchet, ambas de fechas cercanas entre sí.<sup>189</sup> Ella sugiere que las dos obras muestran un plan similar y desarrollos parecidos en las ideas. Además que el “éditeur” que había tenido la idea de hacer una compilación de las Epistres de Bouchet, presentándolas al público en 1534, lo hizo cuando “on venait justement de prendre l’imprimeur Antoine Augereau chez qui avait paru l’édition parissienne du Miroir de l’âme pécheresse”.<sup>190</sup>

El plan de las ideas de Bouchet es, en general, parecido al de Margarita, ya que empieza con las “plaintes de l’Ame, asservie au péché. Prenant conscience de sa triste déchéance elle exprime sa contrition et son espoir entièrement fondé sur la Passion de Christ.”<sup>191</sup> El siguiente tema está dedicado a María y los santos, y toma la forma de un invectiva contra “ceulx qui veulent empescher l’honneur et révérence qu’on leur doit faire.”<sup>192</sup> María aparece, igual que en el Miroir, como el modelo perfecto de “épouse” y “soeur”.<sup>193</sup> Ambas obras acaban con una canción de amor<sup>194</sup> y el deseo de morir para así poder alcanzar la unión perfecta con Dios.<sup>195</sup>



Si el Miroir de Margarita hubiera sido más sencillo y se hubiera demostrado fehacientemente que la Reina de Navarra había tenido acceso a la obra de Bouchet antes de su publicación en fechas cercanas a las del Miroir,<sup>196</sup> sería posible la influencia directa del último “rhétoriqueur” como clara fuente del Miroir de l’âme pécheresse. Por desgracia, sin embargo, Holban da por supuesto que el poema de Margarita fue escrito “rapidement, d’un seul jet”,<sup>197</sup> argumento que va en contra de la obvia complejidad de la obra de Margarita.<sup>198</sup>

En el plan general del Miroir de Margarita muestra la confesión de sus pecados, la conversión de su alma y la aceptación de Dios aunque pero la unión total solo ocurriría tras la muerte. Un análisis más detallado nos muestra la siguiente estructura compleja:

(1) Creación del hombre por parte de Dios, per arruinada por Adán (vv. 1-59)

El pecado es más fuerte que la voluntad del hombre.(vv. 60-104)

El hombre no es digno de las promesas de Dios (vv. 105-138)

(2) El plan de Dios para la salvación

Dios elige al hombre para ser su hermano, madre, esposo e hija (vv. 139-224)

El alma siente el “ravisement” de ser elegida, y es capaz de llamar padre a Dios (vv. 225-260)

(3) El primer “Mirouer”: “Speculum Mariae”:

El alma se ve a sí misma en María como perfecta en contra de Eva: “Speculum Evae” (vv. 261

El “ravisement” de María (vv. 299-308)

El anti-climax: la maternidad física de María es irrelevante si no hay fe. Llamamiento al “Song of Songs”: todos son elegidos, no solo María (vv. 325-364)

(4) El tema principal del “Miroir”: el “Speculum conversionis”: La idea central: el amor solo puede ser alcanzado mediante la fe y la esperanza: “Speculum fidei” (vv. 377-379) el tema es anunciado.

El “Speculum conversionis” bíblico: el “hijo pródigo” como modelo perfecto en el “Speculum filii prodigi” (vv. 379-396)

Conclusión del tema principal: el plan de Dios no es castigar, sino libertar (vv. 397-414).

Vuelta al tema del “Speculum fidei”:

El alma como “madre de Dios por la fe” (vv. 415-419)

Teología del pecado (vv. 511-542)

(5) El “Specula Salomonis” y “Davidis”

El juicio de Salomón; Cristo no puede ser dividido (vv. 445-478)

El fracaso de la fe en Aaron y David (vv. 511-542)

(6) La elección de Dios: Se vuelve al “Speculum conversionis et vanitatis”:

Dios hace un llamamiento al alma para que acepte ser su “Hermano” y “Hermana” (vv. 554-580)

Una oferta aún más personal para ser la “Esposa” de Dios (vv. 581-630)

El “Speculum vanitatis”: el hombre rechaza el plan de Dios; significado del verbo “laisser” (vv. 639-718)

Un nuevo llamamiento al ser humano: El “Speculum conversionis” y el “Cantar de los Cantares” (vv. 735-746)

El “Speculum animae peccatricis” según la historia de la mujer adúltera en Jeremías, 3 (vv. 747-804)

LE MIROIR Dios ama el alma pecadora, a pesar de su ingratitude. Margarita aparece como “Mirouer”, en el cual cada persona puede mirarse, para darse cuenta de lo que le ocurre cuando peca (vv. 805-830)

(7) El climax del “Miroir”: el triunfo del amor

Juego de palabras “vous-moi” como palabras de amor (vv. 831-880)

El triunfo del amor sobre la muerte (vv. 901-982)

Paradoja mística: la separación de lo amado es peor que el infierno (como si el infierno no significara la separación) con el texto “puis que”; repetitividad en el lenguaje del amor (vv. 1001-1086)

Himno a la muerte (contiene ideas ya desarrolladas en el Dialogue) (vv. 1087-1090)

(8) El éxtasis de San Pablo

(Margarita se reafirma en su confianza en el “amor”, sin anti-climax)

La atracción del hombre al pecado-muerte-infierno (vv. 1253-1280)

Triunfo del amor. Margarita juega aquí con las palabras “amour” (amor) y “mort” (muerte), haciendo uso de la aliteración de la letra “M”:

amour-mort (vv. 1040-1044)

mort-amye (vv. 1109-1110)

aymer-moy (vv. 1302-1312)

A la pequeñez del alma (riens) se le hace difícil comprender la infinita inmensidad de Dios (Tout) (vv. 1313-1330)

El “Speculum Pauli”: el “éxtasis” de San Pablo. El poema entero converge ahora hacia la experiencia mística de San Pablo, tal y como es relatada en 2 Corintios 12. Ahora él aparece como “l’ame pécheresse”; la conversión de San Pablo ocurre cuando se le aparece Cristo en su camino a Damasco: “(...) Trois jours sans veoir, ravy jusques au ciel (...)” (v. 1384). Durante esta experiencia, llegó a comprender del todo que los secretos de Dios no pueden expresarse con palabras:

(...)  
Voz jugementz sont incomprehensibles,  
Et voz voies, selon tous noz possibles,  
A tout noz sens investigables sont.  
(vv. 1391-1393)

Ahora se entiende la intención de Margarita con el “conocemos como en un espejo, entonces veremos a Dios cara a cara” (2 Corintios, 13, 12). Este es el secreto del Miroir de Margarita: “D’ung tel secret ne parlez plus avant” (v. 1396).

Si volvemos a analizar el poema aparecerá claro que se trata de un juego de palabras ya que la Reina de Navarra juguetea con el lector inteligente: es éste el secreto de su poema, un juego, una adivinanza sobre el significado de su nombre (Margarita), que corona y cierra el poema: “Qui luy plaist faire de moy sa Marguerite” (v. 1430). Era muy consciente del sentido oculto de su propio nombre, ya que el Espejo, por así decirlo, florece en forma de Margarita:

### MARGARITA igual a SECRETO igual a ESPEJO

¿Cómo llegó Margarita a esta extraña forma espiral en su Miroir, que termina con el símbolo místico de su propio nombre? Es muy común en la poesía lírica que termine con una adivinanza, sobre todo si es soneto. El Miroir no vuelve a su temática inicial, es decir a la conversión del alma, sino que termina con el “éxtasis en el Cielo” de San Pablo, el cual debió inspirar el título del poema y muchos de los temas añadidos. Seguirá una serie de “Specula” imperfectos, para llegar al climax de la sabiduría perfecta, que gente como San Pablo experimentaron durante un breve lapso de tiempo.

¿Si es éste el caso, tal y como nos muestra la estructura del libro, podríamos encontrar su fuente en la larga Correspondance entre Briçonnet y Margarita? Marie Holban se hace eco de la opinión de muchos críticos, sosteniendo, sin mostrar pruebas, que las ideas del Miroir

vienen de ahí: “Car on distingue une influence très nette sinon sur ses idées religieuses” (aquí se está refiriendo a los Triumphes de Bouchet) “qui sont celles de sa correspondance mystique avec Briçonnet et qui remontent donc à l’année 1521”<sup>199</sup>.

En efecto, debemos hacer referencia a las cartas de Briçonnet, en particular las del principio, para conocer su importancia sobre el desarrollo de los temas del Miroir. En una carta de agosto de 1521, Briçonnet trataba de guiar a Margarita de la vida “purgative” del alma hacia la “illuminative”. Como el Miroir, juega con palabras como “veoir”, “aveugle”, “lumiere” y “tenebre”<sup>200</sup>: “La superceleste, infinie, doulce, debonnaire, vrais et seulle lumière aveuglant et enluminant toute creature capable de la recevoir et qui, en la recevant, la dignifie de l’adoption filiale de Dieu, veuille, Madame, par son excessive et insuperable amour vous aveugler et illuminer”<sup>201</sup>, à ce que soiez en cécité voyante, et voiant aveugle, pour parvenir au chemin sans chemin de veoir sans veoir”<sup>202</sup>, cognoistre sans cognoistre les tenebres, esuelles la divine lumière infinie s’est cachée et faict sa demourance”. (Correspondance, 1, p. 34)<sup>203</sup>

Tanto en el Miroir como en esta carta de Briçonnet coinciden el lenguaje y los problemas básicos: el Hombre no puede alcanzar un conocimiento claro de Dios mientras esté aún vivo en la tierra; incluso después de la experiencia mística del alma conseguida con el “oeil de l’esprit”, sigue todavía “aveuglée”: (...) lors accroist sa lumière et attire plus fermement et facilement l’oeil de la raison et de l’esprit,<sup>204</sup> auquel, de degré, se communique sy doulcement que, incontinent, la pauvre ame se sent surprinse et, navrée d’amour sy excessive qu’elle la faict, par divers atouchemens et communication divine, trèsvoiante et cognoissante, et neantmoins ainsy aveuglée...” (Correspondance, 1, p. 35).

El Miroir de Margarita usa el mismo lenguaje, casi con las mismas palabras:

Las! mon frere. aultre bien je ne veulx  
Que vous navrant navrée me sentir;  
Par vostre amour bien m’y veulx consentir.  
(Miroir, vv. 332-334)

En su carta, Briçonnet menciona que la mejor explicación de la ceguera del cuerpo que lleva a la Ilustración del alma es la experiencia mística de San Pablo cuando se dirigía a Damasco:

“Car son oeil n’est capable de telle lumière recevoir et croy, Madame, que vouldiez aussy parler en voz lettres de ceste cécité, quant m’escrivez qu’estes plus que par nature aveuglée. Monsieur

Sainct Pol en fut moult actainct en son ravissement, quant il vit sans veoir et oyt sans pouvoir esprimer ce qui passoit toute expression. (...) (Correspondance, 1, p. 36)

y el Miroir de Margarita, refiriéndose al mismo episodio de la vida de San Pablo:

Onques nul oeil d'homme mortel ne vit,  
Ny aureille ne sceut jamais entendre.  
Ne dans le cueur, tant soit il bon, descendre  
Ce que Dieu a préparé et promiz.  
(Miroir, vv. 1400-1403)<sup>205</sup>

Pourquoy venez, o bienheureux Sainct Paul,  
Qui tant avez gousté ce doulx miel,  
Trois jours sans voir, ravy jusques au ciel...  
(vv. 1382-1384)

No puede tratarse de una mera coincidencia que tanto el Miroir como la carta de Briçonnet lleguen a la misma conclusión, a saber que la unión mística con Dios solo se puede lograr a la manera de San Pablo, superando todas las vías de los sentidos e incluso de la razón. Esta es, para Margarita, la esencia de su Miroir, palabra que significa que “solo conocemos imperfectamente”, como en un espejo empañado, usando la expresión Paulina “in specula”. Según ella y Briçonnet sólo entendemos a ciegas, y ambos usan la expresión “voir sans voir”.

Dos años más tarde, el Obispo de Meaux anunciaba los temas del Miroir aún más claramente, comparando el espejo material (metal) con el transparente (místico), en una carta escrita en octubre de 1523, de la cual evidentemente los críticos no se han percatado: “Sy mirouers materielz estoient vitaulx et animéz et fussent mis l'un devant l'autre, chascun d'iceulx verroit son compaignon et en luy soy mesme sans alteration quelzconques (...)”, (Correspondance, 2, p. 64).

El símbolo del Espejo permanece como leit-motif en la Correspondance. En marzo de 1524, un año más tarde, Margarita se refiere el uso místico del “mirouer” según Briçonnet: “Le vray mirouer auquel regardant (...)”, (Correspondance, 2, p. 133); que pronto reanudará el Obispo: “Assez y a de myrouers qui se disent clers mais non polliz (...)”. Y en abril de ese año, el tema del encuentro con el verdadero “myrouer” será explicado como el conocimiento verdadero de Cristo, que refleja la luz divina en nuestras mentes: “...du mirouer sans macule [i.e. Christ], qui, ne lais(s)ant ce qu'il estoit [his divine nature], a prins par exinanition

[su encarnación] ce qu'il n'avoit pour en noz mirouers oster ce qu'il y estoit..." (ibid., 2, p. 135). Si ajustamos nuestras almas a Él, Él nos transformará "illuminant nostre cecité et parfaissant noz imperfections, là est le mirouer sans macule, auquel fault desrouiller, pollir et conformer les nostres..." (ibid., 2, pp. 145-146).

Puede que la prueba decisiva de la dependencia del Miroir de Margarita a las cartas de Briçonnet se encuentre en el uso místico de ambos en la palabra-enigma "Marguerite". Fue Briçonnet el primero en usarlo de manera oculta; en una carta que escribió el 11 de noviembre de 1521, propone que el conocimiento perfecto crece como una "perle": "Et, quant elle y sera, jointe et unie, lors cessera la pyramide et retournera en son naturel rondeur circulaire." (ibid., 1, p. 55). La forma redona o el círculo era, para los místicos, la imagen del alma perfecta:

( ... ) and the soul hath a circular movement - viz. an introversion from things without and the unified concentration of its spiritual powers - which gives it a kind of fixed revolution, and, turning it from the multiplicity without, draws it together first into itself and then (after it has reached this unified condition) unites it to those powers which are a perfect Unity, and thus leads it unto the Beautiful and Good (...) And the soul moves with a spiral motion whensoever (according to its capacity) it is enlightened with truths of Divine Knowledge (...) for this, as I said, is the circular motion.<sup>206</sup>

La perfección matemática del Círculo evoca la perfección divina de Cristo; el objetivo del alma debe ser imitarle a Él, pero Su imagen es difícil de alcanzar: "Lors l'excellente et parfaicte marguerite, qui est le doulx Jesus, se peult achepter. C'est le pris pour lequel il se donne et pour aultre pris ne se peult avoir et ne se fault excuser sur pauvrette temporelle ou spirituelle" (Correspondance, 1, p. 55)

El significado secreto de la "Marguerite" como enigma místico, al final del Miroir (v. 1430), es la consecución de un conocimiento más puro de Dios: "Je crains, Madame, entrer en la mer du myrouer infini et eternal" (ibid., 2, p.58); y Margarita confiesa en su poema que ella ha alcanzado por fin el estado de entender plenamente que le exigía su Maestro durante los años de iniciación.

## IV

El Miroir puede, pues, considerarse como un resumen de las enseñanzas místicas de Briçonnet sobre la unión total con Dios, de la cual la “marguerite” sería el enigma, ya que tiene la forma circular Cristoforme: “Puisque toute la vie du chrestien doit tendre à mort et plus en approche plus est christiforme, ne puis avoir pitié, par ce qu’elle est au chemin de la doublement malade: plus croistera la maladie, plus tost ambrassera par mort le chief auquel elle desire estre marquerite” (ibid., 1, p. 72). La Reina se hizo más consciente de su significado oculto tras leer las cartas de Briçonnet y firmaba: “Marguerite, indigne du nom”. Usaría su propio nombre como símbolo, significando su iniciación mística en la vida espiritual, con la enseñanza de San Pablo como principal fuente de inspiración. Las ideas paulinas aparecen repetidamente en el Miroir, por ejemplo la necesidad del Espíritu para ayudarnos en nuestras debilidades (Romanos 8,26):

Par son esperit faict ung gémissement  
Dans mon cœur, grand inenarrablement,  
Qui postule le don, dont le sçavoir  
Est incognu à mon foible povoir.  
(vv. 83-86)

El alma sólo puede alcanzar el ardiente sentimiento de la perfección mediante la iniciación del amor:

( ... ) Las! c’est pour consumer,  
Fondre, brusler, du tout aneantir  
L’ame qui poeut ceste douceur sentir.  
(vv. 954-956)

Esta misteriosa sensación no puede ser descrita mediante palabras humanas, que sólo pueden expresar experiencias físicas:

( ... )  
Ce qu’il ne poeut declarer ne nommer,  
Tirant noz cueurs, nostre amour, et espoir  
A desirer ce qui ne se poeut veoir.  
Que diz je veoir? mais penser, ny sentir:  
Qui rend content de mourir ung martyr.  
(vv. 1408-1412)

Sckommodau llama “raptus mysticus” a esta experiencia mística de la que habla Margarita en su Miroir.<sup>207</sup> Briçonnet ya había dado una des-

cripción de esta experiencia espiritual, que bien podría aplicarse a este poema: “Quant il sera en nous par union transformante (comme dict Monsieur saint Pol) (Philippians 3,21) et configurante le corps de nostre nichilité à son très digne et excellent corps de sa clarté, nous serons tous, par sa grace, deiformes, et ne se pourra riens veoir en nous que luisante divinité, non procedante de nous, mais de nostre vray feu, nous transformant en luy. Là sera la vraie et indubitable union, sans figure ne ombre.” (*Correspondance*, 1, p.105).

Esta experiencia se expresa en el *Miroir* mediante una serie de analogías relacionadas a sentimientos físicos de dolor, como ser quemado o perforado. Las palabras clave para la lectura de ciertos episodios del poema son las siguientes:

ravi  
navré  
fendre  
brusler  
s’esbahir  
devenir folle  
perdre contenance  
perdre sens<sup>208</sup>

Nadie puede dudar de la sinceridad de Margarita en sus escritos. Había experimentado lo que se podría llamar una experiencia mística,<sup>209</sup> puede que tiempo antes de su primera carta al Obispo de Meaux a principios de verano de 1521. Briçonnet comprendió desde el principio lo que ella le pedía y comenzó inmediatamente su tarea. Durante los años de su *Correspondance*, la joven Margarita se sometió a varias pruebas personales refugiándose siempre en su educación religiosa.

El *Miroir* refleja esta iniciación a la división tripartita del camino por el que debe avanzar el alma. Siguiendo la tradición mística cargada de matices neoplatónicos, Briçonnet introdujo a la Reina a las “tres maladies”, “purgative”, “illuminative” y “perficiente”, (*Correspondance*, 1, p.74), haciendo hincapié en que el alma debe ascender al “esprit ecstatiq<sup>ue</sup>”<sup>210</sup> mediante la tripe escala de la Purificación, la Iluminación y la Unión (vv. 35 and 1207-1210).

Margarita, en el *Miroir*, no desarrolló completamente el tercer estadio en el ascenso místico, de la unión total con Dios. Este sería el campo de sus obras últimas, particularmente en las *Prisons de la Reine de Navarre*, mediante dos palabras clave, “le Tout” y “le Rien”. Las había aprendido del Obispo, aunque fuera ella aún más entusiasta que Briçonnet al usarlas en la



Correspondance. En enero de 152 escribía ella: “Voiant que au Tout n’estes rien et croiant vostre rien encloz dedans le Tout, me veulx soubzmettre à ce qui sera par vostre rien dict, le tenant de la main du Tout, vous querant prier pour mon moings que rien...” (Correspondance, 1, p. 134).

Margarita es bastante más discreta en el Miroir que en su Correspondance, y solamente más tarde se confiará a tratar completamente este tema de la relación “Tout-Rien” en las Prisons.<sup>211</sup>

Mais quant à luy par amour est unie  
Si remply est son riens d’ung peu de tout...  
(Miroir, vv. 1326-1327)<sup>212</sup>

Aún más significativo que éste será el uso de otro dúo antitético, el de Dios-hombre en la relación “Moi-Vous”, usando el análisis de Martin Buber del trato “Yo y Vos”.<sup>213</sup> Margarita intenta encontrar una solución al concepto místico de “éxtasis”, en el cual, según el Pseudo-Dionisio, no hay ninguna diferencia entre el Vos (de Dios) y el Yo (del hombre).<sup>214</sup> Los místicos occidentales se preocupan más a menudo de este problema de comunicación entre el alma y lo Divino que de la absorción del hombre por la Divinidad:<sup>215</sup>

(Je voy ... )  
Le bien de vous, qui est tant admirable,  
Le mal de moy, trop inconsiderable,  
Vostre haulteur, vostre essence trespure,  
Ma fragilité et mortelle nature,  
Voz dons, vos biens, vostre beatitude,  
Ma malice, et grande ingratitude.  
Quel vous m’estes et quelle je vous suis,  
(L’unq à l’aulture comparer je ne puis)  
Qui me faict bien sans fin esmerveiller,  
Comme si fort vous a pleu travailler,  
Pour vous unir a moy contre raison  
Veu qu’il n’y a nulle comparaison.  
(ibid., vv. 865-876)

Esta relación “Yo-Vos” se desarrollará en el Miroir mediante varios parentescos místicos, que llevan a las dos fases místicas:

- I. El matrimonio espiritual
- II. La creación del Hijo de Dios en el hombre

Al principio del Miroir la relación entre hombre y Dios es aún distante y aparece en forma de parentesco de Filiación.<sup>216</sup>

Est il pere à fille, ou frere à soeur  
Qui ung tel tour jamais eust voulu faire?  
(vv. 144-145)

y

Osera bien mon esperit s'avancer  
De vous nommer Pere? Ouy, et nostre,  
Ainsi l'avez dit en la Paternostre.  
(vv. 248-250)

El papel de la “Canción de las Canciones” es importante en el desarrollo del parentesco Hermano-Hermana:

Vous l'avez dit en lieu bien autentique  
Par Salomon en vostre doulx cantique,  
Disant: Ma soeur tu as navré mon cuer (...)  
(vv. 327-329)

Briçonnet ya le había escrito: “l'ame est fille, soeur et espouze à jamais du Roy des Roys” (*Correspondance*, 2, p. 227). Margarita sigue sus enseñanzas:

Puis que frere et soeur ensemble sommes,  
Il me chault peu de tous les aultres hommes.  
(*Miroir*, vv. 565-566)

L. Febvre no puede soportar lo que él llama las letanías de Margarita: “insupportables parfois dans leur redondance”,<sup>217</sup> ya que el *Miroir* entero esta lleno de tales alusiones:

Filz, pere, espoux, et frere, entierement  
Pere, frere, filz, mary. O quelz dons  
De me donner le bien de tous ces noms!  
mon pere, quelle paternité  
mon frere, quelle fraternité!  
man enfant, quelle dilection!  
mon espoux, quelle conjunction!  
(vv. 933-939)

Margarita da prueba en su texto de que está bien familiarizada con las enseñanzas de los místicos, sobre todo con la idea de unión con la Divinidad mediante la comparación con el parentesco del matrimonio.<sup>218</sup>

(...)  
 Vous les avez portez de bon courage [i.e. “mes vices”]  
 Par l’union de nostre mariage.<sup>219</sup>  
 (vv. 1181-1182)

Sin embargo, uno de los conceptos más sorprendentes del Miroir es el del parentesco de Filiación, que Margarita expresa mediante el concepto tradicional místico de “la naissance de Dieu en nous”. Eckhart había escrito: “Now let us see where this birth [of Christ] takes place. It takes place, as I have so often said before, in the soul, exactly as it does in eternity and with no difference, for it is the same birth and occurs in the essence, the core of the soul.”<sup>220</sup>

( ... )  
 En luy donnant foy pour la recepvoir,  
 Qui luy a faict vostre filz concepvoir.  
 (Miroir, vv. 183-184)

y algo más tarde:

Parquoy daignez l’asseurer qu’elle est mere  
 De vostre filz, dont vous estes seul pere.  
 (ibid., vv. 187-188)

El alma, en esta etapa, ha alcanzado el punto más alto de su intimidad con Dios que llaman los místicos unión perfecta o gozo absoluto. En el misticismo occidental, esta etapa solo puede ser superada en el caso de la unión estática del Hijo de Dios en la Trinidad.<sup>221</sup>

## V

Ya hemos mencionado durante este estudio algún que otro recurso estilístico, sobre todo aquellos relacionados con el intento de Margarita de seguir el género “Speculum” y su más característico uso del enigma o adivinanza sobre el significado secreto de su propio nombre. Su técnica no difiere de la tradicional: su Miroir, por ejemplo, aparece cargado de los recursos místicos de la tradición patristica de la Iglesia e influenciada por el renacimiento florentino neoplatónico. Hemos mencionado el círculo platónico como la figura más perfecta de la cual Margarita es, según Briçonnet, el símbolo.<sup>222</sup>

Otros recursos tradicionales místicos que merecen ser mencionados son las clasificaciones binarias, o dicotomías, que aparecen en el Miroir

de diferentes maneras. El énfasis platónico de Luz-Oscuridad, por ejemplo en la línea 35 (ya citado): “Par sa clarté ma tenebre illumine”<sup>223</sup>, es resumido mas tarde en el corto tratado que siempre se ha publicado con el Miroir desde su primera edición en 1531, y que es de hecho una aclaración de algunos de sus puntos más complicados. En el Discord estant en l’homme par contrarité de l’esperit et de la chair et sa paix par vie spirituelle, qui est annotation sur la fin du 7 ch. et commencement du 8 de l’epistre Sainct Paul aux Rom., se usa la misma estructura binaria para hacer hincapié en la naturaleza paradójica del hombre, que contiene en sí misma principios conflictivos (Romanos 7,15):

Son vouloir veulx et mon vouloir me plaist;  
 Loy m’est à gré; je deteste la loy;  
 Je vis en paix; je vis en grand desroy;  
 En ne m’aymant, je n’ayme aultre que moy.  
 (Discord, vv. 10-13)

De hecho tanto el Miroir como el Discord están repletas de estas divisiones paradójicas binarias, como en la división de la escala. El caracter interno del hombre aparece en contraste muy marcado con su ideal, el espejo perfecto, Cristo:

<u>el “Speculum Dei”</u>	<u>la Imagen de Hombre</u>
Vouloir de Dieu	vouloir de l’homme
Grâce	péché
Clarté	ténèbre
Vie	mort
le Christ	Adam
<u>Marie</u>	Eve
<u>Esperit</u>	corps

No se ha hecho suficiente énfasis sobre las preferencias de Margarita por el vocabulario que define a Dios o sobre la experiencia mística por la vía negativa, pues mientras que ella buscaba su inspiración en la Epístola de San Pablo a los Romanos, parece que los desarrollaba aún. He aquí un buen ejemplo de combinación de vocabulario paulino y antítesis mística:

(...)  
 Je voy en vous bonté si incongneue,  
 Grace et amour si incomprehensible,  
 Que la veue m’en demeure invisible.  
 (Miroir, vv. 854-856)

Briçonnet la había introducido a lo que normalmente se llama en teología mística la “vía negativa” o la “docta ignorantia”, una forma nega-

tiva de evitar predicados positivos aplicados a Dios, ya que no hay ni palabras ni conceptos humanos que puedan referirse, según los viejos maestros místicos, para describirle a Él. El Pseudo-Dionisio, el ejemplo más claro de todo el misticismo oriental y occidental, es el mejor exponente de esta “via negativa”, y su tratado místico sobre los Nombres Divinos era bien conocido. En el capítulo 5 sobre las Prisons trataremos la influencia de éste en Margarita a través de Briçonnet, estudiando en detalle sus varios intentos de ofrecer una definición de Dios.<sup>224</sup> Este texto paralelo de la carta de Briçonnet mostrará la imposibilidad de conocer correctamente a Dios en esta vida, pues todas las criaturas Lo reflejan confusamente: “Et sy je ouzois monter plus hault en son habitacle, où sa lumière superexcellente est tenebres, je le trouverois par rien plus dignement et excellentement que en ses creatures. Car il n’est creature ne toutes qui puissent explicquer ne que par icelles l’incomprehensibilité de l’incomprehensible qui est incommunicable se puisse comprendre et nommer.” (Correspondance, 1, p. 78).

Las metáforas tienen fuertes matices místicos, sobre todo la del Fuego en sus variantes de “brusler”, “feu”, “ardeur” y “scintille”. En nuestro caso es fácil localizar su origen en la Correspondance de Briçonnet, sobre todo en sus primeras cartas, de las cuales Margarita seleccionaba el material para escribir el Miroir. Según el Obispo de Meaux, el Agua y el Fuego son símbolos de las etapas Purgativa e Iluminativa, mientras que el Maná o “Pasture” significa la unión mística con la Divinidad: “L’excellent et beneficque abisme qui toutes creatures abisme en soy par grace sans intermission fluentes de son abissale charité en torrent de volupté abrevant, letifiant et remplissant les ames vrayment aneantyes et par harmonie d’amour uniez a luy en pureté de vaisseau vuidé et appauvry. Lesquelles s’en rendent par volontaire abesement subsceptibles, liquefians leurs coeurs au doulx brasier qui les purge, illumine et parfaict pour estre monnoye d’or royalle et legitlme et lors que plus sont embrassées, l’abissale pasture les repaist de soy en soy et repaistre en lui, qui est abisme de eaue, de feu et pasture”. (Correspondance, 1, pp. 76-77)

Otra etapa en relación al amor de Dios hacia el alma se clarifica más cuando se hayan sentido los primeros destellos de Su ternura:

Aussi le cueur qui par façon subtile  
Sent de l’amour de Dieu une scintille.  
Treuve ce feu si grand et si terrible.  
Si doulx, si bon, qu’il ne luy est possible  
Dire que c’est d’amour; (...)  
(Miroir, vv. 1341-1345)

Aquí Margarita está confesando que, aun llamada a la unión perfecta, está aún en su segunda etapa, la del Fuego, descrita por Briçonnet en la Correspondance (1, pp. 114-128). Se sugiere la etapa purgativa, por otra parte, mediante una serie de símbolos que están directamente relacionados con el tema esencial del “Miroir-Speculum”, el del “veoir” o “mirer”:

C'est le Miroir où Princesses et Dames  
Doyvent mirer et les corps et les ames<sup>225</sup>  
(Introduct. al Miroir, de J. de la Haye, vv.73-74)

Los obstáculos a la vida purgativa se sugieren mediante imágenes relacionadas con la Oscuridad y la Luz:

( ... ) qui [i.e. “mes pechez”] sont en si grand nombre  
Qu'infinitude rend si obscure l'ombre  
Que les compter ne bien veoir je ne puy...  
(Miroir, vv. 7-9)

Las Raíces, al contrario que las Hojas y las Ramas, son también metáforas de la oscuridad:

Bien sens en moy que j'en ay la racine,  
Et au dehors ne voy effect ne signe  
Qui ne soit tout branche, fleur, feuille, et fruit,  
Que tout autour de moy elle produict.  
(vv. 13-16)

Margarita explica más adelante que es prisionera de sus propias raíces:

Voilà comment en peine, criz, et pleurs  
En terre gist sans clarté de lumiere  
Ma paovre ame, esclave, et prisonniere...  
(vv. 24-26)

Margarita anuncia aquí un tema que tendrá mucha importancia en su gran obra, las Prisons. De hecho, el Miroir, cambiando de metáfora en metáfora, conecta la gran mayoría con el tema central de la “ceguera”. Llega incluso a escribir que se siente atrapada como un gusano en la tierra:

Et vous ça bas à moy estes venu,  
A moy, qui suis ver de terre tout nud.  
Que dis je, ver? Je luy fais trop d'injure.  
(vv. 99-101)

Sobre todos los recursos estilísticos de los poemas de Margarita, los símbolos, metáforas y comparaciones, sin dar un análisis detallado del complejo problema que presentan, Sckommodau sugirió que se podrían encontrar en la larga Correspondance entre Margarita y Briçonnet.<sup>226</sup> Esto es verdad en especial en el Miroir. No se puede acusar a la Reina de “plagio”, ya que tomar de los otros era un procedimiento normal, al igual que seleccionaba y controlaba cuidadosamente el imaginario del Obispo para perseguir su objetivo de integrarlo en su propio pensamiento.

Aunque el Miroir haya atraído la atención de la mayoría de los críticos de Margarita, sus secretos han permanecido prácticamente sin resolver. El texto presentará siempre dificultades para el lector moderno porque Margarita, quizás incluso más que Briçonnet, parece querer mantener su pensamiento oculto tras el velo místico. La interpretación críptica de la letra “M” nos hace pensar en el maestro de la Kabbalah, Ramon Lull, que escribió también un “Speculum” en latín, un tratado filosófico que no está directamente relacionado con el Miroir de Margarita. Su Speculum radicalis cognitionis naturae<sup>227</sup> fue publicado en París por Dominus Dagus en 1490 y tuvo una larga influencia en Francia.<sup>228</sup>

Como ya hemos visto, las ideas de Margarita no pueden reducirse tan sólo a un “Mirouer” o “Speculum” en concreto. Estaba demasiado ocupada en interpretar el pensamiento de Briçonnet sobre la etapa Iluminativa, al mismo tiempo que planeaba un gran trabajo sobre cómo llegar a la Unión con Dios en las Prisons<sup>229</sup>. En todo caso el Miroir aun guarda su secreto, un hermetismo más oculto aún que los símbolos escondidos de la literatura “Speculum”, y este enigma o secreto define la naturaleza del poema. En la Epístola I<sup>a</sup> de San Pablo a los Corintios, 13,12, San Pablo compara el conocimiento imperfecto de nuestra vida presente a la representación imperfecta de los objetos en un espejo envejecido de metal; más tarde, sin embargo, en II Corintios, 3,18, a San Pablo no le interesaba tanto lo que se puede ver “en un espejo”, sino el espejo mismo, pues los cristianos son comparados con él cuanto reflejan la gloria de Cristo. El carácter esquivo del poema de Margarita podría tener origen en este doble componente paulino pues la representación del espejo tenía una clara imagen circular.<sup>230</sup> En la miniatura del Livre d’Heures de Catalina de Medicis que aparece antes (Ilustración 2) está sin duda sosteniendo la imagen circular de un espejo “Cristoformo”, para usar la expresión de Briçonnet (Correspondance, 1, p. 58). La Reina invita al iniciado a mirarse a sí mismo en este “Speculum”, el cual, para ella, es el enigma de la visión clara. Briçonnet también esperaba que Margarita llegara a un estado parecido al del espejo, que él llamaba “speculaire” en una de sus cartas; el alma debe ser purificada: “...par l’ardente fournaise d’amour divine,

qui l'a restituée a sa premiere nature et, rendue luisante speculaire et illuminée..." (ibid., 1, p. 138), escribió en 1522. Al año siguiente fue todavía más explícito: "Sy mirouers materielz estoient vitaulx et animéz et fussent mis l'un devant l'autre, chascun d'iceulx verroit son compaignon et en luy soy mesme sans alteracion quelzconques et, sans ce, nul d'eulx est capable de se veoir. Plus insignement et sans proportion, Madame, se congnoist l'ame, mirouer créé, en son original et vray mirouer, qui n'a besoing d'autre myrouer pour se veoir et cognoistre (comme les materielz) ... Plus est le myrouer cler-luisant, beau et poly, plus represente au vray. Parquoy en toute excellence la divinité, myrouer sans macule, purgeant, illuminant et parfaissant tous aultres mirouers, est d'iceulx purgacion, illumination, et perfection veritable" (ibid., 2, p. 64-65)



*Ilustración 2.*

*Margarita de Navarra, vestida de pecadora arrepentida, mirandose en un espejo; los espejos de mano son símbolos de la verdad, y su forma normalmente redonda podría estar relacionada con la perfección de las figuras redondas, tal y como voy a explicar en el Capítulo 6, Sección V.*

*Retrato de le Livre d'Heures, de Catalina de Médicis. BL. a.lat. MS 82, fol.151.*

Tanto el Obispo como Margarita hablan el mismo lenguaje, usan las mismas imágenes y reflejan las ideas el/la uno/a del/de la otro/a como si se tratara de dos espejos. Puede que su Correspondance sea la solución al enigma con el que nos topamos en el trabajo más enigmático de Margarita, su Miroir de l'âme pécheresse.



**CAPÍTULO CUARTO:**  
**La Hermenéutica Bíblica según Guillaume Briçonnet y**  
**“Ravie de Dieu, Bergère” en la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan.**

**I**

Dieciséis años separan la publicación del Miroir de l'âme pécheresse en 1531 y la composición de la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan hacia 1547<sup>231</sup>, la obra siguiente de Margarita profundamente marcada por tendencias místicas. Algunos lectores faltos de sentido crítico podrían asumir que durante este tiempo se habría despreocupado Margarita de los cuatro años de iniciación mística bajo la égida de Briçonnet. No se trataría de una opinión reciente pues ya en 1528, W.F. Capiton (alias Köpfel) en la dedicatoria de su famoso Comentario in Hoseam Prophetam asume que la entonces Reina de Navarra (1527-1549) se preparaba para olvidar la filosofía de Briçonnet “de haute volée (qui) apporte avec elle de fatigue», pues durante esos años se estaba convirtiendo a una espiritualidad más sencilla siguiendo las ideas reformadoras luteranas.<sup>232</sup> Si bien no se pueden ignorar todas las implicaciones de este documento contemporáneo de Margarita, y a pesar de que la opinión de Capiton pudo haber tenido gran influencia sobre muchos críticos a expensas de una valoración más ecuánime de la evolución del pensamiento de la Reina desde los años de su Correspondance con Briçonnet hasta sus obras de madurez escritas entre 1544-1549.<sup>233</sup>

El hecho de que exista este intervalo de dieciséis años, 1531-1547, no quiere decir que hubiera aceptado tácitamente las sugerencias de Capiton, puesto que Margarita vuelve constantemente a algunos temas místicos que había aprendido del Obispo de Meaux, los cuales habían sido la quintaesencia de obras como el Dialogue y el Miroir.

El Varlet, por ejemplo, en su obra de teatro «L'inquisiteur» (vv 366-373), escrito a comienzos de los 1530, enseña una “Ignorancia Mística” similar a los “leit-motifs” o temas del Dialogue:

LE VARLET

Je confesse qu'en innocence  
N'y a rien que felicite,  
Et qu'au pris de leur congnoissance  
Tout sçavoir n'est que cecite.  
Croyez qu'ilz ont attainct le bout  
Du repos de l'entendement.

## L'INQUISITEUR

Que sçavent ilz?

## LE VARLET

Ilz sçavent tout,

Fors que le mal tant seu'lement.

No se puede ignorar que la joven Reina de Navarra, teniendo a su cargo las responsabilidades de la Corte de su hermano Francisco 1<sup>o</sup> se preocupara menos de ciertos temas que le habían motivado a escribir poemas místicos, tales como el Miroir y el Dialogue. Pero sin olvidarse de ellos. La Comédie du desert, por ejemplo enseñaría el edeal místico de que cada ser humano lograra ser el “generador del Hijo de Dios por medio de la fe”, una doctrina ya expuesta en el Miroir:

Qui croit comme moy  
Par tres vive Foy,  
Mere est du Sauveur;  
En son coeur l'engendre  
Mais qu'il puisse entendre  
Sa grande faveur.<sup>234</sup>

María aparece en la Comédie de la Nativité, lo mismo que en el Miroir, como elñ alma de “la Ravye” que ha conseguido la unión perfecta con la Deidad, tema que reaparecerá al final de su mejor poema místico, escrito en 1547, Les Prisons de la Reine de Navarre:

O le plaisir de l'union parfaite  
Que ta bonté et toy et moy a faite.<sup>235</sup>

Aunque exista un intervalo en su obra de al menos quince años en que apenas desarrolló nuevos temas, no tendría sentido concluir que a Margarita no le interesaran más las enseñanzas de Briçonnet sobre la “iniciación mística”. Sus cuatro obras de teatro bíblico, escritas a comienzos de los años 1530,<sup>236</sup> lo mismo que sus obras de teatro sobre temas morales de entre 1535-1539, mantienen la misma línea de pensamiento que le hicieron escribir a Margarita su Dialogue y el Miroir. Saulnier las editó como Théâtre profane para distinguirlas de las obras de teatro bíblico. Aún así no deben considerarse como obras de teatro profano, y estoy de acuerdo con Febvre cuando critica a quienes sugieren cualquier tipo de dualidad en la obra de Margarita, incluidas las “nouvelles” más crudas del Heptameron; en ellas simplemente se hacen resaltar los peigos del amor humano abandonado a sí mismo, ya que tienen más que ver con lo sagrado.<sup>237</sup> los términos “ético” o “moral” serían, en mi opinión, mucho

más apropiados para describir the naturaleza real de algunas de sus obras de teatro. Sus cuatro comedias morales, i.e. Le Malade, L'Inquisiteur, Trap, Prou, Peu, Moins y la Comédie des quatre femmes anuncian sus preocupaciones con “comédie humaine” del Heptaméron, en contraste con la “Divina Comedia” de sus escritos místicos. Marguerite misma expresa esta dualidad en un pasaje del Miroir en el que “el deseo de morir” podría interpretarse como pasón humana o como amor divino:

Si ainsi est que ces grandz passions  
Pleines de mal et d'imperfections,  
 De la mort font peu craindre le hasart,  
 Mais maintesfois leur semble venir tard,  
 Que doibt faire amour juste et louable.  
 Obligee et plus que raisonnable?  
 Que doibt fare a l'amour du createur?  
 Doibt elle point si fort brusler ung cueur,  
 Que transporte de telle affection,  
 Ne doibt sentir nulle aultre passion?  
 Helas! si faict, car mort est chose eueuse  
 A une ame de luy bien amoureuse;  
 Gracieuse elle estime la porte  
Par où il faut que de sa passion sorte.  
 (Miroir. vv. 1065-1078)

Los intereses de Margarita no fueron únicamente los que aprendiera de su Correspondance mística con Briçonnet; tras un cuidadoso análisis de su obra se ve claro que también su observación como mujer ha de relacionarse con sus experiencias de lo Divino, las que le ayudaron en la producción de la serie inacabada de “nouvelles” de su obra mejor conocida, el Heptaméron.

Los últimos años en la vida de Margarita llavan claramente l marca de un desencanto personal. Los comentarios de Lefranc sobre este periodo, 1540-1549, son muy reveladores: “Marguerite ne trouvant a son propre foyer ni l'appui ni les consolations morales qu'elle eGt aime a y chercher, sentant, d'autre part, qu'elle n'était plus maitresse des destinees de sa fille, fut amenee peu a peu a se desinteresser des choses extérieures, pour se refugier dans la contemplation des choses divines et dans le culte des lettres ( ... )”.<sup>238</sup> Quizás echara de menos a un protegido confidente con las cualidades de Briçonnet, a quien poder escribir como en 1521, pidiéndole consejos y más instrucción: “Monsieur de Meaulx, congnoissant que ung seul est necessaire [i.e. God], (je) m'adresse a vous pour vous prier envers luy vouloir estre par oraison moien quilil luy plaise conduire selon

la sainte volonte ( ... )” (Correspondance, 1, p.25). En lugar de eso se refugió en escribir produciendo ses obras más maduras, las Chansons spirituelles, La Navire, Les Prisons y el Heptaméron. Abandonó la vida política tras el matrimonio de su hija Jeanne d’Albret con Guillaume, Duke of Clèves, in 1540, contra los deseos de ambas, madre e hija y de su esposo Enrique II de Albret, teniendo que acomodarse a la política de su hermano Francisco Iº, sería muy importante para su carrera como escritora. Se retiró los años 1542 a 1544 a sus dominios, el reino de Navarra, luchando por su reunificación. Fue primeramente a Nérac, luego a Mont-de-Marsan y a Pau. Por primera vez en su vida encontró la oportunidad de abandonar los negocios públicos para dedicar toda su vida a leer y a escribir. Desde aquel entonces se retiraba con mucha más frecuencia a Navarra y sus obras más maduras son el fruto de este retiro parcial. Fue el 31 de marzo de 1547 cuando murió su hermano Francisco en Rambouillet y ella nunca se recuperó de este último shock, y así como en 1521, tras la muerte de la joven Princesa Charlotte, compuso Marguerite su poema, el Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne, escrito bajo el impacto personal de aquella experiencia, igualmente en 1547, emprendió Margarita la composición del que puede considerarse su primera obra de teatro místico, la Comédie sur le trespas du Roy.

Habrà que referirse al estudio de Marichal sobre La Navire ou consolation du Ray François Ier à sa soeur Marguerite para caer en la cuenta de la importancia de este diálogo místico entre Francisco Iº y Margarita. En el momento crucial en que el Rey parece perder su propia identidad asumiendo el espíritu del prelado de Meaux, oye Margarita los mismos reproches que le hiciera la joven Princesa Charlotte al final del Dialogue :<sup>239</sup>

Toy qui as tant de Dieu ouy le bien dire,  
Qui en tes mains tiens sa sainte Escripture,  
Laquelle peulx et doibz sans cesser lire ...  
(Navire, vv. 295-297)

Y poco después aparece el tema básico de los poemas de Margarita escritos hacia 1547 sobre las enseñanzas bíblicas, esta vez simbolizadas por el enigma de su propio nombre la Perla Margarita:

Marguerite ,et pourquoy n’as tu trouvee  
La marguerite et perle evangelique  
Que l’Escripture a si fort aprouvee.  
(ibid., vv. 316-318)

Es digno de notarse que en La Navire Margarita identifica su nombre con el sentido espiritual de la biblia, la Perla evangélica que nunca ha

de echarse a los cerdos (i.e. los no iniciados), siguiendo aún más de cerca **las enseñanzas de Lefèvre y Briçonnet que en el Miroir**, donde la “marguerite” es el enigma del conocimiento secreto.<sup>240</sup> Fevre ya notó esta interdependencia de Lefèvre y Briçonnet al interpretar la Perla como la interpretación esotérica de las Escrituras en Amour Sacré, y La Navire puesto que la hermenéutica mística había sido uno de los pilares más importantes en las enseñanzas de la escuela de Meaux. La Carta 59, escrita por Briçonnet el 16 de enero 1523, es una instrucción mística sobre los dos sentidos de la biblia, i.e. el literal y el místico, tal y como los entendía Lefèvre: “L'intelligence spirituelle est la marguerite caschée, laquelle, par la lettre qui est la chandelle, se trouve que 1 Ion laisse, la marguerite trouvée, laquelle ne se communique a chascun, et n'en congnoissent la valeur et excellence” (Correspondance, 2, p. 13), y el texto de la carta introductoria de Lefèvre a la traducción del Nuevo Testamento de aquel mismo año 1523 es el mismo que en La Navire: “Et devant ceux-la ( ... ) ne faut aucunement parler, ne semer les precieuses marguerites de l'Ecriture Saincte”.<sup>241</sup>

La conclusión. Pues es obvia: Margarita de Navarra no solamente aprendió la hermenéutica mística con la Correspondance de Briçonnet sino con Lefèvre, el máximo exponente del grupo de Meaux de la interpretación espiritual de la biblia. Y quizás consiguió a cambio de esta instrucción personal en la iniciación de entender los diversos niveles de entendimiento de la biblia le ofreciera protección personal hasta su muerte en 1536.<sup>242</sup> Este texto de una obra de teatro bíblico de Margarita, L'Inquisiteur, escrito durante la estancia de Lefèvre en su corte muestra claramente que ya hacia 1530 conocía la complejidad de la hermenéutica, pues distingue claramente los sentidos “literal” y “espiritual en las Escrituras:

L'INQUISITEUR

Qui t'ant appris d'Escripture?

Pour vray, il est ainsi escript.

LE VARLET

Vous mien avez fait la lecture,

Et Dieu mien a donne l'esprit.

(Inquisiteur, vv. 378-381)

Pero hacia 1540 había comenzado la Reina de Navarra a leer de nuevo las cartas de Briçonnetts y fue a través de esta lectura de la Correspondance cómo logró hacerse eco de las enseñanzas místicas de Lefèvre's como veremos no sólo La Navire sino más especialmente en uno de sus obras más herméticas, la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan. Hay una cierta conexión sentimental entre los experimentos en la inicia-

ción de la entonces Duquesa en las doctrinas de la escuela de Meaux y este interés tardó en lo que aprendiera durante sus años de juventud.

## II

Margarita escribió poco después de la muerte de su hermano en 1547 una obra enigma que ha confundido a más de un crítico, y que continúa siendo tan enigmático como siempre.<sup>243</sup> La Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan pertenece junto con la Comédie sur le trespas du Roy a la tercera etapa de su desarrollo temático. De 1530 a 1534 the Queen se ocupó sobre todo de temas bíblicos; hasta comienzos de los años 1540 se interesó el tratamiento de temas morales, pero a partir de la muerte de su hermano Francisco en 1547, comenzó a presentar temas místicos, incorporándolos en los personajes de sus obras de teatro. Su tratamiento dramático se caracteriza por el uso simbólico de monogramas y de enigmas que serían obvios para el auditorio de la Corte de Navarra, pero que resultan confusos para el público moderno. La Comédie sur le trespas du Roy no es totalmente críptico, puesto que explica al menos tres de sus cuatro personajes, mientras que la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan es enigmático de principio a fin.<sup>244</sup> Clive nos ofrece este resumen de las opiniones de los críticos sobre la obra:

Pour A. Lefranc la Superstitieuse symbolise le catholicisme en general; la Sage, la Reforme; la Ravie, le libertinage spirituel. P. Jourda considere que la Superstitieuse represente le catholicisme étroit ("la pratique mécanique des oeuvres"); la Sage, la foi chretienne raisonnée et intellectuelle; la Ravie, l'amour mystique. V.L. Saulnier, de son côté, propose les étiquettes suivantes: le matérialisme, la bigoterie, l'évangélisme. la foi du charbonnier (mais élevée à l'étage mystique); ces dernières étiquettes nous semblent resumer très justement les données essentielles des quatre positions.<sup>245</sup>

La discrepancia entre los críticos es total ("quot homines tot sententiae"), y sus propuestas sin sentido revelan la dificultad en la interpretación de los cuatro personajes de la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan. Está claro que habrá que examinar con más profundidad la importancia de estas "dramatis personae", sin aislarlas del misticismo y de la doctrina de la hermenéutica de la escritora.

Si es verdad que Margarita solía asociar a los personajes de su teatro con personas que conocía, como está claro en el caso de la Comédie sur le trespas du Roy, y sobre todo en el Heptaméron,<sup>246</sup> por otra parte hay cier-

tos nombres como el de “Paraclesis” todavía por identificar.<sup>247</sup> Es una lástima que no sepamos nada sobre el texto de la obra de teatro la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan o de las acotaciones para su producción; y lo que es peor se ha basado su criticismo casi enteramente en meras conjeturas y que solamente un análisis de las ideas de la Comédie nos ayudarán a descifrar los enigmas de esta obra de Margarita.

El primer personaje que aparece en la Comédie es “la Mondaine”, que tan sólo elogia los placeres del cuerpo, y explica así sus ideales a «la Sage”:

LA MONDAINE  
Madame, je suis corporelle,  
Aymant mon corps, tant naturelle  
Qu’à riens fors à vivre ne pense:  
J’entens vivre joieusement  
En biens et honneur(s) longuement,  
En taus plaisirs, jeux, ris et dances.  
J’aime mon corps. voyla la fin.  
(Comedie. vv. 207-213)

La siguiente en aparecer es “la Superstitieuse” que es más sutil puesto al identificarse con el Fariseo de la parábola ( Luke 18, 11-14) declarando que cumple escrupulosamente con todos los requisitos de la ley.

LA SUPERSTITIEUSE  
( ... )  
En jeunant, disant man office,  
Portant la here taus les jours  
Et la discipline tousjours;  
Pleurer, demourer sollitaire,  
Estre à beaulx genoulz nus au temple.  
Donner par jeunes bon exemple,  
Priant Dieu sans jamais se taire?<sup>248</sup>  
(vv. 236-242)

Ella encarna la actitud del Fariseo al condenar al pecador Publicano, para quien no muestra ninguna misericordia. “La Sage” arguirá así contra ella:

LA SAGE [dirigiéndose a “la Superstitieuse”]  
Mais si sans peche vous sentez,  
Contre elle vostre main metez  
Et jectez la premiere pierre.<sup>249</sup>  
(vv. 426-428)

“La Sage” desdeña más la arrogancia de “la Superstitieuse” que las miserias de la “la Mondaine”: “C’est orgueil qui vous faict parler” (v. 483); y en vv.107-108, “la Superstitieuse” reclama contra “la Mondaine”:

Au chemin par où je chemine,  
La mondanité point n’y passe.

“La Sage” aparecerá defendiendo a la “Razón” oponiéndose a los placeres corporales y a la arrogancia, pues es el pensamiento lo que distingue al hombre del resto de la creación:

LA SAGE  
Dieu a bien faict ung tres beau don à l’homme  
De luy donner raisan. savez vous comme?  
Comme a ung ange. Est ce pas don honneste?  
Par la raison il assemble et assomme,  
Ayme et congnoist les vertus et les nomme:  
Par la raison il differe a la beste ;  
Dieu luy a mis en hault regard et teste  
Pour contempler ce qui est par sur luy:  
La beste en bas a la terre s’areste,<sup>250</sup>  
Et l’homme en hault dont vient tout son appuy.  
(vv. 161-170)

y le ofrece a “la Mondaine” el camino de la salvación a través de la Fe evangélica:

LA SAGE [talking to “la Superstitieuse”]  
Croire il te fault fermement  
Puis suyvre son commandement.  
En le servant de cueur et d’œuvre.  
(vv. 369-371)

Habrà que destacar que es sorprendente que haya escapado a los críticos que Margarita base estas enseñanzas en la interpretación literal de los dos Testamentos bíblicos:

LA SAGE [talking to “la Superstitieuse”]  
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.  
(vv. 484-488)



Y la misma solución se ofrecerá a “la Superstitieuse”, si bien con mayor claridad:

LA SAGE  
Or, me lisez ceste escripture  
Où verité se faict entendre.  
(vv. 544-545)

Tras un largo debate del que nos ocuparemos más adelante debido a su gran importancia para este estudio, “la Superstitieuse” se somete a los deseos de “la Sage” y decide leer el texto de la Biblia: “J’y vois lire pour vous complaire” (v. 597).

Si hubiera concluido la Comédie con los versos vv.568-572 como el climax de su obra de teatro – subrayando que en el verso 568 aparecen la Escrituras como “Mirouer” - la opinión de muchos sobre la obra de Margarita sería más consecuente:

LA SAGE  
C’est le mirouer qui esclaire  
Voz cueurs, et (puis) qui les descouvre  
Grand(e) joye j’ay de vous deux  
Veoir lire en cas livres si neufz,  
Que neufves serez en ceste euvre.  
(vv. 568-572)

Febvre, por mencionar a uno de ellos. Atribuye a “la Sage”, que no logra ofrecer una solución final a las querellas de la Comédie, todo lo que la Reina de Navarra consideraba más precioso, es decir su mensaje evangélico, cuando expone:

Je dirais, pour ma part: la Sage représente, simplement, le contenu de cette religion peu chargée d’articles que tant de contemporains de Marguerite avaient, comme elle, extrait de la méditation du Nouveau Testament et des Epîtres pauliniennes - avec l’aide, tout a la fois, et des disciples de Lefevre d’Etaples. et des Erasmiens et du Martin Luther des grands ecrits réformateurs de 1520.<sup>251</sup>

Desgraciadamente y en contra de estas suposiciones, habrá que dejar claro que para cuando Margarita escribiera las dos obras de teatro místico, la Comédie sur le trespas du Roy y la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, lo mismo que las Prisons, se distanciaba de su posición equívoca respecto al luteranismo en obras como el Dialogue y el Miroir. En am-

bos casos Margarita se embrolló en las discusiones que comenzaban a hender a la cristiandad occidental en dos bandos, si bien no se trataba todavía de las controversias del Protestantismo versus la Contrarreforma como las consideramos hoy en día. Por otro lado los reformadores se han obstinado en mantener que Margarita era Protestante lo mismo que Lutero, con cuyas ideas simpatizaba hasta cierto punto. Para el crítico moderno, por poner un caso, parecerá absurdo que una mano pro-luterana se hubiera atrevido a modificar el texto mismo del manuscrito de la Correspondance entre Briçonnet y Marguerite, supuestamente para probar que la Reina de Navarra estaba del lado de Lutero.<sup>252</sup>

Para cuando apareció la Comédie, había aparecido en Ginebra una nueva figura más radical que la de Lutero. Margarita nunca vio con buenos ojos los experimentos reformistas de Jean Calvin, si bien es que el reformador de Ginebra se había refugiado en la Corte de Margarita y Enrique II de Albret en Nérac, pero sus discusiones encarnizadas con otros “protegés” le inquietaban constantemente, y para usar la expresión de R. Marichal: “la rigueur du système Calviniste avoit de quoi l’effrayer”, como por ejemplo “la prédestination et le libre arbitre où elle préfère visiblement l’indécision a la rigueur” pues era claro “que son temperament mystique s’accommodait mieux sans doute du “bouillant” Luther que de l’implacable Calvin”.<sup>253</sup> El Protestantismo, no tanto de Lutero como de Calvino revelaban una clara oposición al pensamiento místico, y cuando la corte de Margarita abrió sus puertas a los “Libertins Spirituels”, Calvino no dudó en difamar la reputación de Margarita: “Je voy une secte la plus pernicieuse et exécrable qui fust oncques au monde. Je voy qu’elle nuyst beaucoup, et est au feu allume pour destruire et gaster tout, ou comme une contagion pour infectionner toute la terre, si l’on n’y remédie”.<sup>254</sup> La reacción de la Reina contra la intrusión de su supuesto “protegé” fue inmediata y sugerir que “la Sage” refleja el punto de vista de Margarita contra el reformador no parece fuera de lugar, refiriéndose a la intransigencia intelectual de Calvino.<sup>255</sup>

Hilda Graef resume así las ideas de los reformadores protestantes sobre el misticismo:

The theology of the Reformers, Luther (1483-1546) and Calvin (1509-1564), was fundamentally inimical to the development of genuine mysticism, even though mystical trends made themselves felt at times. Luther himself was interested in mysticism in his early years, even for some time after he had started the Reformation ( ... ). He was attracted by the German mystics, Master Eckhart and Tauler, and especially by an anonymous late fourteenth century treatise, the so called “Teologie Deutsch” (German Theology), which he published himself in 1616. Of this

he said that, except for the Bible and St. Augustine no book had ever taught him more about God and Christ and the human condition. This is very significant, for, though this book is fairly orthodox even if rather one-sided in its mystical teaching, it nevertheless emphasizes certain aspects which were later to be taken out of their mystical context and embodied in Luther's own doctrine.<sup>256</sup>

El cuarto y último personaje en aparecer en la Comédie es “la Ravie de Dieu, Bergere”. Si por un lado personaliza la simplicidad en sí misma, se trata de la más compleja de las cuatro “dramatis personae”, y sus principios místicos han sido identificados con los de los “Libertins Spirituels”. Es la “Ravie d'Amour”:

LA BERGERE [al entrar en escena]  
Helas! je languys d'amours...  
Helas! je meurs tous les jours.  
(vv. 573-574)

y se niega a seguir el camino del conocimiento del “chemin de science” de “La Sage” (v.817)

LA SAGE  
Mais plustost vous juge ignorante,  
Qui s'esjouict sans savoir quoy.  
(vv. 807-808)

prefiriendo continuar con el camino de la “Docta Ignorantia”:

LA BERGERE  
Vous avez bien jugé de moy,  
Car ma joye ne congnois pas.  
Je m'esjouis et prens soulas  
Et ne congnois pas bien ma joye.  
(vv. 809-812)<sup>257</sup>

aunque sabe exactamente lo que anhela:

LA BERGERE  
Je sçay ce que je veulx avoir:  
D'autre science n'ay besoign.  
(vv. 825-826)

Las enseñanzas místicas de “La Bergere”<sup>258</sup> han sido comparadas erróneamente por varios críticos con el “Libertinismo” de los “Libertins Spirituels”. Es verdad que Margarita insiste en la primacía del amor:

LA BERGERE

Qui vit d'amour a bien le cuer joieulx,  
Qui tient amour ne peult desirer mieulx,  
Qui scet amour (n') ignore nul sçavoir,  
Qui void amour a tousjours rians yeulx,  
Qui baise amour il passe dans les cieulx,  
Qui vainc amour il a parfaict pouvoir,  
Qui ayme amour acomplyt son devoir,  
Qui est parte d'amour n'a nul (le) peine,  
Qui peult amour embrasser, prandre et veoir,  
Il (est) remply de grace souveraine.

