

A STUDY OF THE WORK OF
GUY LE FEVRE DE LA BODERIE (1541-1598)

by

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to present an analysis of the work of a late French Renaissance poet and linguist, Guy Le Fèvre de La Boderie.

Considered as a Christian Kabbalist, he is placed in the context of the continuing Florentine Neo-Platonist syncretist tradition. The thematic content of his original works is studied, and the relationship of his translations to those works is established. La Boderie's use of symbolic imagery is shown to constitute a further indication of his adherence to the Neo-Platonist tradition. In conclusion, La Boderie is shown to have sought in the multiplicity of traditions cited by syncretizing Renaissance writers a proof of the unity of truth and the foundations for a universal harmony in his age of civil and religious discord.

Throughout his work La Boderie appears as a representative, albeit a highly singular one, of a Platonic-Hermetic orientation of thought common to many Renaissance writers. Drawing on the supposed

ancient wisdom of the prisca theologia for Catholic apologetic purposes of unification, he found also in the Neo-Platonic and Kabbalist traditions a store of imagery to which he attributed a symbolic value. By means of these symbols he interpreted the "veiled truth" of a divinely ordained universal harmony. Like the Florentine Neo-Platonists, La Boderie revered the legendary Orpheus as a divinely inspired poet-priest-prophet whose musical "effects" were ethically influential. He attributed to himself, as learned and virtuous poet, the rôle of the "new Orpheus." Through his own work as well as through his exhortations to contemporary poets to adopt a new Christian lyricism, La Boderie endeavoured to bring about a moral and spiritual renewal in his compatriots. Thus La Boderie stands out among the writers in the Platonic-Hermetic tradition both for his constant use of its themes and imagery and also for his conception of a new Christian poetic which he attempted to illustrate by reference to that tradition.

In La Boderie's two major works are to be found a unique syncretization of themes and imagery drawn for the most part from the Neo-Platonist and Kabbalist traditions. The Encyclie, a work of post-Tridentine Catholic apologetics, uses the prisca theologia to prove that there is one truth only, however variously it may have been concealed by the "veils" of imagery under which diverse religious leaders have both concealed it from the profane and revealed it to the initiate. The Galliade, a work of mystico-nationalist history, adopts concepts associated with the prisca theologia and Guillaume Postel's interpretations of esoteric traditions to show that France is the home of

all post-diluvian knowledge and that the French king is divinely elected to be universal monarch in a new and harmonious age of man's spiritual renewal.

La Boderie's shorter pieces, like the prefaces to his translations, reinforce these expressions of his vision of a universal harmony which it is the task of the true poet to apprehend and to interpret.

Although his personal achievement as poet is acknowledged to have fallen short of the Orphic aims he propounded, it is proposed that Guy Le Fèvre de La Boderie merits consideration. His attempt, as a humanist scholar and poet, to find in esoteric traditions of supposed antiquity a basis for a spiritual renewal commensurate with the glory of the restitution of arts and letters marks him as typical of an important current of Renaissance thought. His unique presentation of multiple facets of esoteric traditions distinguishes him as an individual writer.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The poetry produced in France during the middle years of the sixteenth century wars of religion shows a significant change in orientation of the poet's purpose from that illustrated by the poets of the Pléiade and their epigones. A concern for religious and spiritual matters is seen to bring about a modification from "scientific" or "philosophical" subjects treated in the works of such earlier poets as Peletier du Mans, Scève, Belleau or even Ronsard, to the apologetics of a Du Bartas. Furthermore, a search for "inwardness" in religious matters finds expression in the new Christian lyricism of such poets as Sponde or La Ceppède. Although the former "scientific" apologetic poetry has received less attention than the lyrical poetry of the latter so-called "baroque" poets, more innovative in form, many scholars since Boase's pioneer work on Sponde have attempted to reassess in a more positive light post-Pléiade poetry in general.

It is the first purpose of the present work to situate the poetic production of a little-known Counter-Reformation poet and apologist, Guy Le Fèvre de La Boderie (1541-1598), in the context of the modification of the poet's role during the last third of the sixteenth century in France.

La Boderie's work is dedicated throughout to the cause of the Counter-Reformation. At the time of the Council of Trent in 1566 La Boderie was a participant, as the pre-eminent orientalist of his day, in the Polyglot Bible of Antwerp commissioned by Philip II of Spain. Subsequent to publication in 1571 of his first poetic work designed to persuade Protestants and free-thinkers to turn to the one true Church, he was secretary and interpreter to the Duc d'Alençon, younger brother of Charles IX and Henry III. In this royal household La Boderie took it upon himself to preach with ever-increasing fervour the somewhat unorthodox message of Guillaume Postel to the effect that the French king had been divinely chosen not only as universal monarch but also as leader of the universal Catholic Church. Thus La Boderie's apologetic purpose may be seen as closely related to the spirit of the "confréries" of Counter-Reformation "politiques" such as the "Chevaliers de l'Esprit Saint" associated with Henry III. La Boderie's association with Baïf's Academy of Poetry and Music, established in 1570, can only have enhanced his relationship with the Counter-Reformation group of Henry III's Palace Academy. His imitations of "ecclesiastical hymns" and of the Psalms, designed to counteract the effects of Protestant translations of the Psalms, are witness not only to his ties with the

Baif Academy but also to the basic purpose of his work to effect moral and spiritual reform in the context of the Counter-Reformation.

In short, La Boderie may be considered as a Counter-Reformation writer both because of his stated purpose in writing and because of the milieu for which he wrote.

A just evaluation of La Boderie's purpose requires, however, a broader view of the Renaissance religious spirit. La Boderie's presentation of Catholic doctrine is based on the syncretizing tradition of the Florentine Neo-Platonists, from which he chose the figure of Orpheus the poet-priest-prophet to represent his personal role as spiritually influential poet. Syncretistic presentation of the ancient wisdom found in the prisca theologia, which was supposed to embody Christian doctrine, is coloured in La Boderie's works largely by Guillaume Postel's interpretation of its Kabbalist element and by Postel's personal illuminism.

Thus the main body of the present work is an attempt to show in La Boderie's poetic production his adoption of Florentine Neo-Platonist, Kabbalist and Postellian themes and imagery.

La Boderie's presentation of a syncretistic Christian apologetics based on the Platonic-Hermetic tradition, although singular in its details, is far from unique in its general spirit. Many French Renaissance writers, from Lefèvre d'Étaples to Pontus de Tyard and including Rabelais, associated Plato with the prisca theologi or ancient theologians who were supposed to have participated in a partial pre-Christian revelation transmitted by Moses to the Egyptian priests.

Thus with the pia philosophia of Plato and Hellenistic Neo-Platonism were associated the loosely-termed Hermetism not only of the corpus hermeticum but also of the initiatory mystery cults evoked by the name of Orpheus, the occult sciences of astrology and alchemy attributed to Zoroaster and to Hermes Trismegistus, and the occultism of the mythologizing Jewish Kabbalah. The Druids were often cited as occidental counterparts of the oriental Hermetic prisci theologi.

These prisci theologi, treated first in France by Symphorien Champier, had been first revered as pre-Christian recipients of a divine revelation by Ficino. Several lists of prisci theologi appearing in his treatise on Platonic theology gave some authority for later writers' use of their works in a Christian context, whether Evangelist, Protestant or Catholic. But the authority of St. Augustine himself and of early Church Fathers, notably Clement of Alexandria and Eusebius, was probably equally important for a post-Tridentine Catholic such as La Boderie. Pico della Mirandola's focussing of interest in the Jewish Kabbalah was justified by just such patristic authorities. Furthermore the relevance of the Kabbalah to Christian apologetics was made explicit by fifteenth and sixteenth century Italian churchmen such as Gilles of Viterbo and Francisco Giorgio.

La Boderie's extended translations of Ficino, Pico and Giorgio, as well as his imitations of the Psalms and of "hymns" of the early Church Fathers, Hermetic theologi and Italian Christian humanists are all witness to his dependence on the foregoing tradition. It is indeed that syncretistic tradition based on the prisci theologi

which informs most of his work as Catholic apologist and Christian poet.

Related to that tradition, furthermore, is the millenarian illuminism La Boderie adopted from the visionary Guillaume Postel. For La Boderie, who was primarily a linguist and philologist, the greatest orientalist of his day after Postel and Postel's chosen substitute in work on the 1571 Polyglot Bible of Antwerp, the influence of Postel was all-pervasive. That influence is evident in La Boderie's work in his use of Kabbalist themes and images based on Postellian interpretations of the Zôhar, and in his adoption of Postel's millenarian pronouncements for his own historico-prophetic presentation of France's pre-eminent role in universal history. As a follower of Postel, La Boderie was able to link his Counter-Reformation propagandist purpose of support of the one universal Catholic Church with an allied religio-nationalistic purpose of support of the French king as divinely-appointed universal monarch. Thus Postel encouraged in La Boderie a late-medieval mystical and even a Crusading spirit not unforeign to the age of Henry III. The association of this spirit with the liberal humanism of early Renaissance figures such as Ficino and Pico lends to La Boderie's work a singular flavour.

La Boderie's often anachronistic themes and poetic technique are in contrast also with his repeated pleas for a new role for the poet. It is a further purpose of the present work to study La Boderie's use of symbolic imagery and to fix his contribution to the new concept

of the poet's role which evolved during the last third of the sixteenth century in France.

In choosing to present himself as the new Orpheus, La Boderie was not only faithful to the Florentine Neo-Platonist elevation of Orpheus to the role of principal mythological figure of its "poetic theology" but also explicit in his desire to assign to the poet the role of divinely-inspired initiate and ethically influential singer. The association of Orpheus with David had long been established. Both were considered exemplary poet-singers as well as prophet-priests. As such they had used musical "effects" to transmit a divine message and so to transform a wayward people. To La Boderie, associate of the Baif Academy of Poetry and Music where such ethically-influential musical "effects" were studied and where imitations of the Psalms were undertaken, his identification with Orpheus seemed fully justified.

La Boderie entreats his contemporary poets to abandon "Epicurean" materialism and hedonism and the vanities of Venus and her blind archer in favour of a learned and virtuous spiritual illumination in devotion to the one true God. Thus was Orpheus supposed, according to many Renaissance writers, to have rejected Greek polytheism in favour of a monotheistic and even Trinitarian inspiration.

Furthermore, the doctrine of "veiled truth" justifies La Boderie's Orphic analogy. Related to Hermetic correspondences between the microcosm and the macrocosm, and central to syncretizing Florentine Neo-Platonists' study of the prisci theologi and to their

concept of the image as embodiment of the essence, that doctrine clarifies La Boderie's concept of the poet as learned initiate whose insight and inspiration qualify him to seek out and to disclose an eternal extra-personal truth.

Thus even before Du Bartas, La Boderie attempted to found a new Christian lyricism, distinct in its moralizing purpose from the intensely personal mystical poetry of the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries yet related to its spirituality.

In summary, the present work attempts to show the relevance of the work of Guy Le Fèvre de La Boderie to the study of French Renaissance literature. In the first place, since his adoption of the Platonic-Hermetic tradition was typical of many writers of the Renaissance, his work provides an insight into Platonic-Kabbalistic currents of thought influential in the last half of the sixteenth century in France. In the second place, his use of symbolic imagery derived from that tradition and adapted to a new concept of Christian lyricism constitutes a significant contribution to the evolution of French poetry.

A NOTE ON THE TEXTS

Quotations from La Boderie's works retain the spelling and punctuation of the original sixteenth century editions. Misprints are corrected only where the true reading is in no possible doubt.

Consonantal 'i' and 'u' have throughout been rendered as 'j' and 'v' respectively, and all ampersands and abbreviations resolved.

CHAPTER II

THE MAN AND THE INTELLECTUAL CLIMATE OF HIS WORK

There is no authoritative biography of Guy Le Fèvre de La Boderie. In his own century La Croix du Maine and Du Verdier reported little of his life and even some of their facts are inaccurate.¹ Literary historians from the seventeenth century to the present day have based their reconstructions of his life and of his relationships on references to himself in his own works and on dedications of some of those works.² The following biographical outline is based largely on facts to be found in the work of M. François Secret, who has reconstructed La Boderie's life as far as it is possible to do so.³ Our purpose for including a biography in the present study is out of a desire for completeness.

It is presumed that the poet was born on August 9, 1541 at the manor of La Boderie near Falaise in Normandy.⁴ He was the eldest of eight children of Jacques Le Fèvre de La Boderie, of whom two other children gained fame, Antoine as ambassador and Nicolas as

collaborator with Guy on the 1572 Polyglot Bible of Antwerp.⁵

After early studies at Caen,⁶ in ca. 1562 Guy Le Fèvre de La Boderie went to Paris where he was a student of Hebrew at the Trilingual College.⁷ By 1568 he had distinguished himself sufficiently as a linguist to be chosen by Guillaume Postel, the greatest orientalist of the day, to be his replacement at Antwerp in work on the Polyglot Bible commissioned by Philip II of Spain.⁸ La Boderie, accompanied by his brother Nicolas, there completed his Syro-Chaldaic dictionary as well as the transcription into Hebrew and the translation into Latin and Greek of the Syriac New Testament.⁹ This important piece of critical editing which he accomplished in eighteen months of arduous work left him physically exhausted to the point of almost mortal illness.¹⁰ He was to receive no monetary recompense for this work.¹¹ He did win for his translation, however, the praise of some of his most eminent contemporaries in the humanist Republic of Letters.¹²

La Boderie's first poetic work, L'Encyclie des secrets de l'éternité, was published in 1571 at Antwerp by Christopher Plantin, publisher of the Polyglot Bible.¹³ It is an attempt at "scientific" Catholic apologetics.

Early in 1572 La Boderie was once again in Paris.¹⁴ The title pages of his later works indicate that he was there given a place in the royal household as secretary and interpreter of foreign languages for the king's brother, the Duc d'Alençon to whom he had dedicated his Encyclie.

1572, the year of La Boderie's return to Paris, was the year of the great comet whose appearance is said to have stirred more speculation than Copernicus' newly-published theories.¹⁵ For La Boderie, as for his spiritual master Guillaume Postel, the comet's appearance and stationary position over Paris was cosmic confirmation of apocalyptic prophecies. La Boderie's translation of the speculations on the comet by Mugnoz, a Spanish Hebraïcist and mathematician, was published in 1574, accompanied by La Boderie's own persuasive "Cantique sur la nouvelle estoille ou apparence lumineuse qui s'est monstree au ciel depuis l'onze ou douzieme de november 1572 jusques à present 20 de janvier 1574. Lequel cantique fut deslors leu et presenté à tres haut et tres puissant Prince Monseigneur le Duc d'Alençon, fils et frere du Roy, au chasteau du Louvre à Paris."¹⁶

1574 saw the publication of a second translation, even more polemical in spirit than that on the comet, the Confusion de la secte de Muhamed by Juan Andrès, a Catholic priest converted from Mohammedanism.¹⁷

No record remains of La Boderie's activities during the years 1574 to 1578. Monsieur Secret attributes this silence to ravages of the wars of religion, quoting a later biographer of the La Boderie family who recounts the pillage of the Abbey of Saint-Jean-de-Falaise and the resulting loss of many of La Boderie's works in manuscript.¹⁸

By 1578 La Boderie was well established in the royal household, "Secretaire de Monseigneur, et son Interprete aux langues

peregrines" (Galliade, title page). It has not yet been shown definitively what his personal role may have been in the circle of the Duc d'Alençon.¹⁹ Frances Yates has advanced proposals, however, as to the relationships he formed among the artists and poets of the royal household and the Baif Academy of Poetry and Music.²⁰

La Boderie's publications of 1578 are his most important, not only for their quantity but also for their indication of themes to which he returned constantly.

His affiliation with the fifteenth century Florentine Neo-Platonists is seen in several translations: Ficino's De amore,²¹ and Ficino's De christiana religione published with Pico's Oratio de dignitatis hominis.²² The translation of the Kabbalist and Neo-Platonist Francesco Giorgio's Harmonia mundi²³ was central to La Boderie's expression of his poetic theories. The Hymnes ecclesiastiques,²⁴ which contain not only translations of Church Fathers, of Psalms and of works from various ancient religious traditions but also original poems, indicate the diversity of La Boderie's sources as well as his desire to counter-balance the effects of Protestant translations of the Psalms. Finally, La Galliade, ou De la revolution des arts et sciences²⁵ shows La Boderie's unique consolidation of many currents of philosophy, myth and religion into a mystico-nationalist universal history and prophetic vision.

La Boderie's translations published in 1581 reinforce themes already found in earlier works. Translation of Cicero's De deorum natura²⁶ was undertaken at the request of Henry III as part of his

program of religious restoration.²⁷ The translation of Ficino's De vita triplici²⁸ recalls La Boderie's constant theme of man's harmonious attunement to his own nature, to creation and to God. Six original sonnets appended to the translation develop the theme with reference to the poet's own purpose in writing.

In 1582 there appeared the collection of Diverses meslanges poëtiques, including original works and translations or imitations from ancient religious traditions.²⁹ In all, these works which include La Boderie's earliest remaining compositions show him as a syncretizing Catholic apologist.

The 1584 edition of La Boderie's earlier translation of the New Testament is dedicated to Henry III.³⁰ The dedication, the last of La Boderie's publications, shows him fired with increased zeal to persuade the king to act in accordance with the millenarian prophecies which had shaped much of the poet's work.

Literary historians since Baillet have fixed Guy Le Fèvre de La Boderie's death in 1598.³¹

LA BODERIE'S CONCEPT OF HIS HISTORICAL ROLE

The facts of La Boderie's life are indeed few. His references to his concept of his historical role reveal him however as a humanist and poet, the orientation of whose writings is typical

of that of many others of his time.

La Boderie studied and wrote from ca. 1555 to 1584. It was a period marked by religio-political struggles between Protestant and Catholic sects and later between the Catholic Ligueurs and the Politiques partisans of Henry III. This period of religious fanaticism was also a time of religious doubt occasioned in part by the growing influences of rationalist thought.³² Many turned to the occult sciences whose magicians and medicine men frequented the court of Catherine de Medici.³³

Even though he was a spiritual disciple of the visionary and proclaimed heretic Guillaume Postel,³⁴ La Boderie affirmed ardently and sincerely his adherence to the Catholic cause which he defended by reference to all other known ancient religions. He may be seen as a unique apologist and would-be prophet peculiar to this time of religious ferment.³⁵

La Boderie saw his mission as essentially revelatory; as the learned and virtuous poet-prophet he was literally to remove the veils which from the time of Adam had guarded the "secrets of eternity" from the uncomprehending gaze of imperfect man.

The epigraph to La Galliade states most succinctly his concept of his role as visionary:

C'est la gloire de Dieu la parole cacher,
C'est la gloire des Rois la parole chercher.

The first question which arises with reference to this verse from the Book of Proverbs XXV, 2 is: who are the kings who may win

glory in searching out the truth?

We find in Postel's writings that a "king" is a virtuous man who has learned to overcome his physical nature; he is "de soi victorieux."³⁶ For La Boderie the true poet is not only the "king" according to Postel's definition, but also the learned initiate into the mysteries. Both "docte et vertueux," the true poet has refused transient and essentially inconsequential earthly rewards in favour of devotion to study in the service of eternal truth.

The second question suggested by the epigraph from the Book of Proverbs is: for what reason did La Boderie believe himself called to reveal the truth he had sought out?

As Secret has pointed out, in Postel's millenarian vision the end of the sixteenth century called for revelation of the mysteries to all men in preparation for the new age.³⁷ In the passage referred to above he wrote of "nostre temps de la Restitution de toutes choses."³⁸ In his Thresor des Prophecies, which we know was copied by his disciple La Boderie³⁹ he is even more explicit. According to Postel all the prophecies confirm that a new age is imminent, a new age of which he is not only the prophet but also the spiritual leader, the "pape Angelike" to the universal monarch who, he declared, was to be the king of France. La Boderie, as disciple of Postel, endeavoured to prepare man for that restoration of man's primal vision which had been obscured by Adam's sin.⁴⁰

La Boderie echoes repeatedly his master's apocalyptic beliefs, subscribing to the Joachimite prophecies of the new coming

of Christ after six thousand years⁴¹ and adducing as proof of their validity not only speculations on the remarkable comet of 1572 but also the astonishing restitution of the arts and letters in the French Renaissance. Postel had fixed the new coming for 1583. Secret concludes, in fact, that if La Boderie can be qualified as an "illuminé" like his master, then the poet's desire to restore to man his "vision" of truths long veiled in order that man be reborn at the new coming of Christ can be seen as the key to his poetry of renewal.⁴²

This visionary aspect of La Boderie's work cannot however account alone for the importance he gives to interpretation of symbols. As a constant admirer and translator of the fifteenth century Florentine Neo-Platonists,⁴³ La Boderie adopted not only their syncretistic religious outlook but also an important attitude about the artist and poet as learned interpreter of symbols.

Gombrich has shown that a conception of revelation through study and interpretation of symbolism gained new importance in the Renaissance with the revival of Neo-Platonism.⁴⁴ For La Boderie, as for Pico, the universe is "one vast system of correspondences in which each level of existence points to another level."⁴⁵ Accepting to a certain degree the Neo-Platonic idea of a hierarchy of worlds, La Boderie too sought in ancient religious writers a key to the "correspondences" which are visible manifestations of the unique truth. Following God's will the prisci theologi had hidden the truth in mysterious symbols to prevent its being prematurely profaned. The time of restitution and of revelation was at hand. Thus following his

Neo-Platonist predecessors he hoped to find in the ancient fathers of the prisca theologia a means of understanding the symbols. Although La Boderie minimized the importance of the classical Greek and Latin myths as revelations of truth, he accepted the natural world as a hieroglyph of truth which could be understood if correctly interpreted, and he emphasized the contributions of the legendary Zoroaster, the Chaldaean Oracles, Hermes Trismegistus, Orpheus, Pythagoras and especially the Jewish Kabbalah.

La Boderie's conception of his role of divinely inspired and learned interpreter of symbols finds specific expression in his repeated reference to himself as the new Orpheus. For La Boderie as follower of the Kabbalist belief in the essential value of the name itself as containing the substance, the fact that an anagram of his own name, Guidon Lefevre, produced "L'UN GUIDE ORFEE" was proof of his consecration to and inspiration by the One, God, the unique and eternal Truth.

The importance for Renaissance writers of the Neo-Platonist interpretation of the Orpheus myth has been set forth by D. P. Walker. It was not Marsilio Ficino alone who saw Orpheus as the prototype of the inspired and inspiring poet-priest.⁴⁶ For the Renaissance Platonists in general, as for La Boderie the apologist, the richness of connotations associated with the myth of Orpheus as hero, religious teacher, philosopher and poet reinforced the persuasiveness of the Orphica (the writings attributed to Orpheus) as part of the prisca theologia in confirming the compatibility of Platonism with

Christianity.⁴⁷ As poet, La Boderie invoked above all the spirit of Orpheus the legendary singer possessed of Platonic furor, divinely inspired to lead the people to harmonious concord through a vision of his supernaturally revealed knowledge.⁴⁸

La Boderie makes continual reference to his concept of his own role as poet. Orpheus and David were for him the models of the true poet, inspired by "the One," the true God, to guide men to Him by the enchantment of their music.⁴⁹ The motto printed at the beginning and end of his publications, sings forth his continuing poetic aspiration: ἍΓΙΟΣ ΔΑΒΙΔ ὈΡΦΕΙΚΩΣ ἘΝ ΒΡΥΟΙ ("May Holy David sprout forth as One orphically").⁵⁰

The most fully developed presentation of La Boderie's concept of the poet's role is to be found in a long exhortation to the poets of his day, in which translations of Orphic fragments and of the Psalms are embedded in order to show that the same God inspired both. The following analysis of the poem addressed to La Boderie's contemporaries is offered in an attempt to clarify La Boderie's position preliminary to a presentation of his major works.

The "cantique" entitled "Guidon Le Fevre de La Boderie aus Poetes de ce Temps, se jouant à bon escient sur l'Anagrammatisme de son nom, L'UN GUIDE ORFEE" was published in 1571 with other short poems at the end of the Encyclie. La Boderie is therefore presumably addressing himself to the poets of the Pléiade and their followers.

He expresses first his appreciation for their poetic furor:

Pöetes excellens, Espris venus des Cieus . . .
 (Encyclie, p. 189)

He believes them to have been led astray in their excessive imitation of and admiration for classical antiquity, however, and emphasizes that the immortality which they sought could be won only through a faithful presentation of the truly divine inspiration of the One true God:

Vous les vieus admirans admirables aus vieus,
 Ausquels le Luth Grégeois, de qui le chant enchante,
 Rend la Lyre de Dieu beaucoup moins alléchante:
 Je vous pri de penser que la douceur du son
 Ne se doit pas nommer l'Ame de la chanson:
 Mais l'Ame est le sujet que la Muse veut suivre,
 Qui s'il est éternel, éternelle fait vivre
 La chanson avec lui . . .
 (Encyclie, pp. 189-190)

Of all the ancient poets Orpheus alone, divinely inspired singer and theologian, is worthy of imitation:⁵¹

Imitez pour le moins pour avoir plus d'honneur
 D'entre les Sonneurs Grecs tout le premier Sonneur.
 (Encyclie, p. 190)

The first stanza closes with a couplet which is to be repeated with variations as a refrain throughout the poem:

Ecoutez les beaus Chans de sa Lyre étofée,
 Comme Orfée est unique, aussi L'UN GUIDE ORFEE.
 (Encyclie, p. 190)

There follow five stanzas consisting mainly of translations and adaptations of Orphic hymns designed to confirm Orpheus as one of the ancient fathers of the prisca theologia whose writings were interpreted by syncretizing Renaissance Neo-Platonists as veiled presentations of the one eternal truth.⁵² Greek polytheism is

interpreted in the Orphic hymns as a mask of monotheism:

"Voy le Verbe divin . . .

 "Il est UN, de par soy, toutes choses encore
 "Lui-mêmes a créé, et en elles il est, . . .

 "Et Jupiter est Un, un Pluton, Bacchus Un,
 "Un Soleil, Un Dieu Seul, à tous ces noms commun.

 "Jove est le premier Dieu, Jove est le dernier Dieu,
 "Jove est principe et Chef, Jove est fin, et milieu,
 "Et de Jove tout est: . . .

 "Seul et unique Dieu, de tout l'auteur suprême.
 (Encyclie, pp. 190-192)

Not only is Orpheus made to confirm the unity of revealed truth, but also he is interpreted as having announced the Christian Trinity in Unity:

Même ce grand Harpeur a voulu designer
 Le Fils, et saint Esprit pour les siens enseigner.
 "La Sagesse, dit-il, fut la mere premiere
 "Avec le dous Amour, ô Bouche de lumiere!
 (Encyclie, p. 192)⁵³

In the seven stanzas of the second section Orpheus as the divinely-inspired singer is shown to have his counterpart in David, with translations of psalms of the one reinforcing translations of hymns of the other:

"Tu temperes, dit-il, tout ce grand monde creus
 "Seul aveques ta Harpe aus accords sonoreus.
 Que veut ici chanter ce Harpeur et Pöete
 Sinon ce qu'a chanté le Harpeur et Proféte
 Que l'Esprit saint éleut quand il voulut changer
 La houlette en un sceptre, et en Roy le Berger?
 "Les Cieus vont racontant la gloire à Dieu rendue,
 "Et l'oeuvre de ses mains montre leur étendue . . .
 (Encyclie, p. 193)

The refrain is accordingly modified in these stanzas to:

Ecoutez les beaux Chans de leur Lyre étofée
 Si L'UN guide David, aussi L'UN GUIDE ORFEE.
 (Encyclie, p. 193)

La Boderie emphasizes the unity of their inspiration:

On diroit que l'Orfée auroit ouy David,
 Ou que David du son d'Orfée se ravit.
 (Encyclie, p. 193)

The unity is not fortuitous. Following the tradition of the prisca theologia suggested by Ficino, La Boderie places Orpheus in the line of inheritors of the Mosaic tradition:

Car Orfee en Egypte aus sacrez livres leut . . .
 (Encyclie, p. 196)⁵⁴

He points out their common ethical influence in civilizing and elevating their peoples by the poetic power of their divine inspiration:

Oyez je vous en pri ce qu'il va recordant,
 Oyez comme est Orfée à David accordant.
 David conduit aus mons les troupeaus de sa Lyre,
 Et de sa Lyre Orfée à soy les bestes tire.
 David a gouverné par Lois le peuple Hébrieu,
 Et le sacré Orfée interpréte de Dieu
 A détourné du meurtre et vivre deshonneste
 Les hommes imitans toute sauvage beste.
 (Encyclie, p. 195)

A truly supernatural power was invested in David and Orpheus, supreme examples of the poet devoted to hymning the One God:

Et à sa Lyre Orfée un tel accord presta,
 Que les fleuves courans tout court il arresta,
 Et feist que des forests et des rochers la danse
 Sauteloyent apres lui imitans sa cadance.
 Ou pour dire le vray sans plus poëtiser,
 Il sceut si bien de Dieu les ouvrages priser,
 Et Nature sonder en toute chose infuse,
 Que plus grand que Nature on feint l'art de sa Muse.
 (Encyclie, p. 195)

True to their vocation, these poets were able not only to move the

natural world but also to combat the power of Evil itself:

Avec ses Chans divins aus villes et aus mons
 David sceut empêcher la force des Démons,
 Et avecques sa Harpe, et ses Odes seraines
 Sceut Orfée enchanter le dous chant des Sereines,
 Ou bien des voluptez, et des delices seurs
 Qui les hommes mortels pipent de leurs douceurs
 (Encyclie, p. 196)

The foregoing examples of a common inspiration of two revered poet-prophet-priests are for La Boderie confirmation of the unity of truth and of the harmony of the world which that unity implies:

Et que dirai-je plus? David chante en esprit
 Le beau Chant nuptial de l'Eglise et de Christ,
 Et Orfée a conjoint par sa Muse discrète
 La Nature avec Dieu d'alliance secrète.
 (Encyclie, p. 196)

In the third part of the poem La Boderie addresses himself once again directly to his contemporaries. He assumes a polemical tone to induce them to follow the examples of Orpheus and David, to seek out that unity of truth and to hymn that harmony. They are to abandon all immoral verse dedicated to the blind archer Cupid and in fact all imitation of classical legend and myth. Pegasus' wings are useless; those of the dove of God can alone elevate their songs. Ignoring Parnassus, they should lift up their eyes unto the true magnificence of Christian inspiration:

Je vous prie et supplie, ô François chantres dous,
 Ainsi qu'eus desormais que L'Un nous guide tous,
 Et plus l'aveugle Archer, ni ses fais impudiques
 Ne servent d'argument à remplir noz Cantiques:
 Et de mensonges ores n'estimon rendre beaus
 Nos vers, ainsi que font les peintres leurs Tableaus.

Le grand Tableau du Ciel, et la riche peinture
 De ce Rond Ornement, et toute la Nature
 Du grand Peintre montrant les oeuvres et valeurs,
 Nous donneront assez de plaisantes couleurs.
 Et ne mendion plus pour peindre une Chimère,
 Les contes monstrueux d'Hésiode et d'Homère:
 Que l'Esprit saint de Dieu en colombe voilé
 Nous ouvre le sourgeon, non le Cheval ailé:
 Et Christ le mont des mons nous soit en nostre Europe,
 Comme il est homme et Dieu, Parnasse à double crope . . .
 (Encyclie, p. 197)

The refrain is once again modified to enhance the tone of
 exhortation:

Et sonne sa bonté nostre Lyre étofée,
 Que L'UN nous guide tous, comme L'UN GUIDE ORFEE.
 (Encyclie, p. 197)

The theme of virtue as the first requisite for a true poet is
 elaborated. La Boderie condemns the superficial hedonism of the court
 poets:

Ou l'Enfant que lon peint avecques un bandeau
 Bandez nous tiendra-il tousjours de son cordeau?
 (Encyclie, p. 198)⁵⁵

He despises classical sources in as far as they are related to the
 "faus Gregeois," polytheistic idol-worshipers whom he distinguishes
 from the "true" poet-priests of the mystery religions (Encyclie,
 pp. 197-198).

His condemnation of the Greeks extends even to imitation of
 Greek terms:

Et Cinges n'uson plus de tant d'étranges mots
 De ces Cinges Grégeois plus lascifs que marmots.
 (Encyclie, p. 197)

La Boderie compares Plato's banishment of the poets from his Republic

with his own call to personal virtue in accordance with the example of Christ:

Et si Platon banit de sa feinte Cité
 Les Poètes menteurs pleins d'impudicité,
 Christ qui nous a basti la Cité supernelle
 Nous deffendra-il point que nous n'entrions en elle?

 Christ est né chastement d'une chaste Pucelle,
 Et chaste il a vescu en nostre chair mortelle,
 Et les chastes il ayme, et en fait ses mignons:
 Soyon donc chastes tous, et à Christ nous joignons:
 Chastes de corps et coeur, chastes en nostre dire,
 Et rien que chasteté nostre vers ne soupire.
 (Encyclie, p. 198)⁵⁶

Modification of the refrain in the two stanzas on virtue softens the tone preparatory to the final hymning of the One:

Brief sonne chastement nostre Lyre étofée,
 Que L'UN nous guide tous, comme L'UN GUIDE ORFEE.
 (Encyclie, p. 198)

The four stanzas of the final section are indeed a hymn to the principle of unity which with its corollary of harmony can be seen as the leitmotif of all La Boderie's work. The final modification of the refrain repeats his entreaty to his contemporaries to follow his example to a poetry of Christian lyricism:⁵⁷

Sonne donc L'UN par tout nostre Lyre étofée,
 Que L'UN nous guide tous, comme L'UN GUIDE ORFEE.
 (Encyclie, p. 200)

La Boderie first draws analogies of the supreme unity of God in every realm of nature, and in the social, political and religious orders:

Toutes les pierres tire une Pantature à soy,
 Le lis de toutes fleurs est l'unique et seul Roy . . .
 (Encyclie, pp. 198-199)

The fervour of his invocation to this principle of Unity as perfection⁵⁸ is moving witness of La Boderie's essential faith in a universal harmony. The multiplicity and the diversity of natural and spiritual factors, even their contrasts and contrarieties are for him a profusion of manifestations of the supreme One which is at once their source and their end:

O parfaite Unité qui te peut limiter?
 O parfaite Unité qui te peut imiter?
 Ainsi que la Lumiere est plus digne que l'ombre
 Ainsi est l'Unité plus digne que le Nombre.
 Et comme est tout le Temps clos de l'Eternité,
 Ainsi est tout le Nombre enclos de l'Unité.
 De tous les merveilleus n'est point L'UN la merveille
 Qui son contraire unit et l'impair apareille?
 Ce qui en plusieurs pars se divise et resout
 Par la force de L'UN est unique en son tout.
 Ce qui par accidens a nom de multitude
 Revient par le sujet à L'UN et solitude.
 L'UN est de soy, par soy, et en soy retourné,
 L'UN orne toute chose, et de nul est orné:
 Bref L'UN est sa racine, et se nomme soymême,
 L'UN son Quarre, son Cube, et sa règle suprême.
 Sonne donc L'UN par tout nostre Lyre étofée,
 Que L'UN nous guide tous, comme L'UN GUIDE ORFEE.
 (Encyclie, p. 200)

Thus the circle is La Boderie's favoured symbol, for it shows not only perfect form but also perfect self-sufficiency in the continuous return of all creation to the first principle of Unity:

Un Cercle entre les plans est ma FIGURE ELUE,
 Unique aus profons Corps la Sfere revolue:
 Et tout le Monde est un . . .
 (Encyclie, p. 200)⁵⁹

The search for unity is the theme of which all La Boderie's works are variations. The term itself, "l'un," becomes here a further proof of the poet's role as learned and above all virtuous interpreter

of the universal harmony:

Si vous retournez L'UN, vous y trouverez Nul,
 Et qui veut nu à nu L'UN admirable entendre,
 Faut qu'il soit Nul en soy pour en soy L'UN comprendre:
 On ne connoist point L'UN fors par privacion
 De matiere, de sens, et toute passion.
 (Encyclie, p. 200)⁶⁰

The poem closes with a simple affirmation of his faith:

Enfin L'UN est sans fin, l'Eternité unie,
 Une la Deité eternelle, infinie.
 Sonne donc L'UN par tout nostre Lyre étofée
 Que L'UN nous guide tous, comme L'UN GUIDE ORFEE.
 (Encyclie, p. 201)

La Boderie's choice of Orpheus and David to exemplify his concept of the role of the poet is thus significant for several reasons. Firstly, it indicates his deep conviction that there is one universal truth, however variously it may have been expressed, which the true poet is called to glorify. As has been shown above, La Boderie felt that his personal vocation was to reveal that truth which had previously been presented under diverse veils. Secondly, the linking of a Greek poet-priest and of a Hebrew poet-king points to La Boderie's desire to search out in all known ancient religions (that is the prisca theologia he discovered partly from his Florentine Neo-Platonist predecessors and partly through his own linguistic studies) clues as to the "secrets" of eternal truth. Thirdly, his admiration for two figures esteemed by the Renaissance Neo-Platonists for their musical as well as for their verbal effects suggests the importance which he will later give to the rhythmic verse of hymns and psalms.

LA BODERIE'S SOURCES

Clarification of the universal harmony composed by God the Archimusicus was La Boderie's purpose as a poet; revival of ancient wisdom was his means to that end.

Even as a late-Renaissance Catholic apologist La Boderie had the curiosity of an early humanist philologist and a delicate temperament to which the Neo-Platonist "poetic theology" was particularly attractive.⁶¹ Thus he returned constantly to the body of supposedly ancient wisdom found in the prisca theologia revived by Ficino and the Neo-Platonists.⁶² In these esoteric writings, as well as in the Jewish Kabbalah and in the apocalyptic prophecies of Guillaume Postel can be found the bases of La Boderie's concept of universal harmony

That revelation was to be effected through a revival. In analyzing Ficino's idea of his historical position Kristeller has clarified such a notion as being less a "revival of classical antiquity" than a "rebirth of the arts guided by antiquity;" it was a concept "derived from certain religious notions of the Middle Ages that referred originally to a personal and individual regeneration and were later applied to the arts and to social institutions."⁶³ In this light La Boderie's preoccupation with religious revival founded on artistic revival is clear. The rebirth of the arts was an indication of the will of divine Providence that the hour of revelation was near.⁶⁴ It is clear also why as disciple of Ficino he turned to the prisca theologia

as authentic testimony of a venerable theological tradition transmitted through Plato's religious philosophy to the Christian faith.⁶⁵

La Boderie was of course not alone in following Ficino's probing into the secrets of the esoteric tradition. The syncretizing process of finding confirmation for the Christian faith in ancient mystery religions which was revived in the Renaissance by Ficino was advanced even more radically by Pico.⁶⁶ Their Italian followers adopted the occult revelations for interests as diverse as their magico-astrological teachings or the concepts of symbolic imagery developed by Ficino and Pico.⁶⁷

D. P. Walker has shown that French writers' interest in the prisca theologia was directly attributable to the influence of these Italian Neo-Platonists.⁶⁸ The French were however both more cautious with regard to implications of magic, paganism and heresy, and also more patriotic in that they praised the Druids as the earliest of the sages after the Flood and even included the medieval St. Denis in the line of wise men in receipt of the original revealed truth.⁶⁹

The French Renaissance was influenced by the prisca theologia through figures as diverse in time and spirit as Lefèvre d'Étaples and Jean Bodin.⁷⁰ Among these writers La Boderie stands out both for his constant use of elements of the esoteric tradition and for his radical transformation of that tradition in his unique mystico-national vision.

The authority of the Church Fathers and their acceptance in the Renaissance as classical writers helps to explain why La Boderie,

who had proclaimed himself a Catholic apologist, believed himself justified in adducing in his apologetic works the pre-Christian prisca theologia.⁷¹

St. Augustine was predominant among the early Church Fathers in his influence on Renaissance humanism through Petrarch and on Renaissance Platonism through Ficino.⁷² Augustine's works were read and re-interpreted, with those of the other Fathers, as part of the ancient literature on the curriculum of the new humanists. Even more important for the present study, Augustine's authority determined Ficino's attempt at creating a system of Christian Platonism in which Augustine's philosophic and Neo-Platonic elements were revived and later transmitted to philosophers, theologians and poets influenced by Ficino's Platonism.

Raymond Marcel has pointed out that as Augustine served as a model for a syncretism of Christian and Platonic doctrine, so other Greek Fathers served as sources for a wider religious syncretism.⁷³

D. P. Walker has clarified the point in affirming that the Neo-Platonic gnosis was enlarged by elements of oriental and Greek mystery religions found in the writings of the supposed ancient wise men, the prisci theologi, and transmitted through the early Greek Fathers such as Justin, Clement, Epiphanius, Eusebius, Cyril and Lactantius.⁷⁴ For a Christian apologist and humanist such as La Boderie the authority of these Greek Fathers as theologians enhanced their attractiveness as classical writers of the pre-scholastic period.

It must be emphasized that however irrelevant and even

antipathetic to Christian doctrine certain elements of the oriental cultures such as theurgic magic, astrology and alchemy might seem, the prisca theologia as a whole was invoked in defense of the points of Christian doctrine which most concerned the apologists of the Renaissance. The Hermetica, the Orphica and Plato were used "to show the universality and antiquity of the belief in one God, in the Trinity, in the creation ex nihilo, in the immortality of the soul and an after-life of punishments and rewards."⁷⁵

As a humanist philologist in the liberal tradition of the early Renaissance La Boderie was particularly susceptible to the attractions of a non-Christian ancient culture and concerned to ensure its survival. Even though he was writing after the Council of Trent of 1566, participating in the perfervid debates of the post-tridentine Counter-Reform, La Boderie clung to the example of the Church Fathers whose authority seemed to permit such a liberal acceptance of non-Catholic culture.⁷⁶ It is in part this all-embracing liberalism which accounts for criticism of his work in the seventeenth century.⁷⁷

The texts which La Boderie so eagerly studied included first of all those resurrected and adopted by syncretizing Florentine Neo-Platonists.

Ficino had first suggested the line of descent of the prisci theologi.⁷⁸ His various formulations of the ancient tradition comprised oriental sages such as Zoroaster and Hermes Trismegistus, leaders of Greek mystery cults such as Orpheus and Pythagoras, Plato himself as well as the Neo-Platonists, and even the Druids and the pseudo-Dionysius.

the Areopagite, all of whom were thought to have veiled their knowledge of the one Truth divinely revealed to them. Moses' supposed legacy to the Egyptian priests had facilitated the transmission of the original divine revelation, for all the prisci theologi were said to have learned from them. The concept of veiled truth which was to colour the Neo-Platonist esthetic derived from the Mosaic tradition in the Kabbalah also; had not God on Mt. Sinai given Moses only two tablets, instructing him to reveal only His "face" and not His entire presence to a people as yet unprepared for full revelation? Ficino and his followers from Pico on sought to make available the teachings of these newly-appreciated ancient poets and priests and to probe their writings for clues to the universal truth.

La Boderie chose Orpheus as the pre-eminent ancient poet and prophet. Not only did he incorporate translations of the Orphic Hymns in his own works but also he sang his praises in many original poems. In this choice he was surely in part following Ficino, for whom Orpheus occupied a particularly important place among the prisci theologi inasmuch as he was the oldest of the Greek mystery theologians, and was thought to be the teacher of Pythagoras and thus of Plato.⁷⁹ As D. P. Walker has emphasized, for Ficino, who practised a ritual of singing Orphic hymns in the garden at Careggi to the accompaniment of his lyre in order to induce a spiritual elevation, Orpheus was also the poet inspired by all the furors, poetic, bacchic, prophetic and amorous, and who was able to transmit that inspiration to anyone who

sang or listened to his verses.⁸⁰

The Orphica utilized by Renaissance scholars fall into three groups.⁸¹ The first group of fragments was easily accessible in Latin translation from the latter half of the fifteenth century. Of these Orphic fragments found embedded in ancient writings, chiefly those of the Greek Fathers such as Pseudo-Justin, Clement of Alexandria and Eusebius, and in those of Proclus, some were possibly pre-Platonic but most were Hellenistic. Inasmuch as they had been used by the Greek Fathers to show that anything valuable in Greek philosophy had been derived from Moses, they were an important element in Renaissance religious syncretism. The second group of Orphica, the Orphic Hymns dating from the second or third century A.D., were translated by Ficino in 1462 and cited in many of his works before their publication in 1500. La Boderie rejected ritualistic or theurgic practices of Ficino and Pico, prizing the Hymns instead for their musical and ethical efficacy and for their adaptability to symbolic interpretation.⁸² The third Orphic text is the Argonautica, a poem of the late fourth century A.D. based largely on the Argonautica of Rhodes. These verses were of interest to Renaissance scholars in general for their short passages of cosmogony and for the mention that Orpheus had travelled to Egypt. La Boderie used them also in his development of a universal history in La Galliade.

In summary, the Orphica were accepted by La Boderie as by other Renaissance syncretists for two main reasons. Although they were not all necessarily composed by Orpheus himself, their content was

considered to be part of a very ancient religious tradition which permitted the Renaissance interpreters to link Moses with Plato and both with Catholic doctrine. Their form was considered to be indicative not only of the power of musical "effects" but also of the validity of the Neo-Platonist theory of the veiling of truth with symbols.

The Hermetica, texts attributed to Mercurius or Hermes Trismegistus, were similarly interpreted by Renaissance scholars as part of an ancient religious tradition.⁸³ Modern criticism has established that these texts of supposedly ancient Egyptian origin derive mainly from Alexandrian Platonism of the third century A.D., thus clarifying what Renaissance scholars considered a remarkable congruence with Christian and Neo-Platonist thought.⁸⁴ The Asclepius (De voluntate divina) had been quite well known in the Middle Ages in a Latin translation attributed to Apuleius, having been cited in Augustine's Civitate Dei. The other texts include the Pimander (De sapientia et potestate Dei), the Definitiones Asclepii, a group of fifteen short dialogues, and the Crater Hermetis (De la Connaissance de Dieu et de soi-même in the French translation of 1557 by du Préau). According to D. P. Walker, they had been unknown in western Europe before the fifteenth century, when Ficino's and Lodovico Lazzarelli's translations facilitated the diffusion of the hermetic writings.⁸⁵

In France the Hermetica were accepted first for their apologetic usefulness. Lefèvre d'Étaples published, with a commentary,

Ficino's Latin Pimander as early as 1494, re-editing it with the Asclepius and Lazzarelli's Crater Hermetis in 1505. Symphorien Champier gave the first publication of Lazzarelli's translation of the Definitiones Asclepii in 1507.⁸⁶

Hermetic literature, half-scientific, half-religious, lent itself to diverse uses and interpretations. During the time of Catherine de Medici in the middle of the sixteenth century the "scientific" astrological and alchemical writings were probed in an attempt to acquire occult powers. Dagens ascribes the "golden age" of religious hermeticism however to the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁸⁷ La Boderie's use of the Hermetica becomes clear.

La Boderie, as Catholic apologist, was wary of the magical and demonological powers which had attracted most of the writers of the sixteenth century.⁸⁸ His translation of some of Ficino's astrological writings with his Les Trois livres de la vie indicates, however, his acceptance of Ficino's less deterministic attitude to astral influence which still permits a concept of universal harmony. In La Boderie's view of the world as multiple revelations of a divine Unity the very concreteness of "scientific" hermeticism, the affinities established between the macrocosm and man the microcosm as well as between diverse elements of the non-human world served as proofs of the One God.⁸⁹

La Boderie prolonged the tradition of Ficino and Lefèvre d'Étaples in adopting the Hermetica for apologetic purposes. In so

doing he utilized not the mystical gnosis but rather the "science" of affinities between man, the cosmos and the supreme Intelligence permeating the universe. He thus found in the concrete world a storehouse of symbols to enhance his poetic purpose.

Like the Hermetica the Chaldaean Oracles were supposed by Renaissance scholars to be of immense antiquity, although they were in reality a product of the time of Marcus Aurelius.⁹⁰ The magico-mystical aspects of both bodies of writings corresponded to Neo-Platonist and Christian gnostic beliefs of the Hellenistic era. All were received by those yearning for revelation in that time of distrust of the intellect and spiritual disillusionment.⁹¹

The fifteenth century Neo-Platonists inherited the fragments known as the Chaldaean Oracles chiefly from Neo-Platonic writers such as Iamblichus, the first systematizer of the occult sciences who incorporated the Oracles into his "Theurgy," and Porphyry whose On the Philosophy of the Oracles was the main source from which ecclesiastical writers drew their information concerning these Oracles.⁹² Again, Eusebius' authority as an early Father in considering these oracles to be authentic encouraged the Renaissance syncretists to accept them as additional proof of the unique truth propounded by the prisci theologi.

In fact the Chaldaean Oracles were to a great extent, like much of the Hermetica, formulas for astrological and alchemical magic, the term "magic" itself being taken from the Chaldaean Magi who were

thought to have been inheritors of Zoroaster's occult knowledge.

The metamorphoses of the legend of Zoroaster up to the time of Ficino's inclusion of him as one of the prisci theologi are interesting. Bidez and Cumont have proved that to the Greeks Zoroaster was known not as the historical figure, true theologian and creator of a strong religious system, but rather as magician, astrologer, cosmographer, naturalist and teacher of the alchemist Ostanes.⁹³ Hellenistic Jews added the great name of Zoroaster to their tradition either by assimilating him to a figure from the Old Testament or even by making him the disciple of Abraham, considered to be the inventor of astrology.⁹⁴ Christians, having heard the Gospel's account of the Magi who having seen a star in the East came to adore the Christ at Bethlehem, transformed Zoroaster into a precursor of the new faith.⁹⁵

According to Bidez and Cumont, Ficino's adoption of Zoroaster and the Chaldaean Oracles for his Platonic theology was probably influenced principally by Pletho who in his assimilation of oriental religions to Platonic philosophy systematically attributed the oracles to Zoroaster and to his Chaldaean Magi.⁹⁶

All the foregoing aspects of the legendary Zoroaster and his followers appear in La Boderie's work, especially in relation to the Jewish tradition as La Boderie modified it in the universal history of La Galliade.

Pythagoras' place among the prisci theologi was assured because of the Neo-Platonists' contention that, as one of the ancient Greek mystery cult leaders he had been both an initiate in the Orphic mysteries and a teacher of Plato.⁹⁷ Furthermore there was a tradition that supposed Pythagoras to have learned in Egypt the Mosaic doctrines.⁹⁸ The link between hermetic astrology and Pythagoras' speculations on numbers only added to his authority as a priest.⁹⁹ Even medieval theologians such as St. Thomas and Bonaventura had sanctioned astrology, together with the number sciences which it supported, as demonstration of the fundamental structure of the cosmic order.¹⁰⁰

La Boderie, in his elaborations of universal harmony, was particularly receptive to speculations on the substantial reality of number as symbol which carries in itself the essence of a divine principle and possesses therefore an active force.¹⁰¹ This concept of the sacred properties of number was central to Kabbalistic speculations which influenced La Boderie profoundly, and to the divine ordering of the universe demonstrated in the ten Sephiroth of the Kabbalah. The Kabbalah thus reinforced Pythagorean speculations on number in La Boderie's predilection for seeing signs of the One in multiple manifestations. In his attempt to reveal truth through numerical symbolism he was again guided by ancient writers such as the early Neo-Platonists who, according to Hopper, as Neo-Pythagoricians "continued to see in the decad the archetypal pattern of the universe and in the members of the decad the expression of divine ideas."¹⁰²

La Boderie revered as original disseminators of the truth of the prisca theologia the Druids of ancient Gaul, supposedly even more ancient than the venerable Greek and oriental poet-priests cited above.

On the authority of Clement of Alexandria, Ficino had included the Druids on some of his lists as depositaries of a profound religious truth.¹⁰³ But the Italian Neo-Platonists' interest in the Gallic forefathers was slight compared to that of their French followers. The chronicles of the pseudo-Berosus forged by Annius of Viterbo provided French nationalists with an authority, however doubtful, for their contention of Gallic supremacy.¹⁰⁴

With patriotic fervour Ramus and especially Symphorien Champier exalted the Druidic priests as poets-musicians-philosophers-theologians who had communicated to all the peoples of antiquity--Egyptians, Greeks and Romans--their gallica theologia, which preached the immortality of the soul, together with the intellectual and artistic fruits of their highly developed civilisation.¹⁰⁵

La Boderie, as disciple of Guillaume Postel, was uncritically receptive to the pseudo-Berosus. Marginal comments in his history of civilisation set forth in La Galliade repeatedly refer the reader to Annius of Viterbo's false chronicles in showing France to be the place of origin and the true home of civilisation according to divine will. The Druids here supersede all other prisci theologi for they are seen to be the teachers not only of Antiquity but also of Moses himself.

Dionysius the Areopagite¹⁰⁶ found a place in the Florentine

Neo-Platonists' prisca theologia by reason of the similarity of his writings to those of the Orphic Platonists and the Jewish Kabbalah. His supposed direct relationship to St. Paul made him thus a link between the most ancient revelations and Christian doctrine for Platonic theology.

In France Lefèvre d'Étaples and Symphorien Champier assimilated the pseudo-Dionysius to the figure of St. Denis of Paris. According to D. P. Walker, theirs was a humanist and also nationalistic attempt "to ensure an historical continuity between the pagan and the Christian worlds which is to include medieval France and thus lead up to their own time."¹⁰⁷

La Boderie too gave the pseudo-Dionysius a place of choice among the prisca theologi, linking him, in La Galliade, with the University of Paris and with the Druids.

A study of Plato and of the early Neo-Platonists is beyond the scope of this brief outline of the prisca theologia utilised first by Ficino in order to reconcile pagan philosophy and Christian doctrine in a pia philosophia. In his elaboration of Neo-Platonist syncretism as developed by Ficino and Pico, La Boderie was attracted more by the scope for accretion of esoteric revelation than by the foundation of Platonic philosophy which had attracted Ficino.

It will be seen that La Boderie, although he derived much of his intellectual and artistic orientation from the Florentine Neo-

Platonists, was also a Gallican Catholic apologist who exalted France as the home not only of civilisation but also of true religion, and a visionary attuned to Postellian illuminism based on the Kabbalah rather than to rational philosophy.

It was in the context of Christian apologetics that the Jewish Kabbalah was first investigated by Renaissance scholars.¹⁰⁸ Although Pico was not the first to mention the Kabbalah, as he claimed in his Conclusiones, nor a Hebrew scholar of the first rank, still, as Secret has affirmed, his influence was of prime importance in the evolution of Kabbalist themes in the Renaissance because of the humanist dimension which he gave to Christian apologetics.¹⁰⁹ The revival of the Kabbalah was regarded as part of that general revival of antiquity sanctioned by the example of Church Fathers and stimulated by humanist philologists' interest in Hebrew and other oriental languages.¹¹⁰

The traditional nature of this body of mystical thought is underscored in the term "Kabbalah" itself which signifies in Hebrew "reception" or "receipt." Kabbalah is not one doctrine, one certain dogma or system, but the whole esoteric tradition of Jewish mysticism.¹¹¹ Having been transmitted orally at first, and only to initiates, it is a secret tradition in a double sense: it treats of the hidden truths of both the human and the divine worlds, and also it is restricted to a small elite of the chosen who impart their knowledge to their disciples.¹¹² For the Christian Kabbalists of the Renaissance¹¹³ the most important of several documents related to the Kabbalah was the

pseudo-epigraphic Zôhar, a product of thirteenth century Spain, which, according to G. G. Scholem, "became a kind of Bible to the Kabbalists and for centuries enjoyed an unquestioned position as a sacred and authoritative text."¹¹⁴

In his oration on the dignity of man Pico prepared the course of Christian Kabbalism by setting the Jewish mystical heritage of revelation by symbols¹¹⁵ in the context of the prisca theologia in which were to be found various expressions of the one truth.¹¹⁶ In his two series of Kabbalistic Conclusiones¹¹⁷ and notably in his Heptaplus¹¹⁸ Pico developed many of the themes which were to attract the attention of his Christian Kabbalist successors.

The successors in the syncretist tradition found in the Kabbalah a treasure-house of revelation, whether by means of speculation on numbers, on names, on points and letters in the Hebrew language, sacred because it was that of the original divine revelation, or by means of study of the Hebrew letters, the original symbols of revelation. Pre-eminent among the humanists was the Hebrew scholar Jean Reuchlin (1455-1522), with those of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries in Italy, notably Galatin (c. 1460-1540), Giustiniani (1470-1536), Francisco Giorgio (1460-1540) and Ambrogio (1469-1540).¹¹⁹

In France interest in the Kabbalah was relatively slight before the second half of the sixteenth century.¹²⁰ In 1518 Symphorien Champier wrote of that oral reception which allowed the initiate to understand divine law as well as divine and human truths, but warned

against misuse of such knowledge for magical or divinatory ends. The same suspicion of "caballes vicieuses" is found in the Franciscan Jean Thenaud's Saincte et tres chrestienne cabale (1519) composed at the request of Francis I, and which was followed by his scarcely more sympathetic exposition in the Traicté de cabale based largely on the work of Reuchlin. Cornelius Agrippa, in his De occulta philosophia (1533), drew on Christian Kabbalists' themes of correspondences between the physical and celestial worlds to enhance his real subject of natural, celestial and ceremonial magic. Rabelais' gibes at "Herr Trippa" indicate the general suspicion of soothsayers and magicians; the humanists' interest appears, however, in the famous letter in which Gargantua's injunctions for study include: "sans contemner les Thalmudistes et Cabalistes."¹²¹ It was indeed under the impetus of humanist philological interest, with the study of Hebrew after the opening of the royal trilingual college in 1530, that the Kabbalah was seriously considered in France. Guillaume Postel, both student and teacher at that college, found in his interpretation of the Zôhar the key to the universe. La Boderie, student of Hebrew at the royal college and later disciple of Postel, was to find in the Kabbalah a structure for his vision of the universe. He was proud to proclaim himself the first French poet to present in verse "les secretz des Hébreus" (Encyclie, p. 25).

La Boderie's use of the Kabbalah had thus a threefold basis. Firstly, he continued the Neo-Platonist syncretist tradition, finding especially in Pico and in Francisco Giorgio themes and symbols conducive

to an explanation of universal harmony. Secondly, his extensive philological work in Hebrew, Syriac and Chaldaean stimulated an exact reading of the texts.¹²² Thirdly, he developed the cosmological and eschatological themes which Postel had derived from his reading of the Zôhar and other Kabbalistic texts.

Guillaume Postel (1510-1581) was one of the most astonishing figures of the French Renaissance.¹²³ Linguist without equal in his day, Hebrew scholar and publisher of the first Arabic grammar, but also learned in botany, mathematics, medicine, cosmography and Biblical exegesis, he was successively professor of mathematics and foreign languages at the Collège de Lecteurs Royaux, self-appointed chastising prophet to Francis I, follower of Ignatius Loyola, proclaimed heretic, collector and translator of rare oriental manuscripts, and an exceedingly prolific writer. But Postel's prophetic imagination exceeded even his intellectual and physical energy--indeed he adduced that energy as proof of his "election." As self-proclaimed "Pape Angelike," the reincarnation of the prophet Elijah,¹²⁴ he believed himself divinely appointed to lead the Gallic king in his eschatological mission as universal monarch to a consummation of the world and restitution of humanity to its pre-lapsarian golden age. Postel, who had been proclaimed "amens" (senseless) by his Franciscan Inquisitor at Venice in 1555, was finally confined as a madman at the monastery of Saint-Martin-des-Champs from 1564 to the end of his life.

The labyrinthine windings of Postel's illuminism defy simple

analysis. M. Secret has nevertheless presented the general sense of the millenarian beliefs, based largely on his reading of the Kabbalah, which informed not only Postel's writings but also his personal life.¹²⁵ He first attempted to establish a "concordia mundi" by demonstrating the reasons for the world's adopting Christianity, for which project he had planned a polyglot Bible. Subsequent to a series of illuminations he proclaimed that man and the world were to live four ages: those of nature, of the written Law and of grace, and finally that of concord when man was to be reinstated in his original purity and know again the clarity of understanding granted to Adam Kadmon, the primordial man, before the fall. Two Kabbalistic themes, first of the spirit of the Messiah as the archetypal man of whose substance all men partake and to whose perfection all will be restored, and second, of the Gilgul or recirculation of souls to their divine origin are basic to this eschatological vision.¹²⁶ Postel himself, who experienced a "rebirth" as Elijah/Messiah at the time of his "immutation" in 1552, believed himself thenceforth not only to understand all the secrets hidden since the beginning of the world but also called upon to reveal them.

Postel attracted several disciples and admirers in his persistent attempts to explain the word of God in order to prepare for the new coming of Christ "intra nos" and the re-establishment of the Church for which Paris was to be the new Jerusalem and the king of France the universal monarch.¹²⁷ After Postel's confinement at Saint-Martin-des-Champs these disciples continued to disseminate his interpretations of divine revelation and of heavenly signs such as

the comet of 1572 and to exhort the French king and his subjects to fulfill their divinely-ordained mission. Notable among these disciples were Jean Boulaese, chosen to explain in France and abroad the significance of the Eucharist in the Miracle of Laon of 1566; La Boderie, chosen with his brother Nicholas to represent Postel in translations for the 1572 Polyglot Bible; and Charles Toustain and Blaise de Vigenère who, like La Boderie, continued Postel's predication to Henri III about Gallic supremacy.

La Boderie may be qualified as Postel's "disciple élu."¹²⁸ His remarkable linguistic vocation, second only to Postel's, must have led to their meeting during Postel's stay in Paris from 1562-1564, for after Postel's confinement to the monastery he recommended La Boderie to Masius as the only scholar capable of taking up the torch of Arabic and Syriac studies and the one who should replace him at Antwerp in work on the polyglot Bible.¹²⁹

As linguist, La Boderie thus helped to realise Postel's first dream of concord. As poet, La Boderie elaborated Postel's vision of Universal restitution by constructing in La Galliade a universal history to confirm Postel's Gallic prophecies according to his own "théologie révolutive."

In summary, it has been shown that it is impossible at this time to trace a detailed biography of Guy Le Fèvre de La Boderie. His pre-eminence among his contemporaries as an oriental linguist has, however, been established by reference to his early biographers.

In so far as La Boderie's poetic production is concerned, only reference to the works themselves can yield a just appreciation both of the author's conception of his historical role as poet and of his syncretization of diverse aspects of "ancient wisdom" from the prisca theologia in the fulfilment of that role.

An analysis of La Boderie's exhortative verse addressed to his contemporary poets has revealed the spiritual and ethical bases of his poetic motivation as the self-styled "new Orpheus" divinely inspired to lead men by his melodious chant to a true rebirth, a "restitution" not only of ancient wisdom but also of primal virtue and communion with the divine. La Boderie's adoption of the figures of David, the Hebrew poet-priest, and of Orpheus, the leader of Greek mystery religions, to represent his concept of the true poet has been seen to illustrate not only the religious basis but also the syncretizing method of his poetic work.

Although La Boderie's suggestion of a new Christian lyricism for French poetry was original in the late 1560's, his syncretizing use of ancient and oriental mystery cults reconciled to Platonic and Christian precepts has been shown to follow the tradition of the Florentine Neo-Platonists. La Boderie's respect for the prisca theologia indicates his conformity with the tenet of Renaissance humanist followers of Ficino that a body of pre-Christian knowledge transmitted in mystery cults down to and through Plato could be reconciled with the Christian revelation. La Boderie's special interest in the Kabbalah, however, has been pointed out as indicative

of his personal modification of the common attribution of importance to elements of the prisca theologia, and also of his close association with the orientalist and visionary Guillaume Postel. That association has in turn been emphasized because of its importance for the interpretation of millenarian and illuminist aspects of La Boderie's work.

Sources for the thematic currents of La Boderie's verse are thus seen to be principally Neo-Platonist in so far as they flow from the Florentine syncretist tradition of revival of the prisca theologia, principally the Kabbalah, for Christian apologetic purposes. Coloured by Postellian prophecies, that tradition will be shown to assume in La Boderie a highly singular expression.

Thus, in the present work, the content of La Boderie's verse will be seen to be of interest on the one hand for its reflection, somewhat distorted in the Postellian mirror, of early liberal humanist attempts at religious reconciliation transferred to the highly-charged period of religious tensions preceding and during the reign of Henry III. On the other hand, La Boderie's work will be shown to suggest one aspect of a newly-forming definition of the poet's role as interpreter of spiritual and religious aspirations, both personal and social, of which other aspects were to be illustrated by Du Bartas, by d'Aubigné, by La Ceppède, by Sponde.¹³⁰

CHAPTER II: FOOTNOTES

¹ See La Croix du Maine, Bibliothèque (Paris, 1584), pp. 133-134; Antoine Du Verdier, Bibliothèque (Lyon, 1585), pp. 521-532. Le P. Jean-Pierre Nicéron, Mémoires (Paris, 1727-1745), XXXVIII, p. 303, states: "Si quelques Auteurs en ont fait mention, ce qu'ils ont dit n'est qu'une suite de fautes, que nous pouvons rectifier par ses Ouvrages, qu'ils n'avoient pas vus." Nicéron clarifies notably, pp. 304-305, the date of La Boderie's birth and his position as interpreter in the household of the Duc d'Alençon.

² Adrien Baillet, Jugemens des sçavans (Paris, 1685-1686), III, 209-210; le P. Jean-Pierre Nicéron, Mémoires (Paris, 1727-1745), XXXVIII, 303-304; J. G. de Chauffepié, Nouveau dictionnaire historique et critique (Amsterdam, La Haye, 1750), II, 33-34; l'Abbé Goujet, Bibliothèque française (Paris, 1752), XIII, 395-410; Mélanges tirés d'une grande bibliothèque (Paris, 1780), VII, G, 318-320; Hector de La Ferrière-Percy, Les La Boderie (Paris, 1857); Felix Nève, Guy Le Fèvre de La Boderie, orientaliste et poète (Bruxelles, 1862); le P. François Martin, Biobibliographie normande: Athenae Normannorum (Caen, 1901), I and II, fasc. 1, 415-427; Pierre F. Lelièvre, "Guy LeFèvre de La Boderie, poète chrétien," in Ecole Nationale des Chartes, Positions des thèses . . . 1927 (Paris: Picard, 1927), pp. 72-77. (The manuscript for the above-mentioned thesis is not available.)

³ L'Esotérisme de Guy Le Fèvre de La Boderie, Etudes de philologie et d'histoire, X (Genève: Droz, 1969).

⁴ Nicéron, Mémoires, p. 304. The year of his birth is calculated from the inscription accompanying his portrait in the Encyclie, he being "in his thirtieth year" in 1571, date of its publication. The day of his birth is affirmed as "l'avant-jour de saint Laurens" in La Boderie's Diverses meslanges poëtiques (Paris, 1582), fol. 62^r.

⁵ Secret, Esotérisme, p. 5. Nicéron, Mémoires, p. 314, mentions only three other brothers.

⁶ See "Epistre en faveur d'un amy de l'auteur," Diverses meslanges, fol. 103: "Je laisse Caen pour voir et Paris et Lyon / Et le Mascon voisin." No record remains of La Boderie's having visited either of these places. As for his years in Caen, we have only some suggestions from his own works. The first is with reference to his studies, in his Encyclie des secrets de l'eternité (Anvers, 1571), p. 317:

Les poètes allechans ont usé mon enfance,
 Et la mathématique a eu l'adolescence;
 De la philosophie ay senti devancer
 L'âge qui vient après; puis les langues diverses
 La jeunesse restant ont comblé de traverses.

The second passage indicates his reaction to teachers influenced presumably by Paduan rationalism (Encyclie, p. 3): "Il y a plus de quinze ans passés [ca. 1555 when La Boderie was approximately fifteen years old], qu'a mon grand regret j'ay esté fait certain, que sous semblance humaine il se trouvoit de tels monstrueux esprits, qui osoyent pleinement denier et Dieu et sa providence, et tenoyent pour resolu entre eux que toutes choses alloyent à l'aventure." Secret, Esotérisme, p. 8, confirms that: "Malheureusement les précieuses études de Prentout tant sur l'Université de Caen que sur la Réforme en Normandie, ne permettent pas de situer mieux La Boderie à cette époque."

⁷ La Boderie's dedication to Henry III of the 1584 edition of his New Testament translation describes his remarkable vocation for the study of Syriac, and confirms his attendance at the royal Trilingual College (cited in Secret, Esotérisme, pp. 9-10): "La nature m'engendra sous quelque astre favorable pour développer l'étude de cette langue sacrosainte. J'oserai dire de moi sans forfanterie que pour l'apprendre je n'ai eu aucun précepteur, pas même pour en trouver l'alphabet et l'épeler. Je fus, comme ne craignit pas de le dire Guillaume Budé, pour ses études grecques, autodidacte et théodidacte. En effet, quand à Paris j'eus consacré quelques mois à l'étude de l'hébreu sous vos lecteurs royaux, je me mis aussitôt à étudier les rudiments de la langue syriaque. Je ne fis alors qu'apprendre à épeler l'alphabet et à en tracer les caractères. Il n'existait alors ni grammaire ni dictionnaire. Ce n'est qu'ensuite que je me mis à recopier et à traduire le Nouveau Testament syriaque publié à Vienne. Encore que la difficulté dépassât mes propres forces, je pus réussir, avec l'aide de la grâce divine."

⁸ Secret, Esotérisme, pp. 17-26.

⁹ Dictionarium syro-chaldaicum (Antverpiae, 1572). Biblia sacra polyglotta, Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, et Latine (Antwerp, 1569-1572), V. Cf. Baillet, Jugemens des sçavans, III, 209: "Guido Faber, aliàs, Fabricius Boderianus, mort en 1598; Nicol Faber, aliàs, Fabricius Boder, son frere. Ces deux freres avec André Masius et quelques autres ont rendu à l'Eglise et aux Lettres des services signalez dans l'edition de la Polyglotte d'Anvers qu'Arias Montanus conduisoit chez Plantin. Mais Guy s'est rendu plus célèbre que Nicolas. Monsieur Brochart et Buxtorf le reconnoissent pour un treshabile homme dans les langues Hebraïque, Syriaque, et Chaldaïque, et qui n'avoit presque pas son semblable alors pour son exactitude

et son habileté sur tout dans la langue Syriaque où il avoit fait de fortes habitudes par de longues études."

¹⁰ Secret, Esotérisme, p. 19, quotes La Boderie's dedication in 1571 to Philip II of his Syriac New Testament: "C'est en 1567 [sic], il y a trois ans, que j'achevai de transcrire les caractères syriaques en hebraïques, et la traduction du teste syriaque en latin. Ce fut au prix d'un travail si epuisant que par deux fois j'en fis maladie à mourir. Mais avec la grâce et le secours de Dieu j'en vins à bout en dix huit mois, soit à Falaise en Normandie où je suis né, soit à Paris." Cf. also La Boderie's "Complainte à Dieu, faite par l'Auteur estant malade en Anvers, l'an 1571," Encyclie, pp. 301-305.

¹¹ "Elegie: A la Boderie . . .," Diverses meslanges, fol. 64^r-65^v:

A mes despens j'entreprins ce voyage [à Anvers],
J'y despendy et ma peine et mon age
Avec mon frere, et mes labeurs donné
Sans estre en rien pour cela guerdonné.

Je ne me plains, et d'honneur m'en dispense,
Que de Plantin je n'ay eu recompense
De mes travaux, son cueur entier et bon
Par moy congneu m'est un ample guerdon.

.

Je ne veux point qu'aucun pour moy se fasche,
Mais je veux bien que l'age advenir sçache
Que je n'ay eu de Princes ny de Roys
Icy ny là, de mes labeurs les droicts.

Mais pour cela si ne me veux-je feindre
Tant que vivray d'illustrer et de peindre
L'antique honneur du nom de Dieu sacré,
N'en attendant des hommes grace ou gré.

¹² See for example Chaufepié, Nouveau dictionnaire historique et critique, p. 33, n. B: "Les Savans ont parlé généralement d'une manière avantageuse de ces Ouvrages et de leur Auteur: Arius Montanus lui attribue une grande connoissance de l'Hébreu et sur-tout du Syriaque, Hebraïci idiomatis peritissimum atque adeo Syriacae Linguae insigni cognitione ornatum. Buxtorf dans une Lettre à Utenbogart du 15 Mars 1610, en parle comme d'un Grand-homme, quantus vir! dit-il, et Bochart assure qu'il a eu peu d'égaux en ce genre de Littérature, Vir qui in his Literis paucos habuit aequales." Goujet, Bibliothèque françoise, XIII, 401, adds: "On assure que le Pape Pie IV, informé du travail de Guy de la Boderie, voulut l'attirer à Rome dans le dessein de l'élever au Cardinalat; mais qu'il ne put vaincre sur cela la modestie de l'Auteur."

¹³ L'Encyclie des secrets de l'éternité (Anvers, 1571).

- 14 Secret, Esotérisme, p. 51.
- 15 Ibid., p. 53.
- 16 Traicté du nouveau comete, et du lieu ou ils se font, et comme il se verra par les Parallaxes combien ils sont loing de la terre, et du pronostic d'iceluy. Composé premierement en Espagnol, par M. Hieronyme Mugnoz, Professeur ordinaire de la langue Hebraïque et des Mathematiques, en l'université de Valence. Et depuis traduit en François par Guy le Fèvre de la Boderie. Plus un Cantique sur ladicté Estoille ou Apparence lumineuse (Paris, 1574).
- 17 Confusion de la secte de Muhamed. Livre premierement composé en langue Espagnole par Jehan Andre, jadis More et Alfaqui, natif de la Cité de Sciativia, et depuis faict Chrestien et Prestre: et tourné d'Italien en Francois. Par Guy le Fèvre de la Boderie (Paris, 1574).
- 18 Secret, Esotérisme, p. 69.
- 19 Ibid., p. 73.
- 20 French Academies of the Sixteenth Century (London: Warburg Institute, 1947), pp. 43, 56.
- 21 Discours de l'honneste amour sur le Banquet de Platon, par Marsile Ficin . . . Traduit de Toscan en François par Guy le Fèvre de la Boderie (Paris, 1578).
- 22 De la religion chrétienne, par Marsile Ficin, avec La Harangue de la dignité de l'homme, par Jean Picus, traduit par Guy le Fèvre de la Boderie (Paris, 1578).
- 23 L'Harmonie du monde, par François George, traduit et illustre par Guy le Fèvre de La Boderie (Paris, 1578).
- 24 Hymnes ecclesiastiques, cantiques spirituels et autres meslanges poétiques (Paris, 1578).
- 25 La Galliade, ou De la revolution des arts et sciences (Paris, 1578).
- 26 De la nature des dieux (Paris, 1581).

27 Pierre H. J. B. Champion, La Galerie des rois (Paris: Grasset, 1934), pp. 175-176.

28 Les Trois livres de la vie . . . avec une Apologie pour la médecine et astrologie. Le tout compose premièrement en Latin par Marsile Ficin . . . et traduit en François par Guy le Fèvre de La Boderie (Paris, 1581).

29 Diverses meslanges poétiques (Paris, 1582).

30 Novum Jesu Christi Testamentum, ex vulgata editione et translatione ex syriaco (Parisiis, 1584).

31 Secret, Esotérisme, p. 162, n. 233.

32 Cf. Henri Busson, Le Rationalisme dans la littérature française de la Renaissance, 1533-1601, rev. ed. (Paris: Vrin, 1957), pp. 516-517: "Il est bien difficile déjà--après 1550--de classer les hérétiques . . . Il paraît certain cependant qu'il y avait des athées ou tout au moins des déistes bien décidés en assez grand nombre en 1560. A partir de cette date, en effet, les apologistes de langue française . . . dénoncent leur existence et aussi réservent dans leurs livres plusieurs chapitres pour démontrer l'existence de Dieu. Guy Le Fèvre de La Boderie, qui consacra sa vie à les refuter, en a même connu avant 1560."

33 See E. Defrance, Catherine de Medicis, ses astrologues et ses magiciens envoûteurs. Documents inédits sur la diplomatie et les sciences occultes du XVI^e siècle (Paris, 1911).

34 For a thorough study of La Boderie's debt to Postel see Secret, Esotérisme, passim.

35 D. P. Walker, "The Prisca theologia in France," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XVII (1954), p. 227, comments: "But La Boderie, though he is, I think, a significant example of the late French Renaissance attitude to these questions, is by no means a normal one." For La Boderie's place in the development of the serious lyricism of the end of the sixteenth century in France, see Marcel Raymond, L'Influence de Ronsard sur la poésie française, 1550-1585, rev. ed., Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 73 (Genève: Droz, 1965), pp. 266-267.

36 See Secret, Esotérisme, p. 127.

37 Ibid., p. 128. See also François Secret, "Guillaume Postel et les courants prophétiques de la Renaissance," Studi francesi, III (1957), pp. 375-395.

38 See above n. 36.

39 Secret, Esotérisme, p. 17. See also Guillaume Postel, Le Thresor des propheties de l'univers, ed. F. Secret (La Haye: Martinus Nijhoff, 1966).

40 See Secret, Esotérisme, p. 127-128.

41 For the Cistercian mystic Joachim of Fiore (Floris), 1130-1201 or 1202, see New Catholic Encyclopedia (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), VII, pp. 990-991, which comments: "Joachim's entire doctrine is reducible to his teaching on the Trinity and on history The same tritheistic tendency appeared in Joachim's developmental theology of history, which moves from the Age of the Father (Old Testament) . . . to the Age of the Son (New Testament) . . . to the Age of the Holy Spirit, due to begin about 1260 This doctrine was taken up by the Spiritual Franciscans, i.e., the Joachimites, mixed with ideas from the Apocrypha, and carried far beyond Joachim's intentions."

42 See Secret, Esotérisme, p. 162.

43 See below pp. 162 ff. Cf. also François Secret, "L'Humanisme florentin, vu par un Kabbaliste chrétien, Guy Le Fèvre de La Boderie," Rinascimento, I (1954), pp. 105-112.

44 E. Gombrich, "Icones Symbolicae, the Visual Image in Neo-Platonist Thought," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XI (1948), pp. 167-168.

45 Ibid., p. 167.

46 D. P. Walker, "Le Chant Orphique de Marsile Ficin," in Musique et poésie au XVI^e siècle (Paris: Centre National de Recherche Scientifique, 1954), pp. 17-33.

47 D. P. Walker, "Orpheus the Theologian and Renaissance Platonists," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XVI (1953), pp. 100-120.

48 Cf. ibid., pp. 100-101. Jean Richer, Nerval, expérience et création (Paris: Hachette, 1963), p. 534,

notes that Orpheus' lyre, as a Neo-Platonist image, alluded to the harmony of the spheres and, more generally, to cosmic harmony. Furthermore, from the Christian point of view, adopted by the Church Fathers and by Dante, Orpheus is the image of the Word.

⁴⁹ Cf. Yates, French Academies, pp. 23-25, 36-42, for the importance of musical "effects." For the roles of Orpheus and David in Renaissance writings on musical "effects," see Walker, "Chant Orphique," pp. 22, 24.

⁵⁰ Walker, "Orpheus the Theologian," p. 10, n. 2, notes many juxtapositions of Orpheus and David from Clement of Alexandria to Marot.

⁵¹ For the importance of Orpheus as esoteric theologian and as divinely inspired singer, see Walker, "Orpheus the Theologian," pp. 100-120. For Orpheus' importance as the primary mythical figure, superseding Hercules and even Prometheus as prototype of the ideal man as well as of the ideal artist, see Andre Chastel, Marsile Ficin et l'art (Genève: Droz, 1954), pp. 173-176.

⁵² Walker, "Orpheus the Theologian," p. 119, states: "The Orphica remain, however chiefly important, not because of their content or context, but because they reinforce the belief in, and form part of, a prisca theologia which confirms the compatibility of Platonism with Christianity."

⁵³ Walker, "Prisca theologia," pp. 226-227, comments that these Orphic fragments were "regularly used by Renaissance Platonists to demonstrate that Orpheus was a monotheist and Trinitarian . . ."

⁵⁴ See Walker, "Orpheus the Theologian," pp. 105-106, for an explanation of the linking of Moses and Musaeus, considered sometimes the disciple and sometimes the teacher of Orpheus.

⁵⁵ Cf. Pauline M. Smith, The Anti-Courtier Trend in Sixteenth Century French Literature, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 84 (Genève: Droz, 1966), pp. 152-218.

⁵⁶ La Boderie's conception of the artist and poet was very strongly influenced by his reading of the Neo-Platonists. For a discussion of Ficino's interpretation of Plato's evaluation of the artist, see Chastel, Marsile Ficin et l'art, pp. 64-70.

⁵⁷ Raymond, Influence de Ronsard, p. 273, states: "[La Boderie] tenta de fonder, avant Du Bartas, le grand lyrisme chrétien."

58 See below p. 198 ff.

59 La Boderie is of course here using another anagram of his name: Gui Le Fevre = FIGURE ELUE. Cf. Encyclie, p. 301: "Si la Rondeur est ma FIGURE ELUE." For Ficino's concept of the aesthetic perfection of universal creation in "l'image du cercle infini qui est le plus éminent des symboles de la divinité," see Chastel, Marsile Ficin et l'art, p. 58. Cf. also Georges Poulet, Les Metamorphoses du cercle (Paris: Plon, 1961), pp. xx-xxiii.

60 La Boderie's preoccupation with the poet's spiritual detachment prerequisite to an intimate knowledge of the Divinity, "pour en soy L'UN comprendre," recalls Ficino's precepts for a liberation of the soul so that it may find its true harmony with the universe. For a discussion of the relationship of this concept to Neo-Platonist use of symbols, see Chastel, Marsile Ficin et l'art, pp. 71-79.

61 Cf. Chastel, Marsile Ficin et l'art, p. 173.

62 The Hellenistic origins of the so-called "ancient wisdom" have been pointed out by several scholars. See for example Edgar Wind, Pagan mysteries in the Renaissance, rev. ed. (New York, Barnes and Noble, 1968 [c1967]), pp. 27-28, and Walker, "Prisca theologia," p. 209.

63 P. O. Kristeller, The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), pp. 20-22.

64 See below p. 186.

65 For an analysis of Ficino's position see Kristeller, Philosophy, pp. 25-29. With regard to the general Renaissance attitude to religious history, Walker, "Prisca theologia," p. 210, defines as "undoubtedly the predominant view" that which held "that the only or main pre-Christian revelation was the Jewish one; but that this filtered through to the Gentiles, the usual channel of communication being Egypt, where Moses had taught the priests or left books."

66 For Pico's interpretation of the prisca theologia, especially with regard to his attitude to imagery as the veiled truth of "poetic theology," see Wind, Pagan Mysteries, pp. 24-30. For his use of the prisca theologia in general, and especially of the Kabbalah, see the following: Eugenio Anangine, G. Pico della Mirandola: Sincretismo religioso-filosofico, 1463-1494 (Bari, 1937); Eugenio Garin, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, vita e dottrina (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1937), pp. 137 ff; Francois Secret, "Pico della Mirandola e gli inizi della cabala christiana," Convivium, XXV nuove serie (1957), pp. 31-47.

⁶⁷ See for example Chastel, Marsile Ficin et l'art, pp. 71-79; Gombrich, "Icones symbolicae," pp. 169-192; D. P. Walker, Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella, Studies of the Warburg Institute, 22 (London: Warburg Institute, 1958; Nendeln / Lichtenstein: Klaus Reprint, 1969).

⁶⁸ Walker, "Prisca theologia," pp. 206-207.

⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 204, 220. The present interpretation of La Boderie's use of the prisca theologia is based largely on this analysis by Walker of its importance in France.

⁷⁰ Walker, "Prisca theologia," pp. 204-206, cites Lefèvre d'Étaples, Pontus de Tyard, Duplessis-Mornay and especially Symphorien Champier and Guy Le Fèvre de La Boderie as having used the prisca theologia. He mentions also other writers as having been receptive to this "ancient wisdom": Amaury Bouchard, Louis Le Caron, Louis Le Roy, François de Foix, Charles de Bourgueville, Georges Pacard, Guillaume Postel, Michael Servetus, as well as Marguerite de Navarre, Pierre de Paschal, Bartolomeo Delbene, François Hebert, Guy de Bruës, Pierre de Lostal and Jean Bodin. For a study of Rabelais' continual use of this tradition, see G. Mallary Masters, Rabelaisian Dialectic and the Platonic-Hermetic tradition (Albany, N.Y.: State University of N. Y. Press, 1969).

⁷¹ Cf. Walker, "Prisca theologia," p. 204: "Many Christian apologists from the earliest Fathers onwards, have had the practice of citing texts from pre-Christian writers, prisci theologi, of supposedly great antiquity, in order to show the conformity with Christian doctrine. These texts--Orphica, Hermetica, Oracula Chaldaïca, fragments from pre-Socratic Greek philosophers, Sibylline prophecies--appear in company with Plato, whose religious opinions are thought to derive from them and from the Jewish Scriptures. This practice increased greatly in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, partly because of the revival of Platonism and the desire to integrate it into Christianity, and partly because many more such texts became available."

⁷² P. O. Kristeller, "Augustine and the Renaissance," International Science, I (1941), pp. 7 ff.

⁷³ R. Marcel, Marsile Ficin (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1959), pp. 603, 612.

⁷⁴ Walker, "Prisca theologia," p. 258, states: "It was these early Greek Fathers [Justin, Clement and Epiphanius], together with

Eusebius, Cyril and Lactantius, writing on the same lines, who were the chief storehouses of the texts of the prisca theologia, and the main models for the syncretizing use of these texts. It is, therefore, not surprising to find post-tridentine Catholics, such as La Boderie, De Foix and Le Roy, accepting and using the prisca theologia."

75 Ibid., p. 252.

76 Cf. ibid., pp. 255-256.

77 See for example M. Mersenne, Quaestiones in Genesim (Paris, 1623), cols. 1854-1877.

78 Walker, "Orpheus the Theologian," p. 105, cites a typical list of ancient thinkers, explaining the belief in their common debt to the Mosaic tradition transmitted through Egypt. See also Kristeller, Philosophy, p. 15, for an explanation of Ficino's debt to Pletho in his development of the idea of an ancient tradition of a pagan theology leading to Plato. Cf. also Marcel, Marsile Ficin, pp. 588-589.

79 See Marcel, Marsile Ficin, p. 614, for an analysis of the continuity of a tradition from Orpheus through Aglaophemus to Pythagoras and thus to Plato.

80 Walker, "Chant Orphique," p. 22 and Walker, "Prisca theologia," pp. 101-103.

81 The following outline of the importance of the Orphica is based on Walker, "Orpheus the Theologian," pp. 103-107, and Walker, "Prisca theologia," pp. 207-209.

82 See below p. 199 ff.

83 The most complete presentation of the Hermetica is to be found in A.-J. Festugière, La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste, 3^d ed. (Paris: Lecoffre, 1950), 4 vols., and in A. D. Knock and A.-J. Festugière, Hermès Trismégiste. Corpus hermeticum (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1945). The following studies are of interest with regard to Renaissance interpretations of the Hermetica: J. Dagens, "Hermétisme et Cabale en France de Lefèvre d'Étaples à Bossuet," Revue de littérature comparée, XXXV (1961), pp. 1-20; P. O. Kristeller, "Marsilio Ficino e Lodovico Lazzarelli; contributo alla diffusione delle idee ermetiche nel Rinascimento," in Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1956), pp. 221-257; Henry Weber,

"Y a-t-il une poésie hermétique au XVI^e siècle en France?" Cahiers de l'Association Internationale des Etudes Françaises, XV (mars 1963), pp. 41-58; A.-M. Schmidt, "Haute science et poésie," Cahiers d'Hermès, no. 1 (1947), pp. 10-49; Frances Yates, Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), pp. 1-19. The following outline is intended only to provide a background to La Boderie's use of the Hermetica.

84 See above n. 62, and Kristeller, "Marsilio Ficino e Lodovico Lazzarelli," pp. 221-222.

85 Walker, "Prisca theologia," p. 208.

86 Dagens, "Hermétisme et Cabale," p. 5.

87 Ibid., p. 6.

88 See below p. 92. See also J. C. Lyons, "Literary Evidence of the Prestige of the Black Arts in French Literature of the Renaissance," Studies in Philology, XXXI (1934), pp. 224-235.

89 Cf. Festugière, La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste, pp. 359-360. See below pp. 194 ff., for the relationship of this system with La Boderie's concept of correspondences.

90 Cf. H. Lewy, Chaldaean Oracles and Theurgy: Mysticism, Magic and Platonism in the Later Roman Empire (Le Caire: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1956), p. xiii.

91 Knock and Festugière, Corpus hermeticum, p. vii, state: "Hermétisme et Oracles Chaldaïques offrent de frappantes ressemblances avec maints écrits du gnosticisme chrétien. Ce phénomène paraît dû, non pas à un emprunt direct, mais au fait qu'ils dépendent ensemble d'un même fonds intellectuel et répondent à des besoins analogues de la sensibilité de l'époque: désir de certitude et de révélation, goût pour l'ésotérisme, penchant pour les abstractions, souci de l'âme et de son salut, tendance à considérer le monde par rapport au sort de l'âme, et le sort de l'âme par rapport au monde." Cf. also Lewy, Chaldaean Oracles, p. 7. La Boderie's personal spiritual disillusionment, as expressed in the Encyclie, pp. 3-4 and elsewhere, might be related to the mood of the early Neo-Platonist time as partial explanation of his taste for the esoteric doctrines of the prisci theologi.

92 Lewy, Chaldaean Oracles, pp. xiii, 65.

93 J. Bidez and F. Comont, Les Mages hellénisés: Zoroastre, Ostanès et Hystaspe d'après la tradition grecque (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1938), p. viii.

94 Ibid., pp. 41-42.

95 Ibid., pp. 50-51.

96 Ibid., p. 162.

97 See above n. 79.

98 See above n. 94.

99 Cf. Dagens, "Hermétisme et Cabale," pp. 6-7.

100 Cf. V. F. Hopper, Medieval Number Symbolism: Its Sources, Meaning and Influence on Thought and Expression, Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature, 132 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938). See also Ernst Cassirer, An Essay on Man (Toronto, New York, London: Bantam Books, 1970 [c1944]), p. 233.

101 See below pp. 208 ff. Cf. also E. R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1953), pp. 501-509, for an exposition of the medieval concept of "numerical composition," especially his comment on Dante whom La Boderie had translated: "Here number is no longer an outer framework, but a symbol of the cosmic ordo."

102 Hopper, Medieval Number Symbolism, p. 37.

103 See Walker, "Prisca theologia," p. 213.

104 See below p. 156, n. 57.

105 See C. Vasoli, "Temi e fonti della tradizione ermetica in uno scritto di Symphorien Champier," in Umanesimo e esoterismo, Atti del V Convegno Internazionale di Studi Umanistici (Padova: Cedam, 1960), pp. 240-242. Vasoli emphasizes a nationalistic sentiment growing in France from the time of Champier's publications in the period of Louis XII's successful Italian campaigns. The exaltation of the Druids, accordingly, became "un tema oltremodo caro alla nuova sensibilità nazionale degli umanisti francesi."

106 The New Catholic Encyclopedia, XI, 943-944, states: "Pseudo-Dionysius is the name assumed by the author of four Greek treatises on liturgical and mystical theology that appeared at the beginning of the sixth century and were first referred to by the Monophysite theologians in the train of Severus of Antioch. The author claims apostolic sanction for his writings by publishing them as the work of the Dionysius who was baptized after listening to a sermon St. Paul preached in the Areopagus of Athens (Acts 17.34). . . . In the West, the legendary biography identifying Pseudo-Dionysius with both the Areopagite and the patron of Paris, which was composed by the Abbot of Hilduin and attached to the Latin translation of his writings, set the tradition that prevailed down to modern times Down to the first decade of the seventeenth century, the authority of these writings was unchallenged by Catholic and many Protestant theologians."