(vv. 575-584)

pero la reacción de Lefranc, por ejemplo, es inmediata:

( ... ) le langage de la Bergere “ravie d’amour” est absolument celui des libertins spirituels. C’est la doctrine de cette secte fameuse, secte qui fut la cause directe de la rupture survenue entre Calvin et Marguerite, qui se reflète, de façon la plus manifeste, dans les effusions hardies et brûlantes de ce personnage. Il n’y a au monde que l’amour: tout le reste n’est qu’apparence et vanité. La science est inutile; le coeur et ses impulsions doivent être les seuls guides de la vie humaine.<sup>258</sup>

Otros críticos son menos dogmáticos, como por ejemplo Clive,<sup>259</sup> mientras que Febvre concluye con toda razón que el criticismo se había sobrepasado con mucho: «Soyons historiens. Etre historien, ce n’est pas mettre en contact des dates et des faits bruts et nouer entre ces éléments inertes des liens arbitraires».<sup>260</sup> Parturier, por ejemplo llega a reconocer la influencia de los Libertinos en las obras primeras de Margarita, incluso antes de que hubiera tenido contacto con ellos: “Marguerite avait certainement connu leurs idées et les avait adoptées bien longtemps avant cette visite [i.e. hacia 1546] car ses premiers écrits en portent déjà la trace”,<sup>261</sup> Pero no se puede mantener esta opinión, ni siquiera en la forma menos contundente adoptada por Jourda.<sup>262</sup>

Sí que es cierto que en 1525 «un certain Coppin, originaire de Lille, enseigne la doctrine de la liberté spirituelle dans sa ville natale», comenta Jundt en su interesante obra sobre la Histoire du panthéisme populaire au Moyen Age et au seizieme siecle,<sup>263</sup> y que más tarde hacia 1534, Quintin apareció en Francia junto con Bertrand des Moulins. Comenzaron a pro-

pagar, junto con Claude Parceval y Antoine Pocques, sus enseñanzas religiosas en París, hasta que tuvieron que enfrentarse con Calvino que les prohibió difundir su doctrina dentro de la comunidad protestante de la ciudad. Pocques setasladó más tarde a Estrasburgo y a Ginebra en en 1542. Un año más tarde en 1543 Pocques y Quintin tuvieron que refugiarse en la Corte de Navarra, donde la Reina Margarita les protegió contra su implacable enemigo Jean Cauvin, como entonces se escribía su nombre. La actitud de Lutero fue parecida, pues en 1525 conoció a un “Libertin Spirituel” en Wittenberg e inmediatamente escribió una carta a los ciudadanos de Antwerp contra un “demon incarné qui veut vous conduire en erreur et vous détourner de la vraie intelligence de l’Evangile”.<sup>264</sup>

No se sabe lo suficiente sobre la secta de los “Libertins Spirituels” que nos permita comparar su doctrina sobre el Amor con la proclamada por “la Bergere” en la Comédie, puesto que católicos y protestantes destruyeron sus escritos y todo lo que sabemos sobre sus enseñanzas es gracias a los improperios de sus enemigos, particularmente de Calvino que escribió nada más y nada menos que ocho tratados contra quienes se habían refugiado en la Corte de Navarra, sin perdonar siquiera a la Reina Margarita en un “Petit traite montrant ce que doit faire un homme, regnoscant la vérité de l’Evangile quand il est entre les papistes”.<sup>265</sup> Afortunadamente, sin embargo se salvaron sus Traité mystiques escritos en la Corte de Navarra que no pudieron destruir ni católicos ni protestantes, y que fueron publicados por C. Schmidt en 1876.<sup>266</sup> En los tratados místicos de los “Libertins Spirituels” se notan algunas similitudes, aunque muy vagas, con las enseñanzas espirituales de la Reina de Navarra, pero el tema central de la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan por lo que se refiere a los sentidos literal y espiritual de las Escrituras es totalmente distinto. regarding the literal and spiritual meaning of the Scriptures is totally different. Es cierto que los “Libertins Spirituels” mantenían que “il faut apprendre à dégager la lettre de l’esprit”, lo mismo que la interpretación alegórica de la Biblia, pero sus tres etapas en el entendimiento de las Escrituras son enteramente distintas de las tradicionales que enseñaba Margarita. Según ellos había habido tres etapas en la historia de la humanidad, la de la ley: “celui de la loi” ( Antiguo Testamento) “par le Père”, la etapa del Evangelio: “celui de l’Evangile” ( Nuevo Testamento) “par le Fils” y “celui du Saint Esprit” (el Amor);<sup>267</sup> todo ello totalmente incompatible con con la doctrina tradicional de Margarita, que no la había aprendido de los reformadores sino durante su iniciación a la teología hermenéutica bajo la dirección de Briçonnet y Lefèvre.<sup>268</sup> Ya en 1524 el Obispo de Meaux le había instruido en el sentido espiritual de los pasajes históricos en el Antiguo Testamento, simbolizados por la letra hebrea “Mem”, como vimos en el Capítulo primero sobre la iniciación de Margarita en las, y yo estoy totalmente de

acuerdo con la opinión de Cappello cuando dice que las ideas místicas de Margarita de Navarra sobre la interpretación de la Biblia son totalmente diferentes de las de los “Libertins Spirituels”.<sup>269</sup>

### III

Para cuando los “Libertins Spirituels” llegaron a la Corte de Navarra, era ya demasiado tarde para ejercer ninguna influencia real en las ideas de Margarita, si bien es cierto que los acogió, protegiéndolos y que escuchaba atentamente sus enseñanzas. Pero no existen evidencias de que la iniciaran, pues es muy difícil compaginar sus ideas con las de las obras de la Reina de Navarra escritas en 1547. Por aquel entonces tenía tiempo para leer y escribir, y de hecho compuso durante aquellos largos “retraites” en Navarre varias obras increíblemente parecidas a los temas de la Correspondance que mantuvo con el Obispo de Meaux, lo que probaría que estaba repasando muy detenidamente el intercambio de cartas, quizás lamentándose de que la preciosa colección epistolar que había mandado copiar no la hubiera terminado de copiar su amanuense.<sup>270</sup>

Los cuatro personajes enigmáticos de la Comédie podrían ser recreados, como por ensalmo, y palabra por palabra, siguiendo los textos de la Correspondance de finales de 1522, escritos veinte años antes. Briçonnet, siguiendo la distinción de San Pablo entre el “homo spiritualis” y el “homo animalis”, (I Corintios 2,14), escribe sobre quienes nunca consiguen al conocimiento total porque siguen sus propios deseos:

o bien siguiendo los deseos del Cuerpo (como “la Mondaine” de la Comédie)

o bien siguiendo los deseos de la Superstición (como “la Superstitieuse”)

o bien siguiendo los deseos Razón (como “la Sage”)

pues solamente unos pocos llegan a la «clairvoyance» (como “la Bergère”) que es superior a la razón. Al hablar de las “trois sortes d’hommes”, la primera es “charnel et terrestre, totalement aveugle comme la taulpe. Le second, animal voyant seulement ès tenebres, comme la sevesche et ne voyant en lumiere, juge du monde et peu ou rien de Dieu. Le tiers est spirituel, lequel comme l’aigle est clairvoyant en la lumiere du soleil de justice ...” (Correspondance, 1, p.228). Briçonnet nos ofrece aquí un texto aclaratorio que, en mi opinión, ofreció a Margarita la oportunidad de utilizarlo en su Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan:

Il en est d'autres qui macerent leurs corps [*escribe Briçonnet*],

y La Superstitieuse [*hablando con la Mondaine*]:  
J'en loue le Dieu de bonté,  
Pour lequel mon corps j'ay dompté  
Tant qu'il ne se peult soubstenir.  
Je le bas, je le fais jeusner  
Et en voiage cheminer,  
Et de tous plaisirs abstenir.  
(vv. 441-446)

“travaillant pour en sortir et plus y entrent: lesquelz comme asnes tournent alentour de la roue à leur plaisir, toutesfois prisonniers et attachez à icelle en la tournant. Ilz cuident par raison naturelle et animale penetrer et pour debvoir parvenir a la fin de la vie spirituelle viviffiante par jeusnes, oraisons, aulmosnes et aultrez oeuvres”,<sup>271</sup> esquelz cuydent estre et consister leur justification, aussy par raison apprehender, congnoistre et entendre ce qui est plus sur raison qu elle n'est sur le corps et charnel le sensualité. Telz sont trap en corps qui en oeuvres corporelles et materielles mectent leur salut. Sainct Pol les appelle anymaulx ( ... ) (*Correspondance*, 1, p. 224)

y desde el punto de vista de *LA SAGE*:

Dieu a bien faict ung tres beau don a l 'homme ~  
De luy donner raison, savez vous comme?  
Comme a unJange. Est ce pas don honneste?  
(vv. 161-163)

LA BERGERE *prefiere enamorarse*:  
Je ne sçay rien sinon aimer.  
Ce sçavoir la est man estude,  
C'est man chemin, sans lacitude.  
Où je courray tant que je vive.  
(vv. 819-823)

Briçonnet suele seguir la iniciativa de Margarita, como es el caso de la Carta 46 de la *Correspondance* que hemos citado anteriormente, en la que trata de ilustrar el final de la carta de Margarita de noviembre 1522. Un año antes, siguiendo una vez más la iniciativa de Margarita,<sup>272</sup> Briçonnet hizo una descripción de la cuarta “brebis” como “l'aveugle en soy”, quien totalmente despreocupada de todo excepto Dios, se parece al

cuarto personaje de la Comédie, desinteresada de sí misma (“aveugle en soy”) y totalmente poseída por el amor:

Elle brusle d'amour et charité<sup>6273</sup> et se cuide froide.<sup>274</sup> Elle ayme sans aymer et est sans estre. Car elle est aveugle en soy et ne congnoist en elle que son seul necessaire, leque en elle, d'elle, par elle et pour elle fait toutes ses operations.<sup>275</sup> Elle est morte vivant(e)<sup>276</sup> car son seul necessaire vit en sa mortification. (Correspondance, 1, p. 43)

Cuando el alma de la “ravie” llegue al cuarto grado de perfección, todas sus operaciones (ver, moverse e incluso vivir) serán absorbidas por la voluntad de Dios; la expresión “aveugle en soi” es una fórmula Quietista que significa que el alma ya no puede controlar su propia visión; pero incluso “la Bergère” se hace eco de las enseñanzas de Briçonnet sobre el control de Dios de la “aveugle en soi”, Yo personalmente creo que la obra de teatro está conectada más directamente con los temas del epistolario del Obispo de Meaux escritos un poco más tarde, hacia finales del año 1522 y los comienzos de 1523, cuando el Obispo iba a introducir a Margarita en la hermenéutica espiritual, i.e. La interpretación mística de la Biblia, bajo la guía nada más ynadamenosque de tres especialista bíblicos del grupo de Meaux que entonces se encontraban en su corte real de Navarra, Lefèvre d'Etaples, François Vatable and Gérard Roussel: “Et sachant les graces qu'il vous a données, et que ayant telle opportunité desdits trois personnaiges qui ont l'intelligence hebrahique et grecque, dont se peuvent esclaircir plusieurs tenebres qui sont par mauvaises translacions en l'Escripture Sainte, me jugeray vous tenir propos duquel vous [vous] excusez”. (Correspondance, 2, p. 13)

No cabe la más mínima duda de que la iniciación de Margarita en la técnica secreta de la interpretación bíblica la llevó a cabo Briçonnet (Ibid.,2, pp. 11-15), aunque el primero fuera Michel d'Arande a quien ella le nombra “l'expositeur” ya en septiembre (ibid., 1, p. 42). Su mutua Correspondance atrajo la atención de Henri de Lubac en su célebre obra Exégèse médiévale; les quatre sens de l'Ecriture.<sup>277</sup> Glori Cappello ha completado un detallado análisis de la Hermenéutica de ambos Lefèvre y Briçonnet, concluyendo con Margarita no dependió de la doctrina de los “Libertins Spirituels”, sino únicamente de la exégesis de la Escuela de Meaux.<sup>278</sup> Podría resultar más difícil probar que fuera un discípulo clave bajo la dirección de los mejores especialistas de entonces en Francia y si las dos citas que aparecen previamente de L'Inquisiteur y de La Navire son prueba de que se había interesado en el tema e las diferentes interpretaciones de la Biblia, pero sería en la Comédie donde aparece como un



discípulo aventajado que pudo hacer frente a la difícil tarea de aplicar los diferentes niveles de interpretación a los textos de las Escrituras. La aparente indiferencia de “la Bergère” implica su comprensión desde dentro bajo la guía del Espíritu; Esta doctrina la desarrollará más tarde la Reina de Navarra en su poema místico Les Prisons, donde se da prioridad al sentido espiritual de la Palabra sobre su interpretación literal.<sup>279</sup> Pero a diferencia de Briçonnet, a ella nunca interesó hacer largos tratados sobre el sentido espiritual de pasajes bíblicos como el milagro en Caná de Galilea (*Correspondance*, 1, pp.81-82), o la interpretación bíblica del Paso de los hebreos por el Mar Rojo (ibid., 1, pp.195-214), concentrándose más bien en temas más concretos como la presentación de personajes que personificaran las ideas de Meaux sobre el sentido espiritual de las Escrituras.

De momento, aparte de Lubac y Cappello, muy pocos críticos se han interesado en estudiar la exégesis mística en las obras de Margarita. Febvre, es verdad, había mencionado el uso de la Biblia en dos de sus obras, el Discord estant en l’homme y en el Miroir.<sup>280</sup> Allaire había notado que las glosas de la Biblia en el Miroir las había tomado Margarita de las traducciones al francés de la Biblia de Lefevre<sup>281</sup> siendo de notar que se encuentra en la Biblioteca de Turín la copia personal de Margarita con el “ex libris” “ce livre est à Madame Marguerite de France”<sup>282</sup>. Ciertamente que dependió de Lefevre no sólo en la lectura de la Biblia, sino de su interpretación de la hermenéutica mística que había aprendido a través de su iniciación con el Obispo de Meaux. cabe mencionar finalmente que Salminen y Veissiere-Martineau han contribuido muy positivamente con estudios de las citas de las Escrituras que hace Margarita en el Miroir y en la Correspondance.<sup>283</sup>

Nos preocupa sobre todo, no tanto la doctrina de Briçonnet and Lefèvre, sino cómo aparece en la obra de Margarita tras dos años de continuo intercambio de cartas con el Obispo. Ya en 1522 Briçonnet había insinuado que hay dos niveles de lectura en la Biblia, el obvio y en oculto y la carta que le escribió el 18 de mayo 1522, pudiera muy bien considerarse como el prólogo a la explicación mística al Cántico de Moisés que le escribiera ocho meses más tarde el 16 de enero 1523.

Et puisque par nostre froideur autrement ne pouvons ne serons excuséz sy avec Moïse, sa soeur Marie et aultrez d’Israël ne chantons ordinairement le doulx canticque: “Cantemus Domino; gloriose eum honorificatus est, equum et ascensorem projecit in mare” [Exodus 15,1]. Lequel, comme est le premier de tous les canticques, aussy contient le mistere et figure de nostre innovacion et regeneration que vous prie, Madame, le lire

d'autant plus devotement quant Dieu vous donnera la grace que l'ombre est descouvert par la verité, et en le disant, digerez tous les passaiges moult haultz et sublimes contenans nostre redemption. (*Correspondance*, 1, p. 202)

La carta de Briçonnet es, de hecho una explicación sobre la manera de encontrar el sentido espiritual de un libro histórico en el Antiguo Testamento, como en el caso de Josué quien “Tel debvoit du doulx Jesus estre l'ombre et la figure, car Josue est interprete salut et salvateur” (ibid., 1, p.213), y “Il faudroit ung gros volume qui vouldroit, ayant l'esperit de Dieu pour guide et conduite, amplement declairer tout le progrez du veage umbratile des enfans d'Israël ( ... )” (ibid., 1, p. 210). De esta manera explicaba que el sentido espiritual está de alguna manera subordinado a la inspiración de Dios para quienes estén preparados para entender los secretos ocultos dentro de un texto totalmente histórico. Habrá que subrayar que no no hay oposición ni según Lefèvre ni según Briçonnet entre las interpretaciones literal y espiritual en la Biblia, si bien el sentido espiritual es más importante, Ya en 1523, Marguerite estaba preparada para entender todo estas y muchas más distinciones, como prueba esta carta de fecha 16 de enero de aquel año.

Car toute l'Escripture Saincte est ou spirituelle seulement, sans intelligence litterale, ou litterale sans la spirituelle (et bien peu), ou litterale et spirituelle ensemble. Moings se trouvera de passaiges qui se puissent seulement entendre litteralement que des aultres deux. A ceste cause l'on dict que l'intelligence litterale est comme la chandelle qui ne couste que ung denier, dont on serche la marguerite qui est cachée en la maison. L'intelligence spirituelle est la marguerite caschée, laquelle, par la lettre qui est la chandelle, se trouve que l'on laisse, la marguerite trouvée, laquelle ne ce communique a chascun et n'en congnoissent la valleur et excellence. Pour ceste cause deffend nostre Seigneur ne debvoir estre semées entre les pourceaulx, c'est a dire l'intelligence spirituelle ne fleurir ou sentir bon a plusieurs qui sont charnelz et litteraulx, qui voient sans veoir et oyent sans oyr ( ... ) (ibid., 2, pp.13-14).

Quisiera insistir sobre la importancia de las últimas palabras para hacer ver que es éste el mensaje básico de los cuatro personajes de la Comédie. Si es cierto que no hay oposición entre el sentido literal y el espiritual en la Biblia, según Lefevre y Briçonnet, puesto que se complementan mutuamente, Margarita no hará más que seguir paso a paso las enseñanzas del grupo de Meaux, como explica Glori Cappello, como se

ppuede ver en el texto: “La vraie clef de l’intelligence de l’Escripture Saincte est l’esperit et non la lettre ( ... )”.(ibid., 2, p. 14). Las discusiones, pues de los cuatro personajes en la obra de Margarita, se referirán directamente al tema de la lectura de la Biblia, por más que algunos críticos de la obra no hayan logrado verlo.

“La Sage” aparece desde el comienzo mismo como la guía ciega de “la Mondaine” y de “la Superstitieuse”; “la Sage” logra entender “la lettre” pero nunca va más allá del sentido literal. Hay dos pasajes en la obra de teatro, una discusión entre ella y «la Mondaine», y una segunda con la “la Superstitieuse”, que lo aclaran:

LA MONDAINE

Je ne scay pas où commencer:  
Je craindz seulement de penser  
Au mal qu’il fault que je descouvre,

LA SAGE

Pour vous metre toute a delivre,  
je vous faictz present de ce livre:  
C’est la loy et vieille et nouvelle. [i.e. Los dos Testamentos]  
En luy verrez ce qu’il fault faire  
Et qui pour vous peult satisfaire,  
Pour vous metre en vie eternelle.

LA MONDAINE

Puis qu’il vous plaist de le me dire,  
Incessament je le veux lire,  
Pour y chercher mon sauvement

LA SAGE

Ignorance, des folz marrastre,  
A sapience pour emplastre  
Bon sens, raison, entendement.  
(vv. 372-386)

Hay poco después una segunda discusión paralela entre “la Sage” y “la Superstitieuse” sobre la lectura de las Escrituras:

LA SAGE

Or, me lisez ceste escripture  
Où verité se faict entendre.

LA SUPERSTITIEUSE

Madame, je suys (bien) trop sottte  
Pour chanter de si haulte notte;  
Certe, je n'y puis rien comprendre.

LA SAGE

M'amy, lisez hardiment  
Le viel et nouveau Testament  
Que vous a laisse vostre pere.

LA SUPERSTITIEUSE

C'est a la personne savante:  
Mais moy qui suis tant ignorante,  
Cela me seroit impropere.  
(vv. 544- 554)

E incluso “la Superstitieuse” accede a que le instruya “la Sage”:  
“Toutesfoys à vous me consens” (v. 559).

“La Bergère”, en cambio permanece todo el tiempo indiferente durante las discusiones de las otras tres, pues entiende en su ignorancia que tales polémicas no tienen sentido:

La BERGERE

Vous qui estes ignorantes  
Que c'est que (la) ferme foy:  
O combien seriez contantes  
Sy le saviez comme moy!  
(vv. 692-695)

La única forma de poder interpretar el carácter misterioso de “la Bergère” sería comprendiendo el contexto de las discusiones hermenéuticas de la Escuela de Meaux, de la que fuera miembro Margarita hasta el final. Si fuera cierto que algunos del grupo se pasaron a los luteranos, o se sintieron atraídos por los primeros esfuerzos reformistas de Lutero, muy pronto se declararían independientes. Después de la disolución del grupo de Meaux en 1525, cuando algunos de sus miembros como Lefevre, Roussel y Michel d'Arande, tuvieron que buscar refugio en Estrasburgo, Margarita se sentía obligada a ocuparse de los problemas políticos que se siguieron a la derrota de Pavía en la que cayó prisionero su hermano Francisco I<sup>o</sup>, teniendo que ocuparse de su liberación. Con todo trató de salvar del naufragio a algunos de los miembros del grupo ofreciéndole acogida en la Corte de Francia. En cuanto a Briçonnet ya no pudo protegerlos ni juntarse con ellos en su capacidad de prelado de la iglesia oficial.

No se ha dado importancia al hecho de que el decreto sinodal antiluterano del 15 de octubre 1523, fue en defensa de la doctrina de Meaux sobre la interpretación mística de las escrituras, que fue atacada por Lutero:

Semblable à Chrysippe [*dice el Obispo como razón principal de su rechazo a los esfuerzos de reforma*] qui se croyait seul sage, il tord à sa fantaisie par une interpretation nouvelle les saintes Ecritures, et meprise tous ceux des anciens qu'il trouve contraires a ses témérités; le bienheureux Denis entre autres, ce disciple de Paul, dont les écrits sont après les Evangiles et les livres apostoliques ce qu'il y a de plus sublime et de plus sacré, il le traite de novateur!<sup>284</sup>

El grupo de Meaux había tomado muy en serio la doctrina del Pseudo-Dionisio, particularmente su interpretación mística de la Biblia. Lefèvre, por ejemplo, había defendido la autenticidad de las obras del Areopagita contra Erasmo, y parece que fuera ésta la principal razón por la que el humanista de Rotterdam no pudo nunca estar en contacto con el Grupo de Briçonnet,<sup>285</sup> al negar la identidad del primer converso de San Pablo en Atenas con San Dionisio, el primer mártir de Francia, lo que pondría en entredicho las pretensiones galicanas de continuidad apostólica.<sup>286</sup> Sin embargo la posición de Erasmo sobre la hermeneútica bíblica no difiere de la tradicional que adoptaron. En 1516 le pidió (alias W. Köpfel) que expresara su opinión en lo que se refiere al “quadruplex sensus Scripturarum”; Erasmo comenzó dando largas a la pregunta: “unus adhuc scrupulus habet animum meum”.<sup>287</sup> Se debió probablemente a que él criticaba el abuso de alegorías de algunos escritores, pues poco después de 1518 (*Ratio* p. 127) aceptaría el uso prudente de los cuatro sentidos en la lectura de la Biblia: “Unum illud addam: Non satis esse circumspicere, quomodo juxta sensum historicum, qui simplex est; quomodo juxta tropologicum, qui ad mores et vitam communem pertinet; quomodo juxta allegoricum, qui capituli ac totius corporis mystici tractat arcana; quomodo juxta anagogicum, qui caelestem attingit hierarchiam, diversis in rebus varie luceat veritas ( ... )”<sup>288</sup>.

A. Skevington Wood ha estudiado los principios básicos en la hermeneútica de Lutero: “One of the most valuable of Luther’s hermeneutic principles is his insistence on the primacy of the literal sense. He resolutely sets aside the verbal jugglery in multiple exegesis and firmly takes his stand upon the plain and obvious significance of the word” insistiendo en que en el sentido literal de la Biblia se encuentra toda la esencia de la fe y de la teología cristiana<sup>289</sup>

Los místicos tienden a interpretar alegóricamente la mayor parte de los pasajes históricos del Antiguo Testamento. Briçonnet, ejemplo, ve a Abraham, Isaac y Jacob como de la Trinidad y a David como si fuera Jesucristo, considerándolo como “proportion” (*Correspondance*, 2, p. 201); según el lema místico “omnia in figura”, todo el Antiguo Testamento no es más que una imagen del Nuevo, siguiendo las numerosas interpretaciones de San Pablo. La actitud general de los escritores protestantes durante el tiempo de Margarita eran totalmente opuestas a la interpretación mística de la Biblia del grupo de Meaux pues sólo aceptaban las “innatae allegoriae” o lecturas alegóricas que estuvieran en el texto mismo de las Escrituras, en textos interpretativos del Nuevo Testamento de escritores como San Mateo<sup>290</sup> o San Pablo.<sup>291</sup> Todas las demás las consideraban como invenciones “illatae allegoriae” de los “papicolae”.<sup>292</sup>

En este mundo se mueven los cuatro personajes enigmáticos, mucho más herméticos para los lectores modernos que para los coetáneos de Margarita en el siglo XVI cuando leían su *Comédie*. Así cuando “la Sage”, seguida de “la Mondaine” y de “la Superstitieuse” se cansan de la falta de interés de “la Bergere” de sus discusiones, deciden abandonarla para continuar la lectura del texto de la Biblia:

LA SUPERSTITIEUSE  
Mieulx vaulx que lire je retourne  
Le temps perdons de plus parler  
(Comédie, vv. 926-927)

La *Comédie* trataría, pues de presentar visualmente en el teatro la doctrina de Briçonnet cuando explicaba el sentido del “homo animalis” de San Pablo incapaz de entender al “homo spiritualis” (Romanos 8,5-6). Es una lástima que no poseamos las acotaciones de la *Comédie* en su primera representación de Mont-de-Marsan “le jour de Caresme prenant mil cinq cens quarante sept”.<sup>293</sup> Me inclino a pensar que “la Sage” entró en escena llevando en la mano la copia de la Biblia familiar (v.551): “que vous a laissez vostre pere” y que toda la acción de la obra de teatro de Margarita giraría en torno a las actitudes de los cuatro personajes sobre la lectura del libro. Los tres primeros personajes representarían según Briçonnet “les trop en corps”:

“La Mondaine” ilustraría la interpretación carnal de la Biblia.<sup>294</sup>  
“la Superstitieuse” encarnaría la lectura crédula;  
“la Sage” representaría la comprensión literal e intelectual<sup>295</sup>

pero tan sólo “la Ravie de Dieu, Bergère” gozó del apoyo de Margarita y del auditorio en Mont-de-Marsan, puesto que defendía los principios

místicos y espirituales del grupo de Meaux, según interpretaban Lefèvre y Briçonnet la Biblia.

#### IV

Cuando en 1524 envió Briçonnet a Margarita la copia de las traducciones de Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples de las Epístolas de San Pablo, la “Manzana Mística” de 1523<sup>296</sup> se habría convertido en un “Banquete Real” que significaba el conocimiento de Dios a través de la lectura de la Biblia: “Elles [*i.e. La Epístolas de San Pablo*] sont metz roial, engressant sans corruption et guerissant de toutes maladies: plus on en gouste, [plus] la fain croist en desir assouvi, insaciable. Ledict metz purge, illumine et parfaict toute creature, par foy inserée en filiation divine” (*Correspondance*, 2, p.92). Margarita para cuando recibió esta carta ya habría superado, a los ojos del Obispo de Meaux, los niveles intermedios, habiendo sido purificada de los vicios de “la Mondaine” y de “la Superstitieuse”, casi preparada para superar el grado de Iluminación de “la Sage”, para llegar finalmente al estado de Union de “la Ravie de Dieu, Bergère”.

Lo que le había enseñado el Obispo de Meaux durante los cuatro años, 1521-1524, eran las enseñanzas de los místicos y más en particular de Orígenes, del the Pseudo-Dionysio y de San Bernardo. Orígenes había interpretado la Canción de las Canciones, atribuida a Salomón como la “quintessence de l'enseignement de l'écriture”, como comenta H. de Lubac<sup>297</sup> San Bernardo, el “doctor mellifluus et suavis” le sigue muy de cerca, pues el Cantico de los Cánticos sería la clave de interpretación de todas las Escrituras, pues era místico en el doble sentido de la palabra: “mystique au double sens du mot”.<sup>298</sup> No sorprende, pues que Briçonnet adoptara “la Miel”, alias “el Maná” como símbolo del nivel final en la iniciación de Margarita. El Maná significaba la Plenitud, o la medida completa (“gomor”): “l'ame ( ... ) impaciente de fain, actend et requiert ( ... ) la viviffiante manne en laquelle gist et est sa perfection et aliment, qui est vray pain de vie, sans lequel ne peult vivre et, pour la recevoir, reste préparée de longue main pour estre “gomor”,<sup>299</sup> mesure nette, parfaite, vuidée de toute aultre impleture ...” (ibid. ,1, pp.138-139).

Poco después escribió Briçonnet una carta a Margarita que bien podría ser la fuente de dos de sus obras: la Comédie des Innocents y el Triomphe de l'Agneau.<sup>300</sup> Se percibe igualmente el impacto de esta carta en la forma de citar la Canción de las Canciones en muchas de sus obras como el Miroir, la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan y las Prisons. Margarita debió conservar cuidadosamente este precioso documento en que

el Obispo de Meaux explicaba la doctrina de Orígenes y de San Bernardo sobre el sentido místico de la “Canción de las Canciones”:

Vray coeur amant ne vit en soy, mais en la chose aymée. Par quay, sy aymons viscerallement<sup>301</sup> et de tout nostre coeur le triumpuant amateur et liberateur de noz ames, le doulx Jesus, nous vivons en luy ( ... ) Amour est grant lyen odoriferant et attirant le coeur: c'est ung odeur qui faict courrir sans lassitude comme dient les ames («curremus in odorem ungentorum tuorum» [Canción de las Canciones 1, 3]), ennyvrées de l'extaticque amour ravissant, nous courrons a l'odeur de vostre oignement” (Correspondance 1, p.208).

Es sin duda la mejor definición que se puede dar al personaje cuarto de la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, “la Ravie de Dieu, Bergère” que entró en escena citando las palabras de la “Amada” en la “Canción de las Canciones” 2,5:

LA BERGERE

Helas! je languys d'amours ...

Helas! je meurs tous les jours.

(vv. 573-574)

La interpretación mística de Briçonnet de la “Canción de las Canciones” reaparecerá en prácticamente todas las obras importantes de Margarita. Por citar unos pocos ejemplos:

“La Ravie” en el Miroir (vv. 327-331)

Vous l'avez dit en lieu bien autentique  
Par Salomon en vostre doulx cantique,  
Disant: Ma soeur tu as navre mon cueur,  
Tu as navré mon cueur par la doulceur  
d'ung de tes yeulx. et d'ung de tes cheveulx.

el “Epoux” declara su amor por su “Amye” en el Triomphe de l' Agneau (vv. 730-739), utilizando las palabras de la Canción de las Canciones (2,10-16):  
... En leur disant: “Mon Espouse et ancelle,  
Ma mieux aymee, o ma tres chere Espouse.  
Voicy le temps qu'il fault que vous espouse;  
Voicy le temps, gratieuse Colombe,  
Où tout florist, quand le froid hyver tombe;  
Voicy le temps que jouyray de vous,  
Et vous de moy; tant qu'ensemble nous tous  
Un corps ferons. O belle Sulamithe ( ... )”



El amor de la “Ravye” en la Comédie por su “Mignon” la mantiene día y noche en vela, como en la Canción de las Canciones:

LA BERGERE  
“Pour penser en luy nuict et jour”  
(Comédie, v.854)

porque se aman primorosamente:

LA BERGERE  
Et je seray sy mignonne  
Il sera mon grand mignon.  
(ibid., vv. 920-921)

El personaje hermético de “la Bergère”, juega con dos conceptos básicos de Presencia-Ausencia, común en toda la poesía lírica, que aplicaría la literatura de Salomón el goce místico de la divina experiencia:

LA BERGERE  
Laissez moy aller, aller,  
Laisser moy aller jouer.<sup>302</sup>  
(ibid., vv. 928-929)

Gozar con la presencia del “Amy” o suspirar en su ausencia son ideas muy comunes en las enseñanzas de los místicos. El “Absent” en la Comédie es obviamente Dios hablando por sus creaturas cuando no está presente, pues la Naturaleza para los místicos es como un espejo en que se refleja la imagen de su creador:

LA BERGERE  
J’ayme mieulx une violette,  
Par quy me vient le souvenir  
De mon amy, que de tenir  
En mon guiron ung grand tresor,  
(vv. 763-766)

Pero será “la Sage” quien, sorprendentemente, hará la pregunta clave:

LA SAGE  
Comment vostre c(u)eur tousjours sent  
Cest amour present ou absant?  
(vv. 696-697)

“Amarissime” (i.e. Marguerite) no podía esperar ninguna consolación de la naturaleza por la pérdida de su amado “Pan” (i.e. François) en

la Comédie sur le trespas du Roy, pues solamente Dios puede ofrecer alivio en la soledad y oración:<sup>303</sup>

AMARISSIME

Ce lieu desert j'ay choisy pour mes pleurs,  
En delaissant pastourelle et pastours.  
Je (h)ay les bois, les verdures et fleurs,  
Prays et ruisseaulx, pallais, villes et tours.  
(vv. 25-28)

y también:

N'espere pas de me reconforter  
Nul rossignol, linotte, ny calandre.  
(vv. 33-34)

No será la misma actitud del “Amy” en la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan hacia la “Bergere”, escondida detrás de la hermosura de la Naturaleza, que la del Poeta-Amante de las Prisons quejándose de que no puede encontrar a su amor a través de las creaturas:

igual Tenebre lors me sembloit lumineuse  
Et le soleil lumiere tenebreuse.  
(Prisons, fol. 265 ro, p.121)<sup>304</sup>

No es contradictorio esta doble forma de considerar la naturaleza pues Margarita no hace más que seguir la tradición mística occidental o más bien, como sugiere sutilmente E. Parturier, hace pensar en el místico medieval Suso que consideraba “la creation non pas comme dechue de sa splendeur ou comme étant le domaine du mal, mais comme une merveilleuse manifestation de Dieu”.<sup>305</sup> Es éste el caso de la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, cuya interpretación literal de la “Canción de las Canciones” es siempre la tradicional: Todo le irá bien a la joven pastora enamorada de un príncipe cuando éste le promete casarse con ella. Briçonnet ya había usado la comparación y Margarita interpretaba la Canción de las Canciones a través de los ojos del Obispo de Meaux.<sup>306</sup> por lo que no será pura coincidencia que ya en 1521 hubiera sido ella la que iniciara los temas de “la Brebis” y “le grand Berger”, que serían más tarde el tema central de dos de sus obras de teatro místico, la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan y la Comédie sur le trespas du Roy. Ambas obras han de considerarse como interpretaciones espirituales de la “Canción de las Canciones”, como cuando “Paraclesis” anuncia que, finalment, “Pan” está ya desposada con su “grand Pasteur”:

Vostre doux Pan est en son vray repos  
Voire et va comme l'espouse à l'espoux

Au grant Pasteur reduict en son vray estre.  
(Comédie sur le trespas du Roy, vv. 416-418)

pero “la Bergère”, no quiere decir el nombre de su “Amy” (vv. 677-680) a los otros tres personajes, pero no tarda en revelar que como en la Canción de las Canciones el Rey está enamorado de ella.: “la Bergère” de la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan canta entonces: “o bergere, m’amie je ne vy que d’amours” (v. 618). Pero su amor no ha de interpretarse literalmente, pues significa el estado de unión con la divinidad de los místicos, en el este y en el oeste que han utilizado simbólicamente del amor físico como la mejor forma de expresar sus sentimientos.

## V

A primera vista la Comédie presenta menos problemas que el Dialogue o el Miroir, debido estructura es más simple. Por supuesto que abundan las figuras de estilo, tales como repeticiones, alternaciones de, préstamos de canciones populares de la época,<sup>307</sup> o de los clásicos,<sup>308</sup> e incluso de las Chansons spirituelles de la misma Margarita.<sup>309</sup> El lenguaje bíblico, sin embargo, y las convenciones místicas de la Escuela de Meaux serían las fuentes de inspiración de Margarita, como he tratado de probar antes, por lo que si hay algunos problemas de estilo en sus obras servirán para dilucidar las complejidades de una obra aparentemente simple.

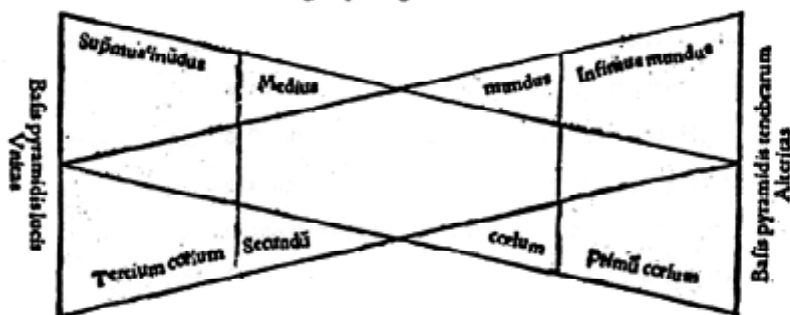
Habrà que tener cuidado para no ver simbolismo hermético en el uso cabalístico de los números,<sup>310</sup> y en particular de los números “Tres” y “Cuatro”, las cifras favoritas de los místicos. Por ejemplo no está claro que Margarita intentara dar sentido místico al hecho de que hubiera escrito cuatro obras de teatro bíblico a falta de pruebas. Pero el hecho de que sean cuatro los personajes de la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, “a quatre personages”, es totalmente distinto. H. de Lubac sugiere que existe una relación estrecha entre el uso simbólico de los números Tres y Cuatro y los significados “triplex” and “quadruplex” en las Escrituras: El Tres es el primer número organizado, más simple que el Cuatro, quizás menos perfecto, aunque no menos significativo. (*Ilustración 4*)<sup>311</sup>

Brignonnet utiliza ambos números. Al hablar de los seres humanos los divide según utilicen el “oeil charnel”, el “oeil de la raison” o el “oeil de l’esprit” (Correspondance, pp.34-36), catalogándolos según las tres maneras de leer la Biblia. A Margarita le gustaba igualmente utilizar números simbólicos, como ya lo había visto claramente en la división tripartita de la obra de Margarita Petit oeuvre dévot et contemplatif.<sup>312</sup>

Sed iam ex Dionysio didicimus, mystica nomina excedere sensibilia & intelligibilia, & esse negatius in vertice pyramidis sicut mysticam Theologiam ab his auspiciatur: quare nomina substantiarum spiritualium, quantumcumque eminentia, non sunt mystica censenda: & vt profundius ascensum & descensum intelligere possis / cuius spe meminir beatissimus pater accipe pyramidem Nicolai Cusani doctissimi mystis ex libro eius de coniectura, & libro de docta ignorantia.

Cusanus.

Figura paradigmatica Cusani.



Sed intelligibiliorem multo tibi cōmunicabo pyramidem / in qua & gradus eundem, partice participationis lucis & tenebrarum distinctissime videbis: nam participatio non est minima via lectionis Theologicæ, vt in nostra Theologia negatiua fufius explicabimus, & ex hoc longe facilius ascensum & descensum parare tibi poteris pro animi tui sententia ad institutum Dionysiacum: Hanc autem insignem & mirificam pyramidem, longe excedentem Aegyptiacas & Memphisicas pyramides, acceptam referre debes præpatori nostro optimo Gregorio Reischio, Cartusie monachi S. Ioannis in Friburgo priori vltro oppido venerando.

Eckius.

Gregorius Reischius.

Soli deo gloria:

E III 40

#### Ilustración 4.

El diagrama geométrico "figura paradigmatica" representa la interrelación de símbolos concordantes dentro de la pirámide de la Luz y sus opuestos dentro de la Pirámide de la Oscuridad y sigue la concepción del universo según Nicolas de Cusa: las cosas creadas participan de ambas Luz y Oscuridad, pero cuanto más cerca están de la base de la pirámide de la Luz son menos corpóreas. (*De Mystica Theologia*, op.cit., Cap.III, Pars II, Prop.III, fol. E IIII ro).

Cuando utiliza la división tripartita en sus *Prisons*, o insiste en los "quatre personnages" en ambas la *Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan* y en la *Comédie sur le trespas du Roy*, aun cuando ésta última incluya otros personajes secundarios, además de los cuatro principales, i.e. "Amarissime", "Securus", "Agapy" and "Paraclesis", no sorprende que esté haciendo uso del significado hermético del número Cuatro, particularmente si se tiene en cuenta que en ambas obras de teatro al cuarto personaje le otorga Margarita dones carismáticos.

Los Cuatro Personajes de la *Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan*, como las Cuatro Bebidas de los comentadores de la Biblia,<sup>313</sup> tienen cada una su propio sentido. La Leche y el Aceite serán bebidas imperfectas, mientras que el Vino es el símbolo de la sabiduría y la Miel personifica la idea del conocimiento perfecto. Cuando la "la Bergère", por ejemplo, afirma contra las otras tres que:

Je ne sens corps, ame, ne vie  
 Sinon amour ( ... )  
 (vv. 870-871)

jugando de nuevo con una división paralela cuadripartita de la obra, aunque subdividiendo los Tres Ojos de Briçonnet en Cuatro, siguiendo la interpretación del Obispo de Meaux de los Cuatro niveles de interpretación de la Biblia y se los puede organizar siguiendo la “scala perfectionis”<sup>314</sup> así:

1 Cuerpo	l’oeil charnel	sabor de Leche	la Mondaine
2 Alma	l’oeil charnel	sabor de Aceite	la Superstitieuse
3 Vida	l’oeil de la raison	sabor de Vino	la Sage
4 Amor	l’oeil de l’esprit	sabor de Miel	la Bergère

El uso hermético de los números en la obra de Margarita tiene mucho que ver con la índole anti-intelectual de la Comédie, pues adopta ésta actitud ex profeso. “Securus” también lo había proclamado en otra de las obras de teatro místico, la Comédie sur le trespas du (vv. 337-338):

SECURUS  
 Raison, philosophie, exemple  
 Ne servent plus icy de rien.

y “Amarissime” lo anuncia claramente: “Raison n’a peu de moy estre maistresse” (v.540). La Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan en todo caso va más lejos pues la “la Bergère”, tratando de confundir a las otras tres personajes que concluyen pensando que se ha vuelto loca:

LA SUPERSTITIEUSE  
 Elle est bien simple et bien naïfve  
 Rien ne sçait et ne veult sçavoir.  
 (vv. 823-824)

y “la Sage” llega hasta a pensar que alguien la está timando:

LA SAGE  
 Croiez qu’amour l’a abuzée,  
 Et quelque amy l’a amuzée,  
 Parquoy elle a perdu son sens.  
 (vv. 832-834)

Margarita utiliza a “la Bergère” para proclamar sus preferencias por “la Docte Ignorance”, pues Briçonnet ya la había idealizado en una de las cartas de la Correspondance: “Madame, en cuidant faire fin, me semble veoir vostre esperit insaciable, combien que repeu a souffisance, transporté

par amoureuse et ravissable contemplacion hors de soy et enyvvré de ce qu'il ne veoit et ne verra jamais, vray ygnorant en sçavoir ..." (Correspondance, l, p.188), un texto que hace recordar a "la Ravie de Dieu, Bergère" de la Comédie. Y poco después, el la misma carta-tratado añade el Obispo de Meaux: "Lors le scavoir de saint Pol, qui est Jhesus Christ, le doulx aigneau, peut mener par science de son humanité jusques à l'huis. Mais ne peuvent plus avant penetrer dame Ygnorance qui ne habandonne jamais les devotz esperitz jusque ad ce qu'ils soient jusques au trosne des seraphins où dame Ygnorance tient son domicile ( ... )" (*ibid.*, pp. 192-193).

Y será con la "Bergere" cómo elogiará Margarita la doctrina de Briçonnet sobre el "hors de soy":

LA BERGERE

Je suis trop sotté pour apprendre;  
Parquoy ne veulx faire ne dire  
Rien que ce (qui) me faict tant rire,  
Ny les fascheux ne veulx henter.

(Comedie, vv. 879-882)

Briçonnet había estudiado las hermenéutica mística del Pseudo-Dionysio, su escritor favorito, a quien enciona constantemente en su Correspondance con Margarita,<sup>315</sup> y fue a través del Pseudo-Areopagita cómo lograría identificar el Cuarto Sentido de las Escrituras con el concepto místico del éxtasis, que él definiría como estar "hors de soy" (Correspondance, l, p. 188). Su elogio de la Locura, o estado extático no difiere de la condición de "la Bergère" en la Comédie de Margarita en que tiene que aguantar una serie de cumplidos no muy corteses:

LA SAGE [calls her]

Ha! ce n'est pas langage d'une folle?

(v , 586)

LA SUPERSTITIEUSE [adds]

VOUS estes folle, par ma foy.

(v. 665)

[and again] LA SUPERSTITIEUSE

Elle ravie ou est idiote.

Mieux vous appartient la marotte

Que ne faict pas vostre houllette.<sup>316</sup>

(vv. 760-762)

No está fuera de propósito anotar que Lefèvre se interesó por la serie de tratados místicos de un escritor medieval, el Pseudo-Idiot y en 1519

editó sus Contemplationes Idiotae,<sup>317</sup> que terminan con un lema muy significativo: “idiotae rapiunt caelos”. La position de “la Bergère” en la Comédie de Margarita no está muy lejos de la máxima del Pseudo-Idiot. Cuando “la Bergère” se niega a tomar parte en las discusiones de las otras tres personajes en la obra de teatro de Margarita, lo hará adoptando la hermenéutica de Lefèvre y de Briçonnet, proclamando que “la vray clef de l’intelligence de l’Escripture est l’esprit et non la lettre” (Correspondance, 2, p. 14), y su “esgarement” es simplemente una excusa para ilustrar los principios místicos de Meaux a través de una obra de teatro, una labor más fácil para margarita que escribir un tratado erudito sobre el sentido espiritual de la Canción de las Canciones. En sus obras se nota que le falta la jerga de los tratados teológicos, pero se ve claramente en su Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan que entiende todas las complejidades de la hermenéutica mística y que estaba ya preparada para escribir su obra maestra hacia 1547, las Prisons de la Reine de Navarre, de la que se han ocupado muy pocos críticos.

## CAPITULO QUINTO:

### **Les Prisons de la Reine de Navarre como el testamento místico de Margarita: La experiencia de Dios como inmanente en el alma y su Transcendencia.**

#### I

Si los últimos días de la vida de Margarita, como he indicado al comienzo del capítulo anterior sobre la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, quedaron marcados por su desencanto de la vida política, su temprano abandono de la corte francesa para retirarse a sus dominios en el reino de Navarra, hizo posible que lograra el sueño de la vida de muchos personajes del Renacimiento, pudiendo así crear una obra literaria que perdurara para siempre. No es, pues sorprendente que escribiera Margarita durante los últimos años de su vida, 1540-1549,<sup>318</sup> obras más maduras que sus primeros tratados de los años 1525-1531, uno de los cuales, el Miroir, había causado bastante sensación. En sus últimos años le interesó más poder expresarse a sí misma que el reconocimiento popular cuando escribió sus mejores poema, La Coche<sup>319</sup>, La Navire<sup>320</sup>, Les Chansons spirituelles<sup>321</sup>, y en particular sus dos obras más importantes, el Heptameron<sup>322</sup> y las Prisons<sup>323</sup>.

No queda la menor duda, a juzgar por el número de sus ediciones, que el Heptameron gozó desde su aparición de la máxima popularidad. Pero a pesar de que la mayoría de las ‘Nouvelles’ fueran escritas hacia 1545,

Marguerite no les dio demasiada importancia, pues la obra quedaría incompleta a su muerte cuatro años más tarde.<sup>324</sup> Quizás no se sintió con fuerzas para terminar la larga serie de “Nouvelles” como un “Decameron” debido a la conmoción recibida a la muerte de su hermano, Francisco I<sup>o</sup> en 1547. Se concentró más bien en ofrecer un sumario de sus ideas a través de poemas como La Navire, La Coche y en particular las Prisons a las que dio más importancia que a las otras.

Si embargo esulta paradójico que aunque críticos importantes como Lefrank confesara en 1896 que las Prisons es “l’oeuvre capitale de la soeur de François Ier, par l’ampleur du sujet, l’étendue des proportions, l’exceptionnel intérêt des matières qui y sont traitées,..., véritable couronnement de sa carrière poétique”,<sup>325</sup> esta obra de Margarita ha permanecido casi totalmente ignorada por los críticos. Raramente mencionada y pocas veces citada, podría denominarse su obra maestra por conocer, habiéndose editado una sola vez, cuando Lefranc la publicó en 1896 como parte de las Dernières poésies de Marguerite de Navarre<sup>326</sup>; y sin embargo se podría afirmar que lo que el Heptameron es para la sociedad del siglo XVI<sup>327</sup>, Las Prisons serían para las ideas de aquella sociedad, una obra muy sofisticada para los lectores de hoy en día..

Glori Cappello notó ya el carácter altamente especulativo de las Prisons en “Les Dernieres Poesies de Marguerite de Navarre”; señala con precisión que es “il poemetto dal titolo Prisons, interessante anche dal punto di vista filosofico”, y según ella el poema refleja pas preocupaciones que habían motivado la extensa Correspondance entre Margarita y Briçonnet<sup>328</sup>. Ciertamente se puede afirmar con Cappello que si la Correspondance refleja la formación filosófica y teológica de Margarita, sería igualmente correcto afirmar que sin las Prisons, resultaría prácticamente imposible entender todas sus inquietudes en filosofía, tología, mística y arte.<sup>329</sup> Como se verá a lo largo de este capítulo, será evidente que Margarita, gracias a las Prisons llegó a comprender en profundidad algunas de las sutilidades que Briçonnet había mencionado en la Correspondance, pues de lo contrario se presumiría no estaban al alcance de su capacidad intelectual; pero no se trataba de una ignorante y este documento será la prueba de que era capaz de afrontar los problemas de su tiempo como una de las mentes más brillantes de su tiempo.<sup>330</sup>

## II

Si fuéramos a creer a algunos críticos, los impulsos misticos de Maregarita aparecen y desaparecen como por ensalmo; según ellos, habrá momentos en que parece totalmente sumergida en lo divino, casi olvida-



da de todo lo demás, pero pronto parece olvidarse totalmente de la iniciación que había recibido durante los cuatro años durante la edad crítica de su veintena de años: “Elle s’est même élevée si haut”, escribe Lefranc, “grâce à ce sentiment, qu’il serait peut-etre temeraire de le qualifier d’exagéré. Sans doute, les traces du mysticisme des années de jeunesse reparaîtront ça là (sic) au milieu de l’ardeur nouvelle qui vient d’envahir son être”.<sup>331</sup> Parece que el mito de que Margarita habría abandonado las enseñanzas de Briçonnet se repite generación tras generación lo cual no nos permitiría analizar objetivamente sus escritos. Desde el mismo momento en que el oráculo de Capiton hubiera decidido que Margarita habría olvidado ya en 1528 todas las enseñanzas que aprendiera en la escuela de Meaux rechazando la “philosophie de haute volée”<sup>332</sup> de Briçonnet, la mayoría de los críticos dan por sentado que las ideas de los reformadores influyeron más en las obras de Margarita: “cette croix, que portent les églises secrètement disséminées sur le sol de la France”<sup>333</sup>, a expensas de los principios místicos que había aprendido en la escuela de Meaux.

Ya he rechazado a lo largo de este estudio esta suposición, lo mismo que la opinión contraria de que Margarita no se interesó en temas que resultaran ofensivos a oídos tradicionales como la supremacía de la Fe sobre las Obras. No obstante, según Lutero, las obras humanas no servirían para nada puesto que la Fe sola justifica sin ellas, mientras que el círculo místico de Margarita defendería que las bras han de estar subordinadas a la acción de la Gracia. La “Chanson 5” por ejemplo, escrita en los años 1540, no rechaza la validez de las acciones humanas, sino la teoría de que el hombre puede ser justificado sin la Fe:

Si quelcun parle de la Foy  
 En la mettant quasi a riens  
 Aux prix des oeuvres de la Loy,  
 Les estimant les plus grans biens,  
 Sa doctrine est nouvelle;  
 Laissez le là, passez avant:  
 Autant en emporte le vent.  
 (Chanson 5, vv. 8-12)

Tratar , pues de conectar las ideas de La Navire con los conceptos de Lutero sobre las Obras como lo hiciera Marichal <sup>334</sup>:

Les oeuvres font tenir en seureté  
 Roy et subjectz, pourquoy les fault aimer  
 Et en user par sens et verité;  
 (Navire, vv. 1177-1179)

no ayudan en absoluto para clarificar los tópicos que estaban “en vogue” en la Corte de Navarra. Calvino rechazaba totalmente este tipo de tópicos como he expuesto en el capítulo anterior sobre la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan<sup>335</sup>. Lo que pretendió Margarita en estas líneas fue simplemente explicar las ideas de su círculo sobre la importancia de las obras que los místicos veían como chispas iluminadas por la acción divina sobre el ser humano. Eckhart por ejemplo enseñaba que “si Dios era Todopoderoso en su acción, el alma también lo era en su capacidad de recepción”, insistiendo en el papel de sumisión del ser humano: “Our blessedness does not depend on the deeds we do but rather on our passiveness to God”<sup>336</sup>.

Esta teoría sobre las obras, tal y como aparece en algunas obras poéticas de Margarita como tema central, está íntimamente relacionada con el concepto neoplatónico de la Prisión del alma dentro del cuerpo. Reaparece en la mayoría de sus poemas; En el Dialogue, por ejemplo se describe el alma como expuesta a la experiencia dolorosa de las malas acciones (obras corruptas) por encontrarse unida al cuerpo:

Estant en luy joincte, c'est bien raison  
 Que vous ayez la peine du peche  
 Qui transforme liberte en prison.  
 (Dialogue, vv. 508-510)

El Miroir es todavía más explícito en mencionar las fuentes de esta corrupción en el ser humano que hace que las obras humanas sean pecaminosas:

...  
 Moy, qui par eulx (*demonio, mundo y carne*) longtemps avoie esté  
 Prisonniere, esclave, et tant liée ...  
 (Miroir, vv.662-663)(también vv.691-692)

Con frecuencia se relaciona el mito de la Prisión con el concepto neoplatónico de “ el alma está encarcelada en el cuerpo”, y así aparece en las obras más tardías de Margarita como la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan. En vez de reflejar la belleza del alma, aparecerá el cuerpo como su máscara engañosa:

Dans vostre corps l'ame immortelle  
 Est mise, et doit prandre en tutelle  
 Le corps, vray masque ou bien mensonge.  
 (Comédie, vv. 294-296)

Habr  que referirse, no obstante, a La Navire, para encontrar el concepto de “prisi n” claramente conectado al tema de “los placeres carnales” que encarcelan el alma con sus enga os, como aparece en la alegor a del Libro primero de las Prisons:

O miserable et aveugle amour!  
Amour de chair, non amour mais fureur,  
Aveuglement, lien, prison et tour!  
(Navire, vv. 310-312)<sup>337</sup>

No se ha dado suficiente relevancia al hecho de que Margarita hab a reunido en la Corte de Navarra a personajes totalmente sumergidos en las ideas neoplat nicas, como por ejemplo Charles de Sainte-Marthe. Se puede seguir perfectamente su desarrollo desde la iniciaci n de Bri onnet, gran admirador de Plat n, que diera sus primeros frutos en obras de primera  poca, que se completar an m s tarde con el tiempo.<sup>338</sup> Desde un principio el Obispo de Meaux le inici  en la oposici n que hay, seg n los neoplat nicos entre el “ravisement” espiritual del alma absorbida en la Divinidad y su encarcelamiento en el cuerpo. Bri onnet le hab a escrito: “Et qui pourra, Madam, voller plus hault par extaticque et transcendant ravisement en absorpcion de tout desir de vie, pour estre uny   son seul necessaire, encoires fault mourir   l’esperit. Telle vie est divine et non spirituelle que actendons et n’est viande pour nous tant que serons en ceste chartre et prison corporelle.” (Correspondance, I, pp.172-173). Tales ense anzas de las doctrinas neoplat nicas las completar a m s tarde Sainte-Marthe, uno de sus “prot g s” en la Corte de Nabarra durante los a os 1540, quien hab a escrito con ocasi n de su muerte: “Et Ciceron appelle nostre corps, la prison de l’Ame, pource que l’Ame, quand elle sort du corps, en est delivr e comme d’une prison. Se douloir donc de la mort de MARG., certes ce n’est aultre chose que la desirer estre enchesnee en liens perpetuels”<sup>339</sup>.

El concepto neoplat nico del encarcelamiento del alma en el cuerpo lo hab a aprendido sin duda alguna Margarita de Bri onnet, siendo la Muerte y al Amor sus  nicas salidas y soluci n (Dialogue, vv. 274-289 and 208-219). Esta temprana iniciaci n a los temas neoplat nicos de sus primeras obras se fue reforzando gracias a la presencia en la Corte de la Baja Nabarra de pensadores como Sainte-Marthe durante los a os 1540; fur entonces cuando Margarita contaba con m s tiempo para debates filos ficos, como lo prueba magistralmente Marichal en su presentaci n de la La Coche como tratado neoplat nico sobre la naturaleza del amor<sup>340</sup>; pero por aquellos a os Margarita se ve a desgarrada entre su lealtad para con su hermano Francisco y la fidelidad a su conciencia en el caso de la

“liaison” de su hermano con la Duchesse d’Estampes; Margarita no obstante le dedicó su obra a la “favorite” de su hermano en parte, como sugiere Marichal, porque la Duchesse se oponía a la fuerte influencia del Connetable Montmorency, en parte debido a su actitud hacia el tema platónico del “amour d’amitié”<sup>341</sup>. En todo caso y a pesar del sincretismo de ideas platónico y cristiano, sus ideas sobre la naturaleza del amor son totalmente ortodoxas<sup>342</sup>.

Fue precisamente durante esa época de los 1540 cuando Margarita trazó a grandes líneas su poema de las Prisons. Por lo que yo sepa ningún crítico ha notado que sus Chansons Spirituelles<sup>343</sup> escritas durante aquellos años contienen un pequeño poema, la “Chanson 23”, que es una corta versión de su obra más ambiciosa, las Prisons. La “Chanson 23” ofrece de hecho el plan completo de las Prisons:

Tema general: la necesidad de un cambio:

Ame, tu n’es au chemin  
Ny en la voye  
De vraye félicité;  
Dieu t’y convoye.  
(“Chanson 23”, vv. 1-4)

1ª Prisión: La alegoría del Poeta-Amante atraído por los placeres mundanos:

Ame, où vas tu sy soudaint? (bis)  
-Je cours a plaisir mondain. (bis)  
-C’est en vain;  
Car plaisir mondain est faux;  
Tu te fourvoye,  
Qui en tristesse et tous maux  
Fine sa joye. (ibid., vv. 5-11)

2ª Prisión: como en las Prisons, esta “Chanson” trata de un peligro aún más sofisticado que amenaza al Poeta-Amante, el de la “Ambición” junto con los “Bienes Terrenos” y la “Avaricia”:

Ame, hélas! quel chemin tiens? (bis)  
-Tout droit aux terriens biens. (bis)  
-Ce n’est riens:  
Mais avarice le coeur  
Sy fort guerroye,  
Qu’elle le fait en douleur  
Du Diable proye.

Où vas tu à grand roideur? (bis)  
 -A l'ambition d'honneur. (bis)  
 -C'est erreur:  
 Ambition trop blasmer  
 Ne te pourroye;  
 Son feu, en lieu d'allumer,  
 Brusle et foudroye.  
 (vv. 12-25)

3ª Prisión: En el Libro III de las Prisons se vuelve a avisar al Poeta-Amante sobre los peligros de aprender especulativamente:

Ame, où vas tu par ces deserts? (bis)  
 -Vois sçavoir par gens experts. (bis)  
 -Tu te perds:  
 Sçavoir aux lettres trouver  
 Bien tost sçauroye.  
 Si l'esprit bien esprouver  
 En toy pourrouye.  
 (vv. 26-32)

Margarita vuelve a insistir en la necesidad de la experiencia mística y de la meditación espiritual más que del aprendizaje para llegar a lo Divino:

Où vas tu a sy grand pas? (bis)  
 -Avec ces gens de la bas. (bis)  
 -N'y va pas:  
 Combien qu'ilz soyent merchez (*i.e. marcados*)  
 De noire croye, (*de tiza negra*)  
 Orgueil les tient attachez  
 De sa courroye.  
 (vv. 33-39)

En la "Chanson 23", como en las Prisons, también se amonesta al Alma como al Poeta-Amante de las Prisons a olvidarse de sí misma tratando de unirse con la Divinidad a través de la experiencia mística:

Ame, où vas tu, par ta foy? (bis)  
 -Je vois à l'amour de moy (*i.e. amor propio*)(bis)  
 -Garde toy  
 D'aymer ce que rien ne vault:  
 Si tu sçavoye  
 L'amour et le don d'en-hault.  
 Seul l'aymeroye.  
 (vv. 40-46)

En las Chansons Spirituelles Margarita tratará de explicar la dificultad de algunos temas místicos más directamente y con lenguaje más simple que en sus poemas más extensos. La “Chanson 3”, por ejemplo, describe los placeres de la Unión Divina:

Et par le Nom de ce Filz amiable,  
Recevez la pour espouse agreable (i.e. l'âme)  
En l'union du corps tant desirable  
Où vous voulez mettre en un voz amis.  
(“Chanson 3”, vv. 37-40)

Algunos de los conceptos más difíciles de entender como el de éxtasis aparecen embellecidos con tonos líricos

Puisque Dieu par pure grace  
M'a tiré à soy.  
Et qu'en tous en toute place  
Luy tout seul je voy,  
Je suis remply de plaisir,  
Veu que mon âme est s'ame,  
Qu'il a d'Amour endormie;  
Hé, laissez la dormir; Hé, laissez la dormir.  
(“Chanson 12”. vv. 1-8)

lo mismo que su rechazo místico del ‘Cuyder’ or presunción ( ver “Chansons Spirituelles” 11, vv.1-4 and 27, vv. 37-44) que nos depriva del perfume de la Rosa del Amor ( ver “Chanson Spirituelle” 27, v. 41):

Maudit soit le Cuyder  
Qui semble peu de chose,  
Et fait de nous vuyder  
La senteur de la Rose.  
(“Chanson 27”. vv. 1-4)

Muchas de las Chansons Spirituelles desarrollan ideas precisadas a las de las Prisons, especialmente las 5, 9<sup>344</sup> y 20<sup>345</sup> pero sobre todo la “Chanson 43”, donde aparece claramente la teoría del conocimiento hermenéutico de la Biblia como fuente libertad para el alma<sup>346</sup>:

Sa parole nous présente:  
C'est gratuite leçon;  
Et l'ennemy qui nous tente  
Par luy est mis en prison.  
(“Chanson 43”, vv. 16-19)

Algunos críticos han sugerido otras fuentes de inspiración para las Prisons; Parturier, por ejemplo observó ciertas similitudes entre el poema de las Prisons y un manuscrito sin título que encontró él en 1904 publicándolo como Récit allégorique de sa conversion<sup>347</sup>; 1960 by Hans Sckommodau lo reeditó en 1960 de otro manuscrito (N°3458 de BN), bsjo el título de Petit Oeuvre dévot et contemplatif<sup>348</sup>. Según Parturier, al describir el hallazgo del manuscrito<sup>349</sup>, Margarita utilizó la alegoría de la Oveja Perdida en el Récit allégorique, mientras que en las Prisons usaría la del Poeta-Amante Errabundo concluyendo que “elle y fait, sous le voile de l’allégorie, ce qu’on peut appeler le récit de sa conversion et nous trouvons dans ce poème comme une esquisse des Prisons”<sup>350</sup>. En cuyo caso y si fuera así, ella anunciaría el tema del Poeta-Amante en su Petit Oeuvre Devot et Contemplatif<sup>351</sup>, presentándolo más tarde en las Chansons Spirituelles, espècialmente en la “Chanson 23”, y desarrollándolo finalmente más tarde en la obra más madura de las Prisons.

### III

Todos los místicos tanto orientales como occidentales insisten en que para que sea posible el acercamiento humano a la Divinidad es necesario pasar por un proceso largo y penoso de transformación de todos los sentidos, de la mente y del espíritu<sup>352</sup>, y suelen describir esta operación por medio de una alegoría<sup>353</sup>, porque, según ellos, es la mejor manera de darse a entender a los no avezados en la materia. Ya la habían utilizado los escritores clásicos y los antiguos exegetas de la tradición hermenéutica.<sup>354</sup> y Margarita la emplea en muchos de sus poemas místicos, como en el caso de la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan donde utiliza alegóricamente cuatro personaje para ilustrar las cuatro maneras de entender la Biblia.<sup>355</sup> Aparece primeramente como enigma en su poema más conocido, el Miroir, en el que logra describir su perplejidad por medio de un paralelismo mantenido entre “Enigma-Mirror-Marguerite-Perle”<sup>356</sup>. No se ha escogido la palabra “Esgarement” (Perplejidad) al azar, puesto que aparece repetidamente no solamente en la Correspondance sino también en los poemas místicos de Margarita.

Es normalmente ella quien provee los temas y las alegorías, como sucede en el caso de la Oveja Perdida que verosíblemente le inspiró al componer la Petit oeuvre dévot et contemplatif<sup>357</sup>. Briçonnet lo reconocería cuando le contestó: “Vous escrivez, Madame, que, comme ‘la brebis en pais estrange errant, ignorant sa pasture par mescoissance des nouveaulx pasteurs, leve naturellement la teste pour prandre l’air qui vient du lieu où le grand berger, par ses bons ministres. luy a acoustumé

donner douce nourriture, etc...” (*Correspondance*, 1, p. 4). Briçonnet amplió la alegoría de la ”lost sheep”, débil (*ibid.*, 1, p. 7), cegada por la luz del sol (*ibid.*, 1, p.154), indigente (*ibid.*, 1, p.136), y cuando recibió esta larga Carta-Tratado, la consideró como la mejor ”nourriture”, que estaría esperando con ansias su espíritu ”famelicque” (*ibid.*, p.38)<sup>358</sup>.

Briçonnet distingue cuatro clases de ”brebis” en la carta que le escribió a Margarita poco después de aceptar iniciarla en el misticismo. La primera habría caído tras el pecado de Adán. La segunda representaría a quienes a pesar de haber sido salvados por la gracia de Cristo estarían ”tellement inveteréz que peché leur est naturel”, y la tercera clase: ”...toutesfois errans du chemin par ygnorance ou fragilité humaine...” (*ibid.*, 1, pp.41-42). Briçonnet no da mucha importancia a los tres primerostipos de ”brebis”, concentrándose en la oveja mística perdida: ”la quatrieme brebis errante”, la única que a pesar de ”se esgarer au chemin, et toutesfois en se esgarant est au chemin sans se esgarer” (*ibid.*, 1, p.42). Briçonnet trataba de explicar a Margarita que solamente llegaría a comprender el verdadero conocimiento a través de la perplejidad mística: ”Mais cest esgarement, en verité, est vraie cognoissance” (*ibid.*, 1, p.45).

La preocupación de Margarita por entender el tema de la Perplejidad o ”esgarement” místico le duró toda la vida. Aparece con frecuencia en sus escritos como un sueño avisándole de los peligros de rechazar la invitación de Dios a conseguir el estado superior de la perfección. La joven Princesa Charlotte se le había aparecido en un sueño insistiendo que debía aceptar la voluntad de Dios: (*Dialogue*, vv. 583-585). El ”vieillard” se le aparece igualmente al Poeta-Amante para ser su guía durante el viaje (*Prisons*, fols 284 vo and 285 ro, p.164). Se trataría en ambos casos de Briçonnet dirigiéndose a Margarita, para que no olvidara las enseñanzas de la *Correspondance*:

Mais d'autre part me monstra ung vieillard<sup>359</sup>  
Blanc et chenu, mais dispost et gaillart,  
...  
D'un marcher lent; ainsy le viz venir  
Tout droit à moy, dont ne me peuz tenir  
De m'incliner et faire reverence  
A l'ancien qui donnoit esperance,  
Le regardant seulement à sa myne,  
De recevoir de luy quelque doctrine,  
Car le sçavant, à dire verité,  
A d'un chacun grant honneur meritté.  
(*ibid.*, fols 283 vo and 284 ro, p. 162)



El hecho de que el “vieillard” se dirija al Poeta-Amante en forma de sueño es significativo. A Margarita le interesaban los sueños y las visiones; A veces se imaginaba encuentros con su hermano muerto, como en la Comédie sur le trespas du Roy y en el Navire ou consolation du Roy Franyois Ier à sa soeur; pero Charles de Sainte-Marthe nos cuenta que veía en sueños indicios de acontecimientos futuros: “Or n’est il donc absurde , que nous avons dit. MARGUERITE avoir diviné par son songe, la mort estre prochaine.”<sup>360</sup> Su primer poema, el Dialogue, tuvo como origen una visión de la pequeña Charlotte. Esta discusión entre el Poeta-Amante (Margarita) y el “vieillard”, que ocupa casi quinientos versos suscita los temas importantes en las Prisons. Se puede suponer que tuvo una visión de Briçonnet en sueños poco después de su muerte, puesto que el poema insiste en “reconocer” al “vieillard” como su antiguo tutor:

Trop tard l’avoys congneu, trop tost laissé.

...

Et qu’il m’avoit laissé pour mon besoing

Livres remplis de son saige parler,

En les lisant me prins à consoller.

(Prisons, fol. 292 ro, p.179)

Como si no hubiera sido Margarita quien hubiera escogido al Obispo de Meaux en 1521 para ayudarle a “tirer hors de ses tristes tenebres la toute vostre Marguerite”? (Correspondance, p.37). La Carta 7 de la Correspondance es el documento más importante para la interpretación de los “esgarements” en las Prisons, puesto que Briçonnet -el “vieillard”- fue escogido con el fin de que la introdujera a la última etapa en su ascensión al estado de “union”, llamado “perfection” por los místicos. Si hay que interpretar las Prisons como el análisis autobiográfico del “ame mise a nu” de Margarita, el papel de Briçonnet ha de aparecer en esta perspectiva histórica, tal como la viera Margarita misma. Ella se queja en sus cartas que él difería introducirla en la última etapa, simbolizada por “la Manne”:

“Le temps est sy froid et le coeur sy glace que l’eau chaulde ne le tres-ardant feu ne peuvent desgeller sa froide dureté. Car, comme insatiable après avoir eu, par la bonte de Dieu, eau et feu pour resister au temps et à sa soif, dont a luy seul le blâme s’il n’y a proufité, crye maintenant à la faim desirant viande douce et de substance. (Correspondance, 1, p.132).

Esta carta termina con las palabras “Vostre gellée, altere et affamée fille Marguerite” (*ibid.*, 1, p. 132); aparentemente Briçonnet no tuvo tiempo para continuar iniciándola en el significado de los símbolos del Agua

(Purificación) y del Fuego (Iluminación); se queja de que los importunos “cordeliers” de Meaux no le dejan en paz (*ibid.*, 1, p.133).<sup>361</sup> Pero es mucho más probable que pensara que el proceso de iniciación mística debería emprenderse más despacio. Las cartas de intercambio entre la Corte de Saint-Germain-en-Laye y Meaux son prueba de la falta de voluntad del Obispo por acelerar el proceso en contra del excesivo entusiasmo de Margarita; en una de sus misivas más cortas explicaría Briçonnet que necesitaba de la ayuda de Dios tanto o más que cualquiera; era esta lección práctica de humildad la que tenía que aprender Margarita: “Suppliez, Madame, au debonnaire Jesus qu’il luy plaise apauvrir celluy auquel demandez la manne, car depuis quelque temps il est devenu sy riche de coeur et de biens qu’il ne veult et ne peult bien faire, le vouloir duquel [*i.e. la voluntad de Briçonnet*], graces à Dieu, est encoires pauvre, est en danger sy ne le secourez promptement’ (*Correspondance*, 1, p. 37).

De hecho una de la características más distintivas de toda la *Correspondance* es la impaciencia y el entusiasmo de Margarita en sus cortas misivas a Briçonnet para que la iniciara en los cuatro “esgarements”, y el método adoptado por el Obispo de Meaux para conducirla a las etapas finales: el alma tiene que pasar por una serie de fases difíciles simbolizadas por imágenes como “abisme”, “sans sentier”, “sans chemin” y “esgarement”:

“L’abisme qui tout abisme previent pour en le desabismant l’abismer en abisme sans l’abismer, auquel abisme est fons sans fons, voie des errans sans chemin ne sentier, qui les desvoiez retire d’erreur pour abissalement les desvoier en voie abissale, abissalement desvoiant, et plus desvoie moins desvoie. Esgarement est voie et voye est esgarement menant au port, auquel sont plus arrestéz, plus s’esgarent et errent sans erreur”. (*ibid.*, 1, pp.134-135) antes de llegar a l estado de humildad evangélica (Matthew 18): “...en vous humiliant de plus en plus vers l’abisme de toute humilité...” (*ibid.*, 1, p. 135).

Los escritores de la mística especulativa suelen distinguir tres o cuatro etapas diferentes que conducen al alma de la Conversión a la Purificación, y luego de la Iluminación a la Unión con la Divinidad: “These three ways or stages of the mystical ascent: Purification, Illumination and Union” escribe J.B. Collins sobre el *Miroir de l’âme pécheresse*, “are readily discerned in this work, which is also in accord with the Christocentric type of contemplation; as part of the purgative process, one observes at the outset the brief evidence of a “conversion” which has taken place in Marguerite’s soul, and her decision to change the tenor of her life.”<sup>362</sup>. Si se puede afirmar esto de todos los poemas místicos de Margarita, particularmente del

Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne, el Miroir y la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, tanto más razón para pensar que puedan aplicarse a su tratado místico más importante, las Prisons en donde reaparecen todos los temas importantes de sus poemas místicos.

### 1ª Prisión, o la etapa de la Purificación:

Hay tres tipos de conocimiento, según los místicos, que corresponden a las tres etapas: sensitiva, intelectual y espiritual o mística. Meister Eckhart las definiría así: “La primera es sensitiva pues el ojo ve todas las cosas desde la distancia. La segunda es intelectual y es de un grado mucho más superior. La tercera representa al alma como agente aristocrático pues su grado es tan alto que puede comunicarse con Dios, cara a cara, como es”<sup>363</sup>. Según Margarita el conocimiento más imperfecto del hombre lo tienen igualmente las otras “ignobles creatures”:

Parquoy, laissant l'estat et digne lieu  
De filz de Dieu, semblable a l'elephant<sup>364</sup>  
Tendre te veux. Las! C'est ung pitieux jeu!  
(Navire, vv. 304-306)

Cuanto más persigue el ser humano sus propios placeres, tanto más se hunde en su condición terrenal. Margarita sigue aquí la espiritualidad tradicional con tonos neoplatónicos, exactamente como lo había hecho Briçonnet en la Correspondance. El obispo había usado la metáfora de la “maladie” para ilustrar su enseñanza tradicional. En una de sus cartas distingue tres clases de “ailments” coincidiendo con las “tres prisiones”: “Des deux maladies que dessus la premiere est purgatrice, la seconde illuminative: elle allume la chandelle de congnoissance, dont venoit le bien perdu, pour le sercher. Il y en a une troiziesme qui est perficiente” (Correspondance, 1, p.74). Y esclarecía la misma enseñanza con otra alegoría que había sido ya utilizada por los místicos medievales: Los tres achaques estarían conectados con las tres interpretaciones de la Biblia según la hermenéutica espiritual es decir con la de los Tres Ojos: “Après, Madame, que l'excellente, doulce, debonnaire et attraiante lumiere, en illuminant, a aveuglé l'oeil de la sensualité et terreistrité de l'ame, en la mortiffiant et cruciffiant au monde (...) lors accroist sa lumiere et attire plus fermement et facilement l'oeil de la raison et de l'esprit...” (*ibid.*, 1, p.35)<sup>365</sup>.

Margarita adopta el símbolo de la “Vision” para ilustrar los diferentes grados en la comprensión de los textos bíblicos:

...  
 Car je n'avoys laisse nulle fenestre  
 Pour veoir dehors, car, lisant a par(t) moy,  
 Tout le dehors, tout le monde et sa loy  
Voyoys plus cler, et myeulx le congnoissoys  
 Que quand myeulx veoir à cler je le pensoys.  
 Car, estant pris de leurs tentations,  
 Ne povoy's veoir leurs imperfections,  
 Et en lisant povoy's appercevoir  
 Le monde myeulx que quand le cuydoys veoir;  
 De terre et cieulx l'oeil ne voit la nature,  
 En les voyant, si bien qu'en l'escriture.  
 (Prisons, fol. 300 vo, p.197)<sup>366</sup>

El “Ojo” puede ser prisionero de su propia visión si no logra leer más allá de lo que está escrito de hecho en el texto (*ibid.*, fol.301,vo,pp.198-199). Los escritores neoplatónicos enseñaban que para poder entender esto último el alma tenía que sentirse arrebetada por el “fureur divine”, doctrina que aplicaban igualmente a la interpretación de la Biblia.<sup>367</sup>

El primer libro de las Prisons trata de seguir las enseñanzas místicas de Briçonnet sobre las primeras tentativas de purificación del, ilustrando los consejos del Obispo contando la historia de un Poeta-Amante que trata de reconstruir su baluarte siguiendo la forma de un castillo medieval, donde podría acarciar y proteger a su “Amye”. Semejantes reminiscencias de historias medievales, como por ejemplo la del amor de Aucassin y Nicolette dentro del recinto de una torre-prisión, en la que se sugieren los comienzos de una nueva era en que se comienzan a re-examinar las sutilidades del amor<sup>368</sup>:

Car sans cesser sçavez que je faisoy's  
 Estant tout seul: mes chaines je baisoy's,  
 Puy's j'embrassoys, d'amour par trop espris,  
 Les pesantz ceptz où courbe j'estoys pris,  
 Puy's me tournoys a la porte ferrée  
 Qui de verroulx redoublez fut serrée,  
 Tout doucement sa force regardoy's,  
 Ou y touchois et puy's baisoy's mes doigtz;  
 Après, alloys contempler ma fenestre,  
 Où, en sautant, n'eusse sçeu de ma dextre  
 Ne d'un baston de deux toises toucher;  
 A deux genoulx, en lieu d'en aprocher,  
 Je l'adoroy's et sa grille rebelle,  
 Qui plus espaisse estoit, plus m'estoit belle.  
 (fol.266 vo , pp.124-125)

Pero el realismo que aparece en las narraciones de amor medievales, con la excepción de la historia alegórica del Roman de la Rose<sup>369</sup>, no pueden aplicarse al Poeta-Amante de las Prisons de Margarita puesto que les falta el “pathos” del personaje que hace más bien pensar en escritores más cercanos a nosotros que utilizan análisis filosóficos sobre la condición humana más que sus “Nouvelles” en el Heptaméron. El Poeta-Amante no intenta escapar de un castillo derrumbándose y su situación tiene reminiscencias de escritores surrealistas como Kafka, cuyos personajes se ven atrapados en callejones sin salida.

No obstante, el Libro Iº de las Prisons de la Reina Margarita está en su desenlace mucho más cerca de algunas alegorías y parábolas bíblicas, tales como la parábola del hijo pródigo (Luke 15,11-32); su técnica del relato abierto de un Poeta-Amante parece a primera vista más un tratado moral que una descripción mística, sólo que Margarita intentaba que se leyera íntegramente como una alegoría espiritual: la repentina intervención de Dios (fol. 268 ro) hace que la veamos más como una obra mística que como moral. Cuando la “Amye” del Poeta-Amante trata de destruir todas las defensas, él insiste en seguir siendo prisionero de sus propias fantasías:

( ... ) pour me faire endurer  
 Dix mille mortz, m'avez en trahyson  
 Par les petis demoly ma maison.  
 Mais, en pensant de moy tout le contraire,  
 Je ne cessoys moy mesmes la reffaïre,  
 Dont prisonnier de moy mesmes j'estoys,  
 Non plus de vous ( ... ).

(fol. 270 ro, p.132)

Las sutilezas de Margarita sobre la naturaleza del amor humano en el primer libro de las Prisons, son más bien de un escritor moderno de novelas de técnica “sustained”, como las entendemos hoy en día, pero Margarita simplemente quería seguir la técnica de las alegorías bíblicas.<sup>370</sup>; su parábola pretendía sólo enseñarnos una lección mística. Esta historia mística carecerá de sentido si se lee como un intento de mostrar los peligros del amor humano. Es verdad que comparte ciertas preocupaciones con su obra más importante el Heptaméron, pero las diferencias son pbvias. No hay desenlace, por ejemplo en la historia del Poeta-Amante mientras que todas y cada una de las setenta y dos “nouvelles” del Heptameron tienen su “denouement”. La ausencia, pues de un final lógico ha sido impuesto arbitrariamente por la escritora y su interpretación dependerá, pues, de cada lector:

(Margarita introduce la acción de Dios como la única manera de resolver el estancamiento de las reglas de juego, en que el Poete-Amante insiste en reconstruir la torre mientras que su “Amye” no cesa de destruirla):

Mais Cestuy là, qui seul est incongneu  
Fors de luy seul, voyant le temps venu  
De liberté qu’il avoit limité  
Pour me tirer hors de calamité,  
Fist vostre cueur pour mon bien si muable,  
Qu’il proposa, non par voie amyable,  
Me delivrer, non pour ma liberté  
*Mais par sa trop grande legereté* [i.e.that of his “Amye”],  
De ma prison, ...

(Prisons, fol.268 ro y vo, p. 128)

Esta intervención divina revela que la naturaleza de la historia del Poeta-Amante es más mística que moral, por lo que no se referiría Margarita al tema del amor, como tampoco lo haría Briçonnet al referirse a “l’oeil carnal”. Ambos, al utilizar metáforas parecidas se referirían a los primeros contactos con lo divino. Según los místicos sólo se puede dar semejante paso si Dios decide purificar al ser humano de todos sus deseos terrenales llamando a este paso inicial el estado de “Purificación”.

## IIª Prisión, o el Proceso de la Iluminación:

No es normal que un escritor planea al mismo tiempo obras de temas tan diferentes como las Prisons y el Heptaméron, pero las experiencias de Margarita eran tan vastas que le permitían controlar todo el material que utilizó en aquellas dos piezas maestras. El amor, según ella como para los neoplatónicos sería la esencia misma de lo Divino, pero el ser humano sólo podía remedarlo, con frecuencia ridículamente, como se puede ver en las historias del Heptaméron, mientras que en las Prisons la historia del Poeta-Amante es una mera excusa para desvelar los primeros intentos de comprender a Dios. Los críticos con frecuencia describen lo obvio sin interpretar los símbolos del amor imperfecto en el poema. Lefranc escribió: “Le Poème des Prisons se compose de trois chants dont le premier est tout entier consacré à l’amour humain”<sup>371</sup>; Sckommodau está de acuerdo con él<sup>372</sup> pero si se interpretaran las prisiones primera y segunda más simbólicamente.<sup>373</sup>

No resulta fácil interpretar el hermetismo del poema de las Prisons, de Margarita, una obra escrita para los iniciados que podían leer desde

“dentro”, sin perderse en las referencias “exotéricas”<sup>374</sup>. Desde el momento en que una persona es capaz de salir de la primera prisión, se le abrirá un nuevo camino, que Briçonnet llamaría la segunda etapa “Iluminativa”. Según él el Agua purifica el Alma desde dentro (Libro I de las Prisons), pero de necesitará el Fuego para quemar todas la imperfecciones (Libro II):

“C’est le vray feu qui faict bouillir le pot d’amour et coeurs de ses creatures et les embrase par divers atouchements et sy tres-vehementes navrencez d’amour, qu’il n’est creature qui puisse les porter. C’est le feu importable et ravissant (...) qui (...) les transporte alieur et met hors de soy sans alienacion et commutation de lieu, leur donne passion sans passion, insportans les coeurs en joie inexpressible.” (Correspondance, I, pp. 108-109)<sup>375</sup>

El Libro II de las Prisons deberá pues interpretarse como aclaración de las enseñanzas tradicionales, según Briçonnet, del difícil proceso de “iluminación”, que, en el caso de Margarita, tuvo lugar bajo la tutela del benévolo “vieillard”, cuyas doctrinas se exponen bajo la alegoría de la segunda Prisión.. La Reina de Navarre ya había explicado en el Miroir: “Par sa clarté ma tenebre illumine” (v. 35). Para cuando escribiera las Prisons, ya había asimilado mucho mejor el proceso iluminativo bajo del Espíritu Santo<sup>376</sup>. Refiriéndose a la definición de Dios de Hermes Pimander como “Je Suys qui Suys”<sup>377</sup>, escribió Margarita:

Ce mot icy je congneuz en Hermes  
Plus clairement qu’en nul si ne mais, [i.e. a moins que],  
Lion ne sçauroit Pere et Filz demander  
Ne Saint Esprit plus clair qu’en Pimander;  
Or n’estoit il de nation juifve.  
Mais il avoit congnoissance naïfve  
Par cest esprit, qui tout homme illumine (John, 1,9)  
Venant au monde et qui ça bas chemine,  
De Cil qui Est, duquel l’election  
L’avoit tire a la perfection  
De ce sçavoir qui n’est par l’homme aquis,  
Et qui seul est à l’homme bien requis.  
(Prisons , fol. 306 ro, p. 208)

Margarita distingue aquí claramente las tres etapas: “Elección”, “Iluminación” y “Perfection”, según la enseñanza tradicional. Briçonnet las había denominado, siguiendo al Pseudodionisio: Purgativa, Iluminativa y Perfecta. Adoptando las enseñanzas del Areopagita a quien llamaba “Monsieur

Sainct Denis”, le comparaba con “Monsieur Sainct Pol” (Correspondance, I, p.167) y “Monsieur Sainct Jean” (ibid.,I, p. 43), Briçonnet estaba defendiendo la posición de la Escuela de Meaux contra Lutero y Erasmo, pues la doctrina del Areopagita gozaba de la autoridad de los documentos postapostólicos muy cercanos a los veredictos de la Santa Escritura: “Et comme Monsieur saint Denis met trois ierarchie et ordres entre les anges, aussi y a il trois sortes de telles ames, selon les effectz et proprietez de chacunes dessus dictes ierarchie. Il est des ames qui commencent, les aultres prouffitent, et les aultres languissent, comme cuyde quelque fois (combien que sommairement) avoir escript” (ibid., I, pp.118-119)<sup>378</sup>.

Las tres Prisons han de interpretarse dentro de este contexto, semajantes a las tres bestians que atemorizaron a Dante y a Beatriz:

Soyez, Amye, ung petit souvenante  
 Qu'en vous comptant de Beatrix et de Dente,  
 Je n'oublai de vous dire que troys bestes  
 Mettoit au lieu de tyrantz deshonestes,  
 C'est assavoir l'ourse, lyonne et louve.  
 (Prisons, fol.293 ro, pp.181-182)<sup>379</sup>

y a los tres enemigos del alma mencionados según San Juan (I Juan 2,,16):

Mais voulez vous livre plus autanque,  
 Voyez saint Jehan, dedans sa canonique,  
 Commant il dit qu'en la subjection  
 Des troys puissans va en perdition  
 Le monde, et tout ce qu'il enclost et tient.  
 (ibid., fol.293 vo, p.182)

Estos “mirages” o espejismos de los enemigos que aparecen en las Prisons aparecen como obstáculos que deberá sobrepasar el alma antes de llegar a la unión mística por medio de una purificación total.<sup>380</sup> La alegoría de Margarita de la “segunda prisión” del Poeta-Amante comienza presentandolo libre ya de su “primera prisión”, simboliza por las trampas del viejo castillo, y ya podrá gozar contemplando a la naturaleza en toda su hermosura (ibid., fol.276 ro, p.145). Pero se siente incapaz de mantener este disfrute de pura contemplación de la belleza de la beldad natural, sintiéndose atraído por un desordenado deseo de construir:

Car ma prison, bien qu'elle fust mal faicte,  
 Trouvée avoys si belle et si parfaicte,  
 Que je n'avoys oeil ny entendement  
 Jamais tourne sur autre bastiment.



Mais, délivré de ma prison antique,  
Ambition, dont le feu brulle et pique,  
Me vint saisir par desir de bastir  
 Mille maisons et de les assortir,  
 Et d'aquerir possessions et terres  
 ( ibid., fol. 279 ro, pp.150-151)

Y ahora será capaz de admirar todos los hermosos edificios que habían hecho construir los monarcas en el Renacimiento (ibid., fol.279 vo, p.152). El segundo libro de las Prisons ilustra muchos aspectos de las cortes renacentistas, tales el cultivo de la buena comida, de la música y del amor perfecto (fol.280, p.155)<sup>381</sup>. Pero todo aquel esplendor presentaba historias humanas, análogas a las las descritas por Margarita en el Heptameron: Su alegoría de la vida cortesana como “Prison” más sutil aún que el castillo amurallado del Poeta-Amante es una crítica aguda de la forma de vida de los monarcas que favorecieron todos los refinamientos de las cortes del siglo dieciséis.<sup>382</sup>.

El clímax del segundo libro de las Prisons está claramente señala por el papel de guía del “vieillard”, que se ofrece a ayudar al Poeta-Amante a salir de los embrollos de su segunda prisión:

Je respondis: “Monseigneur, j’ay esté,  
 “Je le confesse, en prison arresté,  
 “Plus de dix ans. et d’amour enyvré,  
 “Mais, Dieu mercy, j’en suis bien délivré;  
 “Je suys dehors de prison et de peyne,  
 “En liberté partout je me promayne (...)  
 (ibid., fol.284 vo, p.163)

Esta segunda prisión consiste en la renuncia del Poeta-Amante a aceptar que se encuentra ahora aún más enmarañado por una atadura mucho más sutil que la del Amor de la primera prisión. El arguye:

“L’autre lyen, qui vous tient par les yeulx,  
 “Sans vous souffrir de les lever aux cyeulx,  
 “Il est d’or fin, si bien fait et si riche,  
 “Que vostre oeil plus qu’en ung lieu ne se fiche (...)  
 (ibid., fol.290 ro, p.175)

Hay que remarcar que la visión del “vieillard” en este Ier Libro de las Prisons sigue en paralelo al papel del Sol en el primer libro y al del Espíritu en el tercero. Hasta superar la etapa de Purificación, simbolizada por la alegoría del castillo en el primer libro, los brillantes rayos del Sol no po-

dían penetrar en la prisión voluntaria del Poeta-Amante; pero el papel de ayuda del Sol desaparecerá para permitir que el “vieillart” (i.e. Briçonnet) se haga cargo de introducir a Margarita en el conocimiento místico.

...  
Au plain midy le soleil m’esclaira  
Qui man estot plus plaisant declaira.  
Car je trovay par son rayon luysant  
Ce monde bas desirable et plaisant,  
Mais. d’autre part me monstra ung vieillart  
Blanc et chenu, mais dispost et gaillart, (...)  
(ibid., fol.283 vo, p.162)

Lefranc comenta que Margarita muestra en sus Prisons que está al tanto de todas las teorías de la Astrología de su tiempo cuando describe que el Sol, junto junto con todas las otras estrellas asume el papel de guía en los asuntos humanos.<sup>383</sup> Pero a ella le interesaba mucho más describir su “etat d’ame”, que en ofrecer una visión de la vida cortesana o de las ciencias de su tiempo. La imagen del Sol conduciendo a la visión del “vieillart” no es más que una forma hábil de continuar la alegoría del Poeta-Amante cuando llega en el Libro II a su nueva etapa de unión total con la divinidad. Margarita utiliza las mismas metáforas que Briçonnet cuando habla del Fuego Iluminativo:

...  
Je viz soudain par ce feu abattant,  
Et tant s’en fault qu’il allast rien gastant,  
Que sa clarte, qui tout illuminoit,  
Double beaulte a taus livres donnoit,  
Où l’écriture et l’art estoit garde.  
(ibid., fol.310 vo, p.218)

o de una experiencia cegadora:

Ce fort esprit aveuglant les voyans,  
Illuminant les aveugles croyans,  
Monstre qu’ung seul estre et vie a tous donne:  
(ibid., fol.308 vo, p.214)

La conclusión es bien clara. El segundo libro de las Prisons no se aleja mucho de las enseñanzas de Briçonnet cuando explicaba al Poeta-Amante en diciembre 1521:

“Qui met le feu au bois verd, il ne bruslera ne fera flambe, du commencement jusques ad ce quil ayt chassé son contraire et

purge le boys des humeurs froides et contraires en les chassant et dessecheant. Et lors qu'il est purge, assoufiré [i.e. rempli], la flamme vient qui illumine et ne cesse qu'il n'ay consommé et parfaict le bois par union à luy". (Correspondance, 1, p. 102).

La voz de "vieillart" es realmente la voz de Briçonnet.

### IIIª Prisión o la experiencia penetrante de la visión

La mayor dificultad que experimentará el lector al leer libros heréticos como las Prisons es encontrar el hilo que le ayude a separar el sentido obvio del secreto. No cabe duda que los contemporáneos de Margarita estaría mucho más capacitados para entender todos estos temas difíciles, pero se aplazó la fecha su publicación por temor a la censura de la Sorbonne, porque aparecen varios temas discutibles tales como la primacía de la Biblia y la doctrina de Jesucristo como único mediador.

Cuando finalmente se publicó en 1896<sup>384</sup> el poema místico de las Prisons, todos los críticos lo aclamaron como la obra maestra de Margarita, paragonándolo con el Heptameron que para entonces había conocido infinidad de ediciones y traducciones desde su primera publicación en 1558<sup>385</sup>. Las Prisons, a pesar de todo, continúan todavía ignoradas por los críticos que prefieren estudiar sus otros poemas como el Dialogue, el Miroir y la Comédie que han conocido ediciones más recientes. Quizás se deba a su longitud de unos 5,000 versos y a su inexpugnable oscuridad, particularmente en el Libro III, que obstaculiza su lectura pues hasta que apareció publicada su Correspondance con Briçonnet (1975 y 1979) había sido imposible al lector moderno entender el sentido de este enigmático poema. El Libro III en particular es mucho más complejo que los otros dos "chants" juntos<sup>386</sup>. Margarita debió haber estado aumentando su forma original durante mucho tiempo, pues su estructura es básicamente simple aunque es rica en largas digresiones del tema central que trata del último conato parara conseguir el clímax de la unión perfecta con la Divinidad. La única forma de simplificar las líneas centrales del pensamiento de este extenso libro será haciendo un análisis estructural de todos sus temas uno por uno, subrayando la importancia de todas sus digresiones:

#### La Subida a la Unión Perfecta:

El Poeta-Amante, como aparece en los dos libros anteriores había logrado liberarse del recinto de la torre gracias al Sol, pero pronto se vio atraído por la belleza de las criaturas y tuvo que recurrir a la ayuda iluminativa del "vieillart" para superarlo". Ahora se encuentra ante otra prueba al verse atrapado por el deseo desordenado de conocer (fols 295-299).

El Espíritu le hace sentir su impacto directo enseñándole que sólo se puede llegar al conocimiento por medio de la inspiración personal, pues la letra mata pero el espíritu vivifica (fols 299-300).

#### Sobre la Experiencia Mística:

El peregrinaje místico del Poeta-Amante ha terminado. Bajo la guía del Espíritu tendrá que aprender una serie de temas difíciles. Antes de nada tuvo que caer en la cuenta que no resulta fácil describir la experiencia del conocimiento de Dios; tiene que utilizar una serie de metáforas como la sensación de experimentar ser herido por una saeta para describir la agonía del alma en el momento de enfrentarse con el misterio divino (fol. 302). La clave de este conocimiento parece ser la comprensión mística del texto sagado como experiencia penetrante (fol. 303). Me ocupo por extenso de temas como el concepto neoplatónico del “fureur poetique” (fol.309) y del concepto místico del éxtasis (fol. 322) en la sección IV de este Capítulo.

#### Sobre las definiciones de Dios:

Margarita misma era por supuesto el Poeta-Amante que trataba de describir el objeto de su vehemente deseo a través de una serie de definiciones de Dios. Utilizará varias fórmulas pues ninguna definición sera de por sí suficiente.. Utiliza la definición tradicional de Dios según Hermes Pimander como “Celuy qui Est” (Exodus 3,14) (fols 303-306) y la descripción platónica de “Perfect Circle” (fol.308). También antítesis místicas como “Petit-Grand” (fol.307), “Loing-Près” (fol.317) como también definiciones de la Biblia (fol.310). Un estudio detallado de todos estos intentos de definir a Dios se pueden ver en la Sección V de este Capítulo.

#### Sobre el Arte de la Confirmación Mística

Margarita no quiso concluir bruscamente su poema. Poniendo en peligro la unidad de su obra pretendió demostrar con una serie de “recits” que la experiencia muestra la imposibilidad de llegar a la libertad antes de que el ser humano caiga en la cuenta de que su estado de prisionero terminará sólo en el momento de la muerte pues sólo se consigue la Libertad paso a paso, pero la liberación total de la esclavitud terrenal no es posible mientras vivamos en la tierra<sup>387</sup>. Margarita lo vio claramente en 1524 cuando escribía el Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne y tras la muerte de su hermano y no pudo recuperarse del impacto recibido con la llegada de la noticia a la corte de Navarra.. Pasó cuatro meses en el monasterio de Tusson y sus poemas, la Navire ou consolation du Roy François Ier y la Comédie sur le trespas du Roy, escritos hacia 1547, lo mismo que

varias de sus Chansons Spirituelles, corroboran la posición de las Prisons, que interpretan la muerte como la experiencia dolorosa y penetrante del encuentro final con lo Divino..

Primer “recit” sobre la muerte de Marguerite de Lorraine, madre del primer marido de Margarita, Charles d’Alençon, muerta en 1521<sup>388</sup> justificando su defunción con el concepto místico de salida de este mundo, parecida a la confrontación del águila con la visión solar, relacionándola con la antigua creencia que el águila renovaba su flaqueza de visión mirando al sol de hito en hito<sup>389</sup>:

Car, sans ung mot delaisser de sa reigle,  
Son oeil de foy, regardant comme l’aigle  
Le vray soleil où estoit sa fiance,  
Trouvoit en luy repos de conscience.  
(Prisons, fol.331 ro, pp.260-261)

Segundo “récit”, sobre la muerte de Charles d’Alençon, primer marido de Margarita quien describe con detalles minuciosos aquel día de abril de 1525, recalcando que su fallecimiento fue como mirando cara a cara al místico Sol.

Mais en faisant du corps au ciel passage,  
Le clair soleil sur ce pasle visaige  
Ung beau rayon fist si très fort reluyre,  
Qui sembloit estre un cheriot pour conduyre  
L’espouse au ciel, l’ame a son createur.  
(*ibid.*, fol.335 vo, p.270)

Tercer “récit”, sobre la muerte de su madre Louise de Savoye el 22 de septiembre de 1531, confirmándo la enseñanza mística de que sólo en 31 momento de morir se logra la libertad total, confesando:

“Or mainctenant quaproche la deffaicte  
“De la prison de ce vieil corps charnel,  
“Las! plaise vous, o mon pere eternal,  
“Entre voz braz l’ame et l’esprit reprendre  
“Que de bon cuer entre voz mains vois rendre.  
(*ibid.*, fol.338 ro, p.275)

Cuarto “récit”, sobre la muerte de querido hermano Francisco Primero. Su vida no había sido digna de elogio, pero había mostrado, en su muerte que sólo entonces se llega a comprender el “Tout” (Dios). En for-

ma de letanía repite los temas del “Memento Mori”,<sup>390</sup> insistiendo en que su hermano Francisco se arrepintió antes de morir:

Souviennne vous que sa mort il congneut;  
Souviennne vous qu’humblement il receut  
Ses sacremens, que tous il demanda.  
(ibid., fol.341 vo, p. 282)

Margarita escribe versos más comprensibles al mencionar sus experiencias personales que cuando describe conceptos abstractos. Sin duda alguna le conmovió que su hermano aceptara la muerte y sus versos reflejan su amable personalidad.

...  
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.  
(ibid., fol.342 ro, p.284)

Paráfrasis mística del “Magnificat” de María (Luke I, 46-56):

Margarita resume los temas místicos del “Tout” y del “Rien” al final del “récit” de la muerte de su hermano Francisco I<sup>o</sup>, pero esta vez aplica en término “Rien” a la humildad de María durante su visita a su prima Isabel:<sup>391</sup>:

Quand elle dist que sa nichilité,  
Son povre Rien, bassese, humilité,  
Son Dieu avoit par pitié regardée ...  
(ibid., fol.345 ro, p. 292)

María, al reconocer su “Rien”, fue aceptada por el “Tout”. Y también Francisco cuya conducta humilde le acercó a la Divinidad antes de su fallecimiento. Luego Margarita retorna al tema de la definición antitética de Dios como “Tout” y “Rien” para conseguir mantener la unidad del tema de este Libro III sobre las Prisons y que será analizado más tarde en la Sección IV. Finalmente se hace un resumen de todo el poema al referirse a que el Poeta-Amante ha logrado liberarse de todos los cautiverios de las tres Prisons:

Ceste voix là ne puyt ny ne doy taire:  
où l'esprit est divin et vehement,  
La liberte y est parfaitement.  
(ibid., fol.348 ro and vo, p. 297)

Todo crítico tiene que ser consciente del peligro que supone sugerir divisiones y apartados en una obra literaria si no han sido sugeridos por su autor/a. Pero resulta problemático si es inevitable organizar sus ideas en el poema sin dividir las estructuralmente para poder seguir su pensamiento en una obra tan compleja como las Prisons. Solamente así se ve el sentido del Libro III, el último tramo de la ascensión mística.

Lo que más dificulta la lectura del tercer libro de las Prisons, aparte de su longitud, son sus constantes digresiones y la falta de claridad al relatar la historia del Poeta-Amante en los dos capítulos previos. Margarita describes los incidentes y el papel de rescate del “soleil” y del “vieillard” pero ahora tiene que enfrentarse con problemas difíciles antes de llegar a la cumbre de la perfección.

Montant plus hault à la perfection,  
Plus je descends a ceste affection  
Qui est de Dieu très fort recommandée  
Et de l'Amour a l'amant demandée (...)  
(ibid., fol.295 ro, p.185)

Así comienza el Libro III de las Prisons de Margarita cambiando el tono global de la obra inesperadamente cuando el Poeta-Amante comienza a preguntarse por la razón de la tardanza en llegar a la cima. Quizás tergiversó las sugerencias del “Soleil” para que mirara a la naturaleza que resultó ser una trampa cuando el “vieillard” le indicó cómo conseguir la sabiduría:

“Amy, j'ay nom de science Amateur,  
“Je te requiers de m'estre imitateur:  
“Tenez. voyez, contemplez et lisez.  
(ibid., fol.291 vo, p.178)

El Conocimiento está por encima de la Belleza en la escala de valores, a no ser que aparezcan escritos con mayúsculas, en cuyo caso se pueden identificar como Dios que es la fuente de la Harmonía y del Conocimiento. El Poeta-Amante encuentra difícil entenderlo, lo cual retarda que llegue a comprender la verdadera escalada de los valores. Como mujer renacentista, familiarizada con todos los conocimientos de su tiempo,

Margarita no podía mantener que la Sabiduría fuese un escotillón para el ser humano, particularmente en sus manifestaciones más excelentes como son la Retórica, la Filosofía y la Teología:

Ainsy posay ce beau pillier antique  
De ceste tant aymée rhetorique  
Auprès duquel mys la theologie,  
Où je gastay mainct flambeau de bougye,  
Lisant de nuict docteurs irrefragables,  
Docteus subtilz, serafiques, amables<sup>392</sup>,  
Les anciens, les moyens, les modernes,  
Que l'on congnoist par les oeuvres externes.  
(ibid., fol.298 vo, p.193)<sup>393</sup>

La historia del Poeta-Amante aparece en el Libro III De una forma diferente a la de los dos Libros previos. ¿Cómo podría alcanzar la cima del reino de la sabiduría al que le había introducido el “vieillart”? Margarita rara vez echa mano del humor en sus poemas como lo hace en el Heptameron, pero sugiriendo en el Libro III de las Prisons que el Poeta-Amante comienza a apilar libros para subirse, lo describe en una situación cómica:

Des livres fiz ung pillier, et sembloit  
Que sa grandeur terre et ciel assembloit.<sup>394</sup>  
Ce pillier fait, ung aultre j'en bastiz  
De livres grans, et moyens et petis (...)  
(ibid., fol.296 vo, p.189)

Sugiere de esta manera divertida que el Poeta-Amante ha interpretado erróneamente las enseñanzas místicas de ambos el “Soleil” y el “Vieillart”. El proceso de la Iluminación, como se lo había enseñado Briçonnet, sólo se completaría por medio del entendimiento, no de la letra sino del espíritu de las Escrituras. El “vieillart” le había aconsejado:

“Si plus avant voulez faire lecture,  
“Prendre vous fault ceste Saincte Escripiture,  
“où vous verrez ce qui est commandé  
“Et defendu de Dieu et demandé.  
(ibid., fol. 291 ro, p. 177)

El Poeta-Amante logra finalmente comprenderlo:

Et tout en hault mys la Bible admirable  
Comme le bout où tous les autres tendent (...)  
(ibid., fol. 299 vo, p. 194)



Así pues el Poeta-Amante sólo podrá llegar a una cumbre más sólida que una pila de libros reconociendo que el conocimiento de las Escrituras es la meta de todo el saber. El/la lector/a habrá ya notado que el “vieillard” está simplemente repitiendo la hermenéutica mística de Briçonnet y que la doctrina de las Prisons ya había ilustrada a través de los cuatro personajes herméticos de la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan.

Los comentaristas de la Biblia suelen interpretarla desde el punto de vista de la historia o de su crítica textual. Los místicos, por el contrario, la leen “desde dentro” ya que todo criticismo “desde fuera” ayuda muy poco a percibir su sentido real; ien los versos quesiguen el Poeta-Amante (i.e. Margarita) advierte de los peligros del criticismo textual del Medievo porque puede oscurecer el significado real (“obscure rendue”) con infinidad de traducciones, paráfrasis, notas y glosas:

Et qui les a bien leuz et bien sondez,  
Il pourra veoir qu'ils sont tres bien fundez  
De declairer l'Escripture très sainte  
Selon leur sens et n'ont use de faincte,  
Bien que les uns l'ont au vray entendue,  
Les autres non, mais obscure rendue.  
Les uns n'ont fait que des translations  
Pour les montrer a toutes nations;  
Autres ont pris labeur à l'exposer.  
A la notter ou bien à la gloser.  
Paraphraser ou aditionner.  
(ibid., fols 298 vo and 299 ro, p. 193)

Sólo cuando el Espíritu Santo se haga cargo de reemplazar al “Soleil” y al “vieillard”, asumiendo el papel activo de explicarle el sentido místico de la Biblia, podrá estar seguro el Poeta-Amante de que ha entendido su significado:

Mais cet esprit, qui n'est de nul contrainct,  
Monstre l'esprit, auquel il a emprainct  
Son feu très cler qui ne se peult celler,  
Mais par escript il se fait reveler.  
(ibid., fol.299 ro, pp. 193-194)

Queda, pues, claro que si el Poeta-Amante no entendía el significado de la tercera prisión era porque el tema de “la oposición entre la letra y el espíritu” no le permitía llegar a la cumbre:

Voilà commandant enfermé dans la lettre  
En liberté je pensoys du tout estre.  
(ibid., fol. 300, p. 196)

impidiéndole completar el proceso final de ascensión como se explica al comienzo del Libro III de las Prisons ibid., fol.295 vo, p.185). Las tres etapas de la iniciación de la Correspondance coinciden punto por punto con el plan de Margarita de llevar a cabo el difícil progreso del Poeta-Amante. El Obispo había comenzado utilizando la metáfora del “eau” para ilustrar la primera etapa de la Purificación<sup>395</sup> continuando luego con el proceso de Iluminación a través del “feu”<sup>396</sup>, llegando finalmente al Proceso Unitivo utilizando el simbolismo del “manne”<sup>397</sup>. Luego complementó esta última etapa con la iniciación espiritual en la Hermenéutica Mística de la Biblia<sup>398</sup>. Y finalmente concluyó haciendo un paralelo entre el matrimonio cristiano y la unión mística con la Divinidad.<sup>399</sup> De la misma manera, había admitido el Poeta-Amante de las Prisons, o más bien Margarita misma, que aquella penosa subida le había conducido a la visión de la Divinidad, una ascensión bellamente ilustrada por la alegoría de un “Amy” que tuvo que superar todo tipo de obstáculos, expresados por las metáforas de las tres “prisons”. Mientras que el lector “exotérico” de nuestra era permanecerá a oscuras, el iniciado “esotérico” será capaz de desvelar este simbolismo, pudiendo interpretar la alegoría del Poeta-Amante.<sup>400</sup> Lo mismo que en el Miroir, palabras como “veoir” y “oeil” juegan un papel importante al interpretar la naturaleza hermética de las Prisons, pues hasta que el Poeta-Amante no consiguió tener la visión penetrante del Águila, no podrá afirmar haber llegado a la experiencia penetrante de haber visto a Dios cara a cara:

Son oeil de foy, regardant comme l'aigle  
Le vray soleil où estoit sa fiance,  
Trouvoit en luy repos de conscience.  
(ibid., fol.331 ro, pp. 260-261)<sup>401</sup>

pero sólo puede lograrse esto enteramente a la hora de la muerte, como lo había experimentado Margarita de Lorraine<sup>402</sup>, si bien puede anticiparse esta aguda sensación en el momento del éxtasis místico.

#### IV

El análisis que acabamos de ofrecer de la compleja estructura del Libro III de las Prisons presupone que hubo un borrador de la obra al que se iba añadiendo material. Margarita quería que el poema fuese su tratado más importante sobre la experiencia mística como éxtasis para lo cual tendría que ampliar ciertos temas de importancia primordial como el de

la experiencia mística como arrobamiento y el problema de la definición de Dios como “le Tout et le Rien”, que quiso incorporar de algunas de sus obras, particularmente de sus Chansons Spirituelles que habían originado el tema de las Prisons<sup>403</sup>. Tenía que convencer a sus lectores que no pretendía simplemente aglutinar el material, sino ampliar el tratado más importante del poema, sin saltar de un tema a otro, volviendo constantemente a la idea de Prisión, para poder así mantener la unidad del poema. Antes de abandonar la alegoría del Poeta-Amante, por ejemplo, hace un resumen de sus ideas con una sinopsis de la obra confesando que durante la última etapa estuvo perdida en la prisión de la letra:

Je desiroys le plaisant fruict manger  
De tout sçavoir, sans craindre le danger (...)  
(ibid., fol. 301 ro, p. 198)

pues se encontraba atrapado en una prisión mucho más sutil que la anterior, la de la hipocresía:

.....  
Laquelle faiz et bastys de moy mesmes,  
Où je passay maintz advantz et caresmes,  
Jeunant veillant pour estudier myeulx (...)  
(ibid., fol.295 ro, p.185)

El Poeta-Amante se encuentra tan perdido como “la Superstitieuse” de la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan tratando de ver más claramente pues el Conocimiento de los libros (cf. El papel de la “Sage” en la Comédie) sólo produce confusión:

Ces livres sont a ouvrir bien faciles,  
Mais a suyvir les vertuz difficiles.  
(ibid., fol.298 ro, p.191)

hasta que logra la unión mística con Dios, alabada por la “Bergere”: “Où l’ame en Dieu sans mourir est ravie” (ibid., fol.301 ro, p.198), when the “esprit dans la parole encloz” (ibid., fol.316 vo, p. 229) le revela el sentido oculto detrás del velo de la letra:

Mais par douceur, qui est son vray cousteau,  
Glesve trenchant, flamboyant, clair et beau,  
Par ceste esprit esgu, fort et puyssant.  
Mamelle et chair et os departissant,  
Qui met à rien ce euyder vain et sot  
De tout sçavoir, sans plus, par ung seul mot.  
(ibid., fol.302 vo, p.201)

Margarita intentaba sin duda conectar la tercera etapa de las Prisons como el conocimiento místico de la Biblia en su interpretación del “éxtasis espiritual” como la experiencia de ser penetrado por un cuchillo afilado<sup>404</sup>. Los místicos explican este fenómeno como elucidación de una verdad cuando se lee la Biblia a diferentes niveles pues sólomente las personas humildes (les “petis”) logran entenderla: (Mateo 11,25):

De tel cousteau tuant non punissant,  
Qui doucement adonques le Puyssant,  
Qui droit au cueur par l’oeil tant soudain entre,  
Frappe le myen, au plus prefend du centre;  
Et la façon fut en lisant ung texte  
Où Jesuchrist sa bonté manifeste,  
Disant à Dieu: “Pere, je te rendz graces,  
“Qui aux petis et à personnes basses  
“As revelé tes tresors et secretz,  
“Et aux sçavans, gentz doctes et discretz,  
“Les as cachez: tel est ton bon plaisir.”  
(ibid., fols 302 vo and 303 ro, pp. 201-202)

No se trata de dos casos aislados de conexión del éxtasis en la obra de Margarita con el entendimiento místico de la Biblia.<sup>405</sup> Si es cierto que el tema del “arrobamiento” se había sido anunciado en algunas de sus primeras obras, particularmente en Miroir y en la Comédie<sup>406</sup>, en ningún otro lugar había ella conectado percibir una “luz” u oír una “voz” con la tercera etapa del conocimiento como aparece en el Libro III de las Prisons; uno de sus preciosos pasajes precisa una lectura muy cuidadosa pues se combina el estado de “arrobamiento” con el del entendimiento místico del texto bíblico:

Quand, en lisant, premierement j’ouÿ  
Celluy qui Est se declairer sans faincte  
En toute lettre et escripture maincte,  
Dont contanter assez je me devoys,  
Ceste seconde insupportable voix  
Me resjouyt et m’attyra à soy  
En me faisant passer par dessus moy.  
(ibid., fol.322 ro, p.240)

El Poeta-Amante confiesa entonces como San Pablo (II Corintios 12), que es imposible describir esta experiencia con palabras humanas:

Mais je ne peuz du très grand bien jouyr  
De la parolle en ceste voyx ouyr

Toute par rang, car elle fut si prompte  
Qu'impossible est que je le vous racompte.  
(ibid. 322 ro, p. 240)

Luego se queja de que era casi instantáneo, confesando que no podía afirmar si llevó tiempo alguno, añadiendo que si se hubiera prolongado le habría ocasionado la muerte. (ibid. p. 241).

El Tiempo es un elemento importante al describir la experiencia mística de Dios que es eterno por naturaleza y Margarita lo definió como pasado-presente-futuro en la “Chanson 35”:

Le temps passé je souspire,  
Et l'advenir je désire;  
Le présent me fasche fort,  
Le temps plaisant me fait rire,  
Et, facheux, cause ma mort.  
(vv. 1-5)

Margarita parece interesarse en lo que llamaría Henri Bergson la diferencia entre el tiempo psicológico que nos afecta y puede medirse por nuestros sentimientos y la división matemática del paso del tiempo por segundos, minutos y horas. Él denominaría “durée” y “temps mathématique”<sup>407</sup>.

Le temps est très variable  
*Et du bien ou mal muable* [i.e. “la durée”]  
Le temps n'arreste ung seul pas [i.e. “le temps  
mathématique”]  
(ibid., vv. 36-38)

Pretendía de esta manera lograr vivir más allá del tiempo para que no le afectaran ni la “durée” ni el tiempo mensurable, es decir como “Celuy qui est sans temps” (ibid., v. 45). Dios era según ella:

Qui est, est et le sera;  
Le constant tousjours demeure,  
Le présent ne crainct nulle heure,  
Passé passe et passera.  
(“Chanson 40”, vv. 21-24)

Obviamente aspiraba conseguir una experiencia mística que no dependiera de sentimientos de placer que hacen que pase el tiempo más rápidamente:

...

*Sachant que vous [the Amye] aussy seul me teniez  
Et que may seul sans plus entreteniez,  
Demouré suys en si plaisant sejour  
Que j'y trouvoys l'an plus court que le jour.  
(Prisons, fol. 265 vo, p.122)*

El tema del tiempo aparece una y otra vez, particularmente en los Libros I y II de las Prisons contra el cual habrá que luchar. Aun cuando ayudara al Poeta-Amante a descubrir su existencia mísera dentro de la torre del Amor (ibid., fol. 269 ro, p.129), su influencia resultará nociva pues logrará “tout aneantir” (ibid., fol.270 ro, pp.131-132). Recordemos que Margarita trataba de llegar a la última etapa de la Unión con la Divinidad cuando el ser humano ya no dependerá de sí mismo<sup>408</sup>. Había escrito:

*Le Temps Chanu, qui toujours enseveillit,  
Qui ttant le faictz soubz soy ensevelit,  
Plus hault qui n'est ce hault reigne demeure,  
Plus bas, il cpourt se changeant d'here en heure.  
Le Tiomphe del'Agneau, vv 1459-1462)*

Las descripciones del “raptus mysticus” o éxtasis de las Prisons, serán el ápice de una serie de ejemplos que se encuentran en la mayoría de los otros poemas místicos de Margarita.

*O mon Saulveur, par foy je suis planteé,  
Et par amour en vous joincte et entée.  
Quelle Union! quelle bienheureté!  
(Miroir. vv. 927-929)<sup>409</sup>*

Pero Briçonnet esperó hasta 1524 para iniciarle a Margarita en la interpretación del “mariage envisagé comme figure de l'union avec Dieu et comme sacrement”<sup>410</sup>, y esta enseñanza mística aparecerá en la mayoría de sus poemas.<sup>411</sup>

Sckommodau ha sugerido ya que el cuarto personaje de la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, la “Ravye de Dieu, Bergère”, enseñó la doctrina del “raptus mysticus”<sup>412</sup>. La “Bergère” describe las experiencias personales de Margarita del éxtasis místico que experimentó cuando logró entender el significado espiritual de la Biblia. Aunque se las describe en las Prisons como instantáneas, no han de entenderse como tales en el tiempo, sino como un proceso diferente de cuando hablamos sobre temas temporales<sup>413</sup>. Cualquier intento de relacionar su “raptus mysticus” con

un único periodo de su vida o con periodos específicos de su vida no conduciría a nada, a no ser que aparezcan pruebas históricas.

No trataría de emular a Catalina de Siena que logró combinar la vida activa con la contemplación? Ambos Charles de Sainte-Marthe y Margarita admiraban a aquella mujer extraordinaria que logró combinar sus esfuerzos para reformar la Iglesia con la práctica de la vida mística<sup>414</sup>. La Reina de Navarra la pudo haber imaginado como ejemplo ideal de la mujer extática de las Prisons cuando escribió:

Mais entre tous j'en viz ung [livre] d'une femme,  
Depuys cent ans escript, remply de flamme  
De charité, si très ardentement  
Que rien qu'amour n'estoit son argument,( ... )<sup>415</sup>  
(Prisons, fol. 316 vo, p. 230)

Margarita en todo caso trataba de explicar el “raptus mysticus” como una experiencia penetrante, refiriéndose a un sentimiento paralelo, encomiado por uno de sus admiradores, Pontus de Tyara<sup>416</sup>. Estaría pensando en su descripción del “fureur poetique” cuando escribió en las Prisons:

Lors je congneuz que les poetes tous  
Ont très bien dit de dire “Dieu en nous”,  
Car Dieu en eulx leur a fait souvent dire  
Ce que jamais par ouyr ne par lire  
N'avoient congneu. O pouvoir autentique  
Qui les [a fait], par fureur poetique,  
Le temps futur predire clerement  
Et le passé monstrier couvertement  
Soubz fiction la verité rendue,  
Qui n'estoit point de leurs sens entendue.  
Car si le vray, lequel est contenu  
En leurs escriptz, fust a leurs cueurs venu,  
Il y eust eu autant de bans prophetes  
Qu'il ya eu d'agreables poetes.  
(ibid., fol.309 ro, pp. 214-215)<sup>417</sup>

Margarita refleja en este extracto el interés general de su generación en las ideas neoplatónicas, tales como el conocimiento de Dios por medio de la intuición poética natural. San Pablo ya lo había reconocido, pero sólo parcialmente cuando alaba a los poetas griegos (Actos 17,28); según los místicos el “fureur poétique” es sólo una vislumbre mientras que el “raptus mysticus” es la total absorción por la Divinidad; Brignonnet,

por ejemplo, compara el estado místico del éxtasis con la tendencia del Águila a mirar fijo al Sol:

“Tant sont toutesfois ennuyvrez<sup>418</sup> de l'excellence de l'infinitude de l'esperit<sup>419</sup> qui leur est communiqué qu'ilz veulent, en ung petit raion, par ardent desir comprendre l'immensité du soleil, et par une goutellette, la plenitude de la mer<sup>420</sup>, et congnoissant l'impuissance de leur vol souhaitent helles aquillaires<sup>421</sup>. Lesquelles par graces impetrées, ne leur prouffitent pour parvenir à leur desir et congnoissent que la pesanteur du corps, combien que passe par la fournaise de charité, embrase, aneanti et pulverisé, empesche parvenir au vol desiré et de repoux”. (Correspondance, I, p. 227).