107 Walker, "Prisca theologia," p. 220, explains further: "They have prevented the incarnation from breaking history in two, and they themselves stand in the unbroken succession of prisca theologia which stretches back, through the Parisian theologians, to Dionysius-St. Denys, Plato, Orpheus, Hermes Trismegistus and Moses."

108 The present brief account of the use of the Kabbalah by Renaissance humanists is based largely on François Secret, Les Kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance (Paris: Dunod, 1964). See ibid., pp. vi-vii, for the reasons for which the book by Joseph L. Blau, The Christian Interpretation of the Cabala in the Renaissance (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944) should be consulted with caution.

109 Ibid., pp. 1-2, 29-30.

110 Cf. François Secret, Le Zôhar chez les kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance (Paris: Mouton, 1958), pp. 13-14, 18. M. Secret considers the revival of the Kabbalah to have been of great importance in the history of ideas. It should be studied not as a curiosity but "dans le cadre même des grands événements du siècle de la Renaissance et de la Réforme," being associated with the revival not only of linguistic but also of Biblical studies.

111 See G. G. Scholem, On the Kabbalah and its Symbolism (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), p. 89, and G. G. Scholem, Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism (London: Thames and Hudson, 1955), p. 18.

112 Scholem, Major Trends, p. 21.

- 113 For the use of the term "Christian Kabbalists" see Secret, Kabbalistes chrétiens, pp. v-x.
- 114 Scholem, On the Kabbalah, p. 89. The Zôhar was published first in Italy, in 1558 by a Jewish and in 1560 by a Christian editor. See Secret, Zôhar, p. 23.
- 115 For a definition of symbolical thought as "the main constituent of the [Kabbalists'] faith and their method" see Scholem, On the Kabbalah, pp. 96-97, and Scholem, Major Trends, pp. 26-28.
- 116 Cf. La Boderie's translation of Pico's Harangue de la dignité de l'homme, pp. 435-436: "Ces livres que j'ai acquis à prix d'or, je les ai lus de fond en comble, avec une attention soutenue et un travail sans relâche, et j'y ai trouvé (Dieu m'est témoin) non pas tant la religion de Moïse que la religion chrétienne: ici le mystère de la Trinité, là l'incarnation du Verbe, là encore la divinité du Messie: j'y ai lu . . . la même chose que ce que nous lisons tous les jours chez Paul et Denys, chez Jerome et chez Augustin. Mais, en ce qui regarde la philosophie, on croirait vraiment entendre Pythagore et Platon, dont les principes sont tellement voisins de la foi chrétienne En résumé, il n'y a aucun point de controverse entre les Juifs et nous, sur lequel nous ne puissions les combattre et les confondre par les livres des cabalistes"
- 117 Pico's Apologia for the suspect theses of his Conclusiones includes a justification of his famous declaration that there is no science which gives us more certainty of the divinity of Christ than magic and the Kabbalah. He calls to witness Esdras, Paul, Origen, and Hilaire, to which were added the authority of St. Jerome and Eusebius, that God gave to Moses both a literal Law which was to be preserved in writing and communicated to the people, and also a revelation of the mysteries therein contained which were to be confided only to the seventy wise men and transmitted only orally to their initiate disciples in order that the mysteries be guarded from profanation. See Secret, Kabbalistes chrétiens, pp. 2-5.
- 118 Translated into French by Nicholas Le Fèvre de La Boderie and published with Guy Le Fèvre de La Boderie's translation into French of Francisco Giôrgio's Hârmonia mundi, for which see below p.
- 119 Secret, Kabbalistes chrétiens, pp. 44-140.
- 120 Ibid., pp. 151-171.

121 In the prologue to Pantagruel Rabelais refers also to "une religieuse caballe."

122 Secret, Zôhar, p. 23, notes that entries in La Boderie's Dictionarium syro-chaldaicum indicate a thorough reading of the Zôhar. La Boderie's dictionary was the first systematic attempt to establish a glossary of Kabbalistic terms.

123 For the most complete studies of Postel see the works by François Secret in the bibliography of the present essay. See also W. J. Bouwsma, Concordia mundi: the Career and Thought of Postel (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957).

124 For the figure of Elijah as "he who carries the divine message from generation to generation, he who at the end of time will reconcile all the conflicting opinions, traditions, and doctrines manifested in Judaism," see Scholem, On the Kabbalah, p. 20.

125 Kabbalistes chrétiens, p. 176.

126 For a brief comparison of these themes with Christian mysticism and with Neo-Platonist thought see Scholem, Major Trends, pp. 19-20.

127 Secret, Kabbalistes chrétiens, pp. 187-217. See also Secret, "De quelques courants prophétiques," pp. 1-32.

128 Secret, Esotérisme, passim.

129 Ibid., pp. 9-11, 20. See also François Secret, "Guy Le Fèvre de La Boderie représentant de G. Postel à la Polyglotte d'Anvers," De Gulden Passer, XLIV (1966), pp. 245-257.

130 Cf. Terence C. Cave, Devotional Poetry in France, c. 1570-1613 (Cambridge University Press, 1969).

CHAPTER III

THEMATIC CONTENT OF THE WORKS: ORIGINAL WORKS

The cardinal themes of La Boderie's poetic work can be traced in L'Encyclie and La Galliade. A study of the minor verse and the poet's introduction to his translations discloses variations on those themes as well as their significance in the context of the author's notion of his role as a poet.

In A.-M. Schmidt's study of the scientific poetry of the French Renaissance, an attempt to "ordonner en une cosmologie les résultats épars de la philosophie naturelle," he points out that "cette poésie forme la prétention d'être l'achèvement unitaire des sciences: à plus forte raison encore lorsqu'elle se réclame du monisme hermétique."¹ In that context of an effort toward a demonstration of the unity of knowledge La Boderie's works deserve a place, even though many of his themes appear to the reader "stupéfiants d'anachronisme en 1578."² La Boderie appears to have

disregarded or even rejected the scientific discoveries and even the developing scientific spirit of his century in favour of an idealism related to the Hellenistic gnosticism common to early Christian teaching and to many elements of the prisca theologia transmitted through the Alexandrine Neo-Platonists to the Florentine Neo-Platonists.

Yet it is a certain optimism, a practical as well as a metaphysical idealism which marks him as a man of the Renaissance. His "world picture" may be compared to that of the English Elizabethans as clarified by Tillyard. He shares their "preponderating faith" in their "perilously poised world" despite the fact that Copernican astronomy "had by then broken the fiction of the eternal and immutable heavens."³

La Boderie's is the world of the medieval "great chain of being" of which the history has been traced by Lovejoy.⁴ It is a world of Hermetic correspondences between the planes of the divine and the angelic, of the macrocosm, the elemental world of terrestrial creation, and of man the microcosm and of his social body politic. La Boderie's formative concept is above all that of a universal harmony which implies in all creation the principles of degree and consonance, analogous to musical intervals and harmonies. It is a concept which is supported chiefly by classical Pythagorean and Platonic as well as Neo-Platonic theories,⁵ by the Kabbalistic imagery of the Sephiroth, and by an Augustinian notion of order and of Christian love as the harmonic bases of creation.⁶

La Boderie's principal theme is symbolized in the circle, his "figure élue." La Boderie shows himself a disciple of Ficinian Neo-Platonism in choosing this figure of totality and of perfect order in a form of primal simplicity.⁷ Through harmony the multiplicity of creation is reconciled with the perfect unity of God. The poet-musician is thus a god-like composer of harmonies set on the pattern of divine creation and designed to celebrate that creation as well as to lead men to a proper attunement with its fundamental concordances.⁸

La Boderie's syncretistic orientation forbids a rigorous logical analysis of the often incoherent and redundant thematic content of his works. On the other hand, it is just this harmonizing spirit of the poet-musician imitator of the Archimusicus which affords him a certain power of shaping a poetic world.⁹

A. L'ENCYCLIE DES SECRETS DE L'ÉTERNITÉ

L'Encyclie des secrets de l'éternité, La Boderie's first poetic work, was published in 1571 at Antwerp by Plantin, publisher of the Polyglot Bible. This work is set forth in one hundred and fifty-six pages in octavo to which are appended some two hundred pages of verse dedicated to his contemporaries and of verse translations from the prisca theologi. L'Encyclie can be related superficially to Scève's Microcosme as well as to Du Bartas' Semaine in its encyclopedic treatment of man's condition and in its "scientific" approach to apologetics through a reasoned argument. The solemnity of La Boderie's "philosophic" Christian lyricism in the Encyclie recalls too the esthetic of "philosophic" lyricism of Ronsard's Hymnes.¹⁰

The term "encyclie" of the title describes the expanding circles caused by a stone being dropped into water. It suggests both the totality of the circle and the correspondences between the planes of being in the macrocosm and the microcosm. It suggests above all the divine principle of creation, for the image of the "encyclie" can be likened to the continuous emanations in the Kabbalist Sephiroth or to the Platonic anima mundi setting in motion the heavenly spheres.¹¹

In La Boderie's "théologie révolutive" the term represents

also the cyclical movement by which man can return through a comprehension of divine manifestations to a vision of the divine itself. Thus the title contains in itself an indication both of La Boderie's Kabbalist and Neo-Platonist affiliations and the author's principal image for his explanation of the "secrets of eternity."

L'Encyclie is essentially a work of Catholic apologetics in the tradition of Neo-Platonist syncretism.¹² In spite of the somewhat suspect Platonic ideas and the importance given to Postellian interpretations of Kabbalistic themes, the work appeared "avec privilège" inasmuch as La Boderie had included precautionary marginal notes (Encyclie, pp. 87, 94) and the following statement in the preface:

D'avantage tu pourras trouver en cest Oeuvre quelques poins tirez du sacraire de la philosophie principalement Platonique: comme de l'Ame du Monde, des Intelligences mouvantes les Sfères, de l'Harmonie des Cieus, et autres semblables; Lesquels je ne veus ni entens estre autrement receus de moy, que comme L'Eglise Romaine et universelle en aura déterminé, au jugement de laquelle j'ay soumis et soumets non seulement le present Oeuvre, mais aussi tous autres miens escripts que par cy apres je pourroye mettre en lumiere, voire tous mes dicts et actions; estant deument asseuré que hors icelle il n'y a point de salut, et qu'entre ses mains sont les clefs de toute verité, par ce quelle est regie du S. Esprit qui en est le sourceon inépuisable.

(Encyclie, p. 7)¹³

The Hebrew legend accompanying the author's portrait (Encyclie, p. 2), freely translated by his brother Nicholas, confirms the author's belief in the validity of his setting forth the Christian doctrine in the tradition of the great poets of antiquity:

Le Fevre en qui David revit,
 Revit FEU VERGILE et sa fee
 Et la lyre qui tout ravit
 Revit en L'UN QUI GUIDE ORFEE.¹⁴

A similar spirit informs the Greek motto encircling the portrait of the author, and which accompanies all of La Boderie's poetic works:

ἍΓΙΟΣ ΔΑΒΙΔ ὈΡΦΙΚΩΣ ἘΝ ΒΡΥΟΙ (May Holy David sprout forth as one Orphically).

The prefatory "Advertissement au Lecteur" presents the author's justification for undertaking such an exposition of the "secrets of eternity," the genesis of the work itself, its form, and the author's purpose in writing.

One might wonder, he admits, that in the enlightened time of the Renaissance there should be religious sceptics:

. . . attendu qu'il n'est croyable, qu'en un si docte siecle, il se trouve des esprits tant dénaturez, et aveugles, qu'ils osent r'appeller en doute un tant certain et stable fondement.

(Encyclie, p. 3)

But La Boderie himself, presumably as a student at Caen, had encountered representatives of the new rationalism:

A quoy je respon, qu'il y a plus de quinze ans passez, qu'à mon grand regret j'ay esté fait certain, que sous semblance humaine il se trouvoit de tels monstrueus esprits, qui osoyent pleinement denier et Dieu et la Providence, et tenoyent pour resolu entre eus que toutes choses alloient à l'adventure. Et furent bien aucuns d'entre eus . . . si temerairement impudens que de m'en tenir propos, et me voyant en ma premiere adolescence, me proposoyent des doutes touchant la Creation du Monde; que faisoit Dieu avant icelle, ou il estoit, ou

lon pourroit assigner le lieu des Enfers, et
telles autres questions vaines et curieuses.

(Encyclie, pp. 3-4)

His personal experience was symptomatic, in fact, of a growing rationalist and even atheistic current which Busson has classified as one aspect of the spiritual ferment of the period.¹⁵ Writing at the time and in the spirit of the Counter-Reform, La Boderie looked with horror on sceptics, Reformists and above all atheists:

Mais par ce qu'en telle confusion et meslange de
sectes et heresies qui de nostre temps se sont
elevées en toute l'Europe, se nourrit
secrettement celle qui est le comble
de toutes les autres, et qui fait profession de
ne rien croire, je veus dire des Athées

(Encyclie, p. 6)

The author's own early spiritual disillusionment with overly-rationalistic humanist scholarship was to orient all his subsequent work both as scholar and as poet toward Christian apologetics:

Deslors je fus eguilloné d'embrasser estroitement
et autant que mon aage pouvoit porter, l'estude de
la philosophie; ne me proposant autre fin presque
en tout le discours des disciplines que gloutement
je devoirois, sinon de rechercher tout ce qui faisoit
à la preuve naturelle des Articles de nostre Foy
et de reconnoistre de plus en plus la Toute-
puissance, Sagesse, et Bonté de l'Estant eternal
par la consideration de ses Oeuvres admirables.

(Encyclie, p. 4)

La Boderie claims to have begun the Encyclie at a very young age, and indeed the first seven "Circles" of the work were completed by his twenty-first year, that is to say before his major oriental linguistic studies (Encyclie, pp. 4-5). The Kabbalistic theme of the Tabernacle in the important Eighth Circle shows the fruit of those studies and of

La Boderie's relationship with Guillaume Postel.

As for the method of this propagandistic work, La Boderie has chosen to play the role of the ignorant questioner in order to have his purposefully misguided arguments conclusively refuted in his dialogue with the celestial Muse Uranie:

Et combien que j'aye prins le masque et le manteau de l'incredule curieus pour mieus jouer son rolle, si osay-je dire que comme le fil de l'oeuvre m'a conduit je n'ay laissé objection aucune dond je me sois peu souvenir, laquelle je n'aye essayé de dissouldre par plus fort argument, et ayant, comme on dict, la pelotte en la main, ne m'en suis point pourtant fait plus beau jeu.

(Encyclie, pp. 5-6)

The propositions are not explicitly based on authority, inasmuch as the readers whom the author wishes to persuade consider themselves to be swayed only by reason:

Je ne veus omettre de t'advertir, Lecteur, que je n'allegue en cest Oeuvre aucun autheur, par ce que je scay que telle maniere de gents à qui j'ay affaire, rejettent et se moquent de toute autorité, demandans à chasque mot raison, de laquelle ils n'ont pas une once

(Encyclie, p. 6)

The work as a whole is arranged in "Circles," around which the thread of the arguments is designed to lead the reader from natural to supernatural revelations of truth:

. . . en l'entresuite et liaison des causes je suis monté jusques à la premiere. (Encyclie, p. 7)¹⁶

In all, this work like La Boderie's later works is conceived as primarily useful rather than pleasurable. To poetic immortality achieved by artistic refinements of which he was sometimes suspicious,¹⁷

La Boderie preferred the satisfaction of serving his contemporaries, especially the humanist elite, through his glorification of a timeless God:

. . . ayant neantmoins tousjours ce but devant
les yeus, de rendre mon stile le plus clair et
aisé qu'il m'a esté possible. Car je n'eu jamais
desir d'escrire aus mors, mais aus vivans,
et de profiter au peuple de France

(Encyclie, p. 8)

. . . ja pieça je pretens
De plaire en profitant aux doctes.

(Galliade, preliminary sonnet 15)

La Boderie dedicated his Encyclie to his future royal patron to whom he had been recommended as early as 1568 (Encyclie, p. 5). The "Chant en forme d'epistre dedicatoire . . . à Tres-hault et Tres-illustre Prince Monseigneur le Duc d'Allençon frere du Roy Tres-chrestien Charles neuvième" presents again the author's reasons both personal and social for undertaking an exposition of "the secrets of eternity" in a tempestuous age when men are threatened by the Scylla and Charybdis of "la monstrueuse beste / Qu'on nomme Opinion en la Religion" and "l'Abisme" of "l'Impieté" (Encyclie, p. 10). A long exhortation to the free-thinkers and sectarians of the day urges them to consider the order, the harmony and the beauty of the universe as proofs of its divine Creator and of a divine Providence,¹⁸ chastising the "devoyez" for their misguided reasoning:

Toutesfois contemplans du Monde le bel ordre,
Qui contient tous ces ars et tous leurs artisans,
Vous osez impudens ou mesconnoistre ou mordre
Du Moteur le conseil,¹⁹ aveugles médisans;
Et ne voyez vous point que l'on ne pourroit tordre

Ces cercles encerclés par mouvemens d [i] visans
 Sans une grand Raison; veu que pour les entendre,
 Il nous faut tout l'Esprit et la Raison estendre?
 (Encyclie, p. 15)

and concluding:

Ne doutez donc jamais voyant telle concorde
 Qui secrette entretient le Monde en sa beauté,
 Qu'il n'y ayt un Patron qui manie et qui torde
 L'ancre et le gouvernail selon sa volonté,
 Et quoy que maintenant vous voyez la discorde
 Pour la Religion, ou pour la Royauté,
 Ne vous laissez aller comme une giroflette
 Qui sans aucun arrest à tout vent piroüette.
 (Encyclie, p. 22)

The poet's cyclical and Gallic themes, which he will develop later in La Galliade, are suggested here by reference to the Druids as the first poet-priests whose religious insight and whose art, transmitted through the prisci theologi on whom La Boderie has drawn, are to be renewed in Renaissance France:

Sous l'Hercule Gauloys²⁰ ceste façon antique
 De raisonner de Dieu, print son commencement,
 Et des Druydes vieus qui avoyent la pratique
 Du Monde, de Nature, et son advancement,
 Par les Méoniens de Gaule en Terre Attique
 Fut portée . . .

 Et ores nous devons des Romains les reprendre
 Et posséder le bien qui est de noz ayeus,
 Afin que le sçavoir, de l'Empire couvercle,
 Viene en Gaulé avec vous [sic] finir le rond du Cercle.
 Chez nous encor les Vers, et la Lyre estofee
 Ont esté inventez des Bardes anciens . . .
 (Encyclie, p. 23)

The Druids, like Orpheus and David, represent also for La Boderie the type of the ethically influential singer whom he wishes to emulate, for so powerful was their art that their songs would charm even warriors in the field:

Mars cruel reverant des Muses les Merveilles.
(Encyclie, p. 24)

The dedication closes with an invocation to God for guidance in the poet's enterprise, original in his time, of setting forth in verse the essence of the original divine revelation on Mount Zion, the veiled truth transmitted through Moses to the Kabbalist initiates:

Mais ô grand Dieu c'est toy qui m'accordant accordes
Sur mon Psalterion les secretz des Hebreius,
Lesquels j'ay le premier d'entre tous noz Poëtes
Ouvers, et decouvers en rimes non muettes.

Guide-moy donc mon Dieu
(Encyclie, p. 25)

With his accustomed word-play in anagrams, La Boderie stresses the new seriousness of his conception of the role of the poet, revealer of mysteries, as compared even with the role of the early Ronsard:

Guide-moy donc mon Dieu, fay que je ne m'é gare
De tes sentiers connus, et ainsi qu'on a veu
En PIERRE DE RONSARD SE REDORER PINDARE,
Fay qu'en te connoissant, l'Un premier j'aye élu,
L'Un je serve, l'Un j'ayme, et de l'Un sois avare:
Soit avec son César FEU VERGILE pourveu,
Et a L'ALCIDE HEVREUS que ma Lyre étofée
Lui face ouyr à clair comme L'UN GUIDE ORFEE.

(Encyclie, p. 25)

Thus as the new Orpheus the poet proposes, with the inspiration of divine wisdom personified in the celestial Muse, "la sainte Uranie / LUMIERE ARCHE DIVINE,"²¹ to move his readers to a moral renewal and a spiritual rebirth.

Having invited his reader to enter with him into the tabernacle of truth, La Boderie assumes the role of curious doubter, the "Secretaire." In the "Avant-Jeu du Dialogue" he first poses a series of questions. Uranie's sibylline answers to such queries define again the poet's high

purpose. He should avoid the sensual, the material and worldly for they can bring only doubt and care and are of no essential value:

"Qui me faict donc de Dieu ces mots douteus lâcher?"
 "La Chair."

 "Que pourrai-je trouver aus escrits d'Epicure?"
 "Cure."

 "Combien estimes-tu tout l'honneur terrien?"
 "Rien."

(Encyclie, p. 28)

His Muse demands that the poet must be virtuous and learned:

"Que doi-je donc fuir pour estre à ton service?"
 "Vice."

 "Que doi-je faire afin d'y accorder ma Lyre?"
 "Lire."

(Encyclie, p. 28)

She will then guide him to an understanding of the supernal moving force of the universe:

"Qu'est la Loy de dessus, d'autre Loy dispensée?"
 "Pensée."

(Encyclie, p. 27)

Thus will his work prove of lasting value:

"Où se poussent les Chants de ton esprit sçavant?"
 "Avant."

 "Qui verra tes Secrets dans cest Ombre volage?"
 "L'Age."

(Encyclie, p. 27)

The first seven Circles of the Encyclie lead the reader through various disciplines of thought, from psychology, biology, mathematics, moral philosophy, sociology, physics, metaphysics to theology. In the Eighth Circle lyrical praise of intuitive and mystical-ecstatic knowledge complements the preceding discursive reasoning and introduces a

crystallization of the "secrets of eternity" in an elaboration of the symbolism of the Kabbalistic tabernacle.

The First Circle fixes the dialogue in "un lieu sacré, solitaire, à l'écart" (Encyclie, p. 29) where Uranie's "secrets et mysteres" will not be profaned.²² To the Secretary's first question about the existence of an eternal God, Uranie answers with a presentation of the Platonic concept of the animating world soul and a constatation of the worldwide belief in gods which preceded a monotheistic religion. The doubting Secretary rejects human authority, however, demanding "pour tous tesmoins raison et verité" (Encyclie, p. 23 [31]). There follows an exchange of propositions in which Uranie, countering the Secretary's arguments drawn principally from Pliny and other classical writers, first shows man alone to be possessor of the divine light of reason and finally makes of the autonomy of reason, which is alone not subject to material change, a proof of divinity.

The first of the Muse's logical deductions is based on the premise that even a combination of parts cannot produce a quality which the parts themselves do not contain. Reason must therefore be a faculty quite independent of the four elements and of the senses, for the reasoning process, although based on information provided by the senses, comprises creativity, foresight, judgment and choice and is based on synthesis, analysis and memory beyond the assimilative function of the senses according to facultative psychology:

Nul des quatre elemens de discordans accors
 N'a le pouvoir aidé des organes du corps
 D'inventer et prevoir, juger et puis elire
 Par un libre vouloir le meilleur ou le pire.
 Quand ils son assemblees leur composition
 Ne peut doncques avoir tant divine action.
 Ces contraire-amis aus fenestres ouvertes
 Peuvent bien recueillir les images offertes
 Chascun en son endroit, non pas les composer
 Universellement, et puis les diviser.
 Nul d'eus ne peut mouvoir librement la Memoire,
 Ou bien se recorder sans un objet notoire.

(Encyclie, p. 34)

Furthermore, examples such as those of "artful" memory in bird-song or of instinctual foresight in the ant are shown to be proofs not of reason in animals but rather of the divinity of Nature their guide:

Si Nature a donné aus bestes la Raison
 Et ainsi qu'aus humains Musique, et Oraison,
 Nature est raisonnable, elle est musicienne,
 Finablement Nature est rhétoricienne.
 Si la Nature aussi leur a donné pouvoir
 De prevoir le futur, et au futur pourvoir,
 Nature le peut bien: si Nature domine
 Dessus le Temps, elle est éternelle et divine.
 Ce que tu cherchois doncq', ores tu l'as trouvé,
 Et Dieu surnaturel par nature est prouvé.

(Encyclie, pp. 41-42)

But natural faculties are only as the shadow of the divine light of reason of which man alone partakes:

Mais comme l'Ombre en soy obscurement rapporte
 Du corps son compagnon quelque figure morte,
 Tout ainsi la Nature, ou le Sens ombrageus
 Montre grossierement quelques trais nuageus
 De la belle Raison, la lumiere feconde
 Tout homme illuminant lequel vien en ce Monde.

(Encyclie, p. 43)

Man the chameleon is superior to all other animals in his capacity for creativity:

Mais c'est tout autrement que de l'espece humaine,
 Qui, quand, et comme on veut, l'Art et nature meine:
 Si que trop et trop plus que d'hommes singuliers
 Ya d'oeuvres divers à l'homme familiers.
 Sur nature elle a donc quelque vigueur suprême,
 Car la nature doit ressembler à soymême.

(Encyclie, p. 42)

Only man is possessed of the freely acting autonomous spirit contrasted to the natural animal senses which can do no more than react to a stimulus; man's spirit is "simple," that is to say pure and free of any material contamination:

Puis doncques que l'Esprit peut toute chose entendre
 Et dans le Monde estant sur le Monde s'estendre,
 Il s'ensuit qu'il est simple, et qu'il est arrivé
 Exemt de tout amas, de meslange privé.

(Encyclie, p. 45)

This non-material pure spirit, "la Pensée, et libre jugement," free of the laws of elemental mutability of the terrestrial world becomes, at the end of the First Circle, Uranie's first proof of a Divinity:

Que si elle est de soy, jamais elle ne fine,
 Ne commençant jamais: partant elle est divine.
 Mais si c'est un ouvrage, il n'est pas sans Autheur:
 Et pource il est un DIEU admirable en hauteur.

(Encyclie, p. 46)

In the Second Circle the Secretary's questions about the relationship of reason to the senses provoke Uranie to a statement of the duality of existence, material and spiritual, preliminary to a further elaboration of psychology based on the principle of divine reason innate in man.²³

Change and death are functions of the material world only. In the spiritual world, inasmuch as the soul grows with increased knowledge, only ignorance is to be feared:

. . . car si par la Science
L'Ame croist en grandeur, c'est une mesme essence:
Or le contraire seul peut rompre tel accord,
Ignorance est contraire, Ignorance est donc Mort.
(Encyclie, p. 48)

Not without humour Uranie chastises the naïve Secretary:

Pourtant je mébahí que la Mort ne te tue
Qui de telle ignorance as l'Ame revestue.
(Encyclie, p. 48)

Knowledge of the elemental world is acquired superficially through the senses by a process similar to magnetism. Given the deficiencies of the senses which are always subject to error, however, Uranie argues that man must have a primary innate store of numerical and verbal concepts which, developing as his knowledge increases, enables him to understand himself and the universe and even the eternal and the infinite:

O Principes divins, qui rendent l'Ame aprise
A comprendre les Cieux, sous qui l'Ame est comprise,
La guindant sur le Temps, dedans un Lieu sans lieu,
Lieu sans commencement, sans fin, et sans milieu!
(Encyclie, p. 49)

In the great chain of being, man is the link between the stable divine and celestial worlds and the mutable terrestrial world of the elements:

Telz sont les Naturelz certains et perdurables,
Qui des muables corps, sont tousjours immuables.
(Encyclie, p. 49)

It is suggested that these innate concepts, illustrated by certain

unchangeable axioms, are drawn from the primal Intelligence, the first-created Logos associated elsewhere with Christ the Archetype:

Et qu'ils estoient premier que du Monde le cours.
(Encyclie, p. 56)

Their immutability and also their non-material quality furnish proof again of man's participation in divine immortality:

Ilz sont donc en l'Esprit qui les contient ensemble:
Car le Sens ne reçoit que ce qui lui ressemble.
Or l'Esprit est d'ailleurs, partant une Raison
Entretient des Espris la force et liaison;
Et commence par soy, se perpetüe en elle,
Et en elle finit, à jamais eternelle.
(Encyclie, p. 57)

Man as a moral as well as an intellectual being bears witness to the element of the divine in him. The Third Circle traces the source of "l'Honesteté, l'Ordre, et la Bien-seance" and of these "Lois de Nature, appuy des bonnes moeurs" to innate rules of conscience analogous to the innate intellectual concepts previously affirmed.

Human appetites or passions have, like the senses, the effect of a heavy smoke which risks clouding the divine light of reason with vice as with error:

Mais comme l'oeil sillé, qui tient sa flame enclose,
Ne se voulant ouvrir ne void aucune chose,
Tout ainsi la Raison, qui est l'oeil des Espris,
Quand elle se reserre en son petit pourpris,
Et sans penser a rien au sens lâche la bride,
Celuy qu'elle guidoit, cestuy mesme la guide.
(Encyclie, p. 64)

But in so far as man partakes of the divine "Raison premiere" he has been granted not only understanding but also free will:

Puis donc que j'ay prouvé que l'élite du bien,
 Et le mespris du mal, en tous hommes n'est rien,
 Sinon le mouvement de la seule Pensée:
 Puis que l'affection n'est au Coeur commencée,
 Ains en l'Entendement, . . .

 Puis que les premiers traits des regles Naturelles
 Reluisent en l'Esprit, . . .

 S'ensuit qu'il est un Dieu, le premier des Espris,
 Lequel a dedans vous ces Principes escrits.

 C'est la Raison premiere, et la raison en toy
 Quand elle est confermée, est une juste Loy.
 (Encyclie, p. 65)

Morality becomes a function of understanding, for true morality is the "right reason" derived from man's harmonious attunement with the universe and its divine principle.

The relationship of La Boderie's views on the bases of morality and on the role of the poet is clear.²⁴ His scholarly humanist's emphasis on learning demands that the poet be above all "docte et vertueux" in order to search out and to express the divine principles in creation, the "pommes d'or" of the epigraph to L'Encyclie.

The concept of justice implicit in the "Raison premiere" of which individual man partakes is associated with social justice in a hierarchical structure as Uranie describes it in the Fourth Circle. The principle of a dominant leader or primum in every class of the great chain of being furnishes indeed another proof of God necessary to dominate the universal hierarchy as the monarch dominates the social hierarchy of the body politic.²⁵

To the Secretary's objections of equality by natural right and his comment that even the irrational animals inferior to man can live independent of a social order Uranie replies that Nature's art requires variety within the whole and that speech as well as reason give man alone the ability to reconcile variety in unity:

Nature est pleine d'Art, et fait tout pour le mieus,
 Rien sans cause, et sans fin: c'est le dit des plus vieus.
 Ce qu'elle veut unir, c'est ce qu'elle varie,

 Raison et Oraison, le clou, l'aimant et cheine,
 Qui assemble et qui tient la Compagnie humaine.
 (Encyclie, p. 68)

Variations on these two themes make up the argument of the Fourth Circle.

Speech is a divine gift vouchsafed to man alone; the natural voice common to all animals is merely its instrument. It is indeed the divine gift of speech itself which is the basis of civilised society:

O Parler merveilleus! et assés de louanges
 Ne te pourroient donner les Nations estranges!
 Tu as apprivoisés les hommes pleins d'éfroy,
 Tu les as joins du neud de Foy, de Loy, de Roy:
 Tu as poly les meurs des Sauvages austeres,
 Tu as uni les Gens vagues, et solitaires,
 Tu as fait les Cités, et as entretenus
 Dedans leurs appentifs tous les Barbares nus.
 En somme, c'est par toy, que tout homme s'applique
 Pour accroistre le bien de la Chose-publique.
 (Encyclie, p. 69)

La Boderie's Kabbalistic concept of the name as substance is related to this presentation of language as a divine essence. As the voice gives body to spirit in speech, so the word is the "veil" of the word's essence.²⁶ The point is made here in the context of a definition of nobility as a quality comprising virtue and learning rather than as

an inherited right:

Noblesse mesme gist en la docte vertu,
 Noble est le seul Sçavant de la vertu vestu.
 Non l'or n'anoblit pas, ny les honneurs de race:
 L'homme en luymesme doit en imprimer la trace
 Par bonté seulement, le bon est noble nom:
 Tourne NOBLE au rebours, tu trouverras LE BON.
 Voy combien ce beau nom convient bien à la chose!
 Sous le voile du mot l'essence se repose.
 Vrayment les Noms certains ne sont point composés
 Par opinion d'homme, et par homme imposés:
 Mais Nature a caché dessous leurs Caracteres
 Ne sçay quelle vigueur pleine de grans Mysteres.
 (Encyclie, pp. 72-73)

The theme of diversity of purpose as basis of the structure of the body politic is elaborated first in the context of the triple liaison of couples in the family: man and wife, parent and child, and master and servant. The family structure is itself the model of municipal, of national and of imperial government, for all conform to the rational principle of order which requires that the lower be governed by the higher power.

Once again reason, as illustrated here in the structure of civilised society, supports Uranie's proof of a superior divinity:

Bref Nature contraint en raison naturelle
 Confesser tous humains estre assemblés par elle.
 Et la Raison contraint Nature par sa loy
 De confesser qu'elle est par autre que par soy:
 Mais cestuy-la qui est la Nature supreme
 Peut dire qu'il est Tout, et Un-seul par soymeme.
 (Encyclie, p. 75)

The Fifth Circle explores the cosmos for proof of God. It is opened by Uranie's double definition of Nature as the divinity itself and also as his tool or moving force, natura naturans. Nature assumes

a new divine dimension. It is no longer the fatal power of the ancients nor is it a secondary force subservient to the divine spirit as in the medieval concept. Rather it is identical with that spirit circulating through the universe:

L'une Nature est Dieu, mais elle est infinie.
 L'autre, son instrument, est ainsi definie.
 C'est la force, et vigueur eparse en l'Univers,
 La cause du repos, et mouvemens divers.²⁷
 (Encyclie, p. 75)

This definition implies the concept of God as at the same time immanent and transcendent, for creation becomes a series of emanations of the infinite Godhead through the contemplation of which man can approach God:

Car elle qui est simple, et subtile en ses faicts,
 Cache son excellence, et ses propres effaicts
 (Au contraire de l'Art) dedans chacune chose,
 De sorte qu'elle mesme elle s'y est enclose.
 C'est afin que l'Ouvrier qui ne peut limiter
 Ses ouvrages couvers, ne puisse l'imiter:
 Et que a l'ombrage obscur de son lustre il se mire,
 Afin qu'en l'admirant, l'Autheur d'elle il admire.
 (Encyclie, p. 76)²⁸

There is a suggestion of the mystics' definition of God as the circle whose centre is everywhere and whose circumference is infinite:

Aussi l'Ouvrier parfaict, de qui Nature est l'art,
 Est estendu par tout et clos en nulle part.
 (Encyclie, p. 77)

The perfection of the circle and of circular movement both as static form and as dynamic order is the basis of Uranie's argument for the existence of God manifest in the spheres of the universe. The Secretary's interpretations of pantheism and of temporal limitations in the definition of God / Nature as immanent are first rejected by

Neantmoins entre tous, par simple élection
 Unique est la Rondeur belle en perfection.
 Aussi elle a le lieu de la Forme premiere,
 Et seule elle retient sa beauté coustumiere.

(Encyclie, p. 87)

By its unity as by its uniqueness the circle represents God the creator of which the natura naturans is one aspect.

Thus by a presentation of physics which ignores Renaissance science Uranie offers a "reasoned" proof of a God manifest in the universe. His immanence in creation may be interpreted not as pagan pantheism but as Christian polyphony echoing the universal harmony.²⁹

From physics Uranie progresses to metaphysics in the Sixth Circle.

Imagery must replace discursive reasoning as the Muse elucidates the mysteries of essential being. Man's spirit, which according to a belief ascribed to Zoroaster had been deprived of its two wings when it assumed a material body, must be restored by a vital force, "l'eau de vie," before it can regain its original clarity:

Ainsi que ton Esprit ses deus ailes perdit
 Alors que du haut Ciel en Terre il descendit
 Dedans ton corps de boue: aussi avant, que d'estre
 Jusqu'au Ciel reguindé, il falloit laisser croistre
 Les ailes derechef, et pour le vol oser
 Convint tes ailerons d'eau de vie arrouser,
 A fin de recouvrer ton asuré plumage,
 Et du travail d'autruy réparer ton dommage.

(Encyclie, p. 99)

Christ's redemptive power, suggested by the "eau de vie" is developed in the myth of the pelican who:

. . . de son bec pointu s'est feru la poitrine
 Pour de son sang vermeil plein d'amour et doctrine
 Vous rédonner la vie, et faire rejeter
 Un plumage nouveau à fin de voleter.

(Encyclie, pp. 99-100)

Uranie develops a series of images to illustrate the all-penetrating spiritual force of God emanating in the celestial and the terrestrial worlds and yet transcendent over them:

Puisqu'il demeure vray que la grand' Ame soit
 Dedans et hors le Monde

(Encyclie, p. 102)

The rays of the sun are constant witness to the principle of immanence:

Le Soleil, le seul-Oeil qui tout le Monde éclaire
 Elance bien ses rais par la verrine claire,
 Et ne la brise pas, pourquoy d'un vueil malin
 L'Esprit briserait-il son Cercle cristalin?

(Encyclie, p. 101)

The movement of air in organ pipes, like the expanding circles or "encyclie" caused by a stone dropped in water, indicate the power of a prime mover which remains separate from its various manifestations, both human and angelic, like the God of the mystics' circle:

Ainsi bien que du Coeur et du Centre du Monde
 L'Ame bouille, et sourceonne, et s'inspire à la ronde
 Parmy les intestins et membres du grand Corps
 Emboités l'un dans l'autre, et tous entre eus retors:
 Et bien que meint Esprit chantourne en son couvercle
 Comme la dormante eau peu à peu, cercle à cercle,
 Par le jet d'un caillou commence d'ondoyer,
 Et de là plus au loing ply sur ply déployer:
 Ou comme du gosier la vois articulée
 Est en l'Air spacieux au compas tortillée:
 Sans l'aide toutesfois d'un Moteur plus caché,
 Cercle Spirituel a nul Corps attaché
 Dont le Centre est par tout, et la Circonférence
 N'en est en lieu qui soit

(Encyclie, pp. 103-104)

In short, linking her two subjects of man's essential nature and the nature of the divine, Uranie affirms that the mystery of an immanent/transcendent God as the principle of being in the macrocosm as in the microcosm is accessible to the virtuous man in so far as his spirit is restored to its original divine purity. In La Boderie's vision of a universe ordered by the divine principle of harmony, such an apprehension of divinity is approached through a receptivity to the celestial harmony of the spheres which is too refined for man's sensory capacities alone:

Presque en ce mesme point l'Eternelle Pensée
 Du tout en tout sans lieu, et en lieu dispersée,
 Fait sourdre, bouillonner, se respandre, et jalir
 L'Ame dont le sourgeon ne peut jamais faillir:
 Et pénétre, et s'infond le Principe des Vies
 Aus Sereines qui sont deça, de là ravies:³⁰
 Les Sereines, je di, Angès non ocieus
 Qui glissent tout aval des grans Vases des Cieus:
 Et qui font retentir dedans les voutes creuses
 Du Theatre mondain maintes chansons nombreuses.
 Car l'Ame, comme Vois, des la Scene s'épand
 (J'enten du Point central) et tournoye, en frapant
 Les Ames de sous elle, en cercles estendües,
 Qui resonnent si haut, et ne sont entendues
 Qu'entre elles seulement, et les Hommes purgez
 Du brouillement des Sens, et de chair déchargez.
 (Encyclie, pp. 104-105)

Theology itself is the subject of Uranie's explanation in the Seventh Circle devoted to "les Mysteres cachez au Sacraire du Temple" (Encyclie, p. 105).

Penetration of the highest of the "secrets of eternity" requires of the bedazzled Secretary a vision clearer than that required

for discursive reasoning:

Tes rais sont éblouis, ouvre l'oeil, ouvre l'oeil,
 Et fay reluire en toy le lustre du Soleil,
 Le miroir des Esprits, source de beauté pure,
 Dont le Soleil mondain n'est rien que l'Ombre obscure:

 Mais le spectacle beau de la lumiere immense
 Est un secret ferme sous la clef du silence,
 Que tu ne peux ouvrir, ny voir en son profond
 Les mouvemens divins qui sourdent et s'y font,³¹
 Tant que premierement t'a [sic] veüe egallée.
 (Encyclie, p. 109)

Accordingly Uranie's protracted exegesis of Plato's myth of the Cave terminates with a comparison of three means to understanding represented by the three suns: by empirical observation in the natural context ("Ombrage"), by ideational conception in the rational context ("Image"), and by illumination in the spiritual context ("Resplendeur").

Uranie's lyrical invocation to the Deity, addressed as "Oeil infini" and "Soleil immense," is a prayer for inspiration, "les raiz de ta semence" (Encyclie, p. 113), in order that she may illuminate the sacred mystery of Unity in the Trinity, "l'Amour, l'Aime, l'Amant" (Encyclie, p. 115).

Elucidation of the mystery of the Trinity follows. To the Secretary's expression of a double aspect of unity supported by a quotation from Plato's Parmenides, Uranie adds the concept of the mediating force:

Le Moteur moyenneur, qui est a droite voye
 Qui de la multitude à l'UN seul nous convoie.
 (Encyclie, p. 119)

This mediator is "le miroir de l'Ame" (Encyclie, p. 119) but it is also associated with Christ the Mediator represented as the "Oeil moyenneur"

or the "Lune exemplaire" reflecting the sun. It is associated furthermore with the Word, the "Parolle . . . / Qui est l'Outil mouvant, et du Monde le Moule" (Encyclie, p. 114).

A Trinity is thus formed of the Immobile, the Moving and the Moved:

Trois donc font l'entretien: l'un est la Masse morte
 Qui est meüe, et ne meut: l'autre qui luy apporte
 Le mouvement réglé, meut et est meu aussi:
 Et le Tiers, n'est meu, et si meut cestuy-ci.
 (Encyclie, p. 120)

Enraptured by his new vision, the Secretary invokes a further illumination of the ineffable Godhead, the Tetragrammaton pronounceable only since the advent of Christ. He addresses himself to Christ the first-created Logos:

O Sagesse! ô Vertu qu'en silence j'appelle!
 O Lumiere! ô Beauté des beautés la plus belle
 Qui fut onques formée! ô Vie! ô Verité!
 O la premiere Vois de la Divinité!

 . . . ô alme Sapience:
 Car il te possedoit des le commencement,
 Tu estois ja devant ses Oeuvres longuement.

 Donc ô Germe luisant, ô l'Image du Pere,
 O son cher Nourrisson, Fille de Dieu prospere

 Ange du grand conseil, le fidelle interpréte
 Du Silence divin en parolle secréte.
 (Encyclie, pp. 120-124)

The Eighth Circle is principally a figuration of the "secrets of eternity" embodied symbolically in the original divine "secret" revelation of the Jewish Tabernacle.³²

Preliminary to the elucidation of the mysteries of the

Tabernacle, Uranie describes the way to ultimate illumination. First having the Secretary recall a dream, "vision, oracle et songe profetic" (Encyclie, p. 124) in which he had seen the moon eclipsed by the sun in the middle of the night, Uranie explains the symbolic value of the sun and the moon with reference to man's understanding.³³ The dark of the moon is man's sensory, earthly aspect which is illumined more or less by the transparent clarity of the sun-like highest Reason according to his progression from virtue through spiritual love to full union with God:

Tout ainsi la Pensée ayant sa liaison
 Et son centre fiché au Ciel de la Raison,
 Illumine ton Ame en un cercle arrondie
 De l'ombrage du Corps tachée, et enlaidie,
 Et la vient illustrer de ses rais allumés,
 Comme de loing ou pres de l'Ame ilz sont humés.

(Encyclie, p. 126)

Consummation of the mystic union requires first an elevation above the individual's bodily desires to a restoration of his soul's original clarity and purity as participant in the divine:

Mais il faut oublier ta propre volonté
 Pour te joindre à la vraye et unique Bonté,
 Et afin de puiser la lumiere féconde
 Qui tout homme illumine arrivant en ce Monde.

(Encyclie, p. 128)

For the soul, like the moon, is a mirror; in order to reflect the divine light it must be free of all earthly defilement:

Ainsi le rond de l'Ame est de lumiere plein,
 Et va remirer Dieu jusques dedans son sein,
 Et pour y parvenir Amour en est la regle.

(Encyclie, p. 130)

Ultimate illumination is effected in the surpassing love portrayed as

the mystic death by the kiss, the "ravisement à l'Ame" (Encyclie, p. 129) of the mors osculi exemplified in Moses, Christ, Elijah, the Virgin, Paul and John the Apostle (Encyclie, pp. 129-130). Perfect love is thus the means of rebirth through Christ the Mediator:

Et brief ce feu d'Amour embrasé au milieu:
 D' un Esprit élevé, le transforme en son Dieu,
 Et alors s'accomplit l'effect de la priere,
 Que pour vous adressa l'Amour mesme à son Pere.
 O Pere, disoit il, Qu'ilz soyent en moy faicts un
 Ainsi qu'à toy et moy en seul Estre est commun.
 (Encyclie, p. 131)

God's purpose is accomplished in the cyclical rebirth and return of the divinely-given human soul to union with the divine:

L'Un, le Bon, l'Eternel, l'Immobil, l'Infini,
 Lequel t'aura tiré, et avec soy uni.
 (Encyclie, p. 133)

This theme of rebirth and restitution is fundamental to La Boderie's entire work. Seen here in the context of individual salvation, it will be developed in a historical context in La Galliade.

Kabbalistic interpretation of the Tabernacle is the basis for Uranie's figuration of the universe in the remainder of the Eighth Circle. The symbolism of the Tabernacle contains many of the major themes which La Boderie adopted from the Kabbalah.³⁴ The explanation of the symbolic value of the correspondences between the planes from the divine to the microcosmic enhances La Boderie's vision of universal harmony, and is thus central to his Christian apologetics which stresses the unity of the divine in the multiplicity of creation.