Briçonnet ofrece otras interesantes descripciones del “raptus mysticus” que pudo haber recordado o releído Margarita poco antes de escribir las Prisons<sup>422</sup> y la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan. De todas estas descripciones la más extraordinaria la escribió poco antes de la mencionada Carta. El 5 de febrero trató de adaptar la doctrina del Pseudodionisio sobre las “Jerarquías Divinas” a “las tres etapas de la vida espiritual”<sup>423</sup>. Las Prisons siguen muy fielmente no sólo la división tripartita sino también la descripción del “raptus mysticus” como “hors de soi” en las Cartas escritas a finales de 1521 y a principios de 1522:

“... Et qui plus hault vollera, laissant les terres et penetrant les cielz, incomprehensible, infini, eternal<sup>424</sup> et qui jà sera par excellente et ravissable grace hors de soy ne pourra plus le nommer, le contemplant en silence de coeur oultre et feru d'amour, sans parler, sans le contempler, pour l'offuscacion de lumineuses tenebres, esquelles, pour l'excelente et tout surmontant lumière, son entendement est obtenebré, absorbé et nayé (...) qui, desamparant l'esperit du corps sans separacion le congnoissant, sans congnoistre, Tout, et son rien au Tout abismé. (Correspondance, I, p. 150)<sup>425</sup>

No siempre resulta claro saber lo que intentan los místicos al describir su deseo de describir sus experiencias místicas. “Ravissement” según el Pseudionisio significaría “Desaparecer en la Superesencia”. Para Margarita implicaba “repoz” (Prisons, fol. 321 ro, p.239), un estado de casi total absorción por la Divinidad. Este problema de “perder la propia identidad” raramente preocupaba a los místicos orientales, pero sí a los occidentales que estaban bajo el escrutinio de la Iglesia pues con frecuencia los condenaba.<sup>426</sup>; además resultaba difícil ocultar sus tendencias panteístas que eran castigadas muy severamente, aunque se negaban a renunciar a sus derechos a expresar sus experiencias místicas<sup>427</sup>. Afirmaban las diferencias entre ellos mismos y la Divinidad al describir su “raptus mysticus” con frecuencia como un “duelo”, y sus experiencias como dolorosas al sentirse “heridos” por una fuerza exterior<sup>428</sup>.



## V

En conexión directa con el tema de la experiencia mística como penetrante herida, trató Margarita de ofrecer en su poema de las Prisons un sumario de sus ideas sobre la naturaleza de Dios. A los místicos se les ha acusado de tendencias panteístas cuando tratan de identificarse ellos mismos, igual que todas las cosas con la Divinidad<sup>429</sup>, insistiendo al mismo tiempo en que Dios permanece siempre lejano a todos ellos. Pero al mismo tiempo intentarán definir la Divinidad sin utilizar el proceso intelectual de los filósofos apelando a sus propias experiencias. Caen en la cuenta de que cuando recalcan la identidad del alma con Dios durante el éxtasis, el alma deberá al mismo tiempo afirmar la existencia de Dios como diferente de sus propios sentimientos, si quieren confirmar su experiencia mística como real.

A Margarita le había interesado el tema de las definiciones de Dios desde el momento mismo en que empezó a escribir sus poemas. Ya a finales de 1520 comenzó a esbozar una de ellas a partir de las relaciones entre el “Yo y el Tú” que conducían al alma a una serie de parentescos con la Divinidad, como se puede apreciar en el Miroir de l’âme pécheresse:

Mon Pere, quoy? voire mon createur,  
Mon protecteur et mon conservateur.  
Vostre soeur? Las! voicy grand amytié.  
Or, fendez vous man cueur par la moitié;  
Faictes place a ce frere tant doulx.  
(Miroir, vv. 355-359)

Así pues el alma se convierte en hermano/hermana de Dios, esposa, amante, llegando incluso a la relación más íntima del “matrimonio místico” que le hará posible reclamar su parte en la “generación del Hijo de Dios”:

Mais quand j’ay JESUS receu,  
Par Foy conceu,  
Me suis du malheur non sceu  
Bien apperceu.  
(“Chanson Spirituelle 9”, vv. 4-7)<sup>430</sup>

Margarita explora muchas otras definiciones de Dios en sus obras poéticas, tales como “marido celoso” en la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan:

Et luy , qui est le Dieu jaloux,  
Ne veult [qu']autre amy et espoux  
Ayez, ou mettez vostre coeur,(...)  
(Comédie, vv. 522-524)

En el Miroir había tratado Margarita el tema del “Dios Celoso” quien, no obstante perdonaba siempre a su esposa infiel: (Miroir, vv. 685-756). La infidelidad de la Novia está conectada con el sentimiento de ser prisionera, y su castigo le servirá de purificación (ibid., vv. 691-692). Pero esperó hasta las Prisons para desarrollar el tema místico de los “Nombres de Dios” como uno de los tratados del Libro III. El Poeta-Amante había llegado ya a la última etapa en su búsqueda de libertad. Había sentido la experiencia penetrante del Espíritu Santo como “herida”, Haciéndole así entender el sentido de la Palabra de Dios como “raptus mysticus”. Y esto le ayudaba a reflexionar lo que le había ocurrido durante su largo itinerario, volviendo al origen de los cambios.. ¿Quién y qué era Dios? En la Oraison à nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ Margarita nos ofrece esta definición:

Mon Pere donc, mais quel Pere? eternal,  
Invisible, immuable, immortel, (...) <sup>431</sup>

Margarita sigue aquí la tradicional “Via Negativa” definiendo a Dios con palabras negativas como (no)visible, (no)mudable y (no)mortal, pues, según los místicos es más fácil describirle negando los los conceptos limitados humanos que aplicándole cualidades no creadas. En la Oraison de l’âme fidèle, sin embargo utilizará atributos buenos positivos para definirle. pero negándoselos, consecuentemente, a las simples criaturas o aplicándoselos analógicamente (“Via Analogica”):

Dites DIEU seul estre beau, sage, doux  
Puissant et bon; (...) <sup>432</sup>

La última parte de las Prisons, que van desde el fol. 303 vo al fol. 331 ro, y del fol. 342 vo hasta el final del Libro III en el fol.. 348 vo, podrían considerarse como una serie de conatos de resumen de las definiciones previas de Dios ya utilizadas en algunos de sus poemas místicos, o una serie de nuevas tentativas de tratar este tema espinoso uno de los tópicos más difíciles de la teología mística. Y Margarita se da cuenta de que ha dedicado demasiado espacio al tema en las siete formas importantes:

- Dios como:1. “Celuy qui Est”  
2. el Círculo Perfecto  
3. “le Petit-Grand”

4. “le Loing-Prés”
5. “le Tout-Rien”
6. “la Divina Androgina (la Mitad y el Todo)”
7. las “Verité, Voie et Vie”

Ella trata una y otra vez de volver al tema de las prisiones del Poeta-Amante, particularmente al final del Libro III, pero es obvio que estas oportunas digresiones, que contienen quizás los versos más inspirados de de todas sus obras, podrían haberse tratado separadamente al menos en tres poemas místicos.<sup>433</sup>

Margarita trató de llegar a una noción de Dios apelando al éxtasis espiritual como experiencia personal, o de las teofanías bíblicas de personas que habían estado en contacto con lo Divino, como en el caso de San Esteban que contempló los cielos abiertos (Acts 7,56):

Qui au milieu des pierres combattant  
Pour son Seigneur, le voyoit en estant  
Dedans les cyeulx aux dextres de son pere,(...)  
(Prisons, fol. 328 vo, p.254)

O durante la Anunciación, cuando María llegó al conocimiento perfecto de Dios cuando exclamó:

O que ce Rien pleut à ceste pucelle  
Quand elle dist: “Voicy de Dieu l’ancelle”,(...)  
(ibid., fol.345 vo, p.291)<sup>434</sup>

O incluso en el caso de filósofos paganos como Sócrates que fueron “iluminés” por el Espíritu Santo. Aunque nunca llegó tan lejos como Erasmo al recitar “Sancte Socrate , ora pro nobis”, el filósofo griego, según Margarita habría experimentado un impulso extático o iluminación del Espíritu:

Ce clair esprit les yeulx illumina  
De Socrates, quand il determina  
D’endurer mort pour obeyr aux loix (...)  
(ibid., fol.313 ro, p.223)<sup>435</sup>

El ejemplo más claro de conocimiento extático no fue el de Sócrates sino el de Hermes Pimander. Lefevre había editado en 1505 su Pimander Mercurii Trismegisti liber de sapientia et potestate Dei; fue probablemente este tratado místico además de otros publicados más tarde por Lefevre

como su Dionisii Caelestis Hierarchia Ecclesiastica, Divina Nomina et Theologia Vivificans, ambos dedicados al “sacro antistiti Guillermo Briçonneto episcopo”<sup>436</sup>, que habían sido enviados a Margarita para su estudio bajo la guía de Michel d’Arande (Correspondance, I, p.208). El uso del vocablo “iluminación” refiriéndose a las obras místicas de Hermes Pimander<sup>437</sup> sugiere que se pueden comparar con las teofanías del Antiguo y Nuevo Testamento.

Or n'estoit il de nation juïfve [i.e. Pimander],  
Mais il avoit congnoissance naïfve  
Par cest esprit qui tout homme illumine (...)  
(Prisons, fol .306 ro, p. 208)

El término “iluminación” es un concepto clave para clarificar las diferentes tentativas de Margarita para definir la naturaleza de Dios. Se trataría de reconciliar los problemas opuestos de la unión total (o abandono) al Espíritu<sup>438</sup> con el reconocimiento de que “Dios está ahí” y la subsecuente afirmación del ser humano. El primer intento de Margarita de escribir un tratado místico sobre la naturaleza de Dios se encuentra en uno de sus poemas apenas conocidos, la Oraison à nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ:

Vostre nom est si grand et admirable  
Que naturel esprit ou raisonnable  
Ne vous scauroit nommer parfaitement.  
Tous noms avez, estantz innomables  
Dont nostre sens est si trespeu capable,  
Qu'il ne congnoist que c'est, quoy, ne comment.  
Il me suffit de croire seulement  
Que de tout bien estes commencement,  
Moien et fin, en tous temps immuable,  
Puissant, ban, beau, sapient, veritable;  
Car tous les noms que nostre entendement  
Vous poeut donner en chose vrayesemblable  
Cela n'est riens; car indiciblement  
Estes celluy qui vous estes vrayment,  
Dont a nous est le sçavoir importable.  
(Oraison, vv. 53-67)

La teoría de Margarita que es imposible describir a Dios por medio de conceptos humanos: “tous noms avez, estantz innomables”, aparece con las mismas palabras en la Carta de Briçonnet a Margarita de mayo 1522; el Obispo de Meaux fue un admirador de tratado místico del Psedodionisio Los Nombres Divinos: “Parquoy, Madame, je supplie au seul innomable et

de tous noms nominable...” (Correspondance, I, p. 213). Ya le había escrito a Margarita el 5 de febrero de aquel año sobre la atribución de nombres a Dios: “Aussy qui voudra le Tout-Verbe superceleste, qui est vraye manne, appeller ban, saige, beau, fort, riche, puissant et d’aultres noms, il est non seulement tel, mais la source qui se communique à toutes choses créez, qui sont bannes, saiges, belles, fortes, riches, puissantes et par luy sont telles, qui est de tout nom” (ibid., I, p. 148).

#### A. La definición de Dios “Je Suys qui Suys”

De todas las definiciones de Dios que aparecen en las obras de Margarita ésta parece ser la que más le había afectado, habiendo ya aparecido en la Oraison:

...  
Estes celluy qui vous estes vrayment,  
Dont à nous est le sçavoir importable.  
(vv. 66-67)

Sólo cobrasentido si se utiliza la “Via Analogica” negando la propia existencia y considerando a Dios como el único ser viviente:

Car, en disant: “Je suis qui suys”, tel maistre  
M’aprint alors le quel estoit mon estre;  
S’il est qui Est, hors de luy je ne puy  
Dire de moy sinon que je ne suys.  
Si rien ne suis, las! où est ma fiance,  
Vertu, bonté et droicte conscience?  
Or suis je riens, s’il est Celluy qui Est?  
(Prisons, fol. 303 vo, p.203)<sup>439</sup>

¿Pero cómo llegar a entender la complejidad de esta definición de Dios como “el único Existente? Ciertamente no con discursos filosóficos<sup>440</sup>, o analizando literalmente el texto bíblico “Sum qui Sum” (Exodus 3,14), sino directamente por medio de la iluminación del Espíritu, semejante al éxtasis místico; pero el alma deberá antes abandonar la presunción (“le cuyder”) y aprender la humildad:

Ce mot là, c’est ung glaive qui revele  
Le fondz des cueurs par façon non nouvelle,  
Et qui en a l’ame bien transpercée  
Feindre ne peult ne couvrir sa pensée.  
Ce mot: “Je suys” l’hypocrisie chasse ,  
Et le cuyder pert son lieu et la place; (...)

“Je suys qui suys”, qui si hault très tonna  
 Que tous mes sens et force(s) estonna,  
En me faisant veoir le sens de la lettre:  
 C’est qu’il luy plaist aux cueurs des petis mettre<sup>441</sup>  
 Son Saint Esprit, par lequel reveler  
 Se fait en eulx pour les renouveler  
 Au jeune estat de la pure innocence, (...)  
 (ibid., fol. 305 vo, p. 207)

Moisés fue el primero en tener esta experiencia delante del arbusto ardiendo cuando oyó que Dios se llamaba a sí mismo “el Único Ser” (ibid. fol 303, p.203). Pero no se le negó a otros, como al no circuncidado Job (ibid., fol. 306 ro and vo, p. 209), o la Samaritana, cuando era aún pecadora (ibid., fol. 303 ro, p. 204). Se lo habían concedido a muchos filósofos paganos, como a Platón y a Sócrates. (ibid., fols 306 ro, p. 209 and 316 vo, pp. 223-224). De hecho no se niega a nadie este conocimiento<sup>442</sup>, mientras el Espíritu “dans la parolle encloz” (ibid., fol. 316 vo, p. 229) nos haga ver el sentido místico del texto de la Biblia a través del velo de lo que está escrito:

...  
 Quand, en lisant. premierement j’ouï  
 Celluy qui Est se declairer sans faincte  
 En toute lettre et escripture maincte,  
 ...  
 (ibid., fols 321 vo and 322 ro, p. 240)

Resulta difícil comprender la definición de Dios como “Celuy qui Est” sin hacer mención del problema de la hermenéutica mística, o del conocimiento espiritual de la Biblia como se presenta en la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan. Margarita sólo pudo conseguirlo aceptando e ilustrando las enseñanzas de la escuela de Meaux como las entendían Lefevre y Briçonnet y en las Prisons logró hacerlo de una manera personal manteniendo que a no ser que el Espíritu se revele una vez para siempre al alma (Poeta-Amante), nadie podrá pretender haber conseguido aquel conocimiento pues siendo hermético por naturaleza sólo se puede lograr por el éxtasis místico.

B. Dios como la “Concordantia Oppositorum”, i.e. la conjunción de los opuestos, conocida por las tres antítesis místicas: “le Grand-Petit”, “le Tout-Rien” y “le Près-loing”, en las “Prisons”, y Cristo como la “Divine androgyne”:

Los diversos conatos de Margarita para definir a Dios con fórmulas diversas a lo largo de sus poemas místicos demuestran la imposibilidad de hacerlo utilizando el lenguaje humano. Uno de las formas tradicionales de intentarlo era por medio de la “conjunction of opposites”, puesto que ninguna idea por sí sola puede definir su naturaleza a la vez simple y compleja. Según Meister Eckhart se le puede llamar simultáneamente, “Grande y Pequeño”, “Igual y Diferente”, “Semejante y Diverso”, “Parado y Moviéndose”<sup>443</sup>. Los pares antitéticos de Margarita tratan igualmente de reconciliar nociones opuestas:

O petit grand! O Rien en Tout fondu!  
 O Tout gagné par Rien en toy perdu!  
 (Prisons, fol. 327 ro , p. 251)

Mientras que ciertas antítesis como “Petit-Grand”, o “gagné-perdu” aparecen como al azar en las Prisons, la conjunción de opuestos “Tout-Rien” ocupan el centro mismo del poema como leit-motif a lo largo de los últimos veinticuatro folios del Libro III Ya la había anunciado Margarita en el Miroir:

Mais quant à luy par amour est unie [l’ame],  
 Si remply est son riens d’ung peu de tout,  
 Qu’à declairer ne poeut trouver le bout.  
 (Miroir, vv. 1326-1328)

Se puede ver igualmente la antítesis “Tout-Rien” en sus obras de teatro moral de los años 1530 en un contexto ético; “Peu” y “Moins” aparentemente tienen poco que perder:

PEU  
 Lon ne peult brebis raze tondre;  
 Qui n’ha riens, riens aussi ne perd.

MOINS  
 Qui ne porte riens, riens n’appert;  
 Parquoy ceste lettre est bien close  
 A cil, qui cerche quelque chose.

PEU  
 Ilz n’en peuvent trouver le bout.  
 Helas, ilz pensent avoir tout;  
 Mais ce tout là qu’ilz disent leur,  
 Ce n’est en fin que tout malheur:  
Nostre Tout n’est pas de la sorte.

MOINS

Certes il fault que ce Tout sorte

De riens pour estre cher tenu.

(Trop, Prou, Peu, Moins, vv. 301-311)

Cristo, sin embargo, encarnará esta antítesis mística, pues Él solo puede reclamar ser al mismo tiempo Hombre (Rien) y Dios (Tout); Margarita escribe en la Comédie de l'Adoration:

Et pour son Rien, il aura Tout vrayment.

Anges. chantez, en voyant eslevé

Rien en son Tout , et Sathan reprouvé;

Son Tout à Rien est mis par ma puissance;

Cuyder est nul, ou est ma congnoissance.<sup>444</sup>

Aparece Cristo como “Rien” mucho más claramente en la Comédie du desert, donde se humilla a sí mismo (“Kenosis Divina”) al hacerse hombre:

Mais le Petit du Grand est triumpbant

S'humiliant a rien, a mort, et peine.<sup>445</sup>

Habrà con todo que esperar a los años de madurez de Margarita entre 1540 y 1549 para que aparezca la conjunción “Rien” y “Tout” más claramente repetida hasta la saciedad. El alma deberá abandonar lo humano (“le Rien”) para conseguir la perfección (“le Tout”):

Qui sent d'amour llaneantissement,

Se resjouyst, perdant ce qui n'est rien

Pour recepvoir son Tout entierement.

(Navire, vv. 91-93)

En las Chansons Spirituelles aparecen utilizadas con énfasis místico para significar la unión del alma con el Divino Tout:

Unissant le Rien qu'il ame

En son Tout divinement,

L'espouse se perd et pasme

En son Tout joyeusement.

(“Chanson 21” vv. 24-28)

y con alusiones al tema del Amor

Baisez moy, acolez moy,

Mon Tout en tous.



Unissez moy par la Foy  
Du tout à vous .  
("Chanson 17, vv. 25-28)

Esta insistencia de las Chansons Spirituelles en utilizar la antítesis "Tout-Rien"<sup>446</sup> sólo tiene par con un corto poema publicado como parte de las Marguerites en 1547. Sorprende la facilidad con que utiliza Margarita esta antítesis en la Oraison de l'âme fidèle, sugiriendo que el alma no tiene existtencia más que en Dios con quien estaba antes de unirse con el cuerpo.

Estre n'avoit en soy, mais en presence  
De toy estoit, en qui tout est parfait.  
Son Estre donc n'est, luy mourant, defait;  
Car il estoit avant qu'il fust au monde.  
S'il te congnoist son Estre, il est refait,  
Il est heureux en l'un et l'autre monde<sup>447</sup>

La Oraison está mucho más cerca de las the Prisons than que ningún otro de los poemas místicos en el tratamiento de los opuestos "Rien-Tout", recalcando la idea panteística que la existencia de las criaturas ("le rien") depende de la existencia rebosante del "Tout":

( ... );ce qu'il fait est et sera a naistre,  
Car par ce Tout et en ce Tout ant estre.  
Il les enclost par grandeur indicible  
Et vit en eulx par façon invisible.  
(Prisons, fol. 324 vo, p. 245)

Debo confesar que el "chant" del "Rien-Tout" de las Prisons es demasiado extenso para mostrar las ideas de Margarita sobre esta antítesis mística, y que la Oraison de l'âme fidèle es ideal fpara nuestro propósito de iluminar todas las sinuosidades del Libro III de las Prisons. Todas las ideas panteísticas se resuelven con el velo místico con que se encubre su renuncia a su naturaleza divina al adoptar la forma del "Rien", para que todos podamos participar de su naturaleza divina en Dios, haciendo referencia a la doctrina paulina de la "kenosis" de Cristo (i.e. vaciándose de su previa naturaleza divina)<sup>448</sup>. Así aparece en la Oraison:

Très volontiers a Rien tu t'es soubmiz,  
Afin qu'à Rien Adam par toy fust mis (...)  
Car en toy sont, qui Rien as voulu estre:  
Lors ayant mis a Rien la Creature  
La reünis a son Tout, par ta dextre.<sup>449</sup>

haciéndose eco en las Prisons; la condición del ser humano simbolizada por Adán (el hombre “par excellence”) que sólo puede salvarse por medio de la humillación y muerte de Jesucristo:

Mais par ce Filz, transmis à nous ça bas,  
Sont appaisez ces differentz debatz,  
Car nostre chair il a prise et l'a mise  
Du Tout à Rien: là gist nostre franchise.  
Et ce Rien là il voulut esprouver,  
Quand sur la croix se monstra estre ung ver  
Et homme non, en s'aneantissant  
Et nostre Rien de cuyder nettissant.  
(Prisons, fol. 325 vo, p. 248)

La Oraison de l'âme fidèle puede servir para clarificar la antítesis “Rien,Tout” tratando de complementarse en la imagen de la “Andrónina Divina” en uno de los pasajes mas enigmáticos de las Prisons:

Celuy qui Est, à qui bien l'ymagine,  
Se voit aussy dedans ceste Androgine,  
Qui sa moictié ne cesse de chercher  
Ne la trouvant ne se fait que fascher.  
(ibid., fol. 310 ro, p. 217)<sup>450</sup>

Tan sólo un paso separa a la “Androgyne” en búsqueda de su otra mitad y el “Rien” (Christ) en busca de su naturaleza superior, el “Tout” (Dios). Éste sólo tendrá lugar en la “kenosis” mística, cuando el “ Rien” logre conseguir juntarse con su otro “ Tout”. Margarita llama a esta experiencia mística “aneantissement” en este pasaje interesantísimo de la Oraison de l'âme fidèle, que bien pudiera explicar muchos de pasajes más crípticon de las Prisons:

O doux regard iusques au coeur perçant  
L'âme et le corps, et l'esprit traversant,  
Vien moy navrer, fais ton pover sentir  
A mon dur coeur, en peche malversant;  
Que desespoir va de sy pres pressant,  
Qu'il fait quasi l'esperoir de moy sortir.  
O forte Amour, vien moy aneantir  
Par ce regard tant doux et amyable.<sup>451</sup>

Este “anéantissement – kenosis” de la “Andrógina Divina” es la clave de la antítesis mística de Margarita según la cual ningún “rien” puede

entender el “Tout”, excepto el “Rien” que va en busca de su otra mitad,, i.e. Cristo como hombre en búsqueda de su otra mitad divina.

Qui pourra done ce Tout emprisonner?  
Nul, car sur tous a povoir d'ordonner.  
Et cestuy là qui ce Tout a congneu  
Tant qu'il est Rien en son sens devenu,  
Ne se sentant plus estre ne plus vivre  
...  
(Prisons, fol. 324 vo, pp. 245-246)

Es muy probable que hubieran introducido a Margarita a los sermones místicos de Meister Eckhart sobre Dios como el “Todo” y el resto como la “Nada”. Dios es todas las cosas, Dijo Eckhart, y las criaturas son inexistentes.<sup>452</sup> Los maestros de Meaux mantuvieron contactos con la escueta del Rin, como reconocen J. Orcibal y M. Certeau<sup>453</sup>. La “Nada” o el “Rien” según los místicos renanos como Eckhart, Suso y Ruysbroeck, como lo había sido para el Pseudionisio y los kabalistas<sup>454</sup>, no era precisamente inexistencia sino subexistencia bajo el poder de Dios pues para entender todas las implicaciones de las antítesis “Tout-Rien” y “Estre-Neant”, “one must strip oneself, according to the mystics, of all seemingly positive but actually limiting thought, and descend into the depths of Nothing, so encountering the Reality of Him who is “le Tout””<sup>455</sup>.

Muchos místicos se inspiraron en los escritos de la Escuela Renana que adoptaron no sólo la actitud Quietista de sumisión a la voluntad de Dios como se refleja en el Dialogue, sino también en el Ser Divino, como paso necesario para que el ser humano descubra su existencia misma. Margarita debió aprender las antítesis místicas del “Rien” y del “Tout” de las exposiciones y adaptaciones de Lefevre y Briçonnet, más bien que de los manuscritos que se difundían del monasterio cartujano de Vauvert, en las cercanías de París.<sup>456</sup> Yo me inclino a pensar que aprendió ;Margarita las antítesis místicas durante los años 1521-1524 de su Correspondance con Briçonnet puesto que es sorprendente la semejanza de expresiones antitéticas como “Tout-Rien” entre Briçonnet y Margarita:

“Bien eureulx est rien qui tout possede, et tant plus est rien, et plus est cappable tout amour. Qui vit en soy et au monde, a rien en rien; Qui y est mort, a tout en rien, lequel diffinie notre rien en luy. Rien fault devenir qui en son tout veult estre”.  
(Correspondance, I, pp. 31-32)

El Obispo de Meaux debió haber iniciado el tema de las antítesis “Rien-Tout” que aparecen en las Chansons Spirituelles y en el Libro III

de las Prisons, puesto que en ambos poemas reflñeja Margarita la distinción de Briçonnet entre el conocimiento imperfecto humsano y la definición de Cristo como el “Tout-Verbe”:

“Madame, je cuyde tant congnoistre de vostre desir et vouloir que s’il y avoit au bout du royaume ung docteur, qui, par ung seul verbe abregé, peult apprendre toute la grammaire, autant qu’il est possible d’en sçavoir, et ung aultre de la rheticque et ung aultre la philosophie, et aussi des sept ars liberaulx<sup>457</sup>, chacun d’eulx par ung verbe abregé, vous y courriez comme au feu et n’y voudriez riens espargner<sup>458</sup>. Et toutesfois, combien que sceussiez tout ce que dessus, seriez pauvre affamée en voz richesses qui ne seroient que pauvreté sans le Tout-Verbe, hors lequel rien et en l’ayant avez tout. Car en luy sont tous les tresors de science et sapience, comme dict est [Colossians, 2,3] casché”. (Correspondance, I, pp.152-153)

La reacción de Margarita a la iniciación de Briçonnet era de esperar. No sería él el único en usar libremente la antítesis mística entre el “Tout” y el “Rien”. Ella escribió: “Voiant que au Tout n’estes rien et croiant vostre rien encloz dans le Tout, me vueulx subzmectre a ce qui sera par vostre rien dict, le tenant de la main du Tout, vous querant prier pour mon moins que rien affin que l’eau puisse estre convertie en vin et que l’abisme par l’abisme invocqué puisse abismer” (Correspondance, I, p. 134)

No es de extrañar que la Correspondance se haga eco de las ideas místicas de Lefèvre, y que ambos Briçonnet y Margarita reflejen las discusiones que tenían lugar entre los miembros del Grupo de Meaux bajo la guía de uno de los maestros más brillantes que había en Francia. Es significativo que la Correspondance entre Briçonnet y Margarita coincida con la antítesis cristocéntrica de Lefèvre entre “le Tout” y “le Rien”; Cristo, la Andrógina Divina, comparte como hombre nuestra Nada (“le Rien”), y la existencia humana en Dios (“le Tout”), puesto que en Él encontramos la Vida por medio de su Palabra: “Mais Jesuschrist est tout”, escribió Lefèvre en su introducción a los cuatro Evangelios en 1523, “il est tout homme et toute divinite. Et tout homme n’est riens sinon en luy et nulle parolle d’homme n’est riens sinon en la parolle de luy”<sup>459</sup>.

El lector habrá observado que existe un desarrollo lógico entre el uso antitético del “Rien” y del “Tout” de la Correspondance y su uso en el poema de las Prisons escrito en los años 1540. Margarita fue capaz de usar ambos términos má sofisticadamente en su poema, significando que los dos términos divergentes, es decir el “Rien” y el “Tout” podrían convergir

únicamente en la Androgina perfecta cuya parte inferior (le Rien) sería capaz de unirse de nuevo con la superior( el Tout) en la persona de Jesucristo (Prisons, fol. 348 ro, p. 296).

Los conceptos Cristocéntricos de “le Rien” y “le Tout” son básicos en la teología de Meaux que los relacionaba con eventos de la vida de Jesucristo, a saber su humillación al hacerse hombre (la “kenosis” de la Encarnation en “le Rien”) y su final glorificación en su Ascensión al “Tout”. El ser humano puede compartir esta glorificación mística asociándose con Cristo. Ésta es la conclusión de las Prisons:

L'homme est remis, car joint par cest esprit  
A Rien, a mort, a croix en Jesuchrist,  
Est fait en luy Rien, mort, crucifié;  
Aussy en luy il est deifié,  
Uny au Tout et au souverain Bien  
Pour estre fait aveques Jesus Rien.  
(Prisons, fol. 348 ro, p. 296)

Nunca pudo Margarita tratar un tema místico con más maestría como en las antítes entre el “Rien” y el “Tout”, y debió ser consciente de ello cuando jugaba con ambos con tanta maestría en las Chansons Spirituelles y en las Prisons. Para probar no obstsante que controlaba todos sus recursos, presentó una antítesis paralela del “Cristo Androgina” en que Jesus es capaz de re-unificar lo que se encuentra cerca de nosotros (“le Près”) con lo que está lejos (“le Loing”); el ser humano puede encontrar un lugar cercano aambos por su medio:

(...) par son povoir  
Ce Loing est Près, et le ciel à la terre  
Amour fait joindre, mettant fin a la guerre  
D'entre le Loing et Près, par tel accord  
Que le très Loing, vaincu par une mort,  
Est près de nous, mais je vous dy si près  
Que je ne puy trouver termes exprès  
Pour declairer comme est près ce très Loing.  
Mais qui a veu, par extresme besoing,  
Combien de mal vient du Loing purement  
Qui a perdu du Près le sentement,  
Dira le Près nous estre en tout affaire  
Comme la vie et l'estre necessaire.  
Gentil Loing-Près! et que ce nom est beau!  
(Prisons, fol. 317 vo, pp. 231-232)

A Cristo le nombran con la antítesis “Petit-Grand” (ibid., fol. 327 ro, p. 251); Margarita no pudo haber escogido mejor descripción para expresar lo que pensaba era el mayor problema al tener que usar terminología humana para describir realidades divinas. Cristo, la “Divine Androgyne”, es la sola conjunción de principios opuestos, puesto que en Él encuentra el “Rien” su “Tout”, el “Loing” se vuelve “Près” y el “Petit” logra su totalidad de (“Grand”). Según los principios místicos de los maestros de Margarita, Lefèvre and Briçonnet, cuando una persona quiere volver al estado de inocencia que sólo es posible si es capaz de conservar la imagen de Dios como la perfecta “Androgyne”, como lo hiciera Adán antes de pecar, consigue llegar a la unión extática con Jesucristo.

### C. La definición de Dios como “la identidad del Círculo”

Marguerite pretendía con su Libro III de las Prisons acarar al sus lectores que una sola definición de Dios sería totalmente inadecuada para describir todos sus aspectos. Probaba una definición tras otra volviendo siempre a las más importantes, como leit-motifs, primeramente a la definición de Dios como “Celuy qui Est”, y luego a la antitética “el ser humano no es nada (Rien), y Dios es todo (Tout). Entre ambas aplicaría conceptos neoplatónicos difíciles a la Divinidad, describiéndola como el Círculo sin las limitaciones de la Circunferencia.

“Celluy qui est fait du tout [sic] ce qu’il veut  
 “Du sercle rond sans la circunference  
 “Par taus costez egal sans difference;  
 “Commancement ne fin ne s’y retrouve,  
 “Et n’y a chose estant ou vieille ou neufve  
 “Qui de ce rand n’ayt pris creation  
 “Et nourriture et conservation.

(ibid., fol. 308 ro, p. 212)<sup>460</sup>

Se encuentra esta misma definición en el Tiers Livre de Rabelais: “De là receoit participation insigne de sa prime et divine origine, et en contemplation de ceste infinie et intellectuelle sphaere, le centre de laquelle est en chascun lieu de l’univers, la circunference ppoint (C’est Dieu selon la doctrine de Hermes Trismegistus)...”<sup>461</sup> Los admiradores de Platón solían usar la simplicidad y estabilidad del Círculo para aplicarlas a Dios<sup>462</sup>. Ficino oo expresó así: “Quid ergo Deus est? Ut ita dixerimus, Circulus Spiritualis, cujus centrum est ubique, circumferentia nusquam”<sup>463</sup>.

Aunque sean extraordinarias las similitudes de este texto de Ficino con el anterior de Margarita, es mucho más probable que la definición de Dios

como el “Perfect Circle” la hubiera aprendido Margarita durante sus años de iniciación bajo la égida de Briçonnet El Obispo de Meaux era un asiduo lector de las obras del Pseudionisio y de Nicolás de Cusa, como ha probado Glori Cappello pues muchos de los pasajes Correspondance son paráfrasis de textos neoplatónicos de Nicolás de Cusa. Briçonnet explicaría:

“... combien que partout est le milieu, puisque elle [i.e. la terre] est spherique et n’y a milieu en circumference de forme sphericque plus d’un costé que d’autre, mais par le milieu de la terre, en laquelle le grand architecte a faict oeuvre de salut, entend la vie avoir este centralle en toute nature humaine et, comme lignes innombrables viennent du centre de la circumference, esgallement distantes<sup>464</sup>, aussi la restitution est a tous uniforme (...); mais au milieu est nostre salut”. Correspondance, 2, p. 240)<sup>465</sup>

Nicolás de Cusa dice en su De Docta Ignorantia (II, II): “Centrum igitur mundi coincidit cum circumferentia. Non habet igitur mundus circumferentiam ( ... ) cum igitur non sit possibile mundum claudi intra centrum corporale et circumferentiam, non intelligitur mundus, cuius centrum et circumferentia sunt Deus”, and in De Ludo Globi (II): “Centrum autem punctus fixus est, erit igitur motus maximus seu infinitus et pariter minimus, ubi inde est centrum et circumferentia. Et vocamus ipsum vitam viventium, in sua fixa aeternitate omnem possibilem vitae motum complicantem”<sup>466</sup>. Como a Nicolás de Cusa y a Briçonnet, también intri-gaban a Margarita las posibilidades de usar lenguaje matemático para describir a Dios como “ser inmutable y perfecto” y lo expresa como los dos:

“De l’exterieur en l’interieur entre  
“Qui va par moy, et au milieu du centre  
“Me trouvera qui suys le poinct unique,  
La fin, le but de la mathematique;  
“Le cercle suys dont toute chose vient,  
“Le poinct où tout retourne et se maintient.  
“Je suys qui suys triangle très parfaict, ( ... )  
(Prisons, fol. 308 ro and vo, p. 213)

El lenguaje matemático ha sido aplicado a Dios llamándole “el Triángulo Perfecto” y o “el Círculo Perfecto”, según los místicos, como en el caso del Pseudodionisio que lo empleaba para describir la experiencia espiritual como movimiento circular ocupando Dios el centro:

“...the soul hath a circular movement - viz. an introversion from things without and the unified concentration of its spiritual

powers - which gives it a kind of fixed revolution, and, turning it from the multiplicity without, draws it together first into itself and then (after it has reached this unified condition) unites it to those powers which are perfect Unity and this leads it on unto the Beautiful and Good, which is beyond all things, and is One and is the Same. without beginning or end.”<sup>467</sup>

A esta condición del alma la llamarían los místicos el “Apex” o “Synderesis”<sup>468</sup>, pues describe su movimiento rotatorio con Dios en el Centro permaneciendo inamovible: “Le point où tout retourne et se maintient” (Prisons, fol. 308 ro, p. 213).

El Pseudodionisio ya había definido a Dios como “lo incambiable”: “Merely this - that God remains what He is in Himself and is firmly fixed in an immovable Sameness wherein His transcendent Being is fast rooted, and that He acts under the same modes and around the same Centre without changing”<sup>469</sup>. Según él, “Redondez” e “Identidad” son intercambiables entre sí y con la última etapa de la unión total con la Divinidad; por eso el enigma místico de la “Margarita” tal y como aparece en el “Miroir” contiene igualmente todas estas cualidades.<sup>470</sup> Salncte-Marthe era también consciente del enigma hermético de la MARGUERITE, que aparece repetidas veces escrito con mayúsculas en su Oraison Funèbre: “Car la Marguerite, est une precieuse pierre, que Pline dit, emporter l’honneur et le pris, sur toutes choses precieuses: Et havoit perfection en blancheur, grandeur, rotondité, et pois” (Oraison funèbre, p. 16). Obviamente según él, como había sido para Briçonnett, la “Marguerite-Perle” persofificaba las cualidades divinas de la “Perfección”, “Transparencia”, y “Solidez” que la convertían en la imagen perfecta de la Unión Divina y una definición de la Divinidad.<sup>471</sup>

#### D. La definición Paulina-Johanina de Dios como Vie-Verité-Chemin

Entre las numerosas definiciones de Dios en las obras místicas de Margarita, aparecen al menos tres sacadas del Nuevo Testamento que podrían aclarar sus diversas tentativas a elucidar el concepto de Dios según su experiencia espiritual.

1. La primera, sacada de la fórmula Johanina “Dios es Amor” (I Juan 14,16) aparece sobre todo en el Miroir (v. 1417).

2. Una segunda fórmula Johanina es el eje del Evangelio según San Juan: Cristo es “la Voie, la Verité et la Vie” (Juan 14,6). Aparece en muchos de los primeros poemas de Margarita y en el Dialogue ocupa un lugar de honor, puesto que la aliteración de la letra v sugiere la suavidad



de tono en la conversación mística entre Marguerite y su sobrina, la joven Princesa Charlotte:

Il est vie et verité et voye;  
Par luy qui est Voye, nous fault passer,  
Et Verite à Vie nous convoye.  
(Dialogue, vv. 805-807)<sup>472</sup>

3. Una tercera fórmula que aparece en las Prisons está sacada de la llamada definición Paulina de Dios como “Vida, Movimiento y Ser” que aparece en los Hechos de los Apóstoles formulada por San Lucas (17,28): “Puesto que (dijo Pablo a los atenienses), en El vivimos, nos movemos y existimos”, Margarita reproduce cuidadosamente el texto en las Prisons, pues, según la tradición galicana con Lefèvre como su mayor defensor contra Erasmo de Rotterdam, Dionisio el Areopagita (Pseudodionisio) había estado presente en el discurso de Pablo quien le convirtió al cristianismo.

Bien monstre icy le Tout son grant pouvoir  
Quand luy seul est l'estre, vie et mouvoir  
De ce qui est si different sur terre (...)  
(Prisons, fol. 327 vo, pp. 251-252)<sup>473</sup>

A Margarita le preocupaba hacer una definición de Dios desde un punto de vista cristocéntrico asegurándonos que el misterio de la muerte de Cristo era la única forma de llegar al conocimiento total del “Tout” desde su resurrección como hombre (“le Rien”) (ibid., fol. 348 ro, p. 296); se trataba de un movimiento inicial del llamado misticismo medieval (“Teomisticismo”) al evangélico “Cristomisticismo”<sup>474</sup>. Con todo defendería los esfuerzos de Lefèvre por pasar de las definiciones medieval y neoplatónica de la esencia de Dios, a una definición de la divinidad por medio del estudio de la personalidad de Jesucristo<sup>475</sup>, Pero Margarita es mucho más tradicional que Lefèvre, pues Cristo como persona histórica apenas si tiene importancia ni en su Miroir ni en Triomphe de l'Agneau, o en las Chansons Spirituelles y aún menos si cabe en sus Prisons. El Cristo de la “Androgina Divina” está, pues, mucho más cerca del “Misticismo Teocéntrico Joaniano del Logos” adoptando la célebre expresión de Albert Schweizer<sup>476</sup>, que del “Misticismo Cristocéntrico Paulino” de Lefèvre. Según Margarita Jesucristo era “le Rien” acercándonos a “le Tout”:

Qui prendra donc ce Rien qui est vollé  
Jusqu'à son Tout auquel est si collé  
Que la hauteur du ciel, ny le profond,  
Empeschement à l'union ne font?  
(ibid., fol. 325 ro, pp. 246-247)

La muerte y resurrección de Cristo, seguidas de su glorificación y unión se expresan en forma de “Logos”, pues es la única certidumbre de que Dios se encuentra cerca:

Il est puyssant pour faire du tumbeau  
Saillir le mort, car, où ce Loing Près vient,  
Mort ny enfer le pecheur ne detient.  
*Gentil Loing Près!*  
(ibid., fol. 317 vo, p. 232)

Y sin embargo apenas si cita la muerte y resurrección de Jesucristo como hechos históricos, que, según San Pablo, son los principios de su teología mística<sup>477</sup>. ¿Quiere esto decir que no se aproximó a la solución paulina? Margarita nunca llegó tan lejos como Lefèvre visualizando los cambios de la espiritualidad neoplatónica basadas en lo Divino hacia las “Meditaciones Bíblicas” de Lutero o los “Ejercicios Espirituales” de Íñigo de Loyola. Prefirió en cambio referirse a los eventos de salvación en algunas ocasiones (ibid., fol. 317 vo, pp. 231-232) insinuando un cambio de actitud, pero visualizó la solución de la conjunción de los opuestos en Dios que transformaba los eventos místicos de Cristo como Palabra hecha carne en su papel de “Rien-Logos” (Teología Johanina), más bien que como eventos históricos de salvación (Teología Paulina).

## VI

Si los poemas místicos de Margarita no han sido reconocidos popularmente, y su obra maestra las Prisons, ha sido publicada sólo una vez en 1896 por Lefranc, tiene su explicación en el cambio imprevisto de interés durante los 1540 de los temas místicos a los evangélicos. Además del Heptaméron que abría nuevos caminos a la literatura y del Miroir, que algunos interpretaron en Francia como un Manifiesto Luterano, la obra de Margarita ha de verse como reflejando el nuevo espíritu que preparaba a Europa para ambas la Reforma y la Contrarreforma, creándose así una escisión en el cristianismo occidental.

Margarita, no obstante, a pesar de que algunos reformadores e incluso críticos contemporáneos se hayan empeñado en probar su conexión con la causa de Lutero, nunca sobrepasó las trayectorias marcadas por Briçonnet y el Grupo de Meaux. Cuando el grupo se dispersó en 1525, algunos se incorporaron a la reforma luterana, mientras que otros, como Briçonnet inmediatamente rechazaron el cisma que vieron venir dentro de la Iglesia<sup>478</sup>. Quizás tardara algo más Margarita en seguir las directivas

de Briçonnet en contra de la nueva espiritualidad de Lutero quien rechazaba la espiritualidad medieval teocéntrica; de hecho ninguna de sus obras defiende convincentemente la espiritualidad cristocéntrica, y para cuando decidió escribir las Prisons en los años 1540 su fidelidad a los principios de Briçonnet era ya definitiva.

La preocupación de la mayoría de los críticos con el problema es excesiva sobre el compromiso de Margarita con la causa luterana en Francia. En mi opinión les ha obligado a descuidar las partes más importantes de su obra poética, i.e. su misticismo, y las Prisons han de considerarse a la vez como el “résumé” de la Correspondance entre ella y el Obispo de Meaux, a la vez que como un intento de dejar un sumario de sus ideas. Hasta entonces había expresado su pensamiento fragmentariamente en varias de sus poemas, particularmente en el Dialogue, el Miroir, la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, La Navire y las Chansons Spirituelles. En todas estas obras aparecerá Margarita como fiel discípulo Briçonnet, pero su antiguo guía reemergerá en su obra más importante, las Prisons, bajo la égida del “vieillard”. Ni Briçonnet ni Margarita cruzaron la línea que separaban al antiguo misticismo neoplatónico medieval de las nuevas ideas provocadoras traídas por Erasmo y Lefèvre,<sup>479</sup> finalmente expuestas por Lutero y los Reformadores. Su misticismo, pues desde el Dialogue (1524) hasta las Prisons (1547), se mantuvieron siempre dentro de la relación johanina “Logos” con Dios y su “Teomisticismo” no logró liberarse de las ideas neoplatónicas a través de una lista interminable de símbolos que había aprendido durante las instrucciones recibidas del eminente Obispo de Meaux, como vamos a ver en el siguiente Capítulo 6 de este estudio.

## CAPÍTULO SEXTO:

**Simbolismo hermético y antítesis místicas,  
como constantes “leit-motifs” en la obra de Margarita de Nabarra.**

### I

Hasta ahora he tratado de presentar el desarrollo espiritual de Margarita a través de un análisis detallado de cuatro de sus obras; ella había logrado pasar de la simple aceptación “quietística” de la voluntad de Dios en el Dialogue, a la expresión más profunda de la experiencia mística en las Prisons. Espero que este capítulo final sirva para que, a través de la presentación coherente de todos los símbolos que aparecen en las obras de Margarita, se consiga interrelacionar todos sus temas místicos a través de su propia visión simbólica. Habrá que clarificar que los escritores utilizan muchos tipos de “imágenes”, algunas bien conocidas como la Cruz

como representación de toda la doctrina cristiana; el significado de otras dependerá del contexto en que aparezcan y con mucha frecuencia son más bien metáforas; resulta a veces difíciles de catalogar pues son más bien expresiones en sí mismas. Cada escritor tiene su propio simbolismo, pero hoy en día se piensa más en términos de “*signos*” que de “*símbolos*”, como es el caso del “*stop*” para los motoristas que ha de ser simple y práctico, mientras que los símbolos resultan mucho más complejos.

Llama la atención que en el caso de Margarita todos sus temas místicos aparecen como engarzados en una cadena de símbolos, con cierta frecuencia intercambiable, que se repiten en toda su producción poética y dramática. Podrían servir de prueba para justificar la unidad en la obra de Margarita de Nabarra, pues aparecen como una característica constante de un tipo de conocimiento esotérico, religiosamente oculto para los no iniciados. Ya he tratado de explicar el significado hermético de algunos que aparecen en sus cuatro poemas místicos, es decir los enigmas del Ojo,<sup>480</sup> del Espejo-Margarita-Perla,<sup>481</sup> de la Prisión,<sup>482</sup> y del Círculo,<sup>483</sup> pero no ha sido posible ofrecer una visión global de estas imágenes herméticas en todas las obras de Margarita. Este capítulo servirá, pues para iniciar al lector en el mundo de los símbolos a la vez que será un compendio de las imágenes herméticas en las obras de Margarita, insistiendo a la vez en la consistencia de su uso siendo igualmente una prueba de la unidad de su obra a lo largo de toda su vida.

Muchos críticos modernos han estudiado el carácter hermético de las imágenes simbólicas,<sup>484</sup> sobre todo antropólogos<sup>485</sup> y psicólogos<sup>486</sup> y algunos de ellos mantienen que el papel social de la metáfora está perdiendo importancia al ser reemplazado por “*signos*” más convencionales; por eso el lector moderno encontrará difícil entender ciertos conceptos que sólo pueden expresarse a través de un código de imágenes.<sup>487</sup> Mohé ben Maimón, conocido como Maimónides hizo los primeros esfuerzos, antes de la Reforma, en des-simbolizar el conocimiento humano, rechazando como sueños fantásticos todas las interpretaciones alegóricas de la Biblia. Como reacción a su filosofía, la tradición de la Kabbalah se propagó primeramente en la Provençe y luego en la península ibérica, influyendo luego en toda la tradición mística europea.<sup>488</sup> Cuanto más se aferre el hombre moderno en rechazar el simbolismo, encontrará mucho más difícil entender ciertos niveles del conocimiento expresados no sólo por los místicos medievales, sino por escritores más modernos, considerados con frecuencia difíciles de entender.<sup>489</sup>

Para los escritores místicos medievales el símbolo fue inicialmente una metáfora y aplicaban algunos de sus aspectos, como el Brillo y la

Redondez del Sol a las esferas espirituales. Según ellos “the world is full of metaphors, constructed by God, to communicate a secret meaning when interpreted properly”, explica T. Hawkes.<sup>490</sup> De hecho no sólo las palabras tienen diferentes niveles de significados, explicó Dante en su famosa carta a su mecenas Can Grande della Scala,<sup>491</sup> sino que las cosas mismas pueden ser símbolos de otros objetos. La metáfora llega a ser funcional o estructural cuando tienes un significado complejo.<sup>492</sup> Según el simbolismo místico la imagen conserva su propio significado a la vez que sirve de puerta de acceso a otras realidades espirituales. Por eso, por ejemplo no habrá oposición entre el sentido literal y el espiritual en las Escrituras. Esta fue la doctrina más característica de Lefèvre sobre la hermenéutica mística, que siguieron muy de cerca Briçonnet y Margarita, como he probado en el capítulo cuarto sobre la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan.<sup>493</sup> La estructuralización de los diversos niveles de sentido en la metáfora simbólica se basa en el papel de la Analogía: cuando un místico trata de describir su experiencia a otros, lo hará haciendo uso del vocabulario de la experiencia de cada día. La metáfora de la Puerta es, en mi opinión, la mejor forma de explicar este complejo proceso, cuando al abrirse permite ver lo que hay más allá detrás. Platón utilizaría el símbolo de la Apertura de la Cueva como conexión con el Mundo de lo Real, en oposición al Mundo de las Imágenes;<sup>494</sup> según los platónicos nuestro mundo material está relacionado con su prototipo en las esferas espirituales.<sup>495</sup>

El Libro es el símbolo del discernimiento en las obras de Margarita, significando la revelación de Cristo, pues es él la Palabra de Dios (Juan 1,1). (ver a Cristo mostrando el Libro de la lámina 6, página 179) Aparece en la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan donde las cuatro “dramatis personae” actúan sus papeles en torno a la Biblia familiar (ilustración 6). En la Comédie du desert aparecerá como el “Grand Livre”:

Seigneur, je prens de ta main ce grand Livre,  
Par qui pourra t'ame en joye vivre,  
Le regardant en ce desert estrange.<sup>496</sup>

o como el Libro antiguo:

Ce Livre vieux luy feras au long voir,  
Du man vouloir se peul t du tout sçavoir,<sup>497</sup>

o significando el Gran Libro de la Naturaleza:

...  
Et que par may ce beau grand Livre voye,  
C'est de Nature.<sup>498</sup>



*Ilustración 6.*

*Representación simbólica de la Ascensión de Cristo al Cielo vista a través de una serie de símbolos: la Cruz es el Camino para llegar al Pie de la Montaña, donde una Tumba dentro de la Iglesia representa el Descenso, pero la colina triangular significará la Subida a la Cima con la ayuda de criaturas con Alas (los Ángeles). Cristo inaugurará allí la “Scala Mystica” que une el cielo y la tierra: Champeaux, *Symboles*, op.cit., Fig. 90, p.179. Hay una representación muy similar de la Ascensión de Cristo en el MS in EL Eg 608 fol. 134, donde se describe la subida a través de colinas triangulares; hay también una Cruz al fondo con el Sol arriba y dos Ángeles le ayudan a subir.*

Existe correlación entre la lectura espiritual de la Biblia bajo la guía del Espíritu Santo, y el descubrimiento de lo Divino en el Gran Libro de la Naturaleza bajo la inspiración del mismo espíritu:

Quant est de moy je te monstre la Lettre  
 Mais cest Esprit qu’il plaist au Seigneur mettre  
 En toy, qui es de luy toute remplie,  
 Te fera voir le sens, sans rien omettre.<sup>499</sup>

Los místicos medievales se consideraban a veces como *teólogos simbólicos*, pues mantenían que todas las palabras sirven para definir a Dios. Puesto que todo puede aplicarse a Dios, llamaban a esta doctrina “Theologia Maxima in verbis”; per Él está por encima de toda definición (“innominabilis”) por lo que tenían que adoptar un código complejo de

símbolos para expresar inadecuadamente lo Divino (“minima in verbis”). Los términos “Theologia Maxima/minima” no son muy comunes entre los teólogos místicos aunque sirven para expresar su enseñanzas sobre las imágenes como la mejor manera de definir a Dios:

“Aut certe Maxima est Theologia propter omnium rerum positiones de Deo dictas [escribe el editor del tratado místico publicado poco después de la muerte de Margarita en 1549] et rursus minima, cum deus innominabilis, nullo nomine effari possit; maxima rursus dici potest explicative vero complicative. Aut vicinius ad mentem Sancti patris, Maxima est Theologia symbolica, quae pluribus verbis, minima est Theologia mystica quae paucissimis utitur verbis. Maxima item potest dici theologia in virtute, minima in verbis”.<sup>500</sup>

La Teología simbólica, tal y como la entendían durante los siglos XVI y XVII, utilizaba un cierto número de símbolos, la mayoría de ellos relacionados con las antiguas cosmogonías, tales como el Fuego, el Agua y las Cuatro Estaciones del año o los Cuatro Puntos Cardinales como se verá en este capítulo. Habrá que tener en cuenta que se organizaban siguiendo las dos figuras básicas del Círculo y del Triángulo y que los teólogos simbólicos mantenían ambas figuras geométricas disociadas, pero aparecen ocasionalmente juntas como en el complejo diagrama de Eckius de un cilindro, dos conos y dos medios círculos (Ilustración 5). Había igualmente una figura no matemática proveniente de la tradición bíblica que fue muy popular entre los místicos medievales: La Escala de Ascensión, normalmente conectada con la Escala de Jacob, que combina ciertos símbolos sutiles como son el Ala y el Ángel.<sup>501</sup>

Un conocimiento profundo de todas las connotaciones simbólicas de los millares de imágenes desarrolladas por los iniciados a lo largo de cientos de años<sup>502</sup> escapan sin duda al lector moderno pues estamos expuestos a un tipo de simbolismo más bien utilitario, conectado a señalizaciones de tráfico, de escuelas u hospitales.<sup>503</sup> Resultará, pues muy difícil ofrecer una síntesis de todas las imágenes usadas por los escritores del siglo XVI, tales como Margarita, como metáforas o símbolos de realidades espirituales. Cualquier sistema que sigamos será puramente subjetivo, pues Margarita nunca presentó un “corpus” de ideas como lo hicieron otros escritores místicos y sus símbolos son con mucha frecuencia intercambiables. Trataré, no obstante de estudiar sus numerosas imágenes siguiendo la similaridad de temas o ciertas analogías que ella misma ideó siguiendo la doctrina de los místicos. A veces multiplica las imágenes en sus poemas, incluso mezclándolas pero se cuida mucho de mantener

Tissue Specific Kinetics Species & C.

non

and flow

Spleen Liver Kidney Heart Lung Pancreas Intestine Muscle Skin Bone

Metabolites

Polymers

Intestine

[illegible]

*Este diagrama de J. Eckius muestra la diferente participación de la Luz y de la Oscuridad de todas las criaturas según vayan ascendiendo de la pura existencia ("esse") a la vida ("vivere"), a sentir ("sentire") y a pensar ("homo intelligentiae capax"). El Ser Humano se encuentra a mitad de camino, pero puede llegar a las esferas más altas ("metaphysica") con ayuda de la gracia. Las pirámides aparecen aquí bajo la forma de Conos. (De Mystica Theologia, op.cit., Cap.III, Pars II, Prop.III. fol. E IIII vo).*

Plus qu'un éclair ton oeil est importable,  
Plus qu'un tonnerre est ta voix effrayable,  
Plus qu'un grand vent ton esprit nous estonne,  
Plus que fouldre est ton coup inevitable,  
Plus que Mort est ton ire espoventable,  
Plus que nul feu ton courroux peine donne.

...

Plus qu'un Soleil ton regard est luisant,

504  
...

670



capacidad del lenguaje humano para describir las realidades invisibles. (Ver cómo los conceptos y símbolos humanos pueden aplicarse a Dios en las ilustraciones 3 y 5).

Et in hanc formulam apparet B. Ambrosius nomina diuina triuaria distinxisse, vt Petrus Longo<sup>s</sup> bardus cum renarrat, alia enim cōstituit personalia, vt pater, filius verbum, generat, Alia essentialia, vt sapientia, virtus, creator. Postrema poluit translatia, vt splendor, speculum, Ieo X. Verum Bonauentura cum affectu lapsus est, non assecutus veram intelligentiam scriptorum beatissimi patris, potissimū in nominibus symbolicis: Existimat enim nomina rerum corporalium esse symbolica: spiritaliū vero substantiarum nomina, mystica appellat: mentē suam oculis subiiciam, dispoluit in eodem cylindro duabus pyramidibus in hunc modum.

Ambrosi

Bonauen  
Dif. 22, p  
mi,



Ilustración 5.

Diagrama de la organización de los símbolos en dos triángulos: las realidades espirituales tienen nombres místicos y las materiales son símbolos de las espirituales según San Buenaventura (*De Theologia Symbolica*, op.cit., Cap.III, Pars II, Prop.III, Fol. E IIII ro).

Las dos pirámides o conos de la Luz y de la Oscuridad (Ilustración 5) juegan un papel sumamente importante en la poesía de Margarita y aparecen en varios de sus correlativos:

Sol: Chispa, Luz, Iluminación

Eclipse de Sol: Oscuridad, Ceguera, Color Negro

Ojo: el Ojo Interno, el Ojo Inspirado, el Ojo de la Fe, el Ojo de la Carne, el Ojo de la Ceguera.

Águila: Puede mirar cara a cara al Sol para así mantener sus fuerzas.

Ya he mencionado en el capítulo anteriores sobre las Prisons que el papel del Sol en el primer libro como símbolo de la Purificación,<sup>505</sup> conducirá al Poeta-Amante de las Sombras de la primera Prisión a la Luz de un conocimiento superior: “es lo que ocurrió a San Pablo” dice Meister Eckhart, “cuado Dios le tocó con la Luz en el camino (a Damasco) y le habló”,<sup>506</sup> Gran parte de los místicos tienden a describir sus experiencias místicas con la imagen de la Luz.<sup>507</sup> El Sol como arquetipo de la Luz es uno de os símbolos más constantes en la poesía de Margarita.<sup>508</sup> En el Miroir aparece cegando al Ojo cuando el místico atraviesa la línea de separación de las dos pirámides (Diagrama 1). El Ojo humano, conse-

cuentemente, no podrá nunca comprender la inmensidad de la Luz solar (“la grand clarté entiere”):

Quant le soleil d’une seule estincelle  
 Aveugle l’oeil, sa gran lumiere celle;  
 Mais demandez a l’oeil qu’il a senty;  
 Il dira tout; mais il aura menty;  
 Car aveugle de petite lumiere,  
 Il ne poeut veoir la grand clarté entiere  
 Et demeure toutesvoies si content,  
 Qu’il luy semble s’il en avoit autant,  
 N’estre puissant pour endurer  
 Ceste clarté qu’il ne poeut mesurer.  
 (Miroir, vv.1331-1340)

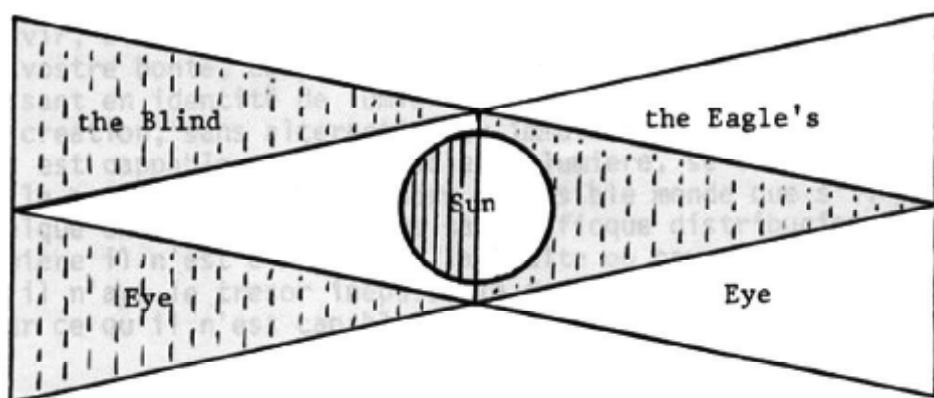


Diagrama 1.

Diagrama ilustrando las pirámides entrecruzadas de la Luz y de la Oscuridad. El Ojo Ciego de los humanos se mueve de la base izquierda hasta encontrarse con el Sol oscuro en su camino hacia la perfección (derecha). El Ojo del Águila, por el contrario contempla la brillantez del Sol según se mueve de la derecha hacia la izquierda. El papel de muchos de los símbolos de Margarita tales como el Fuego, el Espejo, la Perla, han de interpretarse de la misma manera, como se verá en la Sección IV de este capítulo.

Se creía en el siglo XVI que el Sol era la fuente de toda la energía, según las enseñanzas de las antiguas cosmologías; Rabelais, por ejemplo describe el Sol como “l’organe et promptuaire de toute lumiere terrestre et syderale ...”.<sup>509</sup> En las Chansons Spirituelles de Margarita será uno de los constantes. (“Chansons” 15,20,26). En el Navire aparecerá cargado de simbología neo-platónica como símbolo de las realidades que hay más allá de nuestra experiencia inmediata:

Le Soleil luyt plain d'amour charitable,  
Ouvre tes yeulx et alors tu verras  
Que ton pleurer est cruel et dannable.  
(Navire, vv. 1324-1326)

pues revela interiormente el significado de las realidades exteriores:

Desja qa bas regarde le soleil,  
Croy qu'en ton c(u)eur le souleil clair et chault  
Luire te veult par amour non pareil.  
(ibid., vv. 1402-1404)

La explicación del simbolismo místico del Sol, en todo caso con muchas de sus variantes aparece explicado con más detalles en el Libro II de las Prisons:

...  
Au plain midy le soleil m'esclaira  
Qui mon estat plus plaisant declaira,  
(Prisons, fol. 283 vo, p. 162)

puesto que sin su iluminación el Poeta-Amante nunca lograría el conocimiento perfecto:

'Confessez donc, et ne le cellez pas,  
'Que, sans avoir du soleil la lumiere  
'Qui vous monstra muable et mensongere  
'Celle que tant ten(i)ez loyalle et ferme,  
'Jamais n'eussiez sailly hors de ce terme.  
(ibid., fol. 285 ro and vo, p. 165)

La Luz que emana del Sol no sólo produce el efecto de iluminación en el alma, sino que puede quemarla interiormente con la Llama mística del Amor, como explica el Miroir:

...  
Aussi le cueur qui par façon subtile  
Sent de l'amour de Dieu une scintille,  
Treuve ce feu si grand et si terrible,  
Si doulx, si bon, qu'il ne luy est possible  
Dire que c'est d'amour; ( ... )  
(Miroir, vv. 1341-1345)

Los efectos del Fuego místico se describen como “consommer”, “fondre”, “brusler” and “aneantir” (*ibid.*, vv. 954-956) y se comparan las sensaciones del alma derritiéndose como la cera: “...Ton coeur fondoît comme la cire, contre / Un ardent Feu ..”.<sup>510</sup>

El Fuego es un símbolo lleno de significados para los místicos. Puede quemar todas las impurezas, y en la forma más pura del Sol no sufrirá cambio alguno.<sup>511</sup> Puede hacer icandescence las cosas como él mismo. Richardo de St Victor (1123-1175) compara el alma sumergida en lo Divino al hierro incandesciente asumiendo otra forma de ser, y Jan van Ruysbroeck (1293-1381) tuvo una visión de la Unión Divina del hombre con Dios como “ el carbón encendido por Dios en el corazón de su infinito amor”.<sup>512</sup>

Por otra parte la ausencia del Sol crea la sensación de impotencia. El alma penetra en el jardín místico en la oscuridad ansiando la “union de mon Espoux” (“Chanson 20”, v.21) simbolizada por la Luz del Sol:

A Dieu pour tout jamais, A Dieu.  
En l'ignorance du matin,  
Sans voir du vray Soleil le jour,  
De plaisir j'entre au Jardin  
Plein d'honneur et biens à l'entour,  
Pour jamais n'en faire retour.  
(*ibid.*, vv. 1-6)

El alma ha de entrar en el Jardín en el que la Rosa es el símbolo del Sol Candente, pero la preocupación humana por los “Biens, plaisirs et honneurs” (“Chanson 27”, v. 17) hace desaparecer su perfume:

Maudit soit le Cuyder  
Qui semble peu de chose  
Et fait de nous vuyder  
La senteur de la Rose, ...  
(*ibid.*, vv. 1-4)<sup>513</sup>

pero su color rojo,<sup>514</sup> que posee la magia de quemar todos los intereses humanos, se restaura gracias a la intervención divina:

...  
Nous redonnant l'odeur  
De la Rose vermeille,  
Bruslant par son ardeur  
Cuyder, qui nous conseille, ...  
(*ibid.*, vv. 37-41)<sup>515</sup>

Margarita usa frecuentemente los símbolos del Eclipse y de la Oscuridad:

Mort trop soudain a esclipsé la face  
De mon soleil me laissant sans lumiere  
Aux tenebres de ceste terre basse.  
(Navire, vv, 124-126)

Es de notar que la sensación de no poder ver, de casi total Ceguera, puede producirse o por la ausencia de Luz o por intentar mirar directamente al Sol:

Mais, regardant ce hault ciel desirable,  
L'ardant soleil vint esbloir ma vue,  
Me fermant l'eul par lumiere importable.  
(ibid., vv. 1435-1439)

En el grupo simbólico del Sol se incluye a veces al Ojo. Meister Eckhart (c.1260-1328) escribe: “St Bernard se pregunta: “¿Por qué mis ojos contemplan el cielo y no mis pies? Porque mis ojos son más parecidos al cielo que mis pies”. Pues si ha de ver a Dios, tiene que ser celeste”.<sup>516</sup>

Margarita menciona también el Ojo de la Carne que no puede contener la Luz abandonando así a todo el Cuerpo en la Oscuridad; se trata de una paráfrasis bíblica de símbolos del Evangelio según San Marcos: “El Ojo es la lámpara del cuerpo..” (6,22-23):

...  
Mais Sa lumière et vertu estoit telle  
Que l'oeil charnel la trouva importable,  
Pour estre trap luysante et agreable;  
Ce feu, par qui tout mal est consummé,  
Par mon oeil cloz, ne fut mains alumé  
Dedans mon cueur, qui luy estoit esprit  
Avant que l'oeil l'eust conceu ne compris.  
(Prisons, fol.303 vo, p.202)

Margarita juega con el simbolismo del Ojo en la mayoría de sus poemas místicos como he explicado en los capítulos previos sobre el Miroir y las Prisons, cuando menciona el Ojo Débil de la Carne o el Ojo Visible de la Carne en oposición al Ojo de Dios:<sup>517</sup>

... il [le pecheur] si revestu  
De Jesuchrist, que luy abhominable  
A l'oeil de Dieu est fait très agreable...  
(Prisons, fol.320, p.236)

El simbolismo místico del Ojo del alma, según Margarita, tiene que conseguir la pureza del Ojo del Águila para poder mirar fijamente a la Luz del Sol cara a cara:

...  
Son oeil de foy, regardant comme l'aigle  
Le vray soleil où estoit sa fiance ...  
(ibid., 330 ro, p.260)

“Sólo entonces (escribe el Pseudo-Dionisio) es posible encontrar en cada parte de nuestro cuerpo imágenes armoniosas de los poderes celestiales, mientras que afirmamos que los poderes de la visión denotan la elevación más transparente hacia la divinidad”.<sup>518</sup>

Sería una tarea interminable tratar cada uno de los símbolos místicos conectados con el Sol, tratando de descubrir sus fuentes. Margarita había absorbido toda esta colección de imágenes de origen claramente neoplatónico y de origen Dionisiaco de un admirador de Patón y del Pseudodionisio.<sup>519</sup> Según Briçonnet, el alma debe conseguir la pureza del Vuelo del Águila, utilizando una comparación similar a la de Margarita y del Pseudodionisio: “Gousté en avoit [i.e. (12)*Le fruit de la guerre spirituelle*, otro símbolo místico que será mencionado más tarde] quelque petite estincelle le bon prophete David, quand il invitoit ung chascun a la savourer et, par impatient desir, demandoit les helles de l'aigle<sup>520</sup> pour, par haulte et eslevée contemplation, se ennyvrer de telle doulce liqueur liquefiant son coeur, comme la cire devant le feu”. (Correspondance, 1, pp. 27-28)

Es muy fácil agrupar los símbolos de la Luz y de las Sombras dentro de un diagrama geométrico muy semejante al de Nicolás de Cusa sobre el paradigma de las dos pirámides entrecruzadas (Ilustración 4) simplemente siguiendo su Correspondance con Briçonnet. No obstante ya he mencionado que muchos de los símbolos corren paralelos y resulta muy difícil separarlos para presentarlos en su forma más pura. No obstante, puede ser útil el siguiente esquema para reconstruir las dos pirámides superpuestas de la “Theologia Symbolica” de los primeros en el Renacimiento.

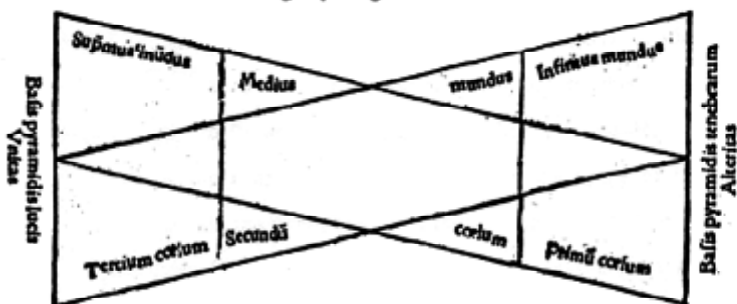
El Sol, según Briçonnet, es una creatura que, por naturaleza nunca cambia, un concepto común entre los cosmólogos medievales, sacado de

las Esferas Platónicas, y el Ojo humano aparecerá como el Topo que no puede contemplar el Resplandor divino: “La lumière materielle est trop plus cogneue que les couleurs<sup>521</sup> qu’elle illumine, comme est la cause devant les effectz. O douce lumière et douceur lumineuse, dulcifiez par humilité mon esperit à se cognoistre taulpe et vous rendre gloire et graces de ce que luy communiquez et permettez qu’il puisse par vostre creature solaire, veoir de loing vostre abissale mer de lumière,<sup>522</sup> car de près n’est permis à creature! (Correspondance, 1, p. 189)

**Sed iam** ex Dionysio didicimus, mythica nomina excellere sensibilia & intelligibilia, & esse negat<sup>5</sup> ciam in veridice pyramidis sive mysticam Theologiam ab his auspiciatur: quare nomina substantiarum spiritualium, quantumcumque eminentia, non sunt mythica censenda: & ut profundius ascensum & descensum intelligere possis / cuius sepe meministi beatissimus pater accipe pyramidem Nicolai Cusani doctissimi mythis ex libro eius de consuetudine, & libro de docta ignorantia.

Cusanus.

Figura paradigmatica Cusani.



**Sed intelligibiliorem** multo tibi communicabo pyramidem / in qua & gradus eundem, participacionem lucis & tenebrarum distinctissime videbis: nam participatio non est minima via lectionis Theologicæ, ut in nostra Theologia negatius fultus explicabimus, & ex hoc longe facilius ascensum & descensum parare tibi poteris pro animi tui sententia ad institutum Dionysiacum: Hanc autem insignem & mirificam pyramidem, longe excedentem Aegyptiacas & Memphisicas pyramides, acceptam referre debes preceptoris nostri optumato Gregorio Reischio, Carulis montis S. Iohannis in Friburgo priori viro oppido venerando.

Eddus.

Gregorius Reischius.

Soli deo gloria:

H. 40

Ilustración 4.

El diagrama geométrico “figura paradigmatica” representa la interrelación de símbolos concordantes dentro de la pirámide de la Luz y sus opuestos dentro de la Pirámide de la Oscuridad y sigue la concepción del universo según Nicolas de Cusa: las cosas creadas participan de ambas Luz y Oscuridad, pero cuanto más cerca están de la base de la pirámide de la Luz son menos corpóreas. (*De Mystica Theologia*, op.cit., Cap.III, Pars II, Prop.III, fol. E IIII ro).

La imagen del Sol vuelve a aparecer en la misma carta como la criatura más perfecta simbolizando la realidad divina (“vostre ymaige materiele”); el Sol logra atraer a Ojo humano “hors ce visible monde”, aunque frecuentemente éste último no consigue acercarse a lo Divino o bien porque “il n’est capable ou qu’il fuit la lumière”:

“Equalité de lumiere qui ne croist ne décroist, ains est identité sans variacion, luysez en mon coeur à ce qu’il ne congnoisse ce qui n’est vous et neantmoins eslevez l’esperit de vostre chambriere pour, en vostre ymaige materiele, par son oeil corporel, penetrer autant qu’il vous plaira la tirer pour vous servir, aimer et honnorer en contemplant ceste grandeur d’image de vostre bonté, corps lumineux, solaire, tousjours esgallement luisant en identité de lumiere constante et permanente depuis sa creation, sans alteration ou immutation, illuminant tout ce qui est cappable et susceptible de lumiere, se communicant en telle amplitud dedans et hors ce visible monde que s’il y a quelque chose qui ne recoive sa beneficque distribucion de lumiere il n’est à imputer à la faulte ou pauvreté du soleil qu’il n’ayt le tresor inepuisible de sa lumiere, mais c’est ou pour ce qu’il n’est capable ou qu’il fuit la lumiere”.(ibid., 1, p. 191)<sup>523</sup>

He aquí dos pasajes significativos que demuestran la concepción estática del universo como “cosmos” en el siglo XVI, a la vez que muestra el de símbolos como el Fuego, el Sol, el Topo, la Luz, el Eclipse y el Mar, que recuerdan la doble pirámide de la Luz y la Oscuridad como aparecen en los poemas simbólicos de Margarita y la Carta 6 de la Correspondance confirma el mismo esquema: “Madame, moult est [h]eureuse l’ame qui se sent et cognoist telle, car elle est aveugle voiente, luisant l’infinie lumiere en ses tenebres. Et plus y luist, plus l’aveugle, et en aveuglant illumine”. (ibid., 1, pp. 34-35)

Es muy importante darse cuenta de que ambos Briçonnet y Marguerite se llaman a sí mismos “aveugles”: fue ella la primera en usar “la riche aveugle, Marguerite” (ibid., 1, p. 154), y él reconoció lo mismo: “Helas! Madame, tirez y le pauvre aveugle, s’il vous plaist, par voz prieres” (ibid., 1, p. 187); ambos se influían mutuamente utilizando las imágenes con diversos matices de significado, que más tarde permitieron a Margarita construir la Pirámide de los símbolos de la Luz y de las Sombras como aparecent particularmente en sus últimos poemas, las Chansons Spirituelles y las Prisons.

## II

No se trata en este capítulo de presentar la serie de símbolos por orden alfabético de todas las metáforas místicas que hay en las obras de Margarita, ni de hacer un lista completa de todas ellas, sino de organizar estructuralmente los símbolos más importantes para que sea más fácil su



comprensión. De hecho el análisis detallado de algunos de ellos puede servir para revelar la naturaleza misma de su misticismo, aunque existe el peligro de que el lector se pierda en este laberinto de imágenes y símbolos por lo que se puede consultar el índice alfabético de algunas de las imágenes que aparecen en las obras de Margarita.

Si Dios es la Luz y el alma se encuentra encarcelada en la Oscuridad de su cuerpo, no es posible la reconciliación mientras el ser humano esté vivo, a lo que habría que añadir otro conflicto entre el alma humana que es ligera de peso, mientras que el cuerpo es más pesado.<sup>524</sup> La segunda pirámide antitética de los símbolos de Margarita, estrechamente relacionada con la anterior sobre la Luz y la Oscuridad e intercambiable en muchos aspectos, representa la oposición entre lo Superior y lo Inferior a través de una serie de símbolos que pueden organizarse en dos grupos:

I. El conflicto entre el Cuerpo y los componentes incorpóreos del Alma: La Raíz, el Gusano y la Prisión.

II. El conflicto entre el Alma y la Divinidad: La Contienda, la Flecha, la Herida, el Dardo, la Espada y la Lucha contra el Gigante..

Margarita amalgama las dos pirámides de la Luz-Oscuridad, con la de los Conflictos humanos tratando de resolverlos en su poema místico las Prisons: Cuando los Retos del Sol liberan al Poeta-Amante de sus propias cadenas mostrándole la Luz con su Libertad, le hiere internamente con su Rayo-Dardo.<sup>525</sup>

La lucha del alma para liberarse a sí misma del cuerpo es un ejemplo de la condición terrenal humana y Dios ha de venir para ayudarle con su amor:

Et annoncez, disant à mon Espoux,  
Que forte Amour, par desir, ne me fine  
De tourmenter iusques a la racine;  
Qu'il vienne donc abbreger mes longs iours.  
Car Luy TOUT SEUL en est la medicine;  
Làs, vien, JESUS, car je languiz d'amours.<sup>526</sup>

Brignonnet le explicaba a Margarita que la existencia humana en la tierra con sus "terrestritez et animalitez" impide que el Fuego divino penetre en el ser humano pecaminoso. Es una referencia a la teología paulina sobre el origen natural del hombre que procede de la estirpe corrupta de Adán y ha de ser injertado en un árbol cultivado (Cristo) por medio de la Fe si ha de dar fruto (Romanos 11,13-24): "... descheant les occasions qui renouvellent les terrestritez et animalitez de nostre vieil homme de peche

[i.e. *Adam*], qui empesche que le feu ne penetre jusques a l'exication [i.e. dessèchement] des maistresses racines" (*Correspondance*, 1, p. 103).

La Princesa Carlota en el *Dialogue* había desarrollado este tema de Briçonnet como "liberarse de las viejas raíces, para que el alma se injerte en el Árbol de Cristo (la Cruz)":

Jesuchrist est le ban arbre qui monte  
Jusques au ciel, donnant fruict en son temps:  
N'ayez jamais d'estre sa branche honte.  
(*Dialogue*, vv. 613-615)<sup>527</sup>

El Alma humana se parece al Fuego con su tendencia a subir "en pyramide en hault", le escribió Briçonnet a Margarita:

"Le siege de vray repos et vraye demeure du feu materiel est au plus hault de tous les corps celestes, comme celluy qui predomyne à toutes creatures corporelles et ne peult ailleurs estre en repos quand il est cy bas. C'est pour la matiere, a laquelle il est attaché, qu'il desire convertir et transmuier en soy, pour incontinent retourner en son trosne. Aussy voions que la flamme tend en piramide en hault, pour monstrar sa naissance et origine et n'est visible que en la matiere qu'il unist à soy, demourant en soy invisible. Il est leger, agile, sublime, qui ne peult estre contrainct hors matiere de demourer en bas et quant il y est, par desir qu'il a naturel de transmuier taus corps en luy." (*Correspondance*, 1, p. 105)

Por supuesto que el símbolo principal de la existencia humana en la tierra en las obras de Margarita será la Prisión como se ha visto en el capítulo anterior. La condición del Alma, simbolizada por el Poeta-Amante en las *Prisons*, ocupa un lugar prominente en el simbolismo de las imágenes de Margarita que utilizó para ilustrar la Contienda del Alma para liberarse de su existencia terrenal que es tan rica y variada como las que conforman las Pirámides de la Luz y de la Oscuridad. Y habla así de esta Batalla en el *Discord*:

Et de ce vient que bataille obstinee  
Est dedans l'homme et ne sera finée  
Tant qu'il aura vie dessus la terre  
(*Discord*. vv. 29-31)

o de un Duelo de Espadas en las *Prisons*:

Bien longuement ceste lutte dura  
Entre nous deux, dont mon cuer endura,  
Par maincte annee et longue experience  
(Prisons, fol.303. pp.202-203)

Este Conflicto afecta al Alma a un nivel más alto, como si se sintiera agredida por debajo (el Cuerpo) y por encima (el Conocimiento Divino). El símbolo de la Herida del Dardo quiere decir aquí que al alma ha sucumbido en la Batalla. “La Bergère” exclama en la Comédie :

O doux amour! O doux regard,  
Qui me transperse de ton dar(d).  
(Comédie , vv. 958-959)

El Ojo de Dios y su Visión aparecen también en los poemas de Margarita bajo el simbolismo del Dardo:

A[vez] vous de moy tourne vostre regard?  
Non, mais vostre oeil m’a esté ung doulx dard,  
Qui m’a navre le cuer jusques a la mort,  
En me donnant de mes pechez remort.  
(Miroir, vv. 809-812)

Como mencioné en el Capítulo 5 de las Prisons, Marguerita compara el extasis de la experiencia mística a la sensación aguda de sentirse herido. Briçonnet ya la había iniciado en el tema en un pasaje inolvidable de la Correspondance.

Según él hay personas tan materialistas (“charnels et animaux”), que piensan que pueden “sans helles voller pour cuider comprendre l’incomprehensible” (Correspondance, I, p.227); se niegan a llagar a la fuente de Luz “en orient”, mientras que los “spirituels” sienten la ausencia del Sol saliendo por el horizonte, pero carecen del poder de volar y este deseo de poseer Aas como el Águila les causa una frustración que representan con el símbolo del Dardo: “Tant sont toutefois ennyvrez de l’excellence de l’infinitude de l’esperit qui leur est communicque qu’ilz veullent, en ung petit raion, par ardant desir comprendre l’immensite du Soleil, et par une goutellette, la plenitude de la mer, et congnoissant l’impuissance de leur vol soubhaitent helles aquilaires. Lesquelles, par grace impetrees, en leur prouffitent pour parvenir à leur desir et congnoissent que la pesanteur du corps, combien que passe par la fournaise de charité, embrasé, aneanti et pulverisé, empesche parvenir au vol desiré et de repoux, et telz ne reputent estre trop en corps et crient avec Saint Pol, de coeur fervent, feru et empané des dars d’amour”. (ibid., I, p. 227)

La relación Dios-alma toma otra dimensión cuando Margarita se hace eco de su Correspondance con Briçonnet describiendo la búsqueda de lo divino como “le grand pas comme un geant”:

Qui t’a haste de courir le grand pas  
Comme un geant; me mettre hors de la meule  
Qui me brisoit, pour en faire un repas  
Au grand enfer, qui m’avoit en sa gueule?<sup>528</sup>

Este símil que utilizó Briçonnet como símbolo, implicaría, según él, que el alma humana nunca se sentiría a gusto en la tierra (“plus on en goust, plus on la desire”) pero antes de la Lucha parecida a la de Jacob con el ángel (Genesis 32,23-32), el alma tendrá que tomar “la viande” (i.e. El alimento espiritual de los perfectos (Hebreos 5,14) para así vencer al “geant d’amour insuperable”: “Plus on en goust, plus on la desire, et par impatient desir serchez secours et ayde pour combattre le grand geant d’amour insuperable. Coeur aneanty et bien mortiffie a grand pouvoir pour le geant combattre” (Correspondance, 1, p.27).<sup>529</sup> No cabe la menor duda de que este Gigante no es otro que Dios mismo para, pues el obispo de Meaux vuelve a lo mismo en otra de sus cartas: “Madame, Dieu sçait que je prens sans fiction, consolacion et plaisir indicible de congnoistre par voz lettres la grace evidente que le grand geant d’amour insuperable vous faict en vous mectant au cours de sa vigne, ...” (Correspondance, 1, p. 162).

### III

Quizás los símbolos poéticos más hermosos en las obras de Margarita sean los que forman el diagrama de la Escala en oposición al símbolo del Abismo. La pirámide mística de la Escala es un esquema básico para explicar la liberación del alma de sus tendencias terrenales. El ser humano tendrá que hacer la ascensión paso a paso o volar con la ayuda de las Alas. (Diagrama 2)

G. Durand en su tratado de arqueología explica la estructura elemental del símbolo del Ala, como la imagen natural de la Ascensión Vertical: “L’outil ascensionnel par excellence, c’est bien l’aile dont l’échelle du Chanana ou l’escalier de la Ziggurat n’est qu’un grossier succédané. Cette extrapolation naturelle de verticalisation posturale est la raison profonde qui motive la facilité avec laquelle la reverie volante, techniquement absurde, est acceptée et privilégiée par le desir d’angelisme”.<sup>530</sup> Según Briçonnet, la Montaña representa la confluencia del cielo y de la tierra: (Correspondance, 2, p. 37). Margarita también usa

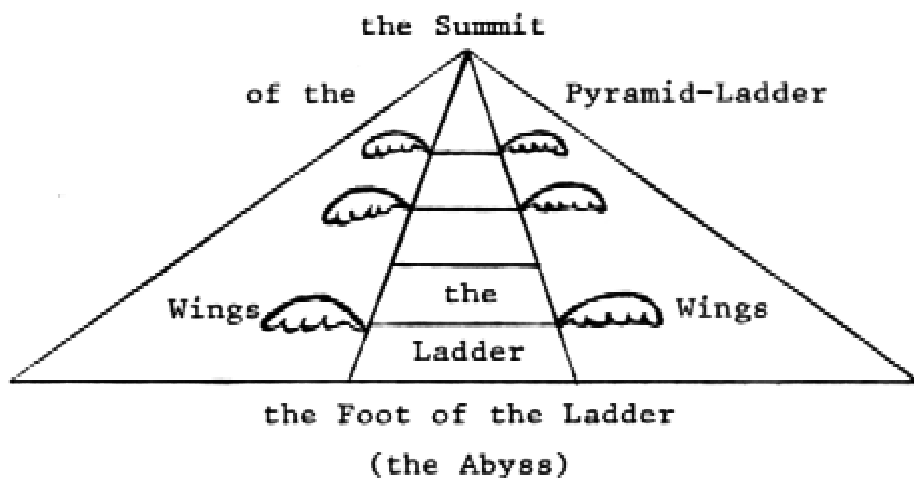


Diagrama 2.

Uno de mis diagramas para ilustrar la ascensión del alma del Pie de la Escala a la Cima de la Pirámide siguiendo los textos poéticos de Margarita. He utilizado la simplicidad elemental del Triángulo y el movimiento progresivo de la Pirámide de la Oscuridad en dirección a la Luz de la “theologia symbolica”.

este símbolo angélico hasta la saciedad, combinándolo con otros grupos de imágenes. En el Navire nos ofrece los elementos básicos de la Montaña-Escalas:

Qui vit en chair, il vit en une abisme  
De tout peché, demeurant en l'eschelle  
Tousjours au pied, sans regarder la cime.  
(Navire, vv. 328-330)

sugiriendo que el deseo básico del ser humano a subir hacia las cumbres, simbolizado en la arquitectura por arcos, bóvedas y agujas en las catedrales góticas,<sup>531</sup> lo obstaculiza el pecado:

En attendant que icy puisses voller,  
Du tu viendras si ta foy ne te fault,  
Le bien que j'ay je ne veulx celler.  
(*ibid.*, vv. 457-459)

como el poeta bíblico que deseaba subir a la cumbre de la Montaña Divina: “¿Quiénn subirá la colina del Señor? ¿Y quién se quedará en el lugar sagrado? El que tenga las manos limpias y un corazón puro ...” (Salmo 24, 3-4), Margarita se hace eco de este deseo básico en muchos de sus poemas:

Montant plus hault a la perfection,  
(Prisons, fol. 295 ro, p. 185)

después de huir de la Prisión del Abismo:

Adieu l'abisme où j'estois englouty,...  
(ibid., fol. 275 ro, p. 143)

Habr , no obstante que esclarecer que la palabra Abismo no significa necesariamente la parte m s baja del ser humano con sus malos deseos. . Puede igualmente ser el s mbolo de la naturaleza insondable e incomprendible de la Divinidad.

Bri onnet le describi  a Margarita el efecto deslumbrador que produce el estar cara a cara con los misterios divinos como: "L'abisme qui tout abisme previent pour en le desabismant l'abismer en abisme sans l'abismer, auquel abisme est fons sans fons, voie des errans sans chemin ne sentier, qui les desvoiez retire d'erreur pour abissalement les desvoier en voie abissale, abissellement desvoiant, et plus desvoi e moins desvoi " (Correspondance, I, pp.134-135). Hay en el texto combinaciones de s mbolos, como un "*jeu de grand rhetoriqueur*" tales como "*abisme*", "*chemin*", "*fons*" y "*voie*". Seg n las m sticos s lo hay un modo de llegar a Dios a trav s de sus (21) misteriosos caminos cuando el alma debe perderse para comprender le Abismo de Dios, progresando de la conversi n del Agua en Vino ( pasando de lo imperfecto a lo perfecto) "... affin que l'eau puisse estre convertie en vin et que l'abisme par l'abisme invocque puisse abismer" (ibid., I, p.134).<sup>532</sup>

El alma tendr  que lanzarse verticalmente hacia arriba desde el Abismo sin fondo o perdi ndose por los Caminos de Dios como explican las Chansons Spirituelles:

Descendons bas en nostre  me  
Pour monter plus hautement.  
("Chanson" 21, vv. 1-2)<sup>533</sup>

La "Chanson 21" connecta las im genes de Ascender y Descender con los temas m sticos de "Rien" y "Tout", como han sido analizadas en las Prisons. Cristo le ayuda al alma a juntarse a su "Kenosis" ("*descendre jusqu'au Rien*") para poder unirse con  l en su gloria m stica: ("*monter jusqu'au Tout*")<sup>534</sup>:

De Christ, duquel sera la femme  
Jointe ins parablement,

L'âme estant Rien, sera dame  
De Tout par son Tout, vrayment.

Descendons.

(ibid., vv. 13-17)

Los místicos explicaban el misticismo con la doble pirámide de la subida y la bajada (Ilustración 7). Champeaux and Sterckx la explican simbólicamente según la visión de Jacob en Bethel: (Genesis 28,12): “En songe, Jacob a vu l'échelle mystérieuse sur laquelle des anges montaient et descendaient en une incessante communication de la terre au ciel. Le Christ reprendra l'image à son compte pour faire entendre qu'il est l'échelle qui retablit les communications entre l'humanité pécheresse et le ciel enfin rouvert: “En vérité, en vérité, je vous le dis, vous verrez le ciel ouvert et les anges de Dieu monter et descendre au-dessus du Fils de l'homme” (Juan 1,51)”.<sup>535</sup>

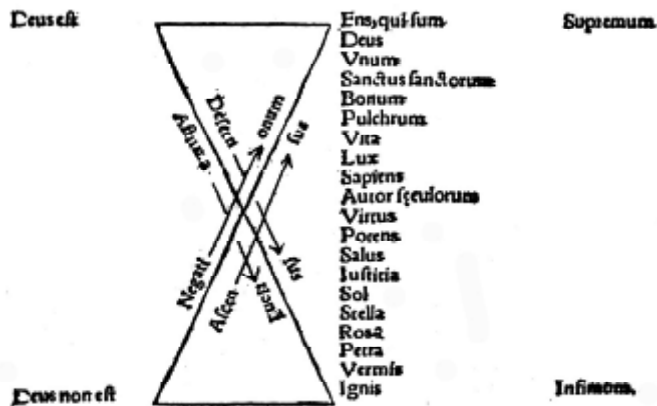


Ilustración 7.

El diagrama de las pirámides de la Ascensión y de la Bajada con definiciones y símbolos aplicados a Dios. Cualquier concepto humano tales como “bondad” o “hermosura” pueden referirse a Él (Deus est...), pero sólo analógicamente de las criaturas (via Analogica). Los predicados imperfectos tales como “finito” o “creado” deben ser referidos a Él negativamente (via Negativa): “Deus non est finitus” o “Deus est infinitus” (Introducción, p. 10). Algunas criaturas como el Sol y las Estrellas están más cerca de Dios que las otras (e.g. La Piedra o el Gusano) porque reflejan más fielmente sus cualidades divinas y pueden predicarse de Él simbólicamente. La *Mystica Theologia*, a diferencia de Margarita, coloca al Fuego en un lugar muy bajo de su Escala Mística. (De *Mystica Theologia*, op. cit., Cap.III, Pars II, Prop.III, fol. D IIII ro).

Margarita identificaba esta Escala con la Cruz siguiendo a otros místicos:

O CHRIST en Croix, tu es la vraye eschelle  
Par qui le Ciel se ravist et eschelle,  
Qui as pour nous fait telle violence, ( ... )  
O doulce eschelle, à t'embrasser m'avance; ...<sup>536</sup>

un símbolo que se expresaba con la imagen del Andamio (i.e. El sueño de Jacob de la *Scala Mystica* en el Génesis 28) en el Navire:

Or, prent sa croix pour faire ung eschauffaut  
De terre au ciel. et aussy pour destruire  
Ton ennemy qui est cruel et cault.  
(Navire, vv. 862-864)

John Ferguson explica que la subida al universo de los tres niveles se asocia con frecuencia al Vuelo: "Jewish mysticism acknowledges three forms of ascension: direct ascension into heaven of a few chosen ones such as Enoch and Elijah; ascension and return, granted to Moses; and the ascension of the soul in Hasidic mystical experience".<sup>537</sup> Meister Eckhart ofrece una explicación bizarra de esta experiencia de la Subida del Agua y la Caída de la Piedra, para explicar el deseo natural del alma a subir hacia arriba y del cuerpo a caer hacia abajo; lo explica así: "There is, however, another action more essential to the stone than falling. It is the constant downward tendency ingrained in it and which neither God nor man nor creature can take away".<sup>538</sup> Supone que el Agua tiene la tendencia a subir "... it is the way of water to flow downwards into the valley and that is its custom; but under the influence and action of the moon up in the sky, water forsakes and forgets its own way and flows, uphill and its rising is easier than its downflow".<sup>539</sup> Eckhart explica también el simbolismo del Ala y de la Subida con la tendencia del alma a hacerlo con la ayuda de un agente: "...it is the property of the soul [*i.e. its natural tendency to lift man*] ever to struggle upwards by means of this agent, and if it looks aside, or relents from the way upwards, that is sin. The soul cannot bear to have anything above it. I believe that it cannot bear to have even God above it."<sup>540</sup>

Es obvio que la experiencia de Ascender, según Eckhart, está relacionada con la sensación de Volar, que los místicos asocian a la imagen del Ala y Margarita las combina en sus obras, particularmente en las Prisons:



...  
 Car la beaulté d'un seul si fort te plaist  
 Que le dehors, tant soit beau, te desplaist,  
 Sinon d'autant qu'il doit servir d'eschelle,  
 Pour adresser le voller de ton aile  
 Par la facture au Facteur, et montant  
 Aller tousjours ses louanges chantant...  
 (Prisons. fol.328 ro p.253)

La doctrina de la ascensión natural al conocimiento de Dios por la creación es uno de los leit-motifs del simbolismo místico (Romanos 1, 19-20). Platón comparó el Ala con la tendencia del alma a subir: "it is the corporeal element which is most akin to the divine, and which by nature tends to soar aloft and carry that which gravitates downwards into the upper region, which is the habitation of the gods".<sup>541</sup> Briçonnet, fue un gran admirador de Platón y de las "eschelles de surrection" del Pseudo-Dionysio,<sup>542</sup> e inició a Margarita en el significado y uso de los símbolos: "Et, apres que la bonne brebis s'est bien ennyvree en son dict ru[i]sseau, par yvresse extaticque et amour desmesurée a voullu prendre les helles de l'aigle pour faire l'extreme vol pour cognoistre la force et puissance de charité, qui a faict que equalité et inequalité, grand et petit,<sup>543</sup> createur et creature. tout et rien sont ensemble et coincident ..." <sup>544</sup> (Correspondance ,1, p.47)

Según él, se necesitan las "Helles de la bataille" (ibid., I, p.27) para llegar a la etapa final que sólo el Ágila logra conseguir cuando trata de llegar al Sol.<sup>545</sup> En 1523 vio que Margarita estaba preparada para comenzar el Vuelo final: "Madame, vous laissant l'ame de l'homme, sachant que Dieu vous a donne helles non vulgaires pour voller où le vend vous transportera, que debvrez suivre et vous reposer en luy..." (Correspondance,2, p.35) pues podía entender los símbolos más difíciles que encarnan las doctrinas herméticas sobre la naturaleza divina, conduciendo el alma al Beso y la Boda final, otra imagen de su llagada a la cumbre, como explica la Chanson 17:

Ce jour de nopces, Seigneur,  
 Me tarde tant,  
 Que de nul bien ny honneur  
 Ne suis content  
 ...  
 Baissez moy, acolez moy,<sup>546</sup>  
 Mon Tout en tous,  
 Unissez moy par la Foy  
 Du tout à vous.  
 ('Chanson 17, vv . 14-26)

## IV

Las líneas rectas, particularmente en la forma geométrica del cuadrado, tienen conexión con actividades humanas, tales como las áreas de los edificios en que se mueve, como también con las tendencias verticales de las criaturas a subir hacia arriba o a caer hacia abajo, y así las interpretaban los místicos medievales.<sup>547</sup> Pero no el Círculo que se relaciona con lo divino debido al dinamismo de su forma siendo la base de todos los movimientos de rotación. Muchos de los símbolos usados por Margarita, tales como el Ojo y el Sol tienen configuración circular y por eso tienen connotaciones del Absoluto sin tacha, aunque como símbolos naturales tienen defectos según se vayan acercando a la base de la Pirámide.

Ya he mencionado el Camino como símbolo excepcional de la tendencia humana a comprometerse con la acción divina y Margarita ofrece un ejemplo perfecto en su Comédie sur le Trespas du Roy:

### SECURUS

Le droict chemin je ne te veux celler:  
De la grand croix il se faict appeller,  
C'est le chemin de la haulte montaigne.

### AGAPY

De la grand croix? Ce chemin là je sçay,  
Car j'en ay faict souvent le rude essay,  
Des yeulx la voy et dans le cueur la parte.  
(Comedie sur le Trespas du Roy , vv.242-247)

Pero el símbolo místico del Camino ha de aplicarse sobre todo refiriéndose a Cristo, a quien describe Margarita como Camino, Verdad y Vida, según las definiciones de lo divino como se vio en el Capítulo previo 5, Sección VD

Tu es la voye et le chemin tresample  
Par ou lon va au grand celeste temple.<sup>548</sup>

El Agua, según los místicos, sugiere la gracia de Dios y toma muchas formas en la poesía de Margarita: Arroyos y Fuentes, por ejemplo serán imágenes del sufrimiento humana, como en el comentario que ella hará de la muerte de su hermano en La Navire:

O chef roial, qui fontaine s'est faite,  
 Dont tes yeulx sont les abondans ruisseaulx,  
 Par fort pleurer ceste dure defaite.  
 (Navire, vv.1030-1032)

Suelen aparecer como símbolos de la misericordia divina, como cuando exclama Charlotte en el Dialogue, vv.418-419:

Sa grace est un ruisseau qui court fort roye  
 Dans une ame distribuant ses dons,...

La llegada del ciervo a las Corrientes de Agua es el símbolo místico del encuentro del alma con lo Divino (Correspondance, l, p.79):

S'il vous [*i.e. the soul*] plaisoit seoir et poser  
 Dessus le bart d'une fontaine,  
 Et corps et esprit reposer,  
 Puisant de l'eau tres-vive et saine,  
 Certes sans y prendre autre peine.  
 Le cerf [*God*] viendroit A vous tout droit.  
 (' Chanson 6', vv . 41-46)

El Agua aparece como símbolo natural ("*Signe*") en el Dialogue:

Soubdainement, faisant de Adam defaite,  
 L'ensepuelist, recepuant Leaue pour Signe  
 En Jesuchrist, où son ame est refaite  
 (Dialogue, vv. 697-699)

y procede de la interpretación que hace San Pablo del "paso de los israelitas por el Mar Rojo",<sup>549</sup> que Margarita adoptará de una de las cartas de Briçonnet dirigidas a ella: "... et moins pourrions passer le mer Rouge, sy la puissante verge ne l'ouvroit, arrestoit et sechoit: par le baptesme le ciel nous est Ouvert, la puissance tirannicque arrestée et la source de peche originel sechée et tarie, de sorte que sommes, après le baptesme, vrais enfans de Dieu..." (Correspondance, l, p. 199).

El Agua para Briçonnet y para Marguerite es uno de los tres símbolos básicos, junto con el Fuego y el Maná según he explicado antes al presentarlos como las tres ilustraciones de las Tres Prisiones de Margarita. Además, Briçonnet desarrolló la analogía del Arroyo muy similar a la de Margarita, comparando las Corrientes de Agua al desarrollo del alma en tres fases:

“Et, pour continuer nostre eaue beneficque et salvificque, d’icelle trouvons yssir trois ru[i]sseaulx qui ne sont que ung. Par l’ung, en l’amour et nectoiant, il purge et est eaue purgative. Par l’aulture, ouvre les yeulx et oste la taye de cecite et ygnorance, et, par ce, est illuminatisve. Par la troiziesme, par ce qu’il ne laisse riens imparfait, elle est eaue perficiente. La purgacion et illumination, et, pour aultrement exprimer, le doulx Jesus, est, par habondance des eaux de grace, purgeant, illuminant, et parfaisant en luy nature humaine, de laquelle est purgation, illumination et perfection”. (Correspondance, 1, p. 79)

Cristo, según Briçonnet, nos trae en abundancia las “eaux de grace” para purificar, iluminar y mejorar el alma, tres operaciones que corresponden a las tres personas de la Trinidad (Correspondance, 1, p. 96). Margarita escribió un poema místico sobre el poder de Cristo para salvarnos, asociándolo a las tres operacines de Dios sobre el alma: Elección (por el Padre), afección de Amor (por el Hijo) y fruición del Conocimiento (por el Espíritu):

Sans or, argent, ny avoir  
L'eau donne en abondance,  
 Non labeur ne devoir  
 Par merite ou puissance;  
 Mais par pure Election  
 D’une grande affection,  
 Nous donne fruition  
 De l’eau de cognoissance,  
 A la clere Fontenelle.  
 (“Chanson 14”, vv . 43-51)

Briçonnet combina el diagrama de la “*Scala Perfectionis*” con el simbolismo del Agua cuando sugiere que la Oveja (que según él significa el alma extática) será capaz de ascender más alto después de beber Agua en la dulce Fuente:

“... et toutesfois la fontaine ne diminuoit point. et incontinent s’en va [*la brebis*] plonger en son ru[i]sseau, qui la suivoit et environnoit, et en levant les yeulx plus hault, aperchoit que de la bouche de vie procedoit ceste doulce fontaine ( ... ) Et, après que la bonne brebis s’est bien ennyvrée en son dict ru[i]sseau par yvresse extatique et amour desmssurée a voullu prendre les helles de l’aigle pour faire l’extreme vol pour cognoistre la force et puissance de charité,(...)” (Correspondance, 1, p. 47)

La Correspondance de Briçonnet y los poemas de Margarita están llenos de símbolos místicos sobre la experiencia mística; ambos conocen las enseñanzas de la Canción de las Canciones<sup>550</sup> con el Maná, cuya dulzura simboliza la experiencia de San Pablo en su camino a Damasco. Margarita se pregunta en el Miroir:

Parquoy venez, o bien[h]oureux saint Paul,  
Qui tant avez gousté ce doulx miel,  
Trois jours sans veoir, ravy jusques au ciel ...  
(Miroir, vv. 1382-1384)

Un tema que ya había desarrollado Briçonnet en una de sus cartas a Margarita, comparando a Cristo con el Maná: “Mais le Verbe eternal, doulx Jesus, vraye manne, est trop plus excellentement repaissant l’esperit que n’avoit faict au desert le corps” (Correspondance, 1, p. 145). Los que lo hubieran saboreado por la fe serían felices, pero su conocimiento no sería completo hasta contemplarlo en la gloria: “Bien [h]oureux est qui par foy le gousté, aiant esperance en luy que au royaume de paradis sera en verité gousté et congneu, non comme en couverture et figure egnigmaticque (comme il est icy, ainsy que dict Monsieur saint Pol) [*I Corinthians 13,12*] mais comme il est en verité, comme congnoissons estre advenu au Juifz en leur figure litterale et numerale manne...” (*ibid.*, 1, pp. 145-146).<sup>551</sup> El simbolismo místico, como se desprende de este comentario de Briçonnet está directamente conectado con la interpretación mística de la Biblia; El Obispo ve que el Maná (“figure litterale”) representa el anhelo de los judíos por llegar a la Tierra Prometida (“figure numerale”) prefigurando el encuentro del alma con Cristo (John 6).

Los colores también pueden interpretarse simbólicamente, y se encuentran en efecto en los passages más herméticos de Margarita en lo que llamaríamos el “Espectro Solar” de los cuatro colores como se pueden ver en los calendarios chinos y mejicanos, es decir: Rojo-Azul-Blanco-Verde. Los cuatro colores se usan también en la heráldica y están asociados a los cuatro puntos cardinales, los cuatro elementos y las cuatro estaciones del año.<sup>552</sup> Marguerita escribe en las Prisons:

Ces livres sont couvertz de quatre sortes:  
D’or tout semé de feu et flambes fortes,  
D’asur remply de differentz oyseaulx,  
D’argent tout plain de poisson[s], de bateaulx,  
De vert paré de tous arbres et bestes, ...  
(Prisons, fol. 297 ro, p. 190)

Estos cuatro colores básicos con su simbolismo se considerarían en los calendarios mejicanos como “Códices del Sol”.<sup>553</sup> Margarita se interesó desde muy joven en los calendarios del sol como lo prueba su Horóscopo de 1510 todavía sin publicar.<sup>554</sup> Los colores aparecen igualmente en los emblemas renacentistas que aplicaban a los textos bíblicos, deformando con frecuencia el sentido de las Escrituras.<sup>555</sup> Muchas de estas ideas exóticas llegaron a las cortes europeas traídas por los navegantes que volvían de América y del Extremo Oriente y los eruditos mostraron bastante interés por esta simbología hermética. Para los chinos los cuatro colores tienen conexión con los Cuatro Elementos,<sup>556</sup> y se pueden observar las siguientes combinaciones en las Prisons de Margarita de Nabarra:

<u>Or</u>	Fuego
<u>Azur</u>	Aire (oyseaulx)
<u>Argent</u>	Agua (poissons, bateaulx)
<u>Vert</u>	Tierra (arbres, bestes).

Hay diversas opiniones sobre el uso simbólico de dos de los “protegés” de Margarita: Marot y Rabelais. Al primero, Marot le gustaba el contraste entre el Blanco y el Negro pero le exacerbaba que se exagerara su uso recurriendo a la sorna, como en estos versos de la “Épître VII”:

Et par ainsi, quand ferme je seroys,  
Pour prendre nair le blanc je laisseroys;  
Car fermeté c’est le noir par droicture,  
Pource que perdre il ne peult sa taincture.

Or porteray le blanc, ce temps pendant  
Bonne fortune en amours attendant. ( ... )  
Si j’ayme bien les blanches ceinturettes,  
J’ayme encor mieulx Dames qui sont brunettes.<sup>557</sup>

Rabelais menciona la trilogía simbólica del Azul-Blanco-Negro en su Gargantua. (Chapters VIII-IX): “Et diray en un mot que le bleu signifie certainement le ciel et choses celestes, par mesmes symboles que le blanc signifioit jouye et plaisir”, mientras que el Negro representa el luto o el duelo;<sup>558</sup> y le interesaban solamente los que tenía significado universal para la gente: “Par le blanc ... tout le monde a entendu joye ...”,<sup>559</sup> criticando el uso arbitrario de los “emblemistas” de su tiempo que “voulent leur arbitre tenir lieu de raison”.<sup>560</sup> Margarita, en cambio va mucho más lejos en su uso pues los organiza dentro de la “Escala Mística” considerando al Rojo como imagen de la “Rose vermeille” (“Chanson 27”, v. 38), y del Sol, la criatura más perfecta después de Dios:

Longtemps après en demoure esblouy [*i.e. du soleil*],  
 Bien qu'il ayt peu de sa beaulté jouy,  
 Tant que partout pense veoir ung soleil  
 Du que tout est ou dare ou vermeil [*rojo brillante*].  
 (Prisons, fol.265 ro, pp.122-123)

La escala de valores descende en este orden:

- 1 Rojo (Oro)
- 2 Azul
- 3 Blanco (Plata)
- 4 Verde
- 5 Negro

Cuando Margarita, por ejemplo sugiere en la “Chanson 25” pasar del Negro al Verde:

Or chatons natin et soir  
 Sans nous asseoir;  
 Dançons par joye immortelle;  
 Changeons en verd nostre noir,  
 (“Chanson 25”, vv. 49-52)

invita a sus lectores a comenzar la ascensión por la Pirámide de la Subida, pues los cambios de color indican un mayor conocimiento de Dios, y el Verde ha de interpretarse como el primer paso del alma en su conocimiento.

El uso simbólico de las Letras del Alfabeto está igualmente conectado con la graduación de los colores en la Escala mística: “Much mystical and religious thought”, escribe Ferguson, “regards a name having a power or bearing a substitute relation to its object. The letters of the alphabet thus become in a sense the elements of the universe and fit objects for contemplation”.<sup>561</sup> La Letras se han interpretado de muchas maneras: Si Cristo es para San Juan el “Alpha” y la “Omega”, el comienzo y el fin, para Margarita la letra hebrea “Tau” es símbolo de la Cruz. La “Tau” era la marca que ponían los israelitas en las casas para proteger al recién nacido del Angel de la muerte (Exodo 12). Margarita parece más bien referirse con la “Tau” a la costumbre cristiana de signarse (con la señal de la Cruz) cuando escribe:

Tout vostre corps avez laissé hascher,  
 Piedz, mains percer, et mort a la croix prendre,

Et par ruisseaux vostre saint sang resandre,  
 Pour du signe TAU nos frontz mercher  
 (Oraison a nostre seigneur Jesus Christ, vv.30-33)<sup>562</sup>

La letra más hermética no es ni la primera ni la última sino la M central pues es masculina y femenina al mismo tiempo como la Andrógina<sup>563</sup> (Diagrama 3) y es el símbolo del Agua en su estado original del Gran Abismo)<sup>564</sup>. Ambos Briçonnet y Margarita adoptaron la letra “Mem” para representar el último grado en la iniciación mística, es decir la penetración extática del alma por el Espíritu para hacerle entender el significado espiritual de la Biblia, como lo expresara Margarita en sus dos obras más herméticas, la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan y las Prisons.<sup>565</sup>

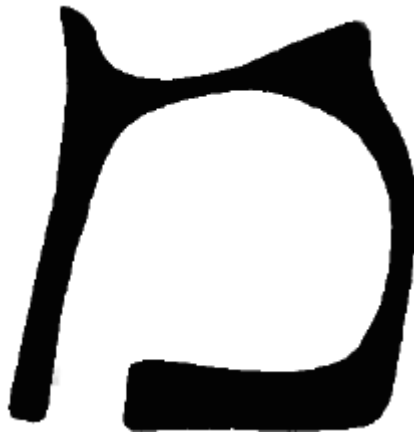


Diagrama 3.

La letra “Mem” en hebreo; en su configuración normal está abierta debajo, pero se cierra en posición final: “ouverte et close, en grosse forme (mayúscula)...” (Correspondance, 2, p. 229), incorporando para el grupo de Margarita una serie de significados místicos relacionados con las profecías mesiánicas del Antiguo Testamento (*ibid.*, 2, p. 213) incluyendo la interpretación del “Miroir” y de la “Marguerite” (Cf. Capítulo 3 sobre el Miroir, Sección III). La letra “M” ocupa la posición media en el alfabeto latino, pero en el hebreo “Alef” es 1, Mem 13 y Tau 22. La elección pues de la “Mem” como la más perfecta según Briçonnet y Margarita por referirse al Cristo Mesías se debería a su posición intermedia en el Alfabeto hebreo, pues puede completar y unir las cosas (Efesios) siendo Alpha y Omega, letras primera y última en el alfabeto griego (Cf. Apocalipsis 22,13).

Fue Margarita la primera en demandar al Obispo de Meaux que le explicara el complejo significado de la “lettre mem escripte en hebrieu, ouverte et cloze, en grosse forme...” (Correspondance, 2, p.229). Briçonnet tardó varios meses en responder pero luego le mandó una larga disertación sobre el sentido (ouvert) y el simbólico (fermé) de la letra “Mem” (*ibid.*, 2, pp. 277-278).



La letra “Mem”, como el círculo Rojo Brillante (Oro) entre los otros colores menos perfectos, es símbolo de la perfección y ha de interpretarse como el conocimiento más profundo de todos los conceptos esotéricos de la escuela mística de Meaux. Marguerite and Briçonnet trataron de proveer nueva vida a una iglesia débil, inyectándole nueva energía, simbolizada por los símbolos del misticismo. Por eso la última serie de imágenes tienen conexión con lo imperfecto en el ser humano y la impecabilidad divina.

Si la naturaleza humana es así incompleta y dividida, como explican las Prisons de Margarita donde se utiliza el símbolo de la Androgina en búsqueda de su otra mitad, pero no en Jesucristo que es la perfecta Androgina p contiene todos los principios masculinos y femeninos. De la misma manera la letra MEM implica la perfección pues contiene principios opuestos, abiertos y cerrados que pueden explicarse literal y simbólicamente. Lo Divino aparece representado por los símbolos de la perfección, tales como:

Círculo (Ilustración 4)  
Espejo Redondo  
Margarita-Flor  
Margarita-Perla (Ilustración 2)

Ya he mencionado la importancia de algunos símbolos redondos como el Círculo en el Capítulo previo 4 sobre las Prisons, en que se explicó como la mejor manera de expresar la naturaleza mutable de Dios. La Redondez de la Perla puede interpretarse como símbolo de Unión y Perfección y Sainte-Marthe lo explica en su Oraison Funèbre con ocasión de las exequias de Margarita donde adopta el simbolismo de Briçonnet y de Margarita, jugando con el sentido de la palabra “unio” en latín como Margarita-Perla: “Car la Marguerite, est une precieuse pierre, que Plinie dit, emporte l’honneur et le pris, sur toutes choses precieuses: Et havoit perfection en blancheur, grandeur, rotondité et pois.(...) Les François en leur langue, nomment la Marguerite PERLE: (...) je dy, que celle a bon droit est appellee Union , qui ne devoit laisser au monde sa pareille”.<sup>566</sup>

Se puede ver el significado simbólico de la Redondez de la Margarita-Perla-FlorI en el Capítulo previo sobre el Miroir donde la piedra preciosa aparece como símbolo del significado secreto del Libro.<sup>567</sup> G. Champeaux comenta que el Círculo no sólo implica la perfección divina sino las escalas de perfección (hierarchies créées) de todas las criaturas: “Le cercle peut encore symboliser, non plus les perfections cachées du Point primordial, mais ses effets créés; autrement dit, le monde en tant qu’il se distingue de son Principe. Les cercles concentriques representent les degrés d’etres, les hiérarchies créées”.<sup>568</sup> En la escala de los símbolos

el color Rojo brillante junto con la letra Mem simbolizan el Miroir Espejo, ocupando la Margarita y las Androgina el Centro del simbolismo místico. Briçonnet explicó sin ambages la importancia del Círculo en su Correspondance:

“La forme ronde et circulaire est la perfection de toutes les aultres figures. Pour ceste cause est le ciel circulaire, comme forme la plus parfaite, et par ce, les ames ne peuvent estre que perles circulaires et rondes; ...Et comme ung sercle ne se peult faire par le compas qu’il ne se ferme au mesme point, auquel il a esté commancé, et n’y a que ung point qui commence et cloust le sercle, aussy ne doivent les ames avoir aultre point que Dieu, duquel commencent et est leur fin en luy. Et, combien que ceste semence de perle circulaire, que la vraye superceleste perle a semé és arnes fidelles,<sup>569</sup> soit ronde et circulaire, comme dict est, toutesfois, quant à elle, a esté quelque temps pacifiant le corps de, l’ame et les eschauffant en soy, qui est amour et charité” (Correspondance, I, p. 57)

## V

Margarita combina con frecuencia los símbolos como antítesis para explicar conceptos aparentemente opuestos. Algunas de sus mejores definiciones de Dios se basan en la teoría de la “Conjunción de los Opuestos”, como por ejemplo en las tres entítesis místicas, el “*Tout-Rien*”, el “*Grand-Petit*” y el “*Loing-Près*” de las Prisons.<sup>570</sup> Hay muchos pares de ellas en la Correspondance entre Margarita y Briçonnet que recuerdan el estilo de los “*Rhétoriciens*”:

veues aveuglees  
 peines joieuses  
 courses reposantes  
 vies mortes  
 mortz vives  
 aveuglée clere-voiant heure  
 (Correspondance, I, pp. 177-178)

Los símbolos místicos, por ejemplo, de la Luz y la Oscuridad aparecen en su poesía como opuestos:

Mais qui peult veoir lumiere sans nuée  
 L’obscurité en clarté voyt muée,

Car la clarté a tenebre est contraire:  
L'une venant, l'autre convient retraire,  
(Prisons, fol. 274 ro, p. 205)

pero el ojo humano no puede distinguirlos con claridad o bien porque destellan poca Luz o por su excesiva brillantez. La luz que emana del Sol puede cegar el Ojo y Margarita se queja con frecuencia de esto: “La plus aveuglée de toutz, ( ... ) Marguerite” (Correspondance, 1, p.37). Mas cuando el Poeta-Amante se enfrenta con la Luz al conseguir escapar de la Oscuridad de su primera Prisión, nota que el brillo del Sol ya no le obceca el Ojo Ciego:

...  
Car vous sçavez que par [là] l'impossible  
Possible fut, l'invisible visible.  
(Prisons, fol.274 ro, p.141)

Las secuencias contrastadas de símbolos le sirven para expresar sensaciones opuestas como es esta despedida del Poeta-Amante en las Prisons:

Adieu l'abisme où j'étois englouty,  
Adieu le feu ou souvent fuz rosty,  
Adieu la glace où maincte nuict tremblay,  
Adieu le lac de larmes assemblé,  
Adieu le mont pour may inaccessible,  
D'y retourner il ne m'est plus possible.  
(Prisons, fol.275 ro, p.143)

Sentirse aproximarse a la Cumbre de la Montaña es como sentirse cercano a la perfección (“*monter à la perfection*”) y la bajada como (“*descendre à l'affection d'Amour*”):

Montant plus hault à la perfection,  
Plus je descends à ceste affection  
Qui est de Dieu très fort recommandée  
Et de l'Amour à l'amant demandée,  
Et plus vertu rend mon esprit content.  
(Prisons, fol.295 ro, p.185)

Sólo se podrá llegar a comprender la variedad de los símbolos y de las antítesis místicas que aparecen en la obra de Margarita después de un análisis exhaustivo de su Correspondance con Briçonnet. He aquí dos de sus cartas en las que juega con las imágenes del Fuego, Hielo, Luz, Oscuridad, Ojo, Miel, combinándolas incesantemente, oponiéndolas entre sí. En ellas sólo pretendía que el Obispo la introdujera oficialmente e un conocimiento esotérico que ya le era familiar.. En junio 1521, ella le ruega:

“Monsieur de Meaulx, je loue de toute ma puissance le seul bien nécessaire, qui, par sa bonté, permect a celle qui se peult dire moins que rien, tant de grace que d’avoir eu, par vostre lettre et celle de Maistre Michel, occasion de desirer commancer d’entendre le chemin de salut. Et, puisqu’il luy plaist avoir ouvert l’oeil (puisque par nature aveugle) et par vostre ban moyen l’avoir tourné de costé de la lumiere, je vous prie, en l’honneur de luy, que, par faulte de continuer voz tant salutaires lettres, ne le laissez en paresse recloure, mais par coustume de fructueuse leçon, rompre la trop grande ignorance de mon entendement, affin que le pauvre coeur verglacé et mort en froit puisse sentir quelque estincelle de l’amour en quoy je le desire consummer et brusler en cendre.( ... ) je demande l’aide de voz bonnes prieres, par le moien desquelles j’espere en la parfaicte bonté parvenir à gouter le miel dont la bresche de voz escriptures me donnent appetit”. (*Correspondance*, 1, p. 33)

Ella simplemente le pedía que la iniciara más cumplidamente en el uso de los símbolos que aparecerán en sus obras poéticas posteriores. Poco más tarde y en una carta escrita después de la Pascua de 1522 vuelve a solicitarle que le mande comida más sólida (“pain”), comparando su peregrinaje al tránsito sin rumbo fijo de Israel por el desierto (“la voie desvoïée”) y a la doctrina de San Juan sobre Cristo como Pan del Maná (Exodo 16) y (Juan 6):

“Je n’ay voulu empescher vostre esperit, ce temps passé, doubtant le divertissement de voz meilleurs effortz par vous donner travail et moindre bien. Mais nécessité contrainct de vous importuner opportunément, car voiez le caresme loing de nous, les sermons failliz, l’esté revenu, retourner au pelerinage de la court, en danger d’avoir souvent faulte de pain [*another symbol for Manna*]. Usez de compassion et nous distribuez aulmosne de telle provision que ne defaillons en la voye desvoïée”. (*ibid.*, 1, p. 194)

Todos los grupos de simbología se repetirán “ad nauseam” en ambos Brçonnet y Margarita, aunque añadiendo algo nuevo en cada caso, o presentándolos desde otro punto de vista. Se trataba sin duda de antiguos axiomas aceptados e ilustrados por el Pseudo Dionisio, la tradición neoplatónica y más tarde por el Meister Eckhart, la escuela del Rin, Nicolás de Cusa y la tradición florentina. Jacques Lefèvre, aun abriendo nuevos caminos hacia una espiritualidad más moderna, fue un gran admirador de los antiguos maestros.<sup>571</sup> Pero Margarita y Brçonnet, aunque inspirados por las ideas de Lefèvre’s ideas, permanecieron dentro de la antigua forma de pensar

utilizando las imágenes y símbolos tradicionales y su misticismo se podría definir así: “Dios es el Todo (le “Tout”) y el ser humano la Nada (le “Rien”); Cristo está entre ambos siendo el “Tout-Rien” (Dios-Hombre) siendo capaz de armonizar los dos principios opuestos (Correspondance, 2, p.32) al unir todas las cosas en Dios (Efesios 1)”. Todos los símbolos y las antítesis en las obras de Margarita, particularmente en el Miroir, el Dialogue y las Prisons han de interpretarse de esta manera.