The structure of the macrocosm and of the microcosm are

portrayed in the Tabernacle as God, in his original revelation to Moses, directed that it should be built as an image of creation:

Saches donc pour certain, si tu en as douté,
Que ce bel Ornement, ce grand Monde vouté,
Mesme le Corps humain, le Temple à l'arche ronde,
L'Abregé du grand Tout, et vrayment Petit Monde,
Tant cestuy, que celuy, tant aus membres, qu'au Corps
Et tant par le dedans, comme par le dehors,
N'est rien que le Portrait du luisant Tabernacle,
Où la gloire de Dieu recéle son Oracle.

(Encyclie, p. 134)

The three worlds, intelligible, celestial and terrestrial can thus be shown to be linked with each other and with man by a vast system of correspondences. The continuous emanations of the Kabbalist Séphirot are linked to the astrological influences of the planets. In them, as in the Kabbalist interpretation of symbols, numbers and names is embodied an essential truth which those forms were divinely intended to veil from the gaze of the profane. Thus there is a danger of their being used for empirical or magical ends:

Et vous tous qui lirez les hauts Noms en ce livre,
Gardez, gardez vous bien que ne veniez ensuivre
Par curieuse erreur le vice audacieus
Du magique Sorcier importunant les Cieux.

(Encyclie, p. 152)

Understanding of the truth contained in the symbols must be a means of knowing God who is the source of all knowledge:

Qu'à toy sans plus je sois dequel seul j'ay mon estre,
Que pour congnoistre tout je te puisse connoistre.

(Encyclie, p. 155)

Explanation of Kabbalistic mysteries is therefore a means of penetrating the mysteries of Christian doctrine and as such it is undertaken in this work of apologetics designed to recall men by

"reason" to the true faith and its promise of redemption and rebirth:

Las! les premiers tableaux de la Foy sont rompus,
 Ou bien tant obscurcis, qu'ilz en sont corrompus,
 Du depuis qu'un chascun s'est fait un propre Idole:
 Et pource il est besoing que derechef on dole
 Les Tables de l'Esprit, et les faut aplanir
 Afin que la Raison puisse à la Foy s'unir.

.....
 Je dy vraye Raison, et vraye Authorité,
 Car comme Dieu est un, une est la Verité.

(Encyclie, pp. 140-141)

In this assimilation of reason to faith the principal theme is that of man's relationship to the divinity through Christ the Mediator who has made it possible for all men to be illumined by the secret revelation which had formerly been accessible only to high priests:

Mais le seul Filz qui est dedans le sein du Pere
 Estant volé cy bas du milieu de sa Sfere
 Sur les ailes d'Amour, luy-même a revelé
 Le Pere, et l'Esprit saint au paravant voilé.
 C'est luy, c'est luy qui fut le Propiciatoire.

(Encyclie, p. 142)

Uranie's explanations of the structure of the Tabernacle and the meaning of the Candelabra (Encyclie, pp. 134-143), her illustrations of the importance of interpretation of names, letters and numbers, her elucidation of the significance of the ten Sephiroth or divine emanations (Encyclie, pp. 143-145), and her analysis of the symbolism of the high priest's vestments and the Tetragrammaton (Encyclie, pp. 147-149) together present the main themes of Christian Kabbalism.

The poet's purpose in reconciling Kabbalist with Christian themes is explicitly stated in the Secretary's prayer for divine sanction for his attempt to effect moral reform and spiritual renewal by means of

the insights afforded by "Divine Raison" in an age of religious conflict:

Que j'annonce au Repos que ja les flotz irez
 Qui couvroyent les haults mons, sont un peu retirez.
 Ja du chef des humains l'eau des vaines pensees
 Se seche peu à peu, des sectes insensees
 Le Deluge se perd, la Divine Raison
 De la Terre et du Ciel refait la liaison.

.....
 Viene le Serafin, et d'un charbon me touche,
 Afin de nettoyer et ma langue, et ma bouche,
 Et qu'il me soit permis en ce jour solennel
 Prononcer le grand Nom du grand Dieu Eternel.

(Encyclie, pp. 151-152)

Stressing the unity of truth, whatever the form in which it has been divinely veiled, La Boderie's "Secretary" addresses God in his final invocation, first as the transcendent Christian Trinity manifest in creation:

O Dieu Tout-bon, Tout-grand, Eternel, Infini,
 Createur Triple-en-un du Triple-monde uni,
 Qui du Throne hautain de gloire et d'excellence
 Avecques le grand Oeil de ta grand Providence
 Gouvernes toute chose, et donnes, et depars
 Estre, Vie, et Raison au Tout et à ses pars.

(Encyclie, p. 153)

He then praises God in a litany of the divine names associated with the Kabbalist Sephiroth in which he emanates continuously throughout creation. The Sephiroth are likened to the "garment" of the divine form, as the word is the "garment" to body forth an idea:

Les dix luysants Habits comme éclair foudroyant
 Dond se vestit jadis l'Eternel tout-voyant.

(Encyclie, p. 144)

Convinced of the unity of truth, La Boderie makes his "Secretary" spokesman for his own purpose, as Christian poet, of seeking out the "secrets" hidden under the many veils of divine revelation:

Tu as dit toutesfois, Verité perennelle,
 Que ceste-là sans plus est la Vie eternelle,
 Te congnoistre vray Dieu, et par ton mesme Esprit
 Celuy qu'as envoyé au monde Jesu-Christ.
 Fay donc que ton rayon viene dans moy depeindre
 Tes trois Faces, autant que l'homme en peut atteindre,
 Afin que descendant de toy, en toy, par toy,
 Par tout te voye empreint Grand Prestre, Juge, et Roy.
 (Encyclie, p. 156)³⁵

The sense for La Boderie of the epigraph to the Encyclie, chosen from the Book of Proverbs, XXV, 11, is thus clarified. Divine truth, one and eternal, is represented by the "pommes d'or" hidden under the "treilles d'argent" of the diverse figurative revelations of "poetic theology."³⁶

La Boderie was never to complete his exposition of Church doctrine in circling back to earth from the First Cause, as he had announced in the preface (Encyclie, p. 7). The Eighth Circle marked "Fin de la premiere partie de l'Encyclie" is therefore the end of this work.

Some two hundred pages of verse complete the publication. Many of these are circumstantial pieces dedicated to figures of the Court or, more often, to friends of La Boderie. Devices in the style of the Grands Rhétoriqueurs decorate their praises or consolations or lay sermonising which are of minor interest for the present study of La Boderie's contribution to French poetry.

Two of these sonnets claim attention in that their reworking of Kabbalistic themes seems to evoke La Boderie's poetic fire. "A Barthelemi Griveau Medicin" treats of true spiritual love. The principle or essence itself is, according to Kabbalist theories, embodied

in the Hebrew word, for Hebrew was the embodiment of the original divine revelation. Furthermore, in this sonnet love becomes the principle of renewal and rebirth in the perfect circle whose form and movement symbolise always for La Boderie the divinely ordained universal harmony:

O que le nom d'Amour en la langue premiere
 Est un nom amoureux! ô qu'amoureuusement
 Sa nature amyable il sonne heureusement!
 L'Amour MERE DU FEU, et DE LUMIERE MERE.
 L'Amant, l'Aymé, l'Amour, Trinité de Lumiere
 Fut celle qui crea des le commencement
 Tout ce qu'on peut aymer, afin tant seulement
 D'estre elle mesme aymée et première et dernière.
 L'Amour du grand Amy si bas le feist descendre
 Pour l'ennemy d'Amour à l'Amour amy rendre:
 L'Amour l'Ame ravit, et l'Ame ne sejourne
 Tant qu'Amour la transforme en sa propre splendeur:
 Ainsi le divin centre attirant sa rondeur
 Le bon Cercle d'Amour du bien au bien retourne,
 (Encyclie, pp. 250-251)³⁷

The sonnet "A Jean Dorat poete du Roy Treschrestien" exemplifies La Boderie's reverence for learning as a prime quality of the poet "docte et vertueux." Again, too, he finds in Dorat's name itself confirmation of his essential power of illumination:

.
 Ce n'est pas sans raison que tu sois honoré
 Comme Royal poëte, et premier prince en France
 Sur tant de beaux Esprits que ton Ronsard devance,
 Et que ton beau nom soit de tous presque adoré:
 Car et ton nom est d'or, et ta Muse dorée
 Mais de l'Or beaucoup plus a ton Ame épurée,
 Si j'ose bien mesler à mon François l'Hebrieu.
 Car la Lumiere est Or, aussi disoit Pindare
 Que l'Or est comme un feu qui sert la nuit d'un Fare,
 Comme l'Or de ton nom rayonne en chascun lieu.
 (Encyclie, p. 251)

Several other representative pieces have a thematic interest.

Besides the "Cantique . . . aus poetes de son temps"³⁸ these include a Latin poem, several sonnets and some translations in which La Boderie sets forth again his concept of the role of the poet as interpreter of God's revelation and shows his own close dependence in this role on the prisca theologia.

In reaction to the frivolity of much of the verse in his age of religious turbulence, La Boderie criticizes repeatedly the classical heritage on which the Pléiade poets and their epigoni had drawn. Not only were such poets' productions "vain" in their emphasis on the theme of earthly love but also they risked diverting their readers from true understanding in so far as their imagery reflected the polytheistic pantheon of the "faus Gregeois."³⁹ In "Aus Poetes Fabuleus," for example, La Boderie condemns this practice:

C'est trop long temps suivy d'un Aveugle la trace,
Poetes aveuglez: de Lede les deus oeufs
Germez d'un faus Démon avecques leurs faus Dieus
Ont éclos et couvé des mensonges la race.
Chasson tous les Démons du grand Harpeur de Thrace
Que lui mesme chassa pour le Dieu des Hebreius.
(Encyclie, p. 311)

A sonnet to the Norman poet Jean Vauquelin implies this attitude, as well as La Boderie's deep mistrust of artifice which he qualifies as "fard Gregeois":

Laissons, mon Vauquelin, ces vaines Poësies
Qui en noz junes ans nous ont tant delecté;
Laissons ce fard Gregeois, ce parler affecté,
Et du viel Ascréan les fables ja moisie.
Quitons du fol Amour les feintes courtoisies,
Et ne vantons les grans qui ne l'ont merité;
Mais celebren de Dieu la pure verité,
Ensuyvant des neuf Cieus les neuf Muses choisies.
(Encyclie, p. 248)

La Boderie is more impassioned in defence of his own work, in a sonnet addressed to "Messire Rene de Voyer . . . Sur l'Encyclie de G. le Fèvre de la Boderie":

Qu'on laisse le caquet des babillardes Seurs,
 Leurs rives, leurs sentiers, et leur crotte gemelle,
 Qui d'un émail divers nos Espris ensorcelle
 Sous ombre de ceuillir les Poëtiques fleurs:
 Qu'on n'aille mendier les Troiennes fureurs
 Qui blemissoyent le front de la folle Pucelle,
 Qu'on ne describe plus une feinte querelle
 D'un Mars, d'une Pallas les Tragiques horreurs:
 Soyent des Chams Elysez les forests oubliees,
 Et les bourbes d'Enfer par neuf fois repliees:
 Qu'on cherche seulement les mystères de Dieu,
 Que le Fèvre, qui n'est ignorant l'Hébraïque,
 Arabe, Syrien, Latin, ni Chaldaïque,
 François nous a cerclés en la Langue du lieu.
 (Encyclie, p. 157)

The testimony of Jean Dorat in his Latin verse on the Encyclie supports La Boderie's belief in the unity of truth as found in the composite tradition of the prisca theologia, especially La Boderie's chosen antecedents, Orpheus and David:

Divinis fluxit divina Poesis Hebraeis
 Fontibus; Orpheus quod, quodque Sibylla probat.
 Nam taceam ut falsas Graeca de gente Sibyllas,
 Una Dei veri nuntia vera fuit.

 Quo fit ut et sacris non dissona multa loquatur
 Fabricius doctis quod probat Encycliis.
 Fabricius Graeca, simul et perfectus Hebraea
 Arte: Quibus junxit nunc utriusque lyram.
 Orpheus ut iam fit David, fit David et Orpheus:
 Davidis atque Orphei fit lyra Fabricia.
 (Encyclie, pp. 156-157)

Several translations and imitations indicate La Boderie's debt to the prisca theologi and to the Greek patristic writers for themes synthesized in the Encyclie.

For example, in the Orphic "Hymne de la Nature" La Boderie recalls the divinity of Nature as he had defined it in the Encyclie. In this imitation, Nature can be seen to assume even some of the aspects of Christ the first-created "Sagesse" as principle of creation related both to the Platonic world soul and to the tenth Kabbalistic Sephira of Adonai, Macluth or "le Regne":

O la mere de tous, ô Deesse Nature,
 Mere artificielle, et donnant géniture,
 Produisante beaucoup, honorable, Démon
 Qui Royne tout-dontant et indontée as nom,
 Gouvernante avisée, et en tous lieux luisante,
 La Regente de tous, honorée, excellente,
 Et plus digne que tous, non corrumpe au cours,
 La première engendrée, ancienne des jours.
 (Encyclie, p. 275)

A similar concept of the creative Word is found in "Le Serment ou Veu en forme de serment" of Gregory the Nazarene:

O Lumière du Pere, ô le Verbe conceu
 De la grande Pensee, ample Rayon issu
 Du sourgeon de Lumiere, ô Parolle éternelle
 Excédant tout parler, Semblance perennelle
 Et splendeur de celuy qui seul ressemble à soy:

 Donnant essence et vie à tout ce qui se fonde
 Sous la voute du Ciel, l'Ouvrier grand et parfait
 De ce qui fut, qui est, ou qui doit estre fait.
 (Encyclie, p. 306)

The Neo-Platonist tradition is represented by Porphyry, in whose work, translated by La Boderie under the title, "Oracle d'Apollon" is found a monotheistic transcendent God who encompasses multiplicity in his harmonizing unity symbolised by the circle:

. . . Forme tout-formant,
 Ame, Esprit, Armonie, et Nombre tout-fermant.

 Sur le Ciel dilaté en sa Sfère pendue

Reluit une splendeur, et l'immense estendue
 De l'alme Eternité, et est le Pere grand
 Entre les bien-heureus tel que tout il comprend,
 Et de nul est compris, du tout inestimable
 En ses conseils profons, si de la grace aymable
 Luymême ne se donne en conseil pur et nu,
 Et s'il ne se révèle afin d'estre connu.
 (Encyclie, p. 328)

In L'Encyclie La Boderie thus appears primarily as a late follower of the Florentine Neo-Platonist syncretist tradition, bringing to his Christian apologetics a rich store of themes culled more from the prisci theologi, principally the Jewish Kabbalah, than from the strictly orthodox Church doctrine. His conscious desire to conform to that doctrine in order to "proffiter au peuple de France" by showing them the way from civil chaos to peaceful harmony is however clear.

It is in fact the associated wish to give a new direction to French poetry which prompts his own work and which is the most original contribution of the Encyclie.⁴⁰ That desire is made explicit in his apostrophes to other poets to forego the rewards of poetry which was to his view at best merely delightful and at worst blasphemous and overly artificial, in order to gain true immortality through verse which would serve a useful religious and spiritual purpose. It would seem that for La Boderie artistic immortality had to cede to spiritual immortality.⁴¹

Analysis of the Encyclie as a whole has shown that it can be classified as an example neither of scientific rationalism nor of devotional lyricism. It is rather in the Augustinian tradition of

reason prized not for its own sake but for clarification of belief. The didactic intent of the Encyclie may be compared to that which may have motivated La Boderie to translate Cicero's De deorum natura, assured as he was that rationalists' arguments could be effectively refuted by reason.⁴² The thematic burden of the work, however, demands an acceptance of its hermetic and even gnostic element as fundamental both to its argument and to its poetic quality.

La Boderie's primary vision is that of a world whose complexities and contradictions can be analysed by reason but can be ultimately understood only in an ecstatic synesthesia of light and harmony. The approach to final understanding is through that of the correspondences between divine manifestations throughout the universe and in man the microcosm. La Boderie delights in elaborating the multiple correspondences which enrich the material and celestial worlds by their intimations of the divine. Partaking of Platonic idealism and of the gnosticism common to the early Church Fathers and the prisca theologia established in Hellenistic times, La Boderie's syncretistic thought is finally expressed in this work through the "symbolisme flamboyant"⁴³ of the Kabbalah. In so far as it suggests multivalent relationships in a "Christian poetics of kaleidoscopic transformation of symbols"⁴⁴ La Boderie's is a poetic rather than a scientific vision of universal harmony.

We hope to have shown in the foregoing analysis of the Encyclie that La Boderie's work represents a unique syncretization of Neo-Platonist and Kabbalistic notions in the service of post-Tridentine

Catholic apologetics. Although he stated that he wishes to persuade the "dévoyéz," free-thinkers and Reformists of his day, by reasoned argument alone, La Boderie nevertheless proceeds by way of his muse Uranie's use of explanations drawn from the prisca theologia, to prove that there is one truth only, however variously it may have been concealed by the "veils" under which diverse religious traditions have both concealed it from the profane and revealed it to the initiate. Thus he proposes to present that truth, the "pommes d'or" concealed under "treilles d'argent" of his epigraph from the Book of Proverbs, XXV, 11, not by reason but rather by reconciliation of the symbolic values of the diverse veils.

In the Encyclie the poet relies primarily on the Ficinian Neo-Platonist tradition. He adopts notably the concepts of the world soul and of man's reminiscence of innate ideas to a Christian explanation of creation and of man's place in it. His poetic theology accepts the Neo-Platonist hierarchy of knowledge ascending from the sensory through the discursive rational to the intuitive. Thus in the Encyclie the highest place is given to the ecstatic vision of the Christian saints, a vision based on love and associated here with the mors osculi of the Kabbalist tradition.

We hope to have shown that in La Boderie's essentially mystical approach to apologetics the final elaboration of the symbolic values of the Kabbalist themes of the temple and of the names of God is consistent with his stated purpose of serving his compatriots in a time of civil and religious strife by illustrating for them the fundamental

unity of truth.

In the present work we hope to have shown further that La Boderie's purpose as a poet, which is largely implicit in the Encyclie, is made explicit in several shorter pieces published with the Encyclie. Nearly a decade before the publication of the first notable works of Christian lyricism such as Du Bartas' Semaine or the Muse chrestienne, La Boderie was calling for a spiritual orientation of serious poetry of which he, like the poet-priests Orpheus and David, hoped to give the example.

B.

LA GALLIADE, OU DE LA
REVOLUTION DES ARTS ET SCIENCES

The importance attributed by his contemporaries to La Boderie's publication of La Galliaide, ou De la revolution des arts et sciences (1578) is attested by the laudatory verses which precede the work.⁴⁵ Of these the most notable are Latin verse by Jean Dorat,⁴⁶ signed "Johannes Auratus Poëta Regius," Latin verse by Charles Toustain, another Norman disciple of Postellian prophetics, odes by La Boderie's brother Nicolas, the linguist and translator of Pico's Heptaplus and his brother Anthoine, the diplomat, signed with anagrams of their respective names, "L(E) SCERAFIN VOLE" and "EN (LUI) HANTE ORFEE;" and a sonnet signed "Henry Bellin . . . Historiografe et Poëte du Roy Catholique." La Boderie is praised above all for his learning; his preoccupation with the harmonising image of the circle is recalled, as is his claim to renew the powers of David and Orpheus and the anagrammatically evoked "FEU VERGILE;" and the nationalist spirit of the Galliaide is emphasized by Dorat's introductory, "Quid non cogit amor patriae?" and Bellin's reference to "France mère des arts."

La Galliaide itself is however less a national history than a universal historical-prophetic work which proclaims France to be both

the original home of the arts and sciences and the centre of their ultimate perfection or consummation. Thus the work can be seen in the context of the late sixteenth century accentuation of interest in both national and Old Testament histories.⁴⁷ But it should in no way be considered analogous to Ronsard's Franciade, as La Boderie's explication of the title makes clear.

In his prefatory "Advertissement aux lecteurs" the author disdains the classical epic tradition, the "Iliades, Eneides, et autres tels Poèmes et inventions empruntees de fables moisiés des Grecs, ou des vieux Romans." His purpose is not "la delectation, et la vray-semblance" but rather "l'utilité et la verité." He defines the term "Galliade" as being derived from the Hebrew "Galal, qui signifie Reployer et retourner."⁴⁸ Although the work recalls Ficino in glorifying the perfection of the arts and sciences in the Renaissance,⁴⁹ it is designed primarily to illustrate the antiquity of Gallic supremacy in the arts and sciences in order to prove the providential justice of renewed French artistic and intellectual supremacy. La Boderie maintains that the post-diluvian tradition of the Druids had subsequently been developed by their successors in the ancient world, but was to attain its ultimate fulfilment only in the renewal and perfection of the arts and sciences in the France of his day.⁵⁰ The "Advertissement" states:

Je me suis essayé d'y traiter de la Revolution des Arts et Sciences, et ensemblement y recueillir les honorables tesmoignages et marques de l'Antiquité, que tous les bons Auteurs presque de toutes langues et nations donnent aux anciens Gaulois noz majeurs et devanciers:

ausquels ils attribuent l'invention des Arts,
disciplines, et escholes publiques incontinent
apres le Deluge universel j'ay divisé
l'Oeuvre entier en cinq Cercles, au reply
desquels j'ay mis peine d'encercler brevement
l'origine, progresz et perfection qu'ont
presque par tout le Rond de la Terre, et
nommément en nostre Gaule.

The author's purpose is further explained in the seventeen
dedicatory sonnets addressed to his royal patron, François, Duc d'Alençon,
brother of Henry III. The Gauls formed the first civilisation after the
Flood:

Gaule est le premier nom de la terre noyee
Du deluge des eaux, et le peuple Gaulois
Est le peuple premier en Lettres et en Lois,
Et qui a le premier terre et mer tournoyee.
(Galliade, preliminary sonnet 3)

It is fitting that according to the perfection of circular movement
France should be the centre of the final perfection of the arts trans-
mitted through the prisca theologi:

Comme de l'Infiny de la Couronne ronde
Decoule la Sagesse au sourgeon eternel,
Tout ainsi par rondeurs son ruisseau perennel
Es siecles retournes se retourne en ce Monde.

En Luz⁵¹ Israël beut de sa source feconde,
Moyse en arrousa le terroir solennel
Qui est baigné du Nil, grand Mercure isnel
L'y puisa, et depuis Orfee encor l'y sonde:

Puis le divin Platon d'Egipste la derive
En la ville où Pallas feist naistre son Olive.
Et d'Athenes Denis sur Seine la borna:

Si que Paris sans pair de la ville à Minerve,
De Thrace, Egipste, et Luz fut faite la reserve,
Où le Rond accomply des Sciences torna.

(Galliade, preliminary sonnet 8)

In accord with the universal rule of one supreme exemplar of every species in the chain of being, the French king is universal monarch:

"Mais le franc Roy de France est des Monarques Roy" (Galliade, preliminary sonnet 10). It behoves him, therefore, in spite of the civil chaos of the times: "La rage et cruauté en nostre Gaule esprise" (Galliade, preliminary sonnet 9), to assure the perfective completion of the cyclical return of the Gallic artistic heritage:

Procurez donc, Monsieur, que des Arts la grandeur
Dont vostre Gaule but la premiere estrenée,
Pour ouvrir en plein Rond ceste Couronne ornée
Puisse en Gaule acquerir sa parfaite Rondeur.
(Galliade, preliminary sonnet 2)

Not only an intellectual and artistic but also a spiritual restoration informs La Boderie's message to the prince the anagram of whose name proves his mission:

Sous le nom de Cesar pour la seconde fois
Puisse naistre en nos coeurs le Christ et Roy des Rois,
SA FOY LOY D'UN CESAR domptant la Terre et l'onde.
(Galliade, preliminary sonnet 5)

The poet himself may complain of his lack of material recompense:

Mais je puis hardiment aux peuples raconter
Que ny Princeny Roy, sans que leur nom je pinse,
D'aucun prix ou loyer, tant soit petit ou mince,
N'a soulagé le faix qu'il m'a fallu porter.
(Galliade, preliminary sonnet 5)

His high resolve to serve the highest interests of his contemporaries remains firm, however:

Et sous vous, mon Cesar, soit ou mon aventure,
Le Destin ou le Sort, ja pieça je pretens
De plaire en profitant aux doctes que j'entens
Que vous favorisez comme enfans de Mercure.
(Galliade, preliminary sonnet 15)

His constant purpose is to reveal what he believes to be the truth
in the service of France:

De Moy je suis content pour ma part d'avoir pris
La charge d'illustrer les illustres Esprits,
De fables n'ourdissant une longue Iliade:
Mais de juste loyer et los de verité
Ornant mon Peuple et Gent, comme il a mérité,
Et des Gaules, Gaulois, chantant la Galliade.
(Galliade, preliminary sonnet 7)

The main body of La Galliade comprises one hundred and twenty-six folio pages of alexandrine verse rhymed in couplets. Its structure reflects the circular connotation of the title according to La Boderie's interpretation of the Hebrew term, Galal. Thus each section of the work is termed a "Cercle." The author traces first the history of the peopling of the earth and the development of civilisation. In the Second Circle he treats of architecture. In the Third, he extolls Druidic eminence in all sciences including natural magic. In the Fourth and Fifth Circles he analyses the principles of earthly music according to the model of the music of the spheres, and finally praises poetry as a divinely-inspired art whose muse is twin to that of music.

The work as a whole is marked strongly by a Platonist spirit which rejects empirical investigation in favour of idealistic concepts, and by Kabbalistic "proofs" based on speculations on the hidden meanings of words, letters and numbers and on the secret influences of the planets. Postellian prophecies find their echo in the spirit of the work as a whole, as does his "emithologizing" word play in its details.

It is apparent that La Boderie, in spite of the rhetoric and redundancy of his style heavily weighted with the scholarly apparatus

of "l'éternel écolâtre" and the "lexicographe impénitent,"⁵² had a distinct vision of his intention. Inasmuch as the unparalleled flourishing of the arts of that "golden age" denoted a divine will to restore man to his primordial clarity of comprehension at the same time that seemingly irremediable religious strife indicated the coming of the great apocalyptic sabbath and astrological signs betokened the approaching new age of Christ's second coming, La Boderie sought to prepare his countrymen to fulfill their providential role.⁵³ In La Galliade he amassed his encyclopedic collection of ancient esoteric wisdom to the end of exposing that, as part of the constant "revolution" of creation, the return from East to West had made God's chosen people once more the French in the place of the Jews, and Paris the new Jerusalem of Christ's second coming.

La Boderie's poetic mission was thus, quite simply, to seek out and to reveal to his compatriots the divine revelations of their divine destiny. The epigraph to La Galliade defines that calling:

C'est la gloire de Dieu la parole cacher,
C'est la gloire des Rois la parole chercher.⁵⁴

The Egyptian image of the serpent coiled back upon itself to bite its tail introduces the first Circle of La Galliade.⁵⁵ This circular movement, like the perfect circle of God, "rond infini," represents for La Boderie the circular movement of knowledge which:

Par certaines rondeurs de siècles ordonnez
Revivent aux esprits des hommes y donnez
Dedans le propre bien de ce globe terrestre
Où jadis on les veit commencer et renaître.
(Galliade, fol. 1^r)

The image illustrates the return of the arts and sciences to Gaul, their place of origin, the history of which is the principal subject of the first Circle.

The peopling of the earth according to the legend of Noah was a popular topic from the Middle Ages to the seventeenth century.⁵⁶ Supporting his affirmations by analysis of the Hebrew names according to Postel's "émithologie," and relying on the account of Annius of Viterbo, the pseudo-Berosus,⁵⁷ La Boderie assigns Asia, Africa, and Europe to Noah's sons Sem, Ham, and Japhet respectively. Furthermore, he assigns to Atlantus, father of Dis, the first king of Gaul, the whole of the newly-discovered world of America which "le Gregeois . . . appella la belle Isle Atlantique."

Gaul itself was founded by a son of Japhet, Gomer, "accomply dessus un million." To his descendants is due all honor for having developed the sciences of mathematics, astronomy, astrology, and philosophy and for thus having shown to all peoples the way to a knowledge of God:

. . . l'Eschelle a remonter aux Cieux
Et moyen d'allier les hommes et les Dieux.
(Galliade, fol. 29^v)

From Gaul was spread abroad the first alphabet, a gift to the chosen people from Noah adumbrated as Deucalion Janus, he of two faces, two voices, or the two modes of writing and of speaking.⁵⁸ If the Greeks have pretended otherwise it is but one more proof of the error into which their polytheism led them before the coming of the monotheistic Orpheus:

Car ceste nation trop menteresse et vaine
 Par ses contes fangeux a troublé la fontaine
 De la verité pure, et semé en tous lieux
 La boüe et puanteur des malins et faux Dieux.

(Galliade, fol. 23^r)

In truth, in the new world established after the flood sent to punish Israel, God's favour has always been shown to the Gallic descendants of Gomer:

C'est un arrest du Ciel, l'Eternel a trouvé
 Et au lieu d'Israël pour un temps reprové
 Il s'est choisy Gomer par son Prophete Osee, 59
 Laquelle estoit putain aux faux Dieux exposee.

.....
 Dieu maintiendra tousjours la Fleur-de-lis ouverte.

.....
 Et entre toutes fleurs de tous jardins polis
 Il a esleu pour soy la seule fleur de lis.

(Galliade, fol. 25^v)

By assimilation of the historical St. Denis of France to the pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite who was supposed to have been instructed by St. Paul himself, La Boderie makes France the home of Apostolic revelation and thus of true theology:

[Denis] en a abreuvé tout le peuple de France,
 France heureuse vrayment, dont l'Apostre a esté
 De la Philosophie en jeunesse alaité
 Pour concevoir apres celle qui la surpasse
 Plus que le Ciel n'est haut dessus la terre basse.

(Galliade, fol. 27^r)

The secondary theme of the First Circle is that which the author calls the marriage of heaven and earth. The post-diluvian world was divided according to the twelve houses of the Zodiac.⁶⁰ Each of the seventy-two nations being subject, therefore, to the influence of "le Monde intelligible," each has a divine mission to fulfill:

Ainsi fut repeuplé tout le Monde univers
 D'habitateurs nouveau en langue et meurs divers,
 Par les douze maisons du Zodiac visible
 (Comme par des canaux) du Monde intelligible
 Recevants l'influence: ainsi remariez
 Furent la Terre et Ciel ensemble appariez.
 (Galliade, fol. 27^r)⁶¹

Again the primacy of the Gauls is stressed, for they were the first to have devised the laws of mathematics and the ancient arts of astronomy and astrology. Their art is said to have flourished from the time of Zoroaster and Abraham, the legendary teachers of astrology to the Egyptians. It was derived from the sum of knowledge inscribed on the double columns by antediluvian sages and passed on to the post-diluvian chosen people of Gaul by Noah through Atlantus and his royal son Dis and his descendants (Galliade, fol. 28^r).

The importance of mathematics and of astrological astronomy in La Boderie's scientific apologetics is linked to his proposition of innate ideas.⁶² Reason leads man from the material to the divine just as, within the microcosm, it links sensory perception of the "shadows" to an understanding of truth:

C'est doncques Samothes Roy de nostre Province
 Qui au Prince des Arts est l'Autheur et le Prince,
 De la Mathematique assise en union
 Dessus la verité, non sur l'opinion,
 Et qui tient le milieu en sa riche peinture
 Entre l'art saint de Dieu, et l'Art de la Nature.
 Ne plus ne moins qu'en nous l'Esprit et la Raison
 Qui recherche et discourt, conjoint la liaison
 D'entre l'Ame qui est aux ombres arrestee,
 Et la pure pensee en tout temps apprestee
 De lui en l'Archetype et en la purité
 Du miroir des Esprits les rais de verité:

 Recueillant les rayons tout droit à la clarté

De l'unique Soleil qui sa lumière infonde
 En tout homme qui vient habiter en ce monde.
 (Galliade, fol. 28^v-29^r)

After an extensive narration of the benefits which have accrued to mankind as a result of the Gauls' development of mathematics, astronomy, geography, and cosmography, the author returns to his main theme of exaltation of the Druidic heritage in the renaissance of the arts and sciences in France:

Je vous saluë Esprits clairs et divins flambeaux,
 Qui avez . . . chassé de la France
 Le monstre tenebreux de l'aveugle Ignorance.
 (Galliade, fol. 31^v)

With professors of Hebrew and of mathematics from the Collège des lecteurs royaux appear outstanding humanists of the early Renaissance such as Lefèvre d'Étaples, Budé, and even Erasmus,⁶³ as well as Amyot, Lazare de Baïf, Postel, Ramus, Peletier du Mans, among other humanists of less lasting fame.

The Second Circle presents a history of architecture in the context of the author's idealistic and occult interests.⁶⁴ Development of the arts and sciences depends, for La Boderie, on the realisation of principles innate in man rather than on an empirical scientific process.⁶⁵ The architect is thus presented primarily as a hierophant whose art derives less from his technical knowledge than from his astrological and magical insight.

Discovery of the art of architecture is ascribed to the Druid king Magus-Magog, according to the "émithologie" of the name from the

Hebrew term for roof, signifying "l'invention de couvrir et bastir les maisons." Well versed in geometry, perspective and painting, Magus developed tools, dimensions, and decorations for builders of temples and of palaces, and also for city planners.

A primitivistic totemism regulated the construction of the first Gaulish cities according to La Boderie, who supports the concept of titular spirits by reference to Macrobius and to Pliny:

[Les bourgs et les villes] ils ont nommez vouëz et dediez
 A Anges purs et bons . . .
 A celle fin d'avoir en chaque ville et lieu
 Un Ange gardien ministre du grand Dieu.
 (Galliade, fol. 36^r)

This "marriage of heaven and earth" propounded in the First Circle is related to the explanation from the Zôhar of Noah's inspiration by the first-created Intelligence:

Ainsi l'avoit appris Noach le Patriarche
 Qui avoit aveq' luy le Pavillon et l'Arche
 De la Divinité, Genie universel,
 Et des faces le Prince, Ange du Grand Conseil.
 (Galliade, fol. 36^r)⁶⁶

Not only had Noah divided the earth according to the mystic numbers four, five, and seven, with the seventy-two nations being governed by the celestial influence of the twelve signs of the Zodiac (Galliade, fol. 36^r-37^r), but also to each city was assigned a guardian angel. In claiming for Paris the archangel Zarfatiel, whose name is explained in a marginal note as "le Genie de la Gaule repurgée," La Boderie incorporates the Postellian eschatological theme of the second coming of Christ when Paris is to be the new Jerusalem, home of the blessed.⁶⁷ The Parisian coat of arms is further adduced as evidence of Magus'

knowledge of magic charms, for it represents the protective images which he taught should be hidden under the foundations of a city "a fin de garder par tels Magiques sorts" (Galliade, fol. 38^r) against disaster by fire, flood, or seige.

Thus the art of architecture is derived from a mixture of mysticism and of magic ascribed to the ancient Gallic king Magus-Magog whose precepts are said to have been followed by the great builders of the ancient world and developed above all in Renaissance Tuscany to flourish finally in Renaissance France under Henry III. La Boderie's praise therefore is extended to the architectural contributions of the "humanist" artists Alberti, Sangallo, Bramante and Michelangelo, as well as to those Italian or Italian-trained artists and architects of the "classical period" of the sixteenth century in France.⁶⁸ The latter include Serlio, Philander, Goujon, Clagny, Jean Martin, Philibert de l'Orme and, among lesser painters, Cousin. La Boderie's eulogy of the great architects and sculptors of his time emphasizes again their spiritual rather than their technical competence, for the art of these "doctes Esprits" derives from their participation in the divine Intelligence which informs human reason and not from a purely human operative capacity. Architects, like God, create from an Idea which is to be represented in matter. Thus they resemble the first-created "Sagesse" assimilated elsewhere to the Christ figure:

Imitants le grand Dieu qui avoit dispensee
 La machine du Monde au rond de sa pensee
 Avant que de l'ouvrir, et la produire au jour,
 Peignant sa grand Idee en l'oeuvre fait au tour.
 (Galliade, fol. 40^v)

The Third Circle glorifies the Druids as the first men of learning by whom the supreme disciplines of philosophy and theology were developed. They are said to have been the first to have established an educational system embracing all the humanist disciplines and the first great philosopher-priests whose learning permitted them to penetrate to an understanding of the "secrets of eternity" and even to benefit from a type of theurgic magic.⁶⁹ La Boderie's preface summarizes:

Au Cercle tiers je discours particulièrement du sçavoir admirable de nos Druydes en la connaissance de toutes disciplines, jusques au sommet et superieur degré de la magie naturelle et faculté de prédire les choses à venir. En quoy comme en passant j'ay remarqué quelques points de la magie reprovée et condamnée

It is to be expected that La Boderie, as translator of Pico's oration on the dignity of man, should glorify man the "chameleon" for his capacity for learning which distinguishes him both from the animal and from the angelic species of creation.⁷⁰ La Boderie relates the name of Drius, founder of the Druid priesthood to the Hebrew "Doras," signifying "to search out." Thus he finds in these "vieux Rechercheurs de secrets" the prototypes of the humanist ideal of learning through which man affirms his pre-eminence over the lower forms of mutable creation and even over the stable angelic world. Inasmuch as man has been divinely distinguished both from the unreasoning beast and from the intuitively-understanding angel by his capacity for learning, his exercising this gift by searching after knowledge of all types is an ethical and even a religious matter. By freely

exercising his gift for disinterested knowledge primarily through discursive reasoning, he may learn something of God. The Druids are shown to have discovered through their investigations correspondences which link the microcosmic and the macrocosmic worlds with the divine.

La Boderie's constant desire for harmony, for that reconciliation of all phenomena which he suggested in the first two Circles as a "marriage of heaven and earth" by use of astrology, is here developed at length in an account of Druidic theology based on magic:

Et par-sus tous ceux-là qui osent rechercher
 Les secrets de Nature, et du Ciel esplucher
 Les mysteres profonds, et leur Theologie
 En Nature fondée avecques la Magie.
 (Galliade, fol. 42^V)

It is for their approach to God through a study of nature that the Druids are revered above all:

. . . hommes parfaits
 Les plus prochains des Dieux, qui sceussent les effets
 Des choses, leurs vertus, causes et origine,
 Et qui connussent bien la nature divine.
 (Galliade, fol. 44^V)

As possessors of knowledge both human and divine the Druid philosopher-priests were necessarily masters of the art of veiling the mysteries they passed on to their initiates. This concept of poetic veiling of truth in order to protect it from the contamination of the profane had been enunciated by Dionysius the Areopagite and adopted in the Renaissance by the Florentine Neo-Platonists, for whom it was closely related to the study of the prisca theologia.⁷¹ In the context of Druidic mysteries La Boderie elaborates that concept which was central to his own view of the poetic role.

The Druids' cult is based, according to La Boderie, on an oral tradition associated with all ancient mystery religions whose secrets were restricted to the initiate. Thus Noah-Janus is said to have instructed the Razenuins (Gauls)⁷² to guard their secret knowledge just as the ante-diluvian prophets had done:

Ja-Ja depuis Enoch d'Adam le secretaire
 Dès le siècle premier, les peres souloient taire
 Au peuple tout grossier les mysteres voilez,
 Les quelz de pere en fils leur estoient revelez.
 Ainsi le bon Janus decela ses mysteres
 Aux vieux Razenuins ses loyaux secretares.
 (Galliade, fol. 48^r)

The mysteries were accessible only to the initiates in the ancient mystery religions of the Hebrews, the Chaldaeans and the Druids:

Qui retindrent tousjours ceste façon antique
 De ne reveler point la science mystique
 A la tourbe ignorante, ains aux doctes Jurez
 La bailler seulement dessous sens figurez.
 (Galliade, fol. 48^v)

This practice is linked to the history of the Kabbalistic mysteries transmitted by Moses to the seventy wise men and by them to succeeding prophet-priests (Galliade, fol. 48^v). It is associated further with the cults of Hermes Trismegistus, Zoroaster, Orpheus, the Hindu Brahmins, Pythagoras and Plato (Galliade, fol. 48^v-49^r). Christ himself spoke in parables (Galliade, fol. 49^r). Furthermore the ecstatic vision which is the highest of all forms of knowledge in that it unites man with the divine is essentially non-discursive and figurative. Thus many evocations of saints and prophets ravished in the mystic union of the ecstatic "septième vol" are crowned by that of St. John's Apocalypse. All are related to the secret revelations

of the prisci theologi:

Mais tous comme si lors ils eussent sommeillé,
 Tout ce qu'ils avoient veu, en esprit esveillé
 Ils le couvroient soudain des ombrages et voiles
 De l'imagination, comme sous claires toiles.
 (Galliade, fol. 66^V)

Interpretation of the hidden truth requires the consecration of the true poet, the learned and virtuous "king" of the epigraph to La Galliade. Only he can uncover the "golden apples" referred to in the epigraph to L'Encyclie here recalled:

. . . meme le Profete,
 Interprete de Dieu, d'un autre homme interprete
 Se trouve avoir besoin, qui de rayons ailez
 Dissipe les nuaux des mysteres voilez:
 Et lequel scache oster les ombres et les fueilles
 De qui les Pommes d'or sous argentines treilles
 Se couvrent à demy, pour faire percevoir
 A clair jour le jour clair du mystique sçavoir.
 (Galliade, fol. 66^V- 67^R)

According to La Boderie the Druids' religion was essentially that of the Christian humanists. Firstly, it made man the focal point of all creation, assigning to him also the role of being the means of the union of God with his creation:

Dieu qui a tout créé, qui tout clost et consomme,
 Pour l'homme feist le monde, et pour luy seul feist l'homme.
 (Galliade, fol. 51^V)

Secondly, even the practice of human sacrifice is construed as a prefiguration of Christian redemption through the passion and as a suggestion of the Virgin birth:

Possible que Janus [Noah] par esprit profetique
 Avoit signifié à Dis leur pere antique
 Que l'homme qui estoit tombé de son degré
 Qui estoit bany du Paradis sacré,
 Ne pouvoit recouvrer ceste grace perdue,

Si par la mort d'un homme elle n'estoit rendue:
 Et si l'homme Archetype ayant pris un vray corps,
 Par mort ne redonnoit la vie et les accords
 Des bas, moyens, et hauts, par chaine entresuyvie
 Resouldant les canaux par où coule la vie.
 Pource voulurent-ils dedans Chartres planter
 A celle qui devoit estant Vierge enfanter,
 Un Temple consacré

(Galliade, fol. 53^r)

Thus in the Druids' religion can be found not only the concept of immortality suggested by their belief in metempsychosis (Galliade, fol. 44^v) but also a pre-Christian concept of salvation. Druidic religion was remarkable for its magical as well as its mystical pre-eminence. A large section of the Third Circle is devoted to their theurgic powers. They were prophets:

Les Druydes divins, qui tant par les augures
 Que par sainte fureur toutes choses futures
 Au peuple predisoient,

(Galliade, fol. 53^r)⁷³

Their virgin priestesses' incantatory powers were comparable and even superior to those of the Greek sibyls:

Par leurs carmes et chants elles avoient pouvoir
 De troubler les grands mers, et tous les vents mouvoir.

 Les ombres des tombeaux tirer des morts troublez

 Donner contretous maux remede et guarison,
 Et chasser devant soy le charme et la poison.

(Galliade, fol. 53^v-54^r)

In short, the Druids' religious practice permitted a harmonious reconciliation of heaven and earth through all forms of knowledge culminating in natural magic related to astrology. The Druids exemplified for La Boderie his ideal of the perfect man, in harmony with himself and attuned to the universe and thus able to fulfill his role of uniting

God and creation:

Voire si l'homme arrive a parfaicte accordance,
 Il pourra commander jusqu'a la Providence
 Par dessus tous les Cieux

 Tant grande est la puissance, et hautain le courage
 De l'homme à Dieu conjoint, et Chef de son ouvrage.
 (Galliade, fol. 55^V)

Man the microcosm becomes the means of completing a perfect circle
 through his unique gift of learning which allows him to relate creation
 to the Creator:

O vray Dieu que cest homme est un miracle grand,
 Qui en soy l'Abregé de trois mondes comprend,
 Et dans lequel tu fais toymesme residence
 Chef de Nature, et d'Art, Destin, et Providence!
 C'est le Prince et Prelat que tu voulus loger
 En ton grand Temple rond, heraut et messenger
 Que tu as estably entre tes Creatures,
 Aux pures familier, redoutable aux impures,
 De Nature interprete, entre-deux et moyen
 D'Eternité et temps, du Monde le lien,
 Le Neud, l'Accouplement, ou plustost l'Hymenee,
 Dont en Terre est le Ciel, la Terre au Ciel menee.
 (Galliade, fol. 56^R)

Although theurgic magic used for a religious purpose was the
 highest form of Druidic knowledge, La Boderie condemns an irresponsible
 use of occult knowledge for personal gain (Galliade, fol. 58^V-59^R).
 Only the original Druids, not La Boderie's contemporaries, may be
 excused their errors inasmuch as they had not known the Christian
 revelation:

Des tenebres d'erreurs ils estoient obscurcies,
 Et Verité nous a de ses rais esclarcis.
 (Galliade, fol. 59^R)

Having assigned to the Druids the source of all knowledge which
 was later to flow to the great philosopher-priests and scientists of the

ancient world, La Boderie completes his Third Circle by praising the return of that heritage in the great philosophers and theologians, saints and humanists of Renaissance France. France has traditionally encouraged philosophers and artists, for it is the home of the great universities, as well as of the jeux floraux, the poetic puy in which La Boderie himself had won fame (Galliade, fol. 68^v-73^r).⁷⁴ The Third Circle closes, therefore, with praise of the great exemplars of piety and learning in the tradition of the original Druid philosopher-priests. Addressing these worthy successors as "Esprits divins, et de haute valuë," La Boderie includes in his eulogy theologians, saints, lawyers, orators, and doctors, from Saint Denis to Ambrose Paré. All are witness to the completion of the circle of highest knowledge whose origin was the Gallic Druids.

The Fourth and Fifth Circles treat of music and poetry respectively. Frances Yates has underlined the spirit common to La Boderie and to the Baif Academy in the linking of these arts.⁷⁵ Music is the supreme manifestation of harmony as a principle of order, totality and Christian love.⁷⁶ In so far as it is related to mathematical knowledge it is a means for man to surpass his sensory capacities in order to participate in divine Intelligence which is the principle of all creation.

Music is thus far more than an art of delectation of the senses. It is a supremely serious study, the most useful of the sciences. Its harmony provides man with a model of good health in body and in spirit and of concord in the body politic, as Pythagoras and Plato had taught. Even more important, however, the laws of musical harmony suggest a

divine universal attunement which since the Fall is beyond man's sensory capabilities and even beyond his intellectual comprehension.⁷⁷ Furthermore, the musical scale representing the totality of the world soul which is reflected by the human soul is a means of representing figuratively the perfection of divine creation. For La Boderie analysis of musical harmony is thus essentially a means of apprehension of the divine principle which informs all creation. Through a study of music man can learn something of God;⁷⁸ by the power of music he can attain a mystical elevation of the soul to God which is a foreknowledge of eternity.

La Boderie's prefatory statement establishes the context of his study of music:

Au quatrieme Cercle, j'ay traité de la Musique,
et Harmonie, tant du Monde Archetype, Celeste,
et Elementaire, que celle de l'Homme ou du
Petit-Monde, et des merveilleux effets qu'elle
produit.

(Galliade; Advertisement aux lecteurs)

Constant in his purpose to show Gaul as the home of all knowledge, La Boderie attributes the origins of music and of poetry to the sixth king of the Gauls, Bardus, whose name transcribed into Chaldaean signifies "fils du Fondement" or "fils de la Resonnance." His followers are said to have invented the musical instruments (notably the organ, the viol, the lute, the harp and the lyre) and to have exercised their musical art with such spiritual purity that even warriors in the midst of battle were rendered peaceful (Galliade, fol. 77^r-78^r). Bardus is said to have understood the principles of celestial music on which human music is patterned. To him is attributed a Platonic concept of

the music of the spheres (Galliade, fol. 79^r). The supreme Unity of the world soul generates from its plenitude the numbers whose attunement produces a heavenly harmony. That harmony is the principle of creation:

Donq le nombre premier qui s'assied et se met
 Ainsi qu'en Pyramide à la poincte et sommet,
 Est la saincte Unité . . .

 Or de ces nombres beaux desquels Dieu composa
 L'Ame de l'Univers, alors qu'il disposa
 Tout ce qui est, qui vit, et qui sent en Nature
 Et tout ce qui entend, par poids, nombre et mesure,
 Se forment entre nous les six genres d'accords
 Sur les tons sonoreux des grands Celestes corps.
 (Galliade, fol. 79^v)

The major portion of the fourth Circle is devoted to elaboration of musical theory and of the theme of cosmic harmony. In both subjects La Boderie's debt to both the Platonic and Kabbalistic traditions is clear. David, Orpheus, Pythagoras and Plato are shown to have illustrated or described the universal harmony whose analysis relates Greek mathematics to Kabbalistic mysticism. Greek Musical theory is explained in terms of the Sephiroth. The whole is made to illustrate Christian doctrine, as for example in the supreme harmony of Christ the Archetype:

Mais l'Homme-Dieu JESUS, le Christ, l'Oint, le David
 Qui de David l'esprit par son Esprit ravit,
 Du Systeme formel est la quinziesme corde.
 Et le dixiesme nerf du divin Decachorde,
 Qui pour s'estre abaissé, et comme aneanty
 En vstant nostre chair . . .

 . . . s'est si haut rejetté
 Que du sepulchre yssant sans en rompre la pierre,
 Traversa les dix Cieux . . .

 Et monta par-dessus les neuf ordres des Anges
 Qui en nombreux accords résonnent ses louanges,
 Jusqu'au cercle infini de la Divinité.
 (Galliade, fol. 91^{r-v})

The divine universal principle of harmony not only generates the music of the spheres but also constitutes the basis of earthly harmony:

Si donques l'Archetype, et les Cieux accomplis,
 L'Homme, et les Elements sont de l'Esprit remplis,
 L'Esprit harmonieux, et si ce qui embrasse
 Toute chose dans soy, qu'il accorde et compasse
 A science de voix . . .

 Se doit-on estonner que par secrete amorce
 Elle en face sentir aux Animaux la force?
 (Galliade, fol. 91^v-92^r)

All creation is thus receptive to the effects of music. Referring to classical Greek authors as well as to the Zôhar, La Boderie illustrates cathartic, therapeutic, consolatory, ethical, martial and prophetic powers of music. He stresses the theme of music as illustrating the principle of order, of reason over the senses, and the Platonic theme of its usefulness in the body politic as an instrument of justice and piety.

Thus La Boderie the apologist and prophet of restitution is led to enunciate his conception of the poet-musician as counsellor to kings:

Entonnez, entonnez au coeur des Princes brave
 A mode Dorienne, et ton severe et grave,
 La vraye Pieté, et du grand Dieu les droits
 Qui fait et qui desfait les Regnes et les Rois.
 (Galliade, fol. 96^v)

Civil strife in the body politic of France, like sin in the microcosm, is a temporary dissonance:

Ainsi l'Ame est confuse au politique corps,
 Et le grand luth du Regne a perdu ses accords.
 (Galliade, fol. 96^v)

The principle of return found in the descendant-ascendant movement of Plotinus' Neo-Platonist metaphysics as well as in the circular movement of the Kabbalistic Sephiroth and in the Christian concept of man's creation, fall and redemption all suggest that the discordant deviations of human history indicate the need for the poet to show the way to a return to harmony. The Hermetic Pimander confirms the harmonic principle of creation as a proof of the immortality of the soul, for everything returns to its original form:

S'elle [l'âme] estoit harmonie, il faudroit par raison
 Qu'elle s'allast rejoindre en harmonie réson.
 (Galliade, fol. 99^v)

Since the divine harmony according to which the soul is constituted makes it receptive to holy music, the supreme purpose of the musician, as of the poet, is to glorify the divine with sacred hymns:

Donq de motets divins et cantiques tressaints
 Faites que ses accords dans le corps soient atteints,
 Et l'y entretenez par une nourriture
 Qui de nature soit conformes à sa nature.
 (Galliade, fol. 100^r)

The poet-musician must imitate the divine harmony of the spheres, that great cosmic dance which figures dynamically the order and degree of the universal harmonic principle:

Faites-moy tournoyer par nombreuses parolles
 Et les Esprits mouvans, et du Ciel les carolles:
 Entonnez és tuyaux des Orgues longs et ronds
 Des Cieux organisez la Musique et les tons:
 Faites sur le clavier d'une douce Espinete
 Marcher d'ordre et de rang Planete apres Planete
 Sous le bal du grand Ciel
 (Galliade, fol. 101^r)

Music is preponderant among the arts, for it is at once the

model and the means to universal harmony and peace.

La Boderie's concept of his personal mission is nowhere better expressed than in his concluding hymn to God. He wishes to be above all a stimulus for the development of a newly serious and spiritual poetry closely allied in form and content to the Psalms:

Sus sus, Plasterion, sus sus ô Harpe encore,
Tost tost resveillez-vous, j'esveilleray l'Aurore:
Il me plaist, il me plaist or' le pas avancer,
Et d'un sault redoublé devant l'Arche d'ancer,
Et par un Avant-jeu vous monstrier par exemple
Comme on doit louer Dieu dedans son sacré Temple.
(Galliade, fol. 103^r)

The poet-musician who would follow his example of virtue and learning should attain a pure sensitivity equal to that of prelapsarian man, able to hear the celestial harmony beyond the sensory capabilities of fallen man, and to penetrate to ecstatic communion with God, "l'Oeil de la Pensée":

O nous tous d'une voix rendon grace sacrée
A luy qui meut les Cieux, et la Nature crée:
C'est l'oeil de la Pensée, et luy qui la conçoit,
L'hymne bien volontiers des Puissances recoit.
(Galliade, fol. 105^r)

The true poet experiences an ecstatic synesthesia of the Neo-Platonic divine light and music:

Louez l'UN et le Tout, ô mes forces, qu'on oye
Les vertus de mon Ame accorder à ma joye.
O Connaissance sainte, Ame pleine d'ardeur
Qui emprunte de soy sa lumiere et splendeur,
Par toy chantant icy la lumiere entendible
Mon coeur tressaute, et sent une joye indicible.
(Galliade, fol. 105^r)

Classic synesthesia as a manifestation of world harmony informs the Christian Renaissance spirit which is sometimes loosely termed

"pantheism."⁷⁹ It is central to La Boderie's metaphor of the poet-musician attuning his instrument, with the religious connotation of his attuning his soul to divine harmony as shown in the universe and as of his sacred role of the tuning of man to the will of God the Archimusicus.⁸⁰

A final apostrophe to the "Chantres des Rois" admonishes them to imitate David in singing unto the Lord a new song to the glory of God and for the moral enlightenment of man, and echoes for this purpose all the musical instruments of Psalm CL. The seriousness of the musician's role is comparable to that of the poet:

Vous donq qui recreez les Princes à leur table,
Rendez-moy par tels chants leur plaisir profitable.
(Galliade, fol. 106^V)

Music and poetry have been, in fact, indissolubly allied from the time of their common Bardic origin:

Ainsi de main en main la Musique choisie
Qui anime, et qui meut la douce Poësie,
Et la porte dans l'air sur ses accords ailez,
Print son commencement des Bardes oreillez,
Qui les premiers ont joint les vers à la Musique.
(Galliade, fol. 107^F)

Poetry, the subject of the Fifth Circle, is for La Boderie the twin sister of music, inseparable from it not only in its foundation on number and measure but also in its purpose of glorifying the divine. Yet the true poet is even superior to the musician, for not only does he incorporate the principles of order and synthesis but also he is the philosopher-priest and divinely-inspired prophet. His model is La Boderie's

Orpheus, the ethically influential singer leading all creation by his musical "effects" and whose name analysed by "émithologie" shows him to be the "Bouche de Lumière" (Galliade, fol. 115^V) or spokesman of the divine Intelligence.

La Boderie's preface underlines the exceptional position of poetry in his all-encompassing history of human arts and sciences:

Finalement au cinquieme et dernier [Cercle]
j'ay traité de la Poésie; laquelle bien que je
l'aye mise entre les Arts et sciences, semble
toutefois estre plustost une sainte fureur
et elevation d'esprit, que non pas une
doctrine acquise par industrie et puissance
humaine

(Galliade, Advertissement aux lecteurs)

Poetic excellence for La Boderie is thus clearly related to Ficino's Neo-Platonic theories of divine fervour adopted by Ronsard rather than to Du Bellay's prescriptions for artistic excellence.⁸¹ It is not surprising that La Boderie's unique defence and illustration of French language and literature is established on premises both more religio-nationalistic and less linguistically precise than those of Du Bellay.

La Boderie's enduring distrust of the ancient polytheistic Greeks forbids his adopting the Pléiade's injunction of imitation of classical models just as it prevents his just appreciation of his contemporaries who had excelled in such imitation. His mistrust of the "faux Gregeois" and of their polytheistic mythology is evident in his desire to assign the origins of true poetry to the simpler and purer age of the Druidic Bards when:

La peinture du Ciel n'estoit lors desguisee

Des fables dont la Grece a esté abusee.
(Galliade, fol. 107^V)

The principle of unity in diversity which informs all La Boderie's thought is affirmed to have been understood by the ancient Gallic singers who, although they left no written record of their production, are revered as the original true poets:

Les Bardes simplement designoient la peinture
Du grand tableau du Ciel, et les faits de Nature
Cherchez profondement, et en tout l'Univers
Un seul Dieu presidoient à tous oeuvres divers.
(Galliade, fol. 108^F)

The laws of versification are attributed to Bardus, whose name transcribed from the Chaldaean as "fils de la Resonnance" shows his fittingness for the attuning of the world (Galliade, fol. 77^F n.). Poetic form is however secondary to its religious and ethical purpose:

Donq l'ancien Bardus fils de la Resonnance
Et pere des doux vers et de la Consonance,
.
. . . inventa seul les lois
Des carmes sonoreux, et sonoreuses modes
Pour louer le grand Dieu et les hommes en Odes,
Et envoyer le nom aux siecles ensuivans
Des Pieux tuez en guerre, et par gloire vivans.
(Galliade, fol. 108^V)

Music and poetry were thus from the first indissolubly allied in the "carmes sonoreux":

Et s'entr'aimoient les deux en si parfaits accords,
Que ce n'estoit qu'une Ame envigourant deux corps.
(Galliade, fol. 109^V)

That natural alliance, like the artless sincerity which La Boderie opposes to the "feint artifice" of the Greeks and of many of his contemporaries, is associated with poetry of an essentially inspired

and inspirational nature. Thus music and poetry are said to have attained a simple perfection in post-diluvian Gaul:

Par nature et sans art à meints bien-nez esprits
 Le moyen de chanter des Odes et des Hymnes,
 Et se faire ravir par ces fureurs divines
 Qui desrobent nostre Ame, et luy font voir au sein
 Des hautes Deitez meint sublime dessein.

(Galliade, fol. 109^v)

Variations on the theme of divine fervour, the "Enthousiasme saint" of the true poet, reflect a Kabbalistic reverence for divine revelation in figurative form. The triumphal hymn after the crossing of the Red Sea, as well as the elegiac verse of the Book of Job and the theurgic power of Joshua's incantation before the walls of Jericho are all attributed to Moses as priest and prototype of the marriage of music and the poetic muse in vocal glorification of God. Again Kabbalistic interpretation of the name, Moses-Music-Muse, justifies the concept:

Et tout entre les Gents fut tousjours estimee
 Sa science divine et claire renommee,
 Qui sceut si bien nourrir de la manne des Cieux
 Ces deux gemelles Seurs au son delicieux,
 Que longs siecles apres la Muse et la Musique
 Userent simplement de la langue Hebraïque
 Sans mensonge et sans fard, sans impudique escrit,
 Pour louer Dieu sans plus et de bouche et d'esprit.

(Galliade, fol. 111^r)

David's psalms and Solomon's Song of Songs are further evidence of the supremacy of divinely-inspired poetry whose expression is essentially musical.

La Boderie's Neo-Platonic theme of divine "secret" revelation through the veiling of truth by poetic metaphor is illustrated in his

presentation of Orpheus as the poet-musician par excellence. As elsewhere in La Boderie's work, Orpheus is distinguished from the early Greeks because of the monotheistic interpretation which La Boderie and his Neo-Platonic predecessors gave to his work. Orpheus is shown to have announced the important themes of the Trinity, of creation by divine Intelligence, of the Apocalypse, and of the harmony of the totality of creation in the divine Unity. He is presented as the poet of divine frenzy who adapted the Chaldaean concept of the wine of spiritual sustenance to the "douceurs infuses" of Bacchus and the Muses. In this historical survey of the development of poetry, La Boderie shows Orpheus to have learned from the Egyptians the necessary art of poetic veiling of truth which they, in turn, had received as a Mosaic heritage. Hermes Trismegistus, the Sibylline oracles, and Zoroaster are said to have been the means of his initiation into the sacred rites of poetic revelation. The hidden truth, divinely revealed to the initiate poet-priest, was to be expressed by him only in the harmonious verse and metaphoric veils of poetry. Like the golden apples of La Boderie's epigraph for the Encyclie, the beauty of Orpheus' verse was an indication of its divine inspiration:

Mais luy à qui de Dieu la doctrine celee
 Secrette avoit esté en secret revelee
 Sous le sacré silence, ainsi que les discrets
 Secretaires divins reveloient les secrets,
 Les traitant par-apres en poëtiques nombres
 Les peignit et voila de nuages et d'ombres,
 Afin entre les siens de se rendre admiré,
 Et qu'on ne sceust l'autheur dont il avoit tiré.
 Ses beaux traits rayonnans sous l'escorce des fables,
 Comme sous les berceaux des Jardins delectables

Le raisin violet, et les citrons dorez
 Luisent aux bois fueillus de verneur colorez.
 (Galliade, fol. 112^V-113^R)

Poet and priest became one in their interpretation and representation of the divine. La Boderie's concept of true poetry is closely related to Pico's projected "poetic theology" which would be a summa of all knowledge, a reconciliation of all phenomena through an understanding of the correspondences which link man to God.⁸² Thus Orpheus, with Linus and Musaeus, are to be revered as Augustine had taught:

. . . pour avoir traité en leurs vers Musicaux
 Les mysteres divins, et secrets Physicaux
 Avec la naturelle et profonde Magie,
 Sont dits les trois Autheurs de la Theologie.
 (Galliade, fol. 116^R)

La Boderie's historical survey of the development of poetry thus moves to Greece to which Orpheus is said to have brought the heritage of the Gauls from the Jewish and Chaldaean poet-priests who had transmitted the secret divine revelation, "doctrine gardee," in a figurative fashion, "en sens couvers" (Galliade, fol. 116^V). There follows a survey of the Greek poets in all the genres from epic to lyric to show the comprehensiveness of the poetic muse:

Et bref entre les Grecs la Muse à bouche ronde
 A sur tout argument desployé sa faconde.
 (Galliade, fol. 119^R)

From Greece, poetry and music are followed to Rome where, although somewhat deformed "en chants lascifs et mous," they were eventually restored to sonorous dignity by the great Virgil. Among the Latin poets

La Boderie considers worthy of mention there figure also Horace, Propertius, Tibullus, Catullus, Ovid, Manilius, Lucan, the Gaul Statius, Seneca, Martial, Boethius, and the Gauls Ausonius and Sidonius Apollinarus. Dante alone is honored among the poets of the late Middle Ages. With Petrarch he is representative of poetry's adoption of the vulgar tongue. Sannazaro, Bembo, Aretino, and Ariosto are distinguished among the poets of the Italian Renaissance. But again La Boderie's predilection for a solemn and serious poetry is apparent in his criticism of the venal and artificial tone of Italian Renaissance poetry and music:

Tout ainsi les deux Seurs errant's par la Toscane
 Ont acquis non un teint et couleur de basane,
 Ainçois un teint fardé, un maintien decevant,
 Et gestes plus lascifs qu'onques au paravant,
 Un Amour feint qui sçait le transy contrefaire,
 Bref l'air Italien qui à tous ne peut plaire.
 (Galliade, fol. 122^{r-v})

The cyclical history of poetry is shown to have moved to completion in France, its original home, under Francis I. In praise of the early French Renaissance La Boderie cites Marot, Salel, Mellin de Saint Gelais, Heroët, and the musicians Albert, Certon, and Janequin. The age of Henry II is shown as a flowering of poetic and musical richness which had grown through the centuries since the seminal Bardic simple songs. La Boderie praises "la Confrerie / Des Poëtes divins, et des Chantres eslus," the "Enfans de l'Harmonie" (fol. 124^r) who have closed the circle of poetry's revolution:

Mercy des beaux Esprits qui l'ont remise au jour,
 Et icy arresté de son cercle le tour.
 (Galliade, fol. 124^r)

La Boderie's attribution of poetic excellence to his contemporaries is not always consistent with the judgment of later critics. The learned Dorat is given first place, but is succeeded by his son-in-law, "le docte Goulu." Ronsard is praised for his imitation of the classics, Du Bellay for his grace and nobility. With Jodelle are associated the dramatists Peruse and the learned Garnier. However, Scève, Peletier du Mans and Pontus de Tyard merit a high place in La Boderie's estimation for their seriousness of purpose, the "sens profond" which he reveres above all:

Pource qu'ils ont changé en un plus grave ton
 Le son trop demené d'Amour, et d'Eraton,
 Sublimes decorans leurs Tableaux et peinture
 Des hauts secrets du Ciel, et des faits de Nature.
 (Galliade, fol. 125^r)

In these "scientific" poets' study of man and of his world La Boderie read an approach to an apprehension of the Divine which was his ideal for the poet-priest on the Orphic model. Pontus de Tyard especially could be related to Orpheus because of his treatment of music as the "image of the whole Encyclopaedia":

Mais soit du grand Thiard la couronne à deux rancs
 Qui a si bien rejoint de la Lyre les flancs,
 Et r'animant la Muse et la Musique encore,
 A r'animé Platon, Boëce, et Pythagore.
 (Galliade, fol. 125^r)⁸³

On the other hand, Baïf, Belleau, and Desportes are given equal place with the Count of Alsinois "qui a si bien chanté l'Enfance du Christ" (Galliade, fol. 125^r)⁸⁴ and the two royal Marguerites.⁸⁵ Passerat, the Normans Charles Toustain and Filleul, the learned Muret, the Hermetic poet Hesteau de Nuysement, and the scholarly Davy are praised with Jamyn,

Des Autels, and the court poet Vaumesnil. Together with the musicians Orlando de Lassus, Courville, Boni, Costely and Saint Laurent,⁸⁶ the foregoing poets constitute for La Boderie the consummation of the Gallic heritage of poetic ardour in the service of divine revelation and whose musically measured expression glorifies the divine harmony of the universe:

Bref tandis qu'on verra au monde estre en estime
 Les carmes et les tons, les nombres, et la ryme,
 Soient tousjours estimez les escrits et les noms
 De vos bons Escrivains, et de vos chantres bons,
 Qui apres tant de tours des Sferes les plus tardes
 Ont fait en nouveaux corps revivre les vieux Bardes.
 (Galliade, fol. 126^r)

The theme of return or "revolution" of the arts and sciences to Gallic France has been shown to constitute the basic framework of La Galliade in all its revolving Circles. La Boderie's nationalist interest is apparent throughout. Yet even more fundamental to his personal vision is a mystical sentiment of renewal, associated with the Postellian prophecies of the new age to be instituted under the French universal monarch at the imminent second coming of Christ in men's souls. It is in this context that the work as a whole takes on its full import. Thus the recurring condemnation of the "Gregeois menteurs" with their false gods can be reconciled with La Boderie's praise of Orpheus, who was commonly supposed to have presented the many-faceted Unity in the guise of the Greek Olympia, and also with La Boderie's acknowledgement of Renaissance artists' partial debt to their Greek heritage. Furthermore, the poet's emphasis on the religious

basis of the Druidic Bards' unwritten legacy of musical verse can be reconciled both with the classical Pythagorean and Platonic theories of harmony in the universe and also with the Kabbalistic and Neo-Platonic acceptance of figurative poetic language as the substance of divine revelation presented as veiled truth. In short, La Boderie's seemingly chauvinistic historical outline of cyclical return is in reality a mystico-religious hymn of universal renewal. Although it is reminiscent of a French medieval mystico-nationalistic crusading spirit, it derives essentially from an enthusiastic idealism characteristic of the Renaissance consciousness of restitution. Restitution of arts and sciences in the "golden age" of the Renaissance was for La Boderie a manifestation of man's spiritual restitution to his prelapsarian spiritual clarity and purity of the original Christian golden age.

"Le Phenix," a long poem appended to La Galliade, presents through the image of the phoenix La Boderie's characteristic yearning for order in a universal harmony which is to be attained by a mystical renewal. The phoenix is the symbol of that renewal through the mors osculi:

Luy mesme, et non luy-mesme en rondeur perennelle
 Qui par le bien de mort acquiert vie eternelle.
 (Galliade, fol. 131^r)⁸⁷

It is also the symbol of the supreme uniqueness of the Deity. By the analogy of correspondences, on the plane of the body politic the French king should be the supreme universal monarch under whose protection the

one true Church should be restored. In a world thus united the peace of a truly universal harmony would prevail. Its herald was La Boderie, the new Orpheus, divinely inspired by the unique truth of the one true God. Thus La Boderie invokes the spirit of uniqueness and totality which is embodied in the phoenix as well as in the circle, his own "figure elue":

Pren le vol mon Phenix, et au regne Gaulois
 Va saluer mon Roy le seul Phenix des Rois,
 Comme sa Gaule et Gent sur toutes plus antique
 Des Regnes et des Gents est le Phenix unique:
 Et vole sur son chef d'un doux vol aplany
 Pour un signal heureux, que du grand Monde uny
 Un Roy de France un jour guidant l'unique Barque
 De l'Eglise en Phénice, en sera le Monarque
 Et l'unique Phenix, et comme à ce milieu
 Reduira toutes Gents sous le Phenix de Dieu,
 Y haulsant pour le Coq le Phenix en Trofee.
 Soit un Roy sur tous Rois, tousjours L'UN GUIDE ORFEE.
 (Galliade, fol. 131^r)

C.

HYMNES ECCLESIASTIQUES,CANTIQUES SPIRITUELS ET AUTRES MESLANGES POETIQUES

Both translations and original works by La Boderie constitute the volume of Hymnes ecclesiastiques, cantiques spirituels et autres meslanges poetiques (1578 and 1582).⁸⁸ In both, La Boderie's purpose was to counteract the effects of the Protestant translations of the Psalms and to use musical "effects" comparable to those of Orpheus in order to bring back the erring dissenters to the Catholic church: "par un contrechant, comme jadis Orfée, m'opposer au chant pipeur des Syrenes" ("Advertissement").⁸⁹

The dedication of the second edition to Henry III is even more explicit:

Sire, tout ainsi que ceux qui se sont piqués des scorpions ont accoustumé de chercher leur guarison et medecine en iceux mesmes, ainsi considerant les Pseaumes de David traduits en nostre vulgaire, par la douceur de la musique et du chant melodieux que l'on y a adjousté ont alleché et distrait non moins de vostre peuple que les assemblees et presches des ministres de la religion pretendue reformee, je me suis avise pour un remede et contre poison de traduire les hymnes ecclesiastiques et autres cantiques spirituels composés par les saints docteurs et anciens Peres, colonnes et pilliers de nostre religion unique et veritable

(Hymnes ecclesiastiques, n.p.)

The translations include imitations of works as wide ranging in time as they are in subject. The Psalms are juxtaposed to works by the fourth century Christian poet Prudentius, by St. Gregory, by the Venerable Bede, by Dante, by Petrarch and by the sixteenth century Italian humanist and Church reformer, Vida. Ancient Hebrew Psalms as well as early Christian, medieval and Renaissance religious poetry and theological exposition, all are adduced to serve La Boderie's purpose of spiritual reform brought about by musical and poetic "effects."

Secret has pointed out that dedications of the translations and of the original verses reveal "tout un climat de l'époque."⁹⁰ Not only do they show La Boderie's association with the Academy through such figures as Ronsard, Pontus de Tyard, Baïf and Dorat, but also they suggest relationships with men of letters and patrons associated with the Counter Reformation movement under Henry III: for example, the Hebraïcist Gilbert Genebrard, the Parisians Amelot, St. Germain and Desprez, and the Abbot of St. Vincent of Laon, site of the miracle of 1566.⁹¹

Original works by La Boderie comprise the second half of the volume the "Partie de l'Invention." Those addressed to Tyard (Hymnes ecclesiastiques, fol. 170^r-184^r) and to Ronsard (Hymnes ecclesiastiques, fol. 184^r-213^v) repeat La Boderie's earnest glorification of the Holy Trinity as in the Encyclie and his abomination of the poetry he considered frivolous which in imitating "yvre Anacreon" was devoted to "Venus la vaine" (Hymnes ecclesiastiques, fol. 170^v). In his only reference to contemporary events other than religious or political, La Boderie's acknowledgment of the geographical discoveries of the Renaissance is

made to serve his finalist concept of cyclical return to the divine Unity. Similarly, he assimilates astronomical discoveries to the medieval Catholic concept of one world in interpreting them as signs from God:

Si que depuis peu d'ans le Nautonnier accort

 Nous a peuples nouveaux en nouveau monde ouvert:

 Jusqu'aux Americains sans foy, sans Roy, sans Loy

 Et decouvert au Ciel l'autre Croix qui se fonde
 En l'Antartique Gond, sur qui tourne le monde:

 Somme tous revoltez et toute Gent qui erre
 Par toutes Regions du Globe de la Terre,
 A toy retournera Roy seul Etherien,
 Te confessant vray Dieu celeste et terrien
 Et selon ta parole en la terre cherie
 N'y aura qu'un Pasteur et une bergerie
 Ce qui vous est encor' au pur Ciel designé
 Qu'on a veu tant de fois en nostre age signé
 De feux prodigieux
 (Hymnes ecclesiastiques, fol. 203^v-207^v)

La Boderie's concept of poetic inspiration is enunciated in the "Cantique de la naissance de nostre Seigneur Jesus-Christ"⁹² addressed to the Bishop of Bayeux (Hymnes ecclesiastiques, fol. 230^r-232^r). La Boderie's claim to a Christian rather than a classical muse is emphasized by his adaptation of the Apollonian frenzy to an ecstasy of Christian love:

Je ne veux plus invoquer les neuf Soeurs
 Je ne veux plus m'abreuver des douceurs
 De l'Hypocrene entre les Grecs louée,
 Je ne veux plus sur Helicon monter,

 Ains reclamer les Syrenes des Cieux,
 Ains m'enyvrer du chant delicieux
 De la vive eau

Ains mieux songer des montz sur le hault mont,
 Christ homme-Dieu à double chef profond
 Pour y puiser la haute fureur sainte.

(Hymnes ecclésiastiques, fol. 230^{r-v})

Attempting to establish the basis of a new Christian lyricism, La Boderie still recalls the learned "rhétoriqueur" using a medieval fixed form, the "chant royal" in which he had excelled at the poetic "puy".⁹³ However, "chants royaux" glorifying the Virgin incorporate imagery drawn from the Kabbalah. The first of these, for example, is entitled "Sur la tressainte et pure Conception de la Vierge Marie mere de Dieu" (Hymnes ecclésiastiques, fol. 237^v-238^v). In this poem the image of the butterfly weaving its round cocoon is adapted from the Kabbalist Zôhar. It is assimilated to the Kabbalistic vision of the universe as the great sphere of ten Sephiroth at the heart of which La Boderie places the unique Virgin mother of Christ. Kabbalah and Christian doctrine are thus intimately fused in an affirmation of faith which concludes with La Boderie's profound belief in the unifying power of a Christian poetic:

Prince du Puy, sur la terre et les mers
 Jusqu'ou Phebus a ses bornes et mercs
 Faites que Seine entonne sur son onde
 Mieux que Cypris mere aux amours amers
 Le Papillon qui fait sa Tente ronde . . .

(Hymnes ecclésiastiques, fol. 238^v)

The succeeding "chants royaux" (Hymnes ecclésiastiques, fol. 239^r-250^r) integrate other images from the Zôhar to the same end of praise of the Virgin: the bird from the earthly paradise at the Pole, the unique Jewish pearl, the transparent sphere.⁹⁴ "Chants royaux" based on

arguments from Pindar, from Pythagoras and the Argonautica (Hymnes ecclesiastiques, fol. 247^r-249^v) complete the series.

La Boderie's "Cantique sur la nouvelle Estoire" (Hymnes ecclesiastiques, fol. 250^v-258^r)⁹⁵ is followed by further translations of Orphic Hymns (Hymnes ecclesiastiques, fol. 258^v ff.).

La Boderie's own final "Cantique à Dieu" (Hymnes ecclesiastiques, fol. 285^v-286^v) affirms yet again the moral and spiritual aspirations to unity and revelation which motivated his publication of religious hymns:

Aspire moy de grace, afin qu'en maint Cantique
Je celebre l'honneur de ton saint nom antique,
Et les Hymnes divins qu'en l'Eglise des Saints
Les tiens font resonner sous lambrissemens peints
Par qui de Pere en Filz tous les peuples estranges
Racontent en tous lieux tes divines louenges.

(Hymnes ecclesiastiques, fol. 286^v)

La Boderie's motto, "May the Holy David sprout forth as one Orphically" summarizes especially aptly La Boderie's motivation in publishing this collection of Psalms and hymns.

This syncretistic work, which recalls the early Renaissance in its derivation not only from the Psalms and from the Church fathers but also from the prisca theologia, was given a second edition at a time of extreme intensification of religious antagonisms. That this should be so points to a continuing academic spirit at the court of Henry III and among the Catholic "politiques."⁹⁶ The wide ranging syncretistic character of the work argues for La Boderie's own sincerity of belief in the harmony to be rendered even out of discord.

D.

DIVERSES MESLANGES POETIQUES

The Diverses meslanges poétiques (1582) recall many thematic preoccupations evident in La Boderie's major works. Several bear witness in their dedications to his relationships with the litterati of his age. This collection, the last of La Boderie's poetic publications, includes minor verse dating from as early as 1571.

References to his personal life are few.⁹⁷ Several poems indicate La Boderie's moral purpose as the self-appointed "new Orpheus" in an age of chaos.⁹⁸

The sonnet, "Ce n'est pas moy" (Diverses meslanges, fol. 107^V ff.) indicates the importance which the author, like the poets of the Pléiade, attributed to his praise of his contemporaries. Following the Druids who in their religious hymns sang praises of their military heroes (Galliade, fol. 77^V), La Boderie chose to glorify the great men of Christian humanism:

Mais bien c'est moy qui desire en tout lieu
 En toute langue, en tout temps, et tout age
 Au vertueux donner bon tesmoignage,
 Et celebrer les louenges de Dieu.
 Dieu soit principe et soit fin, et milieu
 De mes chansons: sa Providence sage
 Soit l'argument de mon apprentissage
 Et de mes Ronds soit le Centre, et l'essieu:
 Des gents de bien les nobles noms antiques

Soyent l'ornement de mes humbles Cantiques
 Mesmes des Saints et martyrs bienheureux
 Qui par leur mort ont couronné leur vie
 Non plus subjects icy bas à l'envie
 Qui suit vertu comme un fantosme ombreux.
 (Diverses meslanges, fol. 110^V)

Thus there are included in this collection an ode to Thevet, royal cosmographer (Diverses meslanges, fol. 50^V ff.), a translation of a Latin work against Copernicus by the mathematician and "lecteur royal," Cornelius Gemma (Diverses meslanges, fol. 71^V ff.), a sonnet in praise of Pico, "admirable Phenix" (Diverses meslanges, fol. 81^R), and a prologue to Etienne Jodelle's Cleopatre (Diverses meslanges, fol. 92^V-100^V) which bears further witness to La Boderie's close association with the Baif Academy.⁹⁹

Themes which La Boderie elaborated in his major works are recalled briefly in the verses of this collection: the primacy of the Druids, (Diverses meslanges, fol. 48^R), a cosmology based on the three worlds of the archetype, the heavens and the elements with man as the microcosm (Diverses meslanges, fol. 51^R), the concept of a golden age of man's rebirth (Diverses meslanges, fol. 52^V), the chaos of the times engendered by disruption of the great chain of being (Diverses meslanges, fol. 79^R), and the Orphic theme of divinised nature (Diverses meslanges, fol. 107^R ff.).

One series of sonnets (Diverses meslanges, fol. 81^V ff.) stands out as a crystallization of La Boderie's attempts to prove the unity of truth in the context of his belief in man's cyclical return from multiplicity to the divine Unity. His syncretistic assimilation of

Kabbalistic with Pythagorean and Platonic numerical theories supports the Ficinian view of the universe as harmonious structure to be interpreted through "mathematical images:"

Et le travail oyseux ou souvent tu me vois
M'a rendu solitaire à la ville et aux bois
Pour toujours remirer le principe du nombre.

(Diverses meslanges, Sonnet 2, fol. 82^V)

The esthetic perfection of the world confirms always for La Boderie the presence of the Divinity conceived in the perfect form of the circle, and the cyclical return implicit in the movement of the perfect form:

Tout ce qui est cy bas, au Ciel, et sur le monde
Suit le Rond accomply, du grand Dieu commençant
Le Centre de Bonté, et en Dieu finissant,
Duquel l'Infinité est une Sfere ronde.

(Diverses meslanges, Sonnet 3, fol. 82^V)

The first of the sonnets of this series,¹⁰⁰ "Le Grand Quaternaie," presents the most concise evidence of La Boderie's syncretism upon which was founded his faith in a genuine "renaissance" of man. La Boderie rejects the conventional term, "Quaternaire," in favour of a neologism, "Quaternaie," proposed by the Christian Kabbalist Reuchlin, to indicate the necessary restitution of all things.¹⁰¹ On the basis of the Pythagorean tetraktys comprehensive of all creation, La Boderie uses the number "4," which was central also to Kabbalistic and Postellian speculations, in order to assimilate the constitutive elements of religious life, human nature, and of the universe.¹⁰²

L'Occident, l'Aquilon, l'Orient, le My'Jour,
Thobias, Job, Judith, Esther de lis florie,
L'Histoire, le Moral, Figure, Allegorie
Cernent corps, Ame, Esprit, et la Pensée autour.
Le Boeuf, l'Homme, et Lion, et l'Aigle d'un retour
Luc, Mathieu, Marc et Jean cercle dans cercle lie,

Martyrs, Docteurs, Herauts, et les Vierges allie
 Christ meurt, naist, resuscite, et monte en son sejour.
 Le Saule, le Citron et la Palme et le Myrte,
 La Nature, la Loy, Grace et Raison d'élite
 Phischon, Gilon, Kidkel et Perath arousant
 Nostre terre, nostre eau, nostre air, et feu sans cendre,
 D'estre, de vivre aussi, de sentir et d'entendre
 Vont nostre Pavillon à quatre coins posant.
 (Diverses meslanges, fol. 81^V)

Ancient science is assimilated to Jewish revelation as a prefiguration of Christian doctrine, the whole enriching the concept of man the microcosm of the great "Pavillon" or temple which represents the harmoniously constructed universe.

Two series of sonnets (Diverses meslanges, fol. 84^V ff. and fol. 87^r ff.) relating the poet's "songe ou vision" differ in tone and in manner from the rest of La Boderie's poetic output. The more personal tone, the more particular mystical imagery may perhaps be understood in the context of the increasingly contemplative and mystical character which the Palace Academy assumed in the early 1580's under the influence of Henry III.¹⁰³ The didactic purpose is still pre-eminent for La Boderie, however, as it was in his former use of public symbols. Presentation of the "belle Nef dorée" is only preliminary to the generalized interpretation of the marriage of Christ and his Church, "l'homme Archetype" and "une Pastourelle en douce contenance." Similarly, in the second set of two sonnets, the "Cheval et Poullain" marked by a new star indicate the elevation of Paris as the new Jerusalem.¹⁰⁴

The volume of Diverses meslanges poëtiques thus contains the last of La Boderie's poetic works. It shows him to have participated in the

increasingly spiritual orientation of poets in the last quarter of the sixteenth century in France in which Raymond has situated the beginning of "le règne de la poésie religieuse."¹⁰⁵

La Boderie's ties were in the past, however. Humanist and encyclopedist in the syncretist current of the Florentine Neo-Platonists, La Boderie's vision is not the personal one of Sponde or La Ceppède, nor of the mystical poets of the early seventeenth century.¹⁰⁶

We hope to have suggested in the above presentation of the thematic content of La Boderie's original works their interest for the student of the late French Renaissance.

In the first place, all his work, and especially the Encyclie, demonstrates a continuing allegiance among certain French men of letters to the Florentine Neo-Platonist syncretist tradition. La Boderie's fervent concern for the spiritual renewal of his countrymen assumed a typically cyclical movement of return to antiquity for reassurance of a fundamental harmony of thought and of religious revelation. His motivation of seeking for unity in a time of civil and religious strife explains the anachronisms of many of his arguments and suggests as well the value of his work as one example of the popularity in his day of various forms of esoteric wisdom which could be adduced to suggest a universal harmony.

In the second place, the mystico-nationalist spirit which informs the Galliade is indicative not only of a humanist's pride in

the achievements of the French Renaissance, but also of currents of prophetic and millenarian thought which found favour during the reign of Henry III.

In the third place, La Boderie's repeated references to the new social role he envisioned for the poet, and for himself as the "new Orpheus," as divinely inspired and ethically influential singer not only clarify the content of his own work, but also form his most important contribution to the late French Renaissance poetic. In this context his continuing efforts to seek out and to set forth the symbolic manifestations of the one truth which informs all religious revelations become meaningful, as do his repeated exhortations to contemporary poets to cast aside vain amatory verse in favour of a spiritual inspiration by which, if they are learned and virtuous, they will be illuminated. Thus too, La Boderie's insistence on the necessary alliance of music and poetry, expounded in the Galliade and illustrated in the imitations of Psalms and hymns in the Hymnes ecclesiastiques is seen to be central to his purpose of spiritual renewal through an "Orphic" charm.

CHAPTER III: FOOTNOTES

- ¹ Schmidt, Poésie scientifique, p. 3.
- ² Ibid., p. 204.
- ³ E. M. W. Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture (New York: Random House [c1943]), p. 106.
- ⁴ See A. O. Lovejoy, The Great Chain of Being: A Study in the History of an Idea (New York: Harper and Row [c1936]).
- ⁵ For a succinct account of the influence of Florentine Neo-Platonism on the scientific as well as the artistic thought of the sixteenth century, see Chastel, Marsile Ficin et l'art, pp. 74-75.
- ⁶ For a full analysis of the development of the idea of the harmonic bases of creation from classical to Christian authors, see Leo Spitzer, Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony: A Prolegomena to an Interpretation of the Word "Stimmung," ed. Anna Granville Hatcher (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1963), pp. 5-63.
- ⁷ For the importance of the circle in Ficinian aesthetics and metaphysics derived from Plato, see Chastel, Marsile Ficin et l'art, p. 58.
- ⁸ For an analysis of this theme in Ficino, see Chastel, Marsile Ficin et l'art, pp. 57-63.
- ⁹ For the concept of the Creator as Archimusicus, see Spitzer, Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony, pp. 7, 10.
- ¹⁰ See Raymond, Influence de Ronsard, pp. 277-278.
- ¹¹ For the image of expanding circles see the quotation from the Encyclie, pp. 103-105, below p. 86.
- ¹² Cf. the analyses of this work by Busson, Rationalisme, pp. 584-588 and by Schmidt, Poésie scientifique, pp. 182-214, and "Guy Le Fèvre de La Boderie, chrétien, poète et kabbaliste," Cahiers du Sud (1950),

pp. 169-182. Secret, Esotérisme, pp. 27-28, notes that neither of these critics has grasped the real import of the Kabbalistic themes in the Encyclie because of their lack of knowledge of Postel.

¹³ With reference to acceptance of La Boderie's work as orthodox, in spite of the heresy of the Son as not being co-eternal with the Father, François Secret ("Les Jésuites et le kabbalisme chrétien," Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance, XX [1958], pp. 546 ff.), notes La Boderie's good relationships with the Jesuits at the time of his work on the Polyglot Bible in Antwerp.

¹⁴ Reproduced in Secret, Kabbalistes chrétiens, plate X. One notes the two anagrams of La Boderie's name: FEU VERGILE = Gui Le Fèvre; L'UN [QUI] GUIDE ORFEE = Guidon Le Fèvre.

¹⁵ Busson, Rationalisme, pp. 516-517.

¹⁶ For the circle as a constant image in his work, see below pp. 198 ff. In his preliminary sonnet "A son livre" (Encyclie, p. 9) he vaunts the originality of his form as a divine inspiration:

. . . à nul des devanciers ta forme tu ne dois
Ni modernes, ni vieus, laid ou beau que tu sois:
Mais l'honneur en est deu au seul Dieu que je loue.

One notes, however, that he was a translator of Dante, whose use of circles must have stimulated his imagination. La Boderie's stated intention (Encyclie, p. 7) of completing his exposition by "encircling" Catholic doctrine in progression from the highest to the lowest "cause" was never carried out.

¹⁷ Cf. for example his "Cantique . . . aus Poetes de cé Temps" (Encyclie, p. 189):

Je vous pri de penser que la douceur du son
Ne se doit pas nommer l'Ame de la chanson.

¹⁸ For the Ficinian cosmology based on aesthetic analyses, see Chastel, Marsile Ficin et l'art, pp. 57-63, and Kristeller, Philosophy, pp. 60-73.

¹⁹ "Conseil" or divine Intelligence is related in Postellian exegesis to the figure of Christ the Mediator. Secret, Esotérisme, p. 33; cites Postel: ". . . l'intelligence de la nature entière, qui est l'Ange du grand conseil en vérité comme dans la tradition de l'Eglise, qui a l'habitude de chanter à la messe de Noël selon la traduction des Septante: 'Un enfant nous est né, et un fils nous a été donné: il s'appellera l'Ange du grand conseil (Is. IX, 6).'"

20 According to the pseudo-Berosus, the Gallic Hercules was Gomer, the founder of France after the Flood. La Boderie relates the line of French kings to him. Cf. his "Discours" to the Duc d'Alençon, Encyclie, p. 221:

Car Japhet fut Atlas, et l'Hercule Gaulois
Fut le Gaulois Gomer qui nous donna ses Loys.
Comme donc vous portez l'illustre nom d'Hercule

21 For the significance of Uranie to La Boderie as disciple of Postel, see Secret, Esotérisme, pp. 29-34. According to Postel's distorted etymology, the "émithologie" by which he claimed to discover the true sense of a name, "Uranie" is derived from "Or" meaning light and "Aron" signifying the arc. Cf. François Secret, "L'Emithologie de Guillaume Postel," Umanesimo e esoterismo, Atti del V. Convegno Internazionale di Studi Umanistici (Padova: Cedam, 1960), pp. 381-427. Uranie is associated with the Platonic concept of the World Soul as it is made to relate to the first-created Intelligence, "Sagesse" or "Sapience" in Christ the Mediator, the Word of God. This association is reinforced in the Galliade, fol. 36:

Ainsi l'avoit appris Noach le patriarche
Qui avoit aveq'luy le Pavillon et l'Arche
De la Divinité, Genie universel,
Et des faces le Prince, Ange du grand Conseil.

Secret concludes that Uranie is thus for La Boderie more significant than the "divinité tutélaire des chantres du Christ" suggested by Raymond, Influence de Ronsard, p. 268.

22 Henri Weber, La Création poétique au XVI^e siècle en France, de Maurice Scève à Agrippa d'Aubigné (Paris: Nizet, 1955), p. 112, points out the importance to the Pythagoreans of secret and solitary places favorable to the inspiration of the initiate who would enter into a magic contact with the secret forces of the universe. The cult of the Muses in classical mythology was also associated with caves and solitary fountains.