## CONCLUSIÓN

En cada capítulo de este estudio he analizado en detalle temas relacionados con el misticismo de Margarita de Navarra, analizando igualmente su compleja personalidad, que aparecerá al final como conclusión de esta tesis. Habrá que insistir ante todo que Margarita fue mucho más tolerante que la mayoría de los monarcas del siglo dieciséis quienes se sentían amenazados por los cambios repentinos de aquella época: las puertas de su Corte renacentista acogieron a muchos humanistas que propägaban todo tipo de ideas de vanguardia sobre Ciencia, Poesía, Filosofía y Religión, tales como Marot, Lefèvre, Michel d’Arande y Rabelais. Todo esto ha creado cierta confusión acreditándole a ella las opiniones de sus “*protégés*”. Calvino mismo le acusó de ser “crypto-Libertine Spirituelle”.<sup>572</sup>

Como protectora de los pensadores que forjaron el carácter del hombre moderno, se la puede comparar con los personajes más brillantes de su tiempo: Fue tan celosa defensora de la verdad como Lutero y en su cometido por salvar a un mundo en confusión se le puede comparar con Erasmo o a Lefèvre d’Étaples, y en cuanto a su celo por hacer de la lengua francesa una forma perfecta de expresión se la puede comparar con los primeros escritores del Renacimiento francés.

Lo que más le caracterizó fue sin duda su compromiso total para preservar el mensaje evangélico del Grupo de Meaux, desde el mismo momento en que se viera obligado Briçonnet a abandonar todo conato por reformar la Iglesia francesa. Su Correspondance mística y sus largos poemas son, por encima de todo, extremadamente ricos, en realidad uno de los documentos más valiosos para seguir el desarrollo de la historia del pensamiento en el siglo XVI.

Su asociación con Briçonner, sin embargo ha sido tergiversada con demasiada frecuencia y muchos críticos han intentdo distanciarla, si no de lo que representaba Meaux, al menos de la influencia que tuvo sobre ella el prelado Briçonnet como representante de las ideas del grupo. Un análisis

de todas las obras de Margarita prueban todo lo contrario, y que muestran una dependencia casi total de las enseñanzas de Briçonnet, con frecuencia verbal. ¿Habría mejorado su estilo si no hubiera dependido tanto de su Maestro? ¿Habrían sido sus ideas más originales si hubiera seguido más de cerca las enseñanzas de Platón, del Pseudo-Dionisio, de los Florentinos, de Erasmo o de Lutero? El hecho de que todos ellos dejaran su marca indeleble en el pensamiento de Margarita no quita para ésta que mantuviera igualmente las primeras enseñanzas de Briçonnet a lo largo de toda su obra. Todas estas conjeturas, por muy sinceras que sean, han llenado cientos de páginas pero sirven de poco, al desviar al crítico de su cometido real. Algunos llegan hasta a desdeñar el empeño en averiguar las fuentes de las ideas de Margarita como si se tratara de la labor de un coleccionista de especímenes de insectos raros<sup>573</sup>. Por mi parte creo que la influencia dominante de Briçonnet durante los años de reforma en la diócesis de Meaux eran parte de una estrategia común para conseguir a toda costa la reforma de una iglesia en estado lamentable. Sí que es cierto que ambos Briçonnet y Margarita pertenecen al periodo transicional de renovación, cuando era difícil saber lo que podía servir de ayuda a la reforma de la Iglesia Occidental. Todo ello se refleja en el estilo pesado, repetitivo, en la presentación borrosa de los temas en la Correspondance, y que las obras poéticas de Marguerite parezcan con frecuencia los pasadizos de un laberinto que confundirán fácilmente a quienes las lean.

La implicación de Margarita en tratar todos los temas del misticismo del siglo dieciséis es tal que sorprende que no aparezca su nombre en bastantes enciclopedias del misticismo<sup>574</sup>. Quizás se deba a que no se haya tomsado en serio sus conexiones con la Escuela de Meaux, o, lo que es aún más importante, que no se haya presentado previamente un “corpus doctrinae” a lo largo de sus largos, con frecuencia proliferos poemas.

Su Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne no ha sido interpretado hasta ahora como un comentario a la actitud Quietista frente a las polémicas entre Erasmo y Lutero. Algunas de sus conclusiones podrían parecer demasiado duras para el lector moderno puesto que se presenta a la muerte como la puerta a la felicidad total. Su encanto, sin embargo reside en el nivel personal de las discusiones entre Margarita y su sobrina, la joven Princesa Charlotte, cuyo fallecimiento llenó de pena a Margarita. El tema está tomado del comentario de Briçonnet al texto evangélico del Padrenuestro “*hágase tu voluntad*”, presentando la ecititud calma de Margarita en aquel trance angustioso tras una serie de tragedias familiares.<sup>575</sup>.

Las controversias en torno a la primera edición del Miroir de l'âme pécheresse han logrado confundir a más de un crítico de la simple tarea

de analizar la estructura misma del poema de Margarita, En lugar de averiguar sus conexiones con temas de finales del medievo sobre la literatura "Speculum", lo han catalogado como una obra luterana o al menos criptoluterana. Su naturaleza elusiva mantiene sus secretos contra nos no iniciados en las doctrinas de Meaux que aparecen tras los velos de una serie de enigmas y símbolos misteriosos. La M inicial del Miroir y de Margarita forman el centro focal de infinidad de imágenes satélites que incorporan sus doctrinas místicas sobre la purificación interna a lo largo de las tres etapas antes de llegar a la unión con la Divinidad. En el poema se desarrollan varias ideas difíciles de entender tales como los conceptos de raptó místico, la naturaleza de Dios y la posibilidad de lograr identificarse con la Divinidad, explicados por medio de las imágenes y símbolos de la pirámide de la Luz y de la Oscuridad, que aparecen detalladamente en el siguiente capítulo 6. La consistencia en el uso de todos éstos símbolos sirven para dar unidad a su obra poética.

Margarita escribió sus obras más maduras tras retirarse de la vida política activa en la Corte Francesa a comienzos de los años 1540. Cada uno de sus numerosos escritos, incluido el Heptaméron, ilustran los diferentes puntos de doctrina de la Escuela de Meaux. La Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan no intentó confundir a sus lectores a pesar de las malas interpretaciones que se han dado, pero con el paso del tiempo se ha logrado restaurar su prístina imagen original. La obra trata de las varias interpretaciones de la Biblia entre los cristianos tradicionales y los progresistas, simbolizados por los cuatro personajes de su obra de teatro. Marguerite tomó partido por la interpretación mística de la Escuela de Meaux, en contra de los Reformadores, pues lejos de apartarse de las doctrinas tradicionales, la Comédie será su obra menos controvertible adoptando la interpretación mística de las Escrituras, que había rechazado ya Calvino.

Su poema las Prisons, por otra parte, trata de los problemas difíciles del misticismo, tales como el lento proceso de llegar al conocimiento de la naturaleza divina, la dificultad de describirla en términos humanos y el concepto de éxtasis. Se puede igualmente afirmar que este poema, siendo su obra maestra, es muy mal conocido por causa de la extensión del texto y por su compleja estructura interna. Lo consideraba Margarita como su testamento espiritual porque menconaba todos los temas importantes de su obra poética, describiendo hábilmente el difícil proceso de llegar al conocimiento perfecto con la ayuda de personajes dantescos, tales como el "Soleil", o el "vieillard", Dante mismo, el divino Pymander de la Alquimia Hermética y muchos de los filósofos. El Poeta-Amante (i.e. Margarita misma) debería pasar por una serie de experiencias antes de ascender hasta la cumbre de una alta montaña que simbolizaba la Divinidad y sólo

entonces sería capaz de definir a Dios como Perfección por medio de símbolos místicos tales como el Círculo, y los opuestos “*Tout*” y “*Rien*”; el poema terminaría como el Dialogue, mencionando una serie de personajes cercanos a Margarita, que fueron capaces de enfrentarse a la muerte como si fuese la entrada a la felicidad total.

Se puede ciertamente considerar toda la obra de Margarita como su autorretrato donde aparecerá ella como una persona equilibrada, haciendo frente a los problemas de cada día (aunque al margen de ellos), retirándose a una vida solitaria durante sus últimos años. Su Correspondance con Briçonnet muestra con claridad que nunca cambió de ritmo de vida, y así la describieron sus contemporáneos en perfecto control de la vida normal, como Pantagruel en el Quart Livre de Rabelais<sup>576</sup> siendo siempre la maestra de la situación durante la tempestad. No hay indicios en su Correspondance de ninguna crisis matrimonial entre Margarita y Charles d'Alençon en 1424, pues más bien se reforzaron los lazos familiares.<sup>577</sup> A partir de su obra escrita se la podría describir como persona sensata pues cuando en 1523 murió la Princesa Charlotte, se la ve negándose a aceptar su aflicción, aunque pronto se impuso la voz de Briçonnet alentándole a aceptar la voluntad divina. Su Miroir por otra parte nos revela sus estados de ánimo durante algún tiempo, considerados por algunos críticos como rechazo al misticismo al sentirse atraída por el antimisticismo luterano. Si verdaderamente hubiera ocurrido, habría sido una crisis real en su vida pero un serio análisis del Miroir revela cierta simpatía de Margarita por las ideas reformadoras de Lutero, pero igualmente su repulsa a las doctrinas antimísticas luteranas. La obra, no obstante implica una mejor comprensión de los temas que había aprendido Margarita del Grupo de Meaux. Los miembros del grupo, que se habían reunido en los años 1530 en la Corte Francesa y en los 1540 en Navarra, han sido con frecuencia acusados de protestantismo. Varios reformadores como Calvino se refugiaron en la Corte de Navarra, pero pronto se crearon enemistades entre ellos y los “*protégés*” de Margarita; tras los ataques virulentos de Calvino contra los “*Libertins Spirituels*”, Rabelais and Marguerite misma le indicaron que estaban en contra de sus drásticos experimentos reformadores en Ginebra y Calvino tuvo que abandonar Navarra. Las últimas obras de Margarita revelan mejor su “*coeur mis à nu*”, pero sin ningún indicio de cambio de dirección en ningún momento. El “*raptus mysticus*” de “*la Bergère*” en la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan y el Poeta-Amante de las Prisons reflejan las ideas místicas de Margarita, y han de ser interpretadas como un esfuerzo en profundizar en las ideas espirituales sin que ocurriera un acontecimiento o experiencia extraordinario. La obra no revela una total transformación de vida como la experimentada por San Pablo en su camino a



Damasco, a la que aluden con frecuencia ambos Briçonnet y Margarita<sup>578</sup>. Este tipo de experiencias dejan huellas indelebres en la vida de los escritores místicos, como lo testifican claramente las obras de Teresa de Ávila, Iñigo de Loyola, Paul Claudel y Simone Weil. Se notan, no obstante, dos periodos en la vida de Margarita claramente marcados por tragedias familiares o crisis políticas en Francia y Nabarra, durante los cuales se refugió en estudiar con mayor profundidad los temas místicos a través de la “ataraxia” evangélica o desprendimiento espiritual de los sucesos terrenales, típicos de los místicos medievales aunque matizado con ideas neopláticas, gracias a las enseñanzas de Briçonnet y de *Sainte-Marthe*.

Algunos de sus contemporáneos, como Calvino, la describen como persona de dos caras, apoyando a los reformadores en privado pero apareciendo ortodoxa en público. La llamó a ella y a sus “*protégés*” Nicodemitas, porque tomaban precauciones por su seguridad personal, como hiciera Nicodemo ante las autoridades romanas cuando fue crucificado Jesucristo.<sup>579</sup> Pero los que la conocieron bien la presentan muy diferentemente y sus descripciones coinciden con la impresion que se nota al leer sus obras. Marot, uno de sus “*protégés*” ya a comienzos de los años 1520 describe a Margarita como si tuviera cuerpo de mujer, corazón de hombre y mente de ángel:

Ma Maistresse est de si haulte valeur  
 Qu'elle a le corps droit, beau, chaste et pudique;  
 Son cueur constant n'est pour heur ou malheur  
 Jamais trop gay ne trop melancolique.  
 Elle a au Chef ung Esprit Angelique  
 Le plus subtil qui onc aux Cieulx volla.  
 O grand merveille! On peult veoir par cela  
 Que je suis Serf d'un Monstre fort estrange,  
 Monstre je dy, car pour tout vray elle a  
 Corps femenin, Cueur d'homme et Teste d'Ange.<sup>580</sup>

Briçonnet la conocía mejor que nadie y sin embargo sus retratos de la joven Princesa son más simbólicos que reales, comparándola con la Perla (*Correspondance*, 1, p. 72), un símbolo que se repite en muchas de las obras poéticas de Margarita. J. de la Haye, uno de sus admiradores la describe como la preciosa Flor de Francia en su pefacio al *Miroir*:

Que celle fleur qui nostre siecle honnore,  
 Et les beaux Liz, et la France decore,  
 Ne porte fruitz d'inestimable prix,  
 Dont soyent repeuz tant de nobles esprits,  
 Qu'ores on voit par les terres Galliques  
 A tout sçavoir et vertus heroïques

Estre addonez. Ces adoux fruitz immortelz  
Sy rares sont, qu'il n'en est point de telz.<sup>581</sup>

Habr  que esperar hasta los a os 1540 para leer el retrato m stico de Margarita por un escritor que la conoc a personalmente. Charles de Sainte-Marthe la describe en pocas palabras poco despu s de su muerte en 1549: "la MARGUERITE, femme incomparable: qui n'eut onc rien en ce monde (sinon le corps) commun avec les aultres mortels"<sup>582</sup>, calific ndola de creatura perfecta, como aparece en los tratados neoplat nicos de la  poca.



*Ilustraci n 8. Los artistas del Renacimiento sol an ennoblecer los rasgos de sus mecenas reales para mostrar su respeto y apreciaci n por ellos. Jean Clouet, por ejemplo, retrat  al joven Francisco I  un tanto sensual y mundano hacia 1525, pero el boceto dos a os m s tarde, es un retrato revelador representando a Margarita poco despu s de la muerte de su primer marido Carlos, Duke de Alen on, en 1525. Ella aparece grave y serena, vestida de blanco en se al de luto. Retrato de Margarita por Jean Clouet; Mus e Cond , Chantilly.*

La mayor a de estos retratos de Margarita son descripciones abstractas en que aparece Margarita m s como creatura celeste que como persona humana. Su retrato m s destacado se lo debemos a Rabelais. Aunque era totalmente distinto, la apreciaba enormemente por haberle acagido entre sus "prot g s". No siempre aprobaba su conducta excesivamente piadosa<sup>583</sup>, pero apreciaba su temperamento afectuoso por lo que se afili  al

coro de sus admiradores con este retrato extraordinario de la Reina de Navarra. En él se empeña en hacerle descender de su “*manoir divin, perpetuel*” para así poder leer las historias más reales de su Tiers Livre:

Esprit abstraict, ravy, et ecstacic,  
Qui frequentant les cieulx, ton origine,  
As delaissé ton hoste et domestic,  
Ton corps concords, qui tant se morigine  
A tes edictz, en vie peregrine,  
Sans sentement, et comme en Apathie:  
Vouldrois tu point faire quelque sortie  
De ton manoir divin, perpetuel?  
Et ça bas veoir une tierce partie  
Des faictz joyeux du bon Pantagruel?<sup>584</sup>

Se nota en este retrato de Rabelais que sentía gran simpatía por Margarita, con quien compartía muchas ideas<sup>585</sup>. Como uno de sus “*protégés*” combina el sentimiento extático de Platón (“*Sans sentement, et comme en Apathie*”) con el edeal cristiano, sin olvidar otros aspectos prácticos de la Reina de Navarra que era capaz de entender los problemas humanos como se puede ver en su Heptaméron<sup>586</sup>. Parece que adoptó de ella algunas cualidades que aparecen en su Pantagruel como necesarias para un soberano tales como su integridad y su serenidad “...certaine gayeté d’esprit conficte en mepris des choses fortuites...” que él definirá como Pantagruelismo<sup>587</sup>.

Por otra parte el control total de la situación durante la tormenta tiene relación con el dominio de la Reina durante las crisis religiosas y políticas en Francia durante la primera mitad del siglo dieciséis. El retrato de Rabelais difiere de los más convencionales al combinar su actitud de autocontrol con la acción. Pocos místicos han poseído esta insólita cualidad, entre otras dos mujeres extrordinarias, Teresa de Avila y Casalina de Siena, personajes muy activos que lograron al mismo tiempo un profundo conocimiento de los temas del misticismo. Margarita recalca que había que combinar la concepción neoplatónica del hombre en su relación con la divinidad, como muchos de los renacentistas de su tiempo. Si se notan algunos errores de estilo en sus obras se deben no tanto a la influencia de Briçonnet como al de toda una generación que bajo la égida de los “*rhétoriqueurs*” pertenecieron a aquella época de transición que dio a luz al hombre moderno. Y entonces aparecerá Margarita como una mujer inteligente de visión aguda al ver que aquel mundo que ahora llamamos Renacimiento estaba cambiando pues se precisaba introducir nuevos valores sin destruir los antiguos.

## NOTAS

- 1 Ver entre los varios intentos iniciales de mostrarnos la vida de Margarita de Navarra Abbé Goujet, Marguerite, Reine de Navarre en Bibliothèque Française, vol. XI, (Paris, 1747). También Charlotte-Rose Caumont de la Force, Histoire de Marguerite de Valois, Reine de Navarre, soeur de François Ier, (Paris, 1816); Théodore Muret, Histoire de Jeanne d'Albret (contiene un estudio sobre su madre, Margarita de Navarra), (Paris, 1861); H. de la Ferrière, Marguerite de Navarre; son livre de dépenses (1540-1549); étude sur ses dernières années, (Paris, 1862); A. Mary & F. Robinson, Marguerite of Angoulême, Queen of Navarre en Eminent Women Series (Londres, 1886); y H. Noel Williams, The Pearl of the Princesses; the life of Marguerite d'Angoulême, Queen of Navarre (London, 1916).
- 2 Pierre Jourda, Marguerite d'Angoulême, Duchesse d'Alençon, Reine de Navarre (1492-1549), 2 vols. (Paris, 1930)
- 3 Cf. Samuel Putnam, Marguerite de Navarre, first Modern Woman, (New York, 1936); Suzanne Engelson, Une grande figure de femme de la Renaissance; la Reine Marguerite d'Angoulême, en Rencontre Orient-Occident, (Genova, 1969); y particularmente Emile V. Telle, L'oeuvre de Marguerite d'Angoulême, Reine de Navarre et la Querelle des Femmes, (Toulouse, 1937)
- 4 Lucien Febvre, Amour sacré, amour profane; autour de l'Heptameron, (Paris, 1944)
- 5 Charles de Sainte-Marthe, Oraison funèbre de l'incomparable Marguerite, Rovne de Navarre, Duchesse d'Alençon, (Paris 1550)
- 6 Para biografías más recientes de Margarita, ver Maurice y Paulette Deubère y Renya Salminen, La Belle et Véridique Vie de Marguerite, en Aesculape, vol. 6, pp 4-66, (Paris, 1972); E. Chamberlin, Marguerite of Navarre, (New York, 1972); Robert Joseph, Marguerite d'Angoulême, (Agen, 1975)
- 7 L. Febre comenta en cuanto a su entorno familiar: “Un père prodigue, léger, artiste, bon vivant, mais de poids médiocre dans la France politique de ce temps, et parce qu'il était pauvre et parce qu'il avait conspiré sans en avoir les moyens. Une mère à rude école dès sa jeunesse, une mère silencieuse qui avait vécu de charité et appris à céder, à plier, à tout endurer bouche close” (Amour sacré, op. cit. p. 23)
- 8 Ver H. P. Clive, Marguerite de Navarre; oeuvres choisies, I, Introducción, p. 10
- 9 Ver C. A. Mayer, Clément Marot, (Paris, Nizet, 1972), capítulo 2: “Au service de Marguerite”, pp. 35-82
- 10 A. Clerval, Registre des proces-verbaux de la Faculté de Théologie de Paris; archives de l'histoire religieuse de la France, (Paris, 1917). Lutero había sido denunciado a la Sorbona por Jorge, Duque de Sajonia, el 14 de octubre de 1519; el 14 de septiembre y la Facultad había comenzado a revisar detalladamente los libros de Lutero, p. 275. El 15 de noviembre sus doctrinas fueron debatidas (*ibid.* p. 278). Fue condenado en abril de 1521, (*ibid.* p. 285), y sus obras quemadas en público, (“publica exustione”), junto con los de Melanchthon, (*ibid.* p. 357). Ver mi estudio sobre la implicación de Margarita en la causa luterana en el Capítulo 3 sobre el Miroir, Sección I.
- 11 Ver Ernst F. Winter, Erasmus-Luther; Discourse on Free Will, (traducido y editado por), (New York, 1967).

- 12 Ver mi estudio sobre el Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne, Capítulo 2, en el cual hablo, en la Sección II, sobre la actitud de Margarita ante las discusiones entre Erasmo y Lutero. También su actitud hacia la interpretación de la Biblia en el Capítulo 4 que trata sobre la hermenéutica mística en la Comédie Jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, Sección II.
- 13 H. Heller, “Marguerite de Navarre and the Reformers of Meaux”, BHR, vol. XXXIII, pp. 271-310
- 14 L. Febvre, Amour sacré, *op. cit.*, p. 58
- 15 A. Renaudet, Préréforme et Humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d’Italie (1494-1514), (Paris, 1916) pp. 647-654
- 16 Christine Martineau y M. Veissière comentan: “En outre, elles (es decir, “ces lutttes” para reformar la Iglesia mediante el estudio de la Biblia que le parecían sospechosas a la Sorbona) le préparèrent à abandonner la vie contemplative qu’il préférait, c’est évident, et le conduisirent à participer activement à l’oeuvre de réforme de Meaux. Toutefois il semble que ce fut la crise provoquée par Luther qui le poussa à faire ce dernier pas”, Correspondance, 1, Introduction, p. 17
- 17 Ibid, p. 18
- 18 Ibid, pp. 4-5
- 19 Lefèvre dedicó a Briçonnet, entre sus varias traducciones de tratados místicos, su Dionisii Caelestis Hierarchia, Divina Nomina et Theologia Vivificans (Paris, 1515). En la dedicatoria del libro escribió: “Reverendo in Christo Patri ac domino D. Guillelmo Briçonneto, episcopo Lodovensi dignissimo”; cf. Dédicace, a II ro. BL pressmark 3625. a. 1.
- 20 Ver el estudio de Guy Bretonneau sobre la familia de Briçonnet, Histoire Généalogique de la Maison des Briçonnets, (Paris, 1621)
- 21 Michel Veissière, “Guillaume Briçonnet, abbé réformateur de Saint-Germain-des-Près (1507-1534)” en Revue d’Histoire de l’Eglise de France, vol I. LX, N° 164, enero-junio, (1974), pp 65-84
- 22 A. Renaudet, Le Concile Gallican de Pise-Milan, en Documents Florentins, 1510-1512, (Paris, 1922)
- 23 Bretonneau describe a G. Briçonnet hijo como “le saint et sçavant Prelat”, ignorando totalmente que la Sorbona no estaba muy contenta con sus intentos reformadores en Meaux; “Nos Princes ont estimé la fidelité de ce grand Prelat, et fait un état particulier de sa prevoyance en la conduite de leurs affaires; les Pontifes Romains ont admiré son eloquence en plein consistoire de Cardinaux, et tout le monde a respecté avec etonnement sa Saintité”, Histoire Généalogique de la Maison des Briçonnets, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-134. Bretonneau va demasiado lejos al compararlo con San Jerónimo, quien había atacado las primeras herejías en la Iglesia, “De sorte que comme l’incomparable S. Ierôme feût surnommé le marteau des Hérétiques, pour la cruelle guerre qu’il leur menoit par ses écrits, nôtre Briçonnet mérita pareillement d’estre appelé”; Factionis Lutheranae debellator Acerrimus; *ibid.*, p. 164.
- 24 Genin, Lettres Inédites de la Reine de Navarre, Paris 1841, y Nouvelles Lettres, (Paris, 1842)
- 25 Martineau, Correspondance, 1, Introducción, p. 1.
- 26 Philippe-Auguste Becker, “Marguerite, Duchesse d’Alençon et Guillaume Briçonnet, évêque de Meaux, d’après leur correspondance manuscrite” en BSHPF (Paris, 1900), pp. 393-477.

- 27 Pierre Jourda describe el papel jugado por Briçonnet en la iniciación de la princesa en Marguerite d'Angoulême, Duchesse d'Alençon, Reine de Navarre (1492-1549) 2 vols. (Paris 1930), vol. I, pp. 68-78. Se comprende el entusiasmo de Briçonnet por atraer a Margarita hacia su causa, pero aún así, el compromiso personal de Margarita hacia la causa de Meaux continúa siendo un misterio.
- 28 Febvre arremete en sus comentarios contra todos los Briçonnets; Guillaume Briçonnet padre soñaba con convertirse en anti-papa: "Il put même, un jour, avec quelque illusion, entrevoir dans ses rêves mieux qu'un chapeau une tiare". L. Febvre, Amour Sacré, op. cit., p. 98. Según él, Briçonnet joven era simplemente: "Un gallican résolu, acharné, et qui faisait bon marché des prérogatives pontificales. Un diplomate enfin, plein d'expérience, mêlé a de grandes affaires (...) c'est lui qui, sans hésiter, projeta, aux environs de 1518, de prendre la tête d'un mouvement de réforme de l'Eglise gallicane original et neuf"; ibid., p. 100. Ver también L. Febvre "Le cas Briçonnet" en Au Coeur Religieux du XVIe Siècle, (Paris, 1957), pp. 145-161.
- 29 Ver Henry Heller, "The Briçonnet Case Reconsidered", en Journal of Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies, 1972, pp. 223-258. Ver también la explicación de Glori Capello sobre la vida de Briçonnet en "Neoplatonismo e Riforma in Francia dall'epistolario tra Guglielmo Briçonnet e Margherita di Navarre", en Logica e Semantica ed Altri Saggi, (Padova, 1975) pp. 141-148.
- 30 Martineau y Veissière publicaron el segundo volumen de la Correspondance (1523-1524), Genova 1979; esta publicación da un fiel retrato de los años decisivos en la iniciación de Margarita, guiada por Briçonnet.
- 31 L. Febvre, Amour sacré, op. cit., pp. 326-370.
- 32 Ver los decretos pastorales de Briçonnet contra Lutero en Herminjard, La Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de langue française. 9 vols, 1866-1897. vol I, Nos. 77 y 78, pp. 153-158.
- 33 M. A. Screech edit., Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples et ses disciples; Epistres et Evangiles pour les cinquante et deux semaines de l'an; facsimilé de la première édition par Simon du Bois; (Genova, 1964), Introducción, p. 9.
- 34 L. Febvre se negó a abolir el viejo prejuicio de que la motivación real de Briçonnet al escribirle las cartas a Margarita era una tapadera para disimular sus pretensiones políticas y religiosas bajo una apariencia mística: "Or, c'est ce prélat, riche, heureux, magnifiquement apparenté, fort mêlé pendant des années à la grande politique, c'est ce bénéficiaire des pires abus qui, par une singulière contradiction (je veux dire, par ce que nous appelons, nous, une contradiction) se réfugie de bonne heure dans la spéculation mystique". Amour sacré, op. cit., p. 100.
- 35 Martineau, Correspondance, 1, Introducción, p. 129.
- 36 Ver el trasfondo histórico de la Correspondance en el estudio Marguerite, Duchesse d'Alençon de Ph.-Aug. Becker, op. cit., pp. 393-477
- 37 Pierre Jourda, Marguerite d'Angoulême, op. cit., vol. I, p. 66
- 38 La primera carta de la Correspondance la escribió Margarita en junio de 1521. El comienzo de esta carta, en la cual ella habla de la esencia de Dios, demuestra que ya estaba familiarizada con las ideas místicas cuando aceptó ser iniciada por Briçonnet. Ver la definición que Margarita hace de Dios como el Ser necesario: "Je Suis qui Suis", Capítulo 5, Sección V.
- 39 Michel d'Arande se unió a la corte de Margarita en octubre de 1521; Correspondance, 1, p. 37

- 40 Screech, Epistres et Evangiles, op. cit., Introducción, p. 16
- 41 Ibid., p. 13. Ver el estudio de Friedrich Beisser sobre los principios bíblicos de Lutero para interpretar la Biblia en Luther's Hermeneutics; claritas Scripturae (Göttingen, 1966). También Shevington Wood, Luther's principles of Biblical Interpretation, Londres 1960. Se tratará este tema en particular en el Capítulo 4, sobre la Comédie Jouée au Mont-de-Marsan como una ilustración de los principios hermenéuticos de Briçonnet y Lefèvre, que varían de manera considerable de los principios de interpretación de la Biblia de Lutero.
- 42 Si fuera verdad, como dice Screech, que los Epistres et Evangiles fueron publicados en 1525, cf. op. cit., Introducción p. 9, da la impresión de que los planes de estos sermones se intentaron aplicar unos dos años antes de su publicación, por los miembros del grupo de Meaux.
- 43 Screech, Epistres et Evangiles, op. cit., fol. CXVI
- 44 Ibid., fol. CXVIII
- 45 Febvre, Amour sacré, op. cit., p. 120
- 46 Ver carta 2A, que se perdió al reenviarla a Filiberto de Nemours. Correspondance, p. 29.
- 47 Ibid., I, Introducción, pp. 15-16
- 48 Ya que Briçonnet tenía dificultades para explicar por escrito ciertos problemas hermenéuticos, sugirió a la Duquesa que se pusiera en contacto con Lefèvre y otros especialistas que estaban en su corte. Carta 49 de la Correspondance, 2, pp. 13-14
- 49 Charles Schmidt, "Le Mysticisme Quiétiste en France au début de la Renaissance" in BSHPF, 1853, pp. 449-464. Schmidt escribió otro interesante artículo, "Études sur le mysticisme allemand au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle", Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences Politiques; savants étrangers, vol. II, 1847
- 50 A. Lefranc, Marguerite de Navarre et le Platonisme de la Renaissance (Paris, 1914). Hay una bibliografía especial sobre el platonismo de Margarita de Navarra en el Capítulo 5 sobre las Prisons.
- 51 Glori Capello, "Neoplatonismo e Riforma in Francia", op. cit. También ha estudiado la influencia de Nicolas de Cusa en la Correspondance en su "Nicolo Cusano nella Corrispondenza di Briçonnet con Margherita di Navarra" en Medioevo, Rivista di Storia della Filosofia Medievale, (Padova, 1975), vol. I, pp. 97-128
- 52 Ver la ponencia de Martineau leída en Tours en el "16<sup>e</sup> colloque international d'études humanistes: Platon et Aristote à la Renaissance", la cual fue publicada como "Le Platonisme de Marguerite de Navarre?" en Bulletin de l'Association d'Études sur l'Humanisme, la Réforme et la Renaissance, (France du Centre et du Sud-Est, 1976), N<sup>o</sup>4, pp. 12-35
- 53 Ibid., p. 13
- 54 Martineau rechaza la opinión de Lefranc y de Lajarte de que hay indicios de "néo-platonisme amoureux" en la obra de Margarita. Ibid., p. 14
- 55 Ibid., p. 19
- 56 Martineau comenta: "Nous saisissons ainsi au passage la raison du coup de foudre qu'elle ressentit, aux environs de 1540, pour tout ce qui touchait au renouveau platonicien. Si nous ne craignons pas d'avoir l'air de vouloir être dans le ton, nous dirions qu'il s'agit là pour elle d'une espèce de cas de reminiscence, au sens platonicien du terme. Elle reconut sa pensée dans ces doctrines, parce qu'elle avait subi, à son insu, une préimprégnation de platonisme".  
"Le Platonisme de Marguerite de Navarre?" op. cit., p. 18

- 57 Cappello, “Nicolò Cusano nella Corrispondenza”, op. cit., pp. 100-103
- 58 Ver carta 16, escrita por Briçonnet, como respuesta a temas comentados por Margarita en cartas anteriores, “la doublement malade”, Correspondance, 1, pp. 72-74
- 59 Ver nuestro rechazo a la dependencia de Margarita de Lutero en su más controvertido trabajo, el Miroir, en el Capítulo 3, sección I
- 60 Ver la edición de C.A. Mayer sobre Les Epîtres de Marot (London, 1958). Epistre XLVI, vv. 5-12, pp. 243-244. Marot agradece que Margarita le recibiera en 1519 y que en 1535, cuando estuvo exiliado, le defendió. Ver Introducción, pp. 11-12.
- 61 Génin, Lettres de Marguerite d’Angoulême, op. cit., vol. I, p. 41
- 62 Jourda rechaza la suposición de que Margarita “a aimé son frère” y la teoría de Michelet sobre el amor de Francisco hacia su hermana. Marguerite d’Angoulême, op. cit., vol. I, nota al pie 111, p. 64. De hecho, rechaza cualquier sospecha de relaciones fuera del matrimonio en la vida de Margarita; *ibid.*, pp. 64-69.
- 63 Los sentimientos de Margarita hacia su hermano Francisco en unos poemas que escribió tras la muerte de este el 31 de marzo de 1547, particularmente el Navire ou consolation du Roi François Ier à sa soeur Marguerite; fue publicado por R. Marichal en París, 1956. También escribió una obra teatral, Comédie sur le trespas du Roy, la cual también ha sido recientemente publicada por H.P Clive Oeuvres choisies, op. cit., vol. II. Parte del “Libro III” en su Prisons está también dedicada a las últimas memorias de Francisco; ver la edición de A. Lefranc (París, 1896), folios 340-342.
- 64 A Febvre parecen atraerle las excitantes leyendas sobre los amores de Margarita, cuando escribe: “Être aimée et, par là, échapper à la solitude; être dirigée et soutenue, sentir une présence très douce et très efficace auprès de soi; le vœu secret, sans doute, d’une femme qui, ne trouvant pas dans le mariage le réconfort dont elle avait besoin (...)”. Amour sacré, op. cit., p. 106.
- 65 Ver mi interpretación de las Prisons, no como un rechazo de los placeres naturales, sino como una advertencia sobre la asunción platónica de que el amor, la ciencia y la naturaleza llevan por naturaleza a la más alta forma de sabiduría, la del Divino. Ver capítulo 6, sección III, y también el concepto de Briçonnet sobre el amor neoplatónico en Martineau, “Le platonisme de Marguerite de Navarre?” op. cit., p. 25.
- 66 Pongo en cuestión la asunción de Capiton de que Margarita había rechazado, de hecho, la “philosophie de haute volée” de Briçonnet, así como la influencia que su opinión tuvo en futuras críticas. Capítulo 3, Sección I.
- 67 Ver la edición de Dionisio Areopagita por C.E. Rolt, The Divine Names and Mystical Theology (London, 1920). En The Divine Names el Pseudo Dionisio explica la idea de lo que debería hacer un neófito para mantener en secreto su iniciación: “Thou, therefore, o good Timothy, must guard these truths according to the holy Ordinance, nor must thou utter or divulge the heavenly mysteries unto the uninitiate”; p. 64. Las fuentes de trozos como este pueden ubicarse en el Evangelio según Mateo, 7,6: “no echéis vuestras perlas a los puercos”, lo que los místicos interpretan como “no divulgues los misterios a los no-iniciados”.
- 68 Hay tres clases de miembros en algunas órdenes, la Primera es de varones, la Segunda de mujeres y la Tercera de laicos..
- 69 Hay un texto en la Correspondance acerca de una solicitud para ser iniciado en los principios místicos de Meaux; proviene de Margarita quien lo hace en nombre de un joven alumno enviado por ella a Meaux; ver la Carta 37, escrita en abril de



- 1522, Correspondance, 1, pp. 193-194. Parece también probable que Briçonnet tuviera ciertas esperanzas de que el Rey Francisco, a pesar de su vida mundana, estuviese dispuesto a recibir instrucción con vistas a una iniciación formal; la Carta 58, escrita a Margarita en junio de 1523, habla de estas esperanzas:
- “Ayant hier, Madame, en la bouche du Roy oÿ propos selon son nom très-chrestien (dont loué soit le Pere de lumiere, qui les tenebres de nature humaine par lumiere filiale a illuminé) a esté d’une part joieux et consolé, voyant la superexcellente divine bonté se cascher de ceulx qui presument et cuident avoir la clef de sapience divine, de laquelle estantz excludz n’y permettent aultres entrer, et luire ès coeurs humbles se confiant de la seule doulceur et misericorde... Correspondance, 2, p. 41.
- 70 Martineau y Veissière creen que, la mención de estos tratados se puede referir a una carta de Michel d’Arande, o quizás más probablemente a cartas-tratado que Briçonnet había escrito para la instrucción de algunas monjas de Faremoutiers, un monasterio de la Diócesis de Meaux; pues contenían un extracto de las Contemplations Idiotae. Ver R. Jordan; Correspondance, 1, nota 24 al pie de p. 36.
- 71 Ver mi comentario sobre la posición opuesta de los miembros de Meaux sobre el rechazo de Erasmo y Lutero a la autenticidad del Pseudo Dionisio. Capítulo 4 sobre Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, Sección III.
- 72 H. Heller ha dado a conocer la fuente de las enseñanzas de Briçonnet en On the Divine Names del Pseudo-Dionisio; ver su tesis Marguerite de Navarre and the Reformers of Meaux, 1518-1525, (Cornell University, USA, 1969), p. 275.
- 73 Ibid., p. 275
- 74 Martineau concluye: “C’est pourquoi l’étude du néoplatonisme de Marguerite ne peut que passer par l’étude du néoplatonisme de Briçonnet”; “Le Platonisme de Marguerite de Navarre?” op. cit., p. 19.
- 75 Glori Cappello, “Nicolò Cusano nella Corrispondenza di Briçonnet con Margherita di Navarra”, op. cit., pp. 105-112.
- 76 Ver mi estudio de las ideas de Margarita sobre la Inmanencia y Trascendencia de Dios en el Capítulo 5, Sección V.
- 77 Martineau y Veissière sugieren que Margarita se refiere a una enfermedad, o quizás a un cambio en Michel d’Arande después de su visita a Meaux; *ibid.*, nota al pie 11, p. 164.
- 78 Febvre, Amour Sacré, op. cit., p. 12
- 79 Ver el tema “viscerallement” en la Carta 30, escrita por Briçonnet en febrero de 1522, Correspondance, 1, pp. 154-155.
- 80 Ver mi interpretación del significado de la Margarita-Perla como un símbolo de redondez perfecta en el Capítulo 2 de este estudio, Sección V. Nótese que en español y en italiano, idiomas que conocía Margarita, la madre-de-perla (mother-of-pearl) se denomina “madreperla”.
- 81 Briçonnet acepta ser adoptado espiritualmente por Margarita en la Carta 95. Correspondance, 2, p. 149.
- 82 Herminjard comenta sobre la relación “filz-mère”: “Elle avait à peine trente-un ans; l’évêque de Meaux en avoit cinquante-trois. Mais selon les idées du temps, la haute naissance de Marguerite autorisait le titre qu’elle prend ici, en s’adressant à Briçonnet”. La Correspondance, op. cit., vol. I, nota al pie 3, p. 109.

- 83 Glori Capello explica: “Le lettere di Margherita, d’altro canto, sono caratterizzate da espressioni preziose: ella, ad esempio, si firma “vostre inutile mère” (e Briçonnet risponde “vostre inutil fils”); si dice “la voyante aveugle” e “la vivante en mort”. Tali espressioni sono comuni a molti scritti mistici medievali e rinascimentali e non debbono stupire, perché anche in uno scrittore ispirato al misticismo speculativo, l’ansia di rendere la povertà delle creature ed il suo totale abbandono a Dio ha il sopravvento, spesso, sul ragionamento filosofico o sulla illustrazione dei legami dell’uomo al Cristo”.  
“Neoplatonismo e Riforma in Francia dall’Epistolario tra Guglielmo Briçonnet e Margherita di Navarra”. op. cit., p. 180.
- 84 Margarita aplicaba esta terminología llamando a Dios, “Père, Filz, Frère” en el Miroir, vv. 933-939. Ver mi estudio de sus parentescos místicos en Capítulo 3, Sección IV.
- 85 Ver el “Décret Synodal contre les doctrines et livres de Luther” promulgado por Briçonnet el 15 de octubre de 1523. Herminjard, La Correspondance, op. cit., I, p. 154.
- 86 Ibid, p. 154.
- 87 Ver mi estudio del símbolo místico de la Ascensión Divina en el Capítulo 6, Sección IV.
- 88 J. E. Cirlot dice: “M is the most sacred of letters for it is at once masculine and feminine and also symbolic of water in its original state (or the Great Abyss)” A Dictionary of Symbols; traducido del Español por J. Sage, Londres, 1971 (primera edición en 1962); ver “letras del alfabeto”.
- 89 La doctrina de Briçonnet sobre el amor humano es que es éste siempre imperfecto e insuficiente para mostrar el Amor Divino (Correspondance, 2, p. 251); también enseñó a Margarita que el amor humano en sus dos mayores estados, que llama “charnel” y “spirituel”, son símbolos del amor divino en la Trinidad (ibid, 2, p. 227). En el Heptameron la discusión en la “Nouvelle” 53 llega a describirse el Amor Cristiano según San Pablo como “in osculo sancto” (I Corintios, 16,20)
- 90 Ver mi estudio sobre las aliteraciones en el Dialogue y el Miroir en el Capítulo 2, Sección III.
- 91 Febvre remarcó muy sagazmente que no solo fue Briçonnet quien adoptó el símbolo de la Margarita Madre-Perla como recipiente de la piedra preciosa (significado de la comprensión espiritual de la Biblia), también lo hizo Lefèvre cuando escribió “à tous les chrétiens”: “Et devant ceux-là [los “cerdos” y los “perros”] (...) ne faut aucunement parler, ne semer les précieuses marguerites de l’Ecriture Sainte”; Amour Sacré, op. cit., p. 122. También explica Briçonnet: “...à ces porchins, rozes et marguerites déplaisent” (Correspondance, 2, p. 224).
- 92 Ver mi estudio sobre el “Mirouer” como símbolo místico en el Capítulo 4, Sección III..
- 93 Génin, Lettres de Marguerite, op. cit., Introducción, p. 6.
- 94 H. Heller, “Marguerite de Navarre and the Reformers of Meaux”, op. cit., p. 278.
- 95 Escribe Heller: “In other instances, e.g. in his sermons and decrees, he was often able to express himself with forcefulness and eloquence, indeed with lucidity”, ibid., p. 278.
- 96 Normalmente, el tono de las cartas de Margarita es natural, diferente de las ideas y estilos confusos que usa en la Correspondance con Briçonnet. Ver P. Jourda, Répertoire analytique et chronologique de la correspondance de Marguerite d’Angoulême, Duchesse d’Alençon, Reine de Navarre (1492-1549) (Ginebra, 1973)

- 97 A. Tilley, Literature of the French Renaissance, (Cambridge, 1904), vol. I, p. 112.
- 98 Heller, Marguerite de Navarre and the Reformers of Meaux, op. cit., p. 278
- 99 Ver Mayer (edit.), Clément Marot, Les Epistres, op. cit., p. 243
- 100 Herminjard interpreta las expresiones de Capiton en su «Dedicace» a Margarita como refiriéndose a las cartas que le escribiera Briçonnet. Cf. Correspondance, op. cit. vol II, N° 227, Nota 13, p.122. Trato más a fondo la importancia de los esfuerzos de Capiton por apartar a Margarita de la influencia del Grupo de Meaux en el Capítulo IV, Sección I.
- 101 Ver el estudio de Martineau sobre el neoplatonismo religioso de Margarita en “Le Platonisme de Marguerite de Navarre?”, donde analiza la dependencia del Heptaméron de Margarita respecto a las cartas que Briçonnet le escribía; op. cit., pp. 29-34
- 102 Febvre resume así los eventos importantes de 1524 que afectaron particularmente a los sentimientos de Margarita:  
Publics, et c’est l’invasion de la Provence par Bourbon et les Impériaux; ils sont à Aix le 8 août et devant Marseille le 19. Privés, et c’est d’abord une grave maladie de Louise de Savoie, qui s’alite en mars à Blois, d’un pleurésie (...). C’est, fin avril, la mort prématurée de la jeune tante et amie de Marguerite, Philiberte de Savoie, duchesse de Nemours, à qui elle avait fait connaître les hommes de Meaux et leurs oeuvres; après quoi survint la maladie, et, à la fin de juillet, le trépas de la reine Claude. La maladie et la mort de la petite Charlotte vinrent couronner ces tragédies. (Febvre, Amour sacré, op. cit., pp. 48-49).
- 103 Mencionamos el tema de la Perplejidad y Confusión Mental de Margarita al final de este capítulo sobre el Dialogue y su impacto en el poema y trataremos el tema místico de la Perplejidad como tema místico en el Capítulo 5, Sección III.
- 104 Carlo Péligrini, La Prima opera di Margherite di Navarra, Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne, et la terza rima in Francia, Catania, 1920.
- 105 Pierre Jourda, “Sur la date du Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne” in RSS vol. XIV, pp. 150-161.
- 106 Christine Martineau and Christian Grouzelle, “La Source première du Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne, la lettre de G. Briçonnet à Marguerite de Navarre du 15 septembre 1524; publication et commentaire” in BHR, vol. XXXII, pp. 559-577 (p. 569).
- 107 P. Jourda ya había detectado dos frases que aparecen en esta carta que están en el origen del Dialogue; ver “Sur la date du Dialogue”, op. cit., pp. 153-154, pero ha sido gracias a Martineau and Grouzelle que nos hacemos cargo de que las ideas del Dialogue dependen de las cartas de Briçonnet a Margarita; ver “La Source première du Dialogue”, op. cit.
- 108 P. Jourda, “Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne” in RSS, vol. XIII. Jourda comenta: “Le Dialogue est une synthèse des idées que l’on voit apparaître une à une dans les lettres échangées avec Briçonnet: il les présente sous une forme précise et raisonnée. Et qui sait s’il n’a pas été composé pour être lu par le Roi? L’hypothèse est peut-être audacieuse. On peut cependant la formuler, si l’on se rapporte à certains passages de la correspondance de Marguerite avec Briçonnet.” (Introduction, p.4)
- 109 Martineau y Grouzelle sugieren claramente que: “Nous comprenons maintenant d’où vient (...) cette voix assurée et parfois hautaine (...) que plus qu’une fois elle malmène pour la forcer à plier la tête: c’est celle du grand maître de l’Evangelisme (...) Guillaume Briçonnet”  
 (“La Source première du Dialogue”, op. cit., p. 570)

- 110 Véanse los temas principales del Credo de Meaux en el capítulo anterior, sección II.
- 111 Erasmo publicó su Diatribes seu de libero arbitrio el 1 de septiembre de 1524, que lo escribió de un solo tirón. Lutero terminó su contra ataque poco después, De servo arbitrio en diciembre de 1525 y Catecismo en 1529. La discusión dividió en dos a toda la cristiandad de entonces. Véase: Erasmus-Luther: discourse on free will, traducción e introducción de E.F. Winter.
- 112 El decreto de Briçonnet contra Lutero se puede ver en Herminjard, La Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de langue française, vol. I, N° 77, pp. 153-155, véase también N° 78 and 81.
- 113 Todas las citas del Dialogue siguen la edición de Jourda.
- 114 R. Marichal, La Navire, Introducción, p. 14
- 115 En el libro de Thomas de Kempis, la Imitación de Cristo, Libro I, Capítulo 5, se dice sobre la lectura de las Escrituras: “The authority of the writer should not trouble you, whether he is of small or great scholarship; but let a love of pure truth attract you to the reading”, que sigue la doctrina de San Agustín sobre el Salmo 26. Briçonnet había amonestado ya a Margarita sobre la vana presunción de saber demasiado en su carta firmada el 15 de septiembre de 1524, que tenía delante Margarita al escribir el Dialogue: “...et n’est jamais descheu de l’arbre de vie par presumptueux desir de trop scavoir...” (Correspondance, 2, p. 269). A Rabelais tampoco le gustaban las discusiones sobre el poder de Dios y la predestinación: “Et de qui estez vous apprins ainsi discourir et parler de la puissance et praedestination de Dieu, paouvres gens?” Le Quart Livre, Prologue. Véase también la aversión de Marguerite contra las discusiones teológicas en el Heptameron, Nouvelle 25, donde dice claramente que hay que dejarlas para los teólogos.
- 116 Lefranc, quien mantiene que las ideas de Margarita están profundamente influenciadas por la teología luterana, cree que en el caso del Dialogue se trata de una obra polémica y que Margarita se mantiene neutral en la diatriba:  
 “On retrouve, dans un certain nombre de pages de ce poème, l’écho de cette dispute si importante qui signala l’année 1524 et que l’Europe pensante suivit avec tant d’attention. Il semble que Marguerite, qui n’éprouvait point une grande sympathie pour Erasme, ait assisté, avec quelque scepticisme à cette lutte fameuse, qui lui apparaissait comme une querelle de théologiens savants et subtils.” (A. Lefranc, Les idées religieuses de Marguerite de Navarre d’après son oeuvre poétique (Les marguerites et les dernières poésies), p.11)
- 117 Ver también vv. 425-426, 727-729 y 829-831.
- 118 Cf. E.F. Winter, Erasmus-Luther, op. cit., p. 112. Lutero llega incluso a decir que “es como una bestia de carga”.
- 119 Ver igualmente vv. 709-711, 244-249, 625-627 y a lo largo de todo Dialogue. La doctrina de Briçonnet sobre la teoría de las obras es prácticamente la misma: “Aussi adherant avec Jhesus Christ, il est membre de membre (I Corintios 12,27) de son corps par unyon spirituelle et si prolifions et faisons peuvres spirituelles ou que plaions à Dieu, n’est de nous mais pour ce que sommes inseréz en la chair et humanité du debonnaire espoux...” (Correspondance, 2, p. 217)
- 120 Ver también Correspondance, 2, pp. 40 y 99 sobre las tres etapas de la ascensión del alma hasta llegar a la unión perfecta del alma con Dios.

- 121 La definición de San Juan de Dios como Amor (I John, 4, 16) fue muy importante en la enseñanza de los místicos. Aquí Margarita invierte el orden de las palabras para enfatizar la idea poniéndola dentro de un contexto platónico. La misma frase aparecerá en v. 565 como palabra clave, y aparecerá igualmente en sus obras literarias, sobre todo en su *Heptameron*, donde se encuentra una referencia al texto de San Juan de “Dios como Amor” en el Prólogo a la sexta jornada.
- 122 Lucas, 6, 27, “A vosotros que escucháis os digo: Amad a vuestros enemigos”.
- 123 Este texto aparece en el Evangelio de San Juan, que se estudiará en el capítulo 6, sección V (d) como una de las definiciones de la Divinidad en la obra de Margarita.
- 124 Ronsard sigue a Margarita y a Marot cuando alaba a la muerte como liberadora de la condición humana: Ver H. Chamard, *Histoire de la Pléiade* (Paris 1939-40), vol. II, Ch.16: “les Hymnes de Ronsard”, pp. 175-207, particularmente las pp. 201-205 sobre “L’Hymne de la Mort”.
- 125 Ver la obra de S. Weil, *La pesanteur et la grâce* (Paris, 1948)
- 126 P. Jourda escribe: “Il faut noter qu’en un passage au moins, v. 582, Marguerite déclare qu’il faut laisser agir la grâce en nous et nous fier à elle. N’est-ce point l’éveil en elle des théories que lui prêcheront plus tard Pocque et Quintin, les libertins spirituels?” op. cit., nota 1, p. 4.
- 127 Montaigne, *Oeuvres complètes*, Livre II, Chapitre 12, “Apologie de Raymond Sebond”, edit. Pléiade, p. 189. Montaigne rechazó abiertamente en su Apologie la teología de Lutero, *ibid.*, p. 416.
- 128 Es de notar que Charlotte describe a los santos no como obras activas sino pasivas de la mano de Dios (vv. 427-429), pues se le describe como “Imprimiendo su imagen”, “forjándola”, “siendo su Ejemplar e Imagen, Fuego y Materia Prima”.
- 129 Margarita termina así una de sus cartas a Briçonnet: “... afin que en vie, vive soit et non en mort la pis que morte”. See Letter 31 of the *Correspondance*, 1, p. 160. Estas palabras confirmarían la opinión de Martineau en su “La Source première du Dialogue”, op. cit., que Margarita se dirigía a Briçonnet pretendiendo hablar con Charlotte (p. 570).
- 130 Comparar on la carta de Briçonnet del 15 septiembre 1524: “Le vouloir de Dieu est a preferer au propre...” (*Correspondance*, 2, p. 264). Ver igualmente los textos del *Dialogue* vv.731, 735, 1231 y 1238.
- 131 Briçonnet escribió a Margarita: “Si d’aventure l’un a trebuché par offence quelconque envers l’autre (posé qu’il scache luy estre pardonné), a extreme regret, peine et ennuy et d’autant plus que l’amour est plus grande”, insistiendo en la necesidad de ayudarnos los unos a los otros para merecer la paz y la gracia de Dios. (*ibid.*, 2, p. 269)
- 132 Sebastian Castellion, un reformador liberal que luchó contra Calvino, publicó la “Theologie Deutsch” en versiones francesa y latina (1557-1558) con un sumario de las enseñanzas místicas de su autor, un desconocido Maestro Renano cuyas ideas son increíblemente similares a las del *Dialogue* de Margarita: “La raison est telle que l’homme, estant tombé par suivre son propre vouloir (...) il faut necessairement qu’il delaisse entièrement son propre vouloir et suive celuy de Dieu, veu que les remèdes des choses sont toujours par leur contraire; joinct que le vouloir de l’homme est contraire à celuy de Dieu”. Todo hace pensar que los místicos emplean el mismo lenguaje, y que cuando tratan del problema del Libre Arbitrio ser humano lo harán refugiándose en el texto del Pater Noster: “Fiat voluntas tua sicut in caelo et in

- terra". La Theologie germanique; chapitres choisis, con Introducció de S. Castellion y traducida por Pierre Poiret (Haarlem 1950), Introducció p.6.
- 133 Gregorio de Nissa: The Lord's Prayer and the Beatitudes, traducció y anotaciones de Hilda C. Graef (London, 1954).
- 134 Meister Eckhard, "Exposició del Pater noster qui est en celis", publicado por A. Jundt como Appendix II en su Histoire du pantheisme populaire au Moyen Age et au seizième siècle (Paris, 1875), pp. 231-235.
- 135 Ver W.G. Moore, La Réforme allemande et la littérature française: Recherches sur la notoriété de Luther en France, pp. 432-441.
- 136 Ver Jean Orcibal, "La rencontre du Carmel Thérésien avec les mystiques du nord" in BEHE, Section des sciences religieuses, vol. LXX, 1959, p.63: "Martin Luther avait publié, en 1516, un texte "A" plus court... et en 1518, il avait fait paraître sous les titres Eine Deutsche Theologie et Theologie Deutsch, une version "B" en cinquante chapitres qui est restée la plus courante". Ver Nota 31 de este capítulo 2 sobre el comentario del Pater Noster según la Theologie Deutsch.
- 137 E. Parturier, "Le Pater noster faict en translation et dialogue par la Royne de Navarre", in RR, vo.. II, pp. 178-190 y 273-276.
- 138 Moore mantiene que el texto del "Pater noster" de Margarita debió haber sido escrito antes del año 1527 puesto que el manuscrito la menciona como "Madame la Duchesse". La Réforme allemande et la littérature française, op. cit., pp. 187-188.
- 139 Joseph L. Allaire ha establecido la fecha del texto definitivo del Miroir tal y como lo conocemos hoy en la edición de 1531. Hizo notar que muchas de las citas bíblicas de los márgenes, son de la versión Vulgata, a menudo sacadas de la traducida al francés por Lefèvre (Allaire (edit.), Le Miroir de l'âme pécheresse, Munich, pp. 19-20). Estas citas, sin embargo, podrían haber sido añadidas en los márgenes por los que lo publicaron, tal y como apunta R. Salminen, pues la Reina utilizaría libremente la Vulgata para concordar con los versos de su poema: (Salminen (edit.), Le Miroir de l'âme Pécheresse, (tesis), Helsinki, 1979, p. 40).
- 140 W.G. Moore, La Réforme allemande et la littérature française; recherches sur la notoriété de Luther en France (tesis) (Strasbourg, 1930). Ver también N. Weiss: "Une victime du Miroir de l'âme pécheresse de Marguerite d'Angoulême, soeur de François I: l'imprimeur Antoine Augereau et sa famille (1534-1559)", BSHPF, vol. XLII, Paris 1893, pp. 242-247.
- 141 M. Holban, "Le Miroir de l'âme pécheresse et les Epistres de la Noble et Amoureuse Dame", Mélanges Offerts à M.A. Lefranc (Paris, 1936), pp. 142-154 (pp.152-153)
- 142 Moore, La Réforme allemande, op. cit., p. 245.
- 143 Febvre, Amour sacré, op. cit., pp. 151-153.
- 144 Weiss, "Une victime du Miroir", op. cit., p. 246.
- 145 Allaire, op. cit., Introduction, p. 21.
- 146 Weiss, op. cit., p. 244.
- 147 Leopold Victor Delisle, Notice sur un registre des procès-verbaux de la Faculté de Théologie de Paris pendant les années 1505-1533; manuscrit des archives de la maison de la Trémoille aujourd'hui à la Bibliothèque Nationale N°1782 du fonds français des nouvelles acquisitions, vol. XXXVI, pp. 315-408
- 148 Delisle, op. cit., p. 405. Rabelais ridiculiza el enorme abdomen de Béda en el Pantagruel, Capítulo 7: "De optimitate triparum".