23 Schmidt, Poésie scientifique, p. 187, emphasizes the originality of La Boderie's psychology. Whereas in Scève's empirical view man had been portrayed as using his strength and ingenuity in linear progress toward divinisation, in La Boderie's work he possesses from birth the gift of divine ideas, and thus must return in a circular progression to his original divinity. See also La Boderie's analogy of the divinely-written tables of the law with the divinely-granted innate ideas, Encyclie, p. 140:

. . . ces petits feus, ou notions premieres,
Ces préceptes ennez, ces petites lumieres,
Que Nature le doigt du Tout-bon, et Tout-beau,
Vous escript dedans l'Ame ainsi qu'en un Tableau.

La Boderie's concept is related to the Florentine Neo-Platonists' interiorisation and modification of the myths of Prometheus and Hercules. See Chastel, Marsile Ficin et l'art, pp. 173-175.

24 For the association of wisdom and virtue in Renaissance thought and specifically in Ronsard's precepts for the poet, see H. Franchet, Le Poète et son oeuvre d'après Ronsard (Paris: Slatkine Reprints, 1969, c1923), pp. 43-113, 147-175.

25 Cf. Kristeller, Philosophy, pp. 146-170, and Chastel, Marsile Ficin et l'art, pp. 81-85, for Ficino's concept of the primum in aliquo genere according to which each of the degrees of being is dominated by a primum which guards it.

26 For the relationship of this concept to that of the "garment of style" and to the Neo-Platonist acceptance of the image as embodiment as well as the representation of an idea, see below p. 225, n. 10.

27 Schmidt, Poésie scientifique, pp. 187-188, compares this new metamorphosis of Nature as divine to the poet's divinisation of man through the notion of innate ideas elaborated in the Third and Fourth Circles. He indicates the resemblance of this concept of Nature to the Orphic cosmic Eros. For La Boderie's translation of the Orphic "Hymn to Nature" see below p. 99.

28 For Rabelais' similar orientation to the concept of an immanent / transcendent God as found in Neo-Platonist and especially Kabbalist writings, see Masters, Rabelaisian Dialectic and the Platonic-Hermetic Tradition, p. 6.

29 Cf. Spitzer, Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony, pp. 32-33. For the Ficinian cosmology, "une interprétation radicalement 'symbolique' des faits physiques," in which the aesthetics of light dominates, see Chastel, Marcel Ficin et l'art, pp. 81-85.

30 The Platonic anima mundi motivating the "Sereines" responsible for the celestial spheres portrays the divine power immanent in creation.

31 Uranie thus suggests that the "Secrétaire," like the poet, must adjust his vision to surpass the light of discursive reason in order to be equal to the blinding light of mystical ecstasy. Cf. Ficino's metaphysics of light explained in Chastel, Marsile Ficin et l'art, pp. 81-85.

32 La Boderie, in his choice of the Tabernacle as the symbol which embodies divine creation, may have been influenced by the Ficinian analogy between the church edifice and the divinely-created "temple du monde." See Chastel, Marsile Ficin et l'art, p. 59.

33 Uranie's explanation is closely related to an argument adapted by Jamyn from Leone Ebreo for a Palace Academy debate. See Yates, French Academies, p. 143.

34 See below pp. 214 ff.

35 For further references to veiled truth, see Diverses meslanges, fol 26^r; Encyclie, p. 134; Galliade, fol. 48^r-49^v, 112^v-113^r.

36 Cf. Wind, Pagan mysteries, pp. 25 ff.

37 Cf. the Postellian "èmithologie" of "amour" for Christ as the means to redemption, Encyclie, pp. 130-131.

38 See above pp. 18-26.

39 Cf. above pp. 54, n. 55.

40 In his Encyclie, p. 5, La Boderie states that the major part of this work was completed as early as 1568.

41 Cf. La Boderie's "Cantique a mondit Seigneur le Duc [d'Alençon] pour Estrenes l'An 1569," Encyclie, p. 241:
Viene donques bien tostle temps que je souhaite,
Et me rendre meilleur Prophete que Poëte.

42 Leontine Zanta, La Renaissance du stoïcisme au XVI^e siècle (Paris: Champion, 1914), pp. 129, 132-133.

43 Secret, "Humanisme florentin," p. 107.

44 Spitzer, Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony, p. 24.

45 For summary studies of the work see Henry Hornick, "Guy Le Fèvre de La Boderie's La Galliade and Renaissance Syncretism," Modern Language Notes, LXXVI (1961), pp. 735-742; Schmidt, Poésie scientifique, pp. 190-209; and Secret, Esotérisme, pp. 123-152.

46 Yates, French Academies, p. 14, remarks that Dorat contributed a set of congratulatory verses for almost every book of importance published in France in the latter part of the sixteenth century.

47 See Lucien Febvre, Au coeur religieux du seizième siècle (Paris: Sevpem, 1957), pp. 281-287. Cf. also Schmidt's comment (in Poésie scientifique, p. 209) on La Boderie's chauvinism; "cette tendance à improprier la déification d'Athènes et de Rome; au nom d'une hypothétique tradition biblique et gauloise."

48 For additional connotations of the term according to Postel's "émithologie" see Secret, Esotérisme, p. 125. The name is related to the descendants of Noah as "Galli, retiré des ondes." It implies also the restitution prophesied in "'la Gallia ou Galuyah, c'est-à-dire chose découverte et eslevée vers le ciel'" as well as the participation in Christ the Archetype represented by the final "Hé" of the Tetragrammaton in "la Galeoria, la gloire, révélation de la lumière suprême et infinie, partage du peuple gallique qui a retenue le premier nom de l'univers."

49 For the Ficinian concept of the basic unity of all the arts and sciences and of their perfection in the "golden age" of the Renaissance, see Chastel, Marsile Ficin et l'art, pp. 61, 174. Cf. Galliade, fol. 69^r.

50 Secret, Esotérisme, p. 125, notes the importance of Postel's theme of "la Gomerie, 'la consommation de tout,'" related to the name of Gomer, son of Japhet, original founder of France and ancestor of all French kings. See above p. 152, n. 20.

51 F. Godefroy, Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française . . ., (Paris, 1888; Vaduz: Klaus Reprint, 1965), vol. 5, p. 54, gives: "LUS, luz, s. f., lumière." Divine illumination or revelation is said to have been granted first to Israel.

52 Schmidt, Poésie scientifique, pp. 260, 199.

53 Cf. below pp. 165 ff.

54 See above pp. 14-15.

55 This image was used by Ficino to represent the spatial universe. It was also often adopted, with the modification of added wings, as an image of temporal revolution. See Chastel, Marsile Ficin et l'art,

p. 72, and Gombrich, "Icones symbolicae," p. 172. Cf. Erwin Panofsky, Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance (New York: Harper and Row, 1967, c1939), pl. XXII, XXXIV.

56 Don Cameron Allen, The Legend of Noah: Renaissance Rationalism in Art, Science, and Letters (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1963), pp. 113-137. Cf. Du Bartas' treatment of the theme in his Seconde Semaine and Lemaire des Belges' Les Illustrations de Gaule et singularitez de Troye.

57 Anniius of Viterbo published in 1498 his Commentaria super opera diversorum auctorum de antiquitatibus. It contains a forged history of Babylon from the time of Noah which purports to be that of Berosus, a historical priest of Babylon. The work includes an account of Gomer, the mythical founder of Gaul. For a brief account of this work, see Allen, Legend of Noah, pp. 114-115.

58 For adumbrations of the figure of Noah as Prometheus, Saturn, Ogyges, Deucalion, Janus, Hercules, Gallus, Sol, etc., see ibid., p. 83.

59 For an explanation of this Postellian theme of hermaphroditic metempsychosis, see Secret, Esotérisme, p. 130.

60 The Kabbalistic significance of divisions into four, five, seven and seventy-two as well as the twelve of the Zodiac is treated in the Second Circle of the Galliade, fol. 36^v-37^v. For the multiple valency of the number seventy-two, see Secret, Esotérisme, pp. 130-133.

61 Schmidt, Poésie scientifique, p. 197, remarks: "Rien n'est mieux propre que ce passage à montrer combien l'implacable déterminisme astral des Ronsard et des Peletier peut être exténué par une sorte de kabbale platonicienne dont les modes influencent toute la poésie scientifique de la fin de la Renaissance française."

62 See above pp. 78-79.

63 A marginal note refers to a letter from Erasmus to Budé in which Erasmus declares Holland to be a part of Gaul.

64 Although La Boderie's presentation of architecture is associated with occultism and magic, its idealism characteristic of all La Boderie's themes can be understood in the context of expositions of universal harmony common to Tyard's dialogues on music and Philibert de l'Orme's treatise on architecture. See Yates, French Academies, p. 140, and Cf. Chastel, Marsile Ficini et l'art, pp. 57-59, 64, 77, n. 3. 99-106.

65 For the contrast of La Boderie's "scientific" thought with that of other poets of the French Renaissance, see Schmidt, Poésie scientifique, p. 198. See also above p. 152, n. 23.

66 For the Postellian association of these terms with Christ, see Secret, Esotérisme, p. 33. For medieval typology of Noah, see Allen, Legend of Noah, p. 139.

67 For the significance of Zarfétiel, see Secret, Esotérisme, p. 130. For La Boderie's use of the theme of Paris as the new Jerusalem, see below pp. 163 ff.

68 For an account of these "classical" Renaissance artists and architects, see Anthony Blunt, Art and Architecture in France, 1500-1700 (London: Penguin, 1953), pp. 37-72.

69 Cf. the account of Ficino's praise of the philosopher-poet-priest in Kristeller, Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino, pp. 309-323.

70 Cf. Pico, La Harangue de la dignité de l'homme, tr. Guy Le Fèvre de La Boderie (Paris, 1578), pp. 381-399.

71 Cf. Gombrich, "Icones symbolicae," p. 167.

72 A marginal note identifies the etymology of "Razenuins" who "furent ainsi dits de Razin, qui signifie secrets, et de Jenun, qui signifie propagateurs, comme propagateurs de secrets." La Boderie refers in this passage to the pseudo-Berosus.

73 The seven means of prophetic inspiration are described in the Galliade, fol. 59^v-66^v.

74 See Raymond, Influence de Ronsard, p. 70.

75 Yates, French Academies, pp. 43-44, 56, 66, 140, makes the point that the Fourth and Fifth Circles of the Galliade show La Boderie's close relationship with Baif's Academy of Poetry and Music founded in 1570. That relationship is apparent especially in the concept of music as an "image of the Encyclopaedia," in the historical imagination which considers the Gallic Bards representative of ancient music, and above all in the emphasis laid on the moral, psychological and spiritual "effects" of poetry and music seen as indissolubly allied.

76 For a full analysis of the Hellenistic and medieval Christian development of classical Platonic and Pythagorean theories on musical harmony, see Spitzer, Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony, pp. 5-63.

77 The notion that prelapsarian man could hear the music of the spheres is related to the Platonic doctrine that learning is the recalling of prenatally known truth according to which the human soul heard before its birth, but has since forgotten, the cosmic harmony imperceptible to earthbound senses. The learned poet-musician was often supposed, in the Renaissance, to perceive that harmony. Cf. Etienne Jodelle's "Chapitre en faveur d'Orlande [de Lassus] excellent musicien," cited in R. V. Merrill and R. Clements, Platonism in French Renaissance Poetry (New York: New York University Press, 1957), p. 20.

78 Cf. below pp. 169-178.

79 Cf. Spitzer, Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony, pp. 24, 127-132.

80 Cf. ibid., p. 135.

81 See Weber, Création poétique, pp. 109-111.

82 See Wind, Pagan Mysteries, pp. 17-25.

83 For a study of Pontus de Tyard's importance in Baïf's Academy with regard to the concept of the union of poetry and music and the "effects" which were to be gained thereby, see Yates, French Academies, pp. 77-94.

84 Nicolas Denisot, for whose name the Count of Alsinois is an anagram, exercised the arts of painting, music and poetry. He was a friend of Ronsard and associated with Baïf's Academy. For his association with the Academy of Poetry and Music and for his composition of Christian hymns of the Counter Reformation, see Yates, French Academies, pp. 19, 192, and Weber, Création poétique, pp. 136, 151.

85 The sister of Francis I, author of the Heptameron, was probably admired by La Boderie principally because of the Neo-Platonist elements in her poetry. The sister of Henry III, wife of the future Henry IV of France, was a member of the Palace Academy and apparently well-disposed to La Boderie. See below p. 192, n. 26.

- 86 These musicians were closely associated with Baïf's Academy. See Yates, French Academies, pp. 19-20, 56.
- 87 Cf. below p. 220.
- 88 Cave, Devotional Poetry, pp. 74-75, affirms that this work "must have made a considerable impact on the growth of religious poetry." In ibid., pp. 249-251, he comments on a translation from Sannazaro of a poem on the passion, that "it would be unwise to attribute to it any direct influence in the shaping of the poetry of the coming generation; nevertheless, it has certain characteristics which will soon become widespread in French religious poetry."
- 89 Cf. Yates, French Academies, pp. 23-25, 36-42, 70-71, for a comparable purpose in the formation of Baïf's Academy of Poetry and Music.
- 90 Secret, Esotérisme, pp. 101-102.
- 91 See above p. 45.
- 92 For the theme of the life of Christ in the growing body of devotional literature at the end of the sixteenth century in France, see Cave, Devotional Poetry, pp. 48-57.
- 93 See Raymond, Influence de Ronsard, p. 273.
- 94 See Secret, Esotérisme, pp. 103-110.
- 95 See below pp. 163 ff.
- 96 See Yates, French Academies, pp. 34-35, 175-176.
- 97 The poems in his Diverses meslanges poétiques which refer to La Boderie's own life include: "Le Tombeau de nobles et vertueux Gentilz-hommes Antoine Vauquelin . . . et Pierre le Fèvre de la Boderie" (fol. 2^r ff.), "A Monsieur de Croismare, Prince du Puy à Roan. Graces de l'Autheur pour la Palme obtenue audit Puy" (fol. 48^r ff.), "L'Epitafe de l'Autheur qu'il feist estant fort malade, et pensant mourir à Louvain" (fol. 19^v ff.), and "Elegie. A la Boderie lieu de naissance de l'Autheur" (fol. 62^r ff).

98 The poems in his Diverses meslanges poëtiques which treat of the author's purpose include: a sonnet (fol. 1^V), "Discours présenté à Monseigneur frere du Roy, l'Autheur estant revenu de Flandres" (fol. 25^V ff.), "Ode à une personne desvoyee, afin de l'induire à retourner à l'Eglise Catholique" (fol. 31^R ff.), "A Calliope" (fol. 37^R), and a series of sonnets, "Ce n'est pas moy . . ." (fol. 107^V ff.).

99 See Enea Balmas, Un Poeta del Rinascimento francese, Etienne Jodelle: la sua vita, il suo tempo, Biblioteca dell' "Archivum Romanicum," Serie I, vol. 66 (Firenze: Olschki, 1962), pp. 687-691.

100 Cf. La Boderie's use of the quaternary in a sonnet celebrating the publication of the Polyglot Bible of Anvers, "Au Roy Catholique [Philip II of Spain], sur l'impression des grandes Bibles d'Anvers":

L'Homme, le fort Lion, le Boeuf et l'Aigle en pointe,
Mathieu, Marc, Luc, et Jean ores vont accordant
L'Orient, le Midi, Le North et l'Occident,
Et Nature, et la Loy, Grace et Raison conjointe.
Ninus, Cyre, Alexandre, et César le plus coïnte
Ont esté renversez du chariot ardent:
Le Chaldé, Perse, et Grec, et le Rommain prudent
Ont cedé à l'Agneau qui à Dieu nous apointe.
Ores l'Aigle, et le Beuf, et le Lion, et l'Homme
Par l'Hébrïeu, Syrien, Grec, et parler de Romme
D'Occident et du North, du Midi et Levant;
De l'Europe, et d'Asie, Afrique et Atlantide
Vont cueillir les Eleus du grand Dieu qui préside,
En Raison, Grace, Loy et Nature escrivant.
(Encyclie, p. 246)

101 See Secret, Esotérisme, p. 126.

102 Weber, "Y a-t-il une poésie hermétique;" p. 54, has analyzed this series of four as follows: "Malgré les apparences, ce sonnet est relativement clair, le chiffre 4 permet de rassembler les différents éléments constitutifs de la vie religieuse, de la nature humaine, et de l'univers: les quatre points cardinaux, les quatre livres de l'Ancien Testament, correspondant aux quatre sens de l'écriture, les quatre éléments de la nature humaine, corps, âme (principe vital), Esprit (véhicule passif de la Connaissance) et Pensée (véhicule actif). Puis les quatre éléments traditionnels de la nature physique auxquels correspondent les quatre fleuves du Paradis terrestre, en fin les quatre Evangiles avec les quatre animaux traditionnels, les quatre degrés de béatitude céleste avec les quatre plantes symboliques qui leur correspondent."

103 Cf. Yates, French Academies, pp. 159-176. See also Cave, Devotional Poetry, p. 300.

104 Cf. below pp. 163 ff.

105 Cf. Raymond, Influence de Ronsard, p. 272.

106 See Henri Bremond, Histoire du sentiment religieux en France depuis la fin des guerres de la religion jusqu'à nos jours, II vols. (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1916). See also Cave, Devotional Poetry, pp. 294-309.

CHAPTER IV

THEMATIC CONTENT OF THE WORKS: TRANSLATIONS

La Boderie undertook all his translations with the aim of serving his compatriots, and especially the "doctes" humanists among them.¹ The themes relate principally to a reconciliation of diverse religious concepts in the tradition of the syncretizing Florentine Neo-Platonists, or to Postellian millenarian predictions.

A. LE TRAICTE DU NOUVEAU COMETE

The appearance over Paris in November 1572 of a new comet was the occasion for La Boderie's first prophetic work in the spirit of his master Postel. With his translation, published in 1574, of the Traicté du nouveau comete . . . by the Spanish hebraïcist and mathematician

J. Mugnoz, La Boderie published his "Cantique sur la nouvelle Estoille, ou Apparence Lumineuse qui s'est monstrée au Ciel depuis l'onze ou douzieme de Novembre 1572, jusques à present 20. de Janvier 1574." In this long poem his compatriots are admonished to prepare for restitution to their original wholeness and purity at the second coming of Christ, and Paris is praised as the new Jerusalem and seat of the universal monarch.²

The great comet was considered the phenomenon of the age by figures as diverse as the astronomer Tycho Brahe; the Protestant Theodore de Beze; and a professor of mathematics at the Collège des lecteurs royaux, Cornelius Gemma (1535-1578).³

For the latter two the comet was a signal of a new coming of Christ; for Guillaume Postel it was a confirmation of his millenarian and national prophecies concerning the new age of man to be founded by himself as "Pape Angelike" and by the French king as universal monarch.⁴ Postel's "émithologie" permitted him to derive Cassiopeia, the constellation in which the new comet appeared, from Cus, engendered by Ham in Noah's Arc in contravention of the law of abstinence. Cus was thus the legendary forefather not only of all the dark-skinned Africans marked by Noah's curse but also of the dark-souled tyrants of the Monarchies about whom Daniel had prophesied. The appearance of the new star in that constellation signified that the reign of Christ "Intra Nos"⁵ was to succeed the former reign of the tyrants, especially inasmuch as the new star just preceded the seventh and supposedly final great conjunction which was to occur in the sign of Aries signifying a renewal

of reigns. The appearance of the new comet is thus linked with the Kabbalistic theme of the Great Jubilee, the Great Sabbath whose date Postel calculated according to Elijah's prophecy of the 6000 years of the world, as in 1581.⁶

La Boderie stresses this Postellian prophecy. A preliminary sonnet addressed to "M. Desprez, Cappitaine des Enfans de Paris"⁷ justifies the reading of celestial phenomena as signs of God's will, assigning to man the cosmological role suggested in Pico's oration on the dignity of man:

D'autant que Dieu a mis l'homme en ce temple rond
Ainsi comme au milieu, à fin qu'il y contemple
Sa haute Majesté, l'ouvriere de ce temple,
Et les effets divers qui de nouveau s'y font
.....
Et le sage icy bas est Greffier de nature.
(Traicté, n.p.)

Another sonnet justifies the interpretation of heavenly "signs" by reference to Orpheus and the doctrine of veiled truth, while affirming once more La Boderie's desire to serve his people by showing the way to a harmony of interests:

On dict que le premier Orfée entre les Grecs
A remarqué du Ciel les Signes et images
Lesquels il a voylez dessous obscurs nuages
Pour ne profaner point au peuple ses secretz:
Pource quand il fut mort avec tristes regrets
On mist sa Lyre au ciel, et ainsi qu'aux ombrages
Elle avoit fait danser boys et bestes sauvages
Ainsi feist ell' baller les Astres par degrez.
Avec l'Astre nouveau de nouveau peust Orfée
Sous la Lyre à sept tons de sept nerfs estofée
Si bien mener cy bas les hommes à la danse
Qu'ayans d'entre eux chassé les noises et discours
Et du Phébus divin entendans les accors
Ils peussent tous d'un pas venir à la cadance.
L'UN GUIDE ORFEE
(Traicté, n.p.)

The "Cantique sur la nouvelle Estoille" recalls the star which announced to the three kings the first incarnation of Christ. It is seen as a prefiguration of the new star which announced to the three French princes⁸ the second coming of Christ in the heart of every man, for every man was to be restored to his original participation in the divine Archetype:

Jadis en Perse apparut à trois Roys
 Un Astre neuf, qui par divers endrois
 Les amena droit à la propre place
 Ou estoit né le doux autheur de grace:

 Et maintenant à nos Princes tous trois
 D'un royal coeur fils et freres de Roys
 Se monstre au Ciel un Astre qui doit estre
 Signe certain que Jesus Christ veut naistre
 Dedans noz coeurs, et comme nostre Chef
 Son Tabernacle y planter derechef
 Logeant en nous sa lumiere féconde
 L'Astre nouveau qui redore le Monde.
 (Traicté, n.p.)

La Boderie uses the occasion to refute Aristotelian physics:

Si les Cieux sont d'une essence eternelle
 Sy peut-il faire une Estoille nouvelle?
 (Traicté, n.p.)

and to offer a more poetic image culled from the prisca theologia:

N'auroit point lieu l'opinion des vieux
 Peres Caldez, qui racontent qu'aux Cieux
 Y a des trous, par ou les Anges dardent
 Flammes de feu aux yeux qui les regardent?
 (Traicté, n.p.)

But his main theme is the Postellian prophecy of the new reign of peace under a French king divinely destined to lead his people divinely elected to complete the historical circle of the chosen tribes of Israel in a return of humanity to God:

Le nouvel Astre est d'un regne nouveau
 Le Signe heureux, regne paisible et beau
 Dessous lequel la haulte Hierarchie
 Replantera cy bas la Monarchie
 Du Roy des Roys, quand luy de tout vainqueur
 Aura fiché son Astre dans le coeur
 D'un peuple élu, . . .

.
 Le Ciel nouveau et la nouvelle Terre
 Que vid jadis l'un des fils du Tonnerre
 Est le beau Ciel qui l'esprit me ravit
 Le Pavillon redressé de David
 En terre vierge, où éclaire et habonde
 L'Astre nouveau qui redore le Monde.

(Traicté, n.p.)

The comet over Paris designates it as the new Jerusalem:

L'Astre nouveau qui tout nouvellement
 S'est démontré luyant au firmament
 Demonstre encor la sainte Cité belle
 Qui vient de Dieu, JERUSALEM nouvelle.

(Traicté, n.p.)

Its appearance should be a spur to the French monarch's recognition
 of his role:

O toy qui es de la Cité flambeau,
 O des Esprits le Soleil trois fois beau
 Qui de tes raiz entoures ton Eglise,
 Fay que mon Roy au Ciel son Astre élise,
 Qui le remene avec tous ses Soudars
 Croisez à blanc planter les Estendars
 Dessus les murs de la grand ville sainte
 Ou la Cité en lumiere depeinte
 Se decouvrit dedans l'air maintes fois
 Auparavant qu'on eust ouy les voix
 Des Anges saints disans en compagnie
 Cherchon ailleurs une Cité bénie
 Paris sans pair soit la sainte Cité
 Soit son pouvoir tant du Ciel excité
 Qu'en tout le Rond la victoire en redonde
 Sous l'Astre neuf qui redore le Monde.

(Traicté, n.p.)

There follow admonitions to the poet's contemporaries:

Dépouillez donc le viel homme taché
 Et survestez l'Homme nouveau caché
 Qui chacun jour plus beau se renouvelle
 Tant plus en Dieu sa cognoissance est belle.
 Chassez-moy donc toutes vieilles humeurs,
 Et vous ornez tous de nouvelles meurs
 Princes, Prélats, Prestres, Peuple et Police,
 Et attirez du hault Ciel la justice
 Pour sur-vestir sur vostre nudite.

(Traicté, n.p.)

La Boderie's predication is addressed especially to the king whose role in the body politic is like that of the conscience, moon-like "miroir de l'âme" in the microcosm. He is called upon to embrace justice in devotion to God's purpose in order to shine in the world with the infused solar glory of the King of kings:

Et vous mon Roy, qui avec le Soleil
 De la Prestrise estes le second oeil
 Du corps mystic, et du Ciel ordinaire
 La belle Lune, et moindre Luminaire,
 Redonnez-nous en ceste obscurité
 De tous estats la premiere clarté
 Que dedans vous le Soleil de Justice
 Se leve tost, affin qu'il éclaircisse
 Toute vostre Ame en parfaicte Rondeur
 Pour redonner à la terre splendeur.

.

O s'il advient que par affection
 La Lune arrive à la Conjunction
 Du grand Soleil, et que vostre Ame épointe
 D'un saint amour au Roy d'Amour soit jointe,
 La Lune alors aura mesme splendeur
 Que la splendeur du Soleil plein d'ardeur,
 Et du Soleil la clarté repliée
 Septante fois sera multipliée:
 Son throne alors aura ses degrez six
 Et le grand Roy dedans le Roy assis
 Triomphera de ses hayneux nuisibles
 Tant des non-veus que mesmes des visibles.⁹

(Traicté, n.p.)

The "Cantique sur la nouvelle Estoille" stands out among La

Boderie's shorter works both for its poetic value and for its announcement of millenarian nationalist themes to be developed in La Galliade.

B. LA CONFUSION DE LA SECTE DE MUHAMED

The crusading spirit which informs much of La Boderie's later admonitions to Henry III is apparent in his early translation of a work directed against the Mohammedan Turks, the Confusion de la secte de Muhamed published in 1574. The dedicatory letter to René de Voyer¹⁰ echoes the familiar anguish of the Christian humanist confronted with civil religious wars in the golden age of letters, and at the same time suggests the apocalyptic message which La Boderie was to transmit from Postel:

Monsieur, souventesfois considerant en moymesme
 combien d'une part ce present siecle aborde
 en felicité de connoissance de tous bons arts,
 toutes langues et disciplines: et d'autre part
 voyant combien de jour en jour sourdent et
 fourmillent de sectes et d'heresies nouvelles
 Je ne puis autre chose penser sinon que voicy
 le dernier et plus aspre combat de l'Eternelle
 et divine Sapience à l'encontre de l'esprit
 de mensonge et d'erreur.

(Confusion, n.p.)

Furthermore, in such a time of civil strife the princes could not unite

to combat their common pagan enemy, the Turks:

Desquels la Loy, ou plutost l'exécrable
blasfème n'est fondée en raison, ny appuyée
d'aucune autorité divine . . .
(Confusion, n.p.)¹¹

La Boderie's dream of harmony and his desire to serve the true faith are preserved, for he would shun the "hommes turbulents, tenebreux et affecteurs de nouveautez" to be among the Christian humanists:

. . . hommes paisibles, fils de lumiere, et
admirateurs de la venerable antiquité se mettent en
tout devoir de les combattre et refuter, et de
retenir et garder la sacresainte union de la joy
inviolee.

(Confusion, n.p.)

C.

L'HARMONIE DU MONDE

The most important of La Boderie's translations is undoubtedly that of the De harmonia mundi (1525) by Francisco Giorgio (1460-1540).¹² Its publication in 1578 as L'Harmonie du monde together with Nicolas Le Fèvre de La Boderie's translation of Pico's Heptaplus is said to mark "the high-watershed of the intense intellectual activity associated with the French Academies."¹³

La Boderie himself attests to its relevance to his life work. Having referred to his own elaboration of the Tabernacle theme in

l'Encyclie and to his harmonizing of Christian and Jewish history in the "théologie révolutive" of La Galliade, La Boderie declares in his "Epistre en forme de Preface" that Giorgio's re-statement of his own ideas induced him to devote three years to this translation in order to "tousjours continuer le service que je veux rendre à l'Eglise Catholique et à ce royaume." (Harmonie, n.p.)

L'Harmonie du monde is in fact a compendium of themes from the prisca theologia, chiefly from the Kabbalah, adapted to Christian apologetics. This accumulation of diverse themes, the reconciliation if not the coherence of which was suggested in the context of musical harmony, demonstrated a purpose allied to La Boderie's. He saw in it the primacy of Mosaic "secret revelation" and his own preoccupation with unity in diversity:

Briefvement qui considerera bien cest ouvrage
il luy semblera veoir un beau grand tableau
d'oeuvre de marqueterie faict à la Musaique,
ou plustost à la Mosaïque, auquel les
Petites pieces de diverses figures et
couleurs sont si bien jointes et rapportées,
que le tout semble estre d'une seule piece
de plusieurs peintures artistement embellie
et distinguee.

(Harmonie, n.p.)

In a lengthy explanatory dedication to his translation La Boderie reaffirms his own conviction of the unity of truth, whatever its source: "comme a dict S. Ambroise, et apres luy S. Thomas, la verité de quiconque elle soit dicte est de l'Esprit S."

Giorgio's work is in the syncretizing tradition of the Neo-Platonists and the Christian Kabbalists. It assimilates, as do La

Boderie's own works, the Neo-Platonic fixed hierarchy to the Kabbalistic continuous emanation of Sephiroth in proving the supreme Unity of the Christian Trinity in the understanding of whom all apparent dissonance is harmonized.¹⁴ God is the source and the principle of the discordia concors of world music.

La Boderie's preface "summarise[s] and underline[s] the relevance of cosmic structure to poetic theory and practice."¹⁵ The basic conception is that of correspondences between God and his creation such that "toutes choses sont en toutes choses."¹⁶ The harmonizing unity of God is confirmed in creation through contemplation of "l'Ouvrier en l'Ouvrage" and by analysis of correspondences in "l'Idee et notion universelle en la chaine et entresuite des choses selon leurs estapes et degrez, et en la correspondance des causes leurs effects, et des effects envers leurs causes." Thus for example a study of astrological influences teaches man both to know himself and to devine God's providence. Furthermore Giorgio uses Kabbalistic number speculations and Pythagorean mathematical musical theory to prove the supreme unity of God and the harmony of his creation.

The structure of L'Harmonie du monde is established according to the pattern of the universe. God is the supreme architect of "le Monde unique et triple," descending from the Intelligible, "le monde Angelique," through the celestial, "le monde des Sferes," to the terrestrial, "le monde Elementaire." The fourth world is that of man the microcosm, called by the Hebrews "le Petit-Monde, ou monde de la Separation" because he both is separate from the other worlds, and

also contains them in miniature at the same time as he is contained by them.

Thus the work is composed of three "Cantiques," each of which is divided into eight "Tons," as musical intervals, which develop the correspondences, consonances, or "convenances" of the universe both divine and human.

In the first "Cantique" an approach to understanding of the supreme harmony of God the creator is effected through a study of the correspondences of his works, both celestial and human, notably through the Kabbalistic analogies of these with the divine as demonstrated in the symbolism of the Tabernacle.

In the second "Cantique" Christ is he in whom "toutes choses respondent . . . en diverse consonance." He is at once the first-created Creator comparable to the Platonic demiurge, "la Sapience de Dieu et son Verbe contenant toutes choses en raison Ideale ou notionnelle," and the archetypal masterpiece of creation, the mystic Adam, "le grand Homme Archetype comprenant de faict en soy-mesme toutes les choses inferieures."

In the third "Cantique" the author sets forth the means to man's spiritual and bodily harmony through virtue and intellectual understanding, his capability of spiritual harmony with the higher world, and his governing role on earth as a being whole of body and of soul thus in accord with his own nature and with the celestial world.

The conclusion to La Boderie's explanatory dedicatory letter

is in effect a hymn to the universal harmony which was his own inspiration as well as the theme and substance of Giorgio's work. Echoes of David and of Orpheus sound with variations on Kabbalistic and classical significant numbers (seven, seventy-two, and nine) and a symphony of musical instruments both pagan and Christian resounds in praise of God manifest through the Sephiroth and of Christ his "Sapience" and the archetypal Mediator. The whole is brought to a close with La Boderie's prayer for a harmonisation of religious discord through an understanding of the unity of truth which it was his constant purpose to present:

Toute Pensée donnera louange au Seigneur,
 au repos eternel, auquel nous vueille conduire
 le Pere, le Fils et le S. Esprit: Et non
 seulement nous, mais tous les habitans
 dessus le rond de la terre, si que tous
 d'un coeur et d'une bouche le confessent . . .
 et en mesme divin service, adoration et reli-
 gion, estans toutes sectes et discours abolis
 entre tous Royaumes, Principautez, et Provinces,
 afin que par tout et entre tous s'entende en
 parfaicts accords la grand' Harmonie du Monde.
 (Harmonie, n.p.)

La Boderie takes occasion, in his summary to L'Harmonie du monde, to adduce references to the Zôhar and to the prisca theologia in confirmation of themes he had developed in his own works.

Foremost among those themes is that of the Tabernacle commissioned by God from Moses and in which is to be seen by analogy the "secret revelation" of cosmological structure. La Boderie insists on the originality of his own treatment of the theme in the Encyclie: "lequel je puis dire et témoigner en verité avoir desseigné, fait, et composé avant que j'eusse leu ny l'un ny l'autre des derniers nommez."

The parallels are clear, however.

The elemental world is related to the "quatre tapis" of the Tabernacle, or to Raymond Sebond's "Eschelle de Nature" of "l'estre, le vivre, le sentir, et l'entendre," or to the Hebrew "le muet, le vegetable, le vivant et le parlant." The celestial world is related to the "dix courtines" of the Tabernacle and thus to the ten Sephiroth or "Sferes spirituelles" of the Kabbalah seven of which are related the planets, the three highest of the Sephiroth being the first mover, "la Sferre tournoyante," and the mediating Intelligence, "la Sferre d'Intelligence, comme moyenne entre la matiere et la forme, entre le mouvement et repos, et entre le temps et l'Eternité." The intelligible world is that of the trinity related to the Ark of the Tabernacle. It is "l'Archetype, monde intelligible, supreme tabernacle, sacraire du Temple universel, Arche d'alliance, sur-celeste Jerusalem, pourpris Angelique, séjour des esprits bien-heureux, ou de quelque autre nom qu'on le vueille appeller."

La Boderie presents the Trinity as common to the "Sages Hebreux" and the Apostles and "hommes Apostoliques" as "Pere, Fils et S. Esprit," "la Toute-Puissance, Toute-Sagesse, et Toute-bienvueillance," "l'Entendant, l'Entendu, et l'Intelligence de soy-mesme (l'Entendement)," "l'Unité, la Verité, la Bonté" or "les trois supremes, Abraham, Isaac et Jacob." The supreme unity of the Trinity emanating through the ten Sephiroth is affirmed in a mixture of Kabbalistic metaphors:

Tout sourceonne d'une fontaine, et combien que nous ne trouvions pas treize Sephiroth, le secret de cela est pource qu'il y a trois Miroirs ou luminaires supresmes au dessus des dix Sephiroth, lesquelz [the luminaries] n'ont point de commencement, car ils sont nom et substance à la racine des racines.

(Harmonie, n.p.)

Numerous exact references to the Zôhar support La Boderie's explanations of the analogies of the Tabernacle. Analysis of the divine name in the Tetragrammaton "YHWH" relates Christ to the first-created Creator whose second coming was announced by David:

Et tout ainsi (disent les Hebreux) que le Monde fut créé par . . . Hé . . . c'est à dire par le fils, le Verbe et la Sapience eternelle du Pere . . . aussi lisons nous du Tabernacle, Et la gloire de l'Eternel remplit le Tabernacle. Car la hé designée est la gloire du Seigneur . . . Et c'est ce qu'a chanté le divin Harpeur . . . Pour habiter la gloire en nostre terre: C'est à dire, afin que le tabernacle de Dieu habite en la terre de nos coeurs.

(Harmonie, n.p.)

Again, study of the names of God proves the Kabbalistic theme of the apocalyptic great Sabbath. The full name "Jehovah Elohim" implies the two qualities of judgment and mercy, related to the two artisans of the Tabernacle. Thus:

En somme ne plus ne moins (disent-ils) que le monde a esté créé, et doibt estre dissouls, puis renouvelé apres le Sabbath: Ainsi le tabernacle et le sanctuaire devoit estre dissouls et destruit, et depuis renouvelé.

(Harmonie, n.p.)

Second in importance only to the Tabernacle and its related themes is La Boderie's cyclical historical and prophetic "Theologie

revolutive et prophetic" which was developed in the episode of the peopling of the earth in the first Circle of the Galliade. In Giorgio he recognizes a similar desire to reconcile the Old Testament with the New, to relate Jewish and Christian history and prophecy, and to show the correspondences between astral signs and earthly events:

Et en outre pour harmoniser le Ciel avec la Terre, et le vieil Testament avec le nouveau il y chanté encor l'Hymenée ou chant Nuptial de la Terre avec le Ciel mariant les regions et provinces de la terre habitable avec les 12 Signes du Ciel qui leur commandent, et ensemble traictant la concorde de la famille d'Israel avec l'Apostolique de Jesuschrist esleüe, et des deux ensemble avec le Ciel et la terre.

(Harmonie, n.p.)

The intimate relationship of Biblical exegesis with astronomical and geographical studies in La Boderie's historical and prophetic Galliade is thus justified by Giorgio and by reference notably to the Abbé Joachim, to Pico and to Nicolas of Cusa, for basic to all of these is the concept of "figura," the prefiguration of future events in the historical reality of the past.¹⁷ Thus the history of Israel as found in the Old Testament is both valid history and prefiguration of the historical past and the prophesied future of the Catholic Church as found in the New Testament:

Car en lisant les Profetes Canoniques des Hebreux et remarquant les menaces ou promesses qui sont faictes au peuple d'Israel, peuple peculier et choisi de l'Eternel pour son partage d'entre toutes les nations, lequel est vraye figure de l'Eglise Catholique, puis estendant le pourpris de la Judée ou terre sainte sur toute la terre habitable divisée (par maniere de dire) en douze Patriarches, comme la Judée l'estoit en 12.

Tribus, on trouvera facilement . . . aussi des evenemens futurs qui s'y trouvent signifiez et depeins soubs le voisle des paroles obscures et mysterieuses. Et comme le S. Esprit procede du Pere et du Fils, ainsi du vieil Testament figuratif, et du nouveau, où la verité de la figure est exhibée, resultera le sens spirituel de l'un et de l'autre

(Harmonie, n.p.)

The important theme of the necessary harmonizing of man the microcosm which La Boderie was to emphasize with his translation of Ficino's Les Trois livres de la vie is here developed also. Here the number four is fundamental as in La Boderie's sonnet on the "Grand Quaternaie" (Encyclie, p. 246).¹⁸ Not only must the four humours be regulated for good bodily health, but the body must be put in accord with the "Quaternaire de l'ame, qui est la Tetracorde de l'homme interieur," and an even more complex harmony must be realised with God in the Tetragrammaton "la supreme et divine Tetractyde, si est le grand Esprit harmonieux" whose justice and mercy are harmonised through Christ the Archetype and who oversees the harmonious music and movement of the Spheres.

Love and order are the principles of Christian harmony in "cest Esprit d'amour et d'union."¹⁹ Through harmonious music-making man must glorify the supreme principle of world harmony. Thus it follows that the ultimate goal of man, that is to say his union with the divine principle of harmony, is most nearly attained through the song and verse of which the Psalms are the highest example:

. . . continuellement nous devons Psalmodier
d'esprit et de pensée, chanter de coeur et

de bouche, et celebrer en vers nombreux et
 harmonisez pour rendre graces à celuy dont
 procede toute vraye concorde et harmonie . . .
 (Harmonie, n.p.)²⁰

In conclusion it is clear that La Boderie's translation of Giorgio's Harmonie du monde was inspired in large part by the concordance of their views and the common basis of their justifications for those views. In Giorgio La Boderie found an echo of his spatial world view based on the analogy of the Tabernacle and also of his temporal world view based on the Jewish revelation as "figura" of Christian history and eschatology. Above all, in the musical form of Giorgio's work as in its harmonising purpose La Boderie discerned not only the motivation of his own life work but also an exaltation of the supreme role among men which he assigned to the poet and which he aspired to fill as the new Orpheus/David, prophet and poet of divine harmony. His consciousness of the importance of the renewal of man to be effected through the poet's disclosure of ancient wisdom as found in the prisca theologia and here interpreted by Giorgio is suggested by several translations from the Psalms and from the Hermetic Pimander. The poet's motto in Greek here follows the translator's introduction: "May Holy David sprout forth as one Orphically."

D.

DE LA RELIGION CHRESTIENNE;
LA HARANGUE DE LA DIGNITE DE L'HOMME

Two translations published together in 1578 are witness to La Boderie's debt to the foremost Florentine Neo-Platonists. Ficino's De christiana religione (De la religion chrestienne, 1578) and Pico's De dignitatis homine (La harangue de la dignité de l'homme, 1578) are at the centre of the syncretist tradition of Christian apologetics.

La Boderie is faithful to his original purpose, enunciated in L'Encyclie, to "profiter le peuple de France" in translating the work of Ficino's which he esteems in his preface:

. . . une oeuvre tres docte et fort nécessaire
pour la radresse de plusieurs dévoyés et
confirmation des fidelles chrétiens et bons
catholiques. (n.p.)

Secret has noted²¹ that at least three themes in Ficino are of particular interest in the study of La Boderie's translation: the assimilation of Christ to the first-created "Sapience," the prophecy of 6000 years of the world, and the denunciation of Mahomet.²²

Even closer to the spirit of La Boderie's work was the theory of veiled truth which had been enunciated by Denys the Areopagite and which underlay Pico's "poetic theology."²³ Thus from Pico's Harangue La Boderie translated:

Mais comme c'estoit la coustume des vieux,
ainsi Orfee couvrit de voiles fabuleus les
mysteres de sa doctrine, et sous le guimple
poëtique les dissimula

and:

. . . quel labeur que j'ay eu, et quelle
difficulté ce m'a esté de tirer les sens
cacher de la secrete philosophie de dessous
les affectez obscuritez des enigmes et des
cachettes des fables . . .

(Harangue, p. 437)

Several themes developed by La Boderie are suggested in the Harangue: man as partaking of the Archetype, the mors osculi, the symbolism of the Tabernacle, and the uses of rational knowledge as an approach to knowing God.²⁴ Above all, in the Harangue La Boderie found explicit justification for reference to the prisca theologia as a basis for Christian apologetics. One of the prefatory sonnets to his translation demonstrates his adoption of that heritage in his cyclical vision described in the Galliade.²⁵ Another prefatory sonnet expresses the translator's admiration for Pico, the phenix of his age, who as "Count of Concord" embodied La Boderie's vision of universal:

Admirable Phenix, Comte de la Mirande,
 En vivant tu compris tout ce que peut comprendre
 Le monde elementaire et le monde des cieux,
 Le monde intelligible, et du grand Dieu des dieux
 L'esprit qui les esprits de ton coeur fait estendre.
 (Harangue, n.p.)

E.

DISCOURS DE L'HONNESTE AMOUR

At the request of Marguerite de Valois, Queen of Navarre, La Boderie translated Ficino's De amore (Discours de l'honneste amour sur le Banquet de Platon, 1578).²⁶

The dedicatory letter addressed to Marguerite, "fille, soeur et espouse de roy," recalls La Boderie's concern to elevate the tone

of French poetry:

Quant à l'Amour vulgaire, c'est un sujet si commun; et tant demené par noz Poètes, qu'il semble, comme a bien dit quelcun d'entre eux, que jusques icy c'ait esté la Philosophie de France chacun à qui mieux mieux s'employant à y apporter du tout les belles et gentilles conceptions de son esprit. Mais j'espere que desormais telles viandes leur apporteront ennuy, et chercheront de ragouster en tels mets que ceux qui sont presentez en ce festin, quand ils verront que vostre majesté se plaist et delecte aux plus douces et savoureuses viandes de l'ame

(Discours, n.p.)

The dedication suggests also several themes in Ficino's work which interested La Boderie particularly.²⁷ These themes include Christ as "la Sapience éternelle de Dieu," the "emithologizing" of the name of the Virgin Mary to "AYMER" related to perfect love consummated in the mors osculi, and the image of the circle as everlasting emanation from and return to God.

The translation is thus intimately related to La Boderie's poetic works to which Marguerite was seemingly not insensitive.²⁸ In an elegy addressed to her and included with the translation, La Boderie indeed asks her, like Juno for Orpheus, to intercede for him with her brothers in order to make them receptive to his encomiastic prophetic verse.

F.

LES TROIS LIVRES DE LA VIE

La Boderie's dedicatory letter to "Monsieur de Vaumesnil, Conseiller et maistre d'hostel" of the Duc d'Alençon, fixes his translation of Ficino's De triplici vita (Les trois livres de la vie, 1581) in the context of his constant preoccupation with harmony. As man must strive to restore his original archetypal purity by a return to Christ, so he must assure concord of the micro- and macrocosmic worlds, for which purpose he must attune harmoniously his own microcosmic being:

Car tout ainsi que pour bien accorder et harmoniser l'Ame, l'Anime, l'Esprit et la Pensée (qui est nostre homme intérieur) avec le grand homme Archetype, ou l'homme-Dieu nostre Sauveur et Redempteur Jesus Christ, il est de besoin que par bonnes moeurs, patience, humilité, esperance et charité et imitation de sa bonne vie et esquises vertus, telle Consonance et Harmonie se maintienne et conserve: aussi pour maintenir nostre corps ou homme exterieur qui se corrompt de jour en jour, et pour l'unir et harmoniser aveques le grand Monde, il est besoin de tenir en parfaits accords les quatre humeurs, ou pour dire ainsi, les quatre cordes et nerfs de l'humain Tetrachorde, pour conserver en bonne et deüe temperature, et ramener comme à l'unison la parfaite consonance et harmonie de la Santé.
(Trois livres, n.p.)

The medical and astrological prescriptions found in this work of Ficino's are related principally to Plato and to Pythagorean theories of music as a cathartic as well as a sympathetic and cohesive art which renders not only the body but also the soul harmonious and therefore healthy.²⁹

Thus:

Cela possible a donné occasion a la Mythologie des antiques Poètes de feindre en leurs fables, un mesme Dieu presider à la Musique,

et à la Médecine, pour monstrier le rapport,
proportion et analogie qui est entre les
deux disciplines.

The characteristic Postellian vocabulary of his preface suggests La Boderie's reading of this Neo-Platonist work in the light of his Kabbalistic preoccupation with the Tetragrammaton and the "Grand Quaternaie"³⁰ which includes here the four humours, the four elements, the four qualities, the four strings of the lute as man the microcosm, and "l'Ame, l'Anime, l'Esprit et la Pensée."³¹

Six sonnets included with the *Trois livres de la vie* have been qualified as "certainement au nombre des meilleurs de ce poète."³² La Boderie's intention in this translation to "proffiter . . . aux doctes et vertueux" is elaborated in the sonnets. They are addressed to the "Nourriçons des neuf Soeurs," poets for whom La Boderie expresses none of the bitterness heard in former verses,³³ but rather a tender concern and a deep reverence. Because he cherishes their good health he has translated Ficino's work. Inasmuch as the poets breathe life into the dead and restore time past, La Boderie's good counsel is assimilated to poetic creativity as he affirms that "vivre vous faisant, je fais vivre le Monde." (Sonnet 1) The poet must be divinely inspired, "d'huile saint arrousee," but he must also be in good health, "l'Harmonie en vostre Luth posee," in order that he may perform his Christ-like mission of conferring immortality (Sonnet 2). The poet's role in the State is supreme, for not only like David does he charm princes' cares but also he serves as Christ-like mediator and furthermore

he guides the body politic by his learned and virtuous counsel (Sonnet 3). Under the influence of Phebus Apollo, god of music and of medicine, the poets have the power to bring harmony to their diverse elements, humours and planetary influences (Sonnet 4). God himself, "le Soleil de vie," will assure to the poet who is pure in body and in soul both artistic excellence and long life (Sonnet 5). Thus the poet who has the gift of bringing life and a relative immortality to both king and commoner is gently cautioned to conserve his virtue with his good health in order to preserve man's dignity and his joy (Sonnet 6).

G.

DE LA NATURE DES DIEUX

La Boderie's translation of Cicero's De deorum natura (De la nature des dieux, 1581) was undertaken at the request of Henry III in order to confound the free-thinkers of the day with their own arguments. Several scholars have commented on this use of Cicero to counter libertine thought.³⁴ Certainly the intention is consistent with La Boderie's continuing efforts to serve his strife-torn "people de France."

Secret has emphasized the importance of La Boderie's dedication of the work to Henry III in which praise of the king is more than a mere

formality. By use of Postel's "émithologie" La Boderie stresses the divinity of the king and, by various correspondences, his rightful place over all the other worldly kings:

Ainsi encore Dieu a imprimé en la face des Roys
 Ne scay quelle grandeur que nous disons
 Majesté, et que les Latins disoient Numen,
 comme les Hebrieux appellent le Seigneur
 éternel Hassem, Numen et Nomen, c'est à dire
 la divinité et le Nom ineffable, Homere
 appelloit les Rois pasteurs des peuples, laquelle
 façon de parler il avoit possible empruntée
 des Hebrieux, qui appellent le pasteur "Roy",
 ou comme ils prononcent "Rohé", lequel nom
 David mesme, qui de pasteur avoit esté élevé
 à la supresme grandeur de royauté, attribue à
 Dieu Vous tenez le mesme rang et lieu
 entre les autres princes et peuples que fait
 le coeur en nostre corps, la Pantaure entre
 les pierres precieuses, vostre lis entre les
 fleurs, la Palme entre les plantes, le
 lyon entre les bestes, le Dauphin entre les
 poissons, le Phenix entre les oiseaux et
 le Soleil entre les corps célestes.³⁵

Thus this publication can be linked to La Boderie's increasingly fervent predication of the Postellian prophecies regarding the Gallic universal monarch from the poet's "Cantique sur la nouvelle estoille" to his dedication of the 1584 Novum Testamentum.

Yet another aspect of Cicero's work is even closer to La Boderie's personal vision of world harmony. Passages from the De deorum natura on the musical world soul and its cohesive and sympathetic power must have attracted La Boderie, the "nouvel Orfee," zealous translator of Giorgio's Harmonie du monde who had devoted a section of his Galliade to analysis of music as symbolic of cosmological harmony.³⁶

La Boderie's translation of Cicero can be seen as evidence of

his desire to reconcile all views which could be related to a Christian universal harmony.

H.

NOVUM TESTAMENTUM

The republication in 1584 of the translation of the New Testament from the Syriac into Latin and Greek, with a transcription into Hebrew,³⁷ contains the last of La Boderie's remaining work.

The dedication to Henry III, appearing at the time when "the Philosopher King of the Palace Academy was becoming the Penitent and Hieronymite King,"³⁸ shows La Boderie as a preacher of Postellian and Joachimite prophecies encouraging his king to promote the penitent orders such as the "Chevaliers du Saint Esprit" as preparation for the new age in which the French king was to reign as universal monarch in a unified world penetrated by the spirit of God.

Aussi voyons nous l'esprit de Dieu se répandre
sur ses servants et ses servantes: arts et
disciplines ont atteint leur sommet, nous avons
appris toutes les langues étrangères, et ce n'est
pas en vain que le Roi tres chrestien vient
d'instituer l'Ordre du Saint Esprit.

(Novum Testamentum, n.p.)

La Boderie multiplies the reasons for his predication. Cosmic signs,³⁹ events presented as figurae in both the Old and the New Testaments,⁴⁰ oracles and prophecies,⁴¹ all confirm the principle of

"théologie révolutive"⁴² which indicates a continuing renewal of all things in all generations and all ages to the end of the world.⁴³

The tone, in a time of intensified religious and political struggles, is more frenetic than that of La Boderie's earlier works:

Il nous faut donc monter, Roi tres chrestien, sur
le mont de Sion, il nous faut maintenant
recouvrer Jerusalem, il nous faut livrer combat
aus Turcs, pour que soit jugé le mont d'Esau,
c'est-à-dire la multitude des impies
Certains de nos docteurs disent qu'un roi de France
prendra l'empire. Il sera dans le dernier temps
le plus grand et le dernier des rois. Après un
règne heureux, il viendra à Jerusalem et déposera
sa couronne et son sceptre sur le mont des oliviers.
(Novum Testamentum, n.p.)

The matter is still that of Postellian illuminism supported by the prisca theologia. La Boderie's final words convey his constant Gallican and Catholic purpose to "profiter au peuple de France" (Encyclie, p. 8).

We hope to have shown in the above study of La Boderie's presentations of his translations that they serve to illustrate further the themes already elaborated in our study of his original works.

La Boderie's fundamental purpose was always to effect a reconciliation of divergent beliefs in his tumultuous age. His secondary aim was to incite his contemporaries to a spiritual renewal in preparation for the new age when man would be restituted to his primal purity according to Postel's millenarian prophecies.

La Boderie's translations of the Florentine Neo-Platonists relate to his persistent first purpose. These include Ficino's De la religion chrestienne, Discours de l'honneste amour and Les Trois livres de la vie, as well as Pico's Harangue de la dignité de l'homme. With this group must be included La Boderie's most important translation, that of the Venetian follower of the Neo-Platonists, Francisco Giorgio's Harmonie du monde. Concerned to show the unity of truth in diverse philosophical and religious authors, La Boderie's goal was, like Giorgio's, to so present them "qu'ils paroissent en son oeuvre de l'Harmonie comme tuyaux d'orgues ou organes dans lesquels s'entonne le souffle et le vent de l'esprit de Dieu." (Harmonie du monde, Preface) Thus he proposed to make readily available to his contemporaries the persuasive proofs of the harmony of revelation contained in Giorgio, in Pico's Harangue and in Ficino's De la religion chrestienne. In the Discours de l'honneste amour he presented the "classic" Neo-Platonist account of perfect love as the means to the highest understanding of divine revelation. In Les Trois livres de la vie he presented the harmonies of the body, of body and soul, and of the body with the universe, for an understanding and attainment of all these harmonies was necessary to a full understanding of the universal harmony implied by the unity of truth. The six sonnets which accompany that translation make clear La Boderie's concern to enlighten in these matters of harmony above all his contemporary poets, the learned and virtuous leaders of his countrymen in the role he would assign to them as "Orphic" poet-priests.

La Boderie's remaining translations are related generally to his concern to effect a Catholic religious unity, a spiritual renewal in the French people preparatory to the new age of Christ's second coming as prophesied by Postel. The translation of the Confusion de la secte de Muhamed, directed explicitly against the Turks, shows in La Boderie's preface his real immediate concern to render peaceful and united his own people. Cicero's De la nature des dieux contained in itself, according to La Boderie's view, arguments for divine creation by which he hoped to persuade the rationalist admirers of Cicero himself. The Traicté du nouveau comète presented what was for La Boderie as follower of Postel irrefutable cosmological proof of the coming of a new age. His "Cantique sur la nouvelle estoille" published with the translation specified the Postellian themes of Paris as the new Jerusalem ruled by a French universal monarch in conjunction with a Pope of a universal Catholic Church. The latter theme was propounded even more ardently in La Boderie's dedicatory preface to Henry III explaining his republication of his translation of the Novum Testamentum.

In conclusion, we hope to have shown that La Boderie's motives for publication of his translations were those of all his published work: the demonstration of a universal harmony based on a conviction of the unity of truth, and the desire to effect a spiritual renewal among his countrymen.

CHAPTER IV: FOOTNOTES

¹ For the elaboration of this purpose in the sonnets appended to Les Trois livres de la vie, see below pp. 183-184.

² Secret, Esotérisme, pp. 57-58, and Secret, "De quelques courants prophétiques," p. 3, notes that La Boderie had twice tried to introduce to Charles IX a man who had come to Paris to announce the appearance of the comet.

³ Cf. Secret, "De quelques courants prophétiques," pp. 2-6, and Francois Secret, "Cornelius Gemma et la prophétie de la Sibylle Tiburtine," Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, LXIV, n. 2 (1969), pp. 423-431. Cornelius Gemma appears in La Boderie's homage to mathematicians in the Second Circle of the Galliade, fol. 32. La Boderie translated two of his Latin poems: "De l'hymenée de l'amour divine et de Psyche. A la pensée ouvriere des choses de l'univers," Hymnes ecclesiastiques, fol. 258^v, and "Sur la sphere des revolutions de N. Copernic," Diverses meslanges, fol. 71^v.

⁴ For a summary of Postel's prophecies with regard to the comet and for an account of La Boderie's dissemination of those prophecies, see Secret, "De quelques courants prophétiques," pp. 3-13, and Secret, Esotérisme, pp. 51-64.

⁵ Secret, Esotérisme, p. 58, notes that Postel "avait emprunté l'advent Intra nos à Saint Bernard."

⁶ Cf. the quotation from Postel in Secret, Esotérisme, p. 55.

⁷ For speculation on La Boderie's relationship with the sect of the Famille de la Charité of which Desprez was a member, see Secret, Esotérisme, p. 73.

⁸ Charles IX, the future Henry III, and La Boderie's patron the Duc d'Alençon before whom the "cantique" was read.

⁹ Cf. the Book of Isaiah, XXX, v. 26: "Moreover the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold, as the light of seven days, in the day that the Lord bindeth up the breach of his people, and healeth the stroke of their wound." For Postel's use of this theme, see Secret, Esotérisme, pp. 155-156.

¹⁰ For La Boderie's relationship with René de Voyer, whose father was a patron of men of letters and whose ancestors were crusaders, see Secret, Esotérisme, pp. 64-65.

¹¹ Cf. below p. 192, n. 21. Secret, Esotérisme, p. 68, notes that comparisons between themes of the Kabbalah and of the Koran suggested by La Boderie in marginal notes were later developed by Blaise de Vigenère.

¹² For a brief study of this Franciscan Kabbalist from Venice, see Secret, Kabbalistes chrétiens, pp. 126-140. For a study of the many obscure and ambitious sixteenth century treatises on world harmony and on the symbolical combinations derived from the related concepts, see E. Garin, La Filosofia (Milano: Vallardi, 1947), vol. II, ch. 3.

¹³ Maren-Sofie Røstvig, "Ars aeterna: Renaissance Poetics and Theories of Divine Creation," Mosaic, III, no. 2 (Winter 1970), p. 59.

¹⁴ For an analysis of the historical development of the Christian idea of harmony, see Spitzer, Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony, pp. 19-63. He states, p. 40: "Whereas the Stoics (like Heraclitus) had thought of harmony as forcing together the inimical concordia discors, Augustine has in mind rather the ability of harmony to smooth out apparent discord--as the 'inner ear' of the believer hears the unity underlying diversity [discordia concors]."

¹⁵ Røstvig, "Ars aeterna," p. 58.

¹⁶ For an interpretation of this Hermetic doctrine as a method for literary composition as well as a metaphysical tenet, see William York Tindall, The Literary Symbol (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1967, c1955), pp. 51-53.

¹⁷ For a detailed analysis of the historical development of this concept, see Erich Auerbach, "Figura," in his Scenes from the Drama of European Literature (New York: Meridian, 1959), pp. 11-76.

¹⁸ For the importance of the number four in Pythagorean and Platonic as well as in Christian thought with regard to man's temperament, see Spitzer, Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony, pp. 64-75.

¹⁹ Spitzer, ibid., p. 20, recognizes the Augustinian basis of this concept.

- ²⁰ For a brief reference to the Jewish belief in the primacy of the human voice for musical glorification of God, see Albert Seay, Music in the Medieval World (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, 1965), pp. 8-11.
- ²¹ Esotérisme, pp. 75-79.
- ²² Cf. La Boderie's translation of Ficino's De la religion chrestienne, pp. 293, 171, 160, 329. See also above pp. 168-169.
- ²³ Cf. Wind, Pagan Mysteries, pp. 25 ff.
- ²⁴ Harangue de la dignité de l'homme, pp. 381, 397-399.
- ²⁵ See above p. 105.
- ²⁶ See the dedication to La Boderie's translation of Ficino's Les Trois livres de la vie. The Marguerite in question is the wife of the future Henry IV of France. She was a remarkably learned woman of the Renaissance who, with Madame de Retz, was one of the few women admitted to the Palace Academy of Henry III. See Yates, French Academies, p. 33. The exactitude of La Boderie's translation of Ficino's De amore has been praised by A.-J. Festugière, La Philosophie de l'amour de Marsile Ficin et son influence sur la littérature française au XVI^e siècle, Etudes de philosophie médiévale, 31 (Paris: Vrin, 1941), p. 28.
- ²⁷ For the relationship of these themes with Postel's works, see Secret, Esotérisme, pp. 85-89.
- ²⁸ Secret, loc. cit., quotes a text by Marguerite which suggests her acquaintance with the Encyclie.
- ²⁹ For the historical bases and the applications of this theme, see Spitzer, Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony, pp. 5-18. Cf. also La Boderie's development of this theme in a "Discours" to the Duc d'Alençon in his Encyclie, pp. 219-220, in which music is said to make "par bonne resonance / Le Sens et la Raison tous deus d'une accordance . . . / Par la Musique on peut sa fureur apaiser . . . / Ainsi David encor par divine harmonie / Appaisoit tout soudain de Saul la manie."
- ³⁰ See above pp. 146-147.

31 See Secret, Esotérisme, p. 155. Secret, ibid., p. 52, notes also a marginal note to the translation itself which identifies Ficino's "spiritual man" with the "spiritual body" central to Postel's theme of man's substantial participation in Christ the Archetype to whose "seule Essence" man is to be restituted.

32 Richer, Nerval, p. 533.

33 See above pp. 19, 23.

34 Busson, Rationalisme, p. 588; Zanta, Renaissance du stoïcisme, pp. 129, 132-133; Secret, Esotérisme, p. 154.

35 Quoted in Secret, "De quelques courants prophétiques," p. 11.

36 La Boderie repeatedly uses the Ciceronian term "convenance" for "harmony" in his translation of the Harmonie du monde. Cf. Spitzer, Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony, pp. 15, 18-19.

37 The translation appeared originally as volume five of the Polyglot Bible of Antwerp, 1571. Secret, Esotérisme, p. 157, makes the point that it was republished in 1584 as part of a proposed more complete polyglot Bible of Paris.

38 Yates, French Academies, p. 160.

39 See above pp. 162 ff.

40 See above p. 191, n. 17.

41 Cf. Secret, "De quelques courants prophétiques," passim.

42 See above pp. 104-105.

43 For the predominance of this Postellian theme in La Boderie, see Secret, Esotérisme, pp. 156-162.

CHAPTER V

IMAGERY

A study of La Boderie's poetic technique like that of the content of his poetic production reveals his close association with the fifteenth century Florentine Neo-Platonist syncretist tradition coloured by a symbolism derived largely from the Kabbalistic current of that tradition. His use of imagery is consistent with the Neo-Platonist concept of the visual image as embodiment of essence.¹ His concern for the alliance of poetry and music as emulation of divine harmony is related to Neo-Platonist elaboration of the tradition of artistic creation as a reflection of divine creation.² In all, the controlling motivation is La Boderie's concept of the role of the poet as mediator of the divine will expressed in universal harmony and the corollary of regeneration of man and his return from multiplicity through harmony to the eternal Unity.

A just appreciation of La Boderie's poetic achievement must be based on an acceptance of Renaissance artistic theory related to

the Neo-Platonist tradition.³ Analysis of representative images selected from his major works can be fruitful only if carried out in the light of what Tuve has designated as their "cause," that is to say the poet's subject and intention.⁴

La Boderie's avowed poetic intention, often repeated, was to "profiter au peuple de France" (Encyclie, p. 8). As a Counter-Reformation apologist his interpretation of the Horatian utile dulci added a religious direction to the Pleiade's concept of usefulness as serious intellectual content, so that, as Cave points out for the serious verse of the late sixteenth century in France, "'profit' now meant orthodox instruction and the stamping out of heresy and 'paganism.'"⁵

Two basic orientations inform La Boderie's poetic presentation of his religious subjects. One is the concept of truth veiled by images which the poet, "docte et vertueux," is called to disclose through his presentation of true symbols.⁶ The second orientation is to the esthetic understanding of creation as harmonious structure, as order and proportion revealing divine perfection which can be apprehended in terms of mathematical images and emulated by the poet-musician as well as by the architect.

In short, fundamental to all La Boderie's work is the desire to use the effects of poetry and music in order to lead his compatriots to a regeneration of a primal clarity of vision.⁷ The means to that end are the presentation of "true" symbols drawn from the veiled revelations of the prisca theologi and the emulation of divine creation in mathematico-musical harmonies.

Writing in a later age and with a different purpose from the poets of the Pleiade, La Boderie's didactic concern for "significancy"⁸ marks his rejection of sensuous particularity prized by Ronsard in favour of a suggestiveness which attempts to convey the reality of the invisible. It marks also his use of public symbols related to religious tradition as well as his use of the great elemental tropes of Love: Flame, Evil:Darkness, Life:Voyage and Form:Masculine. In the same context of the poet's acceptance of responsibility for figuring forth a universal reasonable order even concrete imagery assumes a symbolic rather than a metaphoric power.⁹ Similarly, the poet's attempt to portray universals, as for example through the manifestations implicit in Hermetic correspondences, demands an acceptance of images as symbols.¹⁰ In La Boderie's work the means for persuading and moving the reader in accord with the poet's didactic purpose include an unhesitating use of overt statement to explain the symbolic value of imagery, an occasional rhythmical heightening, and above all a use of the image-symbols which he considered most appropriate to an intimation of universal truths.

La Boderie's "Christian lyricism"¹¹ is lyrical not in the modern sense of conveying personal emotion, but in a Renaissance sense described by Tuve as a sincere transmission of extra-personal truth divinely revealed to the inspired poet and presented by him with the artifice of poetry in order to move the affections.¹² It is an ordering of the world through language analogous to the Augustinian concept of the world itself as God's poem.

Since in our study of La Boderie's poetic technique the terms

"symbol," "metaphor" and "allegory" inevitably appear again and again, it is necessary to indicate clearly the exact meaning of these terms for Renaissance poets.

The inapplicability of the modern concept of imagery and symbolism as expressions of personal thought and feeling has been underscored by many scholars.¹³ A rhetorical purpose comparable to La Boderie's has been seen as the basis of much Renaissance poetic.¹⁴ That purpose presupposes the choice of imagery comprehensible to the poet's contemporaries and, according to La Boderie's view, acceptable to them as truly presenting the reality of the invisible. Personal symbolism, like the comparisons of metaphor, is superseded by the "essential" symbolism vouchsafed to the inspired poet.

As a follower of the Florentine Neo-Platonists, La Boderie ascribes to the images of the esoteric tradition an "inherent and essential symbolism," according to Gombrich's phrase, applying a "code of equivalence which pertains between sensible and supra-sensible entities."¹⁵ He elaborates images suggested by Gombrich as part of the Neo-Platonists imagery such as the Kabbalistic Tabernacle or Candelabra drawn directly from the esoteric tradition, figurae such as the pelican or the pearl from Christian typology, the names of God from the Kabbalistic tradition, and numerical symbolism associated with musical harmonies from the Kabbalistic, Pythagorean and Platonic traditions.¹⁶

Distinct from La Boderie's customary use of images as symbols,

the true embodiments of essential truths, is his use of images as simple substitutes for what they represent in the continued metaphor of allegory. The "Epistre dedicatoire" of the Encyclie (pp. 10-14), for example, develops the allegory of the world as a sea on which man's ship is tossed by the winds of Satan, "l'Aquilonaire," until he learns to follow "l'Eguille de la Foy" to the port of paradise, "le stable Pole." Such allegory, although used for the same persuasive and didactic purpose, lacks the moving power of La Boderie's symbolic passages. Such use of allegory illustrates La Boderie's dependence on medieval forms, a dependence which is evident more in his versification than in his customary use of imagery.

The following consideration of representative symbolic images proposes to illustrate something of the quality of La Boderie's real poetic achievement.

In the symbol of the circle La Boderie saw the perfection of God, of divine creation and of divine will. His own intimate vision of circular perfection is suggested by the anagram of his name: "Un Cercle entre les plans est ma FIGURE ELUE" (Encyclie, p. 200). His conviction of the circle's essential significance as the primary formative principle is indicated by his arrangement of his two major works in "Circles." Furthermore, from the circle derive the poet's pervasive symbolism of the sun with its form-giving light and creative fire, and of the eye, as well as the associated images of the mirror

God can thus be likened to a fountain "au sourceon eternal" (Encyclie, p. 79) and apprehended in the highest Kabbalistic Sephira, the crown, source of all wisdom and assimilated to Christ the Logos:

Comme de l'infini de la Coronne ronde
Decoule la Sagesse . . .
(Galliade, preliminary sonnet 8)²¹

Cosmic circular movement suggests also the cyclical history of the arts and sciences figured by the serpent biting its tail (Galliade, fol. 1^r) and above all the principle of rebirth and renewal in La Boderie's "theologie revolutive":

. . . ô des Ames l'Aymant
Qui les souffles aus corps, puis les vas rehumant
En ton sein Eternel, où ta Parolle roule,
Qui est l'outil mouvant, et du Monde le Moule.
(Encyclie, p. 114)

Tout ce qui est cy bas, au Ciel et sur le monde
Suit le Rond accomply, du grand Dieu commençant
Le Centre de Bonté, et en Dieu finissant,
Duquel l'Infinité est une Sfere ronde.
(Diverses meslanges, fol. 82^v)

The image of the infinite circle is, finally, the foremost symbol of God: "O non encerle Cercle encerclant l'Encyclie" (Encyclie, p. 118).²²

God envisioned as centre and circumference of an infinite circle is symbolized by the sun to show his dynamic and vitalizing metaphysical relationship with the universe, and also to show the analogous privileged place of the soul of man, of which He is the illuminating "Raison des raisons."

Comme le beau Soleil seul ornement des Cieux
Quoy qu'il soit un en soy, toutesfois à la ronde
Epad ses raiz dorez pour illustrer le monde
Et fait vivre le jour qui fait vivre les yeux.
(Diverses meslanges, fol. 79^v)

Le grand flambeau des Cieux qui en toute saison
 Tournoyent tout le rond en continu affaire
 Illumine tousjours la moytié de la Sfere
 Quand il monte ou descend l'un ou l'autre Orison:
 Est figure du jour que donne la Raison
 La Raison des raisons · éternelle et premiere
 Surgeon inepuisé de splendeur et lumiere
 Qui des Esprits luisans tire la liaison.

(Diverses meslanges, fol. 87^V)

In his major works La Boderie develops repeatedly the two figures of light and of the eye suggested in the above sonnets. Light is the supreme principle of form, the divine principle incarnate in the Word:

O Sagesse! ô Vertu qu'en silence j'appelle!
 O Lumiere! ô Beauté des beautés la plus belle
 Qui fut oncques formée! ô Vie! ô Verite!
 O la premiere Vois de la Divinité!

(Encyclie, pp. 120-121)

The muse Uranie, so important to La Boderie as celestial messenger and inspiration, irradiates the light not of human but of divine Reason, "lumiere Arche divine" (Encyclie, p. 25). The divine essence of man partakes of that divine "Pensee" in order to "compose" his world in harmony with divine creation for "l'Ame allume les traits des sens" (Encyclie, p. 49). A dialectic is established in which images of darkness represent a removal from God's grace to "l'horreur nuitalle" (Encyclie, p. 14) or from participation in wisdom equated with virtue to "le monstre tenebreux de l'aveugle Ignorance" (Galliade, fol. 31^V). The untrustworthy material senses are associated with the black crow who never returned to Noah, and opposed to the resplendent dove whose celestially inspired message the poet desires:

. . . laissant le Corbeau
 Du sens ombreus et noir . . .

 . . . Colombe d'aïlerons argentez
 Tresluisans d'or bruni . . .

(Encyclie, p. 151)

Light is the image of the highest intuitive vision, that "Resplendeur" which in the Neo-Platonic metaphysics represents a clear vision of ultimate reality.²³ Such a vision implies an understanding of the universe as an esthetically perfect synesthetic luminous harmony:

O Connoissance sainte, Ame pleine d'ardeur
 Qui emprunte de soy sa lumiere et splendeur,
 Par toy chantant icy la lumiere entendible
 Mon coeur tressaute, et sent une joye indicible.

(Galliade, fol. 105^r)²⁴

Like the images related to light, those of the eye indicate a Neo-Platonist and Orphic mode of vision. Chastel has noted that Ficino, expressing the "mystère 'orphique' par excellence," wrote of the sun as "l'oeil vivant du ciel:" "Dieu est cet oeil par lequel voient tous les yeux et, selon le mot d'Orphée, l'oeil qui voit tout en chaque object, et véritablement aperçoit toutes choses en lui-même."²⁵ As the sun's luminous rays are the principle of God's manifestation in the universe, so the light of vision which reflects the sun becomes the very symbol of the divine principle. Thus La Boderie glorifies "le Soleil, le seul-Oeil qui tout le monde esclaire" (Encyclie, p. 101) as he praises "luy qui meut les Cieux, et la Nature cree: / C'est l'oeil de la Pensée . . ." (Galliade, fol. 105^r) and the enlightened vision of "Raison . . . l'oeil des Espris" (Encyclie, p. 64).

An imitation of Orphic verse from Porphyry equates the

reflected luminosity of the moon to the power of the sun:

Mais Phebus reluisant d'un rayon tresardent,
Et la Lune empruntant sa couleur lumineuse
Du Soleil, sont les yeux . . .

(Diverses meslanges, fol. 107^V)

Thus the moon as "Adonai," one of the aspects of the tenth Kabbalistic Sephira, becomes at the same time a symbol for Christ the Mediator and the Archetype, "Oeil moyenneur . . . Lune exemplaire" (Encyclie, p. 114). Again the equation of formative light and ordered structure suggests the analogy of reflecting mirrors and the harmony of attuned instruments.

The moon's reflective power suggests further the analogy with the human spirit divinely infused so that "les rais de verité" are recognized not only in the Archetype but also in the reflective "miroir des Esprits" (Galliade, fol. 28^V). The eye of spiritual vision is a mirror whose reflective power must be preserved from dark spotting caused by the "poison glueuse" (Encyclie, p. 128) of the flesh and cleansed by pure Christian love which achieves its consummation in "l'Ecstasique mort":

Ainsi le rond de l'Ame est de lumiere plein,
Et va remirer Dieu jusques dedans son sein,
Et pour y parvenir l'Amour en est la régle.

(Encyclie, p. 130)

Applied to man, the image of the moon draws not only from the Orphic
in
concept of the mirror illustrated Christ, "l'Oeil moyenneur," but also from the physical cosmos which, like man, is to a greater or lesser extent obscured by the darkness of material being and the senses:

Tout ainsi que la Lune est en soy mi-partie
D'obscur, et de clarté . . .

.
 . . . ainsi est mi-partie
 De ton Ame le rond . . .
 (Encyclie, p. 126)

A richness of association implied in the above examples may be illustrated by a passage from the Encyclie in which scholarly efforts to reconcile the contradictions of diverse religious traditions are graced by an interweaving of images drawn from those traditions and from classical mythology. Uranie's invocation goes beyond crude praise of God's works or simple exposition of dogma to a use of imagery which is at once apt and suggestive. The vitalizing power of the Orphic sun-God is invoked through the mediation of a moon-Christ whose reflective power suggests the muse-poet's capacity to recreate the universe in imitation of the divine creator and in turn to make of his creation a fit offering to God. The circular movement thus created is in turn reflective of a universal cyclical return to God and the Kabbalist concept of continuous creation figured here through Christ the Word. Intimations of that creation embrace many traditions: the Neo-Platonist hierarchy, the Hebraic column of fire and rainbow, the Platonic two horses representing spiritual and carnal love and the fiery chariot traversing transparent celestial spheres which under the guidance of their presiding Sirens revolve in a heavenly dance, and finally the classical personification of Fate. The sensual, the intellectual and the spiritual natures of man are united in a summary resolution in which the artificial "rhétoriqueur" style does not negate

the sincerity of the final invocation to the Orphic principle of creative Eros represented by a Christian trinity of "l'Amour, l'Aimé, l'Amant."

Toy donc Oeil infini, toy donc Soleil immense
 Elance dedans moy les raiz de ta semence,
 Féconde mes esprits que je puisse enfanter
 Des Vers conçus de toy pour te les presenter:
 Par ton Oeil moyenner, par la Lune exemplaire
 Qui roule dessous toy, te plaist, et te fait plaire
 Chasque Estoille d'Esprit, sur qui par bon égard
 D'Idealle clarté elle assied son regard:
 Par ceste Lune, di-je, à ta Sfere alliée,
 Et qui n'a tache en soy, ni couleur paliée
 Ains qui est Toute-belle et luist sans decliner,
 Vueille, je te suppli, mon Globe enluminer.
 Que transmettre je puisse en l'Ame regardée
 Du Secretaire mien ta lumiere dardée,
 Luy la reflecte en moy, moy-même de rechef
 Aus Anges sur mondains, et eus dedans leur Chef.

.....
 Doncques s'il t'a bien pleu, ô des Ames l'Aymant,
 Qui les souffles aus corps, puis les vas rehumant
 En ton sein Eternel, où ta Parolle roule,
 Qui est l'Outil mouvant, et du Monde le Moule:
 S'il t'a pleu d'attirer par les Ordres rangés
 Tant des corps composés, que des simples changés,
 Mon Ombre bavolant des le creus précipice
 Du terrestre Plancher, jusqu'au siege propice
 Du feu Aetherien, qui jamais ne croupit,
 Où Nature couvant se niche et se tapit.
 Laquelle je voyois de longue et longue traite
 En Colonne de feu estendüe et portraite
 Ainsi que l'Arc en ciel, sinon que sa lueur
 Plus subtile rendoit bien plus grande rayeur:

.....
 Et s'il t'a pleu encor dedans un char de flame
 Me guinder, et guider l'Idole de mon Ame
 Tirée à deus Chevaus conduits de ton flambeau
 (Dont l'un estoit restif, et l'autre bon et beau)
 Depuis le bas degre des Sfères étofées
 Du plus dur Diamant, par les danses des Féés,
 Jusqu'au fuseau fatal, qui est piroüetté
 Haut entre les genous de la Necessité:
 Laquelle s'afourchant sur le feste du Temple

Tournasse son Fuseau, qu'elle void et contemple
 Les Cercles traverser du bout dyamantin,
 Et tirer en un fil les trois temps du Destin.
 Te plaise à ceste fois en si claire evidence
 Haute me sublimer jusqu'à ta Providence,
 Que me voye en un temps tendüe à trois tendons,
 Et m'encordant corder ma corde aus trois cordons:
 De par mon Ombre au chef de Nature liée,
 De mon Idole au chef du Destin alliée,
 De ma Pensée a toy, ô des Ames l'Aymant,
 Moteur mouvant, non-meu, l'Amour, l'Aimé, l'Amant.
 (Encyclie, pp. 113-115)

In the Neo-Platonist tradition, the power of images to move the poet's audience was allied to that of musical harmonies reflecting a heavenly harmony.²⁶ Orpheus is again the preeminent example of the poet-priest and musician imitating the harmonies of God the supreme artifex, architect of the universe and Archimusicus in the Platonic tradition. Even more closely than images tainted by any relationship with the senses as were even those of the sun associated with light and fire, what Ficino and Pico call "mathematical images" enabled man to approximate something of the quality of the divine mind.²⁷

In the Kabbalistic tradition, a numerical symbolism invested numbers themselves with a mystical significance and even a power to effect results, dependent on the number's embodiment of essence, comparable to that of the magic properties of names. This persuasion may be related to the Neo-Platonist conception of the symbol as autonomous, existing by "nature" rather than by "convention."²⁸

La Boderie's use of mathematical images embraces both the predominant Neo-Platonist vision of formal harmony composed on the

basis of numerical proportion in an esthetically perfect universe, and the inherent significance of numbers in themselves.

Basic to the Neo-Platonist view of harmony is an acceptance of the Platonic Idea preceding its visible manifestation. Adapted to Christian theology, the idea existing in the divine mind finds expression in the first-created Word, the Logos through whom man can begin to understand the divine Idea as a harmonious pattern:

. . . ta Parolle . . .
 Qui est l'Outil mouvant et du Monde le moule
 (Encyclie, p. 114)

. . . ô alme Sapience:
 Car il te possedoit des le commencement;
 Tu estois jà devant les Oeuvres longuement.
 (Encyclie, p. 122)

Ange du grand conseil, le fidelle interprète
 Du Silence divin en parole secrète.
 (Encyclie, p. 124)

Intelligence is supreme. According to La Boderie's unorthodox Platonist tenet the Son was not co-eternal with God the Father, but the divine Idea which preceded creation. The artist-architect should imitate the creative process:

Imitans le grand Dieu qui avoit dispensee
 La machine du Monde au rond de sa pensee
 Avant que de l'ouvrir, et la produire au jour,
 Peignant sa grand Idee en l'oeuvre fait au tour.
 (Galliade, fol. 40^v)

The male quality according to the elemental trope of Form:Masculine / Matter:Feminine (Encyclie, pp. 70-72), the formal idea accounts for the esthetic perfection of the universe (Encyclie, pp. 22, 221 ff.) and representation of the universe as a great temple (Encyclie,

pp. 19, 134 ff.).

Since the divine Idea is revealed in God portrayed as the great architect (Hymnes ecclesiastiques, fol. 240^r, Encyclie, p. 42, Galliade, fol. 31^{r-v}, 40^v) and the supreme composer (Galliade, fol. 92^r), it behoves the human artist to pattern his work on that of the Creator. Images of the poet-musician tuning his instrument are thus no conventional figures, but symbols of the poet's power to re-create or renew the world, or according to the Kabbalistic concept to participate in the continuous creation operated in the emanations of the Sephiroth from the divine (Encyclie, pp. 25, 115, 121, etc.). Musical "effects" are dependent on the poet's knowledge of mathematical laws of harmony, for man's ideational power indicates the possibility of his regeneration to his primal participation in the divine:

Voire si l'homme arrive à la parfaite accordance,
Il pourra commander jusqu'à la Providence
Par dessus tous les Cieux, par tout où est compris
Le Nombre, Hierarchie, et Ordre des Esprits,
(Galliade, fol. 55^r)²⁹

Mathematical proportion conceived as the universal principle to which correspond the proportions of musical intervals and harmonies is the subject of much of La Boderie's work (Galliade, Circle IV; Harmonie du monde). One passage is especially notable for its successful orchestration of the theme of lucida proportio. In this case, repetitions serve to enhance the eternal circular dance. The poet's "nombreuses parolles" like the echoing harmonies of the musician's instruments become true symbols as they embody the universal principle of number and

proportion. La Boderie's profound desire for harmonious reconciliation is realised in this assimilation of divine to artistic creation, of poetry to music and dance, of classical Phebus Apollo to Hebraic David, and finally of the dark Satanic "Aquilon" to the luminous divine sun:

Faites moy tournoyer par nombreuses parolles
 Et les Esprits mouvans, et du Ciel les carollés,
 Entonnez es tuyaux des Orgues longs et ronds
 Des Cieux organisez la Musique et les tons
 Faites sur le clavier d'une douce Epinete
 Marcher d'ordre et de rang Planete apres Planete
 Sous le bal du grand Ciel, qui voit avec tant d'yeux
 Et d'astres tournoyants, au son melodieux
 De la lyre à Phebus, qui meine en rond leur danse
 Et les fait arriver par nombre à la cadance;
 Ainsi comme David sous sa harpe conduit
 Le Soleil du Soleil, le Ciel du Ciel qui luit,
 La Lune de la Lune, et les Signes des Signes,
 Et des Astres brillants les Astres plus insignes,
 Alors qu'en la minuit l'Aquilon excité
 Sonne dedans sa harpe en la sainte Cité.
 (Galliade, fol. 101^r)

Number as a principle symbolizes the divine Idea in Creation
 (Galliade, fol. 79^r-80^v) and the divine ideational quality in man:

Et comme l'Ame encor laquelle est un vray Nombre,
 Un Nombre soy-mouvant
 (Encyclie, p. 126)

For the Renaissance Neo-Platonist, as for the classical writers studied by Spitzer, "the element of numbers, guaranteeing beauty, order and measure to the cosmos, is the one important and lasting element of the world soul, and consequently of the human soul: a beauty hidden to mortal man, though graspable by the mathematically trained philosopher and musicologist."³⁰

Individual numbers also embody an essential symbolic significance. La Boderie's "marriage of heaven and earth" (Galliade, "Advertissement") in his account of the peopling of the earth "divisee/ Par quatre, cinq, et sept, douze et septante et deux,/ Puis par nombres et traits lesquels dependent d'eux" (Galliade, fol. 36^V) draws on astrological and Kabbalistic numerical symbolism, as does his interpretation of the numerical values of the Tabernacle (Encyclie, pp. 134 ff.). Again, however, in his use of mathematical images, La Boderie effects an assimilation of several ancient traditions.

The quaternary is the basic number of all the major traditions on which La Boderie drew for his symbolism. Spitzer has pointed out that in the Pythagorean and Platonic traditions "speculations on the 'well-tempered' state--of the soul, of the body, of the universe itself--rest on the harmonious combination of four elements."³¹ The tetraktys of seven numbers which represented creation as the two progressions of 1 : 2 : 4 : 8 and 1 : 3 : 9 : 27 was related to the harmonies established in the tetrachord, of which the musical scale was but a doubling. As a kind of double balance, the tetraktys, according to Spitzer, "had necessarily to become, along with the sphere, a symbol of perfection and equilibrium."³²

In the Kabbalist tradition endless speculations on the four letters of God's name, the great Tetragrammaton, centered on the perfection of the qualities embodied in the quaternary.

La Boderie's symbolization of perfection and his harmonizing of diverse traditions is most successful in the sonnet of the "Grand

Quaternaie" (Diverses meslanges, fol. 81^v)³³ Of his many uses of the symbolic value of "4," three others are especially noteworthy. Totality is figured by variations of the number "4" in the account of the peopling of the world (Galliade, fol. 36^v-37^r). The suggestion of renewal in perfection is announced in the sonnet "Au Roy Catholique, sur l'impression des grandes Bibles d'Anvers" which concludes:

Ores l'Aigle, et le Beuf, et le Lion, et l'Homme
 Par l'Hébrieu, Syrien, Grec, et parler de Romme
 D'Occident et du North, du Midi et Levant;
 De l'Europe, et d'Asie, Afrique et Atlantide
 Vont cueillir les éleus du grand Dieu qui préside,
 En Raison, Grace, Loy et Nature escrivant.
 (Encyclie, p. 246)

La Boderie's extended analysis of musical intervals and harmonies in La Galliade shows even David's "parfait Decachorde" modelled on the ten Kabbalist Sephiroth and Orpheus' heptachord patterned "sur la lyre du Ciel" of the seven planets to have been antedated by the Gallic bards' recognition of the fundamental quaternary:

. . . des Quatre Elements
 Nos Bardes empruntoient les quatre fondements
 De la Musique humaine . . .
 (Galliade, fol. 83^{r-v})

Jewish-Christian and Greek number symbolism coalesce fully in the typology which relates "4" to "10," which Spitzer recalls is "symbolical of divine perfection and self-containedness."³⁴ Four suggests a return to unity inasmuch as the numbers of the progressio quaternaria create the ratios productive of musical harmony and harmony denotes unity with God, the origin of creation, represented numerically as the Monad. Furthermore, addition of the first four

numbers gives ten, which itself denotes a return to unity. The ten of the Law points forward to the four of the Gospels as David's song on his ten-stringed instrument is a figura of Christ's message in the four Gospels. The whole of the number symbolism so interpreted figures forth the harmony of creation and its origin in the divine Idea in the supreme Unity.

In his presentation of the Jewish Tabernacle, La Boderie exploits this mathematical imagery familiar to readers of his time in order to "prove" its divinely conceived symbolic significance. Thus the three storeys, or three macro^{co}smic worlds¹ to be associated with the microcosm, are:

. . . encourtiné[s] de dis tentes dressées.
 De Lin, Pourpre, Hyacinthe, et de Vermeil tressées.
 Et le visible Monde est couvert et tendu
 De dis Cieux azurés l'un sur l'autre estendu,
 Tissus de Flame, et d'Air, d'Eau et de pure Terre,

 Ainsi ces quatre Corps sont aus Cieux arrondis
 Car d'un, deus, trois, et quatre est composé le Dis.
 (Encyclie, p. 143)

The four constitutive elements, "Amis-contraires," and the ten celestial spheres represented in the Kabbalah by the Sephiroth as emanations or "Habitz . . . / Dont se vestit jadis l'Eternel tout-voyant" (Encyclie, p. 144) all become indicative of an essential unity. Their association, together with the "Ether moyen," is represented by the fifteen steps by which one must enter the holy "Sacraire" of the Tabernacle (Encyclie, p. 145).

The number seven symbolizes ultimate perfection. It is

associated with the quaternary in the Pythagorean tetraktys. It is also associated with divine light in the Kabbalist candelabra. La Boderie affirms:

. . . Dieu qui tout dispose,
Fait qu'au nombre de Sept presque tout se repose.
(Galliade, fol. 80^V)

His elaboration of the seven means of mystic ecstasy, the seven "ravisements de l'Ame" (Galliade, fol. 59^V-67^R), suggests the seven planets and recalls his imagery of light in the "sept Temples luisants" from which flows "la lumiere secrete," or "les sept miroirs le nostre conduisants" (Galliade, fol. 59^V).

Relatively unimportant in Kabbalistic speculations, the number nine is related to the classical muses, who with Apollo partake of the qualities of 10, and to the Christian Trinity according to the pseudo-Dionysian triadic scheme (Galliade, fol. 54^V).³⁵ Unity is thus once more affirmed.

All La Boderie's number symbolism points to a negation of number, a resolution of the mutable many in the immutable One. His constant striving for harmony implies his faith in the regeneration of man to be achieved when man, through learning and Christian love, returns to his primal union with God. In his "Cantique Aus poëtes de son temps . . ." he summons the poet, "docte et vertueux," to be the first to partake of that unity:

O parfaite Unité qui te peut limiter?
O parfaite Unité qui te peut imiter?

Ainsi que la Lumiere est plus digne que l'ombre
 Ainsi est l'Unité plus digne que le Nombre.
 Et comme est tout le Temps clos de l'Eternité,
 Ainsi est tout le Nombre enclos de l'Unité.

.
 Ce qui par accidens a nom de multitude
 Revient par le sujet à L'UN et solitude.
 L'UN est de soy, par soy, et par soy retourné,
 L'UN orne toute chose, et de nul est orné:
 Bref L'UN est sa racine, et se nomme soymeme,
 L'UN son Quarré, son Cube, et sa règle suprême.
 Sonne donc L'UN par tout nostre Lyre étofée,
 Que L'UN nous guide tous, comme L'UN GUIDE ORFEE.
 (Encyclie, p. 200)

Examples of imagery cited above have indicated something of La Boderie's debt to the Jewish Kabbalah. Just estimation of the full extent of his debt requires intimate familiarity with that tradition and its symbols.³⁶

A dazzling illustration of La Boderie's use of the Kabbalah to colour his imagery of the material world is his extended portrayal of the three macrocosmic worlds and man the microcosm as "le Portrait du luisant Tabernacle, / Où la gloire de Dieu recéle son Oracle" (Encyclie, pp. 134-152)³⁷ and his subsequent litany of the names of God in the "Habitz" of the Sephiroth (Encyclie, pp. 153-154). La Boderie's dialectic of light and dark is customarily coloured only by the red blood of the martyrs or wine of the Eucharist (Encyclie, pp. 12, 150). His interpretation of the theme of the Tabernacle is, on the contrary, resplendent with worked and polished gold, exquisitely cut precious stones, and fine brocade or delicate embroidery. Only in his use of the Kabbalist tradition does the austere spirit of this Counter-

Reformation apologist assume an oriental richness. A sensuous appreciation of the plenitude of God here complements the spiritual satisfaction implicit in images of his unity.