- 149 Walter Frederic Bense, Noël Bédá and the Humanist Reformation at Paris: 1504-1534 (thesis), (Cambridge Mass., 1967). Harvard Univ. discussion (formato microfilm). Bense hace notar que el caso del Miroir fue examinado durante el exilio de Bédá de París; pp. 812-813.
- 150 Delisle, op. cit., pp. 398-399.
- 151 Ibid., p. 399.
- 152 Ibid., p. 402.
- 153 A. L. Herminajrd, La Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de langue française (Geneva, 1866-1897), vol. III, pp. 106-111.
- 154 Delisle, op. cit., pp. 405-406.
- 155 Ibid., p. 323.
- 156 Ver Allaire; op. cit., Introduction, pp. 20-21.
- 157 Pierre Jourda sugirió que la política adoptada por la Sorbona para las traducciones de la Biblia fue la razón más importante para las medidas que tomó. P. Jourda, Marguerite d'Angoulême, Duchesse d'Alençon, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 172-180.
- 158 A. Clerval, Registre des procès-verbaux de la Faculté de Théologie de Paris; archives de l'histoire religieuse de la France, (Paris, 1917), p. 424 nota 88.
- 159 Charles Duplessis d'Argentré, Collectio iuditorum de novis erroribus qui ab initio duodecimi seculi post incarnationem Verbi, usque ad annum 1632 in Ecclesia proscripti sunt et notati; Paris 1728, vol. II, p. 101.
- 160 La enseñanza de Briçonnet sobre la inutilidad de las obras humanas antes de la justificación inicial por la fe sigue la teología de S. Pablo, como se puede ver en la citación latina de la Vulgata: "Par grace et bonté sommes créés, par icelles conservéz et entretenuz, par graces saulvéz et non par noz oeuvres, comme dict Monsieur saint Pol: "Gratia enim salvati estis et hoc non, etc., ex vobis. Dei enim donum est et non ex operibus, ut ne quis gloriatur" [*cogido de Efesios 2, 8-9 en el texto de la Vulgata*]. Nous sommes saulvéz par foy en la grace de Dieu et non de nous. Il vient du don de Dieu et non de noz oeuvres à ce qu'il n'y ayt creature qui se puisse glorifier". (Correspondance, I, p.119)
- 161 Caesar Egassius Bulaeus, Historia Universitatis Parisiensis. T. VI; ab anno 1500-1600. Paris, 1673. El 15 d enero de 1523, la Facultad hizo la siguiente afirmación sobre Briçonnet, que había sido acusado por los "Frères Mineurs" de Meaux entre otras cosas por seguir la doctrina luterana tratando de "détourner de lire les Histoires et legendes desdits Saints et vénérer les Reliques approuvées par l'Eglise", vol. VI, p. 184: "Vita et gesta Guillermi Briçonnet, tunc Episcopi Meldensis, eum omnino reddunt a calumnia istiusmodi et a suspitione haereseos immunem: Quippe nemo acrius Lutheranam haeresim injectatus est, nemo ferventius Catholicam tutatus". Ibid. p. 184.
- 162 Lefranc escribió en 1898: "Marguerite y parle d'un bout à l'autre (...) des dogmes et principes de la Réforme; elle y révèle non seulement les mêmes méthodes, mais aussi les mêmes habitudes d'esprit qui caractérisaient les partisans de la révolution religieuse". Su posición radical ha influido tanto que se han pasado por alto otros aspectos del pensamiento de Margarita, como si hubiera estado solamente y sobretudo preocupada por las ideas reformadas. Cita de Les Idées religieuses de Marguerite de Navarre, op. cit., p. 15.
- 163 Ver Efesios 1,22: "Le hizo a él [*Jesús*] como Señor de todo, la cabeza de la Iglesia, del que es su Cuerpo

- 164 Ver el Capítulo 4 sobre la hermenéutica mística del Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan de Margarita, Sección III.
- 165 F. Genin, Lettres de Marguerite d'Angoulême, op. cit., Introduction, p. 112.
- 166 J. B. Collins, Christian Mysticism in the Elizabethan Age, with its background in mystical methodology, (Baltimore, 1940), p. 83, nota al pie 7.
- 167 El título de la versión inglesa del Miroir Margarita fue: A godly medytacyon of the Christen Sowle concerninge a love towards God and hys Christe, compyled in frenche by lady Margarete quene of Navarre and aptely translated into Englysh by the ryght vertuouse lady Elizabeth, doughter to our Soverayne Kyng Henri the VIII. Editado en Wesen, abril de 1548. Hay una copia en la British Library; signatura C.12. d.1. Johan Bale hizo una introducción a la traducción, con un fuerte tono antipapista contra aquellos que “boast the good workes of the lawe (...) wretched Ydyotes for advantage of Masses”, ibid. fol.7 vo. y fol. 8.  
R. Salminen acaba de publicar una edición crítica de esta traducción del poema de Margarita por la princesa Elizabeth, bajo título de Le Miroir of the Synnefull Soule junto con el Miroir, Helsinki, 1979.
- 168 Collins, Christian Mysticism, op. cit., p. 82. Hay una copia de la versión de J. de Gruitroede traducida al inglés por Margaret of Richmond en la British Library, signatura 1412, c.11. También hay una copia de la versión de 1526 en la BL, signatura G.12042.
- 169 Edición de Frank del Miroir, en Les Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses, de la edición de 1547, con Introducción y Notas. (Paris, 1873). Miroir, Introduction, p.6, vv. 1-6.
- 170 La literatura del “Speculum” estuvo influenciada por la tradición de la Sabiduría Bíblica, en particular por la literatura de Salomón en libros como el “Ecclesiastes”, “Job” y “Proverbios”.
- 171 Jean Bouyer: Incipit Speculum Peccatoris, Poitiers 1480. La obra de Bouyer había sido atribuida a San Agustín; ver Migne, Patrologia Latina, vol. XL, pp. 983-991, (Paris, 1895). Hay una copia de la edición de 1480 en la British Library, signatura Ia.428112.
- 172 Ibid., aVI vo.
- 173 Hay una copia de esta edición de 1500 de París del Speculum de Jacobus de Gruitroede en la British Library, con signatura IA.39567. También una edición más temprana de Cologne en 1494, en la BL con signatura IA.4896.
- 174 Las obras de Dionysius Carthusianus, alias Lewis de Rickel, tuvieron gran influencia en la época del Miroir de Margarita. Fueron recopiladas y publicadas en 1533 en Colonia. Se puede ver una copia de esta edición en la British Library, que incluye cuatro tratados místicos: De arca viae salutis, Amatorum mundi Speculum, De enormitate et gravitate peccati y De conversione peccatorum. BL pressmark 846 b.19. Hay También una edición anterior de su Speculum conversionis peccatoris publicado en Flandes en 1473 en BL, pressmark IA.49003. La cita es del De arca salutis B VII vo.
- 175 Ibid. E I vo.
- 176 Ver el uso del verbo “se laisser” en el Dialogue, donde significa la actitud quietista del alma en la aceptación de la voluntad de Dios. Capítulo 2, Sección IV.
- 177 Margarita usó esta técnica de las “Litaniae mortuorum” al describir la muerte de su hermano Francisco en las Prisons, fol. 341 vo. Las letanías de la iglesia no siguen las complicadas estructuras de los textos litúrgicos sino que son simples



- repeticiones adaptadas al uso general. Ver cómo Margarita elude las doxologías litúrgicas en el texto de la Nota 6.
- 178 Ver la edición de Frank del Miroir en Les Marguerites, op. cit., Introducción, p. 6, vv 7-10.
- 179 Ver Jean Castel, Lo specchio delle dame, con introducción de G. A. Brunelli y traducido del francés Le Miroir des dames (Florenia 1958). En la introducción, escribe Brunelli: “le fonti spirituali di questi tre componenti [*i.e. Sus tres partes*] sono dei sermoni e delle poesie latine attribuiti a San Bernardo”. Introducción p. 24. Hay algunas copias del “Miroirs” de Castel, copiadas en el siglo XV en Paris. BL signaturas IA.3939.3 y 11437.b.5.
- 180 Ibid., p. 50.
- 181 Margarita desarrolla la idea de María como el ejemplo perfecto de la unión total con Dios en su Comédie de la Nativité. Ver H. Skommodau, Die religiösen Dichtungen Margarettens von Navarre (Cologne 1954), pp. 113-114. También P. Sage, La Sainte Vierge dans l’oeuvre de Marguerite de Navarre, en Bull. Des Fac. Catholiques de Lyon, 1954. En las Prisiones de Margarita, María aparece como la “pucelle de Dieu”, la única criatura que había asimilado el “Rien” de Dios. (Prisons, fol 345 vo-346 ro, pp. 291-292).
- 182 Gunther Zainer, Speculum humane salvationis y Speculum Sanctae Mariae Virginis, (Augsburgo, 1471). Hay una copia en BL, pressmark IB. 5469.
- 183 Ver el estudio sobre la interpretación de Margarita de la “Canción de las Canciones”, en el Capítulo 4 de la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, Sección III.
- 184 No hay paginación en el Ms. de la British Library. Esta cita es del último capítulo de la edición de Zainer del Speculum Sanctae Mariae Virginis, op. cit.
- 185 Durante el final del siglo XV y a comienzos del XVI muchos escritores se esforzaban por subrayar las diferencias dentro del género de los “Specula”. Johannes de Westfalia, por ejemplo, presentó varios “Mirouers” en 1480 junto con Jacobus Gruitroede, Dionysius Carthusianus y Rodericus (Obispo de Zamora, España). Sus “Specula” son sobre todo “Specula Sacerdotum” (*Espejos para los Sacerdotes*), “Specula Mortis” (*como preparación para la muerte*) o “Ars Moriendi”. Hay dos copias en la BL con pressmarks IB. 49225 y IB. 49226.
- 186 J. M. Dechanet, Guillaume de Saint-Thierry; le miroir de la foy, (Paris 1946), p. 50. Dechanet también escribió Guillaume de Saint-Thierry, l’homme et son oeuvre, Bruselas 1942. Publicó su Commentarium in Canticum e scriptis Sti. Ambrosii, Paris 1962. El Miroir de Margarita combina ambas líneas de pensamiento, siendo a la vez “Speculum fidei” y “Speculum cantici” mezclado con otros más
- 187 Miroir, op. cit., Appendix, p. 99.
- 188 BN, f. fr., MS 1525.2, fol. 192 ro.
- 189 Cf. Marie Holban, Le Miroir de l’âme pécheresse et les Epistres de la Noble et Amoureuse Dame, op. cit. Ver Nota 3 de este capítulo.
- 190 Ibid., p. 144.
- 191 Ibid., p. 145.
- 192 Ibid., p. 146.
- 193 Ibid., pp. 147-148.
- 194 Ibid., p. 148.
- 195 Ibid., p. 151.

- 196 J. Bouchet había dedicado una de sus obras a Margarita en 1522, el Labyrinthe de Fortune. Holban supone, correcta o erróneamente, que Bouchet envió a la Reina una copia de sus Triumphes antes de que la obra fuese publicada. Ibid., p. 153.
- 197 Ibid., p. 153.
- 198 Es probable que las similitudes se deban a un contexto histórico parecido. En cualquier caso, el ataque de Bouchet contra las ideas contrarias al “Speculum Mariae” hubieran hecho que la Reina no hubiese visto bien el libro, durante las fechas de composición del Miroir. Ver Nota 3 de este capítulo.
- 199 M. Holban, op. cit., p. 154.
- 200 Ver Capítulo 6, Sección II, donde se estudia, en detalle, el uso de Margarita de los símbolos relacionados con la Pirámide de luz.
- 201 Comparar con Miroir, v. 35: “Par sa clarté ma tenebre illumine”.
- 202 Comparar con Miroir, v. 31: “(...) à ce que je puis veoir”.
- 203 Comparar esta carta de Briçonnet con el Miroir, vv. 853-858:  
 Las! Qu'est cecy? Jettant en hault ma veue,  
 Je voy en vous bonté si incogneue,  
 Grace et amour si incomprehensible,  
 Que la veue m'en demeure invisible,  
 Et par force faict mon regard cesser,  
 Qui me contrainct en bas mes yeulx baisser.
- 204 Briçonnet se refiere en este caso a las diferencias místicas tradicionales entre “oeil charnel”, “oeil de la raison” y “oeil de l'esprit”; solamente los iniciados consiguen llagar al “oeil de l'esprit”, mientras que las personas normales “see” sólo con los ojos y entienden con la mera razón. Cf. R. Javalet, Psychologie des auteurs du XIIe siècle, in Revue des sciences religieuses, Strasbourg, vol. XXXIII, January 1959, p. 25.
- 205 Comparar con Isaías 64,4 y I Corintios 2,9.
- 206 Pseudo-Dionysius, The Divine Names, Chapter 9. C.E. Rolt, translation and introduction, London 1972, pp. 98-99. Cf. “el estudio sobre la definición de Dios como esfera cuyo centro está en todas partes con su circunferencia en ninguna” en el Capítulo 6, Sección V. Ver mi estudio sobre la definición de Dios como una Esfera cuyo centro está en todas partes pero su circunferencia en ninguna en el Capítulo 6, Sección V. Ver también R. Llul: “Circulus est figura ultima, eo equia perfectior est quam aliqua alia figura: ipse enim continet in se omnes alias figuras, et ab ipsis descendit, et constitutus est”. Ars generalis ultima, (Palma Mallorca, 1645), Pars 10; de app. Cap. 14, art. 46; de circulo, p. 354.
- 207 H. Sckommodau, Die religiöse Dichtungen, op. cit., p. 42.
- 208 Ver varias líneas del Miroir en las que se hace mención de la experiencia mística:  
 Qui m'a navré le cuer jusques à la mort (v. 811)  
Mourir, brusler, par amour importable. (v. 345)  
 C'est d'ung tel filz que tout le cuer m'en fend. (v. 348)  
 Or, fendez vous mon cuer par la moitié. (v. 358)  
 Et au vivant, par la mort, je suis ravve. (v. 888)  
Je m'esbahis que tout soubdainement  
 Elle ne sort de son entendement.  
Je m'esbahis qu'elle ne devient folle,  
En perdant sens, contenance et parolle. (vv. 243-246)

- 209 Pierre Jourda menciona una crisis mística en la vida de Margarita en la época de la composición del Miroir. Marguerite d'Angoulême, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 66-67. J.B. Collins comenta que “as part of the purgative process, one observes at the outset the brief evidence of a conversion which has taken place in Marguerite's soul, and her decision to change the tenor of her life for the better”, op. cit., p. 84. En el Capítulo I se estudia la decisión de Margarita de ser iniciada por Briçonnet en todas las técnicas complejas de la escuela de Meaux.
- 210 L. Febvre, siguiendo a Rabelais, llama al estado místico de Margarita “esprit ecstatique”. Ver cómo describe Rabelais a Margarita en el Capítulo final sobre los retratos místicos de la Reina según sus contemporáneos.
- 211 Ver el uso místico de Margarita del antitético “Tout” y “Rien” en el Capítulo 5 sobre las Prisons, Sección V.
- 212 Ver las varias interpretaciones en Martineau, Correspondance, op. cit., p. 71. Herminjard, Correspondance, op. cit., I, p. 78. Becker, Marguerite la Duchesse, op. cit., p. 405.
- 213 Martin Buber, by R.G. Smidt, London, The Carey Kingstate Press Ltd. 1966 Buber es famoso por su excepcional análisis de la relación mística “Yo y Vos”. Escribió su Ich und Du en 1922.
- 214 Rolt comenta sobre las relaciones de Pseudo-Dionisio: “The human self and the Uncreated Light stand in the mutual relationship of “Me” and “Thee”. That which says “Me” is not the Being which is addressed as “Thee”; and the Being addressed as “Thee” is not that which says “Me”. The two stand over against one another. This relationship must now be transcended by a process leading to ecstasy. The human spirit must seek to go forth out of itself (i.e. out of its created being)(...) Casting selfhood away, it strives to gain its true being and selfhood by losing them in the super-Essence. Laying its intellectual activity to rest it obtains, by a higher spiritual activity, a momentary glimpse into the depths of the Super-Essence, and perceives that the distinction between “Me” and “Thee” is not...” The Divine Names, op. cit. Introduction, VIII: “the psychology of contemplation”, p. 27.
- 215 Ver nuestro estudio sobre el éxtasis místico como herida en el capítulo 5 sobre las Prisons, sección III.
- 216 J. G. Arintero explica las dos relaciones, Padre-Hijo y Madre Hija desde la relación entre las personas en la Trinidad: “He desired to be our Brother and when we say “Our Father” to God, this is made manifest in us. For he who says “Our Father” to God, says “Brother” to Christ. Therefore he who has God for his Father and Christ for his Brother need not fear the dreadful day”. The Mystical Evolution in the Development and Vitality of the Church, Traducido del castellano Jordan Auman, (New York, Herder, 1950) vol. 1, p. 152. Arintero se refiere aquí a las Enarrationes in Psalmum 48 de San Agustín
- 217 Ver Febvre, Amour sacré, op. cit., p. 60. Rabelais hizo una parodia de las “étranges alliances de l'isle Ennasin” en el Quart Livre, Capítulo 9, donde criticaba el abuso de este tipo de lenguaje.
- 218 Collins ve en el Miroir la influencia del misticismo tradicional del medievo, sobre todo en obras como el Matrimonio Espiritual de Ruysbroeck y en las obras del Pseudo-Dionisio. The Spirit of Mysticism, op. cit., pp. 86-87. En una carta a Margarita, Briçonnet hace mención a los principios divinos de la teología mística de “Monsieur Saint Denis”, y, siguiendo a Hugh of Saint-Victor, aplica la doctrina

- mística de las “Tres Etapas Místicas” a la doctrina de Pseudo-Dionisio sobre las Jerarquías Tripartitas. Divinas: Correspondance, 1, pp. 115-118.
- 219 Briçonnet escribió a Margarita: “Là sera la vraie et indubitable union, sans figure ne ombre” (Correspondance, 1, p. 105). San Pablo habla de esta unión en varios episodios de sus Epístolas. Ver Filipenses 3,21; Romanos 8,29-30 y II Corintios 3,18.
- 220 R. B. Blackney edit., Meister Eckhart, “sermon 2”, New York, Harper, 1941, p. 102.
- 221 La doctrina tradicional de la Trinidad se encuentra en las divisiones tripartitas, usadas tanto por Margarita en el Miroir como en la Correspondance entre ella y Briçonnet. El Obispo, sin embargo es más explícito: “L'eau pouvons atribuer au Superceleste Pere eternel. La feu au bebonnaire Jesus. Le fruict au Saint Esperit, qui procede commele fruict de l'arbre et de l'eau et du feu” (Correspondance, 1, p. 96).
- 222 Ver el estudio del significado simbólico del Círculo como imagen perfecta de la Divinidad en el Capítulo 6, Sección III.
- 223 Ver estudio de los símbolos místicos de la Luz y de la Oscuridad en el Capítulo 6, Sección V.
- 224 Cf. nuestro estudio sobre las diferentes definiciones de Dios en la obra de Margarita en el Capítulo 5, Sección V.
- 225 Ver otros ejemplos:  
     Au lecteur: “brusler” (v. 15)  
     vv. 831-832: “ardeur”, “bruller”.
- 226 Ver los comentarios de Sckommodau sobre los símbolos de Briçonnet que permanecieron en la memoria de Margarita, apareciendo más tarde en su poesía. Die religiösen Dichtungen, op. cit., p. 46.
- 227 Ver una copia de esta edición de 1490 del Speculum de Lull en BL, pressmark IA.39982. Los escritos de Lull fueron muy leídos por los escritores del Renacimiento, así como los escritos de la Kabbalah.
- 228 Cuando Clément Marot tuvo que huir de Ferrara, registraron su casa confiscando muchos, entre los cuales había trabajos de la Kabbalah. Algunas de sus doctrinas tenían significados ocultos y eran consideradas peligrosas por la Sorbona:  
 On y trouva; mais cela n'est offence  
 A ung poëte, à qui on doibt lascher  
 La bride longue, et rien ne luy cascher  
 Soit d'art magicq, nygromance ou caballe.  
 Clément Marot, Les Epîtres, Epître XXXVI: “Epître au Roy, du temps de son exil à Ferrara”, escrito en el verano de 1535. Mayer edit., op. cit., pp. 202-203.  
 “Kabbalah” significa “el recibido” (i.e. recibido y heredado como secreto místico); inspiró el misticismo tradicional en su manera de entender a Dios y el universo. John Ferguson, An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Mysticism and the Mystery Religions, (London 1976), “Kabbalah”, pp. 98-99. Para más bibliografía sobre misticismo Kabbalístico, ver Lubac, Exégèse Médiévale, op. cit., notas en Part II, p. 406.
- 229 Ver el estudio sobre las Tres Etapas de la experiencia espiritual en el Capítulo 5 sobre las Prisons, Sección III.
- 230 J. de la Haye comparó a Margarita con una flor en su introducción al Miroir:  
Fleur de pourpris, fleur tousjours fleurissant,  
 Fleur de beauté naïve, fleur yssant  
 Du royal tyge et semence Royale. (...)  
 (Edición de Frank del Miroir, op. cit., p. 4)

y algo más tarde el valet de cámara de Margarita añadió:

C'est le Miroir où il fault regarder  
Qui bien voudra du monde se garder;  
C'est le Miroir auquel qui bien se mire  
Du tout malheur et vice se retire...

(ibid., p. 6)

- Rabelais menciona una piedra transparente parecida a un espejo en el Quart Livre: “Sus la poupe de la second [navire] estoit hault enlevée une lanterne antiquaire, faicte industrieusement de pierre sphingitide et speculaire, denotant qu’ils passeroient par Lanternoys”. Capítulo 1. Jourda lo interpreta como si “La pierre sphegnitide doit être une pierre d’albâtre; la pierre spéculaire, une pierre transparente: du mica”. Edición Jourda (Paris, Garnier, 1962), vol. 2, nota 6 en p. 32.
- 231 H. P. Clive, Marguerite de Navarre: oeuvres choisies, 2 vols (New York, 1968), vol. II, pp. 2-4. Clive estudia aquí la cronología de todas las obras de teatro de Marguerite de Navarre.
- 232 Véase todo el texto de la “Dédicace” a Margarite de Navarre en A. L. Herminjard, La correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de langue française, 9 vols (Paris, 1866-1897); ver N°227: “In Hoseam Prophetam, V.F. Capitonis commentarius”, vol. II, pp. 119-123.
- 233 No sería lógico suponer, a no ser que se presenten pruebas claras, que la Correspondance entre Marguerite y Briçonnet terminara bruscamente en el otoño del año 1524; es verdad que la última carta quedó por terminar y que no han aparecido más, pero Becker concluye: “Il saute aux yeux que la Correspondance ne finissait pas ainsi”. Ph.-Aug. Becker, “Marguerite, Duchesse d’Alençon, et Guillaume, évêque de Meaux, d’après leur correspondance manuscrite”, en BSHP, Paris, 1901, pp. 393-477 y 661-667, (p. 476).
- 234 Comédie du désert, editado by Frank como parte de Les Marguerites op. cit., vol. I, p. 353.
- 235 Cfla Comédie de la Nativité de Jésus Christ, editado por F. Frank, ibid., vol. I, p. 10.
- 236 Según V.L. Saulnier, las cuatro obras de teatro bíblico de Marguerite, la Comédie de la Nativité de Jésus Christ, la Comédie des Innocents, la Comédie de l’adoration des trois Roys à Jésus Christ y la Comédie du désert, fueron escritas hacia 1530. Théâtre profane, op. cit., Introduction, p. XXIII.
- 237 L. Febvre, Amour sacré, op. cit., pp. 326-370. Las conclusiones de Christine Martineau sobre el Platonismo de Margarita son que, incluso el Heptameron refleja más la doctrina evangélica de la escuela de Meaux que las tendencias neo-Platónicas de se época; cf. “le Platonisme de Marguerite de Navarre” in BAEHRR, 1976, pp. 12-13.
- 238 A. Lefranc, les Marguerites, op. cit., Introduction, p. XI.
- 239 La comparación no es mía; P. Jourda hizo un estudio de ambos poemas. Ver Marguerite d’Angoulême, Duchesse d’Alençon, op. cit., vol. I, p. 583. Marichal es incluso más detallado en su estudio comparativo de los poemas: Ver La Navire (Paris, 1956); Introduction, pp. 9-10.
- 240 Estoy de acuerdo con Marichal, si bien con reservas, que Margarita se sentía atraída por alguno temas de la teología de Lutero:  
Elle ne s’intresse plus, elle ne s’est jamais, peut-être, intéressée profondément à ces audaces des théologiens et elle semble être revenue à l’attitude plus reconciliante de Lefèvre d’Etaples qu’elle a, ne l’oublions pas, hébergé à Nérac et entouré jusqu’à sa

- mort (1536) des soins les plus affectueux. Mais de Luther, elle a gardé “le plus intime”: cette religion intérieure, ce primat de la foi, cet abandon à Jésus-Christ, bref, en plus “robuste”, en plus “agissant”, comme dit L. Febvre, ce qui l’avait déjà séduite dans les leçons de Briçonnet, de sorte que La Navire de 1547 est beaucoup plus proche de l’enseignement de Briçonnet que le Dialogue de 1524.
- R. Marichal, op. cit., Introduction, pp. 16-17.
- 241 Febvre notó las similitudes entre el texto de la carta de Briçonnet a Margarita y el texto introductorio de Lefèvre a la traducción del Nuevo Testamento. Amour sacré, op. cit., p. 122.
- 242 Margarita menciona estas promesas de protección al grupo de Meaux en su Correspondance con Briçonnet. En la Carta 5, por ejemplo, refiriéndose a los franciscanos que se oponían a los esfuerzos de Briçonnet para reformar su diócesis escribe Margarita: “... et je m’oblige que, ainsy que serez mes bons advocatz envers le tout, qu’il luy plaira me faire estre la vostre en ceste court en toutz les affaires...” (Correspondance, I, p. 33)
- 243 Según Clive la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan ue escrita a comienzos del año 1548. Marguerite de Navarre, op. cit., vol. II, p. 4.
- 244 Clive escribe: “...Amarissime n’est autre que Marguerite elle-même (...) Quant aux deux autres personnages, les critiques sont d’accord pour identifier Securus avec Henri d’Albret, second mari de Marguerite, et Agapy avec Henri II”. op. cit., vol. II, p.3.
- 245 Ibid., p.8.
- 246 Ver en Febvre la identidad de muchos de los personajes del Heptaméron. Amour sacré, op. cit., p. 258. También J. Palermo en “L’Histoire des devisants de l’Heptaméron” in RHLF, 49 (1969), pp. 193-202.
- 247 “Paraclesis” es el último personaje en aparecer en la Comédie sur le trespas du Roy.
- 248 Los versos parecen describir al Orgon de Tartuffe, I, 5 v. 281 sqqs.
- 249 Ver la descripción de la mujer adúltera en John 8, 1-11. La doctrina evangélica sobre el caso de la mujer adúltera perdonada por su marido aparece en las “Nouvelles” 32” y “61” del Heptaméron. Por el contrario la “Nouvelle 35” describe el castigo del amor infiel: “Un miroir où il fault se regarder”. Nótese en este caso la oposición entre el “miroir” humano y el divino en el poema místico de Margarita el Miroir, en el que Dios sabe perdonar más fácilmente que el ser humano (cf. Miroir, vv. 685-718).
- 250 Véase un texto paralelo en la traducción de las Metamorfosis de Ovidio en la edición de Clive Maguerite de Navarre, op. cit., nota del verso 167, vol. II, p. 89.
- 251 L. Febvre, Amour sacré, op. cit., p. 347.
- 252 Ph. Aug. Becker comenta sobre las correcciones del texto del manuscrito, N°11495 “du fonds français”, Bibliothèque Nationale: “Ces corrections, contraires aux sentiments des deux correspondants, trahissent une main étrangère. Elles pourraient provenir d’une personne, protestante de convictions, qui aurait songé un instant à la publication du précieux manuscrit, mais que bientôt, pour une raison ou pour une autre, se serait desistée de ce projet”. “Marguerite d’Alençon et Guillaume Briçonnet, évêque de Meaux, d’après leur correspondance manuscrite, 1521-1524”, in BSHP, (Paris, 1901), pp. 393-477 (p. 396).
- 253 R. Marichal, La Navire, op. cit., Introduction, pp. 20-21.
- 254 Cf. el texto de la carta de Calvino a la Reina de Navarra en A. Lefranc, Les Idées

- religieuses de Marguerite de Navarre, (Paris, 1896), pp. 130-132 (p.131).
- 255 La reacción de Margarita a la carta de Calvino no se hizo esperar según comenta Jundt A. Jundt: “la Reine, dont les nouveaux venus, [i.e. Quintin and Pocques], avaient gagné la faveur, s’imaginant que Calvin leur avait fait tort en les traitant avec si peu de ménagement, en exprima hautement son déplaisir au réformateur. Elle lui reprocha d’avoir écrit ce traité contre elle-même et contre ses serviteurs”. Histoire du panthéisme populaire au Moyen Age et au Seizième Siècle, Paris, 1875, p. 129.
- 256 Hilda Graef, The Story of Mysticism, London 1966, pp. 227-228. Ver igualmente el estudio de Herman Hering sobre el interés del joven Lutero en el misticismo medieval en Die Mystik Luthers im zusammenhange seiner Theologie in ihrem Verhältniss zur älteren Mystik, (Leipzig, 1879).
- 257 Véase nuestro estudio especial sobre el uso de la ignorancia mística y del vocabulario negativo en la obra de Margarita en el anterior capítulo 3 sobre el Miroir, Section IV.
- 258 A. Lefranc, Les Idées religieuses de Marguerite de Navarre, op. cit., pp. 112-113.
- 259 H.P. Clive, Marguerite de Navarre, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 6-7.
- 260 L. Febvre, Amour sacré, op. cit., p. 355.
- 261 E. Parturier, “Les Sources du mysticisme de Marguerite de Navarre” in RR, vol. V, (1904), pp.1-16 and 49-62, (p. 56).
- 262 P. Jourda es menos inexorable que Parturier en su análisis del Dialogue: “Il faut noter qu’en un passage au moins, v. 582, Marguerite déclare qu’il faut laisser agir la grâce en nous et nous fier à elle. N’est-ce point l’éveil en elle des théories que lui prêcheront plus tard Pocques et Quintin, les Libertins Spirituels?” Introducción a su edición del Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne en RSS, vol. XIII, 1926. p. 4, nota 1 a pie de página.
- 263 A. Jundt, Histoire du panthéisme populaire, op. cit.
- 264 Ibid., pp. 122-123.
- 265 Henri-Albert Blind, Marguerite de Navarre dans ses rapports avec la Réforme (thèse), (Strasbourg, 1868), p. 31. Ver igualmente VL. Saulnier, L’Evangélisme du Pierre du Val et le problème des Libertins in BHR, vol. IV, (1952), pp. 205-218.
- 266 Ch. Schmidt, Libertins Spirituels; traités mystiques écrits dans les années 1547-1549, publiés d’après le manuscrit original, (Genève 1876).
- 267 Ibid., Introducción, p. VIII.
- 268 Glori Capello, “Per la storia dell’Ermeneutica biblica nel ‘500: Guglielmo Briçonnet”, Gregoriana, (Padova, 1975), pp. 293-304 (p. 300).
- 269 Ver mi estudio sobre la iniciación de Margarita a la hermenéutica bíblica de Lefèvre y de Briçonnet en el Capítulo 1, Sección IV.
- 270 La colección de las cartas de la Correspondance no se hizo en Meaux sino en la corte de la Reina de Navarra. Ver Becker, Marguerite, Duchesse d’Alençon, op. cit., p. 395.
- 271 Cf. vv. 47-86 y 405-410 de la Comédie en que aparece el plan general de recomendación que ofrece “la Superstitieuse”, que es muy parecido al que describe Briçonnet.
- 272 Margarita se había comparado a sí misma en la Carta 7 a Briçonnet a la “oveja perdida”, a la que luego hace eco Briçonnet: “Ainsy que la brebis en país estrange errant...” (Correspondance, I, p. 37)
- 273 Ver vv. 575-584 ( ya citados en la Sección II de este capítulo ) de la Comédie. También en el v. 1004, dice “la Bergère”: “Que tu me brulse sans séjour”.

- 274 Ver también vv. 933-934, en que “la Bergère” acusa a las otras de frialdad:  
Vostre amour froide et lante  
N’entend ponct le secret
- 275 El Quietismo espiritual de la “la Bergère” es evidente en toda la obra de teatro sin que sea necesario ver conexiones con las teorías de los “Libertins Spirituels”, pues Margarita se referiría más bien al cocepto de “laisser faire” tal y como aparece en su Correspondance con Briçonnet. Los vv. 1000-1010 son particularmente interesantes al subrayar las debilidades del alma frente al poder de la acción divina..
- 276 Ver v. 574 cantado por “la Bergère”: “Helas! Je meurs tous les jours”.
- 277 Henri de Lubac, Exégèse Médiévale; les quatre sens de l’Ecriture. 4 vols (Paris, 1959-1964).
- 278 Glori Capello, “Per la storia dell’Ermeneutica”, op. cit., p. 300. A. Winandy saca la misma conclusión que G. Capello, tras un análisis exhaustivo de las ideas de los of the “Libertins Spirituels”: “Despite the parallelism and comparison between her (Marguerite’s) poetry and the Libertine theses, there is no congruence but rather an emphatic difference. Marguerite never, in effect, advocated the doctrine of the three ages of man”. “Piety and Humanistic Symbolism in the work of Marguerite de Navarre”, Yale French studies, 1972, pp. 145-169; p. 168.
- 279 Véase el papel del Espíritu en la interpretación de la Biblia en el Capítulo 5, Sección V, A.
- 280 Febvre ofrece una lista interesante de estas citas en Amour sacré, op. cit., pp. 130-131. Marichal también proporciona la lista en forma de tablas de las citas de la Biblia en La Navire, op. cit., Introducción, p. 39.
- 281 La traducción de la Biblia de e publicó entre 1524 y 1530 como La sainte Bible en francoys translatee selon la pure et entiere traduction de Saint Hierome conferee et entierement reusitee selon les plus anciens et plus correctes exemplaires; (Anvers, Lampereur, 1530), cum gratia et privilegio imperiali (gothique). Existe una copia en la British Library, pressmark C.18 C.12.
- 282 Cf. Allaire, Miroir, Introducción, op. cit., pp. 18-19.
- 283 Cf. Salminen edit., Miroir, op. cit., pp. 31-40. Veissière-Martineau edit., Correspondance, 2, Appendix.
- 284 Cr. el texto de su “Décret synodal contre les doctines de Luther” en Herminjard, La Correspondance, vol. I, N°77, pp. 153-155, p. 154.
- 285 En mi opinión algunos críticos han exagerado el distanciamiento entre Erasmo y el Grupo de Meaux, aunque fuera real. Si Margarita no respondió a sus dos cartas de 1525 y 1527, no fue debido a que sus opiniones fueran totalmente opuestas como sugiere en Amour sacré, (op. cit., pp. 68-69), sino porque el humanista Erasmo habría herido la sensibilidad de Lefèvre al menos en una ocasión. En una de sus cartas a Martin Dorpm escrita en 1515, mencionando a Lefèvre, Erasmus había escrito: “I very much admire his undertaking, though here again I disagree with him in several places – reluctantly, for I’d gladly be “of one mind” with such a friend in all respects, but truth must count for more than friendship, especially with regard to the holy scriptures”. Ver la carta a Martin Dorp en A. H. T. Levi, edit., Erasmus, Praise of Folly (Hammondsworth, 1971), p. 249.
- 286 Correspondance, 1, pp. 20-21. Los programas de Reforma que tuvieron lugar en la diócesis de Meaux, se debieron a la convicción de que puesto que la Iglesia no implementaba las Reformas necesarias, sería la obligación del Rey de Martineau



- and Veissière estudian los antecedentes galicanos de la Correspondance entre Brignonnet y Marguerite; Francia ayudar a la jerarquía francesa a hacerla y Margarita estaba totalmente de acuerdo con los planes del Grupo de Meaux.
- 287 Lubac, Exégèse Médiévale, op. cit., vol IV, p. 447.
- 288 Ibid., p. 448. Lubac he hecho un estudio detallado de la hermenéutica de Lutero, ibid., pp. 427-487.
- 289 A. Skevington Wood, Luther's principles of Biblical Interpretation; (London, 1960), p. 24. Cf. igualmente Friedrich Beisser, Claritas Scripturae bei Martin Luther (Göttingen, 1966).
- 290 Ver la lectura que hace Margarita de las lamentaciones de Raquel en su Comédie des Innocents; Cr. edition de F. Frank en Les Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses, op. cit., p. 166. Se trata de un caso claro de uso simbólico de un pasaje del Antiguo Testamento que se encuentra en uno de los Evangelios (Matthew 2,18).
- 291 San Pablo, refiriéndose a pasajes históricos del Antiguo Testamento escribió que "pueden interpretarse como alegorías", Gálatas, 4,18.
- 292 Lubac, Exégèse Médiévale, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 70.
- 293 Ver portada en Clive, Marguerite de Navarre, op. cit., vol. II, p. 83.
- 294 Según Lubac "carnal" querría decir "mortal": "Quapropter qui alio modo scripta intelligunt, ( escribe Lefèvre en su interpretación a Galatians 4] "et alii applicant quam intendit Spiritus prophetae, non est sensus litteralis nisi judaicus, carnalis et letifer; et est littera quae occidit". Exégèse Médiévale, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 414. Brignonnet emplea una expresión parecida: Cf. Texto a la Nota 41 de este chapter.
- 295 Lubac explica: Les premiers sont avant tout les spirituels; ils cherchent d'emblée dans l'Ecriture "spiritualis vitae intelligentiam"; les seconds sont avant tout des hommes de doctrine. Ils y cherchent d'abord "spiritualia de Christo arcana". Mais ce qui est explicite chez les uns se trouve implicite chez les autres, et vice-versa. Les premiers n'entendent pas tarir la vie spirituelle en la coupant de sa source, ni les seconds blasphémer cette source en niant ou négligeant sa fécondité spirituelle (...) Toute l'Ecriture est évangélique, lorsqu'elle est contemplée, comme elle doit être, "dans l'esprit du Seigneur". Exégèse Médiévale, op. cit., vol. I, p. 356.
- 296 Herminjard, La Correspondance, op. cit., N°59, vol. I, p. 111.
- 297 Lubac explica los tres sentidos de la Biblia según Orígenes: el "sensus ethicus" corresponde al Libro de los Proverbios; el segundo o "sensus physicus" estaría representado por el Libro del Eclesiástico y el tercero o "sensus enopticus" lo personificaría la Canción de las Canciones. Ver Exégèse Médiévale, op. cit., vol.1, pp. 221-238.
- 298 Ibid., p. 237.
- 299 Martineau and Veissière explican el significado de la palabra "ômer" en hebreo como "unité de mesure (...) en rapport avec la manne", Exodus 16,16 sqs. Cf. Correspondance, I, p. 139.
- 300 Las cartas de la Correspondance serían sin duda la fuente de inspiración de muchos de los poemas de Margarita, si no de todos y Margarita las estudió hasta su muerte, reapareciendo y desarrollándose una y otra vez. Brignonnet, por ejemplo anuncia el cántico de Margarita en su Comédie des Innocents (vv. 100 and sqs): "Quelle melodie et cantique peuvent avoir chanté la belle et virginale bande de innocence naguères pour luy occise, aussy toutes les autres bandes, selon leur hierarchie et tous ensemble

- par union d'ardeur, d'amour et charité", Correspondance, 1, p. 200.
- Y esta misma Carta 38 debió ser la fuente del Triomphe de l'Agneau, pues "l'agneau occis" aparece como uno de sus temas místicos.
- 301 Sta última palabra "viscerallement" tiene connotaciones con la doctrina mística de Margarita sobre la "naissance de Dieu en l'homme" wque más tarde desarrollaría en su Miroir. Ver el anterior capítulo 3, Sección IV.
- 302 Compare with Proverbs 8, 30-31: "I was by his side, a craftsman, delighting him day after day, ever at play in his presence, at play everywhere in his world".
- 303 Marot había denominado a sus protectores como al dios Pan ("O Pan, dieu tres sacré") y a la inapreciable Marguerite: "Margot, bergère qui tant vault" en su "Eglogue de Marot au Roys"; Ver Mayer, Marot, Oeuvres lyriques, London, Athlone Press, 1964, pp. 343-353. Ver la muerte de Pan en Rabelais, Quart Livre, Capítulo 28.
- 304 El primer libro de las Prisons es un tratado místico sobre la oposición entre el conocimiento natural de este mundo y la sabiduría mística de lo divino. Ver mi estudio de esta primera prisión en el Capítulo 5, Sección III.
- 305 Parturier, "Les Sources du mysticisme de Marguerite", op. cit., p. 53.
- 306 La carta 8 que escribió Briçonnet a Margarita en octubre 1521 es un tratado místico sobre "le doulx et debonnaire Jhesus vray pasteur des ames", Correspondance, 1, pp. 38-39.
- 307 Clive observa que los vv. 635-636, 677-680 y los 933-934 los había tomado Margarita de un poema de Melin de Saint-Gelays. Cf. op. cit., note on p. 110.
- 308 Los vv. 165-167 están inspirados, según Clive, en una traducción de Marot de las Metamorfosis de Ovidio, *ibid.*, p. 89.
- 309 Clive compara el v. 618 con la "Chanson Spirituelle 27" de Margarita, *ibid.*, p. 109. Ver también la Nota sobre los vv. 165-167, *ibid.*, p. 89.
- 310 Vere D. Mahute, Unendliche Sphäre, Beiträge zur Genealogie des mathematischen Mystik, (Halle, 1937). Igualmente J. Bonnefoy Mystique des nombres, RAM, XXV, (1949), pp. 533-550, y V. F. Hopper, Medieval Number Symbolism; its Sources, Meaning and Influence on Thought and Expression, (New York, 1938)
- 311 Lubac, Exégèse Médiévale, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 27.
- 312 Sckommodau, H., Petit Oeuvre Dévot et Contemplative: Neuedition und Versucht einer Erklärung, en Analecta Romanica (9), (Frankfurt, 1960). Introducción, p. 18.
- 313 Lubac, Exégèse Médiévale, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 28. Ver también el Speculum Ecclesiae de Honorius en Migne, Patrologia Latina, vol. 172, p. 883 c.
- 314 Ver la Escala de Perfección de Margarita como símbolo místico en Capítulo 5, Sección IV. Rabelais aplica las Escalas del Sabor al amor humano en Pantagruel, Capítulo 21, refiriéndose al amor de Panurge por "une haulte dame de Paris": "ce n'est que miel, ce n'est que sucre, ce n'est que manne celeste, de tout ce qu'est en vous". También hace una referencia al uso simbólico de los múltiplos del tres en su Tiers Livre, Capítulo 20: "Il denote mariage, et d'abondant le nombre trentenaire, selon la proffesion des Pythagoriens. Vous serez marié!"
- 315 En la Carta N°21 de la Correspondance se encuentra un buen ejemplo de cómo aplica las Divine Hierarchies del Pseudo-Dionisio a los tres niveles de la escala mística. Ver Martineau, Correspondance, 1, pp. 115 and 118-119.
- 316 Clive, Marguerite de Navarre, op. cit., La nota del v. 761 de la Comédie inyterpreta "la marotte" como "attribut traditionnel du fou dans le théâtre du moyen âge", p. 117. Erasmo exaltó la Locura en su célebre obra Moriae encomium, (1509). Véase la

- traducción de B. Radice con Introducción y Notas de A. H. T. Levi op. Cit. Yo personalmente mantengo que no sigue Margarita aquí las ideas de Erasmo, sino la doctrina del Pseudo-Dionisio; ver Capítulo Iº, Sección IV. Véase igualmente el elogio del loco en la obra de Rabelais Tiers Livre, Capítulo 37.
- 317 Se encuentra una copia de esta edición de las Contemplations Idiotae de 1519, publicada por Henricus Stephanus, en la BL, pressmark 848.d.1.
- 318 Marguerite de Navarra murió en el castillo de Odos el 21 de diciembre de 1549. Su segundo marido Enrique II de Albret, murió seis años más tarde en 1555.
- 319 La Coche ha sido publicada recientemente por R. Marichal (Geneva, 1971). Este poema neoplatónico sobre la naturaleza del amor fue escrito, según él, hacia 1541; ver Introduction p. 36. Montaigne también trató el tema de las ‘coches’ en uno de sus Essais, Book III, VI.
- 320 Marichal también editó La Navire ou Consolation du Roy François Ier (Geneva, 1956). Su primera edición salió poco después de la muerte de Francisco Iº el primero de marzo 1547. Ver Introducción by Marichal, p. 5.
- 321 Dottin publicó las Chansons Spirituelles en Ginebra, 1971. Fueron escritas, según él entre 1540 y 1547; Introducción, pp. VII-VIII.
- 322 La gran mayoría de las setenta “Nouvelles”nouvelles’ del Heptameron fueron escritas, según L. Febvre, entre 1542 y 1546; Amour Sacré, op. cit., p. 201.
- 323 Las Prisons fueron escritas probablemente hacia el año de la muerte de Francisco Iº en 1547; un ‘récit’ de su muerte fue incorporado al final del Libro III, fols 340 ro to 342 vo.
- 324 Febvre, Amour Sacré, op. cit., p. 201. La primera edición del Heptaméron fue publicada nueve años después de la muerte de Margarita en 1558; esta primera edición apareció bajo el título de Histoires des amants fortunez, que no había escrito Margarita. Fue tan grande su popularidad que fue volvíó a editarse en 1559 bajo el título presente con el nombre de su verdadera autora: L’Heptaméron des Nouvelles de très illustre et très excellente Princesse Marguerite de Valois, Royné de Navarre, remis en son vray ordre, confus auparavant en sa première impression; Ver edición del Heptaméron (Paris, Garnier, 1967), Introducción p. XXV. La edición de François da la lista de todos los manuscritos y sus numerosas ediciones desde 1558; Introducción, pp. XXI-XXVI.
- 325 A. Lefranc, Les Dernières Poésies de Marguerite de Navarre, Paris, 1896; Introducción, pp. XLV-XLVI. La opinión de Clive es también interesante: “Ce dernier poème, véritable odysée spirituelle, est une des créations littéraires les plus remarquables du XVIe siècle. Marguerite nous y offre, en forme allégorique, le résumé de ses idées morales et religieuses”. Marguerite de Navarre; Oeuvres Choisies, op. cit., vol. I, Introduction, p. 21.
- 326 Lefranc, Les Dernières Poésies, op. cit. Clive anuncia la preparación de una segunda edición crítica de las Prisons en una nota al pie de página en Oeuvres Choisies, de Margarita, op. cit.; vol. I, Nota 21, p. 7.
- 327 Febvre hace un análisis mucho más interesante del Heptaméron en la Segunda Parte de su obra Amour Sacré; op. cit., que en la crítica de sus obras poéticas de su Primera Parte. Allí nos ofrece una descripción llena de vida de las preocupaciones de Margarita por describir toda una época, incluyendo temas como los matrimonios clandestinos, (ibid., p. 317), la impopularidad de los frailes ‘cordeliers’ (p. 332), las ideas religiosas y sociales mediados de los años 1500s. Ver

- igualmente Jourda: "L'Heptaméron et la société du XVIème siècle" en Vie Intellectuelle, vol. IV (1932), pp. 478-497.
- 328 Glori Capello, "Neoplatonismo e Riforma in Francia dall'epistolario tra Guglielmo Briçonnet e Margherita di Navarra" en Logica e Semantica ed altri saggi (Padova, 1975), pp. 139-182. Nota de pie de página 39, p. 151.
- 329 Ibid., p. 155.
- 330 He suerido en mi capítulo previo sobre el Miroir que Margarita carecía en sus primeras obras de la jerga técnica profesinal al tratar los problemas teológicos o hermanéuticos. Pero para cuando escribiera las Prisons estaba mucho mejor preparada y era mucho más precisa al tratar los temas.
- 331 Lefranc, Les Dernières Poésies, op .cit., Introducción, p. XV.
- 332 Herminjard publicó la traducción al francés del texto latino en Argentorat, (Paris, 1708). explica que Capiton había dado una serie de conferencias sobre el profeta Hoseas durante los veranos de 1526 y 1527. En su "dedicace" a Margarita de su Commentarius in Hoseam Prophetam, publicado más tarde, asumía que había rechazado las ense.....he assumed that Marguerite had rejected Briçonnet's mystic principles as expressed in his Correspondance with her: "J'ai lu", he writes, "moi-même deux lettres en français qui vous étaient adressées, et dans lesquelles, à l'imitation de Nicolas de Cusa, on philosophait sur l'essence et la puissance de Dieu (...) Vous avez également éprouvé combien cette philosophie de haute volée apporte avec elle de fatigue et combien elle procure peu de satisfaction"; Herminjard, Correspondance, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 119-121. Febvre concluye acertadamente que Capiton se refiere a las cartea de Briçonnet a Margarita: Amour Sacré, op. cit., p. 178. Mi estudio, en cambio probará que Margarita nunca rechazó las ideas del obispo de Meaux y su poema Prisons serán la mejor prueba de que comprendió perfectamente las ideas de Briçonnet sobre las diferentes definiciones de Dios, como se verá el la última sección de este capítulo..
- 333 Ibid., p. 122.
- 334 Marichal, La Navire, op. cit., Nots sobre el verso 1177, p. 292.
- 335 Véase el capítulo previo sobre la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, en que se explica por qué los reformadores como Calvino no aceptaban las ideas que se enseñaban al la corte de Margarita y de Enrique II de Albret. Parte IIª, Capítulo 3, Sección II.
- 336 Meister Eckhart, R.B. Blackney edit., "Sermón 2", op. cit., p. 108.
- 337 El símbolo del cautiverio del alma dentro del cuerpo aparece con mucha frecuencia en el Navire: cf. vv. 187-192; 799-801; 153.
- 338 Gracias a Glori Cappello conocemos a fondo el historial neoplatónico de la Correspondance entre Margarita y Briçonnet. Nos descubre que muchs temas platónicos aparecen en el epistolario, tales como la idea de que el cuerpo es la prisión del alma, o la división tripartita del espíritu, que, según Platón, consta de tres elementos inferiores (la concupiscencia, las energías irascibles y la razón) y de tres componentes superiores (memoria, inteligencia y voluntad) "Neoplatonismo et Riforma in Francia", op. cit., pp. 154-155. Cappello nos anticipa igualmente que hay un manuscrito en la Bibliothèque Nationale, MS 6568, dated 1472, con la traducción de las obras de Platón por Leonardo Bruno, que perteneciera algún tiempo a Briçonnet: "I possessori sono: Guillaume Briçonnet, quando era vescovo di Lodève, il quale regalò il manoscritto al cardinale di Rouen,

- Giorgio d'Amboise". Ibid., note 52, p. 155.
- 339 Oraison Funebre, p. 115. La letras en mayúscula están en el texto The capital letters are in the text.
- 340 Marichal, La Coche, op. cit., pp. 35-40.
- 341 Marichal fija la fecha de la La Coche hacia 1541, un año lleno de las "intrigues politiques" en la corte francesa. Ibid., p. 39.
- 342 Montaigne comenta otra de las inconsistencias de Margarita al comentar la vida privada de Francisco I<sup>o</sup>, diciendo que se hermano solía recitar sus oraciones de la noche antes de ir a visitar a ses "mistresses" ("Nouvelles 25" of the Heptaméron), aunque Montaigne colorea sus comentarios con sentimientos entifemeninos: "... les femmes ne sont propres à traiter les matieres de la Theologie". Essais, Book I, Chapter 56; (Paris, Pléiade, p. 310).
- 343 No están de acuerdo los críticos sobre la fecha de la composición de las Chansons Spirituelles; Dottin, op. cit., Introduction, pp. VII-VIII. Pero es más claro que las citó Margarita What en varias de sus obras más importantes, especialmente en su Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan; Clive, Oeuvres Choiesies, op. cit., vol. II, note on v. 618.
- 344 La "Chanson 9" menciona los "trois moyens" de esclavizar al alma, i.e. "l'amour terrestre", "le monde" and "la puissance" (vv. 29-31).
- 345 En la "Chanson 20" se describe el jardín del "plaisir" en el v. 4, y el de la "ambition d'honneur" en el v. 14.
- 346 Marguerite dedica una gran sección de las Prisons, como lo había hecho en el tema principal de su Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan (ver capítulo anterior), al poder de salvación de las Santas Escrituras. Cf. Prisons, fols 319 ro al 320 vo. Lefranc, Dernières Poésies, op. cit., pp. 234-237.
- 347 E. Parturier publicó la traducción en versos franceses de Margarita del "Padre Nuestro" de Lutero junto con uno de sus tratados místicos en Revue de la Renaissance, vol. II, Paris, 1904, pp. 108-114, 178-190 and 273-276.
- 348 Hans Sckommodau, Margarete von Navarra; Petit Oeuvre dévot et contemplatif; Neuedition und Versuch einer Erklärang, Frankfurt, Analecta Romanica, 1960.
- 349 Parturier, "Les sources du mysticisme de Marguerite de Navarre", en Revue de la Renaissance, vol. VI, 1905, pp. 1-16 y 49-62.
- 350 Ibid., p. 2.
- 351 Sckommodau, Petit Oeuvre, op. cit., Nota sobre el v. 3, p. 40. La "Chanson 34" de Margarita tiene un plan parecido a la Petit Oeuvre; el alma no se pierde en el desierto sino al subir una montaña. Comparar Petit Oeuvre, vv. 19-21:  
Branches, ronces prindrent à m'assaillir,  
Et espines me picquerent si fort  
Que je sentiz ma force deffaillir.  
co"Chanson 34", vv. 65-68:  
Elle n'espargne pas ses plantes  
De marcher sur rocher eslevez,  
Sur chardons et ronces picquantes,  
Car ce sont tous tappis vellus.
- 352 Hay bastantes estudios recientes sobre la naturaleza del misticismo y la experiencia mística, un tema que han desarrollado muchos especialistas modernos como Mircea Eliade, Myths, Dreams and Mysteries, traducido por P. Maiset, London, 1960. Hilda Graef, Mystics of our Times, London, 1962. John Ferguson ofrece

- una bibliografía muy interesante al final de su obra An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Mysticism and Mystery of Religions, London, 1976.
- 353 Cf. John McQueen, Allegory, en la serie “critical idiom”, N°14, London, Methuen, 1970; añadiendo una bibliografía interesante al final de su obra.
- 354 Ibid. Ver en particular el Capítulo 1 sobre las Alegorías Griegas y Romanas y el 2 sobre las Alegorías Bíblicas, op. cit., pp. 1-36.
- 355 Ver mi capítulo previo sobre la hermenéutica bíblica en la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, Section III.
- 356 Ve Capítulo 2 sobre el Miroir como Enigma Místico, Section III.
- 357 Sckommodau reconoce el impacto de la alegoría bíblica de la oveja perdida en los Evangelios de Mateo 18 y Lucas 15 en la Petit Oeuvre, op. cit., Nota on v. 3, p. 40.
- 358 La alegoría de la oveja perdida es un tema constante en ambos Testamentos, Antiguo y Nuevo; ver Esdras 54,6; Ezequiel 34,6; Mateo 18 y Lucas 15.
- 359 Marot in his “Epistre à ma Dame la Duchesse d’Alençon” describes himself as a victim of “la Crainte”: “foible”, “faily”, “fasché”, “forclus”, “confuz”, “coursé” when he arrived to the Court of Marguerite; Hope comes to his help disguised as an Old Man, as in the Prisons:  
 Ung bon vieillard, portant chere joyeuse,  
 Comportatif, de parole amoureuse,  
 Bien ressemblant homme de grand renom,  
 Et s’appelloit Bon Espoir par son nom.  
 Mayer edit., les Epistres, op. cit., p. 101.
- 360 Sainte-Marthe, Oraison Funèbre, op. cit., p. 108. Arguye que tras esta experiencia del sueño dejó en manos de su esposo, el Rey Enrique II de Albret, la responsabilidades del Reino de Nabarra. De hecho hace Sainte-Marthe una apología de los sueños en su Oraison Funèbre, apelando a autoridades tales como Platón y Sócrates; ibid., pp. 106-108. Cf. El interés de Rabelais por los sueños en su Tiers Livre, Capítulo 13.
- 361 Martineau y Veissière comentan sobre la oposición de los Cordeliers a los esfuerzos de Briçonnet para reformar su diócesis; ibid., Introducción, p. 16.
- 362 J. B. Collins, Christian Mysticism in the Elizabethan Age, with its Background in Mystical Methodology, Baltimore, John Hopkins Press, 1940, p. 84.
- 363 Cf. el Sermón 12 de Eckhart: “When God shows himself”; Raymond Blackney edit., Meister Eckhart; a modern translation, New York, Harper Torchbooks, 1941, p. 153.
- 364 Marguerite compara esta situación del ser humano en esta situación más baja con el the “Jument” en las Prisons:  
 Et si l’honneur qu’il en reçoit l’empire,  
 En l’ignorant, il sera fait semblable  
 A la jument et plus abhominable.  
 (fol. 277, vo, p. 148)  
 y con el “cerf” o el “veau” (ibid., fol. 292 ro, p. 179)
- 365 Martineau and Veissière explican, de paso, que la distinción entre el “oeil de la raison” y el “oeil de l’esprit” está conectado con la interpretación tradicional de la Biblia; Correspondance, Note 15, p. 35.
- 366 .Es de notar que Margarita da mucha importancias al sentido de la Vista en su poema de las Prisons, como ya lo hubiera hecho en el Miroir (see Chapter 3); pero ahora seguirá mucho más de cerca las enseñanzas de Briçonnet: “Le vieillard”

- (que representa al Obispo) llama al Poeta-Amante “povre aveugle” (Prisons, fol. 284 vo, p. 164) y “aveugle fol” (ibid., fol. 286 vo, p. 168). Hay, además, varios pasajes en las Prisons en que aparen sus doctrinas con expresiones muy semejantes a las usadas en la Correspondance: “l’oeil de chair” (Prisons, fol. 327 vo, p. 252); “l’oeil charnel” (ibid., fol. 328 ro, p. 253); “l’oeil de foy” (ibid., fol. 331, p. 260) y “l’oeil inspiré” (ibid., fol. 312 vo, p. 221).
- 367 Ver las enseñanzas de Pontus de Tyard sobre el “fureur poétique” en Solitaire Premier, edit. por S. F. Baridon, Geneva, Droz, 1950, pp. 1-12. Ver igualmente el sentido espiritual de un texto en contraste con su sentido literal en el Capítulo 4 sobre la Comédie, Sección III.
- 368 Ver la edición de Aucassin et Nicolette de M. Roque, Paris, 1969. Aunque sean claras las diferencias entre esta historia y la del Poeta-Amante de Mararita, tienen muchos detalles en común, particularmente la descripción del castillo como prisión del amor, y la alegoría del escape a la hemosura de la Naturaleza
- 369 Se menciona el “Romant de la Rose” en la “Nouvelle 9” del Heptaméron.
- 370 Cf. en la obra de MacQueen “Allegory”, Capítulo 2: “Biblical Allegory”, op. cit., pp. 18-36.
- 371 Lefranc, Dernières Poésies, op. cit., Introducción, p. LVII.
- 372 Sckommodau, Die religiösen Dichtungen Margaretes von Navarre, Cologne, Westdeutscher Verlag, 1955, p. 145.
- 373 La posición de Sckommodau es quizás menos dogmática que la adoptada por Lefranc, cuando interpreta la prisión de la Naturaleza como “Weltleben” (i. e. vida mundana) y la tercera prisión de la Ciencia como “Wissen” (i.e. Conocimiento); op. cit., p. 145. Ver la posición de Lefranc en Dernières Poésies, op. cit., Introducción, p. LXII.
- 374 Los místicos mantienen que sólo se puede llegar al conocimiento esotérico de lo Divino a través de un periodo de Iniciación. Los “Exotéricos” que no comprendan su vocabulario misterioso tergiversarán lo que ellos han escrito, y este proceso implicaba un método de Purificación junto con el voto de “secreto”. Ferguson, Encyclopaedia of Mysticism, op. cit., pp. 86-88.
- 375 La “Carta” es un tratado místico del significado espiritual del “feu”, como la segunda etapa del conocimiento espiritual (Correspondance, 1, pp. 97-113).
- 376 Briçonnet asocia las tres etapas del conocimiento místico con los tres papeles de las personas en el misterio cristiano de la Trinidad, atribuyendo el proceso de purificación por el “eau” al Padre Father, el de Iluminación por “feu” al Hijo, y el de Unión como “fruit” al Espíritu Santo en la Carta 19, fechada el 22 de diciembre, concluyendo: “L’eau povons attribuer au superceleste Pere eternal. Le feu au debonnaire Jesus. Le fruit au Saint-Esperit, qui procede d’eulx comme le fruit de l’arbre, de l’eau et du feu”; (ibid. 1, p. 96)
- 377 Hay que subrayar que el concepto de Iluminación en el poema de las Prisons de la Reine de Navarre atribuido al Espíritu Santo, se ajusta a la definición de Dios según Hermes Pimander como “Je Suis qui Suis”. Ambos Briçonnet y Lefèvre se habían interesado en el misticismo hermético: “Lefèvre d’Étaples”, escribe Yates, “gave the lead in importing Hermetism into France and in warning against the magic of Asclepius (...). The volume (Pimander and Asclepius) was dedicated to a famous French bishop, Guillaume Briçonnet, thus inaugurating the ecclesiastical career of Hermetism without magic in France”. Frances A. Yates, Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition,

- London, Routledge and Kegan, 1964, pp. 170-171. J. Dagens estudió el impacto del Hermetismo en Francia en, “Hermétisme et Cabala en France, de Lefèvre d’Étaples à Bossuet”, en Revue de Littérature Comparée, janvier-mars, 1961.
- 378 Martineau y Veissière, siguiendo a Heller, aclaran que Briçonnet aplican las jerarquías angélicas según el Pseudodionisio a las tres etapas de la ascensión mística. Ya lo había hecho Hugo de San Victor (1096-1141) (Correspondance, I, Nota 77, p. 158). Margarita sigue sus pasos en las Prisons:  
 Celluy qui seul conduit la monarchie,  
 La fait asseoir sur toute hierarchie.  
 (fol. 311 vo, p. 219).
- Lefèvre editó la Caelestis Hierarchia junto con la Ecclesiastica Hierarchia y la Divina Nomina lo mismo que la Mystica Theologia, con once cartas de los primeros mártires Ignacio y Policarpo en 1515, dicándoselas a Briçonnet. Hay una colia de esta edición en la British Library, pressmark 3625.a.1.
- 379 En el segundo libro de las Prisons aparece la doble ortografía de “Dante” y de “Dente” en el fol.293, ro, p. 182.
- 380 Los Libertins Spirituels también distinguen las tres etapas, pero no tienen que ver nada con las divisiones de Margarita. Ellos mantenían que se trataba de tres periodos: “Moÿse estoit la loy ancienne, dure et importable. Jesus-Christ la douce, gracieuse et traictable. Elie estoit le dernier, signifiant la fin du monde, comme il montra en son partement en un chariot ardent, plein de feu, appelé double esprit, et par lequel nous sommes consommés hors de ce monde terrestre (...) Les Libertins Spirituels se croyaient appellés à inaugurer cette troisième période, celle du Saint-Esprit ou d’Elie.” A. Jundt, Histoire du Panthéisme populaire au Moyen Age et au seizième siècle, Strasbourg (Printed), 1875, p. 145.
- 381 Es extraño ver que este culto neoplatónico del “Amor Perfecto” mucho más acentuado en el Libro II<sup>a</sup> que en la historia del Poeta-Amante del Libro I<sup>o</sup> de las Prisons: “Parfaicte amour fut ma force et mon soing” (ibid., p. 155)
- 382 Margarita no critica todo el tiempo la vida cortesana en sus Prisons, pues apreciaba el “arte de la conversación” que se cultivaba en las cortes renacentistas y que servirán de marco a sus “nouvelles” en el Heptameron. A ella le encantaba rodearse de gente del “bien parler”r (Prisons, fol. 283 ro, p. 161)
- 383 Lefranc ya había notado que en las Prisons se encuentran las ideas comunes de Astrología que eran muy populares en tiempo de Margarita de Navarra. Cf. Dernières Poésies, op. cit., Nota 1 del fol. 276 vo, p. 147.
- 384 La primera edición de las Prisons apareció en 1896, pero sólo como parte de las Lefranc’s Dernières Poésies de Lefranc. Clive anuncia una edición necesaria más moderna. Cf. Oeuvres Choiesies, op. cit., vol. I, Nota 21, p. 7.
- 385 Michel François cataloga al menos 24 ediciones del Heptaméron entre 1558 y 1880; Marguerite de Navarre: l’Heptaméron, Paris, Garnier, 1967; Introducción, pp. XXV-XXVI.
- 386 El Libro I de las Prisons ocupa solamente 10 folios escritos a ambos lados (fol. 265 vo al 275 vo); el Libro II dieciocho 18 fols, (fol. 276 ro to 294 ro), mientras que el Libro III va del fol. 295 ro al 348 vo; en total 53 folios.
- 387 Ver la idea que tiene San Pablo sobre la liberación del espíritu del cuerpo en Romanos 7,24.
- 388 Margarita narra también la historia de un mártir contemporáneo, Kabitz, que



- murió a manos de los turcos (Prisons, fol. 330 ro, p. 257). Esta anécdota pudo haber sido el punto de arranque de los cuatro “récits” de las Prisons.
- 389 Fue con ocasión de la muerte de Marguerite de Lorraine cuando Margarita al alma mirando de hito al “Soleil” como el Águila (Prisons, fol. 331 ro, p. 260).
- 390 El “Memento mori” y las “Litaniae mortuorum” son oraciones que ayudan a a los moribundos a aceptar la muerte con resignación cristiana. No se trataba de oraciones deprecatorias para aplacar a Dios por las faltas humanas como en este pasaje de las Prisons. Compara este texto con uno de Rabelais: “Ce disant, ouyt la letanie et les Mementos des prebstres qui portoyent sa femme [i.e. Gargantua’s] en terre...” Pantagruel, Chapter 3, Paris, Garnier, 1962, vol. 1, p. 233.
- 391 Briçonnet hizo una explicación del “Magnificat” como himno místico en la Carta 70 de la Correspondance, 2, pp. 68-69. Ver también al Capítulo 3 sobre el Miroir, Sección II.
- 392 Llamaban a Alejandro de Hales el “doctor irrefragibilis”; a Duns Scotus el “doctor subtilis” y a San Buenaventura el “doctor seraphicus”.
- 393 En 31 fol. 311 ro se define a Dios como “orator”: “Celluy qui Est le seul orateur” (Prisons, p. 218)
- 394 Cf la historia de la Torre de Babel en el Génesis 11,1-9.
- 395 Las Cartas 18 y 19 son tratados místicos sobre el proceso de Purificación por el “eau”, siendo escritas en 1521 antes de la Navidad (Correspondance, 1, pp. 76-96).
- 396 Briçonnet le había enviado a Margarita otra carta muy extensa por aquella misma época de 1521 sobre el sentido espiritual de la Iluminación por el “feu” (ibid., 1, pp. 97-113).
- 397 Briçonnet aplazó bastante tiempo el envío de su Carta sobre del “Manna” a pesar de la insistencia de Margarita que se describía como la “affamée fille”; ibid., p. 132. Cuando tuvo tiempo de complacerla, le envió un largo tratado el 5 de febrero 1522 (ibid., 1, pp. 138-153).
- 398 Briçonnet esperó hasta el año siguiente 1523 antes de enviarle el tratado sobre la hermética mística (ibid., 2, pp. 11-15).
- 399 Fue más tarde en 1524 cuando introdujo Briçonnet a Margarita en el tema del matrimonio como símbolo de la Unión entre el alma y la Divinidad (ibid., 2, pp. 193-211).
- 400 Después de narrar su “parábola del Semblador” (Mark 4,1-9), explicó que el sentido real estaba reservada a un grupo reducido de sus discípulos o iniciados para que los no-iniciados la oyeran sin comprenderla. (ibid., 4,12).
- 401 Según Harold Bayley en The Lost Language of Mysticism: an inquiry into the origins of certain letters, words, names, fairy-tales, folk-lore and mythologies, el Águila está en el ápice o punto más alto en la “scala perfectionis” representando “the Goal of Vision of the Divine”; London, 1968, Part I, p. 77.
- 402 Cf Nota previa N°72.
- 403 Algunas Chansons Spirituelles tratan temas desarrollados más tarde en las Prisons. Las Canciones 21 y 30, por ejemplo tratan de la experiencia mística: “Espouse se perd et pasme” (Chanson 21, vv. 23-26). El alma está unida a Cristo para conseguir perfecta armonía con la Divinidad (Chanson 30, vv. 38-41). Muchas de las definiciones de Dios son similares a las de las Prisons, como por ejemplo el “Tout” (Chanson 42, v. 81; Chanson 44, v. 13; Chanson 17, v. 26) o su antítesis el “Rien” (Chanson 6, vv. 106-108).