The first veil, representing the four elements, announces the abundance within the Tabernacle:

Le voile séparant l'une et l'autre distance
 Estoit de Lin, et de Pourpre choisy,
 D'Hyacinthe meslez, et rouge Cramoisy.
 (Encyclie, p. 135)

The seven-branched candelabra shines in a golden fire like that of the planets:

Le grand Chandelier d'or qui luisoit là dedans
 A sept rameaus courbez de sept Lampes ardens,
 Ce sont les sept Flambeaus qui d'un jour manifeste
 Eclaircissent l'obscur de la Voute celeste.
 (Encyclie, p. 137)

The seven flames show forth not only the seven means of man's sensory impressions presided over by the seven planets, but also the penetrating clarity of Christ:

Mais au grand Temple saint ce sont les sept beaux yeus
 De l'Agneau triomfant, sept Esprits glorieus,
 Lesquelz sont envoyez parmy toute la Terre,
 Les sept Lampes que vid l'un des filz du Tonnerre
 Ardre devant le Throne, ou se sied en arroy
 Le premier et dernier de tous siecles le Roy.
 (Encyclie, pp. 137-138)

The Arc of the Tabernacle, symbolizing the highest world of the intelligible, shows perfection both in its form and in its material:

Dedans le Sanctuaire estoit l'Arche logée
 D'ais de bois de Recherche uniment arrangée,
 Par dehors encroustée et par dedans encor
 D'un feuillage brillant d'espresses lames d'or,
 De quatre aneaus d'or fin aus quatre angles munie,

Et ayant tout autour couronne d'or brunie,
 D'or mesme le couvercle, où l'on voyoit posez
 Deus Cherubins ailez de pur or composez,
 Se mirans front à front d'un regard plein de gloire,
 Et des ailes couvrans le Propiciatoire.

(Encyclie, pp. 139-140)

Such golden splendour is not gratuitous in La Boderie's work, for in the microcosm the Arc symbolizes the seat of man's divinely-granted reason and thus the promise of his rebirth through Christ, the "glory" embodied in the fourth letter of the Tetragrammaton:

Lors on verra le Jour tout pleinement s'ouvrir
 La Gloire du Treshaut venant l'Arche couvrir,
 L'Arche de vostre Chef

(Encyclie, p. 141)

In the ceremonial vestments of the high priest presiding in the sanctuary was represented the full glory of creation, for his role was to prefigure Christ through whom all creation must be renewed. Thus he:

Portoit en ses habits tout le Monde dépeint:
 En ombre figurant Jesu-Christ pur et monde,
 Qui par son sacrifice a soustenu le Monde.

(Encyclie, p. 147)

The descriptions of the elements of these vestments are exact, but again they are important to La Boderie not so much for their sensuous vividness but for their significance as true symbols of the divine will in his creation. Thus each detail is assigned its place in Kabbalistic astrology and number symbolism, and the Jewish tradition is linked to the Christian and to La Boderie's own historical theories as set forth in La Galliade:

Deus aneous agraffez tenoyent à l'espaulier
 Ausquelz le Raisonné se venoit allier
 Avec cheinettes d'or gentement cordonnées:
 Dessus le Raisonné estoient bien ordonnées
 Douze Perles d'élite en quatre rang tassez,

Et pour digne remplage en fin or enchassez:
 Sur les Pierres encor empreintes et signées
 Estoyent les noms des Pairs des douze grans lignées
 Du peuple d'Israel, qui ores est épars
 En royaumes divers, et en diverses pars:
 Car tous les habitans dessus la Terre ronde
 Sont enfans d'Israel pour qui fut fait le Monde,
 Les deus aneaus ce sont les deus cercles ornez
 Des deus plus grands flambeaus, par lesquelz sont bornez
 Tous les aneaus des ans, et les Pierres de marque
 Sont les Signes marquez dedans le Zodiaque.
 Les quatre rangs aussi, sont les quatre Saisons
 Que fait Phebus passant par les douze Maisons.
 Les cheinons cordonnez, ce sont les rays que tirent
 La Lune et le Soleil, et ceus-là qu'ilz attirent
 Des moindres yeus du Ciel, soit qu'à demiregard
 Ilz se mirent l'un l'autre, ou d'un tiers, ou d'un quart.
 (Encyclie, p. 148)

Since the Jewish tradition has been completed by the Christian, however, Aron's vestments must be replaced by "toutes les vertus." Kabbalist imagery is complemented by the conventional Christian symbols:

Despouillez seulement le viel homme taché,
 Et puis survestez-vous l'Homme nouveau caché,
 Qui en vin a lavé son habit, et sa cape
 A bien voulu tremper dans le sang de la grape.
 (Encyclie, p. 150)

The orthodox Christian symbols are persistently enriched by Kabbalist reminiscences, however. La Boderie's only evocation of an olfactory sense is drawn from a Hebrew etymological relationship of "oraison" and "odeur parfumée," and "l'Agneau triomfant" brings about the fulfillment of "l'Arche d'alliance":

Lors vous sera permis de sortir hors du Poile
 Céleste et azuré, et entrer sous le Voile
 Du Sacraire tressaint, et sur l'autel doré
 D'aromatic parfun sera Dieu adoré.
 Dressez vostre oraison comme odeur parfumée,
 Afin que vous ayez vostre lampe allumée
 Au devant de l'Espous, et que ne manquez point

Du cresse et de longuent dont vostre Christ est Oint,
 Ancois que la vapeur sortant de la fiole
 Comme un image clair jusque au Throne s'envolle
 De l'Agneau triomfant, qui peut le livre ouvrir,
 Et l'Arche d'alliance aille du tout couvrir.

(Encyclie, p. 151)

The symbolic value of the names of God is of paramount importance in the Kabbalah. In La Boderie's work the ten names of God manifesting the divine creative Idea are first explained in relation to the ten veils around the Tabernacle:

Et ainsi que de rang différent ces Courtines
 Elles ont divers noms dans les lettres divines.
 Lettres, accens, et points, les Ideaus rayons
 Par qui la grand Parolle invisible voyons.

(Encyclie, p. 144)

The veils represent the Sephiroth, the continuously emanating manifestations of the divine creative power.

The luxuriance of the imagery associated with these circular Sephiroth³⁸ is illustrated in La Boderie's presentation of the tenth or lowest, that associated with the material world, the feminine quality to be "married" to the divine male form as the Christian Church is the Bride of Christ,³⁹ or the "Livre de Vie" which was to be opened only by the redeeming Christ:

La premiere Courtine ou bien Sfire Sférale
 A commencer d'embas comme en ligne Spiralle
 Se tourne en plusieurs plis, et plusieurs noms reçoit,
 Comme en plusieurs effects un homme la conçoit:
 Tantost elle est Regne, et tantost on l'appelle
 La Pierre de Safir, l'Espouse toute-belle,
 Le Puis de vives eaus, et la profonde Mer
 Où fleuves et ruisseaus se viennent abismer:
 La Terre des vivans, et le Livre de Vie,

De Science le Bois, dont l'homme eut trop d'envie:
 La Royne des Oyseaus Aigle de dignité,
 Et l'Habitation de la Divinité.

(Encyclie, p. 144)

In a litany of the Hebrew names of God which correspond to the Sephiroth, La Boderie proceeds from the highest transcendent En-Soph, through the divine intelligence and prime mover:

O Toy Ehie qui es, qui fus, et qui seras,
 Tu fais les Serafins, tu les feis, et feras,
 Tu affermis le tour de la Sfere Empirée
 Dedens un lieu sans lieu enclose et assurée;
 Et ne delaisse point le Rien dedans son Rien,
 Ançois le mesme Rien tu combles de ton B n:
 O Yah les Cherubins comme enfants tu enfantes,
 Tu meus le premier Ciel des neuf Sfères mouvantes,
 Et ne cesses jamais de traiter et mollir
 Le non formé Chaos afin de le pollir.
YHWYH tu assieds les Thrones en leur ordre,
 Et le Ciel ételé tu viens virer et tordre,
 Mesme viens imprimer dans le coulant ruisseau
 De la prime Nature, et la forme et le seau.

(Encyclie, p. 153)

Illustrating the aspects of creation of which the symbolic names of God contain the essence, La Boderie continues through the celestial world of the planets to the terrestrial material world ruled by the moon:

O El tu establis les hautes Seigneuries,
 Et l'Astre Saturnal tu tournes et varies,
 Et à la masse encor du corps lourd et pèsant
 Tu donnes la façon d'ouvrage plus plaisant.
YHWH les Vertus en evidence amènes,
 L'Estoille Joviale en douze ans tu pourmènes,
 Voire et des Elemens la nature glissant
 Par toy du centre noir en lumiere est issant,
Elohim dessous Toy les Puissances avoües,
 L'horrible astre de Mars incessamment tu roües,
 Et le temperament tu donnes aus metaus
 Pour endurer le feu, la trempe, et les marteaus.
YHWH Zabaoth tu mes au rang plus proche

Toute Principauté, tu guides le beau coche
 De ton Soleil vital, et d'un ray vas entant
 Le Vif accroissement au tige végétant.
Elohim Zabaoth tu ordonnes et ranges
 Le scadron triomphant des glorieux Archanges,
 L'orniere de Venus la belle tu conduis,
 Et tous les animans pour l'homme tu produis.
El Sadai Tout Puissant, tu depars comme prince
 Les Anges bien heureux en chascune province,
 De Mercure le ciel tu roules de ta main,
 Et formes la Raison de tout le genre humain.
 O Roy Adonai tu produis l'assemblée
 Des Ames dont l'Ether a sa voute comblée,
 Et de la blanche Lune en moins de trente jours
 Tu hastes la carriere et achèves le cours.
 (Encyclie, pp. 153-154)

In the last invocation Adonai, like the moon reflecting the divine sun's rays to the material world, is associated with Christ and with the mystic ecstasy of perfect love:

Par toy des sains Eleus en la mortelle Vie
 Par la Mort du Baiser la Pensée est ravie,
 Quand tu viens embraser d'une amoureuse ardeur,
 Et de ton beau Visage y scelles la splendeur.
 (Encyclie, p. 154)

The Kabbalist theme of death by the kiss so frequently found in followers of Pico⁴⁰ and related to the Neo-Platonist notion of perfect vision surpassing intellectual conceptualizing, thus becomes for La Boderie a link of the Jewish tradition with a central Christian mystery of perfect love as the means to rebirth in perfect understanding.⁴¹

It is clear from the foregoing examples that La Boderie's use of imagery is throughout his work symbolic in its intention. His choice of public symbols from the ancient fathers of the pia philosophia was consistent with the Florentine Neo-Platonist proposition of the essential

value of the symbols by which the prisci theologi had veiled their revelations, and with his own conception of his role as an Orpheus or a David, mediator of an extra-personal divine truth.

In the above analysis of La Boderie's use of symbolic imagery we hope to have suggested the evocative power of his fusion of elements from the rich store of esoteric writings of the prisca theologia. Drawing on his own learning as an orientalist and on the interpretations of oriental mysticism proffered by his master Postel as well as on the formulations of Ficinian Neo-Platonism, La Boderie succeeded in rendering visible the most abstract concepts of his Catholic apologetics.

In the circle, for example, he portrayed not only Christian mystics' definition of God but also Platonic perfect form and Kabbalist continuous divine creation. The sun and the moon suggest more than Kabbalist astrological values and qualities of the Sephiroth, for they partake also of the Platonic harmony of the spheres and represent finally the Christian Trinity through their multi-valent presentation as supremacy, formative light, creative fire and mediation. Light in itself conveys not only reason or even the Logos but also the Christian mystics' supreme ecstatic vision in which man's eye is blinded by the divine principle incorporated in the sun, the Orphic "Soleil, le seul-Oeil," or "l'oeil de la Pensée." Similarly, images of a mirror suggest not only man's capacity for apprehension of Christian verities but also his need of Christ, the mediator between the divine and the human as is the Adonai of the tenth Kabbalist Sephira.

Visual and auditory evocations are allied in La Boderie's

elaborations of the Neo-Platonist principle of lucida proportio in architecture and music as patterns of divinely ordained universal harmony. Development of the Kabbalist theme of the Tabernacle thus complements portrayal of Orpheus as master of musical harmonies and elaboration of the Platonic music of the spheres.

Numbers themselves take on a symbolic value as La Boderie recalls Pythagorean and Kabbalist concepts of their essential inherent capacity to body forth concepts. Thus perfection and totality in the number "4" according to both these traditions are combined with divinity in the numbers "1" and "10" according to the Christian and Kabbalist traditions to enrich La Boderie's presentation of the Kabbalist Tabernacle as multiple image of the harmony of divine universal creation. The unity itself, in negating the multiplicity of number, becomes for La Boderie only a further proof of universal harmony of which it is a consummation.

La Boderie's use of symbolic imagery relates to his conviction of correspondences between the microcosm and the macrocosm, a conviction which is illustrated most strikingly by his presentation of the Kabbalist Tabernacle as representative of the human, the terrestrial, the celestial and the angelic worlds. His use of hermetic correspondences is, however, characteristically enriched by the Catholic apologist's interpolation of Christian symbols such as that of the communion wine.

The most personal of La Boderie's assimilations of Kabbalist imagery to Christian apologetics is that of the mors osculi representing a Christian mystic's ecstatic vision. In that recognition of the consummation of perfect love is concentrated the poet's ardent desire

for harmonious reconciliation of multiplicity in unity.

In conclusion, we propose that La Boderie's power to move his reader lies in his evocative syntheses of various traditions of imagery in order to symbolize his spiritual concepts.

CHAPTER V: FOOTNOTES

¹ See Gombrich, "Icones symbolicae," pp. 163-192; Yates, French Academies, pp. 131-151.

² See Chastel, Marsile Ficin et l'art, pp. 57-91; Maren-Sofie Røstvig, "Ars aeterna: Renaissance Poetics and Theories of Divine Creation," Mosaic, III, no. 2 (Winter 1970), pp. 40-61; Yates, French Academies, pp. 36-96; Spitzer, Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony, pp. 5-63, 132-135.

³ In addition to the works cited in notes 1 and 2 above, see Weber, Création poétique, pp. 107-150, 463-465; Wind, Pagan Mysteries, pp. 1-25; and Kristeller, Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino, pp. 92-120.

⁴ Rosemund Tuve, Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery: Renaissance Poetic and Twentieth-Century Critics (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), pp. 12, 21.

⁵ Cave, Devotional Poetry, p. 58.

⁶ La Boderie's adoption of Neo-Platonist theories of veiled truth was accentuated by incorporation in his work of Postellian illuminist symbols, for which see Secret, Esotérisme, passim.

⁷ For poetic and musical "effects" associated with moral reform and mystical aspiration see above p. 54, n. 49.

⁸ See Tuve, Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery, pp. 115, 145-179. This term is used in quite a different sense from Ronsard's "signifiant," for which see Weber, Création poétique, pp. 146-147. It is noted that Odette de Mourques, Metaphysical, baroque and précieux poetry (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), pp. 48-49, considers La Boderie in her chapter on "Metaphysical Poetry."

⁹ Tuve, ibid., p. 53, relates this concept of ut pictura poesis to the other arts in the Renaissance, citing the extreme example of the emblem. For the importance of the emblem as a hieroglyphic sign favoured by Neo-Platonists and mystics, see Mario Praz, Studies in Seventeenth Imagery, 2nd ed. rev., Sussidi Eruditi, 16 (Roma:

Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1964), pp. 1-23. For Ficino's appreciation of hieroglyphs as the most perfect symbols, "des idées platoniciennes rendues visibles," see Chastel, Marsile Ficin et l'art, pp. 71-79.

¹⁰ Cf. Tuve, Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery, pp. 78, 222-224. She emphasizes the importance of the rhetorical commonplace of the "garment of style" analogous to the "bodying-forth or manifestation" of the soul by the flesh: "'Poetry deals with universals' operated to make of images something which one must always be at least ready to read as synecdoche rather than as description. Reading on a figurative level has to be sustained rather than intermittent." ". . . I think that all metaphor, and perhaps other tropes, had then more of the character we should now call symbolic."

¹¹ Raymond, Influence de Ronsard, pp. 275-278.

¹² For a similar orientation in English Renaissance poetry, see Tuve, Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery, pp. 86, 151.

¹³ See for example Tuve, Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery, pp. 1-26 and passim; Gombrich, "Icones symbolicae," pp. 163-167; H. C. Gadamer, "Simbolo e allegoria" in Umanesimo e simbolismo (Padova: Cedam, 1958), pp. 29-33; Schmidt, "Haute science et poésie," pp. 47-48.

¹⁴ See Tuve, Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery, pp. 180-191. Enrico Castelli, ed., Umanesimo e simbolismo, pp. 11-12, makes this point: ". . . il significato è la funzione del simbolismo nel mondo dell'Umanesimo Il simbolo non serve a dimostrare qualcosa, ma a persuadere qualcuno; quell'uomo concreto che è il centro degli studia humanitatis."

¹⁵ Gombrich, "Icones symbolicae," pp. 168, 170.

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 168-170, 177-178.

¹⁷ Cf. Chastel, Marsile Ficin et l'art, pp. 57-59, 81-91. For the circle as the perfect figure and therefore the most suitable for church architecture, see Anthony Blunt, Art and Architecture in France, 1500-1700 (London: Penguin, 1953), p. 52.

¹⁸ Cf. Chastel, Marsile Ficin et l'art, p. 72; and Gombrich, "Icones symbolicae," pp. 171-173.

- 19 Cf. Diverses meslanges, fol. 26^r; Encyclie, pp. 86-92.
- 20 Cf. Encyclie, pp. 103-105; Galliade, fol. 78^v-79^r; Hymnes ecclesiastiques, fol. 169^v; Diverses meslanges, fol. 53^r.
- 21 See above p. 106.
- 22 Cf. Hymnes ecclesiastiques, fol. 171^v.
- 23 Encyclie, pp. 112-113, for which see above p. 88.
- 24 Chastel, Marsile Ficin et l'art, p. 82, clarifies Ficino's "évocation du 'temple' lumineux de Dieu dans l'univers" as "l'idée, essentielle pour la Renaissance, que l'étendue doit être saisie comme une structure harmonieuse qui se dilate dans la lumière."
- 25 Ibid., pp. 83-84, 176.
- 26 See Gombrich, "Icones symbolicae," p. 177; and Chastel, Marsile Ficin et l'art, pp. 57-59. Cf. also Galliade, fol. 86^r, 91^v-92^r.
- 27 Cf. Røstvig, "Ars aeterna," pp. 44-48.
- 28 See Gombrich, "Icones symbolicae," pp. 184, 180.
- 29 Cf. above p. 182.
- 30 Spitzer, Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony, p. 13.
- 31 Ibid., p. 64. See also K. Heninger, Jr., "Some Renaissance Versions of the Pythagorean Tetrad," Studies in the Renaissance, VIII (1961), pp. 7-35. Cf. also Galliade, fol. 79^v, 86^r.
- 32 Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony, pp. 12, 67. The relationship of the quaternity to circular mandala as primitive and unconscious figuring of unity, perfection and totality is made clear in Carl G. Jung, Psyche and Symbol, ed. V. S. de Laszlo, (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1958), pp. 21, 31, 36, 319.
- 33 See above pp. 146-147.

- 34 Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony, p. 69.
- 35 For pseudo-Dionysius, see New Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. 11, pp. 943-944.
- 36 Secret, Esotérisme, passim, has clarified many obscure references deriving from the Zôhar and Postel's interpretation of it as incorporated in La Boderie's work. On pp. 103-108, he considers, for example, La Boderie's praise of the virgin in chants royaux of the Hymnes ecclésiastiques through images of the ark, the unique bird from the earthly paradise at the pole, the Jewish pearl and the mystic butterfly.
- 37 Cf. Pico's treatment of the same theme in his Heptaplus (On the Dignity of Many; On Being and the One; Heptaplus, Library of Liberal Arts, 227 [Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965], pp. 63-174.
- 38 For a study of the imagery of the Sephiroth, see Scholem, On the Kabbalah and its Symbolism, pp. 41-43, 100-117. See also La Boderie's presentation of the Sephiroth in the musical context of his dedication to the Harmonie du monde, and in the Galliade, fol. 91^{r-v}.
- 39 Cf. Diverses meslanges, fol. 85^v ff; Encyclie, p. 121; Galliade, fol. 64^{r-65r}.
- 40 See Wind, Pagan Mysteries, pp. 154 ff. Cf. Galliade, fol. 60^v, 64^{r-v}.
- 41 See also Encyclie, pp. 115, 121, 128-133; Galliade, fol. 64^{r-67r}; Diverses meslanges, fol. 107^r; Hymnes ecclésiastiques, fol. 176^{r-v}.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

It is clear that among French Renaissance writers in the Platonic-Hermetic tradition, Guy Le Fèvre de La Boderie merits a place apart. At once typical of a Renaissance orientation of thought and a highly singular example of that orientation, he may be read as one of the sixteenth-century hermetic poets who elected, as Schmidt puts it in his "Haute science et poésie," to "traduire le cosmos qu'ils éprouvent et explorent en une gnose traditionnelle par le fond et personnelle par le style." He is noteworthy, furthermore, both for the richness of the esoteric traditions on which he drew and for his conception of a new Christian lyricism which he attempted to illustrate by reference to these traditions.

We hope to have shown that both the thematic and imagistic bases of La Boderie's work relate to the fifteenth-century Florentine Neo-Platonist syncretist tradition of adducing the ancient wisdom of

the prisca theologia for apologetic purposes, and of interpreting the "veiled truth" of their images as symbols of an eternal verity. In this endeavour La Boderie followed the example of early French humanists such as Lefèvre d'Étaples. Thus there is evident in his work a certain liberalism of spirit associated with an early Renaissance apologetic idealism and optimism which could conceive of a reconciliation of diverse religious and classical philosophic traditions. In addition, as a post-Tridentine Counter-Reformation Catholic apologist, La Boderie sought to emphasize his orthodoxy by reference to such Church Fathers as Eusebius or Clement of Alexandria who had accepted the hermetic and Neo-Platonic gnoses. Inasmuch as he was the outstanding orientalist of his day and substitute for Guillaume Postel in work on the Polyglot Bible of Antwerp, La Boderie was able to penetrate more deeply than his contemporaries into the arcane mysteries of eastern traditions, especially the Jewish Kabbalah.

Catholic "scientific" apologetics was La Boderie's mode of expressing a symbolic interpretation of the relationships between man, his universe and his God. Such an interpretation is related to a humanist and Neo-Platonist desire to discover a pervasive ordered harmony established on bases more extensive than the doctrine of any one Church.

In all, it is apparent that La Boderie chose to prove by reference to the multiplicity of traditions cited by syncretizing Renaissance writers, the unity of truth and the foundations of a universal harmony.

Writing in an age of religious strife, La Boderie conceived his Encyclie as a didactic work which would bring harmony to the realm. By "reasoned" arguments based on the Neo-Platonist tradition and by interpretation of the veiled truths of the prisca theologia, principally the Kabbalah, he hoped to induce free-thinkers and Protestants to return to the stability of the Church. Thus explanations of creation and of man's cosmic role are based on Platonic concepts of an anima mundi and of innate ideas, and on the Neo-Platonist hierarchy of creation which implies Ficino's primum in aliquo genere. The whole is assimilated to Christian doctrine of Christ the Word, the Mediator, and the Archetype of man the microcosm. It is illuminated finally by a presentation of mystical union which combines Neo-Platonist spiritual vision, Christian love and the Kabbalist mors osculi. Neo-Platonist arguments of the esthetic perfection of the world, suggested early in the Encyclie, are complemented at the end by a detailed presentation of the Jewish Tabernacle as symbol of that perfection, a symbol divinely ordained to be revealed to initiates who through learning and virtue had attained to a supra-intellectual splendour of vision. The work of the poet, "docte et vertueux" and divinely inspired, is thus justified as Platonic harmony of the spheres is related to Kabbalist circularly emanating Sephiroth in a glorification of the perfect Unity and of universal harmony. The poet's shaping vision of perfection of circular form and cyclical movement suggested in the title, Encyclie, is seen to be drawn from a composite of traditions in order to figure forth the harmonious unification which it was his apologetic purpose to encourage

among his compatriots.

A related cyclical ordering has been discerned in the "théologie révolutive" of the Galliade. In this work the orthodoxy of La Boderie's presentation is even more questionable than in the Encyclie, although the ardour of his desire to unite the French nation in a time of increasing religious and political chaos is even more fervent. Showing a historical imagination typical more of medieval than of Renaissance writers, La Boderie conceived a universal history deriving from Biblical accounts and adapted to a national pseudo-history of the Gauls. To this he related Postel's prophetic illuminism based largely on the latter's reading of the Kabbalist Zôhar. The work was designed not as a nationalist epic, however, but rather as an illustration of divine will, of the perfection implied in a cyclical ordering which indicates a return from multiplicity to the One. Thus the French monarch, said to be descended from the Gallic originators of all arts and sciences after the Flood, is represented as divinely chosen to lead his people to unification in the one true Catholic Church at that time of rebirth of the arts and sciences. The principles of uniqueness and of renewal in the spiritual as well as the temporal realms are represented by the figure of the phoenix attributed to Henry III.

In the nationalistic Galliade, as in the apologetic Encyclie, La Boderie's motivation and his method have been shown to be his belief in a universal harmony which could be illustrated and proved by his enlightened reference to the ancient fathers, the prisca theologa who

had presented one truth veiled by a multiplicity of images.

The study of La Boderie's shorter works as well as of his dedicatory presentations of his translations has indicated a comparable purpose in all his poetic production.

In spite of the anachronism of many of his attitudes at a time when Copernican theories and numerous scientific and geographic discoveries were shaping a new consciousness in Western man, in the present work La Boderie has been considered a writer typical of the Renaissance. We hope to have supported this assertion by demonstration of his participation in its essential spirit, that of an enthusiastic revival, not only of classical antiquity but of all known aspects of antiquity, including the non-classical and even anti-rational currents which some critics have considered to be marginal. The uses of the past were many. For La Boderie, as for many of his contemporaries in the Republic of Letters, ancient wisdom was to be the key to an idealistic concept of man's essential role in fulfilling the divine will of universal harmony. Man the microcosm was to be attuned to his own essence through self-knowledge; he was to be attuned to the macrocosm through his "scientific" and occult knowledge; finally, he was to be re-attuned to the divine harmony perceptible to prelapsarian man through his virtuous devotion to and participation in Christian mystic love. La Boderie's use of the Platonic-Hermetic tradition has thus been shown, in the present study, to be consistent with his primarily apologetic purpose as a Counter-Reformation poet.

It has been suggested in the present work that La Boderie's most original contribution to French poetry of the Renaissance was his conception of a new Christian lyricism which he illustrated by his presentation of himself as the new Orpheus/David, and which he attempted to encourage in his contemporaries by frequent exhortations to follow the example of those inspired and ethically-influential poet-priests of antiquity.

In Orpheus La Boderie found not only the central mythological figure of Florentine Neo-Platonist poetic theology but also a figure of a poet-musician whose prestige was equal to the Pléiade poets' expectations and, most important to La Boderie himself, a figure whose artistic power was represented as capable of enchanting nature itself. The new Christian lyricism which La Boderie extolled was to be primarily persuasive in purpose as was his own work. For its transmission of an extra-personal universal truth, an Orphic power inspired by devotion to the One, the true divinity, would alone be effective in moving the obdurate atheists and Protestants who, in La Boderie's view, were seen to be obstructing restoration of a universal harmony.

Thus La Boderie's choice of Orpheus the inspired singer has been seen as representative of an evolving concern for musical and poetic "effects" which was related to the aims of the Baïf Academy of Poetry and Music. This concern found expression not only in La Boderie's translations of the Psalms and of ecclesiastical hymns but also in his analyses of musical intervals and harmonies and of their relationship

to Pythagorean, Platonic and Kabbalist cosmology and metaphysics.

In short, we have proposed that La Boderie's assumption of his poetic role as the new Orpheus is indicative of his concern for musical and poetic "effects" to be used for an apologetic purpose comparable to that of a Du Bartas. That extra-personal concept of Christian poetry has been considered a constitutive element in the development during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in France of a more intimate religious poetry.

Guy Le Fèvre de La Boderie has long been disregarded as a poetizer whose humanist philological erudition detracted from rather than enhanced the value of his poetic production, which was compounded of diverse religious, philosophic and occult traditions. On this four hundredth anniversary of his first publication, we suggest that he deserves recognition not only as a scholar typical of a Renaissance desire to revive antiquity in order to demonstrate new potential for human development, but also as a poet concerned to define and to illustrate the poet's role in the restoration to man of his primal and essential dignity, in the re-creation of man and his universe through imitation of the essential universal harmonies.

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APPENDIX

VERSIFICATION

Although La Boderie presents himself as the "new Orpheus" the musical "effects" of whose verse are to contribute to a spiritual renewal of the French nation, his poetic technique is not equal to his moral purpose. The effectiveness of his verse derives more from his symbolic imagery than from his versification. With some notable exceptions the alexandrines, which bear the weight of erudition of the apologetic and didactic Encyclie and Galliade, are monotonous in their regularity. The shorter verse comprises exercises in medieval fixed forms in which La Boderie had excelled in provincial poetic puy, together with "cantiques," "hymnes," "épitaphes" as well as an "élogie," several odes and many sonnets. Imitations of the Psalms and of Catholic "ecclesiastical hymns" designed to attract people to the Catholic cause through their musical effects and thus to counteract the effects of the Protestant hymns fall short of their purpose inasmuch

as the burden of earnest erudition in La Boderie's work detracts from the simplicity which was to be found in Marot's more popular imitations.

In short, the present work proposes that as versifier La Boderie was hampered by his habits of erudite philologist and of contestant in provincial poetic puy. For his versification as for his thematic content La Boderie relied predominantly on late medieval and early Renaissance predecessors in the service of his concept of a new Christian lyricism.

THE ALEXANDRINE

For his two major works, the Encyclie and the Galliade, La Boderie chose the solemn rhythm of the alexandrine, the caesura falling regularly after the sixth syllable. The verses are arranged in rhyming couplets with alternating masculine and feminine rhymes, and set forth not in stanzas, but in paragraphs according to the content.

The regular alexandrine is for the most part well suited to La Boderie's purpose of didactic and "scientific" presentation of the wisdom of the ancients and of his historical and millenarian message for apologetic ends.

His explanation of the "encyclie," for example, is rhythmically simple as befits its image, the division of the second hemistich even

enhancing the circling effect in the following definition of the "encyclie":

.....
 Et bien que meint Esprit chantourne en son couvercle
 Comme la dormante eau peu à peu, cercle à cercle,
 Comme le jet d'un caillou commence d'ondoyer
 Et de là plus au loing ply sur ply déployer . . .
 (Encyclie, p. 103)

In the following example, La Boderie's vision of universal harmony is figured rhythmically as well as visually in the dynamic stability of the regularly repeated rhythm in which he calls on his contemporaries to fashion a new poetic. The regular break at the caesura here enhances the call for an ordered harmony of "nombreuses parolles" which should reflect and help to lead men to a vision of universal harmony evoked in the Platonic music of the spheres. The verses are divided 6/6:

Faites-moy tournoyer par nombreuses parolles
 Et les esprits mouvants, et du Ciel les carolles:
 Entonnez es tuyaux des Orgues longs et ronds
 Des Cieux organisez la Musique et les tons:
 Faites sur le clavier d'une douce Espinete
 Marcher d'ordre et de rang Planete apres Planete
 Sous le bal du grand Ciel . . .
 (Galliade, fol. 101^r)

The regularity of the line may be broken for rhetorical effect, from the straightforward use of rhetorical devices:

Quoy? admires-tu point en toy si grande chose?
 (Encyclie, p. 80)

Hé! qui orroit aussi d'asses subtile Oreille
 Si claire Symphonie . . .
 (Encyclie, p. 105)

to the emphasis achieved by modifications of a repeated subject:

L'Un, le Bon, l'Eternel, l'Immobil, l'Infini.
(Encyclie, p. 133)

Avec le Souverein Tout-Grand, Tout-Bon, Tout-Beau.
(Encyclie, p. 326)

La Boderie shows the greatest freedom in his use of the alexandrine, and achieves thereby his greatest lyric power, when he abandons his serious didacticism to chant a personal invocation. The ardour of his breathless desire for ultimate truth is heard in the line divisions and the enjambment of an invocation to his muse Uranie, for example:

Useray-je envers toy du nom Celeste, ô Muse?
Assure, assure m'en, ô ma Sibylle, et boute
Dehors de mes esprits ou la Vie, ou le doute.
(Encyclie, p. 109)

In the above example La Boderie's normal 6/6 line division is modified to divisions of 6//4/2, 2/4//4/2 and 6//3/3. The enjambment, unusual in La Boderie's work, of "et boute / Dehors de mes esprits" serves to arouse the reader's attention. Imitation of the Psalms gives to the historical chronicle of the Galliade a lyrical enthusiasm, as the alexandrine is broken to secondary divisions of 1/1/4, 1/1/4 and 1/1/4, 4/2 in the following excerpt:

Sus sus, Psalterion, sus sus ô Harpe encore,
Tost tost resveillez-vous, j'esveilleray l'Aurore . . .
(Galliade, fol. 103^r)

In an invocation to the divinity is to be heard La Boderie's most successful use of the alexandrine. Here the intensity of La Boderie's

desire to be infused with an Orphic power is transmitted in lines regularly broken at the caesura but whose various secondary divisions of 3/3, 1/5, 4/2, 2/2/2 and 2/4 demands the reader's attention to the poet's emotion:

O Sagesse! ô Vertu qu'en silence j'appelle!
 O Lumiere! ô Beauté des beautés la plus belle
 Qui fut onques formée! ô Vie! ô Verite!
 O la premiere Vois de la Divinité!
 Vois, qui par le Jardin du Monde te pourmeines,
 Unique Vois infuse en toutes les Séraines
 Qui chantent dans le Choeur du beau Temple de Dieu:
 O Saint, ô Saint, ô Saint, ta gloire est en tout lieu.
 Inspire, inspire-moy qu'un jour de ta louange
 Je remplisse le Ciel, l'Onde et la Terre estrange.
 (Encyclie, pp. 120-121)

In summary, we propose that whereas La Boderie's use of the regular alexandrine broken at the caesura for his exposition of the philosophical, historical and apologetic content of the Encyclie and the Galliade is for the most part unexceptional, he does occasionally modify that monotonous regularity with the effect of conveying a lyrical heightening of the verse. Examples of that heightening are to be found in his invocations to his muse Uranie or to the Deity, and in his apostrophes to contemporary poets to form a Christian poetic according to the example of David.

La Boderie's use of the regular alexandrine in his shorter pieces such as various "discours," "cantiques," "épitafes," "élégies" and "hymnes," both original and translated, shows no significant difference from its use in the major works. The line is divided regularly 6/6. He uses consistently rhyming couplets with alternating

masculine and feminine rhymes, with the exception of the "Epitaphe de l'auteur" (Diverses meslanges, fol. 19^v ff.) in which the rhyme scheme is abba.

THE DECASYLLABIC LINE

In several shorter pieces entitled "cantique," "épitafe" or "discours" La Boderie uses the ten-syllable line regularly divided 4/6. In these the rhyme scheme is varied. He uses for the most part the rhyming couplet, as in the "Cantique sur la nouvelle estoile" published with the Traicté sur le nouveau comete. However these ten-syllable lines may rhyme abab, as in the "Cantique tourne selon l'Hebrieu du Chap. 26 d'Esaye" (Encyclie, pp. 334 ff.) or the "Epitafe de feu Maistre . . . le Rond" (Diverses meslanges, fol. 24^v ff.). The "Complainte à Dieu" (Encyclie, pp. 301 ff.) is arranged in a more complex verse pattern of abbacccc. In all cases La Boderie uses alternating masculine and feminine rhymes.

DEVICES ASSOCIATED WITH THE GRANDS RHETORIQUEURS

In his major works La Boderie is capable of making effective use of devices which he learned from the style of the Grands Rhétoriqueurs

favoured at the provincial puy. Repetition and variations on words of the same root and alliteration, for example, can enhance an invocation or a meditation in which the poet attempts to suggest a mystical removal from multiplicity to unity.

In his meditation on the mystical mors osculi, for example, La Boderie repeats "mort" and "baiser" with variations on the "amour" which is their bond, emphasizing with assonance and alliteration the unity he seeks:

Douce Mort, sainte Mort ou plutost Vie heureuse
Où l'Espous vient baiser son Espouse amoureuse:
O Baiser savoureux, ô Baiser assouvy,
Où l'Amante est ravye, et son amy ravy,
O heureuse vrayment l'amoureuse qui touche
Par un baiser sacré d'Amour mesme la bouche.
(Encyclie, p. 129)

In the above quotation death by the kiss, both sweet and holy, is shown to be in reality an intensified life made ecstatic by holy love. Thus the holy death-in-life is consecrated by the sacred kiss which, with assonantal insistence is shown to be both sweet, "savoureux," and partaking of divine completion, "assouvy." The dynamic as well as the essential qualities of love are portrayed through insistence on the lover, the loved one and love itself, "l'Amante," "l'amoureuse," "son amy" and "Amour mesme." Assonance of the sound [u] throughout the passage serves to enhance the tone of rapture. Insistent repetition of the consonantal sounds [m], [v], [s], and [z] serve again to intensify the tone of complete fulfilment in union.

Repetition and play on the sound of a word can also be used

to reinforce a major image:

O non-encerclé Cercle encerclant l'Encyclie!
(Encyclie, p. 118)

Le Soleil, le seul-Oeil qui tout le Monde éclaire.
(Encyclie, p. 101)

Beside the passages cited above, however, should be cited those in which exaggeration of such devices offends the modern ear:

Et m'encordant corder ma corde aus trois cordons:
(Encyclie, p. 1115)

Ainsi regardes-tu à travers la lumière
Du Mobile mouvant, l'Immobile et première.
C'est le miroir de l'Ame, auquel est remiré,
Du beau Soleil divin le rayon admiré.
(Encyclie, p. 119)

In the above passages the harsh "-cord-" conveys nothing of the harmony La Boderie seeks to attain, nor does the "-mir-" reflect the splendour of the eternal light evoked in the repeated [m] of "lumière," "Mobile mouvant," "Immobile" "première" and "Ame."

La Boderie's penchant for word-play may be explained in part by his training as a linguist. His continual use of anagrams or "noms retournés" links him also with late medieval traditions of technical virtuosity as he makes not only anagrams of names such as "se redorer Pindare" for Pierre de Ronsard (Encyclie, p. 25), but also an acrostic on "Jesus Christ de Dieu le fils sauveur crois" (Encyclie, pp. 268-269).

Again the habits of contestant in the jeux floraux can be found in the introduction or "avant-jeu" to the Encyclie which is constructed entirely on echoing rhyme:

Qui me fera certain d'un incertain é moy?	Moy.
Qui es tu qui ré ponds? car point je ne te voy?	Oy.
Dy qui tu es, afin qu'en vain je ne m'amuse.	Muse.
Useray-je envers toy du nom Celeste, ô Muse.	Use.

.....
 (Encyclie, pp. 27-28)

We hope to have shown that although La Boderie occasionally adapts to good advantage the studied techniques associated with late fifteenth century French poets, on the whole his use of such overworked devices is stultifying. The anachronism of his expression is restrictive rather than liberating in effect, and is thus in contradiction with the concept of a new Christian lyricism.

FORMS

La Boderie's shorter works show little diversity in form. Most of these translations and original works, whether they are entitled "hymne," "cantique," "discours," "épitafe," "tombeau," "complainte," "chant" or even "é légie" are in regular alexandrines of rhyming couplets with alternating masculine and feminine rhymes, or in regular ten-syllable lines divided 4/6 and rhyming a/b/a/b. Only a few of the above forms are arranged in stanzas. The stanza form is found in the huitains of the "Chant en forme d'epistre dedicatoire" to the Encyclie, the eighteen-line stanza of the "Cantique . . . aus poètes de son temps" (Encyclie, pp. 189-201), or the sixteen-line stanza of the "Cantique sur la nouvelle estoille" (Traicte du nouveau comete, n.p.). In the

latter two pieces the last couplet of the stanza forms a refrain.

A series of chants royaux (Hymnes ecclesiastiques, fol 237^r ff. and Encyclie, pp. 341 ff.) are constructed regularly in ten-line stanzas of ten-syllable lines, with an added line which forms the refrain. Each "chant royal" concludes with an "envoy" addressed to the "Prince du Puy." The "envoy" is regularly four ten-syllable lines, with the line which has formed the refrain throughout.

Only three examples of La Boderie's use of the ode can be cited. In each he adopts the tripartite form of "strophe," "antistrophe" and "epode." These odes are the only examples of La Boderie's use of other than a twelve- or a ten-syllable line. The "Ode à une personne desvoyée . . ." (Diverses meslanges, fol. 21^r ff.) and the "Ode à Martin de Masparraulte . . ." (Encyclie, pp. 201-202) are in seven-syllable metre, rhyming abab with alternance of masculine and feminine rhymes. The long "Ode au Seigneur Thevet Angoumoisain Cosmographe du Roy" (Diverses meslanges, fol 50^v ff.) uses the eight-syllable line with rhyming couplets of alternating masculine and feminine rhyme.

Many sonnets published in the Diverses meslanges and with the Encyclie, the Galliade, the Trois livres de la vie and the Traicté du nouveau comète are witness to La Boderie's desire to adopt this relatively new form. The sonnets are on the French pattern as introduced by Marot and used by Ronsard, the two tercets each having a rhyme in the first two lines and being linked to each other by the rhyming final lines in a pattern of ccdeed. La Boderie's successful use of this form in the

sonnets appended to his translation of Ficino's Trois livres de la vie has been noted by Jean Richer (Nerval, pp. 533-535).

TRANSLATIONS OF THE PSALMS

La Boderie's desire to attract his contemporaries to the Catholic faith through new translations of the Psalms can be seen in the context of his Neo-Platonist concern for re-establishing a universal harmony:

Donq de motets divins et cantiques tressaints
Faites que ses accords dans le corps soient atteints,
Et l'y entretenez par une nourriture
Qui de nature soit conforme à sa nature.
(Galliade, fol. 100^r)

So too, La Boderie's repeated recalling of his desire to renew an "Orphic" power by achieving ethically-influential effects through rhythmic verse should be considered as a spiritual rather than a prosodic concern. La Boderie's association with the Academy of Baïf can thus be understood, in so far as his translations of Psalms is concerned, as one of common ends rather than of similar means.

There is no evidence to show that La Boderie participated in Baïf's attempts to establish a basis for measured verse by establishing relationships of length between the sounds or in assembling syllables in rhythms determined by rules.

La Boderie's translations of Psalms are in fact presented in

alexandrines, the one verse which Ronsard had declared inappropriate for setting to music. We propose, therefore, that La Boderie's use of the solemn alexandrine was designed to emphasize in them the dignity and seriousness of purpose which La Boderie attributed to himself as the new David / Orpheus, and which he sought to stimulate in contemporary poets. His exhortations to his contemporaries, "Chantez à l'Eternel un Cantique nouveau" (Psalm 96, published with the Traicté du nouveau comete, n.p.) adopt in the Galliade (fol. 106^{r-v}) the terms of Psalm 150.

A comparison of La Boderie's translation of Psalm 150 with Baïf's later translation in rhymed verse may serve to point out divergences of spirit and of manner between these two Catholic poets. Baïf's rendering of Psalm 150 (Le Psaultier de 1587, ed. Yves Le Hir, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1963, p. 326) is simple in its evocation of the instruments of musical praise, light in its vowel sonorities and alliterations of "l," "t" and "s," and lilting in its five-syllable verse rhythm:

Louès le grand Dieu
 En son sacre lieu.
 Louès-le au manoir
 Ferme à son pouvoir.
 Louès sa valeur:
 Louès sa grandeur.
 Louès-le du son
 Du gaillard cleron.
 Louès-le joignans
 Harpe et lut sonans.
 Louès-le à leur tour
 De fifre et tambour.
 Louès-le desus
 Instruments tendus.
 Louès-le batant

Cimbale éclatant:
 Louès-le éjouis,
 Cimbales ouis.
 Tout cè qui prand vant
 Loù' le Dieu vivant,
 Louès, Louès-Dieu:

In contrast, La Boderie's translation of the same Psalm 150 is weighted by descriptive elaborations and by an insistent repetition of the hemistich "Donnez luy gloire et los," and moves slowly through the twelve-syllable alexandrine verse:

Louez Job, louez Dieu en son saint habitacle:
 Dedans le Firmament de sa force et vertu
 Soit de gloire par vous son saint nom revestu.
 Donnez luy gloire et los en sa Toute-puissance,
 Donnez luy gloire et los en sa grandeur immense:
 Donnez luy gloire et los en la voix du cleron,
 Donnez luy gloire en harpe et en psalterion:
 Donnez luy gloire et los en tambour et en fluste,
 Donnez luy gloire et los en cordes qu'on affuste,
 Et en orgues complets: Donnez luy los au creux
 Des cymbales d'éraïn, au réson sonoreux,
 Donnez luy gloire et los en cymbales qui rendent
 De trionfe une voix, et haut leur son estendent:
 Que tout Entendement donne gloire et honneur
 A Job Seigneur puissant, louez Job le Seigneur.
 (Galliade, fol. 106^{r-v})

We conclude from this brief account of La Boderie's versification that for him seriousness of purpose took precedence over experimentation with poetic technique. For the most part he propounded his message at length in the alexandrine, venturing sometimes and with some success into the sonnet form and returning often to well-tried medieval forms. La Boderie's call for a new spiritual content in poetry was accompanied neither by precepts nor by examples of a renewed versification.