- 404 El Éxtasis trae sosueño al alma, pero a la vez la experiencia de un estado de trance. Ver el término “ecstasy” en Ferguson, Encyclopaedia of Mysticism, op. cit., p. 50. Catalina de Siena y Teresa de Ávila la describen como diferente al estado de anestesia.
- 405 Margarita comparaba el conocimiento extático de la Biblia a la lucha de Moisés con Dios durante la teofanía en forma de Fuego y del Arbusto en llamas (Prisons, fol. 303 ro and vo, pp. 202-203).
- 406 El Miroir habla del “Raptus Mysticus” utilizando palabras como “raver”, “navrer”, “fendre”; Cf. Capítulo 3 del Miroir, Apartado IV. El personaje enigmático de “la Ravie de Dieu, Bergère” de la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, ha de interpretarse dentro de este contexto.
- 407 Henri Bergson, Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience (Chapter 2) en, Oeuvres complètes, Paris, PUF, 1963, p. 98.
- 408 Cf. Ferguson, “Encyclopaedia of Mysticism”: “Ecstasy”, according to the mystics, is a “timeless experience”, op. cit., p. 51. El Tiempo juega un papel importante en la “Nouvelle 24” del Heptaméron: Una reina pone en prueba el amor sincero de un noble enviándole a un país lejano: a su vuelta tras siete años comprueba que ha estado perdiendo el tiempo en vano: su despedida es un himno al “temps perdu”  
 Le temps m’a fait veoir amour pauvre et nud  
 Tout tel qu’il est et dont il est venu.  
 (ibid., p. 199):  
 Ver también “La notion du temps, dans Gargantua” en Jean Larmat, Le Moyen Age dans le Gargantua de Rabelais, Nice, Faculté de Lettres et Sciences Humaines N°12, 1973, pp. 25-37. El interés de Rabelais por el Tiempo es muy parecido al tema de Margarita: “...car le temps qui toutes choses ronge et diminue, augmente et accroist les bienfaictz, parce q’un bon tour liberalement faict à l’homme de raison croist continuellement par noble pensée et remembrance” (Gargantua, Capítulo 50, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 184). Hablando de Dios como “l’intellectuelle sphære” le describe como más allá del tiempo: “...à laquelle rien ne advient, rien ne passe, rien ne dechet, tous temps sont praesens, note non seulement les choses passées en mouvements inférieurs mais aussi les futures...” (Le Tiers Livre, Capítulo 13, ibid., vol. 1, p. 453).
- 409 Cf. otros textos sobre la unión mística en el Miroir, vv. 85-88; 919-925 y 1180-1182.
- 410 Cf. Becker, Marguerite, Duchesse d’Alençon, op. cit., p. 467.
- 411 La “Chanson 17” desarrolla el tema de los “Esponsales místicos en los vv. 5-12.
- 412 Ver Skommodau, Die religiösen Dichtungen Margaretes von Navarra; op. cit., p. 141.
- 413 Ver Nota 91 sobre el concepto del Existencia intemporal de Dios y en la Unión extática del alma con Él. (a chequear el número de la nota)
- 414 Sainte-Marthe escribió la apología de “Catherine de Sienne” en su the Oraison Funèbre por la Reina de Navarra, op. cit., p. 72.
- 415 Fue Lefranc quien sugirió que es muy probable que estuviera fuera Margaritas refiriéndose en este texto a Catalina de Siena; cf. Dernières Poésies, op. cit., Nota 1, p. 230. En lo que no insiste es que muy pronto se referirá a otra mujer mística cuya experiencia se describe junto al pozo de Jacob en el Evangelio de Juan (4,5-26) que jugaría un papel de máxima importancia en el Libro II de las Prisons. Quizás Margarita comparó el “raptus mysticus” mientras leía las obras

- de Santa Catalina con la mujer samaritana mientras escuchaba las palabras de Jesús junto al pozo de Samaria, pues la menciona en las Prisons, fol. 304 ro, p. 204.
- 416 Pontus de Tyard, uno de los “protégés” en la Corte de Navarre, escribió en su “dédicace” a Margarita del tratado neoplatónico Solitaire Premier: de 1552: “Peuvent ne voir les Taupes de ce siècle la splendeur d’une et une autre Princesse Marguerite? Desquelles celle nous laissa autant de deuil et mescontentement à sa mort, comme ceste nous apporte d’admiration par la perfection de sa doctrine et accomplissement de ses graces”; edición de S. Baridon, Genève, Droz, 1950, Introducción, p. XXII.
- 417 Cf también la explicación del “fureur poétique” de Pontus de Tyard en su Solitaire Premier, op. cit., pp. 1-12, y Margarita identifica de forma semejante el “fureur poétique” con el “fureur prophétique”. Quizás comparara sus sentimientos como poetisa con sus experiencias místicas, haciendo una analogía entre ambas. Parturier sugiere que “C’est de cette doctrine qu’est sortie la théorie de l’inspiration poétique des poètes de la Pléiade. Elle est d’ailleurs dans Platon”. “Les sources du mysticisme de Marguerite de Navarre” en Revue de la Renaissance, Paris, vol. V, 1904, pp. 1-16 and 49-62; Nota 4, p. 12. Cf. igualmente “la fureur poétique” en Rabelais, Le Tiers Livre, Chapter 22.
- 418 Los místicos hacen con frecuencia uso de las facultades sensoriales para describir sus experiencias espirituales. Se encuentran en las Prisons de Margarita referencias del sentido del Oído en expresiones como::  
Impossible est qu’une mortelle oreille  
Sceust distinguer ceste voix non pareille  
.fol. 322 ro, pp. 240-241)  
El sentido del Tacto aparece también: “De tel cousteau tuant non punissant” (fol. 302 vo, p. 201). El de la vista es más frecuente: “Qui droict au cueur par l’oeil tant soudain entre” (fol. 303 ro, p. 201) pero más raros los del Gusto y Tacto (fol. 301, p. 198), aunque la segunda descripción del “raptus mysticus” está casi enteramente basado en sensaciones táctiles (fol. 232 ro, pp. 240-241).
- 419 El papel del Espíritu es muy importante en el poema de las Prisons. Pues asume los del “soleil” y del “vieillard” en los Libros II y III::  
... Par cest esprit qui me fist recouvrer  
L’intelligence et le sens trop caché,  
Je ne fuz plus des livres empesché.  
(fol. 307 vo, p. 211)  
El Espíritu, en conexión con las experiencias místicas, sirve de guía en la comprensión del sentido espiritual de la Biblia en oposición a la lectura puramente literal y superficial.
- 420 “La mer” aparece también como símbolo de la Libertad “Car par la mer où les rivières vont navigages incréables se font” (ibid. fol. 277 vo, p. 149).
- 421 El Ágila aparece en las Prisons al describir la muerte de Marguerite de Lorraine como experiencia mística (ibid., fol. 331 Ro, p. 260).
- 422 Ya he sugerido que Margarita tenía acceso directo a los manuscritos de la Correspondance pues había mandado a su propio secretario que la copiara. Ver Becker, Marguerite, Duchesse d’Alençon, op. cit., p. 395.
- 423 Cf. Carta Nº11 de la Correspondance, escrita el 11 de noviembre 1521, op. cit., I, p. 59.

- 424 Ver la sección siguiente sobre las definiciones de Dios en todas las obras de Margarita y en especial en las Prisons; muchas de las cuales siguen las ideas de Briçonnet sobre la naturaleza de Dios..
- 425 The theme of the “Tout” and the “Rien” here introduced at the end of Briçonnet’s letter in his description of the “raptus mysticus” will be taken up by Marguerite in the Prisons, as we will see in Section V. B of this chapter.
- 426 Las obras de Meister Eckhart’s fueron condenadas por el papa Juan XXII el 27 de marzo de 1329, poco después de su muerte; Blackney, Meister Eckhart, op. cit., Introduction, p. XXIV.
- 427 Juan de la Cruz fue perseguido por sus ideas místicas y escribió algunas de sus obras como La Noche Oscura del Alma y La Subida al Monte Carmelo en la prisión, Ferguson, Encyclopaedia of Mysticism, op. cit., “Juan de la Cruz”, op. cit., pp. 93-94.
- 428 La experiencia mística se expresa con frecuencia como “una Lucha” entre el ser humano y Dios- y así se describe en la Biblia (Exodus 3, 1-15), cuando el joven pastor vio quemándose el arbusto (cf. Prisons, fol. 303 vo, pp. 202-203).
- 429 The Svetasvatara Upanishad define a Dios como:  
That is the fire,.....el Fuego  
That is the sun, .....el Sol  
That is the air,.....el Aire  
That is the moon,.....la Luna  
That is the pure,..... lo Puro  
That is Brahman,.....Brahman (lo Infinito)  
That is the waters,.....las Aguas  
That is the creator of all.....el Creador de todo  
(traducción al inglés de A.G. Parrinder; ver Ferguson, Encyclopaedia of Mysticism, “Panthéism”, op. cit., p.138) Cf, también Jundt, Histoire du panthéisme populaire, op. cit. Es también interesante en nuestro caso la obra de L. Febvre, Le Problème de l’incroyance au XVIème siècle, Paris, Series l’Evolution de l’Humanité, N°53, 1942.
- 430 Cf. También el Miroir, v. 937: “O mon enfant, quelle dilection”.
- 431 Marguerites, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 143.
- 432 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 89. La Oraison de l’âme fidèle da una serie de definiciones de Dios dignas de mención: “ferme, stable et constant” (Marguerites, op. cit., p. 90). “Bon, Juste, Saint”, “Sage, Saint, fort” (ibid., p. 96). “...de ton filz seul nommé il peult estre” (ibid., p. 112).
- 433 Margarita se preocupa todo el tiempo de mantener el Libro III de las Prisons conectada debidamente con el resto del poema, pero al mismo tiempo cae en la cuenta que se separa del plan original ampliando otros temas como, por ejemplo las secciones sobre la experiencia mística y las definiciones de Dios. Ya en el Libro II menciona al Poeta-Amante prisionero de sus propias presunciones (Prisons, fol. 284 vo, p. 163). Se puede decir lo mismo del Libro III, pues Margarita se vuelve a referir a los Libros previos I y II (ibid., fol. 301 vo, p. 199). Se puede observar, por ejemplo, que los cuatro “récits” de las muertes de Marguerite de Lorraine, Charles d’Alençon, Louise de Savoie y de François Ier (ibid., fols 331 ro to 342 ro) están cuidadosamente conectados con el resto del poema por medio del tema místico “Tout et Rien”: “Et en tout lieu failloit le Tout cercher” (ibid., fol. 331 ro, p. 260) y del tema general de las Prisons: “En liberté avec son Tout vivante” (ibid., p. 261).

- 434 Lucas 1, 46-55. En la paráfrasis del “Magnificat” de las Prisons se presenta la canción de María como una exposición de la doctrina espiritual del “Rien” (María) y el “Tout” (ios). (Prisons, fol. 345 ro, p. 219)
- 435 Según Margarita la muerte de Sócrates (el 339 AC) sirve de ejemplo para todos los cristianos:  
 O chrestiens, qui la foy catholique  
 Pensez avoir, regardez ceste etnique,  
 Au moins tel est de l’Eglise tenu,  
 Voyez à quel sçavoir il est venu:  
 De Celluy seul qui Est a eu science,  
 Car autrement n’auroit eu passience.  
 (Prisons, fol. 313 vo, pp. 223-224)
- Todo esto evidencia que la doctrina de las Prisons sobre la hermenéutica mística de la Biblia (ver Parte II, Capítulo 1 sobre la Comédie, Sección III), hacen poner en duda las conclusiones de Febvre que las ideas de Margarita dependen más de Lutero que de Erasmo; Amour Sacré, op. cit., pp. 68-69.
- 436 Hay una copia de esta edición de las obras de Hermes Pimander por Lefèvre’s (1505) en la BL, pressmark 3625.a.1. En su dedicatoria a n to Briçonnet se lee: “Reverendo in Christo Patri ac Domino D. Guillelmo Briçonneto Episcopo Lodovensi dignissimo” (BL. 3625.a.1).
- 437 El Corpus Hermeticum, escrito en el siglo 1º de nuestra era fue una colección de tratados semejantes a la Biblia de una secta atribuida a Hermes Trismegistus, que identificaba al dios egipcio Thoth con el griego Hermes, bajo el título de “Trismegistus”, i.e. tres veces grande. Margarita identifica la “triple revelación” de Dios con el misterio de la Trinidad. La doctrina del Pseudohermes fue importante para el grupo de Meaux y Lefèvre editó el Pimander Mercurii Trismegisti Liber de Sapientia et Potestate Dei in 1505. Hay una copia en la BL, pressmark 1248.d.21.
- 438 Tomás de Kempis escribió: “¿Cuándo me uniré a Ti, pues por tu amor no me siento a mí mismo, sino sólo a Ti, por encima de todo sentimiento y manera, de un modo desconocido de todos?” Imitación de Cristo, Libro III Capítulo 23.
- 439 El emblema “Gratia Dei sum id quod sum” lo utilizaba la Casa de Albret en las monedas acuñadas en Navarra-Béarn y aparece en las de Henrique II de Albret, esposo de Margarita y en las de su nieto Enrique III (IV de Francia).
- 440 Margarita nunca muestra desprecio por la filosofía manteniendo que Dios inspiraba a los filósofos (Prisons, fols 306 vo and 307 ro, p. 210).
- 441 Margarita da por sentado que Hermes Trismegistus, Socrates, Platón y otros habían sido iluminados por el Espíritu Santo..
- 442 Margarita menciona incluso a personajes míticos, cuyos poderes creativos recibieron poderes del Espíritu:. (Prisons, fols 309 vo and 310 ro, pp. 215-217; mencionando a “Athlas”, “Palas”, “Júpiter”, “Acteon” y a otros.
- 443 Rolt, edición de los Nombres Divinos, Capítulo 9: “Concerning Great, Small, Same, Different, Like, Unlike, Standing, Motion, Equality” op. cit., pp. 162-169.
- 444 Comédie de la Nativité en Marguerites, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 204.
- 445 Comédie du desert, en Marguerites, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 367.
- 446 El tema antitético del “Tout” y del “Rien” aparece en muchas de las Chansons Spirituelles; ver Nos. 6, 11, 13, 17, 30, 39, 42 and 44.
- 447 Oraison de l’âme fidèle, in Marguerites, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 95.

- 448 El concepto de “kenosis” está en la Epístola de San Pablo a los Filipenses, 2,7: “Se vació a sí mismo para asumir la condición de esclavo, to assume the condition of a slave”.
- 449 Oraison de l’âme fidèle, en Marguerites, op. cit., pp. 101-102.
- 450 Los textos alquímicos del siglo XVI presentaban la creación del hombre y de la mujer como un único ser. El matrimonio aparecía como el anhelo místico por la parte perdida de uno mismo, puesto que la Imagen Divina se había perdido durante la separación del hombre de la mujer. Cf. Ferguson, Encyclopaedia of Mysticism, “Androgyne”, op. cit., pp. 12-13.
- 451 Oraison de l’âme fidèle, en Marguerites, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 121. Ver la descripción similar del “raptus mysticus” en la Sección IV de este Capítulo. El concepto paulino de “anéantissement” (“kenosis”), Filipenses 2,7, aparece en las Cartas-Tratados de Briçonnet y tuvieron que influir en las ideas de Margarita: “(...) car aussy peu et moins povons de nous que la brebis se elle n’est gardée et, en ce, nous faudrons à tousjours louer le peu loué, digne de tous loz, en nous pulverisant par vray aneantissement” (Correspondance, 1, pp. 90-100). Igualmente “Le grant en divinité est devenu petit par exinanition” (ibid., 1, p. 112).
- 452 Eckhart escribió en su sermón sobre el “Amor de Dios”: “aparece así el amor de Dios para con nosotros” (I John 4,9). “En tercer lugar debes liberarte de todos los Nos”, escribió en 1317. Y para explicar una doctrina que fuera codenada más tarde por el Papa Juan XXII en 1329, escribió como “Defensa IX” que “todas las criaturas son pura nada”. Blackney, Meister Eckhart, op. cit., Introducción, pp. XXIII-XXIV.
- 453 J. Orcibal observa que la publicación de 1512 del that the publication in 1512 del De Ornatu de Ruysbroek por Lefèvre “couronnait les campagnes qu’il avait menées, en liaison avec Marcile Ficin et l’école de Florence, pour la diffusion du néoplatonisme dionysien. Les germes ainsi semés commençaient à se développer (en particulier dans le cercle de Marguerite de Navarre)”. La Rencontre du Carmel Thérésien avec les mystiques du nord. Bibliothèque de l’École des Hautes Études, Paris, 1959, p. 3. Por otra parte Michel Certeau ha logrado descubrir conexiones más detalladas entre Lefèvre y la Escuela Renana del monasterio de Vauvert, en el valle Grand-Bornard, no lejos de París donde Lefèvre hizo amistad con el Prior, Sutor, aunque sin compartir sus ideas cuando escribió una obra contra Erasmo en 1524 en defensa del monasticismo. Certeau había presentado una lista de manuscritos publicados en Vauvert desde 1491, y debió ser allí donde Lefèvre tuvo acceso a los manuscrito que editó más tarde. Ver M. Certeau, Mémorial du Bienheureux Pierre Favre, Paris, Brower, 1959, pp. 29-30.
- 454 Ver el término “Nothing” en Ferguson, Encyclopaedia of Mysticism, op. cit., p. 134.
- 455 Ibid., p. 134.
- 456 Ver Nota anterior N°136.
- 457 Las Chansons Spirituelles hacen resaltar la superioridad del conocimiento místico sobre el simple entendimiento (Chanson 23, vv. 29-32).
- 458 Esta nostalgia por el entendimiento no-místico que describe aquí alegóricamente Briçonnet, es en realidad el comienzo del tema del Libro III de las the Prisons (fols 295 ro al 303 vo).
- 459 Ver la Introducción a la traducción al francés de los Cuatro Evangelios por Lefèvre

- de 1525 en el fol. a III vo. Hay una copia de esta traducción en la BL, pressmark C111, c. 13.
- 460 Lefranc comenta sobre la dificultad de este texto, “que nous n’avons pas cru devoir nous permettre d’y changer un mot (...)” Marguerites, op. cit., Nota 1, p. 212.
- 461 Cf. Tiers Livre, Capítulo XIII, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 453. Rabelais utiliza también otra de las definiciones de los que se encuentra en las Prisons de Margarita: “Celluy qui Est, respondit Pantagruel, par nostre théologique doctrine, est Dieu”; Quart Livre, Capítulo XLVIII, op. cit., p. 180; esta misma definición aparece también en Gargantua, Capítulo II. Ver H. Hornik: “More on the Hermetica and French Renaissance Literature (M. d’Angoulême, Rabelais, A. d’Aubigné, Scève)” en Studi Francesi, vol. XVIII (Turin 1974) pp. 1-12. también E. U. Bertalot, “Rabelais et la Bible, d’après les quatre premiers livres” en Etudes Rabelaisiennes THR, vol. V (1964), pp. 19-40.
- 462 Platón usa el simbolismo del Círculo para representar la “Igualdad” de Dios en Phaedrus, lo mismo que en el Symposium o Banquete, aunque lo tomara de las fuentes presocráticas en los escritos de Parménides y Jenofonte. Ver Lefranc, “Marguerite de Navarre et le Platonisme de la Renaissance” en Bibliothèque de l’École des Chartes, vols. LVIII (1897), pp. 259-292 and LIX (1898) pp. 712-757.
- 463 Cf. M. Ficinus, Theologiae Platonicae de immortalitate animarum, Libri XVIII. Fue traducido y publicado en París en 1559. El símbolo del Círculo como figura perfecta lo utilizaban la mayoría de los escritores neoplatónicos. R. Lull escribió: “Circulus est figura ultima. Et dicitur ultima, eo quod perfectior est quam aliqua alia figura”; Ars Generalis Ultima, “de circulo” (Palma de Mallorca, 1645), pars 10, de applic., cap. 14, art. 46, p. 354.
- 464 Cf. Prisons, fol. 308 ro, p. 212:  
Dans ma divine éternelle rondeur;  
La ligne suys (...)
- 465 Ver el estudio de Glori Capello “Nicolò Cusano nella Corrispondenza di Briçonnet con Margherita di Navarra”, op. cit., p. 118 donde explica la influencia de los escritos de Nicolás de Cusa durante los años de iniciación de Margarita (1521-1524) bajo Briçonnet durante los años 1521-1524..
- 466 Ibid., p. 119.
- 467 Rolt, Dionysius the Areopagite; Divine Names, Capítulo 4, 9, op. cit., pp. 98-99.
- 468 Ibid., Nota 2, p. 99.
- 469 Ibid. p. 167.....
- 470 Cf. El final del Miroir, v. 1430. Ver el análisis de este texto en el Capítulo 3 sobre el Miroir, Sección III.
- 471 Ver el uso del enigma de la “Marguerite” según Briçonnet en el Capítulo, Section III, y en el Capítulo 6, Sección V.
- 472 Ver el estudio de la aliteración de la “V” y de la “M” en el Dialogue y el Miroir en el Capítulo 2, Sección III. La definición de Dios como “Verité, Voie, Vie” aparece varias veces en la Chansons Spirituelles (Chanson 30 v.4; Chanson 31, vv. 5 and 19).
- 473 En el fol. 324 vo de las Prisons combina Margarita las fórmulas joanina y paulina:  
Et qu’il est Tout en tous, la vie et l’estre; [Pauline]  
La verité monstrant ce Tout parfait. [Johannine]  
(fol. 324 vo, p. 246)
- 474 W. F. Bense explica que “This emphasis on faith brings Lefèvre’s spirituality

- closer to so-called “Christ-mysticism” than to “God-mysticism” popularized by John Gerson and the New Devotion with its great emphasis on love. It is very tempting to label Lefèvre’s spirituality “evangelical mysticism” or even “Lutheran mysticism”, and Bédá would undoubtedly be the first to embrace this terminology. But for the present, we content ourselves with the less argumentative term “faith-mysticism” as we seek to describe how Lefèvre’s spiritualism qualifies his view of God, of man and of the physical universe.” Noël Bédá and the Humanistic Reformation at Paris, 1504-1534 (Tesis), Cambridge Mass. 1967, Harvard Univ. Phil. Disc. (asequible en microfilm), p. 492-493.
- 475 Ibid., p. 492.
- 476 Albert Schweizer distingue dos tipos de misticismo en el Nuevo Testamento. El primero, según él. Sería el Paulino basándose en el estudio del “Jesús Histórico”, como lo hiciera San Pablo en sus Epístolas a las primeras comunidades cristianas, sacando conclusiones de los misterios de la Vida, Muerte y resurrección de Jesucristo. El segundo sería el “Teomisticismo Helenístico” o “Logos Miisticismo”, basándose en el comienzo del evangelio según San Juan I,1: “Y la Palabra era Dios”. A. Schweizer, The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle (traducción de W. Montgomery) New York 1931. Ver en particular el Capítulo 13; “The Hellenization of Paul’s mysticism by Ignatius and the Johannine theology” pp.334-375.
- 477 Aunque no sería exacto afirmar que Margarita fuera primeramente seguidora del evangelismo paulino para luego aceptar el misticismo johanino del Logos, sí se puede demostrar que con el paso del tiempo le interesaron mucho los textos johaninos. Véase ñpor ejemplo este pasaje del Heptaméron: “Le matin, plus tost que de coustume, madame Oisille alla preparer sa leçon en la salle; mais la compaignye, qui en fut advertye, pour le desir qu’elle avoit d’oyr sa bonne instruction, se dilligenta tant de se habiller, qu’ilz ne la feirent gueres actendre. Et elle, cognoissant la ferveur, leur vat lire l’epistre de Saint Jean l’evangeliste, qui n’est plaine que d’amour, pour ce que les jours passez elle leur avoit déclaré celle de Saint Paul aux Romains. La compaignye trouva ceste viande si doulce, que, combien qu’ilz y fussent demye heure plus qu’ilz n’avoient esté les aultres jours, si leur sembloit-il n’y avoir pas esté ung quart”. Heptaméron, Paris, Garnier, 1967, Véanse también los prólogos a la Sexta y Séptima “Journées”.
- 478 Se estudia erl rechazo de Briçonnet a la actitud tradicional de Lutero en el Capítulo 4, Sección III.
- 479 El Profesor M. A. Screech acababa de publicar una obra sobre la espiritualidad de Erasmo, Ecstasy and the Praise of Folly, London, Duckworth, 1980, pero por desgracia no tuve acceso a este estudio durante la composición de la tesis.
- 480 Véanse mis estudios del Ojo y de la Vista en el Miroir, Capítulo 3, Sección II, donde se interpreta el poema como el “Speculum Videndi”.
- 481 El Espejo aparece como un enigma místico, lo mismo que como un símbolo de la Marguerite-Perle, *ibid.*, Sección III.
- 482 Véase el significado del símbolo de la Prisión en el Capítulo 5 de las Prisons, Sección III.
- 483 Cf el significado del Círculo como la Inmutabilidad de Dios, *ibid.*, Section V, D.
- 484 Ver los siguientes estudios sobre los símbolos: Harold Bayley, The Lost Language of Symbolism; an Inquiry into the Origin of Certain Letters, Words, Names, Fairy-Tales, Folklore and Mythology, 2 vols (London, 1951). También Gérard de



- Champeaux y Sébastien Steckx, Introduction au monde des symboles, Mulhaus-Dornach (Haut-Rhin), 1972. Hay una lista de diccionarios sobre los símbolos en la bibliografía general al final de este estudio.
- 485 Mircea Eliade, Images et Symboles (Paris, 1952), y Gilbert Durand, les Structures anthropologiques de l'imaginaire, introduction à l'archétypologie générale, (Paris 1960).
- 486 C. G. Jung, Studies on Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious, collected works, traducción R. F. C. Hull (London, 1970).
- 487 Terence Hawkes previene al lector moderno contra posibles tergiversaciones de los símbolos y de las metáforas durante el periodo de la pre-Reforma:  
 “However, [escribe], it is important to understand the role given to metaphor in a society that is almost wholly Christian, and a failure to do so has led to serious misconceptions in our time. We tend, after all, to think of metaphor as a means of achieving a direct linguistic realization of personal experience. Even banalities such as ‘like a sledge hammer’; ‘a hot knife through butter’; ‘a bull in a china shop’; aim at a ‘vivid’, ‘striking’ and ‘physical’ quality that relates accurately to events in the world, and communicates something about them with some degree of exactitude. But in Christian society, particularly of the pre-Reformation sort, the purely personal experience tends to be of less interest and importance than the experience of the society at large, manifested in its general view of the world it inhabits. Such a society’s view of metaphor-and, indeed, its metaphors themselves-will naturally tend to relate to collective experience, and will concern themselves less with personal accuracy than with public acceptability”. Metaphor, the Critical Idiom serie N°25 (London, 1972), pp. 16-17.
- 488 Ver el estudio de Harold Bayley: The Lost Language of Symbolism, donde aparece una serie de signos herméticos y cabalísticos que aparecieron en toda Europa como contrapeso a la influencia de Maimónides en la filosofía medieval; op. cit., p. 8. Cf igualmente Bernard Pic, The Open Court, un estudio sobre el vendaval de críticas que se levantó primero en Provençe and luego en toda Europa como reacción cabalística contra la interpretación anti-alegórica de la Biblia según la filosofía racionalística de Maimónides (London 1909).
- 489 Véase el estudio de John Ferguson sobre la influencia de la mística en algunos escritores modernos: Encyclopaedia of Mysticism and the Mystery Religions, (London, 1976); menciona el “universal symbolism” de Ch. Baudelaire, (p. 24), la “manyfold vision” de W.Blake, (p. 28), la “heightening perception” de Aldous Huxley (p. 81) and los “angels as symbols of the unity between the visible and the invisible” de R.M. Rilke (p. 157).
- 490 Hawkes, Metaphor, op. cit., p. 17.
- 491 Según Dante Alighieri, “hay cuatro niveles en la lectura e interpretación de la Divina Comedia; en la “Literal o Histórica” se describe lo que de hecho ocurre; seguirán las “Implicaciones Morales”; el nivel tercero o “Alegórico” es superior pues revela verdades más universales que los simples y finalmente está el “Anagógico o Espiritual” que revela la verdad perdurable”. K. Benson and A. Gang, A reader's Guide to Literary Terms, London, 1970, p. 72. No resulta difícil caer en la cuenta de que los cuatro niveles de Dante coinciden con las cuatro interpretaciones bíblicas tal y como se exponen en el Capítulo 4 sobre la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan. Cf también H. de Lubac, Les Quatre Sens de l'Écriture, 4 vols (Paris, 1959-1964).

- 492 Benson explica que “when a metaphor serves to illustrate an idea which can be expressed in other ways, it is merely decorative, as when we speak of the ‘ship of the State’. When, however, a metaphor expresses a complex of thought and feeling that is so subtle or precise that it cannot be expressed in any other way, it is called functional, organic, or structural metaphor”. Cf. A Reader’s Guide, op. cit., vocablo “metaphor” (p. 128), y es en este contexto como uso yo aquí los términos “functional metaphor” o metáfora funcional.
- 493 Ver las instrucciones de Brignonnet sobre la hermenéutica en la Biblia en el Capítulo 4, Sección III.
- 494 Ver el “mito de la Caverna” en la República de Platón, Libro VII.
- 495 Ver los elementos platónicos de la metáfora en Ferguson Encyclopaedia of Mysticism, op. cit., p. 181.
- 496 Comédie du desert en Marguerites, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 321.
- 497 Ibid., p. 322.
- 498 Ibid., p. 331.
- 499 Ibid., p. 341.
- 500 De Mystica Theologia, Liber I, graece et latine, Johanne Sarraceno, Ambrosio Camaldunensi, Marcilio Ficino interpretibus cum Vescellencis extractione; I. Eckius commentarios adjecit pro theologia negativa, (Ingolastadii, 1553); cap. I, pars IIII. Prop. I, c.iiii vo. Según estos teólogos simbólicos, las cualidades buenas que se ven en las creaturas son reflejos de la bondad divina, en la que estos atributos se encuentran “eminenter”, i.e. Sin imperfecciones: “Radix huius theologiae ponitur in divo Paulo ad Rom.: Invisibilia ipsius Dei, per ea quae facta sunt, intellecta conspiciuntur, sempiterna quoque eius virtus et divinitas... [*Romans 1,20*] et in hac theologia Deus est omninomius, omnium enim rerum nomina in se suscipit, sicut omnium rerum perfectionem, eminenter in se continet”, ibid., prologi propositiones, A III, vo. Hay una copia de esta Teología Simbólica en la Bibiloteca de la Universidad de Cambridge, H\*.8.22.
- 501 La visión de la Escala de Jacob está en el libro del Génesis 28,12: “Tuvo un sueño [*i.e. Jacob*]: una rampa, plantada en tierra, tocaba con el extremo el cielo. Mensajeros de Dios subían y bajaban por ella”.
- 502 Harold Bayley ofrece una serie de símbolos perdidos que usaban los impresores de libros durante los siglos dieciséis y diecisiete. Eran filigranas que aparecían en las m´sargenes de los nuevos libros para pasar información esotérica, utilizada por los (Vaudois) and Albigenses, y otras sectas heréticas que florecieron en el siglo trece. Ver The Lost Language of Symbolism, op. cit., Introducciónn, pp. 1-6.
- 503 El simbolismo no ha desaparecido enteramente en el mundo moderno. Ian Simpson presentó una serie de programas en la BBC en enero 1977 sobre símbolos que juegan un papel importantew en nuestra vida diaaria. Ver igualmente la Enciclopedia de Henry Dryfuss sobre ls simbolos gráficos en nuestra sovciedad actual en la agricultura, ocio, fotografía, comunicaciones, etc en Symbol Source book; an authoritative guide to International Graphic Symbols, (London, 1967).
- 504 Oraison de l’âme fidèle à son Seigneur Dieu, en Les Marguerites, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 77-78.
- 505 Cf el anterior capítulo 5 sobre las Prisiones, Sectción III.
- 506 Ver el Sermón 2 del Meister Eckhart: “‘Ubi est qui natus est Rex Judaeorum?’”; R.B. Blackney, edit., Meister Eckhart; a Modern Translation, (New York, 1941), p. 104.

- 507 Ferguson menciona el caso de Madre Daurelle explicando sus experiencias místicas con el simbolismo de la Luz: “The light which has filled my soul has come not from books but from the Holy Spirit”. Encyclopaedia of Mysticism, op. cit., p. 105.
- 508 El Pseudo-Dionisio explicaba el simbolismo del Sol como arquetipo de lo Divino: “And what shall I say concerning the sun’s rays considered in themselves? From the Good comes the light which is the image of Goodness; wherefore the Good is described by the name of ‘Light’, being the archetype thereof which is revealed in that image”. C.E. Rolt, Dionysius the Areopagite; the Divine Names, (London, 1972), p. 91. Dios aparece como la Luz Espiritual según las enseñanzas del Pseudo-Dionysio, “He is an Originating Beam and Overflowing Radiance, illuminating with his fulness every Mind above the world, around it, or within it”. Ibid., p. 94.
- 509 P. Jourda edit., Gargantua in Oeuvres complètes, Paris, Garnier, 1962, Ch. 10, p. 46.
- 510 Ver la edición de Thomas de Le Triomphe de l’Agneau en las Marguerites, vol. I, p. 388. Marguerita también compara la experiencia mística a la sensación de quemarse, cuando escribe de Catalina de Siena:
- O Mais entre tous j’en viz ung d’une femme,  
Depuys cent ans escript, remply de flamme  
De charité, si très ardentement  
Que rien qu’amour n’estoit son argument, ...  
(Prisons, fol. 316 vo, p. 230)
- Ver igualmente la sección del encuentro místico como la experiencia penetrante de sentirse herido en el Capítulo 5 de las Prisons, Sección IV.
- 511 Ver el estudio de Durand sobre el Fuego como símbolo en su célebre obra Les structures anthropologiques de l’imaginaire, op. cit., p. 182.
- 512 Ver la Encyclopaedia of Mysticism, de Ferguson, termino “Fire”, op. cit., p. 61.
- 513 Ya he sugerido antes que existen ciertas conexiones entre el poema de las Prisons de Margarita y el Roman de la Rose; ver Capítulo 5, Sección III y la Nota 36 de este capítulo sobre el concepto místico de “Cuyder”.
- 514 Ver el estudio de los colores Verde, Plata (Blanco), Azul y Color Rojo Brillante (Oro) en este Capítulo, Sección V.
- 515 El “Cuyder” es uno de los conceptos místicos de Margarita que representa el interés humano por uno mismo en oposición a la voluntad consumida por el Fuego de la Rosa.. Briçonnet ya le había escrito:
- “... tout le Testament Nouveau ne tend a aultre fin que monstrier que soions par le doulx Jesus delivréz de la servitude de la loy et peché, vivans en Jesus Christ ou louy en nous, qui est nostre liberté, et hors luy toute servitude et prison. Mais qui veult ceste liberté captiver par presumption de liberal arbitre et cuyder de soy (comme soy et par soy) faire quelque bonne chose, il apperçoit bien tos que l’esperit de presumption encloz en son liberal arbitre faict ruynier et cheoir les tours...” (Correspondance, 1, pp. 115-116)
- “Cuyder” viene del latín “cogitare” y quiere decir la manera de planificar el ser humano su propia vida en oposición a los designios de Dios, *ibid.*, p. 115-116. Ver mi estudio sobre la pasividad humana a la acción divina en el Capítulo 2, Sección IV. Heller menciona el feroz ataque de Calvino contra el uso de este concepto por los Libertins Spirituels en “Marguerite of Navarre and the Reformers of Meaux”, in BHR, XXXIII (1971), pp. 271-310.

- 516 Blackney, Meister Eckhart, Sermón 6: “the Kingdom of God is at hand: Scitote quia prope est regnum Dei” (Luke XXI, 31), op. cit., p. 130.
- 517 Véase la referencia a los términos “Oeil” y “Veoir” en el Capítulo 3, Sección III, y en el Capítulo 5 Sección I. También en las Prisons (fols 308 vo and 328 ro) y en la Comédie du desert en Marguerites, op. cit., pp. 335-336.
- 518 J. Parker edit., The Celestial and Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, London, Skeffington, 1844, “Celestial Hierarchy”, Capítulo 15, p. 45.
- 519 Véase el interés de Briçonnet por las ideas de Platón en el Capítulo 5 sobre las Prisons, Sección III, lo mismo que la defensa que hizo Lefèvre de la causa dionisiaca contra Lutero por una parte, y por otra contra Erasmo en el Capítulo 4 sobre la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, Sección III.
- 520 El Salm 55,6 lee: “Oh! Si tuviera Alas colmo la Paloma” que cambiaría Briçonnet intencionadamente en “Quién me dará plumas como las del Águila: “quis dabit michi pennas sicut aquil[a]e” (Correspondance, I, p. 59) combinando el tema bíblico con el simbolismo neoplatónico del Águila..
- 521 Ver el simbolismo místico de los colores en la Sección IV de este Capítulo.
- 522 Los símbolos del Mar y del Abismos aparecen constantemente en la obra de Margarita. Ver Sección IV de este mismo capítulo..
- 523 A. Winardy reconoce el impacto directo de las imágenes de Briçonnet en la obra de Marguerite en “Piety and Humanistic Symbolism in the work Marguerite de Navarre” en Yale French Studies, 1972, pp. 145-169.
- 524 Este sería el tema de uno de los poemas más conocidos de Margarita: Le Discord en l’homme par la contrariété de l’esperit et de la chair que se publicó con el Miroir en Alençon, 1531. Aparece igualmente en el Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne; donde el Cuerpo aparece como Pesado mientras que el Alma es Ligera: CHARLOTTE
- Je vous prometz, ma tante, sans mentir,  
Que quant le corps, par douceur affoibly,  
S’appesantist jusques à terre sentir,  
Et l’esperit, par amoor annobly  
Tire tout droict au ciel par tel désir,  
Que l’ame met tout son corps en oubly.  
(Dialogue, vv. 208-213)
- 525 Ver el papel del Sol en el Capítulo 5 de las Prisons, Sección III.
- 526 Oraison de l’âme fidèle à son Seigneur Dieu en la edición de Thomas de las Marguerites, op. Cit. vol. I, pp. 134-135.
- 527 Marguerita combina los símbolos de la Raíz y la Rama en el Miroir, complementándolos con los de la Flor, la Hoja y el Fruto::
- Bien sens en moy que j’en ay la racine,  
Et au dehors ne voy effect ne signe  
Qui ne soit tout branche, fleur, feuille, et fruit,  
Que tout autour de moy elle produict.  
(Miroir, vv. 13-16)
- 528 Ver la edición de Thomas de la Oraison de l’âme fidèle in Les Marguerites, op. cit., vol. I, p. 118.
- 529 Habrá que aclarar que se trata de la primera carta de Briçonnet a Margarita con fecha 12 d junio 1521, y que si bien el tema de la Guerra lo había brindado

- Margarita en su primera carta al prelado en que le rogaba que la iniciara en el misticismo del grupo de Meaux, había utilizado el tema de la lucha en su sentido obvio y ñliteral, pues se menciona a su primer esposo, el Duque de Alençon camino de la guerra “...ne se departira sans guerre” (*Correspondance*, 1, p. 25). pero Briçonnet transformará su sentido literal en simbólico: “Par glaive de feu commence, et se termine par feu d’amour”, *ibid.*, p. 27.
- 530 Durand, *Les Structures Anthropologiques de l’Imaginaire*, op. cit., p. 133.
- 531 G. Leiser ofrece un análisis de la Geometría Sagrada de los arquitectos medievales en su obra:: *Gothic Cathedrals and Sacred Geometry*, 2 vols (London, 1957).
- 532 El concepto del “Viajero Errante” según Briçonnet ,está en el Capítulo 6 de las the *Prisons*, Sección III.
- 533 Briçonnet tiene una descripción similar del simbolismo de la ascensión en la carta 56: “...En montant la montaigne, qui est luy...” (*Correspondance*, 2, p. 37).
- 534 Ver el cocepto de la “Kenosis” (the la “nada”) en Cristo en el Capítulo 5, Sección V B.
- 535 G. De Champeaux and S. Sterckx, *Le Monde des Symboles*, op. cit., ver también “L’ascension et les hauteurs”, *ibid.*, p. 162.
- 536 *Oraison de l’âme fidèle*, en la edición de Thomas de *Les Marguerites*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 131.
- 537 Ferguson, *Encyclopaedia of Mysticism*, op. cit., vocablo “Ascension”, p. 18.
- 538 Blackney, *Meister Eckhart*, op. cit., “The book of Divine Comfort”, p. 59.
- 539 *Ibid.*, p. 63.
- 540 *Ibid.*, Sermón 14: “Nothing above the Soul: Consideravit semitas domus suae et panem otiosa non comedit” (Proverbios 29,31), *ibid.*, p. 163.
- 541 Platón, *Phaedrus*, en los *Dialogues of Plato*, editado por by Jowett, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 263.
- 542 Ver la explicación de exposition de la subida pr las Escalas según Glori Capello en un artículo en el que compara a Briçonnet con el Pseudo-Dionysio: “Neoplatonismo e Riforma in Francia dall’Epistolario tra Guglielmo Briçonnet e Margherita di Navarra” en *Logica e Semantica ed Altri Saggi* (Padova, 1975), pp. 156-158.
- 543 Ver la definición de Dios como “Coincidentia Oppositorum” y sus variantes antitéticas “Petit-Grand”, “Loing-Près” and “Tout-Rien” en el Capítulo 5, Sección V B.
- 544 El vocablo “coincident” utilizado por Briçonnet coincide con la definición de Dios según Margarita como “Coincidentia Oppositorum”. Ver Nota 64 arriba.
- 545 Briçonnet escribió a Margarita “Cognoissant l’impuissance de leur vol soubhaitent helles aquilaires” (*Correspondance*, 1, p. 227). También: “...quand ils avoient abbaiséz leurs helles de contemplation...” *ibid.*, 2, p. 31.
- 546 El símbolo del Beso aparece también en la “Chanson 38”:  
 Car le baiser de sa bouche  
 Et le regard de son oeil  
 Jusques au fond du cuer touche,  
 Dont il chasse ennuy et dueil.  
 (vv. 85-86)  
 El simbolismo del Beso se combina con el del Ojo y ya había aparecido en la the *Correspondance*; Marguerita le había preguntado a Briçonnet: “... de (...) refreschir la debile memoire des trois baisers...” (*Correspondance*, 2, p. 53), pero el Obispo no se sentía a gusto con el tema y no volvió a mencionarlo.
- 547 Ver texto a las Notas 59-61 sobre las extrañas explicaciones de Eckhart sobre la tendencia natural del Agua a subir.

- 548 Oraison de l'âme fidèle en Les Marguerites, Thomas, op. cit., vol. I, p. 97.
- 549 Exodo, San Pablo interpreta simbólicamente el paso del Mar Rojo como la Salida del Agua Baptismal en I Corintios, 10,1-2. Briçonnet menciona el simbolismo espiritual del Paso del Mar Rojo en su Carta 38 de la Correspondance, I, pp. 195-214, particularmente en el fol. 199, p. 198, citando la interpretación mística de San Pablo de este pasaje..
- 550 Ver los comentarios de Margarita a la Canción de las Canciones en la Comédie jouée au Mont-de-Marsan, Capítulo 4, Sección IV.
- 551 Briçonnet llama al Maná la "*figure litterale et numerale*" refiriéndose a la interpretación del Maná en el evangelio de San Juan como la multiplicación del pan eucarístico (John 6).
- 552 Ver Catálogo de la exposición de relojes de sol y calendarios chinos de Marie-Rose Séguy en la Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, 1976). Aztlar, Terre des Aztèques: Images d'un nouveau monde: "Au culte du Soleil, l'un des rites religieux essentiels, s'associait celui des quatre points cardinaux symbolisés par les quatre éléments sur chacun desquels se greffèrent un certain nombre de concordances (points cardinaux, éléments, couleurs, directions de l'univers, saisons, jours, animaux) évoquant singulièrement les figurations codées des diagrammes chinois illustrant le microcosme et le macrocosme", "Croyances Religieuses", p. 15.
- 553 Séguy commenta sobre las. 72-73 del Catálogo del Código del Sol: "Les manuscrits pictographiques, quels que soient leurs sujets, se présentent sous la forme de tableaux et d'images où les couleurs fondamentales du spectre solaire (rouge, jaune, vert, bleu et noir) et leur attribution est symbolique". Cat. 1976, op. cit., p. 75.  
En diciembre 1976 estuve con Mlle Séguy que se sorprendió al constatar una atribución similar de significados a los colores en las Prisons de Margarita a las de los Calendarios chinos y mejicanost. Me comentó que ya se conocían el simbolismo chino de los colores en el oeste traído a Europa por los viajeros que habían estado en China los siglos XIII y XIV..
- 554 Cf el Horoscope, Traité de Révolution, de Margarita de Nabarra en un manuscrito de la Bibliothèque Nationale de París, fonds français, N°2082. Margarita tenía entonces dieciocho años.o.
- 555 El uso simbólico de los colores en los emblemas llegó a la Corte Francesa hacia el año de la publicación del Gargantua de Pantagruel en 1534, al menos diez años antes de la composición de las Prisons de Margarita (Ver Calder R. edit., Gargantua, Geneva, Droz, 1970, Note de pp. 60-61 por el prof. M.A. Screech). Rabelais critica la forma arbitraria de interpretación de los textos bíblicos referentes a los colorestos (e.g. Mateo 17, 2) (ibid., Note de las pp. 72-73).
- 556 Joseph Needham escribe sobre la relación de los cuatro colores básicos con los elementos (Fuego, Aire, Agua y Tierra) y en los puntos cardinales:  
"The association of the elements with the seasons was obvious enough (among the Chinese), and it had been on their association with the cardinal points that the various sequences had been built up. What could have been more unavoidable than to link Fire with Summer and the South? This must have been of the highest antiquity since one finds fire (i.e. Heat, and the grain ripened by it) in the Autumn harvest... Since the cradle of Chinese civilization was the land of Yellow soil in the upper Yellow River basin (modern Shansi and Shensi) it is quite plausible to suppose that for the centre that colour imposed itself. The White in the West

- should stand for the perpetual snows of the Tibetan Massif, with Green (or Blue) in the East for the fertile plains or the seemingly infinite Ocean. Finally Red in the South may have taken its origin from the red soil of Szechuan.” Science and Civilization in China, 2 vols, Cambridge University Press, 1954, vol. 2, “History of Scientific Thought”, p. 261. Jacques Soustelle interpreta simbólicamente el uso que hacen los Aztecas de los colores en La Pensée cosmologique des anciens Mexicains (représentation du monde et de l’espace), (Paris, 1940), p. 12. Según él el uso simbólico de los Calendarios Mejicanos parecen depender de los calendarios chinos. Ver Notas 73 & 74 arriba. La dependencia parece posible, pero el interés de Margarita por su uso simbólico va más allá de la heráldica, preocupándole más las ideas que traían a Europa los descubridores..
- 557 Mayer edit., Marot, Epistres, op. cit., p. 120.
- 558 R. Calder edit., Gargantua, op. cit., p. 78.
- 559 Ibid., p. 72.
- 560 Ibid., p. 65. Prof. Screech explica que el criticismo de Rabelais contra el abuso de los colores se debe a que los “emblematisas” de su tiempo forzaban su uso en los emblemas para acomodarlos a sus ideas (ver Notas a Gargantua, Capítulos VIII and IX, *ibid.*, pp. 64-78).
- 561 Ferguson, Encyclopaedia of Mysticism, termino “Alphabet”, op. cit., p. 11. Cf. también J. Naveh, Origins of the Alphabet, London, Casell, 1975.
- 562 F. Roch’s comenta que el hombre moderno ve las letras modernas solamente como sonidos sin implicar ningún otro significado simbólico: pues está “so accustomed to connect the idea of sounds with the sound of them, that it is only with difficulty that we can dissociate the letters from this, and think of them as symbols”. Según él la letra “Tau” es el símbolo de la Cruz.. The Book of Symbols, (London, 1930), p. 35.
- 563 La M como símbolo era masculino y femenino según el grupo de Margarita, representando la “Marguerite-Perle” y el “Miroir”. (Ver el Capítulo 3 sobre el Miroir, Sección III). La Andrógina como símbolo se explica detalladamente en el Capítulo 5 sobre el Miroir, Sección VB, y Rabelais la menciona en el Capítulo V de su Gargantua.
- 564 J. E. Cirlot, A dictionary of Symbols, op. cit., “Letters of the alphabet”, pp. 182-184.
- 565 Ver el simbolismo y la interpretación mística de la Comédie, en el Capítulo 4, Sección III, y de las Prisons en el Capítulo V.
- 566 Sainte-Marthe, Oraison Funèbre, op. cit., pp. 16-17.
- 567 Ver el significado del enigma místico de la Perla-Margarita en el Capítulo 3 sobre el Miroir, Sección III.
- 568 Champeaux, Le Monde des Symboles, op. cit., p. 24.
- 569 M. Eliade describe el nacimiento de la Perla como a explicaban las antiguas cosmologías y los alquimistas:: “Une tradition d’origine orientale explique la naissance de la perle comme le fruit de l’éclair pénétrant dans la moule. La perle serait le résultat de l’union entre le Feu et l’Eau. Saint Ephem utilise ce mythe ancien pour illustrer aussi bien l’Immaculée Conception que la naissance spirituelle du Christ dans le baptême de Feu”. Images et Symboles; Essais sur le symbolisme magico-religieux, “Le Mythe de la Perle”, (Paris, 1962), p. 195.
- 570 Se estudian las definiciones antitéticas de Dios en los poemas de Margarita en el Capítulo 5 de las Prisons, Sección V.

- 571 E.-F. Rice, Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples and the Mediaeval Mystics; Essays presented to Wallace K. Ferguson (Toronto, 1971), pp. 89-124.
- 572 Cf. Capítulo 4, Sección II sobre la desaprobación de Calvino a que Margarita protegiese a los Libertinos Espirituales en la Corte de Navarra, y la Nota 12 de esta Conclusión es una referencia a su crítica contra las conexiones de Margarita con la secta.
- 573 Ver L. Febvre, Amour Sacré, Amour Profane, op. cit., pp. 58-59. Ya he criticado esta actitud de Febvre en mi Introducción.
- 574 El nombre de Margarita de Navarra aparece muy raramente en las enciclopedias y diccionarios sobre el Misticismo. Pero S. Glasson ha presentado recientemente en su Dictionnaire de spiritualité, un corto estudio sobre sus ideas místicas, Ver fascículos LXIV-LV, pp. 346-347, (Paris, 1937-1980; todavía sin concluir).
- 575 Ver Capítulo 2 del Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne, Sección I.
- 576 Ver la calma y tranquilidad de Pantagruel, semejante a la de Cristo entre sus discípulos durante la tormenta en Le Quart Livre, Capítulo 28.
- 577 Cf. Cartas 103-113 de la Correspondance.
- 578 Ver en el capítulo 3, Sección V la referencia de Margarita a la expérience de San Pablo como “mirouer”.
- 579 Ver en la edición de los Three Treatises de Calvino por M. Higman (London, Athlone, 1970), la Introducción, pp. 21-26 y 133-153. Uno de ellos con el título: “Excuse de Jehan Calvin, à Messieurs les Nicodemites, sur la complainte qu'ilz font de sa trop gran' rigueur”.
- 580 Clément Marot, Les Epigrammes, London, Athlone, 1970, IV, p. 97.
- 581 Ver la “Epistre” introductoria al Miroir en la edition de Frank de las Marguerites, op. cit., p. 4.
- 582 Oraison funèbre, op. cit., p. 5.
- 583 Margarita, a pesar de sus fuertes críticas evangélicas contra algunas prácticas de devoción popular, solía recitar sus “prières des accouchées” a Santa Margarita y Rabelais ridiculiza el uso de esta oración en Gargantua, Capítulo V; (Pierre Jourda edit., op. cit., vol. I, p. 29, Nota 3).
- 584 Ver la “dedicace” del Tiers Livre a Margarita en la edición de Jourda, (Paris, Garnier, 1962), vol. 1, p. 291.
- 585 Ver las fortunas del Miroir de Margarita y del Pantagruel de Rabelais tras ser incautadas por la Sorbona para examinarlas detenidamente en el Capítulo 3, Sección I. Rabelais vivió en la Corte de Margarita por los años 1530 y se interesó por el simbolismo místico de su grupo. Cf. Capítulo 6, Notas 90, 93 y 87; ver también el Capítulo 5, Notas 84, 86, 107, 135, 165 etc. Ver igualmente H. Hornik, “More on the Hermeneutica and French Renaissance Literature (M. D'Angoutême, Rabelais, A. d'Aubigné, Scève) en Studi Francesi, (Torino, 1974) vol. XVIII, pp. 1-12.
- 586 Margarita aparece como una persona comprensiva en el Heptaméron, “Nouvelle 72”: un “cordelier” había abusado de una monja joven, pero nadie la creía; la Reina aclaró el caso hablando con el Obispo.
- 587 Quart Livre, Prólogo, edición de Jourda, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 11-12.